



**International Labour Organization
International Programme on the Elimination of Child Labour (IPEC)**

**Thailand-Lao People's Democratic Republic
and Thailand-Myanmar Border Areas**

**Trafficking in Children into the Worst Forms of Child Labour:
A Rapid Assessment**

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Preface

Unacceptable forms of exploitation of children at work exist and persist, but they are particularly difficult to research due to their hidden, sometimes illegal or even criminal nature. Slavery, debt bondage, trafficking, sexual exploitation, the use of children in the drug trade and in armed conflict, as well as hazardous work are all defined as Worst Forms of Child Labour. Promoting the Convention (No. 182) concerning the Prohibition and immediate action for the Elimination of the Worst Forms of Child Labour, 1999, is a high priority for the International Labour Organization (ILO). Recommendation (No. 190, Paragraph 5) accompanying the Convention states that “detailed information and statistical data on the nature and extent of child labour should be compiled and kept up to date to serve as a basis for determining priorities for national action for the abolition of child labour, in particular for the prohibition and elimination of its worst forms, as a matter of urgency.” Although there is a body of knowledge, data, and documentation on child labour, there are also still considerable gaps in understanding the variety of forms and conditions in which children work. This is especially true of the worst forms of child labour, which by their very nature are often hidden from public view and scrutiny.

Against this background the ILO, through IPEC/SIMPOC (International Programme on the Elimination of Child Labour/Statistical Information and Monitoring Programme on Child Labour) has carried out 38 rapid assessments of the worst forms of child labour in 19 countries and one border area. The investigations have been made using a new rapid assessment methodology on child labour, elaborated jointly by the ILO and UNICEF¹. The programme was funded by the United States Department of Labor.

The investigations on the worst forms of child labour have explored very sensitive areas including illegal, criminal or immoral activities. The forms of child labour and research locations were carefully chosen by IPEC staff in consultation with IPEC partners. The rapid assessment investigations focused on the following categories of worst forms of child labour: children in bondage; child domestic workers; child soldiers; child trafficking; drug trafficking; hazardous work in commercial agriculture, fishing, garbage dumps, mining and the urban environment; sexual exploitation; and working street children.

To the partners and IPEC colleagues who contributed, through their individual and collective efforts, to the realisation of this report I should like to express our gratitude. The responsibility for opinions expressed in this publication rests solely with the authors and does not imply endorsement by the ILO.

I am sure that the wealth of information contained in this series of reports on the situation of children engaged in the worst forms of child labour around the world will contribute to a deeper understanding and allow us to more clearly focus on the challenges that lie ahead. Most importantly, we hope that the studies will guide policy makers, community leaders, and practitioners to tackle the problem on the ground.



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¹ Investigating Child Labour: Guidelines for Rapid Assessment - A Field Manual, January 2000, a draft to be finalized further to field tests, <http://www.ilo.org/public/english/standards/ipec/simpoc/guides/index.htm>

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Executive Summary

Background

According to the International Labour Organization (ILO), trafficking of children for labour exploitation, including sexual exploitation has emerged as an issue of major global concern.¹ According to ILO Convention 182, the worst forms of child labour convention, “all forms of slavery or practices similar to slavery, such as the sale and trafficking of children, debt bondage and serfdom and forced or compulsory labour ...¹” should immediately be prohibited and eliminated. Other worst forms of child labour whose eradication by all countries should be considered a matter of urgency include, “the use, procurement or offering of a child for prostitution, production of pornography or pornographic performances; the use, procurement or offering of a child for illicit activities, in particular for the production and trafficking of drugs; work which, by its nature or the circumstances in which it is carried out, is likely to harm the health, safety or morals of children.”

In order to raise awareness and create effective policies and sustainable programs whose goals are to combat the trafficking of children, we need to have a better understanding of the causes and consequences and magnitude and characteristics of child trafficking, the process of transportation and recruitment of children and the working environment experienced by children in the worst forms of child labour. Because of the often hidden and illegal nature of the trafficking of children into the worst forms of child labour and because of the sensitive nature of the work many children perform—for example, prostitution, pornography and drug trafficking—obtaining data and information on these children can prove to be extremely difficult.

The current study aims to fill some of these gaps in the research and shed new light on a range of aspects of the trafficking of children and subsequently the exploitation of children into the worst forms of child labour in Thailand. According to the ILO, the combination of the existing employment opportunities in Thailand and the economic and political hardships in surrounding countries make Thailand the main receiving country of children trafficked for labour exploitation including prostitution in the Mekong sub-region.² There is scattered evidence that indicates that

there are a significant number of foreign-born children working in Thailand and that the foreign-born children are more likely to be found in the more exploitative and dangerous work situations compared to Thai children. For example, of the 16,423 foreign prostitutes in Thailand, 30 percent are younger than age 18. Most of these children come from Myanmar, followed by the Yunnan province in China and Laos. In addition, in 1996 it is estimated that there were a total of 194,180 foreign child labourers working in Thailand, mostly from Myanmar, followed by Laos and Cambodia.

Definition

Trafficking is defined in this study according to the ILO’s definition, as the recruitment and/or transportation of children between or within countries by the use of violence, threat of violence, deception, coercion, or debt-bondage. It is best to think of trafficking as a continuum. Cases involving complete deception, force and even violence fall at the extreme end of the spectrum, while at the other end of the spectrum a lack of awareness about working conditions may explain why children are trafficked into the worst forms of child labour.

Methodology

The current findings are based on the ILO/UNICEF Rapid Assessment (RA) methodology,³ which seeks to balance statistical precision with qualitative analysis, in order to provide policy makers with insights into the character, cause and consequence of the worst forms of child labour quickly and with little expense. Within this context a desk review of the available research from various reports and papers was undertaken. Field research was conducted at four research sites along Thailand’s border. Nong Khai and Muk Dahan are situated on the Thai-Laotian border and Mae Sai and Mae Sot are located on the Thai-Myanmar border. Field research included observations and qualitative interviews with a variety of respondents in a diversity of settings, such as bars, factories, restaurants, private homes, a church and the immigration detention jail. The objective was to gather as much concrete information about the trafficking of children into the worst forms of child labour within a three-month period as possible.

The first set of interviews were conducted with key informants, who for professional reasons, were familiar with the issues of trafficking and child labour, such as non-governmental organizations (NGO), government staff and police officers (53 interviews). The second set of interviews and the largest group of respondents occurred with young people who were working or had worked in the worst forms of child labour (153 interviews). This included minors currently employed in the worst forms of child labour at the border sites and minors who had worked in the worst forms of child labour when they were under 18 but had subsequently left this particular type of employment and/or passed the age of 18. Finally, family members of trafficked children were interviewed (16 interviews) as well as transporters and recruiters of trafficked children into the worst forms of child labour (8 interviews).

Findings Recruitment

Although trafficking is often considered to be a single process of transportation from a place of origin to a place of work, we found that this occurred in only about one third of the cases, where recruiters brought children from villages in Burma or Laos to work for a particular employer. Recruitment directly from a child's village was more common for girls and Laotians. In only a quarter of all cases where recruitment took place were transporters linked to an organised trafficking network. In the majority of these cases, foreign children were recruited for labour exploitation within Thailand after having made separate arrangements to enter the country. It was not uncommon for minors to know about a particular workplace in Thailand, and to approach an employer or recruiter upon entering the country.

Decision to work

In most cases the minor or the minor's family took the initiative to obtain details on work opportunities outside their villages. Fellow villagers and friends were the most common sources of information about particular jobs and general work opportunities, and in the majority of cases the minors or their families knew of someone, who could arrange for their transportation and/or recruitment. Parents rarely appeared to be the main driving force behind the decision that a minor should leave for work. In over a

third of the cases, the decision for the child to leave to seek work was taken jointly by the parents and the child. The most common decision making process reported by minors was that they made the decision to leave on their own, and many did not even inform their parents because they expected their parents to disapprove.

Reasons for work

The desire to work combined with a lack of skills to protect themselves in an unknown environment made the majority of the minors interviewed in this study vulnerable to trafficking. During the discussions with researchers, most minors explained that they themselves had wished to leave their home village for work. The desire to escape poverty in combination with the understanding that there would be no opportunities to develop a working life in their village were the most frequently reported reasons why minors left their village to work in Thailand. Others expressed a wish to see the world outside their village, and still others left to escape an unhappy or difficult home life or family situation.

While almost three-quarters of the children interviewed said they were motivated by a desire to help their family financially, only half were actually remitting funds home and less than half had not even kept in contact with their families. The overwhelming majority of the parents of the children interviewed had no information or only partial information on their child's situation.

Transportation

In cases where the minors arrived in Thailand before they began working, it was most common for them to arrange the travel themselves. This was particularly common for boys and Laotians. For girls and ethnic minorities, it was more common to be accompanied by a family member who made most of the arrangements. In the less frequent situation, where the minor travelled to Thailand having already been recruited for a particular job, different types of actors organised the transportation. Most commonly these were trusted friends of the family. In almost half of the cases, the transporters were linked to an organised network of transporters, recruiters and employers. It was less common for minors to arrange their own transportation or for family members to be the main

transporters, while strangers accounted for only about a quarter of the transporters.

Recruitment into the worst forms of child labour

In most cases minors were recruited into the worst forms of child labour in the town where the work was located, and most minors made their own way to these localities. Only around a third of those interviewed had been recruited to a particular job before entering Thailand and children recruited at the border site for transportation to work elsewhere in Thailand were rare. The majority of minors interviewed had entered the worst forms of child labour within one month of arriving in Thailand. In some cases children had carried out some other kind of work before entering the worst forms of child labour. Some children carried out temporary work in agriculture or helping with odd jobs, such as food preparation and dishwashing or babysitting for Thai families.

In over half of the cases where recruitment took place no profit was made in the transportation or recruitment process. In the small number of interviewed cases where a profit was made upon the recruitment of a child for work, usually the child became the possession of the employer at least until a certain amount of profit was made. In other cases, the family paid a fee for the transportation and job placement of the child.

Awareness of work or working conditions

Although the majority of the minors interviewed believed that they had not been tricked or coerced into work, many children said they had only been told part of the truth and still half of the children interviewed said that they knew almost nothing about the nature of the work they would be doing or the conditions under which they would be working. More specifically, the children reported very low levels of awareness about working hours, working conditions, living conditions and the degree of freedom they would have while living and working in Thailand.

Conditions of child labour

Children interviewed were found to be working in factories (22), construction (17), fisheries (10), domestic work (4), and other services (5). Forty-five

children were exploited by the sex industry. Depending on the type of work, children often faced dangerous or hazardous conditions, such as working long hours or during the night, working in confined spaces, carrying heavy loads, working with hazardous chemicals and, in the case of sexual exploitation, they were met with issues of forced labour.

Construction sites employing children were reported to be in Bangkok, Nontaburi, Mae Sai building sites and Yasothorn, where dam work was being carried out. All the construction workers interviewed were boys with an average age of 14.5 years; some boys were as young as 12. On the various construction sites children were found to be working at dangerous heights, transporting heavy materials such as concrete and working an average of eight to nine hours per day, every day of the week.

The sexual exploitation of girls was found at the four research sites, and children in prostitution reported that they had returned from sexually exploitative work in Bangkok, Phuket, and Prathumthani. The average age of the children interviewed in prostitution was 15.5 but some were as young as 13. The general characteristics of the sex industry in Thailand varied greatly between the research sites in terms of visibility, clientele, workers and the function of the trafficking process. Nong Khai Province, for example, has the highest concentration of sex work in Thailand. The three districts directly opposite to the entry points into Thailand from Laos have the highest number of sex establishments within the province. Therefore, many children who are trafficked for sexual exploitation are taken from villages in Laos. In some cases girls are held in debt bondage until a certain amount of money is made.

Conclusion

This study shows that trafficking into the worst forms of child labour is a complex and diverse phenomenon that varies widely between place, gender and ethnic group. There are important differences in trafficking and child labour between different geographical areas and types of employment. Child labour appears to be much more common along the Thailand-Myanmar border than along the Thailand-Lao PDR border. These differences are most likely attributable to the establishment of the special border zone on the Myanmar border, which allows minors to cross into

Thailand without difficulty, but does not allow them to easily travel into the rest of Thailand.

There appears to be a major concentration of foreign girls engaged in prostitution in Nong Khai Province on the Lao border. Although this study was restricted to border sites, interviews with respondents who had worked elsewhere in Thailand, indicate that the worst forms of child labour also exist in pockets all over Thailand, notably on construction sites, in fisheries, in domestic work and general services as well as in the form of sexual exploitation.

These findings suggest that in discussing issues and policies related to trafficking into the worst forms of child labour, a clear distinction should be made between *trafficking* and the *worst forms of child labour*. Based on the children interviewed in this rapid assessment, the trafficking process itself is usually not exploitative, and there are relatively few cases that fit popular notions of human smuggling and the trade in children. A voluntary process of labour migration organised by families, trusted friends or the children themselves appears to be much more common. Unfortunately, however, the children who are trafficked for exploitative purposes involving force or coercion are the most difficult children to reach and thus we know little about the trafficking process in these cases. In most of the cases interviewed in this study, regardless of the method of transportation to work or reasons for which the children left their homes, the children were working in extremely exploitative and harmful conditions.

¹ International Labour Organization, *International Programme on the Elimination of Child Labour "Trafficking in Children for Labour Exploitation in the Mekong Sub-region: a Framework for Action,"* available on-line at: http://www.ilo.org/public/english/standards/ipecc/publ/res_reg/mekong.htm (accessed 15 May 2001).

² International Labour Organisation, 1999, "A New Tool to Combat the Worst Forms of Child Labour, ILO Convention 182," page 8.

³Ibid. 1.

⁴For more information on the ILO/UNICEF Rapid Assessment methodology see "Investigating Child Labour: Guidelines for Rapid Assessment-a Field Manual," available on-line at: <http://www.ilo.org/public/english/standards/ipecc/simpoc/guides/index.htm> (accessed 16 May 2001).

I. Introduction

This study represents the findings of a rapid assessment of trafficking of foreign children and teenagers into the worst forms of child labour in Thailand. Particular attention has been paid to the specific vulnerability of refugee-like populations, minorities and stateless populations from Thailand's border area and the neighbouring countries of Lao PDR and Myanmar. The report aims to assess the nature, magnitude, causes and consequences of trafficking of minors into the worst forms of child labour. It is based on over 100 interviews with boys and girls, who had been recruited into the worst forms of child labour. These interviews were conducted by separate research teams at four sites along the Thailand-Myanmar and Thailand-Lao PDR borders.

The results shed new light on a range of aspects of trafficking into Thailand. The report presents detailed information on the nature of the process of transportation into Thailand, and the process of recruitment to a particular workplace. It also covers the working minors' self-reported motivations for entering into employment in Thailand, and the conditions experienced in the worst forms of child labour. The report also presents information on differences in the motivations, transportation and recruitment processes and outcomes for boys and girls and from different ethnic and circumstantial backgrounds, in order to identify particular groups who are at greater risk. Based on interviews with older children, some of whom had already graduated out of the worst forms of child labour, the report also comments on life prospects for children who have come to work in Thailand.

Trafficking into the worst forms of child labour is a much-talked about, but sometimes misunderstood phenomenon. There is very little empirical evidence to inform our understanding of how, where, to whom, to what extent the process of transportation and recruitment into work operates. Effective policy making will require a thorough understanding of these issues based on detailed empirical surveys and analysis. It is hoped that this study will provide a useful contribution.

1.1 Definitions

1.1.1 The Convention on the Worst Forms of Child Labour

This report is based on the definitions set out in the International Convention on the Worst Forms of Child Labour (No. 182),¹ and the ILO's definition of trafficking. The convention has provided a new framework to analyse an old problem. Instead of attempting to eradicate all child labour, the convention tackles as a priority those forms of children's work considered to be the most exploitative and intolerable under all circumstances.

The convention defines the worst forms of child labour to include:

- Slavery or practices similar to slavery²
- The use, procuring, or offering of a child for prostitution or for pornography
- The use of children for illicit activities – particularly within the drug trade
- Work that is likely to endanger the health, safety, or morals of children

The accompanying Recommendation No 190 gives special attention to cases of the worst forms of child labour where children are exposed to:

- physical, psychological or sexual abuse
- work underground, under water, at dangerous heights, confined spaces
- work with dangerous machinery, equipment and tools
- manual handling or transport of heavy loads
- an unhealthy environment exposing workers to hazardous substances, agents or processes, or temperatures, noise levels or vibration damaging to health
- work under difficult circumstances, including long hours, during the night

- unreasonable confinement to the employer's premises
- cases of trafficking

All children under age 18 working in such environments are covered by the convention, whether or not the labour is paid.

In this study, we considered all work in the sex industry as falling under the worst forms of child labour. Work in construction, fisheries and factories was treated as worst forms of child labour when minors reported any hazardous elements in the work routine and / or difficult circumstances. Domestic work and other services were included as exceptional cases when minors reported abuse, unreasonable confinement or particularly difficult circumstances. No cases of minors working in agriculture were included as no minors interviewed reported exposure to any aspect mentioned under the Convention or the accompanying Recommendation no 190.

1.1.2 Trafficking

Trafficking is defined in this study according to the ILO's definition, as the recruitment and / or transportation of children between or within countries by the use of violence, threat of violence, deception, coercion, or debt-bondage. It is best to think of trafficking as a continuum. Cases involving complete deception, force, and even violence fall at the extreme end of the spectrum, while at the other end of the spectrum a lack of awareness about working conditions may explain why children are recruited into the worst forms of child labour.

In this study we include cases where children were trafficked into the worst forms of child labour. Children are also trafficked for adoption or forced marriage, but these cases are beyond the scope of this study.

1.1.3 Target Groups

As requested by the International Labour Organization (ILO) – International Programme on the Elimination of Child Labour (IPEC), refugees, ethnic minorities, hill-tribes, stateless and internally displaced persons from the border regions are a particu-

lar target group of this study.

Refugees and displaced persons are defined as people who felt that they had to leave their place of origin as a result of external circumstances such as political oppression, fighting or environmental disasters. As no refugee status determination was carried out, no distinction is being made between refugees under the Geneva Convention and displaced persons who felt forced to leave for reasons not mentioned by the Geneva Convention. Therefore, refugees and displaced persons are referred to in this report as refugee-like population. Refugee-like people may or may not live in refugee camps along the border.

For the purpose of this study, a stateless person has been understood to be any individual not in possession of identification papers conferring citizenship of any state upon them. It should be noted that lack of any identification papers does not necessarily correlate with legal statelessness. Minors without official documentation might in some cases be eligible for proof of citizenship if they applied for it through the official procedures and were able and / or willing to pay the required fees. In other cases, citizenship may be evoked from individuals in possession of identification papers if they fail to report to authorities of their country in regular intervals, a failure many citizens of Myanmar are prone to commit if they live long-term and undocumented in Thailand's border areas.

The term hill-tribes refers to ethnic groups who live in upland areas while ethnic minority describes ethnic groups which are neither Burman, Lao Loom (Lowland Lao) or Thai, and therefore constitute an ethnic minority in Thailand, Lao PDR and / or the Union of Myanmar. In this report, however, both hill tribes and ethnic minorities will be referred to as ethnic minorities.

1.2 Background

This investigation is part of a series of studies undertaken by the ILO through its International Programme on the Elimination of Child Labour (IPEC) and Statistical Information and Monitoring Programme on Child Labour (SIMPOC) to compile information and data on the extent and nature of child labour to serve as a basis for determining priorities for national action for the abolition of the worst forms of child labour.³ Specific types of worst forms of child labour in selected countries and border areas have

been selected for rapid assessments. This study will focus on the trafficking in children at four research sites along the Thailand-Lao PDR and Thailand-Myanmar border areas.

1.3 Structure of this Report

This report begins with a literature review describing available information. It is followed by a description of the research methodology. The discussion of the findings begin with the minors' self-reported motivations for wanting to leave their community of origin (Chapter 4). It continues with detailed information on the transportation and recruitment process into work in Thailand (Chapters 5 and 6). In Chapter 7, the conditions of child labour in the research areas and to a limited extent elsewhere will be discussed. Chapter 8 comments on the prospects of minors who have worked in the worst forms of child labour. The analysis is based on comparison and contrasting of different groups in the various processes. Findings at a glance are presented as an annex.

