



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

Investigating the Worst Forms of Child Labour No. 23

**Thailand
Child Domestic Workers: 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.



Frans Röselaers
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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>

Acknowledgements

The research team from the Faculty of Social Sciences and Humanities, Mahidol University was assigned to carry out a Rapid Assessment of Child Domestic Workers in Thailand in the framework of the International Labour Organization/International Programme on the Elimination of Child Labour project to investigate the worst forms of child labour.

The completion of this research owes much to the concerted cooperation of everyone involved, particularly the 115 child domestic workers willing to provide the information, and their employers who granted us the opportunity to interview the children in their homes. In the place of origin, we experienced good cooperation from leaders, parents, schools and children in the communities, providing and exchanging information with the research team. While in Bangkok, the team was provided with information from state agencies, non-governmental organizations working with children as well as participants at the national seminar, making this research more valuable and substantial.

The research team would like to express our sincere thanks and appreciation to Dr. Maneewan Chat-Uthai and the ILO/IPEC Bangkok team for their exceptional cooperation. It is hoped that the research findings will be beneficial to the movements, policy development and measures in developing programmes to eliminate child labour at the national level.

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Executive Summary

Conventionally, the exploitation of child labour in households has been regarded as a pattern of production by making children considered old enough to work, participate in and be responsible for household affairs. The deep-rooted religious and secular culture of Thai society has shaped children to obey and pay gratitude to their parents as the individuals ushering them into this world. As parents, they also expect their children to help them in return when they grow up, particularly by providing economic assistance. The concept of working children in the past context of Thai culture were viewed as described above. In the industrialized society of urban Thailand today, however, working children are in demand due to the fact that they are cheap labour.

Problems of exploiting children through labour have originated from political, social and economic changes in the country over the past four decades. Worst forms of child labour (WFCL) in certain types of work have been recognized. With this realization, Thailand ratified the ILO Worst Forms of Child Labour Convention (No. 182), 1999 in 2001 and is under obligation to take immediate actions to work towards eliminating WFCL. One group of child labourers vulnerable to these worst forms of exploitation are child domestic workers because their work is hidden and house owners have the full legal right not to grant permission to individuals or agencies to enter and inspect their households. Furthermore, the nature of domestic work can deprive children of their freedom of movement. They are forced to lead a lonely life, responding to the needs of every member of the household at all times. The profession itself is socially constructed to be low and undignified. This may lead to the condition in Article 3(d) of the convention, defining the term *worst forms of child labour* as comprising, among others, “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.”

The objectives of this research are to study the situation of the exploitation of child domestic workers and to investigate factors, conditions and implications of such exploitation. In this study the child domestic workers are 115 minors under 18 years of age employed to work in households in Bangkok.

The research methodology used was adapted from the ILO/UNICEF Rapid Assessment Methodology. Various respondents were targeted, including child domestic workers, employers, and households in the children’s places of origin. Furthermore, critical analysis of secondary data was carried out and focused group discussions were conducted. A national seminar on the research findings was also organized, attended by representatives from state, private, political and civil society sectors dealing with children issues as well as community leaders, parents and children in the place of origin. The seminar generated discussions about and observations on means to prevent and solve the problem of the worst forms of child labour.

This research has concluded that the situation of the 115 child domestic workers that formed the sample for this study is not a priority for action in the context of worst forms of child labour. The mechanisms that have been developed in the communities of origin have managed to ensure a certain confidence in the families sending their children into this work. The mechanism includes the migration network and easy

communication between child workers and relatives working in the cities and the children's parents in the provinces. Additionally, the success of family planning, the widespread educational opportunities in rural regions, the development of the industrial and service sectors, and the child labour law increasing the minimum working age of children have reduced the supply of child domestic labour in Bangkok. The middle and high classes in cities have a harder time employing child domestic workers than in the past, providing them more negotiation power with employers, and, as a result, better working and living conditions. Still, the verbal abuses, sense of confinement, and loneliness reported by the respondents indicate that the situation of child domestic workers can easily cross the line to worst forms of child labour.

Looking beyond the study sample, it should be noted that many foreign children from Burma, Laos and Cambodia in particular are satisfying the demand for child domestic labour in the urban sector. Cultural and structural violence persists in Thai society, leading to the occurrence of worst forms of child labour affecting underprivileged children at any time. There is thus a need to take measures to prevent and solve the problems of the worst forms of child labour in the Thai context. This report provides findings, recommendations, and policy implications for the situation of child domestic workers targeted in this study, as well as observations on the Rapid Assessment research methodology applied.

Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1 Introduction of the ILO Worst Forms of Child Labour Convention (No. 182)

The International Labour Organization (ILO), through the International Programme on the Elimination of Child Labour (IPEC) and its Statistical Information and Monitoring Programme on Child Labour (SIMPOC), has made a major commitment to the elimination of the worst forms of child labour. In what is considered to be one of the greatest successes of IPEC, the Worst Forms of Child Labour Convention (No. 182), together with Recommendation 190, was unanimously adopted by the ILO Conference in June, 1999. By March 2002, over 115 countries had ratified the Convention, reaching beyond IPEC's initial ratification expectations.

The mandate of ILO Convention 182 is clear. It requires ratifying countries to “take immediate and effective measures to secure the prohibition and elimination of the worst forms of child labour as a matter of urgency.” Recommendation 190 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.”

Against this background, the ILO, through IPEC/SIMPOC, has undertaken 38 Rapid Assessments of the worst forms of child labour in 19 countries and one border area. These investigations have been made through application of the rapid assessment methodology prepared by ILO/UNICEF. The overall objectives of the programme are as follows: (i) to ensure that quantitative and qualitative information related to the worst forms of child labour in the selected 38 investigations is produced and made publicly available, (ii) to clearly describe the magnitude, character, causes and consequences of children's involvement in the worst forms of child labour, and (iii) to validate and further develop the body of methodologies – especially the ILO/UNICEF Rapid Assessment methodology on child labour – for investigating the worst forms of child labour.

Rapid Assessments are uniquely suited to meet these objectives. Balancing statistical precision with qualitative analysis, rapid assessments provide policy makers with insights into the magnitude, character, causes and consequences of the worst forms of child labour quickly and cheaply. These insights can then be used to determine strategic objectives for the elimination of the worst forms of child labour in each location or country, to design and target policy packages, and to implement, monitor and evaluate these programmes.

1.2 Research objectives

- To study the situation of domestic child labour in terms of its causes, magnitude and characteristics, and to make the information publicly available;
- To explain conditions and factors at the micro and macro levels affecting the occurrence of violence against child domestic workers. The factors at the macro level include policy, value, culture and so on. The factors at the micro level include households, parents, children and employers;
- To study the consequences and impacts of the child domestic labour phenomenon;
- To propose means of methodology development for the research on the worst forms of child labour, particularly the rapid assessment methodology.

The principal objectives of this study correspond to the Terms of Reference developed by IPEC-SIMPOC. The systems of decision-making in place to enter into child domestic work, the work processes, and the consequences were all considered in order to propose policies and to rectify or prevent violence against child domestic workers, and improve their circumstances.

1.3 Research methodology

1.3.1 Principles of rapid assessment

Rapid assessment is a type of research that uses various methodologies to understand a current social phenomenon, find out about a specific problem, and analyze the conditions, factors and consequences within a particular context. The research process is intended to take a short period of time for the benefits of an urgent intervention strategy design. Therefore, the research methodology is both quantitative and qualitative.

Unlike a national survey, rapid assessment studies use a small sample group with a restricted scope. As a consequence, the results cannot be generalized to represent an overall population. The emphasis of a rapid assessment is placed on in-depth details which cannot be obtained from a survey of a large population.

1.3.2 Justification of targets of the rapid assessment

Based on the review of related literature on migration to Bangkok, child labour in Thailand and other countries, and the research guidelines on child domestic workers from ILO/IPEC, the researchers have limited the scope of this study as follows:

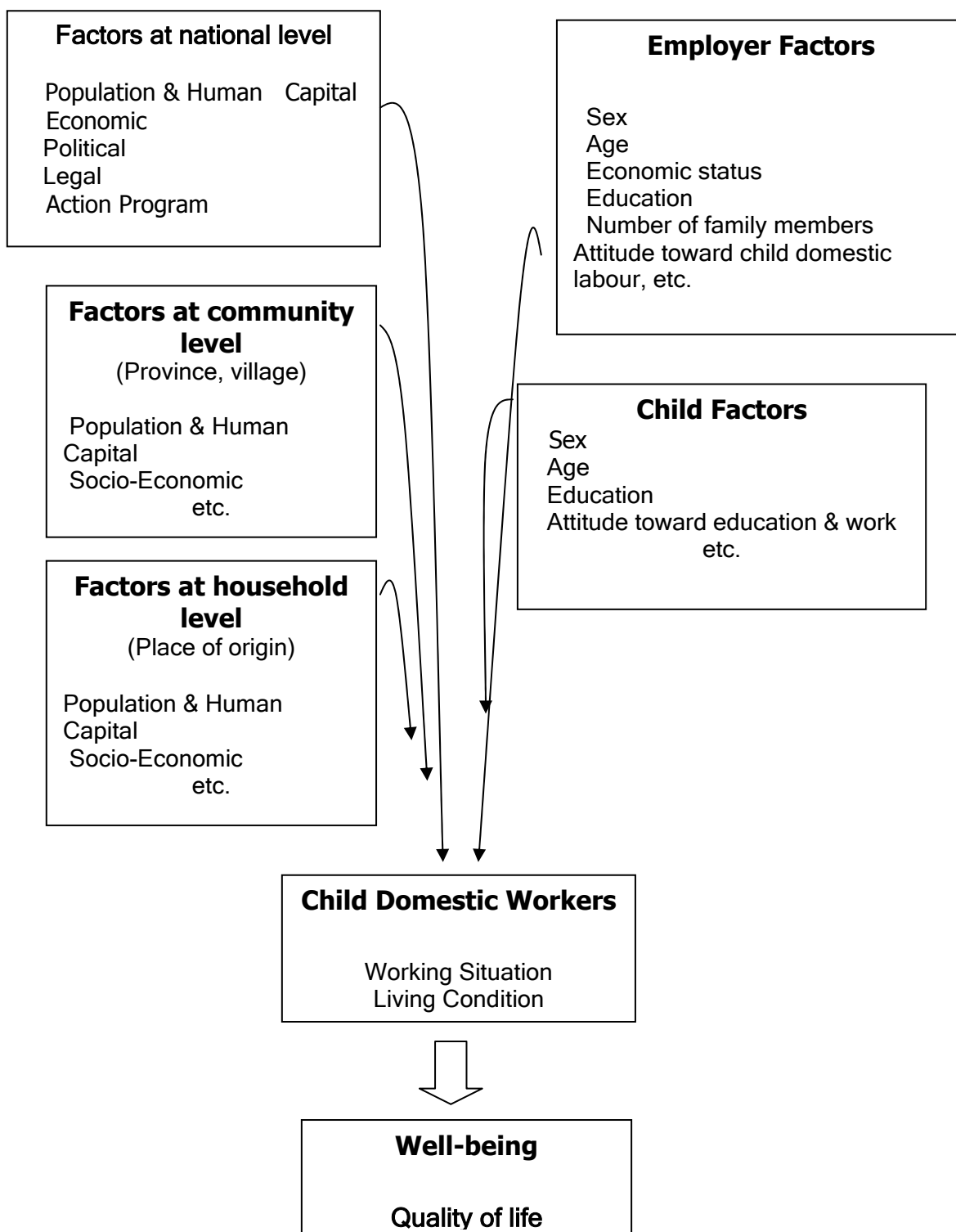
- 1) Conditional factors of child domestic workers consisting of factors at the macro and micro levels;
- 2) Factors at the macro level including national and community factors (province and village), demography, economy, politics, human resources development, law and policy; and

- 3) Factors at the micro level including households at children's hometowns, children and employers.

The conceptual framework of the rapid assessment of child domestic workers in Thailand

Contextual Factors

Individual Factors

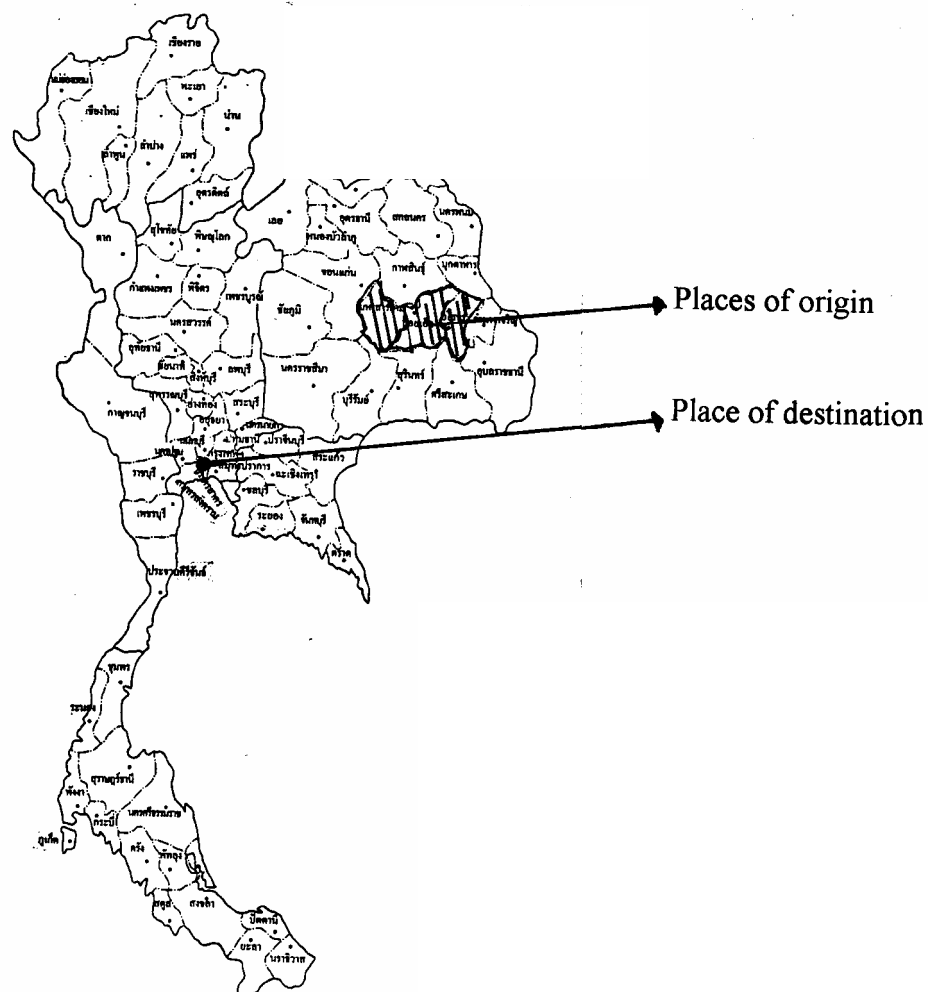


From the conceptual framework, the areas and target groups under investigation are determined as follows:

1.3.3 The areas

The areas under investigation are divided into two groups: places of origin and places of destination. The places of origin are three provinces in the Northeast of Thailand, namely, Maha Sarakham, Roi Et and Yasothon. From a research study on the child labour situation in Bangkok by the Institute of Social Research, Chulalongkorn University in 2000, it was revealed that the Northeast was the region where there was the highest rate of child labour migration. The place of destination is Bangkok, which is the principle destination of child economic migrants.