⁵ *Worst Forms of Child Labour Convention, 1999.*

⁶ *This would include debt bondage, the sale of children, serfdom, and the forced or compulsory recruitment of children for use in armed conflicts.*

⁷ *The accompanied recommendation (No 190), to the Convention 182 states (Art 5) that research should be undertaken to document the nature and extent of the worst forms of child labour.*

II. Background Information from the Literature

Child Labour in Thailand

2.1 Decreasing numbers of ethnic Thai child workers

Child labour among ethnic Thai children has been decreasing over the past few decades. In 1988, 40 percent of children aged 13 and 14 years were working, and not attending school. By 1999 this percentage had dropped to less than 10 percent.⁸ This development is usually attributed to a combination of factors, such as a decreasing number of children due to the low birth rate (1.4 percent), and the government promoted education continuation programme, which extended the period of compulsory education from 6 to 9 years.⁹ However, about 230,000 Thai minors between the ages of 13 to 17 are still working.¹⁰

It is not clear from the available literature to what extent the decrease in the birth rate has affected Thai hill tribe minorities. A study of Chiang Rai province has led Simon Baker to conclude that the education extension programme has been less successful in districts with a high hill-tribe population. In three districts of Chiang Rai province, secondary educational

facilities remain poor, and are difficult to reach from remote villages where the majority of hill-tribe children live.¹¹

2.2 Minors from Lao PDR working in Thailand

Minors from Laos are known to work in Thailand in Bangkok and its vicinity and in pockets all over the country. Around Bangkok they have been found to work in significant numbers around Pak Kret (Nonthaburi) and parts of Samut Sakorn and Samut Prakan.¹² The sex industry in Nong Khai is also known to be dominated by Laotians, including minors.¹³

Various studies indicate that Savannakhet Province, the most populous province in The Lao PDR (700,000 of 5 Million), is the largest source of Laotian children leaving for work in Thailand.¹⁴ Officials in the province reported that more than 15,000 youths had sought employment in Thailand in 1995.¹⁵ There are also children from Vientiane province (Inhabitants: 500,000). A number of Laotian children are believed to attend school in Thailand commuting from neighbouring provinces in the Lao PDR. The main entry point into Thailand also appears to be from Savannakhet and Khammouane province into Muk Dahan, Nakhon Phanom and Khemerat provinces in Thailand.¹⁶

⁸ Simon Baker, *Working Children and the Thai Economic Crisis, Child Workers in Asia*, <http://www.cwa.tnet.co.th/booklet/thailand.htm>.

⁹ Wiroonrapun, Khemporn and Patano, Yuphawadi, *A Report on Cross-border Child Labour : A Case Study of Laotian Child Migrants in Bangkok and the Vicinity*, Foundation for Child Development (FCD), December 1997

¹⁰ There has been no recent survey on this. Simon Baker, *Working Children and the Thai Economic Crisis, Child Workers in Asia*, <http://www.cwa.tnet.co.th/booklet/thailand.htm>.

¹¹ Baker, Simon, *The changing situation of child prostitution in Northern Thailand: A study of Chiang Rai*, 2000

¹² Wiroonrapun, Khemporn and Patano, Yuphawadi, *A Report on Cross-border Child Labour : A Case Study of Laotian Child Migrants in Bangkok and the Vicinity*, Foundation for Child Development (FCD), December 1997

¹³ Amaraphibal, A. and Paul, S., *Crossborder Transportation and Infrastructure Development and HIV/ AIDS Vulnerability at Nong Khai – Vientiane Friendship Bridge*, 1997

¹⁴ Wiroonrapun, Khemporn and Patano, Yuphawadi, *A Report on Cross-border Child Labour : A Case Study of Laotian Child Migrants in Bangkok and the Vicinity*, Foundation for Child Development (FCD), December 1997

¹⁵ Samrane, Paul, *Country Report to The National Workshop on illegal Labour Movements; The Case of Trafficking in Women and Children*, Vientiane, Ministry of Justice 2000.

¹⁶ Wiroonrapun, Khemporn and Patano, Yuphawadi, *A Report on Cross-border Child Labour : A Case Study of Laotian Child Migrants in Bangkok and the Vicinity*, Foundation for Child Development (FCD), December 1997, p. 31 The information is based on interviews with 32 Laotian children working in Bangkok of whom 28 claimed to have entered into Thailand at Nakhon Phanom Province.

2.3 Minors from Myanmar working in Thailand

Minors from Myanmar are known to work in Thai border towns dominated by immigrant labour from Myanmar. Mae Sai in particular is known for employing minors, whereas other towns seem to do so to a lesser extent.¹⁷ There are also minors from Myanmar working in Bangkok and the fishing industry. Directly along the border, children from Burma are said to attend school in Thailand.

Less information seems to be available on the places of origin of children from Myanmar, and the transportation and recruitment routes. Some literature has stressed forced migration aspects, and it is believed that considerable numbers of minorities leave Myanmar during the dry season when the government in Rangoon carries out counter-insurgency operations in the minority areas. Others have left after large scale forced relocations, or have fled to escape forced labour and the political and economic repression in the country.¹⁸ Other studies found that the desire to find work in Thailand was the main pull factor behind the movement of Burmese nationals into Thailand, in particular among Burmans (90% of respondents), but also among Mon (74.5%) and Karen (72%) (Based on a sample of 325 respondents). Among the ethnic minorities other motivations such as escaping war or joining family were more common.¹⁹

2.4 Sectors of Child Labour

General services and agriculture appear to be the sectors with the highest number of minors employed. Factories, fishing, construction and the sex industry are also known to employ minors.²⁰

Estimates of girls under 18 employed in the sex industry in Thailand vary between 15,000 to 800,000. Probably the best estimate comes from the Office of the National Commission of Women's Affairs. The office estimated that in 1994 Thailand had 22,500 - 40,000 child prostitutes.²¹ Research into foreign labour in Thailand found that about 30 percent of the 16,423 non-Thai prostitutes were under 18, making an approximate total of 4,900.²² Studies on HIV/AIDS found that the overwhelming majority of sex workers along Thailand's border are non-Thais (90 - 95 %) (based on a sample of 378). No convincing estimates on boys in the sex industry are available.

There are no figures available on the numbers of children working in other industries all over Thailand. A survey in Mae Sai found the highest number of minors working in the service industry (162/422), followed by day labourers (85/422) and factories (77/422). For Mae Sot it was found that overall the numbers of working children were considerably lower, but

¹⁷ Chantavanich, S., Amaraphibal, A., *HIV/AIDS among Migrant Populations at the Thai-Burmese Border: Mae Sot and Mae Sai*, ARCM 2000

¹⁸ *The Shan Human Rights Foundation Report, April 1998*, cited in Lao Liang Won, Nang, *Guidelines on Strategies and Responses to the Needs of Burmese Migrant Women in Thailand, second edition, Mekong Regional Consultation Series, Asia Pacific Forum on Women, Law and Development, 2000.*

¹⁹ Chantavanich, S., Paul, S., Amaraphibal, A., *Cross-border Migration and HIV Vulnerability in the Thai-Myanmar Border Sangkhlaburi and Ranong*, ARCM for WHO, 2000

²⁰ Simon Baker, *Working Children and the Thai Economic Crisis, Child Workers in Asia*, <http://www.cwa.tnet.co.th/booklet/thailand.html>
Chantavanich, S., Amaraphibal, A., *HIV/AIDS among Migrant Populations at the Thai-Burmese Border: Mae Sot and Mae Sai*, ARCM 2000

Chantavanich, S., Paul, S., Amaraphibal, A., *Cross-border Migration and HIV Vulnerability in the Thai-Myanmar Border Sangkhlaburi and Ranong*, ARCM for WHO, 2000

²¹ Chutikul, Saisuree, *Exploitative Commercial Sex, Cross-border Trafficking, Sexual Abuses and Violence Against Children and Women*, ESCAP, July 1999.

²² Archwanitkul, Kritaya, *Foreign Child Labour Project*, IPEC-ILO, 1997

that the highest numbers worked in the service industry (29/87), agriculture (28/87) and factories (27/87).¹⁶ It is interesting to note that all of these minors had either entered Thailand from Myanmar or were born in Thailand shortly after their parents had come into the country.

2.5 Foreign and ethnic minority child workers

There are no official statistics on children of other ethnicities or nationalities working in Thailand. Some believe that minors under 18 make up 14 – 25 percent of the foreign work force currently working in Thailand, and that the number could be around 100 000 to 200 000.²⁴ Studies looking into child labour in Thailand have suggested that foreign born children are predominantly found in more exploitative and dangerous work situations than Thai children.²⁵

General surveys and statistics from Thailand's immigration detention centres suggest that children from Myanmar make up the highest number of foreign working children. Kritaya Archwanitkul found that between 1995 and 1997, 58 percent of the 14,525 detainees under 18 came from Burma, compared to 13 percent from Lao PDR and 27 percent from Cambodia.²⁶ However, Laotian children are less likely to be detained by immigration officials as their cultural proximity to Isaan Thais makes them less noticeable in Thai society.

There are very few reliable estimates on ethnic background of the foreign working children. Kusol Sunthonthada examined Immigration Detention Data for children in the age group 0 – 15 of Myanmar origin, and found that Burmans made up the highest per

centage (24%) followed by Mon (10%), Karen (2.4%) and Shan (0.61%) for the period April 1993 to March 1996.²⁷ There are no figures on how many can be considered to be in refugee-like circumstances or are stateless.

These studies do not provide any information on how these children entered Thailand nor whether they worked in the worst forms of child labour. Some may have been born in Thailand others may have entered themselves, or could have come with migrant and refugee parents. A large number might be working in general services and agriculture, sectors which do not always display characteristics specified under the Convention.

There are reports that many Thai hilltribe children have been trafficked to the nation's urban areas for prostitution. Thailand also draws children from ethnic minorities in Yunnan Province, China into its sex trade. There are a significant number of Shan, and some Thai Lue known to work in Mae Sai, as well as Karen and Mon in Mae Sot occupying distinctly different sectors. Shans were the dominant ethnic group in sex work in Mae Sai. Burmans and Mons commonly worked in factories in Mae Sot, while Karen most frequently worked in agriculture.²⁸ It is not known, how many of them were trafficked into the border towns and how many might be working elsewhere in Thailand.

There is disagreement between experts on whether minorities are particularly at risk of being trafficked, or minimally susceptible owing to their fierce guardianship of traditional cultural values. Experts who believe that minorities are particularly at

²³ Chantavanich, S., Amaraphibal, A., *HIV/AIDS among Migrant Populations at the Thai-Burmese Border: Mae Sot and Mae Sai*

²⁴ Im-em, Wassana, *Synthesis Report Child Labour from Lao and Cambodia*, Institute of Population and Social Research Mahidol University, 1998

²⁵ Chantavanich, S., Auasalong S., Vungsiriphisal, P., *Migrant Children in Difficult Circumstances in Thailand*, ARCM, UNICEF, 1997

²⁶ Archwanitkul, Kritaya, *Foreign Child Labour Project*, IPEC-ILO, 1997

²⁷ Sunthonthada, Kusol, *Research Project on Alternative Practices for a Policy of Cross-dimensional Labour of Thailand*, Institute of Population and Social Research, Mahidol University, 1996

²⁸ Chantavanich, S., Amaraphibal, A., *HIV/AIDS among Migrant Populations at the Thai-Burmese Border: Mae Sot and Mae Sai*

risk, assert that the increasing desire amongst minority groups to possess consumer goods coupled with the lack of economic modernisation, and therefore lack of economic opportunities in their communities of origin has fuelled the trafficking process. Ethnic minority children are also vulnerable to being lured into the worst forms of child labour because of their lack of experience and skills. Anthropologist David Feingold argues that these processes have resulted in a disproportionate number of upland ethnic minority girls in the sex industry, though the total numbers of these girls in the Thai sex industry are quite limited.²⁹

Others find little evidence of ethnic minority children in the labour market.³⁰

²⁹ Feingold, David A. *The Hell of Good Intentions: Some preliminary thoughts on opium in the political ecology of the trade in girls and women*, Ophidian Research Institute, 1997 and Feingold, David A. *Sex, Drugs and the IMF: Some implications of 'Structural Readjustment' for the Trade in Heroin, girls and women in the upper Mekong region*, Ophidian Research Institute, 1998.

³⁰ *Combating Trafficking in Children for Labour Exploitation in the Mekong Sub-Region: A Proposed Framework for ILO-IPEC Action and Proceedings of Mekong Sub-Regional Consultation, ILO-IPEC South-East Asia, 1998* and Le, Duong Bach, *Children in Prostitution in Northern Viet Nam: Rapid assessment findings*, forthcoming ILO-IPEC South-east Asia Paper, 2000.

Im-em, Wassana, *Synthesis Report Child Labour from Lao and Cambodia*, Institute of Population and Social Research Mahidol University, 1998

Wiroonrapun, Khemporn and Patano, Yuphawadi, *A Report on Cross-border Child Labour: A Case Study of Laotian Child Migrants in Bangkok and the Vicinity*, Foundation for Child Development (FCD), December 1997

III. Methodology

3.1 Rapid Assessment

The following findings are based on a rapid assessment of trafficking into the worst forms of child labour conducted at four sites along Thailand's border. Rapid assessment is particularly suited to gaining an understanding of a particular social phenomenon and its context, usually with the objective of designing an intervention strategy. Characteristics of rapid assessments are that, firstly the study is limited in time (usually less than three months), and secondly that a combination of flexible research methods is used to investigate the issue. Rapid assessment does not employ random sampling methods, and does not engage in long term participant observation.

For this study, the field research was conducted at four research sites, two on the Thai-Lao PDR border (Nong Khai and Muk Dahan) and two on the Thai-Myanmar border (Mae Sai and Mae Sot). The period of field research was limited to 20 working days in each research site. Direct observation on the ground was carried out in the research areas and a desk review of the available literature and secondary data analysis was undertaken.

The researchers concentrated on qualitative interviews. A total of 238 qualitative interviews with respondents in a variety of places, including bars, fac-

tories, restaurants, private houses, NGO offices, a church and the immigration detention jail were conducted. Respondents included various informants (135) and individuals with first-hand experience of being recruited and transported into the worst forms of child labour (103 respondents). After completion of the interviews with these respondents, researchers wrote a qualitative report, and completed a structured questionnaire based on the interview for cases which met certain criteria set out below. These questionnaires were then used for data processing.

3.2 Child Respondents

Any minor, who said that he or she had entered employment in the worst forms of child labour without having been fully aware of either the nature or the conditions of work under the age of 18 was considered a victim of trafficking. Working conditions included aspects, such as the working environment, hours of work, pay, living conditions or degree of freedom. The definition of the worst forms of child labour follows the criteria set out in the ILO Convention No 182, and the accompanying recommendation as described in the introduction.

ILO-IPEC had expressed a particular concern about trafficked minors from among refugees, hill-tribes, ethnic minorities, displaced and stateless persons. Researchers, therefore, made a special effort to locate trafficked minors from these particular groups. The SPSS-data set, however, includes the information from all minors interviewed, who met the above criteria.

Table 1: Respondents included in the SPSS Data Set

	A Minors presently not working in the worst forms of child labour but who had previously worked in such employment	B Minors presently working in the worst forms of child labour	C Young adults who began work in the worst forms of child labour as a minor	D Young adults who had changed jobs since working in the worst forms of child labour	Total
Mae Sai	-	8	16	6	30
Mae Sot	3	10	3	5	21
Muk Dahan	27	2	-	-	29
Nong Khai	5	6	3	9	23
Total	35	26	22	20	103

All the respondents were interviewed in the border towns and were presently or had been working in the worst forms of child labour either elsewhere in Thailand or in the border town. They had all entered the worst forms of child labour below the age of 18. Respondents can be classified into four groups depending on whether they were presently above or below 18 years of age and whether they were presently working in the worst forms of child labour or had done so in the past.

The largest group (Group A) were minors under 18 who were presently not working but had previously worked in the worst forms of child labour in the border town or elsewhere in Thailand. Among these, the most significant group in numbers (27/35) were lowland Laotians in immigration detention in Muk Dahan. They had been picked up by the Thai police as they entered Thailand or waited for a bus out of Muk Dahan on their way back to a work place in Thailand. Nearly all of them had spent *Songkran / Pi Mai* (Buddhist new year) with their families in Lao PDR. All had previously worked in Thailand. The minors interviewed in Mae Sot and Nong Khai had all returned to the border because they had been dissatisfied with their employment elsewhere in Thailand. They were looking for new work opportunities. Those in Mae Sot and Nong Khai had been identified in open spaces where young people are known to hang out.

The second largest group (Group B) were minors currently employed in the worst forms of child labour at the border site (26). Interviews were often conducted at the work place and researchers could engage in direct observation. In the case of children engaged in the sex industry, many were interviewed on the premises of NGOs who support them.

The third group (Group C) were young adults over 18, who had entered their current workplace at the border site before they had turned 18, and had worked in the industry ever since. They were identified and interviewed in the same way as the working minors.

The fourth group (Group D) were young adults who began working in the worst forms of child labour, before they were 18, and had left this particular employment since then. They were usually found at work places along with working minors, or in some cases in open spaces such as markets or bus stops.

All the data presented in this report refers to experiences of the respondents before they came of age and how they entered their first employment in the worst forms of child labour.

3.3 Gender, Ethnicity and Legal Status

Table 2 shows the distribution of respondents by gender, ethnicity and legal status. The self-reported information from the minor was used for classification.

It should be noted that these figures are not representative of gender and ethnic distribution among minors in the worst forms of child labour. The sampling was purposive and is likely to show an overrepresentation of Laotians, ethnic minorities and girls. This is due to the fact that research teams had been instructed to conduct the same number of interviews in all research sites, and two of the four research sites provided only Laotian respondents. Ethnic minorities from Myanmar are likely to be over-represented due to the researchers' particular emphasis on

Table 2: Gender, Ethnicity and Legal Status³¹

	Girls	Boys	Lowland Laotian	Burman	Ethnic Minority	No ID	Refugee-Like / Displaced Person
Mae Sai	23	7	-	12	18	9	1
Mae Sot	19	2	-	7	14	13	10
Muk Dahan	9	20	29	-	-	29	-
Nong Khai	15	8	23	-	-	16	-
Total	66	37	52	19	31	67	11

³¹ The categories of no ID and refugee-like are not mutually exclusive.

minorities at the expense of Burmans. The high number of girls reflects the research emphasis on the sex industry which in the border towns seems to be dominated by girls.

It is significant to note that all children interviewed were born in the Lao PDR and Myanmar respectively. No trafficked child who had been born in Thailand, could be identified by the researchers. Two Karen mothers interviewed, who had come from Myanmar, said that their daughters had been born in Thailand.

3.5 Research Approaches

Researchers of migration for employment are divided on the most appropriate approach to understanding the underlying causes of the phenomenon.³² There is also no standard procedure for the analysis of trafficking, one particular form of recruitment and transportation into work.

Some scholars stress the need for an economic labour market analysis to fully understand the under-

	Professional Key Informants	Working Minors and Young Adults as Key Informants	Family Members	Transporters, Recruiters and Employers	Total
Mae Sai	12	11	1	4	28
Mae Sot	14	14	9	3	40
Muk Dahan	14	17	1	5	37
Nong Khai	13	8	5	4	30
Total	53	50	16	16	135

3.4 Key and Other Informants

Researchers interviewed a variety of different people to obtain background information: Firstly, interviews were conducted with key informants, who for professional reasons, were familiar with the issues, such as NGOs, government staff and police officers (53). Secondly, family members of working children were interviewed (16). Of the 16 interviews conducted with family members of working children, eight were conducted with family members only and eight with a family member and working minors. Thirdly, transporters and recruiters (8) and employers of child labour were interviewed as well as ordinary local people working next to the boat landings in Muk Dahan and Nong Khai who provided information on the crossing process. Fourthly, there were many young informants who did not meet the strict criteria of working in the worst forms of child labour, but nevertheless provided important insight into the realities of working children's lives (50).

lying causes of the process. By looking into supply and demand for work and labour they provide explanations based on income differences between regions and sectors, which the market balances through labour migration. Such an approach would most likely explain trafficking by identifying industrial sectors that have a high demand for labour, which cannot be met by either the local labour market or voluntary labour migration. Hence, recruiters will resort to deception, coercion and force in the recruitment or transportation system. Origin areas of trafficking will be identified by particularly low incomes making people so desperate that they can fall victim to the promises of a trafficker.

Critics of such a predominantly economic approach point out that this approach does not explain why only certain people leave poor areas where others remain behind. Their approaches tend to focus on

issues surrounding personality of migrants and differences between migrants and non-migrants. For trafficking victims such an approach would focus on why certain people are more easily deceived than others.

Another set of critics of the economic model are less concerned about the individual differences between people in out-migration areas, but draw attention to the fact that locations with identical economic conditions do not produce migrants and victims of trafficking in the same way. It is not uncommon to find one village being an area of high out-migration, while the next has not seen a single person leaving. These schools of thought tend to stress cultural links and, in particular, migration process itself over time as a major factor in understanding why out-migration is confined to certain pockets and areas, and is never spread evenly across space.

Most researchers now accept that a comprehensive understanding of the phenomenon requires an approach which links all major schools in a complementary way.³³

This study will attempt to combine these approaches, but has some limitations. As described above, this study is primarily based on information obtained from trafficked minor migrants and key informants. It provides self-reported insight into why minors have left, but cannot compare them to others who have not. Information on broader structural socio-economic questions of both out-migration areas and industrial sectors employing migrants is limited to a few remarks made by key informants and direct observation by the researchers. Equally, the research approach did not allow for micro identification of out-migration areas. Findings are therefore limited, and knowledge from other research will be drawn on to interpret findings.

3.6. This research and its limitations

3.6.1 Strength of the methodology

This report is based on interviews with 103 respondents and is the result of a total of 80 research days in the field. The relatively high number of respondents and the length of field research provide a broad picture of minors' transportation and recruitment into work in Thailand. Moreover, the questionnaire filled in by the researchers after completion of a qualitative interview often lasting several hours in

total, allows the study to draw a detailed picture of the process of transportation and recruitment from the minors' perspective.

3.6.2 To what extent can we draw general conclusions from this study?

In addition to describing the process of transportation and recruitment, the data collected can be used to show some differences in the transportation and recruitment processes between the four research sites, in particular relating to the experience of minors who were trafficked. We can also draw some conclusions on the general characteristics of working minors from the collected data relating to their motivations.³⁴ We can, therefore, also compare the behaviour and experiences of different social groups in the sample, such as boys and girls on the one hand, but also different ethnicities (Burman, Laotian and minorities). This will point at general trends and differences.

In addition, the findings can be used to gain a limited, but comparative understanding of the nature and severity of visible child labour in the four research sites. Direct observation and discussion with key informants provides relatively accurate information of visible phenomena in Nong Khai province, and the towns of Muk Dahan, Mae Sai and Mae Sot in Thailand.

3.6.3 Where does this study shows specific and not general results?

The results from the data, however, cannot be considered representative for Thailand as a whole. Nor is it representative of the research areas in general and in particular on employment sectors. This is because the sampling was limited to four particular sites, and because minors were purposively selected. Only minors displaying certain characteristics were included in the SPSS data set, such as minors who happened to be at the border site, those with the experience of child labour, and those employed in industries considered to constitute the worst forms of child labour. Particular emphasis was given to minors from a minority background. The findings are therefore not representative of the minor population in the research areas, nor of the representation of minorities among working minors, or of the sex of working children. In addition, the purposive selection of trafficked minors does not give us an indication of the extent of trafficking versus voluntary labour migration.

3.6.4 Recruitment and Transportation Systems

All information on recruitment and transportation in this report stems from interviews, primarily with minors who had been trafficked. Researchers found that the most reliable informants are people with firsthand experience of the process. Minors who had been trafficked were the most accessible group of informants on the process. There are, however, limits to what minors know about the trafficking process. Few minors were aware of details of financial transactions or the complex organisational structures indicating who might be masterminding the process.

Gaining the trust of recruiters and transporters in a short period of time as an outsider proved difficult and most only provided some information. Parents were not found to be a good source of information. Those parents who are found in Thailand represent an uncommon and special case. The majority of minors leave their village in the Lao PDR or Myanmar without their parents. In addition, parents do not appear to be very well informed, and can rarely provide information on the trafficking process.

Direct observation in this study was limited to the extent of child labour in the research areas, and could not be employed to examine the process of recruitment and transportation of minors into work. Recruitment for work usually occurs in a conversation between the concerned parties in a private space which researchers cannot observe. Transportation of minors for work in most instances appears to be based on regular public transport. In those cases where minors have to be hidden in the transportation process, transporters will ensure that no outsider observes the process. There are therefore clear limitations to the extent to which researchers in a rapid assessment can penetrate recruitment and transportation processes in a short period of time. It was found that individuals not personally involved in the recruitment and transportation process at the border site found it equally difficult to provide information beyond rumours and general beliefs.

3.6.5 Source Communities

Information on the villages of origin is based on the minors' reports. Their statements provide some interesting, but limited insight into the structures in the communities of origin. However, no information

could be obtained about people from their communities who had not migrated for work. It is also not possible to provide information on differences between out-migration areas beyond vague comparisons between countries. This, however, should not mislead us to the conclusion that out-migration areas are homogenous in their structures. Micro-village level research in Thailand has shown that specific characteristics appear over time in various villages beside the common characteristics.³⁵ This research approach cannot provide information on the effects of teenage out-migration on the community and reintegration issues.

3.6.6 Change over Time

The research approach taken for this study cannot make any statements on change over time. The sample of minors recruited in a particular year is too small to draw any valid conclusions from this. The economic slump following the financial crisis in 1997 might have affected the demand for labour and therefore the recruitment mechanism in certain industries. However, it proved impossible to test this.

3.7 Possibilities for Future Research

To gain a broader picture on trafficking flows across Thailand, future research might be carried out in a variety of work places across the country interviewing minors about the ways they enter exploitative work.

Collecting information from different year cohorts of entry and relating it to labour demand factors in the industries could be a useful further approach detailing change and continuity in teenage labour flows before and after the economic crisis and identifying sectors which show increasing or decreasing demand for child labour.

For any effective prevention strategies in the origin areas, village-micro-level approach might be considered in those countries of origin which might allow such research being carried out. Particular emphasis should then be placed on identifying specific flows and their causes with relation to the network theory which believes that, as out-migration becomes institutionalized through the formation of networks it becomes increasingly independent of the factors which originally caused it.³⁶

³² *The following summary is based on a selection of articles in Cohen, R., edited, Theories of Migration, The International Library of Studies on Migration, 1996*

³³ *For comprehensive discussion see: Massey, D. S., Arango, J., Hugo, G., Kouaouci, A., Pellegrino, A., and Taylor, J.E., 'Theories of International Migration: A Review and Appraisal', Population and Development Review, 19 (3), September 1993*

³⁴ *This is because no purposive sampling method was applied in the selection of respondents with regard to these aspects.*

³⁵ *See for example: Mills, M.B., Working for Wages in Bangkok, Reworking Gender and Family in the countryside, Women, Gender Relations and Development in Thai Society, Somswasdi, V., and Theobald, S., edited (1997)*

³⁶ *Massey, D. S., Arango, J., Hugo, G., Kouaouci, A., Pellegrino, A., and Taylor, J.E., 'Theories of International Migration: A Review and Appraisal', Population and Development Review, 19 (3), September 1993, p. 450*

IV. Origins of Trafficking and Risk Groups

This study approached the question of origins of trafficking by asking working minors in Thailand what made them leave their village environment in Lao PDR and Myanmar respectively to take up work elsewhere. With the exception of one girl, who had been taken at the age of eight from her village by strangers nine years ago, all minors (102) agreed to leave the village and most minors explained that they themselves had wished to leave their home village for work (98/103). Some were primarily driven by a desire to earn money. Some for their families others for themselves. Some expressed a wish to see the world outside their village, while others left to escape an unhappy or difficult home life or family situation. The following presents the self-reported explanations of working minors, and young adults who entered the worst forms of child labour below the age of 18.

On the basis of general observations and differences in responses among different ethnic groups some conclusions are drawn on risk groups as specified in the terms of reference.

4.1 Why do minors leave their village to work in Thailand?

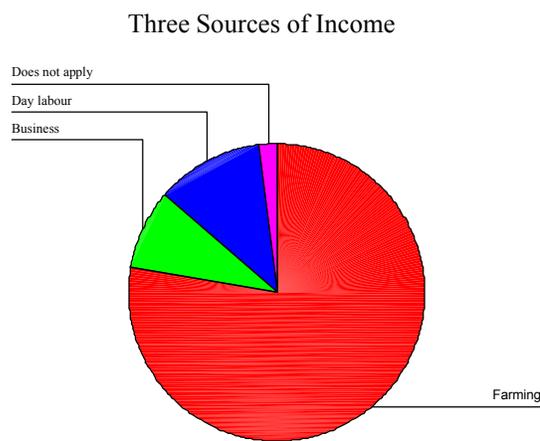
4.1.1 Financial Motivation

The desire to escape poverty (94/103) in combination with the understanding that there would be no opportunities to develop a working life in their village (87/103) were the most frequently reported reasons why minors left their village to work in Thailand. Many of the minors interviewed appeared to have had an image of a better life in Thailand brought to them by the media and popular accounts that had led to a perception of poverty at home.

4.1.2 Lack of Purchasing Power

The majority of children came from rural families, whose income and earning possibilities are limited. As illustrated by the graph below, most frequently, household income was drawn from farming, often on a subsistence level. A few households owned small businesses or sent members to work as day labourers.³⁷

The main way in which the majority experienced poverty was the lack of purchasing power to obtain consumer goods.



Lack of Monetary Income
Boy, 16 , Thai Yai, Mae Sai
He came into Thailand because his parents worked as farmers, who earned very little money from selling rice, but needed money to pay for medicine.

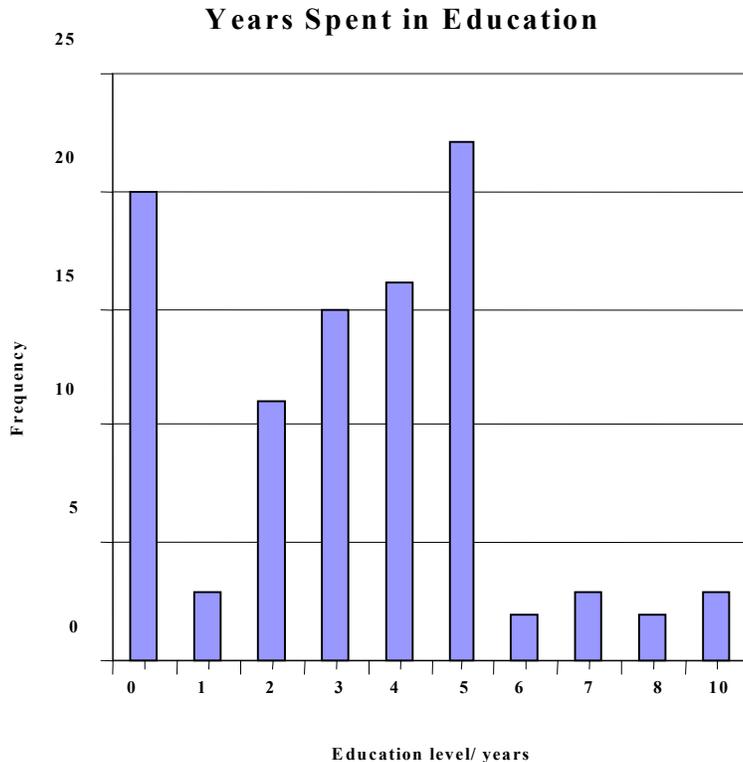
Girl, 15 , Akha, Mae Sai
She came into Thailand to earn money for herself. There were no jobs in her village. She felt that coming to Thailand was the only option to earn money.

³⁷ The children's annual family household income as reported by the children ranged US\$ 16 – 2,100. While these figures are very doubtful, they do illustrate the perception that money is short in most of the sending households. Asking a minor about his or her parents' annual household income will be highly inaccurate in any cultural setting. In the case of our sample we also have to bear in mind that the majority of families pursued subsistence farming and it is difficult to estimate the income derived from these activities.

4.1.3 Lack of Job Opportunities and Educational Attainments

Paid job opportunities in rural areas in The Lao PDR and Myanmar are very limited due to the nature of the rural economy. Respondents often stated that their limited education prevented them from entering paid employment in their home country (77/103). As the graph shows, the educational level was very low. The average time spent in education was 3.3 years.

Only a few children repeated grades (7/103), but a higher number had dropped out of a school (40/103) either due to financial pressures, or because they had decided that they wanted to leave.



Education levels varied between the countries, but most strikingly between ethnic groups, and as a result between research sites. The lowest educational attainment was found among the ethnic minorities from Myanmar, who had on average been to school for 1.3 years only, and 17 (out of 30) had never been to school at all. Burmans and Laotians in our sample had similar education levels (around 4 years on average). Boys had spent on average one year more in education than girls.

From Myanmar, ethnic minorities reported the difficulties about education to be either lack of educational facilities in minority villages, or the closure of schools as reprisal against insurgent activities and sometimes costs.

Few Laotian minors interviewed regarded education as important. They expressed the feeling that education only opened doors for well connected Laotians, and people from rural

background could never advance in Laotian society. Coming to Thailand was seen as a better alternative that would allow them to earn more money than a university graduate earns in the Lao PDR.

4.1.4 Parents' role in the decision to leave

Parents rarely appear to be the main driving force behind the decision that a minor should leave for work. In very few cases, all of them girls, minors did report that their parents had persuaded them to go into work (5/103), and in even fewer cases that their parents had coerced them (2/103).

It was commonly reported that the decision for the child to leave to seek work was taken jointly by the parents and the child (39/103). It is beyond the scope of this study to examine the nature of the family decision making process in more detail to reach conclusions on who was the dominant force in the process.

The most common decision making process reported by the minors was that they made the decision to leave on their own (54/103).

Ethnic Groups	
Burmans	4.4
Laotians	4.1
Ethnic Minorities	1.3
Research Sites	
Mae Sai	2.7
Mae Sot	1.7
Muk Dahan	4.1
Nong Khai	4.3
Gender	
Boys	3.9
Girls	2.9
Total	3.3

Many did not even inform their parents because they expected their parents to disapprove (32/103), or they left despite their parents' expressed disapproval (10/103).

4.1.5 Trafficking and Household Decisions

The decision making process and the question of the household needs further discussion as these findings are crucial to any possible intervention strategy and in particular as they call into question an often repeated assumption that children leave home to earn income for their families. Labour migration in South-east Asia has often been discussed in the framework of the household decision making model.³⁸ This model assumes that the migration decision is made by the household for the benefit of the entire household. Some commentators, referring to the Asian concept of filial piety, tend to describe the selection process of a child to work outside the house as stemming ultimately from the particular Asian concept of the individuals obligations to the greater good of the family.

Findings in this study make it doubtful that the household model is universally applicable to all minors in Indochina. Significant differences between the different ethnic groups, and within the same groups,

were found which can lead to the conclusion that household decision making might be more relevant to ethnic minorities from Myanmar, but not particularly relevant to Lowland Laotian minors. None of these explanations are exclusive.

In general it was found that whilst almost three quarters of the minors interviewed claimed that they were motivated by a desire to help their family (72/103), only half were actually remitting funds home (50/103), and less than half had not kept in contact with their families (42/103). The most significant finding, in this respect is the discrepancy between the motivation given and the actual behaviour. With the exception of ethnic minorities, all other groups who were above average in claiming that they were motivated by helping their families were actually below average in the remittance rate. As the table below illustrates, 75.7 % of boys said they had left to help support their families, yet only 19 % remitted money. Equally, among minors in Muk Dahan and Mae Sot the rhetoric was one of family support (89.7 % and 82.6 % respectively) and yet, the remittance rate was below the average (38.1 % and 41.4%). While the lack of remittance might of course be due to factors beyond the minors' control, it does raise some questions on whether minors were really predominantly driven by

Table 5: Minor's Departure and Household Strategies

	Household Strategy ³⁹	Wanted to help the family ⁴⁰	Family paid for departure	Remit money	Contact with family	Parents did not know	Parents disapproved
Ethnicity							
Burman	47.4 %	68.4 %	10.5 %	63.1 %	84.2 %	10.5 %	21.1 %
Laotian	36.5 %	71.2 %	1.9 %	38.5 %	38.5 %	50.0 %	1.9 %
Ethnic Minority	50.0 %	74.2 %	19.4 %	56.3 %	75.0 %	12.5 %	15.6 %
Research Site							
Mae Sai	63.3 %	60.0 %	3.3 %	73.3 %	93.3 %	13.3 %	3.3 %
Mae Sot	26.1 %	82.6 %	30.4 %	38.1 %	52.2 %	13.0 %	34.8 %
Muk Dahan	27.6 %	89.7 %	3.4 %	41.4 %	27.6 %	62.1 %	0.0 %
Nong Khai	52.4 %	47.6 %	0.0 %	38.1 %	57.1 %	33.3 %	4.8 %
Gender							
Girls	44 %	68.2 %	1.5 %	65 %	72.7 %	18.2 %	13.3 %
Boys	27 %	75.7 %	8.8 %	19 %	32.4 %	54.1 %	5.4 %
Average of all minors	38 %	70 %	8 %	49 %	58 %	31 %	10 %

the need to earn an income for their families back home. It is possible that they phrased their motivation in these socially acceptable terms.

A further significant fact is that a majority of families (88/103) did not contribute financially to their child's journey to Thailand. This sheds doubt on the interpretation that the child's departure was a household strategy in which the household invested money. Parental financial contribution to their children's departure was most common among ethnic minorities (19.4%, average 8.7%). Among Laotians, and, interestingly girls, it was particularly low.

In addition, a significant number of children had left their village without parents' knowledge (32/103) and consent (10/103). Laotians were particularly high represented among this group (50%). Those interviewed in Muk Dahan were most frequently found to have left without their parents' knowledge and consent (62.1%).

Therefore, only some minors recruited for work leave as part of a household strategy, in which the parents play a part. A significant number of minors came into Thailand on their own initiative without their parents' knowledge and consent, and without remitting any money home.

Diversity in the Role of Parents and Families in the Minors' Decision to Leave

Household Decision Making

Girl, 13, Thai Yai, Mae Sai

When she was 13 years old, her father brought her to Bangkok to work in a private household. She returned to her village after one year. Six months later and after her mother's death, she left again for Thailand, and sends 1,000 Baht (US\$ 27) of her 1,300 Baht (US\$ 35) salary to her father and brother, who she says work very hard on the farm, and are very poor.

Girl, 15, Lowland Laotian, Muk Dahan

With the consent of her parents, she left her seven-member family and crossed the border with many of her friends, and paid 4,000 Baht (US\$ 108) of family money to a broker in order to work in Thailand. She was sent to a cloth-weaving factory where she performed piece work earning approximately 120 Baht (US\$ 3.2) a day. She remitted 5,000 Baht (US\$ 135) through a bank transfer to her family.

Girl, 12, Lowland Laotian, Nong Khai

Although she did not want to go, her mother insisted that she help support the six-member family after the minor's father had died. She works as a domestic employee, and earns 1,800 Baht (US\$ 48) a month.

Others leave without informing their parents

Boy, 13, Lowland Laotian, Muk Dahan

He ran away from home because his parents would not have allowed him to go if they had known his plans. He paid a friend 2,000 Baht (US\$ 54) to find him a job on a fishing boat.

Girl, 16, Lowland Laotian, Muk Dahan

She ran away from her village near Luang Prabang to travel to Savannakhet. Her family had been embarrassed by her reckless behaviour with her boyfriend, and had argued with her many times. She was engaged in the sex industry in Muk Dahan.

Girl, 14, Burman, Mae Sot

The eldest of four children, she ran away from home to Mae Sot to see the world. She thought her village had been 'mai sanuk' – 'no fun.' She thinks Mae Sot is the most beautiful place she has ever seen, and there is so much going on.

³⁸ Hugo, G., *International Labor Migration and the Family: Some Observations from Indonesia*, *Asian and Pacific Migration Journal*, Vol.4, No.2-3,1995

³⁹ Household Strategy refers to the number of minors who claimed that they and their parents had made the decision together or that their parents had persuaded them to go.

⁴⁰ The minors claimed that he or she had been driven by the desire to help his or her family financially by leaving for work in Thailand.

Table 6: Teenage Behaviour Self-reported Categories

	‘Because others had left’	‘Did not like farming’	‘To see the world’	‘To possess nice things’
Ethnicity				
Burman	52.6 %	15.8 %	0.0 %	0.0 %
Laotian	44.2 %	44.2 %	34.6 %	28.8 %
Ethnic Minority	15.6 %	15.6 %	15.6 %	19.4 %
Research Site				
Mae Sai	60.0 %	26.7 %	6.6 %	6.6 %
Mae Sot	33.3 %	0.0 %	14.3 %	19.0 %
Muk Dahan	96.6 %	72.4 %	37.9 %	37.9 %
Nong Khai	43.5 %	8.7 %	30.4 %	17.4 %
Gender				
Boys	86.5 %	40.5 %	18.9 %	10.8 %
Girls	47.0 %	24.2 %	24.2 %	25.75 %
Total	61.1 %	30.1 %	22.3 %	20.4 %

4.1.6 Following Others, Seeing the World and Experiencing Life

Over half of our sample (63/103) explained that they wanted to leave home because others had done so before, and they too wished to extend their experience beyond the village community. A high number (31/103) did not want to work in farming. Others said they wanted to see the world (23/103) and possess nice things in life (21/103) some said they wanted to live life differently from their parents (15/103).

These general findings differ between ethnicity, research area and gender. Laotians, and in particular

those minors who entered Thailand near Muk Dahan were predominantly driven by peer pressure to leave. 96.6 per cent said they had left because others had done so before them. They were also particularly prominent among those who rejected farming as an option (72.4 %) and over-represented among those minors who said that they had left to see the world (37.9 %) and to possess nice things in life (37.9%). Disaggregation of findings by gender reveals that boys seemed to be more prone to peer pressure to leave. 86.5 % reported they had left because others in their village had done so. Girls were driven more by the desire for nice things in life.

Teenage Motivations

Girl, 13, Akha, Mae Sai

Finding earthworms disgusting and hating agricultural work, she was happy when her aunt offered to take her to Thailand to work in a private household. Finding this work boring and too restrictive, she engaged in prostitution, and now works for an NGO providing information and training to sex workers.

Girl, 14, Lowland Laotian, Nong Khai

Coming from a relatively well to do family of a government official, she entered Thailand at the age of 11 with her friends to see the world and to earn money to buy nice clothes.

Girl, 14, Lowland Laotian, Muk Dahan

Being the daughter of the local doctors, her parents wanted her to continue her education. She was bored of studying after completion of six years, and wanted to leave like her village friends. It took her several months to persuade her parents to let her go with her best friend. They finally agreed, as the girl said with a smile, because they always give her what she really wanted. She went to work as a housemaid in a private household. She found the work boring and after having been arrested by Thai immigration police she said she might consider going back to school now.