Figure 1: Places of origin of the child domestic labour samples



1.3.4 The target groups

The target groups represent several different sources as follows:

Factors	Target groups/information sources
Factors at the national level	Information sources are from documents, statistics and an in-depth interview from specialists working on children at the policy and operational levels in both state and private sectors, for instance, director of the Social Welfare Department, director of the Child Development Foundation, volunteer teachers of the Non-Formal Education Promotion Center, Bangkok.
Factors at the community level (original provinces and villages of child labour)	• Information sources are from documents and statistics. • When information from documents is unavailable, in the community context, an interview survey with local key informants or village household census is conducted. • For information on child labour and conditional factors of communities in the use of child labour, the focused group from state and private community leaders as well as local folk scholars is conducted.
Factors at the household level	The target group is the parents, who are categorized into three groups: 1. Parents of children working as domestic workers in Bangkok. 2. Parents of children under the age of 18, who do not work as domestic workers in Bangkok. 3. Parents of children under the age of 18, who neither work nor study This is done to get information for comparative analysis on household background which impacts the use of child domestic labour.

Factors	Target groups/information sources
Child factors	There are two main child target groups: 1. Children at the place of destination working as domestic workers in Bangkok. The data collected include working and living conditions and personal factors of children, e.g., sex, age, education and attitude toward education and work. They are divided into two sub-groups: 1.1 Current child domestic workers under 18 years. 1.2 Current child domestic workers over 18 years, but who entered their career at an age of under 18 years. This is intended to get the overview of past child domestic labour. 2. Children at the places of origin who are not domestic workers in Bangkok. This is to get information for comparative analysis on their personal background and attitudes towards education and work. The children in this target group are of the same age as the first target group but are in school or work in the village or do other jobs as well as those who neither study nor work.
Employer factors	The target group is comprised of employers of child domestic workers in Bangkok, who employ the samples and others. This is to get information on their economic, social and demographic background and as fundamental information to determine working conditions, wages, welfare and guidelines for child domestic workers' development that are possible and correspond to the needs of employers and employees.

1.3.5 Research methods

- 1) Literature review
 - Review of literature on the exploitation of child labour in Thailand and other countries, and the suggestions of ILO/IPEC.
 - Review of literature on theories about labour and the development of theories about labour migration.
 - Review of literature on rapid assessment and other research methodologies on child labour.
- 2) Consult and discuss with specialists on child labour.
- 3) Define the conceptual framework of the rapid assessment on child domestic workers.
- 4) Define data and sources of data in both contextual and individual factors.
- 5) Define the study area.

The data of the exploitation of children through child labour is from Bangkok, which is divided into five zones according to the population density and development (Division of City Development and Planning, Office of City Lay-out, Bangkok 2000):

- (1) The inner zone, consisting of 22 administrative districts, i.e. Phra Nakhorn, Pomprab Satru Phay, Samphanthawong, Pathumwan, Rajathevi, Bang Rak, Dusit, Phaya Thai, Bang Phlat, Bangkok Noi, Bangkok Yai, Sathorn, Yanawa, Bang Khor Laem, Thonburi, Khlong San, Chatuchak, Huay Khwang, Din Daeng, Khlong Toey and Watana.
- (2) The north transitional zone, consisting of 14 administrative districts, i.e. Don Muang, Lak si, Bang Khen, Sai Mai, Lad Phrao, Bang Kapi, Bueng Kum, Wang Thong Lang, Khan Na Yao, Saphan Sung, Phra Khanong, Suan Luang, Bang Na, and Prawet.
- (3) The west transitional zone, consisting of eight administrative districts, i.e., Taling Chan, Thawi Watana, Phasi Charoen, Bang Khae, Nong Khaem, Rat Burana, Thung Khru and Chom Thong.
- (4) The eastern suburban zone, consisting of 4 administrative districts, i.e. Min Buri, Khlong Sam Wa, Lad Krabang and Nong Jork.
- (5) The western suburban zone, consisting of 2 administrative districts, i.e. Bang Khun Thian and Bang Bon

Note: The 24 underlined districts from the overall 50 districts are the areas studied in this rapid assessment.

1.3.6 The areas of child labour origination

The place of origin of child labour selected for the study is the northeastern region of Thailand. Previous data indicated that the region had the highest rate of labour migration. However, statistics on child labour migration at the local or provincial level are not clearly compiled. Only some research studies reflected that child workers

in general had their hometowns in Roi Et, Ubon Ratchathani, Nakhorn Ratchasima, Surin, Buri Rum, Sri Sa Ket and Maha Sarakham provinces (Somsak Samakheetham, 1995). In a preliminary survey in Roi Et Maha Sarakham and Yasothorn, it was confirmed that there were a large number of people in this area migrating to work in Bangkok. Nevertheless, there is no information on the migrants, such as, age and sex. The survey is unable to specify how many children have migrated and what types of career they are in. When further investigations were undertaken in other provinces, for instance, Khon Khaen, Sri Sa Ket and Surin, they were still unable to figure out how many children had migrated. Given the time constraints, the researchers decided to select three provinces to investigate. In each province, the four communities (villages) with the highest rates of migration were chosen. In order to estimate child labour migration in each area, a village in each province was selected for the migration census survey and focused group interview. The details are as follows:

Province	District	Village / Tambon (sub-district)
Maha Sarakham	Wapi Pathum	1. Ban Song Hong, Tambon Nong Saeng 2. Ban Nong Bua, Tambon Hua Rua 3. Ban Chart, Tambon Hua Rua 4. Ban Nong Hai, Tambon Nong Hai
Roi Et	Suwannaphum	1. Ban Wan, Tambon Thung Sri Muang 2. Ban Law Khaw, Tambon Hin Kong 3. Ban Song Hong, Tambon Bor Phan Khan 4. Ban Hua Na, Tambon Nong Thap Thai
Yasothorn	Phanom Phrai Muang	1. Ban Don Yang, Tambon Khor Nua 2. Ban Tha Yiam, Tambon Khor Nua 3. Ban Kham Nam Sang, Tambon Khor Nua 4. Ban Du Thung, Tambon Du Thung

Remarks: Villages No. 1 are those where migration census survey and focused group-discussions are conducted.

1.3.7 Data and sources of data

- 1) Contextual factors are composed of two levels of data: national level and community (province and village) level, including:
 - Population and human capital, consisting of the following key indicators: demographic indicators and human capital indicators
 - Economy
 - Political background
 - Legal framework
 - Literature and action programs on child labour

Contextual information sources at the community level are from:

- (i) Documents, statistics and provincial and village reports;
 - (ii) A community survey by using a survey form (Form E)
Information on the community profile is composed of the following indicators:
 - Community infrastructure
 - Local economy
 - Demographic structure
 - Population and human capital;
 - (iii) A migration census in 3 villages by using Form E;
 - (iv) Information from focused group in the villages.
- 2) Household information is from interviewing households in the 12 villages.
Each village is composed of four types of households:
- (i) Household with child labour working as domestic workers in Bangkok;
 - (ii) Household with child labour working outside the village;
 - (iii) Household with child labour working in the village;
 - (iv) Household with children doing no work.

Sources of data are the father or mother of the child (Form C).

- 3) Child information is from interviewing the children in two areas: (i) the place of destination (Bangkok): at least 100 children were interviewed including those who are child domestic workers under 18 years of age (Form B), and (ii) the places of origin; 12 villages in Maha Sarakham, Roi Et and Yasothorn provinces (Form D). In addition, the researchers observed children in schools and interviewed 6th and 9th graders (who, by nature of their class in school, are at the levels of school completion and graduation of primary and secondary school respectively) in order to investigate their attitudes towards education and work. The researchers found their ways of thinking interesting. They therefore sought permission from teachers and school principals to have the students write an essay entitled “My attitude toward the child domestic worker career,” to reflect their understanding of future careers and work attitudes.
- 4) Employer information is obtained by interviewing employers of child domestic workers under 18 years of age in Bangkok.

1.3.8 Data collection instruments

In addition to documents, the researchers developed and applied the rapid assessment data collection instruments as follows (see Annex V):

Form A	Village Migration Census
Form B	Interview form for child domestic workers in Bangkok
Form C	Interview form for parents in their communities
Form D	Interview form for children in their communities

Form E	Survey form for villages with child domestic workers
Form F	Guidelines for focused group discussion
Form G	In-depth interview about child domestic workers from specialists and agencies at the policy and operation levels from both state and private sectors
Form H	Interview form for households with child domestic workers in Bangkok (employers).

1.3.9 Data collection processes

1) **Recruiting the fieldwork team.** A rapid assessment is conducted within a short time period and requires the collection of various kinds of information, particularly qualitative information based on observation, in-depth interviews and informal inquiry. Consequently, the field team must be experienced, skillful and competent and the success of the rapid assessment depends largely on effective teamwork. The team responsible for carrying out this rapid assessment consisted of 25 members. They included the researchers themselves and M.A. and Ph.D. students in Population Education and Environmental Education, Faculty of Social Sciences and Humanities at Mahidol University. They brought with them fundamental knowledge of child labour issues, diverse educational backgrounds at the bachelor and master degree levels, qualitative and quantitative research experiences and representation from a number of different professional fields.

2) **Orientation.** Prior to and during the data collection process, meetings to exchange experiences and means were periodically held among the research team members. Ethics of researchers concerning the respect for informants' rights, and impacts of their undertaking were taken into serious consideration.

3) **Data collection.** Two teams carried out the mission simultaneously. One team was at the places of origin, with the researchers and local research assistants coordinating the collection of preliminary data and supplementary data when certain parts of the data were not complete. The other team was collecting data in Bangkok. When the first one completed their mission, they helped the second in Bangkok.

4) **Data collection in Bangkok.** The data collection covered 24 administrative districts from the five zones (there are 50 administrative districts in total) in Bangkok.

5) Due to the **limitation of basic information** on child domestic workers in Bangkok, the research team was unable to specify which households employed these workers. All individual networks were used to gain this information as follows:

- Coordination with Bangkok Metropolitan Council Members who had access to communities and individual networks for election campaigns to pinpoint target households.
- Coordination with public health officials who visited households in communities.
- Coordination with dwellers of housing projects and community leaders.

- Visits to places frequented by the workers, e.g. periodical markets, kindergarten schools, select convenience stores or clubhouses in the employers' homes.
- Individual networks in the educational institution, e.g. teachers asking students whether there were these workers in their households and nearby households. When members of the target group were found, appointments were made according to their convenience.

6) With the **limitation of time and budget**, the time-consuming door-to-door approach was not possible. Moreover, as Bangkok is an urban society, letting a stranger conduct an interview in the household without prior recommendation was an almost impossible task, particularly when the house owner was not present.

7) Previous studies and informal surveys revealed that **recreational places for child labourers in Bangkok**, such as shopping centers, public parks or public music platforms, were mostly frequented by factory workers over 18 years of age. Therefore, data collection for this investigation was not carried out in those places.

8) **Employers' data.** The data were collected from the households of the study samples and others with child domestic workers under 18 years of age and owners who were willing to give interviews.

9) During the four weeks of data collection, **if a child in the sample was violently abused** by her employers, it was determined that an in-depth analysis would be conducted (fortunately, no such case was found).

10) **Rights of the informants.** It was determined that all informants must be informed of the study objectives and be willing to cooperate. Consequently, there was a statement of willingness to provide information. The willingness could be expressed in both verbal and written forms. In the Thai context, the verbal form was more appropriate.

1.3.10 Data analysis

Data from documents and statistics were examined for their validity by verifying the data from various state agencies.

Qualitative data from various sources were analyzed according to the following sources:

- Data from in-depth interviews with administrators and operational officers concerned with child labour exploitation in both state and private sectors;
- Data from in-depth interviews with key informants and folk scholars in the communities;
- Data from focused group discussion in three communities;
- Data from informal interviews with the teachers and sixth and ninth graders;
- Data from an essay on "*My attitude toward the child domestic worker career*" by the sixth and ninth graders; and
- Data from interviews with former child domestic workers.

Quantitative data were analyzed by using the SPSS program for Windows, consisting of data on child domestic workers, child labour in the communities, parents in the communities and employers.

Following data collection and analysis, the research team drafted a preliminary report which they presented at the national workshop organized by the committees. This workshop was attended by representatives from both state and private sectors. Suggestions and comments from the workshop were considered and incorporated in the final report as appropriate.

Chapter 2

An overview

2.1 Background

The use of children as domestic labourers has traditionally been a cultural pattern of production in the Thai context as children are assigned to take on household responsibilities deemed appropriate to their ages. The religious and secular culture deeply embedded in Thai society teaches children to obey and pay gratitude to their parents or guardians for having been their bearers and caretakers when they were young. Parents and/or guardians harbor an expectation that when their children are old enough, they will be assisted by the children in return, particularly in economic terms.

Culturally the use of one's own child for labour purposes is in line with the traditional ways of life, and is not seen as detrimental to children's well-being. As a consequence, child labour in these circumstance is viewed as a social process to enable children to learn, practice their working skills, and take responsibility for themselves and their families, which will provide a common good for their future. In addition, society holds working children in high regard for being hard-working, helpful to their parents, grateful and good role models. Child labour as a pattern of production in this context is regarded as a dimension of child-family relationships based on culturally accepted norms.

Nevertheless, during the past four decades the national economic conditions have radically shifted from a self-sufficient agricultural society to an industrialized market-oriented one, resulting in rapid depletion of natural resources and environmental degradation. This phenomenon has adversely affected rural household production means. Farmers have encountered a plethora of problems including land ownership, poor soil quality, drought and/or market problems. Child labour in the conventional pattern of the agricultural society is gradually decreasing, together with the agricultural sector. However, the exploitation of children in labour circumstances is increasing in the urban sector, with more children from rural areas being pushed into the labour market despite their age and lack of preparedness. Working outside the household or entering the labour market for children is a way to struggle for survival as an underprivileged member of the ever-changing world. Monetary return from child labour is a factor for the survival of the family although the wages the children receive are far lower than what the laws require. Still, the burden of feeding a mouth is relieved when a child works outside the family.

Besides family needs, demands of business owners in the urban sector for cheap and powerless labour are insatiable. For children, having to take up a heavy burden in the production process in the urban sector and being apart from their families poses numerous and serious problems. These escalate into a major social problem. Several research studies have indicated that the situation of children entering the labour

market despite their young ages and lack of knowledge, understanding, working experience and protection of self interests makes them vulnerable to being exploited. In addition to long working hours, they are appallingly underpaid, the employers' excuse being that children's work is of low quality or little in quantity. Some children are forced to work, are detained and/or physically abused or sexually harassed to the extent that they become crippled, or even "disappear" and are no longer able to be located by their parents or others. There are no preventive measures or advancements offered in terms of physical and mental development, especially for children entering the labour market in risky manners, such as finding jobs by themselves, via relatives' networks, or through private job recruitment agents.

2.2 Summary of the main research findings

Child domestic labour is an invisible form of child labour. The demand for this type of labour is particularly high among households of the middle and upper classes in the urban sector. Child domestic labour is perceived as a lowly career in the Thai culture and media as demonstrated by the insulting terms and stereotypes for these workers, such as servants' club, servants having a habit of gossiping about their employers, or the derogative term "jaew" used for a domestic worker doing all kinds of household chores for her employer's family – i.e. a domestic servant.

With working conditions beyond the reach of social protective measures because of the fact that household owners have all the legitimate rights not to allow authorities to inspect, the situation of child domestic workers is likely to encompass aspects of worst forms of child labour (WFCL) as defined in the ILO Worst Forms of Child Labour Convention (No. 182), 1999. Thailand ratified this convention on February 16, 2001 and is thus bound to take immediate action to eliminate WFCL. Gaps in knowledge regarding WFCL, including domestic child labour, however, are prevalent. This study was conducted to assist in filling these gaps contributing to the construction of an adequate knowledge base.

From this study of 115 samples under the age of 18 years working as child domestic workers in Bangkok, it has been discovered that their circumstances are not a priority for action in the context of worst forms of child labour. This is because communities of origin have developed mechanisms and social networks to ensure confidence in the recruitment and conditions of their children into this labour market to a certain extent. This is compounded by the scarcity of Thai child domestic workers due to the successful expansion of education in remote areas. In addition, domestic work is not as popular among child labourers as other jobs, e.g., working in factories or jobs with specific descriptions that have fixed starting and finishing times. As a consequence, child domestic labourers today have more negotiation power with their employers due to their scarcity. Youth today prefer to undertake activities and professions that allow them to live more independent lives, and that are not perceived as lowly careers. In light of these conclusions the small sample size of the rapid assessment coupled with the hidden nature of, and difficult access to, domestic workers must be taken into consideration. Additionally, the situation of the increased number of foreign child workers, particularly from Laos and Burma, who are entering into domestic work in Thailand to fill the demand should be investigated. It is imperative to monitor the

phenomenon of child domestic workers, especially in its most hidden forms, to make necessary improvements and changes. Likewise it is essential to recognize that the work itself can reach priority worst forms of child labour status in Thailand when a larger and broader-reaching population is considered and the plight of foreign children coming into Thailand to work as child domestic workers is examined.

Chapter 3

Background

This chapter presents background information on Thailand to illustrate which situations/conditions at the macro level are related or vulnerable to the occurrence of the worst forms of child labor.

3.1 Population and human capital

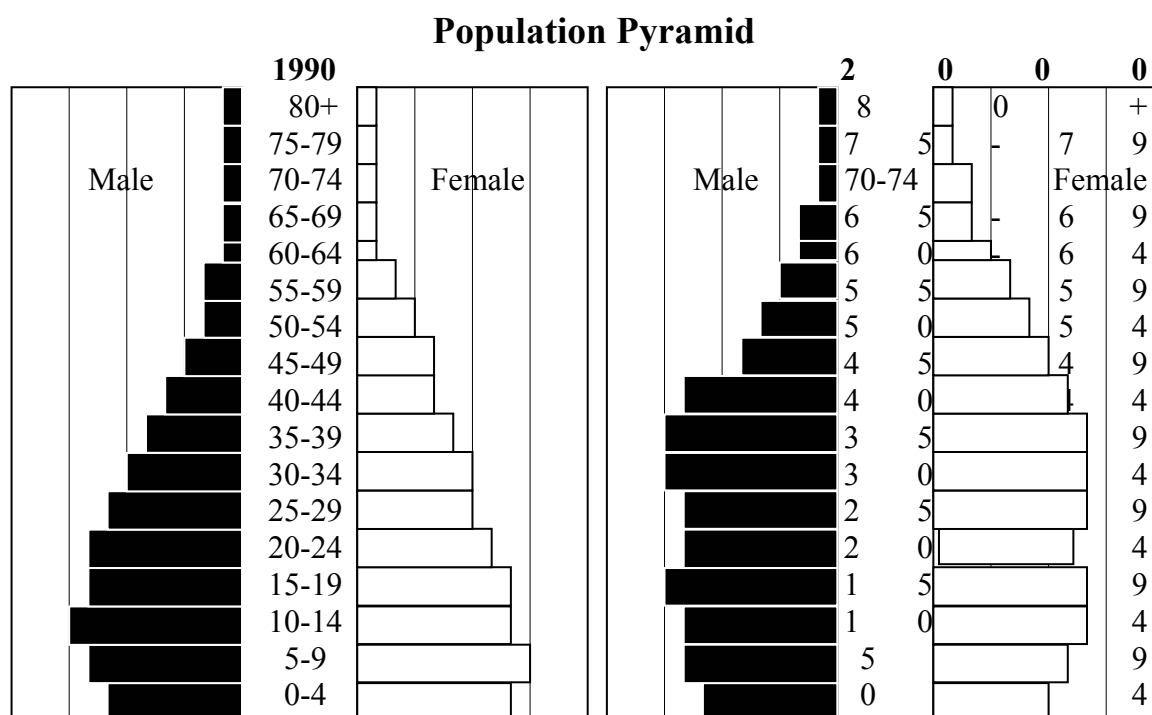
3.1.1 Demographic Structure

As of July 1, 2001, the population situation of the country is as follows:

	(million)
(1) Total population	62.12
(2) Population by sex	
Male	30.85
Female	31.28
(3) Population in urban areas	19.30 (31%)
(4) Population in rural areas	42.82 (69%)
(5) Population by regions	
Bangkok Metropolis	7.59
Bangkok and periphery	9.20
The Central (excluding Bangkok Metropolis)	13.35
The North	11.65
The Northeast	21.28
The South	8.27
(6) Population by age group	
Children (under 15)	14.98 (24.1%)
Labour force (15 – 59)	41.28 (66.5%)
Elderly (60 – 79)	5.29
Oldest old (over 80)	0.57

	(million)
(7) School ages (6-21)	16.96
(8) Women in Reproductive ages (15-44)	16.16
(9) Eligible voters (18 and over)	43.86
(10) Total fertility rate (per woman)	1.8
(11) Contraceptive prevalence rate (per cent)	72.2
(12) Birth rate (per 1,000 population)	14.0

Source: Institute for Population and Social Research, Mahidol University, 2001



3.1.2 Health

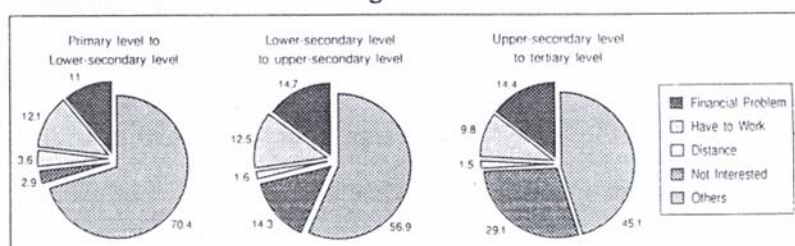
- Life expectancy at birth (years)
 - Male 69.9
 - Female 74.9
- Infant Mortality rate (per 1,000 live births) 21.5
- Doctor (per 100,000) population 34

3.1.3 Education

- Adult Literacy rate (1998) 95
- School enrollment rate (2000)
 - Primary level (%) 99
 - Lower Secondary level (%) 94.9
 - Upper Secondary level (%) 87.7
- Pupil Teacher Ratio (1998)
 - Pre Primary level 1 : 20
 - Primary level 1 : 18
 - Lower Secondary level (%) 1 : 20
 - Upper Secondary level (%) 1 : 18
- Number of schools (1999)
 - Pre Primary level 45,577
 - Lower Secondary level (%) 33,840
 - Upper Secondary level (%) 10,109
- Government expenditure (2001)
 - Budget (Million Baht) 221,649

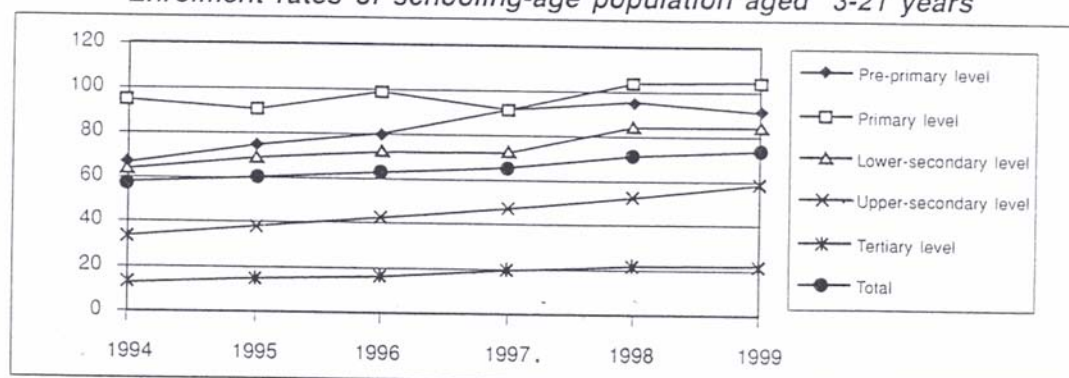
% of GDP	4.0
% of total government expenditure	24.4

Reasons for not having further education in 1999



Source : National Statistical Office.

Enrolment rates of schooling-age population aged 3-21 years



Source : Office of the National Education Commission.

Educational budget per capita in formal and informal educational system

Educational level	Budget per capita				Growth rate (per cent)		
	1996	1997	1998	1999	1997	1998	1999
1. Pre-primary & primary level	8,966	10,211	10,342	10,155	13.9	1.3	-1.8
2. Secondary level	7,415	8,516	8,685	8,221	14.8	2.0	-5.3
3. Tertiary level	22,705	23,785	21,133	22,153	4.7	-11.1	4.8

Source : The Budget Bureau and Office of the National Education Commission.

3.1.4 AIDS infection

The Ministry of Public Health estimated that in 2000 the number of HIV-infected patients nationwide was 985,000 of whom 200,000 had died, 300,000 were experiencing full blown infection and approximately 300,000 – 400,000 were carriers.

Presently there are at least 10,000 orphaned children whose parents have died of the disease (this number does not include HIV-infected newborns). Teenagers born before their parents are infected have to shoulder the burden of looking after their sick parents and are at risk of being infected. Some of them are not appropriately taken care of, rejected, discriminated against or are without refuge. Those whose symptoms begin to appear are denied from attending school.

3.1.5 Drugs

Drugs are a serious social problem in Thailand, especially among youngsters as a large number of them are involved in drug trade or consumption or both. Some are addicted to amphetamine or heroin. Drugs are spread from entertainment places to communities and schools. It is estimated that 663,290 children are currently addicted to amphetamine or “crazy drug” nationwide (The Committee of Popular Agenda for Freedom, 2000: 54).

3.2 Economy

Gross Domestic Product (GDP)

- at Current Price 1999 (billion Baht)	4,688.4
- growth rate – 1999 (%)	4.2
GNP per capital (Baht) – 1999	73,771
Inflation rate (GDP Deflator – 2000) (%)	1.7
Unemployment rate – 1999 (%)	3.0
% population economically active (%)	53.7
Total government expenditure 1999 (billion Baht)	833.0

3.2.1 Economic structure

When the national economic structure by sector is considered as a percentage of GDP, the patterns are illustrated as in the following table:

Economic structure	1979	1989	1998	1999
(%) of GDP				
Agricultural	24.0	15.1	13.4	11.6
Industrial	30.3	36.3	37.4	41.1
Service	45.7	48.7	49.2	46.7
Average annual increase rate	1979-1989	1989-2001	1998	1999
Agricultural	4.0	2.2	-1.4	2.6
Industrial	8.5	6.6	-13.2	7.8
Service	6.6	5.2	-9.5	1.5

Source: The World Bank (2000)

Percentage of GDP in the agricultural sector decreased periodically, however, the ratio of labour absorption in the sector was relatively high. In 2000, 53% of the entire workforce or 18 million were in the sector whereas 47% or 16 million were in other sectors.

3.2.2 Export

Thailand is mainly dependent on exports, but in recent years it has been facing a number of export problems. The main exported products are industrial goods, especially light and heavy industrial products and food processing products. Agricultural goods are declining. In addition, the tourism industry has gained a significant importance during the two-year *Amazing Thailand* campaign, taking in foreign currencies of 550 billion Baht.

3.3 Political dimension

3.3.1 Changes in constitution and civil society sector

In 1997 the new democratic constitution of Thailand's government was fully endorsed, paving the groundwork for more public participation, transparency, decentralization, good governance, corruption monitoring and state management reform aimed to provide quality public services to people.

An important development in recent years is the growth of the civil sector or civil society. It is found that the sector is increasingly empowered, which is counterbalancing and monitoring the entire political system. It also develops a cordial atmosphere among state, private business and public sectors, pushing the issuance of constitutional laws according to the intention of political reform.