4.1.7 Personal Problems and Difficulties in the Community

Almost a third of minors (32/103), identified personal or community difficulties as the main reason for their departure to Thailand. These problems included broken families where fathers abandoned the family, and difficulties with step-parents and, in a few

cases, with husbands. Several minors also reported conflict with their biological parents that was often connected to their behaviour and life expectations. Difficulties in the communities, such as being disliked, featured, but not very frequently. Laotians, and particularly those who had crossed near Muk Dahan, but also girls in our sample were over-represented among those minors who left because of personal difficulties.

Minors with personal problems

Boy, 15, Lowland Laotian, Muk Dahan

He lived with his aunt and cousins after his mother died and his father had abandoned them, and was very unhappy. He felt he was a burden on his aunt.

Girl, 14, Lowland Laotian, Nong Khai

Wanting to escape her stepfather, she escaped from home and engaged in the sex industry at a restaurant for 600 Baht (US\$ 16) a month.

Girl, 17, Burman, Mae Sot

After she had left her partner, who she had a child with and returned to her parents, her mother kept nagging her to go back to her estranged partner, who she was never married to. When her sister and brother-in-law planned to move to Thailand for work, she decided to go with them despite her mother's protest with whom she left her child with to look after.

Girl, 17, Thai Lue, Mai Sai

Married at 15 to an alcoholic and gambler, who in his drunken state physically abused her and forced her into having sex, she paid an agent 10,000 Baht (US\$ 270) for transportation to a lifestyle of prostitution in the South of Thailand.

Table 7: Personal Problems

	Personal Problems were a reason for leaving	Problems with parents	Problems with spouse	Problems in the community
Ethnicity				
Burman	15.8 %	15.8 %	0	0
Laotian	42.3 %	28.8 %	3	4
Ethnic Minority	21.9 %	15.6 %	1	1
Research Site				
Mae Sai	16.7 %	13.3 %	1	0
Mae Sot	21.7 %	17.4 %	0	4
Muk Dahan	41.4 %	34.5 %	0	5
Nong Khai	47.6 %	23.8 %	4	1
Gender				
Boys	24.3 %	18.9 %	0	1
Girls	34.8 %	24.2 %	4	4
Total	31.1 %	22.3 %	4	5

4.18 Oppressed Communities

Oppression by the state authorities was mentioned only by people from Myanmar. They were predominantly Karen (7), but also included a few Burmans (2), and a Thai Kern (1). They explained that they had left to escape the financial misery encountered as a result of the oppressive and exploitative ‘tax

system’ implemented by the army. Stories included accounts of how the soldiers extracted arbitrary payments from villagers and forced villagers to perform various tasks. Families claimed to have been in debt for 10,000 – 40,000 Kyat (US\$ 28 - 114) before they finally decided to leave in the hope for a better life in Thailand. Some Karen interviewed had also left because of fighting in their villages (4) and natural disasters (3).

Oppressed Communities

Mother of six, Karen, Mae Sot

In her village, army officers demanded 500 Kyat (US\$ 1.4) from each villager also payable in rice or other food stuff. She was unable to produce enough food on her 12 acres of land for her family of eight and to pay the army. She had to borrow money from other villagers whenever the army came. She ended up with debts of 40,000 Kyat (US\$ 114) and decided to leave for Thailand.

Mother of three, Karen, Mae Sot

In her village, the state army soldiers demanded money from villagers and forced them to supply food and work in the jungle cutting down trees or grass. Rich villagers can pay their way out of it, and the poorest are forced to do all the heavy work. Trying to pay her way out as well, she borrowed money, and decided she had to leave to earn money to pay back her debts.

Table 8: Difficulties in the Community

Ethnicity	Armed Conflict	Environmental Disaster	Oppression by the Army in Myanmar	Total
Akha	0	0	0	5
Burman	0	0	2	19
Laotian	0	0	0	52
Karen	4	3	7	13
Mon	0	0	0	1
Thai Khern	0	0	1	1
Thai Lue	0	0	0	8
Thai Yai	0	0	0	3
Wa	0	0	0	1
Total	4	3	10	103

4.2 Risk Groups

The identification of minors particularly at risk will focus on a discussion of the groups ILO expressed particular concern about and will mention some additional individual factors which emerged during the research.

4.2.1 Hill Tribes from Thailand

It is notable that the field research did not reveal a single case of minors from hill tribes born in

Thailand trafficked into the worst forms of child labour. Members of the Thai population in Mae Sai alleged that whenever they saw a new house built by hill tribe person in the city that they must have sold a daughter. However, hill-tribe adults living in Mae Sai and Mae Sot denied that trafficking existed amongst Thai hill tribe communities. Although this suggests that trafficking from hill tribe communities is not a major problem, it is possible that some hill tribe minors are trafficked into the worst forms of child labour, but that this is not admitted by the hill tribe communities, who are unwilling to talk to strangers about a

subject that has become stigmatised. It is also possible that a greater number of Thai hill tribe minors working in the worst forms of child labour would be found in other parts of Thailand away from the border sites.

4.2.2 Refugees and Displaced Persons

No evidence of established and regular functioning trafficking networks from the refugee camps could be identified. There was one recorded case, which resulted in serious child abuse leading to the death of a refugee girl and the disappearance of another girl. However, these appears to have been unusual events. The person who had organised the recruitment in this case, had subsequently fled the camp in shame. The pool of potential trafficking victims is high due to the very high birth rate in the camps. However, educational facilities appear to be better than for most other non-Thai minors thanks to international aid. The provision of basic food and medical supplies by aid agencies and oversight of the community also restricts the necessity and opportunity for trafficking. A number of refugees, including minors, are employed in seasonal agricultural work in the proximity of the camps, and are performing odd jobs in Mae Sot. However, no significant permanent outflow from the refugee camps could be documented. Many refugees might be wary to leave the camp for too long as this would result in losing their refugee-like status.

4.2.3 Stateless Persons

Sixty-seven of our sample were found not to be in possession of an ID card for their country of origin. The majority (45/67) were Lowland Laotians from villages. In fact, 87 percent (45/52) of all Laotians children interviewed were without any papers. Nineteen of the 31 ethnic minorities and hill tribes from Myanmar were without documents, whereas all Burmans, except for two, were in possessions of a travel document.

However, lack of ID papers does not indicate legal statelessness. In particular, with regard to the Laotian children, it illustrates the limited capability of the Laotian government in rural areas. Possession of a passport appears to be limited to urban centres, and is very expensive. Few rural people have sufficient knowledge of the procedures, and the necessary financial means to obtain a passport. Among the eth-

nic minorities and hill tribes from Myanmar, the lack of an ID card is both an indication of a certain discrimination against minorities, and the limited awareness among minorities about administrative procedures. A large number of minors reported that their birth was never registered, and that they never received any state provided services, such as education, for which identification documents would have been required.

Three of the minors had obtained a coloured Thai ID card for minorities. The Thai government hands out different coloured ID cards for different groups of minorities indicating ethnicity and length of stay in Thailand. For some groups, having been granted a coloured ID card is the first step in obtaining a full Thai ID card. Others remain classified as illegal immigrants, but they are permitted to live and work within the border area. Seven Laotians and minorities ethnically close to Thais have also managed to obtain a Thai ID card by claiming to be Thai on the basis of full language proficiency, and a false testimony from a midwife and village elders that their birth occurred in Thailand.

Given the diversity in the group of minors without identification papers, it is impossible to draw any general conclusion how possession or lack of IDs might or might not be linked to trafficking.

4.2.4 Laotians

There was an indication that a large number of Laotian children, in particular from the provinces bordering Muk Dahan province in Thailand, regularly come into Thailand for work. These findings support other studies on Laotian minors in Thailand.⁴¹ The extent to which Laotians figure prominently among those who left without informing their parents and the fact that 96.6 percent of respondents who had entered Thailand near Muk Dahan said they had left because others had done so before, seems to indicate that out-migration of minors is a well-established phenomenon which has become part of teenage life in certain villages. It could also be taken as an indication that migration networks have become one of the most important aspects in explaining the out-migration of teenagers increasingly limiting the role of economic household decisions in it. If we believe migration researchers who have investigated the functioning of migration networks to be right, it could be that for some

villages out-migration has become so institutionalized that it operates progressively, independently of the factors which have originally caused it.⁴² This might also explain the discrepancy between stated motivation (helping the family) and behavior (not sending remittances).

However, why this might be true for some villages, it should never be concluded that this is common for all villages in Lao PDR. It is notable that trafficking was limited to the Lowland Laotian population, and most likely only to some of them, and in particular that there were no cases of trafficking from ethnic minority communities (Lao Theung) in central and eastern parts of Savannakhet province. Predictions of large scale trafficking in minority minors from Laos does not appear to be happening on a significant scale or at least not through Muk Dahan and Nong Khai provinces in Thailand.

4.2.5 Minors from Myanmar

Minors from Myanmar are leaving their villages of origin in considerable numbers. They come from Burman and minority communities. There appear to be different patterns between them. Some ethnic minorities leave following suppression and discrimination by the ruling military government (11/31). The majorities of both Burmans and ethnic minorities appear to be driven by economic aspirations and the desire to leave their village life for what they perceive to be a more interesting life in Thailand. Household strategies appear more important for minorities than Burmans. The fact that individuals of both minorities and Burmans also appear to be driven to leave by peer pressure, and they often leave against their parents' will, can be taken as an indication that regular out-migration networks have become established in a similar way to what has occurred between Thailand and Lao PDR described above.

⁴¹ *Wiroonrapun, Khemporn and Patano, Yuphawadi, A Report on Cross-border Child Labour : A Case Study of Laotian Child Migrants in Bangkok and the Vicinity, Foundation for Child Development (FCD), December 1997*

⁴² *Massey, D. S., Arango, J., Hugo, G., Kouaouci, A., Pellegrino, A., and Taylor, J.E., 'Theories of International Migration: A Review and Appraisal', Population and Development Review, 19 (3), September 1993*

V. Transportation into Thailand

Trafficking is often considered to be a single process of transportation from a place of origin to a place of work. However, we found that this occurred in only about a third of the cases, where recruiters brought children from villages in Burma or the Lao PDR to work for a particular employer. In the majority of cases (65/103)⁴³ foreign children were recruited within Thailand after having made separate arrangements to enter the country. It was not uncommon for minors to know about a particular workplace in Thailand, and to approach an employer or recruiter on entering the country (15/65).⁴⁴

Recruitment direct from the village was more common for girls (28/38)⁴⁵ and Laotians (25/38)⁴⁶. In only a quarter of cases were transporters linked to an organised trafficking network. However, this was more common when recruitment occurred in the village (18/25).⁴⁷ In 75% of the cases, the people arranging transport and recruitment worked independently of each other and were not part of a network.

Information about work is most commonly obtained from villagers or family members in Thailand

Boy, 15, Lowland Laotian, Muk Dahan

Having heard about job opportunities from friends in the village who had returned from Thailand, he entered Bangkok with a group of friends, and they telephoned a friend who introduced him to an employer at a shrimp hatchery in Samut Songkram.

Girl, 12, Akha, Mae Sai

Her aunt who worked as a domestic in Thailand, invited her to join her at the same home at the request of the employer, who offered the family an advance payment of 5,000 Baht (US\$ 135).

5.1 Information about Work

Fellow villagers and friends were the most common source of information on a particular job and general work opportunities. Extended family members, who had worked or were living in Thailand proved to be important agents in facilitating contacts with recruiters and potential employers upon arrival in Thailand. Very few minors (8/9)⁴⁸ were approached by a stranger suggesting the idea of working in Thailand. However, it was more common for girls to be approached by a stranger.

5.2 Initiative and Decision to Seek Work

In most cases the minor or the minor's family took the initiative to obtain details on work opportunities. In the vast majority of cases the minors or their families knew of someone who could arrange

the transportation and/or recruitment. In only four cases (4/38) was a village intermediary contacted. In only seven cases did a stranger initiate the recruitment process in the village (7/38). We found no cases of parents persuading daughters to leave with a stranger. The few instances of parental persuasion were restricted to cases where transport was provided by a family member or friend.

⁴³ 9 minors obtained information about work in Thailand from a stranger. In 8 cases did a stranger approach a minor.

⁴⁴ 103 is the total number of child respondents. 65 were recruited in Thailand.

⁴⁵ 65 is the total number of child respondents who were recruited in Thailand. 15 approached an employer directly.

⁴⁶ 38 is the total number of respondents who were recruited in the village and then transported into Thailand. 28 of these were girls.

⁴⁷ 38 is the total number of respondents who were recruited in the village and then transported into Thailand. 25 of these were Laotians.

⁴⁸ 25 is the number of traffickers linked to a trafficking network. 18 cases from the village were carried out by someone linked to an trafficking organization.

Initiative to leave for Thailand

Boy, 15, Lowland Laotian, Muk Dahan

He had heard about employment opportunities in Thailand and contacted a friend, who had worked in Thailand and gave him the information on how to travel to Chachuensao and find work in a shrimp hatchery. He paid his friend 100 Baht (US\$ 2.7) for this information.

Boy, 15, Lowland Laotian, Nong Khai

Hearing about job opportunities while visiting shops and markets at the Thai-Lao border, he approached a well-known Laotian broker for employment in Thailand. The employer organised a truck that transported 15 other minors into Bangkok. There he worked at numerous construction sites throughout Thailand. He was not paid what he was promised and was made to work very hard.

Girl, 16, Lowland Laotian, Nong Khai

Against her wishes, her parents paid 500 Baht (US\$ 13.5) transport cost to a family friend, who had recruited and brought several other girls over to Thailand before, to take her and her friend to a karaokoe bar to engage in prostitution. She had married at 15, and is a mother of a 9-month year old child. Her marriage had failed.

5.3 Organisers of Transportation into Thailand

In most cases minors traveled into Thailand before they had been recruited to a particular job (65/103). In such circumstances it was most common for the minors to arrange the travel by themselves (57%). This was particularly common for boys (65% of all boys) and Laotians (65% of all Laotians). For girls and ethnic minorities, it was more common to be accompanied by a family member who made most of the arrangements. (94% of those who went with a family member, were girls, and 63% of them were ethnic minorities). Few transporters were reported to have been linked to a trafficking network (10%).

Table 9: Person who had Organised the Transportation into Thailand

	Minor Alone	Stranger	Family Member	Trusted Person	Total
No. of cases where minors were recruited directly in the village	0	10	9	19	38
	0%	26%	24%	50%	100%
No. of cases where recruitment occurred within Thailand	37	5	19	4	65
	57%	8%	29%	6%	100%
Total	37	15	28	23	103
<i>Percentage</i>	<i>36%</i>	<i>15%</i>	<i>27%</i>	<i>22%</i>	<i>100%</i>

In the less frequent situation, where the minor travelled to Thailand having already been recruited to a particular job, different types of actors organised the transportation. Most commonly these were trusted friends of friends of the family (50%). In almost half of the cases the transporters were linked to an organised network of transporters recruiters and employers (47%). It was less common for minors to arrange their own transportation or for family members to be the main transporter. Strangers accounted for about a quarter of the transporters (26%).

Table 10: Ways of Transportation into Thailand

The minor travelled alone or in a group of minors	37	36 %
Transporter and group of minors	30	29 %
Transporter and child	26	25 %
More than one transporter	8	8 %
Entire Family	2	2 %
<i>Total</i>	<i>103</i>	<i>100 %</i>

5.4 Means of Transport

Minors travelled into Thailand by public transport or by privately organised transportation. Systems and means of transport included buses, trucks, boats and cars depending on localities and circumstances. It appears that the different types of agents organising the transportation used similar means of transport. It was common for minors to enter in organised groups in order to share the cost of transport. This applies to cases where children travelled alone, and where children accompanied an adult.

5.5 Entry into Thailand

Four different immigration and crossing systems can be found on Thailand's border with Lao PDR and Myanmar. Firstly, at certain crossing points immigration controls are carried out by officials according to legislation set in Bangkok. This follows international norms, and travel documents and visas are required.⁴⁹ Secondly, there are local agreements between border provinces of the two countries, which establish special regulations for local residents of the border provinces, and for nationals who temporarily visit the border area.⁵⁰ Thirdly, on special occasions, such as regular market days or festivals, the Thai state allows undocumented entry to certain border towns in Thailand. Fourthly, there are numerous other illegal ways of crossing the border which are beyond the state's ability and / or desire to control. Such crossings points occur on river frontiers at piers referred to as 'Tha Tammachad' (natural pier) or at shallow points in rivers where people can walk across (for example the Mae Sai river). The mountainous border in the National Park near Mae Sot is also uncontrolled. In some places, influential individuals set up private check-points for their personal profit.

Entering Thailand

Boy, 16, Lowland Laotian, Muk Dahan

He entered Thailand alone travelling by boat with a local river crosser. He had heard about job opportunities from people in the village, who had returned to the village. He directly approached an employer on a construction site near Nakhon Ratchasima.

Girl, 14, Karen, Mae Sot

She left her village with a friend and traveled by minibus to Mae Sot. They approached a broker in Mae Sot who offered domestic work in Bangkok for a fee of 3,000 Baht (US\$ 81).

Girl, 14, Lowland Laotian, Nong Khai

Having visited Thailand before, she entered Nongkhai province with her friend on the market day to look for work and to escape her stepfather.

Girl, 16, Thai Lue, Mae Sai

She traveled in a car from her village to the border, and crossed illegally into Thailand by boat. She had heard about a jewelery factory in Mae Sai from a friend, applied directly at the factory and began work immediately.

Table 11: System of Entry Points into Thailand			
	Documentation	Who can use the checkpoint?	Payment
Regulated and Legal:			
International Standard: Official Checkpoint	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Passport and Visa • Border Pass 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Any National 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Administrative Fee • Crossing Fee
Local Agreement: Permanent	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Passport • Border Pass 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Any National 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Administrative Fee • Crossing Fee
Local Agreement: Temporary	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Border Pass 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Thai and Laotian / Myanmar National • Local Residents 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Administrative Fee between 6 – 8.30 a.m. and 4.30-6 p.m.
Unregulated and Illegal:			
Tolerated Crossings	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • No Documentation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Local Residents for a Particular Reasons such as a Market, a Festival 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • No Fee
Illegal Crossings	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • No Documentation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • People without Travel Documents • Minors under 15 years of age • Smugglers of Drugs, Weapons and Goods 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Private Fees • No Fees

5.6 The Special Border Zones

The border provinces have special agreements allowing relatively free movement of local residents of border provinces in the neighbouring country. They are special zones in themselves. Leaving the border zone and entering the rest of Thailand is not permitted for foreigners without a valid visa. There are 53 checkpoints all over the country where subdivisions of the highway-, immigration- and local police carry out regular checks to prevent the movement of undocumented aliens within the country. Passing a check-point without documentation can only be achieved by hiding or, as some alleged, by bribing. It should be noted that the special border zone is more established on the Myanmar border, than the Lao PDR border, and it is much easier to leave the Laos border areas to travel to the rest of Thailand than is the case on the Myanmar border.

5.7 Immigration Policies and the Movement of Minors

Although legal and documented entry in Thailand is not severely restricted, we found that all minors entered Thailand through illegal channels. This is because they usually were not in possession of a passport and / or were under the age of 15 and not accompanied by their parent or guardian, which means that they would be prevented from entering Thailand at a legal checkpoint. Many also intended to stay longer in the border zone than permitted, or intended to leave the border zone for the rest of Thailand. Illegal crossing also avoids the inconvenience of travelling to official border crossing points.

Crossing the border without documentation is a well-established practice among local residents. Coming into Thailand without documentation can be organised by anyone with local knowledge of the border crossings. While there are human smugglers, who organise entry into the kingdom, most minors enter Thailand without their assistance.

⁴⁹ For local residents, a border pass is valid for one year and for the province in the neighbouring country directly opposite the province of resident only.

⁵⁰ Any Thai, Laotian, Myanmar or Cambodian national can obtain a border pass upon arrival for 7 days (Myanmar and Cambodia) or 3 days (Laos). Minors under 15 years of age have to be accompanied by their parent or guardian.