3.3.2 Gender Roles

Although there are signs of better structural change, in terms of gender issues it is found that women's participatory role in determining political, economic, social and environmental policies and development plans is still small at all levels. Thai society remains solidly a male-dominated one. Women have little access to resources and have to shoulder a heavy burden of family affairs. During economic crises, women are more often laid-off. They also encounter health and reproductive health problems and numerous types of violence.

In the political sector, the number of female members of parliament, senators and ministers is much smaller than the number of males in these positions. In 1998, 46.34% of the workforce was women but only 37% were contributing to the national incomes. When the economic recession occurred, families with women as heads were affected more seriously than male-headed households (The World Bank, 2000: 19).

3.4 Legal framework

3.4.1 Current contexts

The endorsement of the 1997 Constitution and economic recession were crucial conditions that accelerated the needs to strengthen and reform the entire legal system to facilitate national development. Conventional legal reforms were conducted discretely according to responsible ministries and agencies.

3.4.2 Child labour law

In 1998, Thailand issued the Labour Protection Act with major issues on child labour as follows:

- 1) Employers are prohibited to hire minors under the age of 15 years as employees.
- 2) When a minor under the age of 18 years is hired, an employer must abide by the corresponding regulations.
- 3) A minor employee must be provided at least a one hour break after he/she has continuously worked for four hours. Within the four-hour period, a minor employee can have breaks as specified by his/her employer.
- 4) Employers are prohibited to hire minors under the age of 18 years to work from 10 p.m. to 6 a.m.
- 5) Employers are prohibited to hire minors under the age of 18 years to carry out works deemed inappropriate as stated in the regulations.
- 6) Employers are prohibited to hire minors under the age of 18 years to work in the following venues:
 - (1) slaughter houses
 - (2) gambling dens
 - (3) entertainment venues
 - (4) places where food and drinks are sold with an intention to provide intimate services to customers, e.g., massage, sleeping places.
- 7) Employers are prohibited from giving a minor's wage to others.
- 8) Employers are prohibited from collecting deposits from minor employees.

3.4.3 Ratification of ILO Convention on the Worst forms of Child Labour (No. 182)

Before ratifying this Convention, Thailand had ratified 12 ILO conventions, a small number when compared with other countries in the ASEAN region given that Thailand was a founding member of the ILO when it was established in 1919. The ILO Convention on the Worst Forms of Child Labour (No. 182), 1999 was ratified on February 16, 2001 bringing Thailand's count to 13.

3.4.4 Organizations involved in children and labour

There are a number of state, private and international organizations involved in children's issues and labour. Examples of them are as follows:

- 1) Governmental organizations
 - Ministry of Labor and Social Welfare
 - The Interior Ministry
 - Royal Thai Police
 - Ministry of Education

- Office of the Board of Youth Promotion and Co-ordination

2) Non-Governmental Organizations

There are about 30 NGOs involved in children's issues in the country, which is an indicator of the problems of child labour. Some of these organizations are the Foundation for Child Development, the Children Foundation, the Foundation of Children's Rights Protection Center, the World Vision Foundation, the Foundation of Children Protection and so on. Moreover, there are other international organizations involved in foreign children, for instance, the Network of Asian Child Labour, the Universal Confederation against Women Trafficking and so on.

3) Employers' organizations, such as, the Employers' Confederation of Thailand (ECOT).

4) International organizations, such as the International Labour Organization/International Program on the Elimination of Child Labour (IPEC) and the United Nations International Children's Fund (UNICEF).

3.5 Literature review on child labour and action programmes

3.5.1 Related literature review

The National Statistical Office (1999) conducted a survey on the employment of children between ages 13 to 14 years in response to the 1998 Labour Protection Act, which increased the minimum age of child employees from 13 years to 15 years. The result revealed that child labour in this age group has rapidly decreased since 1990 because the rates of school enrolment in the secondary education level are rising, and there is a decrease in fertility rates.

The Institute of Social Research, Chulalongkorn University (2000) conducted research on child labour situations in Bangkok with support from ILO-IPEC and UNICEF. The research results revealed that households sending their children to work did not see the value of education. They perceived that children should have work experience and help out the family's economy. Although they knew that children encountered many work-related problems, they thought that they should be able to handle them. This indicated that previous state education development did not help solve problems faced by rural people. As a consequence, migration for their own survival exists and still remains.

Research on the life of child domestic workers was conducted by the Foundation of Child Development in 2001. The sample group consisted of 40 female child domestic workers, aged between 15-18 years. Of these, 24 were domestic workers during the research investigation and 16 former domestic workers who had problems and were rescued from employers' households by various agencies. Their nationalities were as follows: 20 Thai, 11 Burmese, eight Lao and one Cambodian. The areas under investigation included Bangkok and its satellite cities.

The research results can be summarized as follows:

Education: It was found that most of the children have an education level lower than the six-year compulsory primary school level because a number of them were foreign children. In other cases the children were taken from their parents at a very young age with the promise of education and guardianship, but the promise was not kept so they were deprived of an opportunity to have education.

Means of entering the job market: Thai children were introduced by acquaintances or peer groups, whereas foreign children were convinced or procured by brokers who were of their same nationality, or Thai people living in border areas.

Working conditions: The work was revealed to be repetitive with long working hours - between 12 to 15 hours a day. They had to work without holidays and the job was entirely dependent on the satisfaction of their employers. However, some of them had generous and kind employers who regarded them as family members therefore they did not change jobs.

Job characteristics: It was discovered that there were two groups of child domestic workers. The first group was responsible for only doing household chores in individual homes. The second group had to perform both household chores and help with the businesses of their employers; their work was much harder than the first one.

Wages or welfare: It was revealed that the minimum daily wage was 30 Baht, averaging about 700 Baht per month.¹

Job change: Most of the children did not change their jobs frequently, but there were some interesting cases. There was a child who had changed his/her job seven times and the reasons were hard work, boredom, repetitive work and lack of personal freedom due to dependence on the satisfaction of the employer.

It was furthermore found that child domestic workers were less socially developed than other groups of child labourers. When compared with others, child domestic workers did not know much about travel routes, dared not interact with others due to lack of socialization, had lower self-esteem, and perceived their work to be of lower value than other children's work.

Legal protection: Related laws do not protect these children in terms of wages, welfare and working hours because the Labour Protection Act does not cover throughout. Consequently, assistance to foreign child labour and child domestic workers could not be fully endorsed and the children are usually underpaid.

3.5.2 Children in the worst forms of child labour

The ILO Convention on the Worst Forms of Child Labour (No. 182) aims to eliminate the worst forms of child labour. Data on the issue in Thailand are not yet complete.

¹ USD \$1 = THB 43.5 (April 2002)

However, the following table may indicate certain situations, patterns and directions of the problem in the country.

**Number of children having had their rights violated and been abused
from 1995 to 1999**

	Types of abuses	Areas		Total	Sexes	
		Bangkok	Regional		Male	Female
1995	Physical and mental	20	21	41	8	33
	Sexual	16	39	55	6	49
	Total	36	60	96	14	82
1996	Physical and mental	39	32	71	37	34
	Sexual	26	67	93	11	82
	Total	65	99	164	48	116
1997	Physical	30	23	53	24	29
	Sexual	45	92	137	21	116
	Neglect	10	-	10	4	6
	Total	85	11	200	49	151
1998	Physical	20	18	38	18	20
	Sexual	16	88	104	26	78
	Neglect	16	2	18	7	11
	Total	52	108	160	51	109
1999	Physical	38	16	54	24	30
	Sexual	26	55	81	6	75
	Total	64	71	135	30	105
	Total	302	453	755	192	563

Source: Division of Children and Youth Welfare Protection, Department of Public Welfare

In addition to the government statistics illustrated above, there are statistics available on child rescue by the Children Foundation and the Children's Rights Protection Center from 1994 to 1998. The violation of children's rights is shown in the following table.

Number of children having had their rights violated, from 1994 –1998

Type of rights violation	Number of children rescued (case/year)					
	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	Total
Sexual harassment	74	83	70	94	75	396
Child abuses	29	22	42	30	16	139
Child labor	17	26	12	41	6	103
Child prostitution	49	29	23	16	15	132
Child kidnapping-disappearance	-	10	7	-	2	19
Others**	60	59	53	18	27	217
Total	229	229	207	199	141	1005

*** Instances are neglected or missing children or children vulnerable to having their rights violated, e.g. children having drug or alcohol addicted brothers*

Source: The Children's Foundation and the Children's Rights Protection Center

From the above statistics, violators included biological parents, step-parents, relatives, acquaintances, monks and employers. The numbers were composed of only those having been rescued by agencies, but in reality the numbers could be much greater and are increasing every year.

There are other causes of children's rights violations. Thai society operates under the notion that children are the property of their parents, and as a consequence, when they are punished or abused severely, children have no way to resist or demand any rights. This is coupled with the social value that such practices of abuse are a "family affair" and outsiders should not interfere. Punishing children by hitting them with sticks is considered a process to form good habits in the child. As a Thai ancient saying goes "If you love your cow, tie it up and if you love your child, hit him (when he does wrong)."

3.5.3 Laws, policies and projects to prevent and solve the child labour problem

As presented by Nikhom Chantharawithun (2001), policies and schemes aimed at solving child labour problems in Thai society follow:

- 1) The compulsory education policy changing from six years to nine years (effective since 1992), enabling children to enter the labour market at the age of 15 instead of earlier.
- 2) Projects aimed at solving child labour problems in 1995, for instance, the project on prevention and solving child labour problems in the regions, projects on vocational training for children ages between 13-15 years, projects on vocational training in the regions to lessen the unemployment problems (for woman and child labour), and loan projects for vocational development.
- 3) Laws concerning children and youth that have been effective are:
 - The Prevention and Suppression of Woman and Child Trade Act (1997)
 - The Vocational Promotion Act (1995)
 - The Labor Protection Act (1998)
- 4) The 1997 Constitution, particularly Articles 28, 29, 30, 42, 53, 80 and 86 providing children's protection from labour exploitation.
- 5) The Current National Social and Economic Development Plans specifying human development strategies, particularly the goal for developing underprivileged population by providing protection and appropriate welfare for child labour in the agricultural sector and those in the informal sector.
- 6) Projects with cooperation or support from international organizations, such as those of ILO/IPEC.

3.5.4 The results of the national seminar on the rapid assessment of child domestic workers in Thailand

The national seminar on the results of the rapid assessment of child domestic workers in Thailand was arranged by the researchers of this project, and took place at the

Royal River Hotel, Bangkok, in September 2001. It was attended by high-level child policy implementation personnel from both state and private sectors. The discussions and conclusions can be summarized as follows:

- 1) Scope and trend of child labour and child domestic worker problems would be more inclined to exploit foreign child labour. This unfair exploitation and illegal invisible form of child labour persists.
- 2) Domestic child labour is still in demand, particularly in household with young children and the elderly. However, it is possible that these households could depend more on modern technology and facilities, such as nurseries for the young and the elderly, instead of exploiting children.
- 3) The life quality of Thai child domestic workers could be in a better position and the problem of working conditions and violence should be non-existent. Educational and self-development opportunities should be made available consistently by employers.
- 4) The tendency of child exploitation through labour in general is decreasing due to the implementation of the 12-year compulsory education system, trade barrier policies of developed countries, strong social monitoring mechanisms and more alternatives for children. Nevertheless, underprivileged children and violence against children still persist, particularly children who are engaged in prostitution and the exploitation of children in the drug trade.
- 5) Concerned agencies are working on similar issues separately, without unified views of the overall picture of the problem. The current trend, however, is one of more coordination and cooperation among these agencies.
- 6) In the future, related agencies should focus more on preventive measures to children entering the job market, on educational opportunities, and on income development at the place of origin in order to provide more decision-making alternatives to children and their families.
- 7) Employers should be motivated to provide an educational opportunity to child domestic workers as a means to increase alternatives for their future lives. They should also be encouraged to view the children in the perspective of childhood rather than of "labourhood."
- 8) The state sector should seriously manage and supervise child labour in terms of job description, quantity and duration of work that are in line with wages and child development, as well as campaigns on the changing of job patterns from the jack-of-all-trades to more specific jobs with set time limitations.
- 9) Thailand still lacks information on the child domestic labour problem. This is compounded by the difficult task of state authorities to search individual homes since they are regarded as private property. Searching a private home requires permission from the court of law and suitable reasons, otherwise it is considered trespassing. Therefore, registration of domestic child labourers and employers should be mandatory so that the information on the issue is existent and necessary measures are set up in an attempt to provide protection and welfare for the children and solve child labour problems.

- 10) Due to an incessant demand for domestic child labour to look after the young and the aged, the job should be developed at a professional level. Caring for the young and the elderly requires special professional skills and knowledge. Those who possess the qualifications are deemed prestigious and liable to receive fair wages. The topic could be handled by communities and the private sector, and needn't be a state service alone. At the present time, domestic work does not have any professional status in Thai society. The training programme on child and elderly care organized by the Department of Public Welfare has received very little public interest.

3.5.5 Summary of the Thai context related to the child domestic labour situation

From the dimensional contexts mentioned previously, it is revealed that, in general, modernization and other changes have been taking place for the better in Thailand. These positive changes, however, are not equally distributed. The ecological, social and cultural capitals in the rural regions are degrading and human capital is not developed at the fast pace of globalization. Many people are in a disadvantaged position and the impacts of development and modernization have created disparities, inequalities and injustices in the society.

In terms of life quality, the ranking of human development according to the UNDP life index of national technological development of 72 countries in 2001, placed Thailand at number 40. This is much lower than several countries in the Asian region, particularly Japan, Singapore, South Korea and Malaysia. From the 2001 Competitive Ranking of the World Economic Forum (2001 Growth Competitiveness Index), it is revealed that, of 75 countries globally, Thailand's competitiveness is ranked at 33. This indicates that the country is having a plethora of population problems.

The conditions which are a driving force in rural regions presented in this chapter have led to the existence of migration from rural areas in search of a better life. The need to have cash has brought about the exploitation of child labour among the poor. The condition has driven a group of poor rural children to become child domestic workers for their survival and that of their families, even though this work is not seen as a respected type of labour. Developing a body of knowledge and understanding of child domestic labour and an assessment of the quality of working life in general are the essence of this research.

Chapter 4

Profile of the survey area: local context

In this rapid assessment, the area investigated is composed of three northeastern provinces, namely, Maha Sarakham, Roi-Et and Yasothon. These are all places of origin of child labour. Both primary and secondary data sources are used to analyze the profile data of these three places. The secondary sources are as follows:

- 1) National Statistical Office, Office of the Prime Minister (2001);
- 2) The Committee of Documents and Archives, published on the occasion of the 6th Cycle of His Majesty the King's Birthday on December 5, 1999 (1999);
- 3) Roi-Et Provincial Administration Organization (2001); and
- 4) The Planning Division, Department of General Education, Ministry of Education (2001).

4.1 Community Infrastructure

4.1.1 Geographical conditions

The three northeastern provinces, which are the places of origin of child labour, are approximately 500 kilometers from Bangkok by road. There is no railway access and only one second-class commercial airport in Roi-Et.

Roi-Et has an area of 8.29 million km², Maha Sarakham of 5.29 million km² and Yasothon of 4.16 million km² respectively. Yasothon was separated from Ubon Ratchathani province on March 1, 1972.

The region where these provinces are situated is a plateau composed of dry, sandy soil. The Chee river is a major water line of the region. The weather conditions are relatively hot and dry with the highest temperature between 40 to 41 degrees celsius. The average annual rainfall is approximately 1,400-1,500 millimeters. There are droughts in certain areas in summer, however, the region experiences flooding every year.

4.2 Local economy structure

The principal vocations of the region are low-land and high-land paddy cultivation and silk-worm farming. The most important agricultural produce are rice (the most precious asset of Isan people), cassava, jute and sugar cane. The three provinces have the product values as shown in the following table.

	Maha Sarakham	Roi-Et	Yasothon
Provincial product (value: thousand baht)	19,841,120	26,146,661	11,294,380
Major provincial products (value: thousand baht)			
1. Agriculture	4,786,391	5,646,230	2,295,510
2. Retail/wholesale	4,420,422	6,300,764	2,556,431
3. Service	3,093,250	4,199,476	1,933,142

The average annual income per head in the region is at a similar level. Although the household income is not high, the expenses are not high either.

	Maha Sarakham	Roi-Et	Yasothon
Average annual income per head	21,085	21,680	19,990
Average monthly income per household	8,444	5,987	7,478
Average monthly expense per household	7,151	5,432	7,152

To sum up, the local economy is mainly agriculture-oriented (high and low land paddy cultivation and livestock) with relatively low average annual incomes. Despite a vast area of paddy cultivation, it depends on natural rainfall, therefore, the cultivation can be carried out only once a year within a three to four month period. Due to the region's high risk of flooding and droughts, most farmers are prepared to have supplementary careers. *(Sources referenced: National Statistical Office, Office of the Prime Minister (2001); The Committee of Documents and Archives, published on the occasion of the 6th Cycle of His Majesty the King's Birthday on December 5, 1999 (1999)).*

4.3 Demographic structure

Roi-Et and Maha Sarakham are fairly large provinces, twice as large as Yasothon. Their population numbers and density are as follows:

	Maha Sarakham	Roi-Et	Yasothon
Number of population			
Total (2001)	937,860	1,321,035	553,982
Male	466,401	661,211	278,327
Female	471,459	659,824	275,665
Population density (person/km ²)	172	159	133

When the population age structure is taken into account, it is categorized into three groups: childhood (0-14 years), working age (15-59 years) and old age (60 years and above).²

	Maha Sarakham	Roi-Et	Yasothon
Childhood	22.79	25.28	23.47
Working age	69.54	68.07	68.25
Old age	7.67	6.65	8.28
Population growth rate	0.70	1.10	0.54
Contraceptive prevalence rate	61.2	70.12	89.9

(Sources referenced: National Statistical Office, Office of the Prime Minister (2001); The Committee of Documents and Archives, published on the occasion of the 6th Cycle of His Majesty the King's Birthday on December 5, 1999 (1999).

4.4 Employment conditions

From the annual survey of employment at the provincial level (January-March 2001) of the National Statistical Office, it is revealed that the northeastern region has one third of the national number of the population and workforce. However, when the number of workforce waiting for the job season is taken into consideration, 72% are in this region. When the overall picture of the number of the unemployed is compared, 57.9% is the workforce in the Northeast.

The data on the employment situation in the northeastern region and in individual provinces indicate that the region has an oversupply of workforce members and the number of the unemployed is numerous. As a consequence, migration to seek jobs elsewhere is a necessary alternative.

4.5 Labour migration

Because the labour migration data from secondary sources are insufficient to generate the overall picture of the migration, it is imperative to conduct the migration census in three villages (Baan) in the three provinces, namely, Baan Song Hong, Wapi Pathum district of Maha Sarakham, Baan Waan, Suwannaphum district of Roi-Et, and Baan DonYang, Muang district of Yasothon. The results of the study are as follows:

- 1) Approximately half of the village households have migrated, the highest are in Roi-Et.
- 2) The proportion of male to female population is low in every village.
- 3) The proportion of childhood population is approximately 25-30%.
- 4) The proportion of old-age population is as high as 7-9%.
- 5) The number of household members are between 5 to 7.

² It should be noted that for the purpose of this research, the term child applies to any person below the age of 18, as outlined in the ILO Worst Forms of Child Labour Convention (No 182)

- 6) In the migrating household, the average number of migrants per household is two.
- 7) The proportion of male migrants is higher than female ones.
- 8) The highest number of those migrating are in the working age category (20-59 years). The minimum and maximum ages of migrants are 9 and 50 years respectively, while those over 60 years old do not migrate.
- 9) The main destination of migrants is Bangkok.
- 10) The occupations of migrants are diverse. Some favourite ones include weavers/seamstresses, drivers and workers in the agricultural sector (sugarcane/fruit/vegetable plantations). The occupations vary according to gender, for instance, weavers/seamstresses are female whereas drivers are male. Entering particular job markets is dependent on migration networks.
- 11) Approximately 50-60% migrate when they are over 20 years old and 30-35% when they are around 15-19 years of age. According to the employment law, the number of working migrants under 18 years is relatively small and they usually migrate with their working parents, older siblings or relatives. In the case of very young children (9-10 years), they also migrate with working parents.

4.6 Human resources investment

The investment takes two dimensions into consideration: public health and education.

4.6.1 Public health

Public health centers are basic medical centers that exist in every community. When people are sick, they first get medical attention at a public health center. Nevertheless, in cases of serious or chronic sickness, they are sent to district or provincial hospitals. One limitation of public health work is the insufficiency of medical and public health personnel. Governments have been attempting to provide the public with health care welfare by setting up the Health Card Project to provide free medical services to those under 12 years or over 60 years of age. At present the 30-Baht Health Care Coverage Scheme is being implemented.

4.6.2 Education

The rate of school enrollment is indicative of educational management success. According to Article 10 in the 1999 National Education Act, it is stated that “in educational management, with equal rights and opportunity, an individual must be provided with at least 12 years of primary compulsory education, with quality and without any charges, by the state.” The 12-year primary education is composed of six years of primary school, three years of lower secondary school and three years of higher secondary school.

From the analysis of school enrollment rates in the lower and higher secondary school levels in April 2001 by the Planning Division, Department of General Education, Ministry of Education, it is revealed that the rate of lower secondary school enrollment in Maha Sarakham was high whereas in Roi-Et and Yashothorn it was

lower than that of the national level. Nonetheless, the rate of higher secondary school enrollment in the three provinces was lower than that of the national level.

	National	Maha Sarakham	Roi-Et	Yasothon
Lower secondary school enrollment rate ranking	94.88	103.46 (71)	91.35 (24)	90.4 (20)
Higher secondary school enrollment rate ranking	87.76	79.15 (25)	73.58 (15)	70.72 (8)

Note: there are 76 provinces in Thailand; rank 1 indicates the lowest school enrollment record and rank 76 indicates the highest enrollment rate.

To conclude, the number of schools and educational personnel are sufficient. The enrollment rate in lower secondary school is over 90% and in higher secondary school is between 70% to 80%, implying that a number of children have to leave the formal education system. This number at the primary school level is relatively small whereas in the secondary school level it is about 20-30%. These children are vulnerable to child labour. Nevertheless, the average age of the ninth graders is 16, leaving only one to two years for them to fall under the definition of the “child” once they leave school. When the time spent waiting for a job and the end of rice cultivation are added to the child’s age, when they stay in school through the ninth grade there is not a lot of time during which they could be working as a child. (*Sources referenced: Roi-Et Provincial Administration Organization (2001); and The Planning Division, Department of General Education, Ministry of Education (2001).*)

In addition to analyzing the secondary data sources, the research team conducted the focused group discussions with community leaders and in-depth interview with parents and youth in the places of origin in an attempt to understand social and cultural contexts, social norms, meanings and thinking systems towards the exploitation of child domestic labour.

4.7 Results from the focused group discussions and interviews with parents in the community

4.7.1 Background and trend of child labour exploitation

Migration in search of work elsewhere has taken place for a long time. The migration of the villagers can be classified into three generations:

In the first generation (grandparent generation), almost all migrants were men, ages between 18-19 years and over. The type of work they performed was paddy cultivation, and they did not require female labour. The places of destination were in other provinces, and not Bangkok.

In the second generation (parent generation), the migrants were both men and women who had completed the four-year compulsory primary education. After graduation

(average age of 14 years), they would linger on for three to four years before leaving the community between ages 17-18 years. The majority of them worked as factory employees.

With the present generation, starting from 1992 to the present, the migrants leave their community after completing the six-year primary school or three-year lower secondary school (aged 13, and 16 years respectively). They are allowed to work because most travel and reside with relatives working in places of destination. Women work mostly in the textile industry business while most men work in garages first before finding other jobs.

4.7.2 The trend of migration to become child domestic workers

In the past five years, the number of children migrating to work was relatively high. That number at present has been drastically reduced due to the expansion of educational opportunities. In the past, the highest education available in a village was the six-year primary school. After completion of this, children would migrate in pursuit of work elsewhere. Some became child domestic workers. Before migrating to find work at the present time, children must complete the lower secondary school at the average age of 16 or the higher secondary school at the average age of 19. If the 12-year compulsory education scheme is fully endorsed, it is expected that child domestic labour will become practically non-existent. While the career itself would remain, older workers as opposed to children would enter it. One community leader commented:

“Domestic labour is not an alternative for child labour, but for older women with little education. It’s hard to find other jobs due to their inadequate qualifications. (There are) more restrictions for older women because they have their own families while employers want only single women for the job.”

4.7.3 The value of migration in the northeastern people

Job migration has been a way of life for the northeastern people. It is found from discussing with old people that in former days the men would gather and set out on foot to the train station to find work in the agricultural sector (no factories then) in the Central Plains, particularly Bangkok and neighboring provinces. The driving force was economic and most of them were successful in building up their families. Therefore, economic migration is regarded as positive and the notion is handed down from generation to generation. The only difference is that in the old days, migration stemmed from economic push factors in the place of origin, i.e. poverty. However, migration causes of later generations vary, ranging from economic push factors to pull factors of modernization and a better life in big cities.

4.7.4 Attitude of parents and community toward child labour

Different societies and cultures interpret and understand social behaviors differently. Western countries, for instance, perceive that Asian societies exploit children under

the age of 18 through child labour. However, if one studies the history of Thai rural life, one would find that a child of seven years old contributed his/her labour to his/her family by, for example, looking after young siblings or tending buffaloes. When they were fifth or sixth graders, many boys would work in rice fields. Once they completed the compulsory sixth grade, they were regarded as adults in terms of labour. They could be employed to do rice cultivation work with a daily wage of 100-120 baht like adults. They could even work in place of their parents. When they were 14-15 years old, they were no longer boys and girls, but men and women. Many girls got married and had children. As a consequence, the migration of the 15-17 year olds was not regarded as child labour exploitation. These children are considered of working age and the bread-winners of their families. The younger a child could work and earn money, the more praises he/she receives from the society. On the contrary, children who do not help their parents work and earn money are branded as lazy and nobody wants them to be their son/daughter-in-laws. Thus, the demand to earn money from child labour after the child has completed their highest education level (sixth or ninth grades) in the village is prevalent in households that could not afford for their children to enter higher level (tertiary) education. Nevertheless, jobs are not easily available for these children and some of them in turn have to do odd jobs in their villages.

Community members do not view child labour as exploitative; rather they view it as a part of the children's learning process. However, the work assigned to children should be appropriate to them. Learning how to work and earn money from early ages prepares them for tougher work when they grow up. Working, for children, does not rely on their ages but on the readiness of individual children. The image of working depends on it being of an honest nature and on its income, not on the types of work.

The types of work are dependent on the availability of work and the willingness of children. Job availability stems from the migration network in the village and employers' requirements. For domestic work, employers require more girls than boys.

4.7.5 Process and steps of becoming domestic workers

The migration pattern to work in Bangkok or elsewhere is similar for both adults and children: through the migration network. Those migrating before convince or facilitate would-be migrants in the village to follow suit. The process ensures new migrants or parents the certainty of jobs, security or temporary residence while waiting for jobs. When a work place requires more workers, current migrants contact their village by phone to see whether anyone wants to work. A customary practice is that every year these migrants visit their families during important festivals, e.g., New Year, Song Kran. Upon returning, they would bring new migrants with them in case of job availability. If not, potential migrants would tell of their intention to work and exchange their telephone numbers. When jobs are available, potential migrants would be informed to make the transition immediately.

In addition to telephone communication, village buses shuttle to and from Bangkok two or three days a week (depending on whether the days are considered auspicious and lucky). Bus drivers are villagers themselves or people well acquainted with the

community. Therefore, parents are not worried even if a child is traveling alone. The buses also bring back necessity packages from the children to their parents in the village or when a child wants to visit his/her home, the bus will take him/her from his/her work place.

The homecoming during important festivals is a time when information on better jobs is exchanged. It is also a time for employers or their friends to get more new workers. Commissions are dependent on the relationship. If potential migrants are relatives, commissions are not paid, but if they are not, they might have to pay some and the amount is negotiable.

4.7.6 Parents' expectations and implications of child labour

Parents expect remittances from their working children, especially girls who are more mature and thrifter than boys. Moreover, girls generally neither drink nor smoke. In reality, they are able to send money home every two to three months for necessary family expenses, such as house repairs, fertilizers, pesticides or daily expenses. In case of emergency, child labourers are required to make advance payments. However, such a practice is only carried out in cases of utmost necessity since parents do not want their children to feel bounded to debt repayment, lack of freedom and pride in their work. In addition, parents expect that children will gain knowledge, experience, good habits, and advice on education from their employers. Parents do think that there are certain negative sides of being child domestic workers, e.g. irregular working hours and bed times and unspecified job descriptions. In general, parents view that being child domestic workers has more positive than negative results.