Table 12: Entry Points in the Research Areas				
	Mae Sai	Mae Sot	Nong Khai	Muk Dahan
LEGAL				
International	----	----	Friendship Bridge, Mueng District	Checkpoint
Permanent	Bridge across the Mae Sai River	Friendship Bridge	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Tha Sadej, Mueng District • Bueng Khan District 	Mukdahan, Muang District
Temporary	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Tha Ban Muang Daen, Mae Sai District • Tha Ban Phang Ha, in Koh Chang District • Tha Sai Lom Join in Weang Pha Kham • Tha Koh Sai, in Mae Sai District 	----	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Rattनावapee District • Bungkha District (Accessible for weekly market) 	----
ILLEGAL				
Tha Thammachad	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Exist along the border, separated by the Mae Sai River, which is 30 km long • Walking through shallow parts of the river 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Exist along the border, separated by the Mae Mei River • Walking through the mountains 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Exist along the border, in every district • The most popular one is in Sri Chiang Mai, across from Vientiane 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Exist along the border, in every district that borders Thailand¹ • The most popular one is in Ban Ta-Kai in Dontan District

Table 13: Transportation Systems in the Research Sites

	Mae Sot	Mae Sai	Nong Khai	Muk Dahan
System outside Thailand	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Burman and Karen mini bus drivers recruit workers, including minors, in villages and transport them to the border. • Smuggling across the river by boat. • Buses connect villages in Myanmar with the Thai border. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Individuals and traffickers use public transportation into Takhilek. • Border crossing by walking across the bridge or by a short boat ride or walk through the river usually after a short or longer stay in Takhilek • No facilitator is needed for this process. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • In Vientiane province, recruiters approach villagers and arrange for their entry into Thailand. • In Borikhumsai province, villagers establish contacts with mainly Thai brokers who they arrange to meet in Thailand. • Common entry by boat on market days when the border is open and no documents are needed. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Middlemen bring facilitate the transportation to tha tammachads. • Middlemen are usually trusted individuals with family connection into the village communities. • A boat is hired by one or a group of individuals who take them across the Mekong.
System into the Border Town Thailand	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Thai drivers pick up Burmese from the border and transport them into Mae Sot. • A market area is the transit place. • Some workers may be recruited by an employer. • Some workers are transported elsewhere. • Other workers make their own way to friends 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Contacts made in Takhilek facilitate entry into work or further transportation. • The sex industry located near the bridge into Mae Sai tends to advertise vacancies by poster. • Entry into factory work needs facilitation usually through someone already 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • In Vientiane province a transporter tends to facilitate entry into work or further transportation to elsewhere in Thailand. • The broker is met at appointment and facilitates entry into work or transportation to elsewhere in Thailand. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Prearranged pick-ups transporters wait on the Thai side to take arrivals to a particular destination. • Arrivals can hire a motorcycle or skylab (motorcycle with a side seat) to take them where they want to go. • Arrivals stay in Muk Dahan or transit to the bus terminal.

Table 13: Transportation Systems in the Research Sites
Continued

	Mae Sot	Mae Sai	Nong Khai	Muk Dahan
Out of the Border Town	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Dropped off by one driver and picked up by another at a market. • Frequent change of vehicle • Hiding in trucks transporting agricultural produce or in a private vehicle. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Highly enforced road check due to drugs and weapons smuggling requires the facilitation of human smugglers to leave the area. • Information on this system due to its highly illegal nature was difficult to obtain. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • If group travel, a broker arranges for a truck to take migrants to an employer. • Groups of minors and adults arrange their own truck. • Facilitators show minors how to use public transport. • Brokers take sexually exploited girls by car to Udon Thani from where they take a plane to BKK or Phuket. • Domestic workers travel with the employer or facilitator. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • If group travel, a broker arranges for a truck to take them to an employer. • Groups of minors and adults made arrangements for their own truck. • Facilitators show minors how to use public transport.
Terminology Used	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • “<i>Liang Kwai</i>” or “<i>Song Kwai</i>” ‘raising’ and ‘transporting buffaloes’ – a commodity Burmese traditionally sold to Thais in Mae Sod. • Very derogative term referring to a very stupid and ignorant person. 		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • ‘<i>Look Moo</i>’ ‘piglet’ is used to refer to young Laotians. • A slightly derogative term also showing some affection 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The transportation system across the river is referred to as ‘<i>Rua Noi</i>’ small boat.

VI. Recruitment into the Worst Forms of Child Labour

Our research found that in most cases minors are recruited into the worst forms of child labour in the town where the work was located (54/103), and that most minors make their own way to these localities.⁵¹ Only around a third of those interviewed had been recruited to a particular job before entering Thailand (37/103). Recruitment at the border site for transportation to work elsewhere in Thailand was rare in our sample (11/103).

6.1.1 Immediate Entry into the Worst Forms of Child Labour

We found that the majority of minors interviewed had entered the worst forms of child labour within one month of arriving in Thailand (52/103). Thirty-six of them entered within one week of coming to Thailand.

Work Type	Number	Percentage
Domestic Work	7	25%
Day Labourer / Odd jobs	6	21%
Food Shop	5	18%
Seasonal Agricultural Work	4	14%
Manufacturing	3	11%
Baby Sitter	2	7%
Vendor	1	4%
Total	28	100%

site and elsewhere in Thailand before they were recruited into the worst forms of child labour. Some carried out temporary work in agriculture or helping with odd jobs, such as food preparation and dishwashing or babysitting for Thai families. The majority of those who took more than one year to enter the worst forms were girls (16/21). Girls also worked as day commuters much more commonly than boys (11/12).

Immediate Entry

Boy 13, Lowland Laotian, Muk Dahan

Having made his own way into Bangkok, he walked along the streets to identify a construction site and approach the employer directly. He began working the next day.

Girl, 15, Burman, Mae Sot

She came to Thailand with her mother who began work as a domestic worker, and asked the driver to find employment for her daughter. Within two weeks, she began to work in a restaurant that also offers sexual services.

6.1.2 Delayed Entry into the Worst Forms of Child Labour

Around a fifth of the children interviewed had spent more than a year in Thailand before entering into the worst forms of child labour (21/103). It appears that in a significant number of cases (28/103) children had carried out some other kind of work before entering the worst forms of child labour, and at least 10 had more than one job. These jobs were in the border site (16/28) or elsewhere in Thailand (12/28). Some minors started as cross-border day commuters (12/28). A few minors (3/28) had the experience of working both at the border

and elsewhere in Thailand before they were recruited into the worst forms of child labour. Some carried out temporary work in agriculture or helping with odd jobs, such as food preparation and dishwashing or babysitting for Thai families. The majority of those who took more than one year to enter the worst forms were girls (16/21). Girls also worked as day commuters much more commonly than boys (11/12).

Delayed Entry

Girl, 16, Karen, Mae Sot

Having come to Thailand at the age of six to a refugee camp, she began to work at the age of 14 in agriculture earning only 60 Baht (US\$ 1.6) a day. Believing that wages would be better in Bangkok, she left with a group of friends to Bangkok for domestic employment. Finding the work hard and 'no fun' she returned to Mae Sot to work in a food shop for 1,200 Baht (US\$ 32) a month. At the suggestion of a friend, she began to work in a different restaurant where she could earn extra money engaged in the sex industry making a monthly salary of 2,500 Baht

⁵¹ See introduction for the definition of worst forms of child labour.

Delayed Entry (2)

Boy, 13, Thai Khern, Mae Sai

He came to Thailand with his brothers while in temporary Buddhist monkhood, and lived in a monastery for over a year learning Thai before he applied for a job in a karaoke bar, where customers can request him to sit and entertain them if they prefer boys to girls.

Getting into Work in Thailand

Boy, 15, Lowland Laotian, Muk Dahan

He obtained information about a shrimp hatchery from an acquaintance he was told to contact. He telephoned him from Bangkok after he made his own way there, and paid him 200 Baht (US\$ 5) for the favour of recommending him to the employer.

Girl, 11, Burman, Mae Sai,

Her sister brought her to the employer of a jewellery factory, where she had been working for five years.

6.1.3 Information obtained in Thailand about Work

Once in Thailand minors often obtained information on work opportunities from strangers (33/65). In most of the other cases, networks of people from the minor's place of origin were the main informants (25/65). Family members rarely provided information on job opportunities once the minor had reached Thailand (4/65).

6.1.4 Getting into Work

Minors most commonly approached an employer or broker directly (35/65). Others asked to be introduced to an employer through a network of fam-

ily or friends, who acted to facilitate the recruitment (20/65). Many teenagers were introduced to an employer by other children or young adults already working in the industry. It was quite rare for recruiters to approach minors directly (8/65). This only occurred at their workplace (3/8) or at the entry point into Thailand (3/8). More girls were approached by strangers offering employment than boys (7/8). Only two cases were encountered where a recruiter approached minors in a refugee camp. It should be noted that no clear link between the recruitment process and industries could be established.⁵²

6.2 Profit Made from the Recruitment Process

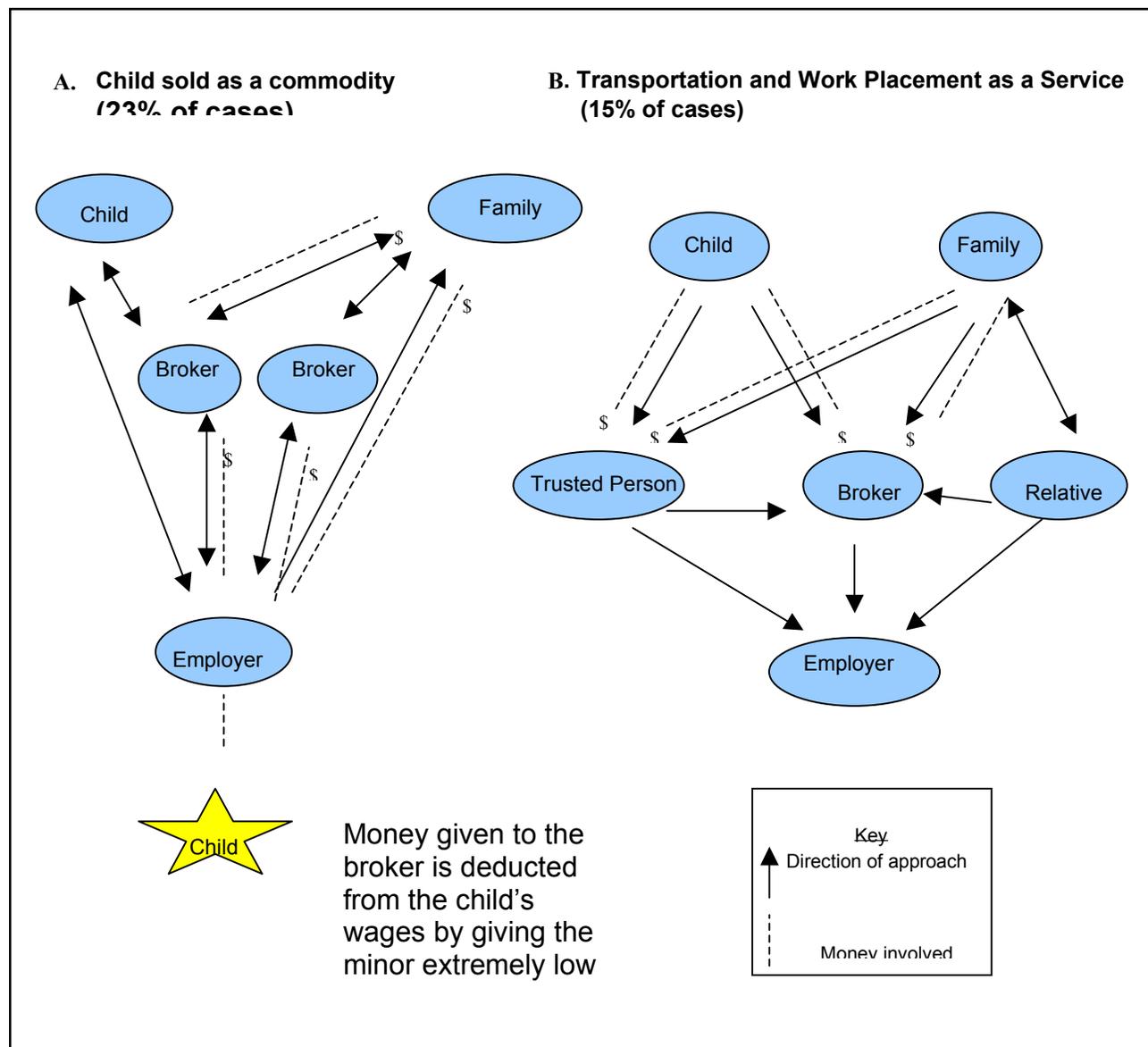
In over half of the cases it was found that no profit was made in the transportation and recruitment process. The organisation of transportation and recruitment was usually provided as a favour, and minors and their families did not pay more than the regular transport fare.

In the remaining cases we found two ways in which profits were made from the trafficking process as the diagrams below illustrate. Diagram A describes the first case where a child is treated as a commodity to be bought and sold (23/103). The child becomes the possession of the employer at least until a certain amount of profit has been made (bondage). In some of these cases, the family received a payment from the broker (5/23) but in most cases the recruiter/ transporter sold the child to an employer without any payment being made to the family (18/23). Diagram B shows the second case where the transportation and job placement is treated as a service for which the child and or family pays a fee (15/103).

It was found that the first case where the child was sold as a commodity (23/103) occurred more commonly than the second case where the trafficking is provided as a service (15/103). Both the situations where a profit is made from trafficking occurred slightly more frequently when the minor was recruited directly from the village (Sold: 39%, Service: 23%) than when they found work after arriving in the border town (Sold: 12%, Service: 9%).⁵³ It was more common for girls to be sold than boys but not exclusively so (Girls 29%, Boys: 11%). It should be noted that neither process is exclusive. We encountered one case where the minor paid the trafficker for what she perceived as a service of getting her job, but the trafficker sold her into a brothel.

⁵² 13 Girls approached an employer directly in the sex industry while strangers recruited for a factory (2), domestic work (2), and other services (3) and sex work (2).

Profit Made in the Transportation & Recruitment Process



Sold Girls

Girl, 16, Lowland Laotian, Nong Khai

Her family received 3,000 Baht (US\$ 81) for her from a broker the girl had contacted herself. She had embarrassed her family by her many boyfriends and reckless behaviour and they allowed her to go with the broker. She is engaged in the sex industry in Nong Khai province, and remits between 6,000 – 10,000 Baht (US\$ 162 – 270) every month.

Girl, 17, Burman, Mae Sot

She had gone with a broker on the promise of domestic work in Thailand. She was sold to a brothel owner upon arrival (amount unknown to her) and has been told that she cannot leave for six months until she has paid off her debts. She earns 50% of what the brothel owner gets from the clients but does not yet receive any salary. She has been promised the total amount after six months.

⁵³ The percentage quoted here refers to the cases where recruitment occurred in the village before transportation and in the second cases where recruitment had occurred inside Thailand.

Service or Trafficking

Girl 15, Lowland Laotian, Muk Dahan

A group of people from her village approached a broker in Thailand for work. He brought them to a small paper-making factory for a fee of 4,000 Baht (US\$ 108) each, where they earn a monthly salary of 1,500 Baht (US\$ 40).

Girl, 14, Karen, Mae Sot

A broker in Mae Sot offered her work in Bangkok for a fee of 3,000 Baht (US\$ 81) for a salary 1,500 Baht (US\$ 40) a month. She was only paid 55 percent of the promised salary by the employer (10,000 Baht, US\$ 270 annually.)

Girl, 15, Karen, Mae Sot

She went into domestic work for a fee of 7,000 Baht (US\$ 189) for a monthly salary of 1,000 Baht (US\$ 27).

6.3 Awareness and Deception

The majority of the minors interviewed (69/103) believed that they had not been tricked or coerced into the work. However, most said they had only been told part of the truth (52/103), and had not been fully informed (27/103). Hardly any minor said that they had been fully aware of the nature or the working conditions before they agreed to enter Thailand, and around half of the respondents said that they knew almost nothing beforehand.

The table below shows how many respondents reported they were aware and unaware of working conditions before they began to work in the worst forms of child labour. It shows that there was a very low level of awareness about working hours, working conditions, living conditions and degree of freedom. There was a slightly higher level of awareness of levels of pay and the nature of the work.

Table 15: Minor’s Awareness Before Entering into Work

	Nature of the work	Place of Work / Industry	Living Conditions	Degree of Freedom	Working Hours	Pay
No. unaware	63 /103	78/103	78/103	78/103	84/103	68/103
No. aware	40 /103	25/103	25/103	25/103	19/103	35/103

Deception and Lack of Awareness about Conditions and Pay

Boy, 14, Burman, Mae Sot

Working in agriculture, he was approached by a recruiter who offered him a job at a petrol station for a monthly salary of 2,500 Baht (US\$ 67). He was paid 1,500 Baht (US\$ 40).

Boy, 16, Thai Yai, Mae Sai

He was offered a low starting salary by his employer in construction with the promise that his salary would increase with experience. He began working on 50 Baht (US\$ 1.3) a day and his salary was later increased to 60 and then 70 Baht (US\$ 1.6 and 1.8). He had been under the impression the increase would be more substantial.

Girl, 15, Burman Mae Sot

Ignorant about the fact that the restaurant offers sexual services to customers, she began working in the restaurant. Being sexually inexperienced and ignorant, she was shocked when a customer took her home and deflowered her. She now considers herself a 'spoilt woman', and so must continue working in the industry.

Boy, 15, Lowland Laotian, Muk Dahan

Not imagining that he would have to work 20-25 days in a row for 2 ½ hour shifts interrupted by 1 ½ hours breaks around the clock, sleeping on a tiny space on a very unstable boat out at sea, he had agreed to work in fishing

6.4 Networking and the Danger of Trafficking

Selling and deliberate deception of minors occurred most commonly when a stranger (8/16) or professional recruiter known to the minor (6/16) had organised the transportation or recruitment of the minor. Family members, who had organised the transportation process never profited and rarely were coerced. There were no significant gender differences.⁵⁴ The most common person to deceive and threaten minors, however, appears to have been the employer.⁵⁵

Coercion and Force by Employers

Girl, 14, Karen, Mae Sot

She worked in a food shop in Bangkok for 2,500 Baht (US\$ 67) a month. When she was ill and unable to work her boss fired her. After she had recovered, she began to work at a different food shop down the road. Her previous boss came with a policeman, who arrested her as an illegal worker. Her present boss had to pay a fine of 20,000 Baht (US\$ 540) for employing her and told her that she now has to work for free until she had paid her debt to him. He threatened to kill her if she would run away.

Girl, 17, Karen, Mae Sot

She had been beaten by her employer for talking in Karen with a Karen customer because he feared being found out for employing an illegal worker from Myanmar.

⁵⁴ There were no significant gender differences. 28 % of girls and 21 % of boys and been coerced or tricked.

⁵⁵ This finding cannot be supported by a figure as this possible answer was not included in the questionnaire. The qualitative reports, however seem to indicate this clearly.

Deception in the Recruitment Process

Girl, 16, Burman, Mae Sot

A friend in the village introduced her to an acquaintance, who promised her a factory job in Thailand. Upon arrival in Mae Sot, she was handed over to another person, who took her to Bangkok as a housemaid. She was not paid for five months as her employer claimed that he had already paid 10,000 Baht (US\$ 270) to the broker.

Boy, 14, Burman, Mae Sot

After he had paid his way being arrested by immigration police for illegal work in Thailand at a petrol station, he was approached by a stranger, who said that he was looking for someone to work in a private house in Chiang Mai. Three young boys went with the broker and found themselves placed on a chicken farm, where they had to work from 9 p.m. to 7 a.m. killing chicken for the market on the next day. Guards prevented them from leaving the farm, and they were never paid.

Mother of three, Karen, Mae Sot

A Karen man who had come to see the family a few times offered to take her son, who was born in Thailand but didn't have an ID card, to help him obtain a Thai ID card. The mother paid 6,000 Baht (US\$ 162) for the service. After two months, her son stopped contacting her, and was never heard of again. The mother has now been told that the man was not a broker for ID cards, but recruits for the sex tourism industry in Pataya.

As stated on the previous page, selling of minors occurred more commonly, when the minor had been recruited in the village and had then been transported into Thailand (16/23).⁵⁶ However, it should probably not be concluded from this that recruitment at the village level is always more dangerous for the minor. It appears from the data collected in this study and general conversation with minors that in many cases recruitment from the village to work in Thailand has become common and is organized by people known to the minor. In these cases it is less common for minors to be sold, coerced or deceived.

This is shown by the examples from Muk Dahan and Nong Khai: in both research areas the percentage of minors who were recruited directly from the village into work in Thailand was higher than in Mae Sai and Mae Sot (82 and 41 compared to 16 and 33). By contrast, the percentage of cases where strangers had carried out the recruitment and transportation into Thailand was significantly lower in percentage from Laos than from Myanmar (0-23 percent in Laos and 42-60 percent from Myanmar). More importantly, the scenario where a minor had been sold was also less common (0-46 percent compared to 60- 100 percent from Myanmar). While we need to bear in mind that the samples are very small and figures may therefore not be reliable, this assumption is supported by other studies.

Network theorists have pointed out that once an out-migration process has been started from one village, it becomes self-sustaining as the pioneers return to the village and provide the necessary information to the second and third waves of out-migrants. Strangers are no longer needed as the community has acquired the information itself. As out-migration becomes a widespread phenomenon, communities begin to define social norms around it, which serve as limited protection measures for the recruitment process in the village. It has been observed that ‘as networks expand the costs and risks of migration fall.’⁵⁷ Therefore, the possibility and likelihood should be considered that in communities with high teenage out-migration the risk of deception inherent in the recruitment process is likely to shift from the village level to the employer. Or, expressed differently, the likelihood of deceptive and menacing recruitment in the village is likely to occur predominantly in communities with no experience of sending children to work in Thailand.

The set-up of this study does not allow for clear conclusions to be drawn as to which village communities own the out-migration of their minors and thereby provide some protection at the village level. However, it appears that in the areas close to the research sites, there are pockets of communities from

Table 16: Frequency of Recruitment from the Village and the Selling of Minors

	Mae Sai	Mae Sot	Muk Dahan	Nong Khai	All
Minors recruited in the village and then transported into Thailand for work	5 16.7 %	7 33.3 %	12 41.4 %	13 82.6 %	37 35.9 %
Transportation by a friend of the family	0 0.0 %	2 28.6 %	10 83.3 %	4 30.8 %	16 43.2 %
Transportation by a stranger	3 60.0 %	3 42.9 %	0 0.0 %	3 23.1	9 24.3
Sold	3 60.0%	7 100.0%	0 0.0%	6 46.2%	16 43.2%

⁵⁶ 23 minors had been sold and 16 of them had been recruited in the village.