4.7.7 Job migration motivation of children

In terms of work motivation of children, they have a positive image of Bangkok as a beautiful and civilized place. Older migrants are well dressed and have money when they return home. Children, in general, thus are highly motivated to work in Bangkok. They prefer to wait until they have completed the ninth grade, however, since they perceive that lower secondary school graduates are more in demand in the job market and can get better jobs than primary school graduates. Old people in the community compare these children to "*flying ants flying into the fire*" as Bangkok is flooded with lights and these children are like flying ants attracted by the lights. They cannot stop them from going. However, the children themselves hope that when they have graduated from secondary education, they will be able to find better jobs than being domestic workers.

4.7.8 Recommendations from the community in terms of policy implementation on child labour exploitation

The endorsement of the 12-year compulsory education scheme would enable children to be in school until they are 18-19 years old, indirectly affecting the exploitation of child labour. But in reality, many students could not afford to study at the higher secondary level. Those unable to study beyond the six-year compulsory education level are in an underprivileged position compared to other groups. Schools should

help equip these children for the labour market with quality. Since the state policy emphasizes studying further, the answer from the parents is *“Schools do not prepare the children for the job market. Their advice is studying further.”* The parents also expect their children to work and earn 120 Baht a day, and prefer them to work in the community rather than to migrate elsewhere. If they have to work outside the community, the children should be properly trained before leaving. However, at present state agencies, schools and temples are not much involved in the issue. What the parents can do before their children leaving is to instruct them to be good, honest and responsible to their jobs and employers. Working skills are totally left to their employers.

In the case of the three villages, although they are in a similar environmental context, each one has a different history and learning experience. All of them exploit children through labour to a certain extent. In the past, children entered the labour market faster than they do today due to the longer duration of compulsory education. The older they are when they enter the labour market the less time they are defined as child labour; and the higher education they have, the more vocational alternatives are open to them. Children are free to make decisions to enter the labour market. The types of jobs are determined by migration networks. With the need to have fun and be with their peers, the child domestic working career is not suitable for children. Most children nowadays do not choose to be in this career. However, with parents' economic expectations and the intention to help their families, the exploitation of children persists. The tendency of children to be unfairly exploited might be less because they enter the labour market at an older age with a higher level education, more freedom of choice and vocational alternatives. There are migration networks ensuring their security and facilitating the process of job seeking as well as providing easy communications channels.

4.8 Interview results of children and youth in the community

4.8.1 General living conditions of community children

Almost all of the children (95%) live in their parents' houses, which are one-story wooden houses on high stilts. Under each house is a place to keep chickens and buffalos at night, and for a loom and tables. Most of the space is not distinctly separated for particular uses. The kitchen and toilet are separated from, or under, the house. The roof is made from corrugated iron sheets. The children sleep together in the living room on grass mats with mosquito nets, pillows and blankets. In terms of food, most of them have three meals a day but they have to wait for everybody else to eat before eating: however, when they are very hungry, they may ask a permission to eat first. If they want fruits and sweets, they have to buy them from shops with permission from adults or parents.

4.8.2 Perception and opinions on child labour

Most of the children know that some of their friends in the village are working in factories and others in the community are doing other jobs. However, the majority of

them do not know in detail what those jobs are like. Some are given job descriptions by workers themselves, particularly on job responsibilities that entail a light job with good living conditions, food and salary. There are some verbal abuses experienced which are not regarded as punishment. Furthermore, there are no work-related injuries or sicknesses reported except loneliness and unhappiness, considered to naturally go along with life when one is far away from home. From what they have reported, the children feel positive about working and want to work like others in order to get some work experience.

4.8.3 Attitude of community children toward domestic child labour

Most children in the community view that working as a child domestic worker is an honest and legal career generating income for oneself. The job is a fundamental working experience process, leading to other jobs that require higher skills, such as working in factories.

“The child domestic profession enables us to learn about a working life as we could experience pains and patience for a better working future because we simply could not be in his profession for the rest of our lives.”

Moreover, their attitude includes a view that domestic work is safer when compared with working in factories dealing with machinery. Furthermore, a child domestic worker does not have to commute to work and is provided with food and accommodation. She/he can save all the money earned for personal use, parents, siblings’ education or even her/his own education in the non-formal education school. Therefore, working as a child domestic labourer is essential to relieving the burdens of parents.

On the negative side, they view that the domestic job is for one with no or low level education. If it is possible, the children would attempt to study at a higher level in order to get better and well-paid jobs.

“My education is only grade nine. I don’t know what to do. If I worked, the pay would not be much. What I could do is only menial or domestic work. My wish is to study higher so that I could get a good and well-paid job.”

The domestic work is hard and tiring with a lot to be responsible for. One could get punished if she/he did not work well or according to the order of her/his employer. She/he thus has to be very careful and work all the time without holidays or rest. There is no freedom to socialize with other people. Though working in a big city with a multitude of people, a child domestic worker actually gets to know very few people. Consequently, the children in the community view domestic work as aimless and without future.

Chapter 5

The pathways of child domestic workers in Bangkok: An analysis of their family background, working conditions, and ways and quality of life

This section is the principal part of the rapid assessment of child domestic workers in Thailand. It is the result of analyzing the data collected from 115 child domestic workers in Bangkok. Of these, 89 were girls and 26 were boys, reflecting the overall picture of the Thai society that more girls are working as domestic workers than boys. The samples by sex being relatively different has resulted in the inability to compare the differences of the phenomenon between sexes, the following information will present the overall picture of the phenomenon according to sex so that certain patterns can be perceived. The topics are as follows:

5.1 Profile of the children

There are a total of 115 respondents in the samples in this investigation and the majority of them (77.4) are female. Their ages range from 12 to 17 years, with the most concentration in the 17-year age group (66.1%).

Table 1: Percentage of child domestic workers in Bangkok by age and sex³

Age (years)	Sexes of child domestic workers		
	Female	Male	Total
12	1.1	-	0.9
13	1.1	-	0.9
14	2.2	11.5	4.3
15	6.7	15.4	8.7
16	22.5	7.7	19.1
17	66.3	65.4	66.1
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

³ The source of the data presented in Tables 1 through Table 35 is the fieldwork undertaken during this rapid assessment, 2001.

Over half of the samples (56.5%) originate from the Northeast, which is the poorest region of Thailand, 20.9% from the Central Plains and 15.7% from the North respectively.

Table 2: Percentage of child domestic workers in Bangkok by region and sex

Region	Sexes of child domestic workers		
	Female	Male	Total
Northeastern	62.9	34.6	56.5
Northern	12.4	26.9	15.7
Central	20.2	23.1	20.9
Southern	4.5	15.4	7.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

Almost all of the samples (93.9%) had some level of formal education. The number of those with primary and secondary school education was similar (47.8% and 45.2% respectively).

5.2 Family economic status of child domestic workers

The majority of the samples (80.9%) state that their parents have their own homes. It is deduced that they live in permanent structures considering workers' information about their houses (posts, roof and walls), sizes and degree of newness. The remaining respondents state that their families in the provinces live in relatives' houses (13.0%) and rented houses (6.1%).

In addition, 76.5% have their own land with a vastly different size of land ownership ranging from less than 1 Rai to more than 30 Rai (1 Rai = 400 square meters). Most of the households (62.3%) use their land for agriculture and residence, 67.0% have 4-6 family members whereas 22.6% have over 7 to 11 members.

It is also revealed that 70.4% of the child respondent's parents are living together and 69.7% of them are able to read and write. Most of the fathers and/or mothers (65.2% and 59.4% respectively) are rice-cultivating farmers. Most farmers have uncertain annual incomes, therefore, the respondents could not specify the average monthly income of their parents. Moreover, farmers' incomes are relatively low, forcing them (80.9%) to find other income sources. The principal source of supplementary income (59.1%) is from children working elsewhere. Rice cultivation, in general, is merely for the food security of the family.

In terms of household expenses, it was discovered that most of the children know and can indicate the family's major monthly expenses, such as food, water, electricity and education for family members remaining in school. It is found that over half of the respondents (53.9%) still have one to four younger siblings in school.

Although 53.9% of the samples state that their family incomes cover the expenses, almost half of them (46.1%) know that their families are in debt of various amounts, while 20.9% do not know how much their families owe. Nonetheless, most of the children were unable to tell when their family debts would be paid off.

Table 3: Percentage of child domestic workers in Bangkok by family debts

Family debts (Baht)	Sexes of child domestic workers		
	Female	Male	Total
No debts	44.9	50.0	46.1
1- 10,000	5.6	7.7	6.1
10,001 – 30,000	10.1	11.5	10.4
30,001 – 50,000	2.2	11.5	4.3
50,001 – 100,000	3.4	3.8	3.5
Over 100,000	1.1	-	0.9
Do not know the amount of debts	24.7	7.7	20.9
Do not know whether family is in debt	7.9	7.7	7.8
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

When asked how they would be relieved of debts, 24.1% state that all working family members would have to gradually help pay them off and 11.1% state that when their younger siblings grow up and work, they should lend a hand in paying them off.

Nonetheless, the living conditions of these workers are not much different from those of others in the same community. When they are asked to compare their family economic status with others, 60.0% state that theirs is not much different from that of others in the same village.

Table 4: Percentage of child domestic workers in Bangkok by comparison of their family economic status with others in the same village

Comparison of the family economic status	Sexes of child domestic workers		
	Female	Male	Total
Poorer than others	32.6	42.3	34.8
Same as others	60.7	57.7	60.0
Richer than others	6.7	-	5.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

5.3 Health conditions of the child domestic workers' household

Approximately half of the children in the sample (51.3%) state that there are usually one to two persons who are sick in the family, be they parents, siblings or grandparents. When a family member falls ill, 73.9% of the sample state that he/she is taken to a state medical center, for instance, a public health center in the community, a community hospital or a provincial hospital. This is due to easy access and the cheaper medical expenses afforded at these facilities.

5.4 Working conditions of child domestic workers in Bangkok

5.4.1 Age when starting work

Most of the children left their homes to look for the job when they were between 12 and 16 years old. The age group is in the range of those who finish primary education (12-13 years) and those who finish secondary school education (15-16 years). This corresponds to their statement that they graduate before leaving to find work. However, the ages of starting work are scattered almost evenly in every age group, indicating that, after school, some leave for work immediately while others remain for some time before deciding to leave home.

Although their reason for leaving school is that they have finished compulsory primary education or lower secondary education, their main reason (42.9%) is poverty. The family is too poor to send children to school further, but wants them to have some education and work to help shoulder a family burden. The finding is confirmed by the children that most of them (68.7%) want to get jobs.

Table 5: Percentage of child domestic workers in Bangkok by reasons for leaving home

Reasons for leaving home	Sexes of child domestic workers		
	Female	Male	Total
1. Family problems/ boredom	3.4	15.4	6.1
2. Opportunity to learn about life	2.2	7.7	3.5
3. Seeking life experiences in Bangkok	7.9	-	6.1
4. Looking for jobs	70.8	61.5	68.7
5. Combination of reasons	13.5	11.5	13.0
6. Others	2.2	3.8	2.6
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

5.4.2 Job entry

For job entry, 47.8% of the samples state that relatives play a vital part in convincing them to work and finding jobs for them, followed by friends (17.4%) who are working in Bangkok, supplying the information about their work and convincing them and others in the community to work together.

Table 6: Percentage of child domestic workers in Bangkok by job entry

Job entry	Sexes of child domestic workers		
	Female	Male	Total
Brought by parents	5.6	23.1	9.6
Brought by relatives	49.4	42.3	47.8
Brought by friends	15.7	23.1	17.4
Brought by people in the village	6.7	-	5.2
Brought by a job agent	2.2	-	1.7
Brought by employer	7.9	3.8	7.0
Sought by oneself	10.1	3.8	8.7
Sought by former employer	2.2	3.8	2.6
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

When these child workers have worked for a certain period of time and discover that the work is not satisfactory or they do not like it, quitting a current job to find a new one is not difficult. Though the children in the samples are child domestic workers, over half of them (65.2%) have been in this job for less than one year. It is revealed that 48.7% have changed jobs two to five times, experiencing different types of work, work durations, and reasons for changing.

Table 7: Percentage of child domestic workers in Bangkok by length of time at the current job

Length of time (year)	Sexes of child domestic workers		
	Female	Male	Total
Less than 1 year	22.5	23.1	22.6
1	40.4	50.0	42.6
2	21.3	19.2	20.9
3	6.7	3.8	6.1
4	5.6	3.8	5.2
5	2.2	-	1.7
6	1.1	-	0.9
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

For the types of their previous work, most state that they were engaged in housework or housework and business for their employers. However, other previous work mentioned was diverse, including work in factories, restaurants/eateries, markets/shopping centers, petrol stations, laundries, beauty salons, construction sites, games or snooker clubs, trawlers, and music bands. The length of working periods differs from individual to individual, ranging from a few months to a few years. The most cited reason for leaving their previous jobs is the job itself, e.g. hard or risky job with little pay. Other reasons are abuse, greed, harassment and selfishness of employers, boredom, a need to get new experiences, homesickness or an unfulfilled

need to further their studying, and pressure from parents and relatives who want them to change their jobs or to help with rice cultivation.

5.4.3 Characteristics of work

There are several aspects of household jobs assigned to these workers as their responsibilities. These include house cleaning, laundry, preparing meals and doing dishes, car cleaning, pet feeding, child and elderly care and helping employers' businesses in the households, e.g., making sweets, shop-assisting, order-taking and food-serving and being garage boys. Nevertheless, 49.6% of the samples work in households with more than one child domestic workers. From the investigation, there is a range of one to five child domestic workers in a single household.

5.4.4 Working conditions

It is revealed that the wake-up time of one third of the sample respondents is 5 a.m. and the bedtime of 34.8% of the sample respondents is about 10 p.m. Nevertheless, the wake-up time and bedtime differ greatly from individual to individual, depending on the nature of their work. A striking pattern is that there are a number of workers whose wake-up and bed times are totally different from those of other children at the same age. For instance, child workers who have to do housework and help with the food-stall business of their employers are allowed to go to bed only after the shops and houses are cleaned and get up around noon of the following day. Some have to go to bed at 5 p.m. and get up at 1 a.m. to do housework and help their employers' businesses in the morning markets. Moreover, some do not get enough sleep, particularly those who have to do housework during the day and care for children and the elderly during the night.

Table 8: Percentage of child domestic workers in Bangkok by wake-up time

Wake-up time	Sexes of child domestic workers		
	Female	Male	Total
01.00 a.m.	1.1	-	0.9
04.00 a.m.	4.5	3.8	4.3
05.00 a.m.	39.3	11.5	33.0
06.00 a.m.	24.7	30.8	26.1
07.00 a.m.	13.5	26.9	16.5
08.00 a.m.	5.6	19.2	8.7
09.00 a.m.	5.6	-	4.3
10.00 a.m.	3.4	3.8	3.5
11.00 a.m.	1.1	-	0.9
Noon	1.1	-	0.9
Not certain	-	3.8	0.9
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

Table 9: Percentage of child domestic workers in Bangkok by bedtime

Bed time	Sexes of child domestic workers		
	Female	Male	Total
01.00 a.m.	2.2	3.8	2.6
02.00 a.m.	3.4	-	2.6
03.00 a.m.	1.1	-	0.9
05.00 p.m.	1.1	-	0.9
08.00 p.m.	11.2	7.7	10.4
09.00 p.m.	19.1	15.4	18.3
10.00 p.m.	36.0	30.8	34.8
11.00 p.m.	9.0	30.8	13.9
12.00 a.m.	13.5	3.8	11.3
Not certain	3.4	7.7	4.3
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

The working period starts from wake-up time and carries on until bedtime. It is found that 47.8% of the samples work 12-14 hours a day and 30.4% work 8-11 hours a day. Although the working hours are long, it does not mean that they have to work continuously. They have a break periodically and the working hours and breaks are not fixed like those in the industrial sector. They are called upon whenever there is work to be done. Consequently, when asked if housework is hard and heavy, 87% and 88.9% state that it is not hard or heavy. The difficulty is expressed in the fact that there is no freedom since they are expected to be available at all times.

The children do not have much free time. Most of their free time is spent relaxing, chatting with friends, watching television, listening to music or playing computer games nearby for male respondents.

Table 10: Percentage of child domestic workers in Bangkok by working hours per day

Working hours per day	Sexes of child domestic workers		
	Female	Male	Total
Less than 8 hours	2.2	11.5	4.3
8 – 11 hours	23.6	58.3	30.4
12 – 14 hours	53.9	26.9	47.8
More than 14 hours	19.1	3.8	15.7
Depending on work each day	1.1	3.8	1.7
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

In terms of working days within a week, over half of the respondents (58.3%) have to work seven days a week. Most are female workers, which is probably due to the

nature of their work. Their main job is looking after small children or the elderly and doing endless household chores. However, the rest have at least one day off per week.

Table 11: Percentage of child domestic workers in Bangkok by working days per week

Working days per week	Sexes of child domestic workers		
	Female	Male	Total
5 days	2.2	15.4	5.2
6 days	34.8	42.3	36.5
7 days	62.9	42.3	58.3
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

For those working seven days, 27.8% state that they have no days off at all while the rest report having certain holidays per month or per year or that they are not certain, and that is can depend on their needs and their request to the employers to have time off. Nevertheless, 80.0% state that they write or call home periodically with different frequency among individuals, and 73.0% have the opportunity to visit their families, ranging from once to more than four times a year.

Table 12: Percentage of child domestic workers in Bangkok by holiday aspects

Holiday aspects	Sexes of child domestic workers		
	Female	Male	Total
None	28.1	26.9	27.8
Per week	38.2	53.8	41.7
Per month	21.3	-	16.5
Per year	10.1	7.7	9.6
Not certain	2.2	11.5	4.3
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

5.4.5 Monetary returns, rewards and punishment

Almost all of the child workers get a monetary return in the form of a monthly salary ranging from 1,000 to 6,000 Baht (approx. USD \$23 - \$138). Most of their salary is in the range of 2,000 – 3,000 to 3,000 – 4,000 Baht (27.8% and 25.2% respectively). However, it is found from this investigation that 3.5% of the child workers do not get anything in return for their work. Three male respondents of this group state that their parents had asked their employers to take them in as domestic workers and, at the same time, teach them a craft. A female respondent in the group stated that her employer had given all the money to her parents in advance.

Table 13: Percentage of child domestic workers in Bangkok by monthly salary

Monthly salary	Sexes of child domestic workers		
	Female	Male	Total
None	1.1	11.5	3.5
1-1,000 Baht	2.2	3.8	2.6
1,001-2,000 Baht	12.4	7.7	11.3
2,001-3,000 Baht	31.5	15.4	27.8
3,001-4,000 Baht	28.1	15.4	25.2
4,001-5,000 Baht	18.0	30.8	20.9
More than 5,000 Baht	5.6	15.4	7.8
No answer	1.1	-	0.9
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

For those with a salary, 93.0% receive regular salaries. When they have to take leaves, 67.8% state that there is no reduction in their salaries particularly when they ask for permission in advance. Nevertheless, 17.4% state that there is a reduction of their salaries according to the days taken for leaves.

For the majority of the children, domestic work salaries are their only financial source. However, 32.2% state that they have other sources of income in addition to their salary, mostly from rewards or special money from their employers.

Table 14: Percentage of child domestic workers in Bangkok by other income sources

Other income sources	Sexes of child domestic workers		
	Female	Male	Total
None	68.5	65.4	67.8
From employers	15.7	11.5	14.8
From relatives	2.2	7.7	3.5
From their extra work	5.6	-	4.3
Others	6.7	-	5.2
No answer	1.1	15.4	4.3
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

In terms of monthly expenses, it is revealed that these workers divide their salary into four parts: for parents, personal expenses, education and savings. It is also discovered that 33.0% of the respondents allocate approximately half of their salary to their parents, and 30.3% allocate three fourths or all of their salary to their parents.

For the part allocated for monthly personal use, 51.9% state that one fourth of the salary is spent for this purpose. Nonetheless, 20.4% state that they do not have to use this part.

For the allocation for their education, it is found that very few of them set apart the money for this purpose.

For personal savings, it is discovered that 43.5% allocate one-fourth of their salary for this purpose. However, 37.0% state that they have no money left for savings each month. This is partly because they have to send money home in larger amounts than other child workers.

When asked whether the salary is sufficient to cover their monthly expenses, 89.8% state that it is sufficient, while 55.9% state that they have received a raise and been satisfied with it. However, 42.3% state that they have not received a raise due partly to the relatively short length of time they have been working - 65.2% stated that they had begun their job within the last year.

Regarding punishment, it is revealed that 77.4% have never been punished by their employers. For those who have been punished, these occasions are not frequent and the major form of punishment is scolding or warning. There are other forms of punishment, however rare they are, such as salary cuts, house detention on holidays, verbal abuse or hitting with a hand or a nearby available object. Respondents also reported that they were given warnings and second chances for wrong deeds.

Table 15: Percentage of child domestic workers in Bangkok by punishment experience

Punishment	Sexes of child domestic workers		
	Female	Male	Total
Never	80.9	65.4	77.4
Sometimes	16.9	26.9	19.1
Often	1.1	-	0.9
No answer	1.1	7.7	2.6
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

When asked what forms of punishment they would want their employers to use if they were to be punished, it is revealed that about half of the respondents state that they prefer their employers to warn or instruct them so that they could do as expected. However, 47.0% of the children could not answer this question or did not know what to answer and about half of them could not answer the question on the punishment avoidance tactics. For those giving the answer, 26.1% state that they must work hard, perform good work or do the job as assigned whereas the rest use different approaches. Nonetheless, 6.1% stated that they did not know how to avoid being punished.

Table 16: Percentage of child domestic workers in Bangkok by means of punishment

Means of punishment	Sexes of child domestic workers		
	Female	Male	Total
Warning	41.6	61.5	46.1
Depending on mistakes	2.2	11.5	4.3
Salary cut	1.1	-	0.9
Hitting	2.2	-	1.7
No answer	52.8	26.9	47.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

5.4.6 Dangers of work

When asked about work-related sicknesses or injuries, it was found that 47.0% have not experienced them, while 46.1% state that they have been sick but that it is not work-related, e.g., cold, headache or stomach pain. However, 7.0% state that their sicknesses or injuries are work-related, for instance, cuts, stomach ulcer due to irregular meal times, headaches from work-related stress, allergies from working in a dusty place or skin diseases from being allergic to detergent.

Table 17: Percentage of child domestic workers in Bangkok by work-related sicknesses

Work-related sicknesses	Sexes of child domestic workers		
	Female	Male	Total
None	47.2	46.2	47.0
Yes, but not work-related	44.9	50.0	46.1
Yes, and work-related	7.9	3.8	7.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

When ailments occur, 40.4% of the workers state that they do not do anything about them. In this case, the illness may be minor. Nevertheless, 41.3% state that they take over-the-counter medicine or go to see the doctor by themselves according to the symptoms, whereas 18.2% state that they are taken care of by their employers by providing them medicine or taking them to see the doctor.

Table 18: Percentage of child domestic workers in Bangkok by sickness management

Sickness management	Sexes of child domestic workers		
	Female	Male	Total
Do not do anything	38.8	45.8	40.4
Self-caring	21.3	25.0	22.1
Taken care of by employers	5.0	12.5	6.7
See the doctor by oneself	21.3	12.5	19.2
Employers taking to see the doctor	13.8	4.2	11.5
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

5.4.7 Relationship with employers and others

As a child domestic worker residing in his/her employer's household all the time, his/her social sphere is more restricted than that of other children. For those doing housework and taking care of the young and the elderly, they interact with their employers, employers family members, employers' friends and relatives, and other workers (providing there is more than one child domestic worker in the household). For those helping with their employers' businesses in addition to doing housework, they are able to meet other work-related personalities besides employers' family members.

When asked which family member(s) they like most, 45.2% state that they like their employers most. Nonetheless, 18.3% state that they do not like anyone in particular. When asked which family member(s) they like least, 67.8% state that there are none. However, 18.3% state that those they like least are their employers. In addition to the relationship with employers' family members, 78.3% have an opportunity to meet other people and 47.8% of them state that they like to interact with these people.

Working and living in a place far away from home and family has certain unfavorable impacts on the emotional state of these child workers and they need advice and counseling to lessen such impacts. When asked whom they confide in when they are unhappy, 33.9% choose to share with friends, particularly those working in the household with more than one child worker. The rest, 23.5% and 22.6%, choose to seek consolation from relatives working in Bangkok and employers respectively.

When asked to assess their current overall working situation and give the answer to whether they like their work or not, most of them, 76.5%, state that they like their work, reflecting a positive working situation of the child domestic workers in this investigation.

Table 19: Percentage of child domestic workers in Bangkok by feeling towards their work

Feeling towards their work	Sexes of child domestic workers		
	Female	Male	Total
Like	76.4	76.9	76.5
Neutral	14.6	15.4	14.8
Dislike	9.0	7.7	8.7
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

5.5 Living conditions of child domestic workers in employers' households

5.5.1 Relationship status of child domestic workers

Almost all of the respondents, 92.2%, reside in the households as employees performing work as assigned, with wages. However, 7.8% of them state that they fit

into the status of “relative” and some of this latter group have an opportunity to study during the day and do household chores in the evening with a monthly salary and fewer working hours than the others.

Table 20: Percentage of child domestic workers in Bangkok by relationship status

Relationship status	Sexes of child domestic workers		
	Female	Male	Total
Employee	94.4	84.6	92.2
Relative	5.6	15.4	7.8
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

5.5.2 Employers’ household size

It is revealed that most of the child workers work in households with three to five members (49.6%) and six to ten members (35.7%) respectively. A larger household size may reflect larger household burdens requiring more workers to handle. Nevertheless, a smaller household size with family business may need more workers to shoulder the burdens as well.

Table 21: Percentage of child domestic workers in Bangkok by number of employers’ family members

Number of family members	Sexes of child domestic workers		
	Female	Male	Total
1-2	7.9	3.8	7.0
3-5	51.7	42.3	49.6
6-10	36.0	34.6	35.7
More than 10	4.5	19.2	7.8
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

5.5.3 Living conditions of child domestic workers

An important aspect of being a child domestic worker is that he/she has to live with and be under the supervision of his/her employer all the time. From the investigation of their living conditions, it is found that an employer with more than one child worker provides a separate bedroom for them to share. For an employer with only one child worker, a separate bedroom is provided or the child stays in the same room as the young or the elderly he/she is looking after. Most of the workers perceive that the bedroom is in medium to good condition (41.7% and 32.2% respectively).

For food, most of the respondents (87.0%) state that they are provided with three meals per day of sufficient quantity (78.3%) and good quality (69.6%) respectively. However, a small portion of the respondents state that they are not provided the full three meals or that the meals are irregular (13.0%) and not sufficient in quantity (1.7%). When they are combined with those who are unable to state whether the food is sufficient and good, the percentage is relatively high (20.0% and 27.8% respectively). This is because the situation changes day to day. Sometimes the food is

not sufficient and good, while other times it is. This situation reflects that, in general, the food provided by employers may not be good enough.

Table 22: Percentage of child domestic workers in Bangkok by eating condition

Eating conditions	Sexes of child domestic workers		
	Female	Male	Total
Full	83.3	61.5	78.3
Not full	1.1	3.8	1.7
No answer	15.7	34.6	20.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

Table 23: Percentage of child domestic workers in Bangkok by food quality

Food quality	Sexes of child domestic workers		
	Female	Male	Total
Good	78.7	38.5	69.6
Fair	2.2	3.8	2.6
No answer	19.1	57.7	27.8
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

In addition to conditions of food and accommodation, the conditions of the breadth of the respondent's world were considered; i.e. whether they have opportunities to travel and see new places and experience new things. From the investigation, 17.4% of the respondents are not familiar with other places and are unable to visit them by themselves. However, for the remaining percentage, about half of them state that they know how to visit several places in Bangkok by themselves. This latter group consists more of the children who have had the experience of living in Bangkok for a more significant period of time.