⁵⁷ Massey, D. S., Arango, J., Hugo, G., Kouaouci, A., Pellegrino, A., and Taylor, J.E., ‘Theories of International Migration: A Review and Appraisal’, *Population and Development Review*, 19 (3), September 1993 p. 450

where out-migration has become so common that transporters and recruiters are no longer needed as minors make their own way into Thailand and approach employers directly armed with the information of experienced friends. They later might find themselves exploited by scrupulous employers in Thailand or by recruiters who predominantly approach minors from Myanmar in the border towns with false promises of better work elsewhere.

There is also evidence that minors from communities with little experience are recruited into Thailand. However, they do not appear to be recruited in

large numbers into the border areas where vacancies seem to be filled predominantly with minors who have come through the means of personal networks into these parts of Thailand. It cannot be ruled out that deceptive recruitment in villages occurs more for work elsewhere in Thailand. There is evidence that the border towns along the Myanmar border serve as recruitment ground among immigrant minors for elsewhere in Thailand. 12 /103 minors in our sample were recruited in the border town for work elsewhere in Thailand. According to girls in the sex industry in the border towns, recruiters come at irregular intervals to recruit selected girls.⁵⁸

Severely Deceived Minors

Girl, 17, Mon, Mae Sot

She wanted to leave her village, but did not have any money to pay for transportation. A driver offered to take her for free, and gave her food on the way. She thought he was a very nice man. He told her that she should not worry about anything because he would be around if anything would happen, she could always contact him. He sold her to a brothel, and she never saw him again. She was completely ignorant about the working place she had been taken to. She had to ask the other girls why men were coming and leaving with girls, and was frightened when they told her. She was deflowered on the second day, but cried so much that the customer stormed out of the room. The boss came and told her that the first day could be hard, and that she should get used to her lifestyle. He gave her 2,500 Baht (US\$ 67). She wanted to escape, but did not know where to go because she could not speak Thai and did not know anyone in Mae Sot.

Girl, 14, Lowland Laotian, Nong Khai

Having visited Thailand before, she entered Nong Khai with her friend to look for work. She worked in a restaurant in Nong Khai, where she was approached by a stranger, who offered her better paid work in Bangkok. She was excited about her good luck. Upon arrival she found that she had been lied to about the hours and the pay, and was forced to sleep without payment with a local police officer, who threatened to arrest her if she left. She needed several months to develop the courage to leave

6.5 Ethnic Minorities and Burmans

The field research did not reveal any cases of minors from ethnic minorities in the Lao PDR or Thailand being trafficked in the worst forms of child labour. However, ethnic minorities and hill tribes make up the majority of minors from Myanmar working in the worst forms of child labour near the Myanmar border.

There were no striking differences in the experience of ethnic minorities and Burmans in the recruitment process directly from the village. However, for the remaining three quarters, who travelled into Thailand before seeking work, important differences were observed between the ethnic minority / hill tribe and Burman groups. Ethnic minority / hill tribe mi-

nors more commonly travelled into Thailand with family members than Burmans, who were more often transported by transporters linked to a network. On arriving in Thailand ethnic Burmans appear to find work more easily than ethnic minorities/ hill tribes, who often spent more than one year before entering the worst forms of child labour living in the meantime with their families and / or doing odd jobs. It appears that ethnic Burmans have better information networks in Thailand than ethnic minorities and hill tribes, who often have to rely on strangers to obtain information to find work. This makes the process potentially more dangerous.

⁵⁸ As the sample of minors recruited in the border towns for work elsewhere is not representative no detailed conclusion can be drawn on the basis of this data.

Table 17: Differences between Burman and Ethnic Minorities from Myanmar				
	Ethnic Minority / Hill Tribe	Burman	Laotian	All
Transportation and recruitment directly from the village:	6 18.7 %	6 31.6 %	25 34.6 %	37 35.9 %
Transportation by a relative, friend of the family or another trusted person	3 50.0 %	3 50.0 %	18 72.0 %	24 40.6 %
Transportation by a stranger	3 50.0 %	3 50.0 %	4 7.7 %	10 9.7 %
Recruitment after arrival in Thailand:	26 81.3 %	13 68.4 %	27 51.9 %	66 64.1 %
Transportation by Family Members	14 53.8 %	5 38.5 %	3 11.1 %	22 33.3 %
Transporters linked to a network	2 7.7 %	2 15.4 %	2 7.4 %	6 9.1 %
Minor organised the transportation Independently	8 30.8 %	5 38.5 %	21 77.8 %	34 51.5 %
More than one year before going into The worst forms of child labour	10 38.5 %	2 15.4 %	6 22.2 %	18 27.3 %
Finding work in Thailand:				
Through Family Connections	2 7.7 %	4 30.8 %	1 3.4 %	7 6.8 %
Through Community networks	6 23.1 %	7 53.8 %	11 40.7 %	24 36.4 %
Through Strangers	18 69.2 %	2 15.4 %	13 48.1 %	33 50 %

There were also some differences between the two groups in the type of employment that they entered into. In Mae Sai girls from ethnic minority and hill tribe backgrounds dominated the sex industry (16/16), whereas in Mae Sot, ethnic Burmans were more commonly found in this industry than other groups. A cloth-weaving factory in Mae Sai employed predominately Burmans from Mandalay.

As discussed elsewhere, when Laotians were recruited at the village level, they were most likely to come to Thailand through community based networks and for those who came without a particular job in mind, the most common scenario was that the minor had organised the transportation independently. They rely on community networks and strangers, but often Laotians, to find work once they have arrived in Thailand.

6.6 Gender

Girls appear to be at a higher risk of being sold but only at a slightly higher risk of being forced and coerced. Girls seem to rely more on family networks than boys when getting into Thailand, and spend longer doing odd jobs before they enter into the worst forms of child labour. They approached an employer less often, instead directly relying on intermediaries, who were both friends, family members and strangers.

	Girl	Boy	Total
Recruited and Transported:			
Directly from the village	42 %	27 %	37 %
Trafficker was part of a network	53 %	30 %	47 %
Recruitment in Thailand:			
Accompanied by family member on way into Thailand	27 %	3 %	18 %
Delayed entry into the worst forms of child labour	24 %	14 %	20 %
Information about work opportunities from strangers	42 %	16 %	32 %
Approached employer directly	38 %	74 %	54 %
Treatment			
Sold (self-reported)	28 %	10 %	22 %
Tricked (self-reported)	29 %	22 %	26 %

Girls were also more commonly recruited from the village into the worst forms of child labour than boys and their transporters were more commonly linked to a network.

	Under 13 Years		13-14 Years		15-17 Years	
	<i>Girl</i>	<i>Boy</i>	<i>Girl</i>	<i>Boy</i>	<i>Girl</i>	<i>Boy</i>
First border crossing²						
Number	10	5	12	8	37	12
Percentage	17 %	20 %	20 %	32 %	63 %	48 %
Began to work³						
Number	5	6	12	11	49	20
Percentage	8 %	16 %	18 %	30 %	74 %	54 %
Began to work in the worst forms of child labour⁴						
Number	2	2	10	9	47	14
Percentage	3 %	8 %	17 %	36 %	80 %	56 %

Boys in our sample entered Thailand on average at a younger age than girls. 53 percent had entered Thailand for the first time before they had turned 15 compared to 37 per cent of girls. Boys were also younger when they took up the first odd jobs. 16 percent had worked below the age of 13, compared to 8 percent of girls, of whom 74 percent took up the first paid activity between the ages of 15 and 17. Boys were also younger when graduating from odd jobs in the worst forms or entering directly into worst forms of child labour: 8 percent of boys had done so before they turned 13, and 36 percent below 15. Whereas 80 percent of girls entered the worst forms of child labour at more than 15 years of age.

VII. Conditions of Child Labour

7.1 Industries

The sample of minors interviewed included minors engaged in the sex industry (45/103), in factories (22/103), construction (17/103), fisheries (10/103), domestic work (4/103) and other services (5/103).

	Mae Sai		Mae Sot		Nong Khai		Muk Dahan		Total
	Bo y	Gir l	Bo y	Gir l	Bo y	Gir l	Bo y	Gir l	
Sex Industry	1	15	0	12	0	13	0	4	45
Factory	3	8	1	1	1	1	2	5	22
Construction	0	3	0	0	3	0	11	0	17
Fisheries	0	0	0	0	3	0	7	0	10
Other Services	0	0	1	3	1	0	0	0	5
Domestic Work	0	0	0	3	0	1	0	0	4
	4	26	2	19	8	15	20	9	103

Just over half of these cases had been working at the border sites (54 /13) while the remainder had been working at other places in Thailand (48 + 6).⁵⁹ It is important to remember, that these figures are not representative of the frequencies of the different forms of child labour, but may be the outcome of the research method, which did not employ random sampling. Researchers approached minors in the border sites at selected places where researchers expected to find minors working in the worst forms of child labour on the basis of information provided by key informants.

Construction sites employing minors were reported to be in Bangkok, Nontaburi, Mae Sai building sites and Yasothorn, where dam construction work is being carried out. All the construction workers were boys as young as 12 years old. The average age was 14 and a half.

Fishing boats and shrimp hatcheries employing boys were found in Samut Prakan and Samut Songkhram. These minors were as young as 13, and on average just under 15.

Factories employing minors were located in Mae Sai, Bangkok and near Chiang Mai. These employed both boys (7) and girls (15) as young as 11, and of an average age of 15.

Girls were found in domestic work at all the research sites. Girls were found in the sex industry at the four research sites, and some reported that they had returned from work in Bangkok, Phuket, and Prathumthani. The average age was 15.5 but some were as young as 13.

⁵⁹ 48 minors were interviewed and 6 family members reported that their children are working elsewhere. Not much further information could be obtained about the working conditions of these children from their families. They will therefore largely be omitted in the following discussion.

7.2 Extent of Child Labour in the Border Sites

Child labour is much more common on the Myanmar border than along the Lao border. This is because of differences in the local economic policy towards migrant work, and the differences in industrial base. Mae Sai and Mae Sot along the Myanmar border are both located in provinces, which allow migrant workers to work in their industries, while the local governments of Nong Khai and Muk Dahan do not allow the use of foreign labour. There are numerous industries employing large numbers of Burmese workers in Mae Sai and Mae Sot, while the industrial base of Nong Khai and Muk Dahan is very small. In Mae Sai several minors were found in factories, making garments, jewellery and water bottling factories, as well as in construction. In Mae Sot, a local trade union representative said that factories did not tend to employ minors, but preferred young adults between 20 – 30 years.⁶⁰ Minors were widely employed in domestic work, restaurant work and seasonal agricultural work at all sites and general services including transport and on petrol stations.⁶¹

7.2.1 Factories Employing Minors in Mae Sai

The extent of employment of minors in various industries in Mae Sai appears significant. Through the facilitation of a local NGO, a researcher gained access to three factories employing minors and was able to interview some. They were exclusively from Myanmar and predominantly Burmans. A significant number of minors claim that they have entered the work place fully aware of working conditions, nature and work and pay as they join elder siblings or mothers and grandmothers who already work in the factory. It is believed that there are more factories than those documented in this research to which researchers were unable to gain access. See related boxes for information on working conditions.

⁶⁰ No factories were visited on the advice of the key informant from the trade unions. When the research team tried to gain access to one factory they were intimidated by an armed guard who seemed to be under the instruction not to let any stranger enter the premise.

No factories were visited in Nong Khai and Muk Dahan.

⁶¹ Our method does not allow for accurate comparisons to be made between the research sites on these industries.

Jewelry Making

• 2 or 3 factories; • 2 visited

Factory I

- Large factory in a mountain distant from the community
- Walls closed it off from the public view. Guards at the entrance / exit
- Provides sleeping area for those who want to stay overnight

Factory II

- No children were found working there.
- Some believe a second workshop exists hidden from the public.
- Workers
- Predominantly illegal workers from Myanmar
- Aged 13- 40
- Men and women
- Some are day commuters from Takhilek
- Some live in the factory
- Income
- Piece rate of 1 Baht (US\$ 0.02)
- Experienced worker completes 100 pieces a day
- Newcomers start with 20 a day.

HEALTH RISKS

- Very long hours due to the piece meal system
- Very few breaks
- Bad lighting for work on small beads
- Dusty

CONFINED SPACE

- Non-commuting children live in a guarded space, inside a mountain, isolated and distant from normal community life

Drinking Water Industry

· At least 2 factories, · 1 visited

Factory

- Small factory.
- Closed off from the public.
- Presence of guards
- High walls
- Workers clean, bottle and deliver water to restaurants and private houses.
- The owner is a Thai national who speaks Burmese

Workers

- All illegal workers from Myanmar.
- Aged between 16- 40
- All male.
- Hierarchy of workers based on their ability to communicate in Thai. About 10 workers did not speak any Thai.

Income

- Non-Thai speaking workers receive 30-40 Baht (US\$ 0.8 – 1.8) a day and 900 Baht (US\$ 24) per month.
- Thai speaking workers receive about 2000 Baht (US\$ 54)
- The employer provides 30 Baht (US\$ 0.8) per day for food for 10 people.

HEALTH RISKS

- Chemical substances are handled without protection.
- Some workers have sores and lesions on their hands from handling water all day.
- Long hours
- Manual handling of heavy loads of gallon tanks of water.
- The owner discourages workers to learn Thai as it prevents them from leaving for work elsewhere.

Cloth-Weaving

· Possible 3 factories; · 1 visited

Factory

- Small building, 4 floors
- Closed to the public
- The owner is a subcontractor from an owner in Bangkok

Workers

- Illegal workers from Mandalay in Myanmar.¹
- Thai workers are believed to be unwilling to work under the conditions offered.
- Aged 16-40, more younger workers
- A few workers are as young as 14 and 15.
- Predominantly female.

Income

- 12 pieces rate for 180 Baht (US\$ 4.80)
- Experienced workers need two days to produce 12 pieces

HEALTH RISKS

- Very long hours and night work.
- Very few breaks.
- Pressure to produce as the factory receives rush orders to be met immediately.
- Hot, dusty, poorly lit and ventilated work places

7.2.2 The Sex Industry

The characteristics of the sex industry varied greatly between the research sites in terms of visibility, clientele, workers and functioning of the trafficking process. The information is based on direct observation by researchers and information from key informants and respondents in the border areas.

7.2.2.1 Muk Dahan

The sex industry in Muk Dahan functions as an integral part of the sex industry in Savannakhet. There are only two cafés offering sexual services in Muk Dahan. However, clients in Muk Dahan can meet girls engaged in the sex industry from any of the 20 estab-

lishments in Savannakhet. The sexually exploited girls in Muk Dahan are also closely connected to the establishments in the Lao PDR. All girls interviewed in Muk Dahan had previously worked in Savannakhet and girls interviewed in Savannakhet had often spent several months in Muk Dahan before they moved back to Savannakhet. They usually come from other provinces than Savannakhet in Lao PDR.

In Muk Dahan, the sex industry is based in indirect sex places, such as bars. No salary is paid to bar girls. Their main income is derived from a certain percentage of drinks they have managed to sell to customers, tips from customers and sexual services rendered. The customers in Muk Dahan are loggers, and government officials from Bangkok and travelling business people.

Table 21: The Sex Industry in Muk Dahan City and Savannakhet Province

<p>Characteristics: The sex industry in Muk Dahan City and Savannakhet Province function as one.</p> <p>Number:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● 2 Cafés in Mukdhan ● 20 establishments in Savannakhet city offer sex. Some are an integrated part of the entertainment industry (Disco Lao), small restaurants, or hotels. Others are separate establishments. <p>Observations:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Clients can take girls from Savannakhet to hotels in Mukdahan for a short encounter or a temporary stay of two days. 	<p>Background of girls engaged in the sex industry:</p> <p>Ethnicity:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● All girls are from Lao PDR. ● Some are of Vietnamese ethnicity but residents of Lao PDR. <p>Age:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Average age between 17-18 years <p>Hours:</p> <p>Savannakhet:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● 11 p.m. to 2 a.m. <p>Muk Dahan</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● 6.30 p.m. to 2 a.m. 	<p>Income: Muk Dahan Cafés and Savannakhet establishments:</p> <p>System: No salary is paid. Income comes from</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● tips from customers, ● a certain percentage of the drinks sold to a customer ● sexual services provided outside the Café <p>Encounter:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Whole night: 1,000 Baht (US\$ 27) ● Temporary: 500–700 Baht (US\$ 13–18) <p>Monthly:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● 4000–5000 Baht (US\$ 108–135)
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Table 22: The Sex Industry in Mae Sot City

<p>Characteristics:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Indirect and direct sex industry. ● Indirect sex industry is located in Mae Sot city and outskirts close to factories where the majority of clients come from. ● Most brothels are in one street in Mae Sot. <p>Observations:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● All occur in combination with another, legal type of business, such as, beautification, restaurants and bars. ● Some provide the facilities in house, others require the client to take the children engaged in prostitution to a hotel. ● Children engaged in the indirect sex industry have more freedom than those in the direct sex industry. 	<p>Ethnicity:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Predominantly Burmese, some Karen girls. ● No Karen from the refugee camps. <p>Age:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● 15 years and older. <p>Entering the Industry:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● A high number appears to have been tricked into the industry. ● Some entered voluntarily. <p>Hours:</p> <p>Brothel:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● 5 p.m. to 2 a.m. <p>Indirect Sex Industry:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Open during the day for other services. After closing time at 1 or 2 a.m. girls engage in prostitution. 	<p>Income:</p> <p>Brothel:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● 300- 500 Baht (US\$ 8 – 13.5). 50% goes to the owner. <p>Indirect Sex Industry:</p> <p>System:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Salary for work and additional income from prostitution <p>Encounter:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Before midnight: 500 Baht (US\$ 13.5) ● After midnight: 1,000 Baht (US\$ 27) <p>Monthly Income:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Varies. Depending on establishment and the sex worker. ½ Monthly income: ● One interviewee claimed that she earned 15,000 Baht (US\$ 405) in 15 days
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7.2.2.2 Mae Sot

Establishments are found along one particular street in Mae Sot, and in close proximity to factories, which are a major source of clients. They are all combined with another legal business for which most girls receive a regular salary. They receive additional income from providing sexual services outside working hours. They are predominantly Burman girls. A few Karen are among them, but none from the surrounding area of Mae Sot, or the refugee camps

Table 23: The Sex Industry in Nong Khai City and Province

<p>Characteristics:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Indirect sex industry <p>Number:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Highest concentration of sex industry in the three districts opposite the entry point into Thailand <p>Observation:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> -One street in Muang District of very poor quality housing where concrete rooms are provided by brothel owners to those engaged in the direct sex industry. -Groups of well-dressed girls rent more up market houses together, from which clients can take them to hotels. • Many karaoke bars and restaurants out of town. 	<p>Workers' Background:</p> <p>Ethnicity:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Youngest girls are Laotian, elder ones are Thai, some of whom have families <p>Age:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Average age: 16- 18 years • Youngest: 13 years <p>Enter Industry:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Enter with a friend, family member or recruited by the employer. • Few brokers are involved. <p>Hours:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Direct: 7 p.m. to 3.a.m. • Indirect: afternoon to 2 a.m. 	<p>Income:</p> <p>Encounter:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Up market establishments: 1,000–1,500 Baht (US\$ 27–40) • Other establishments: 500- 1,000 Baht (US\$ 13.5 – 27) • Poor housing area in Muang District: 200-300 Baht (US\$ 5.4- 8) • 50% is paid to the owner in all types of establishments.
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7.2.2.3 Nong Khai Province

Nong Khai province has the highest concentration of those engaged in the sex industry in the whole of Thailand.⁶² The three districts directly opposite to the entry points into Thailand from Lao PDR have the highest number of sex establishments within the province. Some sexually exploited children are trafficked into the industry from villages in Laos. Others make their own way, often accompanied by friends. These children tend to rotate between establishments in the province, and use the province as a springboard for engagement in the sex industry elsewhere in Thailand, where they hope the salaries will be higher. Some travel to other parts of Thailand from Nong Khai either with groups of other girls, or with recruiters who regularly come to Nong Khai province.

The conditions of the establishments varies from very poor to relatively good. In some cases girls rent their own accommodation from a Thai female home owner, and work under her protection and supervision. Clients are served in hotels. Because competition is high, it is common for children engaged in prostitution to pay taxi drivers or hotel boys, who bring them clients 100 Baht (US\$ 2.7). The children in prostitution are predominantly Lowland Laotians.

⁶² Amaraphibal, A. and Paul, S., *Crossborder Transportation and Infrastructure Development and HIV/ AIDS Vulnerability at Nong Khai – Vientiane Friendship Bridge, 1997*

7.2.2.4 Mae Sai

The 14 establishments are all located in the streets closest to the crossing point from Myanmar. They are highly visible, and dominate the scene in the evening in the old part of town by displaying flashing lights, and having girls waiting outside the doors. Competition is fierce, and a number of establishments are said to have closed recently. All workers encountered are from Myanmar, and a high number of ethnic minorities are found among them. Most children engaged in prostitution hope to leave Mae Sai for a different work place with better earnings in the future. In this aim, about 20 girls meet regularly to study Thai to improve their options in Thailand. Many see themselves as only partially successful. They explained that a ‘successful girl’ is recruited from the village directly into work elsewhere in Thailand, or is picked soon after arrival in Mae Sai by a recruiter. Girls rarely appear to leave Mae Sai to work other parts of Thailand on their own initiative. However, recruiters visit the town at regular intervals.

Table 24: The Sex Industry in Mae Sai City

<p>Characteristics</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Mainly indirect sex industry. Occurs alongside massage, beautification, entertainment and escort services.. • Some brothels. <p>Number:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 14 establishments engage 5- 10 children in prostitution. • Total number: between 75 – 105 • An estimated 30 are under 18. <p>Observation:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Close to the border into Myanmar. • Establishments are easily recognizable at night by flashing colourful lights. Some are open during the day. 	<p>Ethnicity:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • All minors met came from Myanmar. • Predominantly ethnic minorities and not Burman. <p>Age: As young as 14.</p> <p>Enter industry: The majority appears to have approached the establishment owner directly or was introduced by a friend.</p> <p>Hours:</p> <p>Massage Parlour:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Minors’ hours are from 11 p.m. to midnight. <p>Cafés:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Minors’ hours are from 8 p.m. to 2 a.m. 	<p>Income:</p> <p>Massage Parlour:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Hour: 100 Baht (US\$ 2.7). • Monthly: 4,000 – 5,000 Baht (US\$ 108- 135) <p>Brothel:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Hour: 200 – 500 Baht (US\$ 5.4 – 13.5). • Monthly: varies. <p>Café:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Monthly: (according to one interviewee) 10,000 Baht (US\$ 270). • 50 % goes to the owner in massage parlours, brothels and cafés.
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7.3 The Worst Forms of Child Labour

7.3.1 Slavery and Practices Similar to Slavery

The interviews revealed a number of cases of slavery-like conditions, including certain establishments in the sex industry (but not in all), where girls are held in debt bondage until a certain amount of money had been made. Some, in particular in Mae Sot, felt they were confined to the establishment they were working in. This was also found in some domestic work situations where minors were never paid, and were prevented from leaving. In one case, a 11 year old girl was prevented from leaving domestic work by means of her employer frightening her with ghost stories that showed what would happen to her if she attempted to leave. At a chicken farm near Chiang Mai armed guards prevented minors from leaving unpaid work slaughtering chickens at night.

7.3.2 Prostitution and Pornography

Forty-five cases of girls in the sex industry were documented. Their conditions varied widely (see tables on the sex industry). Most girls interviewed claimed that if they wanted they could leave. Many had frequently changed establishments and locations of work and many had plans to go elsewhere.

Key informants claimed that business in the sex industry along the border is ‘not good’ and that many brothels had to close and / or sent girls away as the low numbers of clients required a reduction of the business to a few girls only. There was no indication that the sex industry, while without doubt significant in the border area, is in need of large numbers of new recruitment to satisfy demands.

Indirect Sex Industry

Girl, 17, Karen, Mae Sot

She works in a restaurant serving food and washing dishes from all day long. From 7 p.m. onwards she services clients with sex. There are only three girls in the restaurant and the owner expects her to serve clients every evening. Clients pay her between 300 – 500 Baht (US\$ 8-13) per encounter, half of which she has to pay to the restaurant owner. Selling sex gives her an additional income of 2,000 Baht (US\$ 54) a month.

Direct Sex Industry

Girl, 16, Akha, Mae Sai

She works in a brothel long the border with Myanmar which also offers massage. She sees clients from 11 p.m. until after midnight. She sleeps long in the morning and spends a few hours during the day in the premise of Empower to study Thai to improve her language skills to learn to read and write with other girls working in the same industry.

Two boys working establishments linked to the sex industry were encountered. They denied being employed in sexual services, but it cannot be ruled out given the nature of the business of their employers. No incidents of pornography were found.

7.3.3 Illicit Activities

Only one case of a boy involved in drug smuggling was identified.

Slavery-like conditions

Girl, 15, Karen, Mae Sot

Encouraged by her mother who wanted her to earn money for the family, she left with a recruiter to Bangkok who took her for a fee of 7,000 Baht (US\$ 189) payable as deduction for her wage of 1,500 Baht (US\$ 40) in domestic work. When she had not remitted any money after eight months, her mother rang her, and she told her that her employer said she would be paid for the first time after 2 years, and would be free to return home then.

Girl, 16, Burman, Mae Sot

Having not been able to pay any transportation cost, she went with a bus driver who offered to take her for fee to a factory job in Thailand. She was sold to the brothel owner, who told her that she cannot leave until she has worked of the money he paid to the driver. She was never told how much. She was given 2,500 Baht (\$SU 67), and believes that she cannot leave. She does not know how much she earns per client, nor how long it will take her to work off her debt.

Girl, 17, Karen, Refugee, Mae Sot

Employed in a private household elsewhere in Thailand by a Parkistani family involved in meat production, she and three other refugee girls were abused daily by kicking, beating, burning with irons, knives and glass. One girl died from the injuries sustained and another one, now back in the refugee camp is severely scared. She has lost her hair on the head where she was burned with an iron and has developed speech impediments

7.3.4 Work Endangering the Health, Safety or Morals of Children

7.3.4.1 Physical, Psychological Abuse

One case of severe physical and psychological abuse was identified in domestic work, which included regular torture of the three minors with hot irons and knives. Few incidents of physical abuse among sexually exploited children could be identified by the research methods employed. Girls did not admit to having being mistreated.

7.3.4.2 Work Underground, Under Water, at Dangerous Heights and in Confined Space

Such conditions were reported to be in place in some construction sites (dangerous heights of more than 10 meters on scaffoldings) and fisheries (confined space on a boat).

Criminal Activities

Boy, 13, Lowland Laotian, Nong Khai

He claims that a stranger approached him and asked him to carry a package across the border for 1,000 Baht (US\$ 27). He had entered Thailand at the age of 11 as a monk to see the world. He became a day labourer and worked as a thief. He has been arrested by the police several times already.

Table 25: CONSTRUCTION

Table 25: CONSTRUCTION		
Locations:	Conditions:	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Bangkok ● Nonthaburi ● Yasothon ● Mae Sai / Takhilek 	<p>Tasks Performed:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● take off the concrete molding ● lug concrete blocks ● tighten iron wire ● cement mixing ● pour cement down a slope. <p>Working Hours:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● 8-9 hours per day (7.30-17.30, break 12.00-13.00) ● 56 – 63 hours per week <p>Living Conditions:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Live in a small room 	<p>Pay:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● 80- 120 Baht (2.1-3.2\$) per day ● No sick payments ● Salaries are paid every 15 days ● No overtime pay <p>Worst Forms of Child Labour:</p> <p>HEALTH RISKS</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● work at heights (10 meters) without safety measures. ● danger of injuries from iron / metal

7.3.4.3 Work with Dangerous Machinery, Equipment and Tools

This was reported in fisheries where minors work on pullies, and in construction, where minors handle metal. Not many details are known as this information is based on reports from the minors. Researchers were unable to directly observe construction work and fisheries as most (in the case of construction) and all respondents (in the case of fisheries) had worked outside the border areas in these industries

Table 26: FISHERIES			
Location:		● Samut Prakan ● Samut Songkhram	
Information on the Working Conditions:			
Tasks Performed: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Lug the ice cubes into the boat before departure ● Pull in the net every 4 hours ● Select, clean and store the fish ● lug the fish into the store house on land (50 kg) 	Working Hours: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● 2 ½ hours shifts, 1 ½ hours breaks between the shifts. ● Work around the clock ● 20-25 days per trip Living Conditions: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Live in a small room 	Pay: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● 1,500 – 2000 Baht (US\$ 40–54) salary per trip ● 1-1.5 percent of the proceeds from the fish ● Total salary per trip 5,000-6,000 Baht (US\$ 135 – 162) 	Worst Forms of Child Labour: <p>HEALTH RISKS</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Danger from accidents: ● Injuries from pulley ● Carry heavy lots (50 kg) <p>CONFINED SPACE</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Minors live and work in confined space on a ship at sea.

7.3.4.4 Manual Handling or Transport of Heavy Loads

This was reported in the fishing industry, where minors carry buckets of fish weighing 50 kg, and construction sites where minors handle concrete. In the water refining industry minors were reported to load gallon tanks of water on and off trucks.

7.3.4.5 Unhealthy Environment, Hazardous Substances

It was reported that in the bottling industry minors have developed sores on their hands from the chemicals used to clean the plastic bottles before they are refilled. In the jewellery and cloth weaving industries low light levels can be damaging to the eyesight, and workplaces are often extremely dusty.

7.3.4.6 Work in Difficult Circumstances, Including Long Hours and During the Night

Working hours are particularly long in the fishing industry. Minors often work around the clock (2 ½ hours shift with 1 ½ hours breaks in between) during a period of 20- 25 days on sea. A chicken farm was also reported to require minors to work all night slaughtering chicken for the market early the next morning. Minors in the sex industry work very late hours (up to 1 or 2 a.m.).

Construction work is on average eight to nine hours a day every day of the week. Workers in jewelry and weaving factories often work long hours because of the very low paid piece rate system. Domestic employment was also characterized by extremely long hours, and often no time off.

7.4 Payment

The most frequent complaint mentioned during the interviews was the low pay the minors earned. Salaries ranged from 600 Baht (US\$ 16) a month for newcomers in jewelry making, 900 Baht (US\$ 24) for non-Thai speakers in water bottling to 2,700 – 3000 Baht (US\$ 72 – 81) for experienced workers in weaving and jewelry making. Construction pays between 2,400 to 3,600 Baht ((US\$ 64 – 97) per month. The highest earnings in our sample were found in sexual exploitation and fisheries. Sexually exploited girls commonly reported a monthly income of 4,000 to 5,000 Baht (US\$ 108 – 135), while some claimed to make as much as 10,000 or even 30,000 Baht (US\$ 270 – 810) per month. Boys in fisheries said they could earn between 5,000-6,000 Baht (US\$135-162) per 20-25 day trip.

7.5 Assessment of the Worst Forms of Child Labour from the Minors' Perspective

Half of the minors who were presently working in the worst forms of child labour or continued working after they had turned 18 years old (48/ 103) reported that they thought that their life was now better than at home (25/ 48). Around a quarter thought their life was different, but of a similar quality (11/48), while another quarter felt their life was now worse (12/48).⁶³ Over half found their working conditions acceptable (27/ 48), and less than a quarter found the conditions bad (10/49). However, very few recommended that others should take up the same work (13/ 48). It should be noted that with the exception of construction and fisheries, which were particularly disliked, there was little difference in minors' assessment of working conditions in the different industries.⁶⁴

Assessment of Work

Girl, 15, Burman, Mae Sot, Indirect Sex Worker

She thinks the restaurant she is working at is not too bad. If she could, she would work elsewhere but she does not have the language or educational skills to do so. The most important thing to her is to earn money to buy back the property they lost to creditors in Myanmar.

Girl, 17, Burman, Mae Sai, Garment Weaving Factory

She thinks the work is hard but that it is the best way to earn money. She would recommend others do to the same work. She has brought her sister to join her.

Boy, 13, Lowland Laotian, Muk Dahan

He worked on a small fishing boat around the clock in shifts. He could not swim and hated being out on sea. He escaped at the first possible opportunity. He would not recommend to anyone to work in fishing.

Boy, 15, Lowland Laotian, Nong Khai,

He worked on many construction sites all around Thailand. He always got the smallest pay because he is a small child. He thinks the work is dirty and dangerous and he did not like it. He wants to work in a factory.

⁶³ Recording the opinion of those who no longer worked in the industry we referred to would create misleading results. Those who have left construction and fisheries were included in the table to give a picture of the minor's assessment of these industries.

⁶⁴ As the respondents are not representative of the industries, no comparison can be made between the different industries.

Table 27: Respondent's Assessment of Life at Present Compared to Life in the Village

	Comparison of life to day with life at home			Assessment of Conditions				Recommended others to take up the work	
	Better	Same	Worse	Good	Acceptable	Not so good	Bad	Yes	No
Sex Work	46 %	22 %	24 %	8 %	58 %	19 %	23 %	21 %	79 %
Factory	55 %	15 %	15 %	15 %	89 %	0 %	11 %	45 %	55 %
Domestic Work	1	0	1	0	1	0	1	1	1
Other services	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
Construction	-	-	-	0	6 %	47 %	47 %	18 %	82 %
Fisheries	-	-	-	0	0 %	20 %	80 %	10 %	90 %
Total	46 %	21 %	23 %	10 %	40 %	23 %	37 %	23 %	77 %

VIII. Prospects After Trafficking into the Worst Forms of Child Labour

During the field research 48 minors or young adults were interviewed, who had been trafficked into the worst forms of child labour below the age of 18 and stayed in this employment, and 55 young people who had been trafficked some time ago in the worst forms of child labour, but had since changed jobs. The inclusion of the second group allows certain findings to be made on what happens to minors after trafficking into the worst forms of child labour.

8.1 Continuation in Exploitative Industries

Analysis of the case histories shows that minors change jobs relatively frequently, and usually remain in the worst forms of child labour. Twenty of 55 young people interviewed, who had been trafficked some time ago had passed the age of 18, and thus by definition were no longer in the worst forms of child labour. However, many of these were still working under similar working conditions, and their prospects had not greatly improved.

Table 19 below shows the pattern of mobility between different types of work for young people, who had been trafficked some time ago and had changed

jobs. It shows that girls engaged in prostitution tend to remain in the same industry. Only two out of nine had left their involvement in prostitution – one to become an NGO worker working with prostitutes, and the other to marry the owner of a café. Although the majority of sexually exploited girls appear to remain in the same industry, it is common for them to change establishments. The table also shows that it was quite common for people graduate into factory work from other types of work, including domestic work, construction and fisheries. Another common pattern is that people return to agricultural work.

However, this appears to be a seasonal, occurring during April and May when minors return to agricultural work to help their parents with planting. We interviewed 24 Laotians, who were returning to Thailand to seek work after a short of break at home.

8.2 Ways of Leaving Employment

Table 18 shows how minors have left their first place of work in worst forms of child labour. Most commonly minors simply decided to leave on their own initiative, and had little difficulty doing so. However, there were a few other cases where minors reported that they had to run away. In a few uncommon cases (mainly domestic work) employers sent minors away. In one case, a domestic manufacturer sold the child to another employer. There was only one case where a father had taken a minor away from a café, and another case where the police had arrested a minor involved in drug smuggling.

Table 28: Changes in Minor's Occupations

	New job									
	Sex Work	Factory Work	Domestic Work	Construction	Fisheries	Other Services	Agricultural Work	NGO Work	Discontinued working	Total
Old work										
Sex Work	9							1	1	11
Factory		2				1	7		1	11
Domestic work		1							0	1
Construction		4		2		2	9		0	17
Fisheries		1				1	8		0	10
Other Services			2						1	3
<i>Total</i>	9	8	2	2	0	4	24	1	3	53

Sent away by the Employer

Girl, 15, Karen, Mae Sot
 At the age of 13, she left the refugee camp with a domestic employer, who had sought help to look after his old and paralysed father. She worked very long hours constantly looking after the old man. She had to pay 10 Baht (US\$ 0.27) a day for two meals leaving her a monthly salary of 200 Baht (US\$ 5.4). After one year her mother came to visit her. The employer was so outraged that he sent her away

Table 29: How Minors left the Worst Forms of Child Labour

Decided to Leave	42
Sent away by the Employer	6
Ran Away	4
Rescued / Taken Away	2
Total	54

Minors who ran away

Girl, 22, Burman. Karen. Mon. Shan, Mae Sot
 She ran away from a brothel after three months. She had been sold to the brothel owner by a trafficker, who she had paid 500 Baht (US\$ 13.5) to get her a job. She now is engaged in the indirect sex industry, and enjoys greater freedom than in the brothel, and claims to earn 1,500 Baht (US\$ 40.5) a day. She also recruits girls into the sex industry.

Boy, 15, Lowland Laotian, Muk Dahan
 He used the opportunity when his fishing boat had an engine problem and had to stop somewhere to run away. He could not swim, was seasick a lot and hated working on the boat

Minors who were taken away
Girl, 14. Lowland Laotian, Muk Dahan

Having left against her parents' wish with a friend and the help of a broker, her parents contacted the broker to find out where their daughter was. Her father traveled to Phatumthani where the owner of the café at first refused to let him see his daughter. He stayed outside for a number of days until the owner told the girl to go with her father. They were arrested by Thai immigration for illegal entry on their way back to Laos, and were interviewed separately in the immigration detention jail.

8.3 Aspirations for the Future

Asked about their aspirations for the future, the most common hope was to get a better job (65/103). A quarter, however, wanted to continue the current work (25/103), and another quarter wanted to go home (26/103). Not many considered education an option for the future (12/ 103), and some reported that they had given up making plans altogether (10/103). A few had very practical plans they wanted to achieve in the near future. This included setting up their own business (7), getting married to someone with an ID card (5), working outside Thailand in a wealthier country (3), or travelling to Bangkok (2), buying a house in Thailand to allow them to register as a resident (2) or becoming a recruiter themselves (2).

Plans for the future

Woman, 22, Burman / Karen / Mon / Shan, Mae Sot

Having been working in the sex industry for four years, she wants to save 100,000 Baht (US\$ 2700) and to return to Myanmar to become a money lender and to live on the interests from her loans.

Man, 21, Thai Khern, Mae Sai

Having worked as an illegal worker for eight years, he wants to get married to a Thai woman so that his status in Thailand will be safer and that his children will not have to be illegals.

8.4 Young Adults who consider themselves successful

A few of those young people interviewed, who had as minors worked in the worst forms of child labour considered themselves successful, and thought life had turned out well for them.

'Successful Young Adults'

Boy, 24, Lowland Laotian, Nong Khai

He had entered Thailand at the age of 17 with siblings and relatives, and had worked in construction in many different places in Thailand. He was often tricked, and did not receive his promised pay. However, he gained experience and skills in construction, and now runs his own construction business in Laos. He makes 5,000 to 6,000 Baht (US\$ 135 – 162) a month.

Girl, 20, Thai Lue, Mae Sai

Having come to Thailand at the age of 13 with her 17 year old sister she started working in a weaving factory for 450 Baht (US\$ 12) a month. At 16, she applied to be a waitress in a karaoke bar to improve her income where she worked from 7pm to 2 a.m. every night. During the day time she works as a dress maker's assistant. She is saving most of her income and wants to open her own tailor shop. Her sister has married a Thai and has legalised her status. Together they were able to let their parents join them in Thailand two years ago. Her ambition is to buy a shop house for her business and registration. She is hopeful about the future and thinks that life has worked out well for her.

IX. Conclusion

This study shows that trafficking into the worst forms of child labour in Thailand is a complex and diverse phenomenon that varies between different places, gender and ethnic groups. It is best to think of trafficking as a continuum with cases involving force and coercion (selling children into work, debt bondage etc) at one end of the spectrum, and cases involving the voluntary migration of children at the other where unscrupulous employers take advantage of inexperienced minors for exploitative labour.

This study did find some cases of the first type, especially in situations where minors are transported and/or recruited by professional traffickers they did not know. This situation often occurs where minors come from communities with little or no experience of out-migration. However, these cases were fewer in number than those cases where community members, relatives and minors themselves had organized and facilitated the travel into Thailand and had provided the contacts to find employment. In the majority of cases, children made their own arrangements to travel to Thailand, and sought employment once in Thailand on their own initiative. These children travelled alone or in groups, or were accompanied by a relative or friend of the family. Those who organised transportation usually did so as a favour and only in the minority of cases was a profit made from trafficking. In many origin communities the process of children leaving to work in Thailand has become so well-established, and transportation arrangements are so simple and well-known, that there is little reason for minors to use professional traffickers.

Most of the children and teenagers who were interviewed had come to Thailand from rural household for financial reasons. Nearly all respondents had said that they themselves had wanted to leave. It was common for the minor's household to make a common decision that a child would move to Thailand for work, and for the child to send home remittances. However, it was equally common for the child to leave for individual reasons, sometimes not informing parents of their intention and not staying in contact. Teenage motivations were very often related to examples set by members of their peer group. Many minors explained for example that they wanted to leave because they disliked agricultural work and wanted to

'see the world' and 'possess nice things.' Sometimes the departure was related to problems in the family. Besides the individual motivations, a crucial factor in explaining the migration patterns appears to be the availability of information about transportation arrangements and employment possibilities provided by children who had migrated previously.

Although the study revealed a great variety of trafficking arrangements, what appeared to be common to all the minors involved was an acute lack of awareness or naiveté about what they were letting themselves in for. The moment at which they began to be deceived and / or exploited varied: for some it immediately followed the travel into Thailand. For others it occurred months or years after they had entered Thai soil and / or the labour market. Some were taken advantage of by strangers, others by people they trusted and many by employers. This study has shown that children and teenagers who come to work in Thailand, generally work in terrible conditions under highly exploitative arrangements, and that in most cases they remain in this situation. In spite of this bleak outlook, it was notable that many of the minors interviewed seemed to choose to accept their situation as a better alternative to returning home. Most were motivated by material desires and the hope of gradually achieving better working conditions and pay.

There are important differences in trafficking and child labour between different geographical areas and types of employment. Child labour appears to be much more common along the Thailand-Myanmar border than along the Thailand-Lao PDR border. One of the main reasons for this is the establishment of the special border zone on the Myanmar border, which allows minors to cross into Thailand without difficulty, but does not allow them to easily travel into the rest of Thailand. On the Lao border site, there appears to be a major concentration of foreign girls engaged in prostitution in Nong Khai Province on the Lao border. Although this study was restricted to border sites, interviews with respondents, who had worked elsewhere in Thailand, indicate that the worst forms of child labour also exist in places all over Thailand, notably on construction sites, in fisheries, in domestic work and general services as well as in the sex industry. Although girls are obviously more likely to end up in the sex industry, it is notable that the jobs that the interviewees complained most about were fishing and construction – both male preserves.

Some differences were observed between boys and girls. Girls more frequently migrated as a result of a family decision and sent home remittances. However, girls were more prominent among those who left to escape family problems, and to leave against their parents' wishes.

There are also major differences between ethnic groups. It is particularly striking that the researchers found no cases of trafficking into the worst forms of child labour from ethnic minorities in the Lao PDR. The minors interviewed who were trafficked into the worst forms of child labour from the Lao PDR were mostly from Lao Loum (lowland Lao). On the Myanmar border a rather different situation was encountered, where ethnic minorities and hill tribes make up a proportion of the children entering Thailand and subsequently into the worst forms of child labour. Very few children from the Burmese refugee camps within Thailand were found to be working in the worst forms of child labour at the border sites. Similarly, no cases were found of hill tribe children born in Thailand working in the worst forms of child labour at the border sites.

These findings suggest that in discussing issues and policies related to trafficking into the worst forms of child labour, a clear distinction should be made between *transportation, recruitment* and the *worst forms of child labour*. The transportation process itself is usually not exploitative, and there are relatively few cases which fit popular notions of human smuggling and the trade in children. A voluntary process of labour migration organised by families, trusted friends or the children themselves appears to be much more common. On the other hand, the recruitment process once children arrive in Thailand is more exploitative and many employers take advantage of children's vulnerability and lack of knowledge and experience. Thus, the real problem is not the movement of minors, but the existence of worst forms of child labour within Thailand and the extremely exploitative and harmful working conditions that foreign minors are subjected to.

These conclusions have important implications for policy making, but suggest no easy answers.

It is probably impossible to tackle the movement of minors itself, which is essentially an uncontrollable and voluntary process occurring across porous borders.

Inducing minors to stay in their communities of origin through, for example, income generating projects in the sending communities, would be a very challenging undertaking, considering the huge development disparities between Thailand and the Lao PDR. In addition, tackling the economic causes of out migration cannot address the non-economic motivations of children that were often expressed, such as escaping family problems or a desire to "see the world" outside of the village community. It must also be recognised that the sending communities are probably not the poorest communities in the sending countries. For example, all of the minors originating from the Lao PDR came from the dominant and more prosperous Lao Loum group, and none of the poorer ethnic minority communities were represented. Therefore, targeting assistance at sending communities could conflict with poverty reduction objectives.

Given the importance of information in the migration process identified by this study, an alternative approach to working with the sending communities could be to conduct an awareness raising campaign to help children avoid exploitation by traffickers and avoid the worst forms of child labour. The political situation in Myanmar is likely to rule out an intervention strategy within the sending communities.

An alternative strategy would be to tackle the employers in Thailand, who employ foreign minors in the worst forms of child labour. There is a need for better enforcement of Thai laws and regulations in situations, which put the life and safety of minors' at risk. However, an overall emphasis on law enforcement could worsen the minor's situation as the children's illegal status of often used against them by employers. It may be possible to pursue a more cooperative approach working with employers to improve working conditions and to integrate elements of training into the working lives of these minors. NGOs could also be supported to work with minors to assist them to develop better skills and to graduate into less exploitative work. However, the illegal status of minors needs to be born in mind in the design of realistic strategies. In addition, policy makers are likely to be wary of introducing measures that make working in Thailand seem more attractive.

This study has shown that the worst forms of child labour appear to be quite localised in specific places and in specific industries. This suggests that

policies and programmes need to be well targeted. For example, having identified Mae Sai as a town where child labour is widely used in factories, an effective strategy could then be to support existing local NGOs to work with these children. Intervention strategies could also be tailored to certain industries, such as fishing, construction and sexual exploitation, where the exploitation of minors is particularly serious. Because this study only examined the border towns, it has not been able to fully investigate the worst forms of child labour in the rest of Thailand and has not been able to provide complete information on industries, which are not found in the border towns. It is therefore recommended to conduct further research on child labour issues in other parts of Thailand and in selected industries before designing an intervention strategy.

X. Annexes

Annexe I: Findings at a Glance

	Known in Literature	Assessment's Findings ⁶⁵
Demographic Characteristics of Minor		
<i>Age</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Few under 10 • Mostly 11-18 years old 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A significant number were 14-15⁶⁶ • Over half were 16-17
<i>Gender</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • More males than females tend to migrate within Thailand • More females tend to be victims of trafficking • Equal numbers of male and female Laotian child migrants work in Bangkok and its surroundings 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Encountered • Encountered • Encountered
<i>Ethnicity</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Majority of trafficked children are believed to have come from Myanmar • Many hilltribe children are trafficked to urban areas for prostitution • In Mae Sai, the minority group of Shans are the dominant ethnic group in the sex industry • In Mae Sot, Burmans are the dominant ethnic group in the sex industry 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Those from Myanmar are more likely than Laotians to be dependent on facilitators and transporters because of greater cultural barriers • Strangers are more significant in facilitating minors out of the border • Systematic trafficking networks run by family members and locals • Ethnic minorities who are closer to Thais and Laotians are more independent in Thai society because of fewer language barriers • All minors from The Lao PDR were from the dominant ethnic group (Lowland Laotian) • Encountered. In Mae Sai, hilltribe minors were engaged in the sex industry • Encountered. In Mae Sot, most minors in the sex industry were from the dominant ethnic group with a few Karens
<i>Legal Status</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Refugee and stateless minors are particularly vulnerable 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Very few refugees • The concept of statelessness was difficult to assess. The majority of our cases did not have identification cards

⁶⁵ Results were not derived from a random sample but from a purposive sampling.

⁶⁶ Percentages were categorized as the following: 0-15% as "very few", 16-25% as "some", 26-50% as "a significant number", 51-60% as "many" or "over half", 60-80% as "majority", and 80-100% as "most".

Educational Experience of Minor		
<i>Educational Attainment</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Those with less education are less likely to migrate within Thailand • No education or up to the primary level 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • All of the minors had very low education, regardless of whether they migrated into or within Thailand • Encountered. Over half had 3 to 5 years of education
<i>Difficulties in School</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Parents and minors do not see the importance of obtaining an education 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Most did not repeat grades at school • A significant number dropped out of school
Trafficking into the Worst Form of Child Labour		
<i>Location of Recruitment</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Hear accounts from returnees in village • Agents approach minors in village 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Encountered • Encountered. However, agents from the villages were rarely strangers but fellow villagers or trusted persons • <u>Minors approached others for employment</u>
<i>Transporters and Recruiters within a single process</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Agents who approach families in villages • Friends or relatives who have worked in Thailand • Relatives who are commissioned agents • Family or child knew and/ or trusted them because they were from the same country • Part of well-organized network, often women who were formerly trafficked • Trafficking peaks during traditional festivals when 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • It was rare for strangers to approach families. In a majority of the cases, families approached agents, who were fellow villagers or trusted persons. Strangers played a more significant role after the minor had crossed into Thailand. • In a significant number of cases, friends and villagers assisted in the minor's transportation and in facilitating the job search • Family members were more significant in facilitating the border-crossing • Rare • Family or child knew and/ or trusted them because they were from the same ethnic group • A significant number of transporters were part of a recruiting and transporting network. However, many brokers worked independently • Possible that minors obtain information about jobs when fellow villagers working in

<i>Transporters into Thailand</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Minors crossing with friends after hearing about job opportunities 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Encountered • Family members were significant in facilitating this process
<i>Recruiters in Thailand, after crossing</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Friends introducing minors to employers 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Friends and family members are introduced to the employers • Minors directly approached the employers at the workplace • Children already in the industry are recruited to engage in prostitution elsewhere • In Mae Sot, it was very common to get recruited for work in the rest of Thailand • In Nong Khai, permanent recruiters are stationed and can be approached at the border sites
<i>Location of Worst Form of Child Labour</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Bangkok • Urban areas • Sex industries in Nong Khai 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Encountered • Encountered • Sex industries in Nong Khai • Border areas of Mae Sot and Mae Sai • Fisheries • Tourism industry near the coast • Dam construction in rural areas • Small market towns
<i>Process</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • After recruiting many minors, agents arrange the transportation to cross the border. Visas are procured, but minors are expected to overstay them. Sometimes, minors are transferred to Thai agents at the border who take them to the employer • Minors form a group and organize the travel on their own. Once in 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Encountered. However, visas are rarely used, and only by well-to-do girls engaged in prostitution, bypassing immigration control • Border passes are more common • In Nong Khai, some ethnic minorities close to Thais can procure a Thai identification card • Encountered, particularly in Nong Khai and Muk Dahan

	Thailand, they telephone a job contact or find agents to help them	
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Minors cross with a friend or relative who has been to Thailand before and returned to the village in order to recruit more workers for the employer or to invite relatives and friends without the intention of making profit Arrive on own to search for employment 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Encountered, particularly in Mae Sai and Mae Sot, where bus drivers are significant facilitators Encountered. A significant number of minors crossed the border on their own and directly approached the employer at the workplace In Bangkok, those who arrived with a broker tend to end up in the worst form of labour more often than those who do not arrive with one. In Bangkok, facilitators are important
<i>Work Experience Prior to Entry</i>		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Almost half of the minors had previous work experience before entering the worst form of labour More females than males had work experience
<i>Decision-making Process</i>		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> A significant number left without the consent of their parents Males tend to not tell their parents Females tend to leave after their parents found out and disapproved of their desire to leave Many claimed that it was a mutual decision between the minor and their parents. More commonly encountered for females than males Many claimed that their parents made the decision. Encountered only for females
<i>Treatment of Minors</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Range from outright kidnapping to obtaining children's consent under false promises of good jobs in cities Sold by family member or broker No money was made. Majority entered without 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Kidnapping was rare, but consent obtained under false promises was encountered in many cases. In many incidents, minors entered the work without asking many questions Rare to be sold by family members, but more commonly sold by the brokers. Females were significantly more commonly sold than males. Encountered. A significant number of minors entered Thailand and obtained jobs

<p><i>Extent of Knowledge Upon Entry</i></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Some entered fully aware of the nature and conditions of work • Some of those sold were aware of the nature but not the conditions of work • Some were lured or deceived about the nature and conditions of work 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Very few cases where minors were fully aware of the nature and conditions of the work • Minors were rarely coerced by their families, but they were more commonly coerced by the brokers in Thailand. • Encountered
<p><i>Financial Transactions</i></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Brokers can get 20,000 Baht per child • Parents get an advance payment which the minor has to pay back to the employer through wage deductions • Minors can get resold to brokers who bring them elsewhere in Thailand or abroad 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Dependent on the industries. Further, amount is difficult to assess because of inconsistencies in the accuracy of the information told to the minors and employers do not allow access to particular information • In many cases no profit was made. • Rare. In very few cases did the families receive any money • Encountered but rare • Brokers and family members can get money from the child or family for transportation costs
<p><i>Motivations</i></p>	<p>For Family</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Help their families get out of debt • Help their families obtain secondary needs such as house and land • Sense of filial piety <p>For Self</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Search for “the good life” • See city life, seek adventure, be independent 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Encountered • Encountered • Encountered. A majority wanted to help their families meet basic needs • Encountered • Encountered

<i>Significant Factors</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Poverty • Lack of employment opportunities • Lack of education or qualifications to obtain jobs in village • Enticement of new luxury goods of returning neighbors • From socially excluded groups • Low educational attainment • Dysfunctional home life • Cultural values encouraging migration and work • Fragile home environments affected by political instability or environmental disasters • Structural economic imbalances between countries 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Encountered • Encountered • Encountered. Kind of education that can be obtained in The Lao PDR does not lead to gainful jobs. These are monopolized by people with education from abroad. Further, more opportunities are available in Thailand even with low education • Encountered • Inexperienced parents
Minors and Their Families		
<i>Size and Type of Family</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Many from large extended families, consisting of 6 to 11 members 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The majority of the families consisted of 5 to 7 members • Families from The Lao PDR were smaller with fewer grandparents due to political circumstances
<i>Level of Education</i>		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Parents had lower levels of education than their children

<i>Economic Activities</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Mostly farming 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Mostly farming
<i>Contact with Family</i>		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Over half of the minors had contact with their families • A significant number did not have contact with their families, partly due to the difficulty in accessing lines of communication. Many parents could not read or did not have access to telephones. In Myanmar, possessing physical evidence of illegal entry into Thailand may be dangerous to the family members due to the political circumstances
<i>Remittances</i>		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The same percentage of minors remitted money to their families as those who did not remit
<i>Extent of Family's Knowledge</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Some families are deceived about the nature of work 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Encountered • Some do not want to know • Other parents cannot fathom the conditions of work
<i>Law Enforcement</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Weak 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Immigration enforcement relatively moderate • Protection of trafficking victims weak
<i>Industries</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Fishing Industries • Prostitution/ Sex Industry • Construction • Domestic Work • Agriculture • Service Work in shops, restaurants, gas stations • Transport Vehicles • Factory Work in metal, garment, food-processing, water, brick, and timber • Tourism Industry as massage parlours, hotels, and informal tour guides • Criminal Activities 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Encountered • Encountered. • Encountered. • Encountered • Encountered • Encountered • Encountered • Encountered. • Encountered • Rare

<i>Earnings</i>	1,000 – 4,000 Baht a month, depending on industry	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Encountered. May be as low as 600 Baht a month in a jewelry-making factory to as high as 30,000 Baht a month in the sex industry
<i>Perceptions of Work</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Background may make many minors perceive their life situations as their destiny 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Encountered Most minors believed that being an illegal entrant gives them little choice A significant number believed the working conditions were good/ acceptable while many believed that they were not so good/ bad Many wanted to find another job in Thailand, viewing their current work as a springboard or a transitional placement
<i>Following the Initiation into the Worst Form of Labour</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Minors return many times after their initial crossing 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Encountered Many continue working Many stay in the same industries From other industries, a significant number of minors move to better-paying work
<i>Aspirations</i>		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The majority wanted to find another job
Compilation: Sirithon Thanasombat		

Annex II : Questionnaire

TO BE FILLED IN AFTER THE INTERVIEW

Location: _____
Interviewer: _____ Note Taker: _____
Interpreter: _____
Date: _____ Interviewee ID Number: _____

A Background Data

1. Ethnic background _____
2. 1. The respondent considers him/herself a Thai citizen
2. The respondent considers him/herself a citizen of _____ country
3. Respondent is unsure about their citizenship

Several answers possible

3. The respondent has a passport or any id card
1. Yes 2. No
4. If yes from _____ country
Note: don't ask to see the ID card

5. Number of Household Members: _____
6. 1. Extended Family 2. Nuclear Family 3. Incomplete Family
7. 1. Divorced Family 2. Separation 3. Death of _____

Several answers possible

8. Previous Family Moves within the last 10 years
1. Yes 2. No
9. Date _____ 25 ___
10. The whole family left their place of origin
1. Yes 2. No
11. The family / child move involved crossing a border
1. Yes 2. No
12. The family / child left their place of origin out of fear of violence or persecution
1. Yes 2. No
13. The family / child left in hope for improved economic opportunities
1. Yes 2. No

14. Mother's Education/last completed grade _____
15. Father's Education/last completed grade _____
16. Working child's education/ last completed grade _____
17. Did the working child drop out of a year of school?
1. Yes 2. No
18. Did the working child repeat grades at school?
1. Yes 2. No
19. Siblings last completed grade _____

- | Relationship | Educational Level |
|-------------------------|-------------------|
| 1. Elder brother | |
| 2. Younger brother | |
| 3. Elder Sister | |
| 4. Younger Sister | |
| 5. Other, Specify _____ | |

20. Daily/ Monthly/Annual Household Income _____ Currency _____
circle one

21. The family
1. Owns land 2. Owns a business 3. Farms a plot of land

22. The primary source of income is from _____

23. Family has debts
1. Yes 2. No

24. Amount _____ Currency _____

25. The working child is
1. female 2. male

26. Child left for work at the age of _____ years
1. below 13 2. between 13-14 3. between 15-17

27. Child's current age _____ years
1. below 13 2. between 13-14 3. between 15-17

28. 1. Child was moved within Thailand from _____ to _____
2. Child was moved into Thailand from _____ to _____
3. Child was moved out off Thailand from _____ to _____
4. Not known from _____ to _____

29. 1. The family received money for the working child
was no money exchanged with the family when the child left
2. There
3. The family paid for the service of taking the child for work

30. If yes, amount _____ Currency _____

31. First contact for work was made by
1. Child 2. Other family member or relative
3. Parent 4. Villager outside the family
5. Someone outside the village

32. This person was
1. known to the family
2. was a stranger

33. 1. This person was also the future the employer
2. This person was also the future transporter
3. This person was the facilitator for transportation
4. Any other roles the person played, please specify:

34. The decision that the child would leave was made by
1. The parents who persuaded the child to go 2. The child alone
3. The parents and the child together 4. Other, specify: _____

A Rapid Assessment

B Data from a child

The child

35. Knew the destination place

1. Yes 2. No

36. 1. Knew fully the working conditions

2. Knew partially the working conditions

3. Knew almost nothing about the working conditions

37. If the child was not fully aware of the working conditions, for which aspects was information withheld or the child was deceived

1. Nature of work 2. Working environment 3. Hours

4. Living conditions 5. Degree of freedom of movement 6. Pay

38. Child works/ed in

1. a brothel

2. a bar

3. massage parlour

4. food shop

5. in service job

specify: _____

6. as self-employed

specify: _____

7. a factory

8. begging

9. as a domestic

10. other ,specify: _____

39. The child's work most likely includes sex work

1. Yes 2. No 3. Occasionally

40. 1. The family fully knows/knew the nature and conditions of the work

2. The family partially knows/knew the nature and conditions of the work

3. The family has/had false information

4. The family did not know anything about the work situation

41. The child thinks that the working conditions are/were:

1. good

2. acceptable

3. not so good

4. bad

42. This child thinks his/her life is now

1. Better than at home

2. Different but of the same quality

3. Worse than at home

43. The child has/had contact with his/her family 1. Yes 2. No

44. Through _____

45. How often 1. Irregularly 2. Monthly 3. Annually 4. Other _____

46. The child remits/remitted money 1. Yes 2. No

47. How often 1. Irregularly 2. Monthly 3. Annually 4. Other _____

48. Amount _____ Currency _____

49. Through what means _____

50. The child thinks that he/ she went to work

1. voluntarily because he/ she has a duty to fulfill towards his/ her family
2. unwillingly but feels that it is his/ her duty towards the family
3. does not know
4. to get away from his or her family

51. The child wants for his/her future *several answers possible*

1. Continue the current work
2. Get a better job
3. Go to school
4. Go home
5. Get married
6. Doesn't care
7. Become a recruiter
8. Go abroad
9. Other: _____

52. The child would recommend other people to take up the same work

1. Yes
2. No

53. The child has at least once been protected or there had been an attempt to protect the child by a law enforcement agent

1. Yes
2. No

54. The child has contact with police/ immigration officials either through his/her work or on the street

1. Yes
2. No

55. The child is now involved in the trafficking of other children

1. Yes
2. No

C Data from families

56. Relationship of the respondent to child _____

57. The family believes their child works in

1. a brothel
2. a bar
3. massage parlour
4. food shop
5. in service job
- specify: _____
6. as self-employed
- specify: _____
7. a factory
8. begging
9. as a domestic
10. other, specify : _____

58. The child's work is likely to include sex work

1. Yes
2. No
3. Occasionally

59. The family believes that the child's working conditions are

1. good
2. acceptable
3. not so good
4. bad

60. The family thinks that the child's life is now

1. Better than at home
2. Different but of the same quality
3. Worse than at home

61. The family has knowledge about the whereabouts of the child

1. From the child itself
2. Other family members have seen the child
3. They were told by someone else
- specify by whom: _____

62. The family has contact with their child

1. Yes
2. No

63. Through _____

A Rapid Assessment

64. How often 1. Irregularly 2. Monthly 3. Annually 4. Other _____

65. The child remits money

1. Yes 2. No

66. How often 1. Irregularly 2. Monthly 3. Annually 4. Other _____

67. Amount _____ Currency _____

68. Through what means _____

69. The family hopes that in the future their child will *several answers possible*

1. Continue the current work 2. Get a better job 3. Go back to school

4. Come home 5. Get married

6. Doesn't care 7. Other, specify _____

70. The family would want another child to go and do the same work as the trafficked child

1. Yes 2. No

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