Table 24: Percentage of child domestic workers in Bangkok by known places in Bangkok and ability to visit them by themselves

Known places and ability to visit them	Sexes of child domestic workers		
	Female	Male	Total
Do not know and unable to travel	18.0	15.4	17.4
Know and able to travel to some places	36.0	15.4	31.3
Know and able to travel to many places	46.1	69.2	51.3
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

The general living conditions of the child domestic workers residing in the employers' households can be assessed by comparing the living conditions of the children in their hometowns to those of the employers'. It is found that most of them perceive that general living conditions and food at the employer households are better than those in their hometown (60.0% and 67.8% respectively). In terms of job responsibility and their mental state, they find that the responsibility is harder at the employers and they are less happy at the employers' than they are at home.

Table 25: Percentage of child domestic workers in Bangkok by comparison of the general living conditions

Comparison of the living conditions	Sexes of child domestic workers		
	Female	Male	Total
Better at employers' households	59.6	61.5	60.0
Same	22.5	15.4	20.9
Better at home	18.0	23.1	19.1
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

Table 26: Percentage of child domestic workers in Bangkok by comparison of food

Comparison of food	Sexes of child domestic workers		
	Female	Male	Total
Better at employers' households	65.2	76.9	67.8
Same	18.0	11.5	16.5
Better at home	43.8	11.5	15.7
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

Table 27: Percentage of child domestic workers in Bangkok by comparison of job responsibility

Comparison of job responsibility	Sexes of child domestic workers		
	Female	Male	Total
Lighter at employers' households	38.2	42.3	39.1
Same	18.0	15.4	17.4
Lighter at home	43.8	42.3	43.5
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

Table 28: Percentage of child domestic workers in Bangkok by comparison of mental state

Comparison of mental state	Sexes of child domestic workers		
	Female	Male	Total
Happier at employers' households	31.5	38.5	33.0
Same	29.2	15.4	26.1
Happier at home	39.3	46.2	40.9
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

In terms of the ability to quit their present job regardless of reasons, 69.6% of the respondents state that they are able to resign from their current work without having any problems with their employers, but they should inform their employers well in advance to give them ample time to find new workers. Nevertheless, 20.9% state that they are unable to do so, reasoning that their families are still in debt or that they are unable to find better jobs. The reasons tend to be more personal rather than to do with declining permission on the part of the employers.

5.6 Attitude towards working and education of the child domestic workers

5.6.1 Attitude towards working

Although the principal cause for these children to work in Bangkok is linked to family needs, the findings of this study reveal that there are many other causes, including family problems, boredom with hometown living conditions, attempts to further their studies by saving more money, and the opportunity to experience a new and attractive life in Bangkok. Bearing these in mind, working is a means for these children to achieve their goals more easily.

In response to the question of whether a child should work at all, 54.6% state that a child should work to support him/herself and family, to realize the value of money and to have an experience which might be beneficial to the future. Nevertheless, 39.9% have a different perception, stating that a child should be in school and that he/she is not mature enough to carry out such responsibilities and make decisions.

In response to the question regarding the age at which a child should work, the answers span almost every age range, but most of the opinions are clustered around the ages of 15 and 18 (27.0%). This reflects the two different opinions of the respondents to the above question of whether a child should work at all.

When asked whether they want to quit their present job, 50.4% state that they do whereas 46.1% do not. The reasons for wanting to continue the job are that it is a light job, the employers are kind-hearted, it is better than having no work and it is fun to have new friends. However, some of the group reasons that they do not know what they would do if they quit because jobs are scarce and they are not highly educated and new jobs may not be as good and may pay lower wages.

For those wanting to quit the job, their reasons are that they want to further their studies, that it is a hard, boring and low-paid job and that they want to return home to help their families grow rice or find new jobs in nearby communities.

Their opinions are further evident when asked what they want to do if they quit their present job. The answers are divided into two groups. One group (43.5%) opts to find any other jobs in Bangkok whereas the other (56.5%) want to return home. The goals of going home are diverse. Some want to help their parents, find jobs in nearby communities or further their studies, while others want to start their own small businesses, such as food-stalls, beauty salons, grocery stores or nurseries.

Table 29: Percentage of child domestic workers in Bangkok by what they want to do after quitting the current job

What they want to do after quitting the current job	Sexes of child domestic workers		
	Female	Male	Total
Finding other new jobs in Bangkok	43.8	42.3	43.5
Returning home without knowing what to do	2.2	7.7	3.5
Returning home to study	10.1	11.5	10.4
Returning home to help parents	21.3	30.8	23.5
Finding new jobs in hometowns	11.2	7.7	10.4
Returning home to open own small businesses	11.2	-	8.7
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

5.6.2 Attitude toward education

Almost all of the respondents (93.5%) had attended school, with nearly the same number of primary and secondary school graduates. Most of them (60.7%) state that they were average achievers and 24.3% state that they were high achievers.

Table 30: Percentage of child domestic workers in Bangkok by past academic achievement

Past academic achievement	Sexes of child domestic workers		
	Female	Male	Total
Good	22.6	30.4	24.3
Fair	63.1	52.2	60.7
Poor	14.3	17.4	15.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

During their study years, 35.8% state that they used to work to earn money. Most of them reporting doing odd jobs, e.g., weeding, peeling jute, cultivating rice, harvesting fruits and sugar canes and construction. Some of them were doing the same types of work they are currently doing, e.g. housework, baby-sitting, making dolls, working as shop-assistants or serving food. Although, over half of the respondents (64.2%) state that they never worked to earn money during their school years, from the data on household economic status, it is presumed that this group might have played a hand in housework or family businesses to a certain extent, with different degrees of job quantity and load.

Table 31: Percentage of child domestic workers in Bangkok by work experience during school years

Work experience during school years	Sexes of child domestic workers		
	Female	Male	Total
No	63.9	65.2	64.2
Yes	36.1	34.8	35.8
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

Almost all of the child domestic workers completed their education before coming to work in Bangkok. When they completed the compulsory primary education, they were around 12-13 years old and those who had completed lower secondary education were about 15-16 years old.

In terms of reasons for leaving school, 44.1% attributed this to poverty and that they wanted to help out their families. Of all the reasons, a mere 8.8% state that they did not like to study.

When asked what they liked about school, it is revealed that 52.8% liked having and playing with friends and 17.9% liked activities in school, e.g., sports, arts studying, reading in the library and participating in group activities with friends.

When asked what they did not like about school, 42.1% state that there was nothing they did not like. However, 38.3% state that they did not like the teachers and/or the subjects being studied.

When asked to recount punishment experiences in school, 59.4% state that they had experienced punishment to varying degrees. Although they talk about different punishment methods, almost all of them experienced one form of corporal punishment due to either their own behaviour, e.g. naughtiness, truancy or quarrelling, or a combination of factors, e.g. inability to understand what was studied, do homework or solve mathematical problems, coming to school late or wearing inappropriate uniforms. However, the data are not sufficient to draw a conclusion about appropriateness of the punishment methods.

Table 32: Percentage of child domestic workers in Bangkok by punishment experience in school

Punishment experience in school	Sexes of child domestic workers		
	Female	Male	Total
No	42.2	34.8	40.6
Yes	57.8	65.2	59.4
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

No matter what kinds of experience these children had at school, when asked whether they want to study (in the case of those with no schooling) or further their studies, 74.3% state that they do. The major reason is that they want to have knowledge in order to get better jobs and have a good future. For those who do not, the reasons are that they are not high achievers or do not like to study or they prefer working to studying. Nevertheless, when asked whether they would have an opportunity to study in the future, 46.9% think that they will by working and saving more money. The most cited educational channel is non-formal education, which some say is suggested to them by their employers.

5.7 Life quality of the child domestic workers

Besides the attitude toward working and education of the child domestic workers mentioned previously, topics on living conditions and life quality are another target this study attempted to uncover.

The opinions of the respondents on their career are divided into two groups: those satisfied with the job and wanting to go on and those dissatisfied with it and wanting to quit. When asked what future careers they wish to be in, it was found that only 1.7%, all female respondents, want to stay in the same job. The rest (33.0%) wish to be teachers, nurses, police officers, soldiers, accountants or company employees in the future. Another 29.6% wish to have their own small businesses. Jobs with aspects and social hierarchies similar to those of domestic work, such as factory workers or unskilled labourers, are also mentioned by some respondents. For male respondents, 15.4% state that they want to be skilled labourers, especially those currently doing housework and helping employers' businesses, such as garage work. Nevertheless, there is another 13.9% who did not provide answers as to their future careers.

When asked why they want to be in these professions, most state that they like them, without further elaboration. Some, however, mention good pay, beautiful clothes or the possibility of having a better future.

Table 33: Percentage of child domestic workers in Bangkok by future careers

Future careers	Sexes of child domestic workers		
	Female	Male	Total
Domestic workers	2.2	-	1.7
Vocational careers	34.8	26.9	33.0
Skilled labour	-	15.4	3.5
Factory workers	5.6	3.8	5.2
Unskilled labour	1.1	-	0.9
Farming	5.6	7.7	6.1
Own business	29.2	30.8	29.6
Others	6.7	3.8	6.1
Don't know	14.6	11.5	13.9
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

When asked about the possibility of their ambitions being realized, 48.7% think that the prospects are bleak because what they dream of requires a lot of knowledge and specialization. Another reason is lack of money and/or land to invest.

For the remaining part, 35.7% mention that the possibility is high because some are able to save some money or study through non-formal education or they already have some skills and knowledge about what they want to do in the future, e.g. mechanical work or cooking. Others state that they have seen a channel to establish their own businesses in their communities, e.g. a grocery store or nursery.

When asked what they feel about having had to be domestic workers, 49.6% state that they are satisfied with it since they are able to support themselves and their families. However, 14.7% harbor a negative opinion of the job, citing that it is inevitable that they are in this work or that it is the most suitable job for uneducated people like them. Some feel frustrated or unhappy about it but are unable to find better jobs.

Table 34: Percentage of child domestic workers in Bangkok by opinions on their being domestic workers

Opinions on their being domestic workers	Sexes of child domestic workers		
	Female	Male	Total
Neutral	34.8	34.6	34.8
Satisfactory	48.3	53.8	49.6
Necessary for them	4.5	3.8	4.3
Frustrated/unhappy	11.2	7.7	10.4
No answer	1.1	-	0.9
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

The last question of the survey asked the respondents what aspects of child labour they want the government to pay attention to. A total of 65.2% of the respondents expressed their opinions on this topic. It is revealed that 23.5% want the government to pay attention to their living conditions, physical and mental security and job responsibility, 22.6% to their underpaid salary and 13.9% to their education so that they could find better jobs.

Table 35: Percentage of child domestic workers in Bangkok by government attention to aspects of child labour

State attention to child labour's aspects	Sexes of child domestic workers		
	Female	Male	Total
Living conditions/security	24.7	19.2	23.5
Wages/salary	21.3	26.9	22.6
Training and skill development	1.1	7.7	1.6
Opportunity to engage in further studies	12.4	19.2	13.9
Providing good work channels for child labour	2.2	3.8	2.6
Don't know	38.2	23.1	34.8
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

Chapter 6

Conclusion, synthesis and recommendations

6.1 Analysis of the pathways to the worst forms of child labour

Child domestic workers are a phenomenon that satisfies urbanism. People living in urban areas are frequently bound to time, work, commuting and daily activities defined by certain schedules. Although housework is essential, it receives a low professional value. The middle and high classes do not usually do their own housework but employ others to do it instead. Particularly at present, it is imperative to find domestic workers to take care of the young and the elderly. With no exact figures, it is expected that there are a large number of domestic workers working in Bangkok and other big cities.

There is a low professional image of domestic workers in the perspective of the society and other general labourers, especially in terms of freedom of work, isolation, the constant “on-call” availability to meet employer’s needs, unattractive fringe benefits and negative psychological and cultural feelings towards the career. Those with more alternatives prefer to do other jobs. Perceptions are further lowered by Thai media and culture stereotypes of the role of child domestic workers, and the channel to domestic work is presented most often to children from poor backgrounds. Such a phenomenon has always been present in Thai society.

Domestic workers have a different job set-up from other general workers because household owners have the full right not to grant anyone permission to enter their homes without their prior consent (in case of necessity, a writ is required). The exploitative behavior of employers of domestic workers exist in invisible forms. Due to the relatively secluded arrangement, in the case of domestic workers the worst forms of child labour can occur more easily than in many other situations, and go on unobserved by the outside.

In this study the researchers have concluded that the circumstances of the 115 child respondents who made up the sample were not priorities for action in terms of worst forms of child labour. This is probably because the community of child labour origin has developed a social network mechanism of migrants and, due to easy access to telecommunications technology (telephone), a certain confidence in sending children to the child domestic labour market has been created (see the Analysis Results of Focused Group in Chapter 4). The factors in the community of origin have remained the push factors for economic migration as in the past, e.g. insufficient income from agriculture, free time during the off-work season and lack of supplementary careers. However, there have also been changing factors in the community context: the success of family planning, and factors favorable to the reduction of child labour

exploitation such as having a state-subsidized school in the community to enable primary school graduates (ages 12-13 years) to finish grade nine (ages 15-16 years).

The endorsement of the compulsory education scheme from six to nine years at least increases the maturity of children before they enter the labour market. Information from many concerned agencies indicated that the education quality in the lower secondary level cannot play a part in suitably developing children for the future labour market. If the education policy of 12-year compulsory education scheme is taken into consideration, future graduates would be about 18 years old, ending the exploitation of child labour below 18 years of age. In the future, the state educational structure will reduce the problem of child labour exploitation drastically.

Nonetheless, in reality not every child is able to attend the state-subsidized compulsory education scheme. A number of children are poverty-stricken and cannot afford higher level schooling. This group of children is vulnerable to suffering from the worst forms of child labour because they have no one to turn to or are put in a position where they must support their elderly relatives. They have neither alternatives nor negotiation power, hence they can easily be taken advantage of. The society, particularly the state sector, must pay special attention to these children. The researchers reason that the suppression of the problem of worst forms of child labour must be carried out in the place of child labour origin. Every child in the community must attend school and teachers/schools should know and be able to identify which children are at risk.

School teachers alone, however, are definitely unable to prevent or suppress the worst forms of child labour. Other state agencies concerned, e.g., the Ministries of Labour and Social Welfare and Ministry of Education (Department of Non-Formal Education) are obliged to cooperate in developing child labour protection and management mechanisms suitable to the potential and age of children. These agencies have already been in charge of the issue but they lack coordination and cooperation in seriously solving the problem. Attempts to prevent and solve the problem of the worst forms of child labour at the place of destination are practically futile because violence against child labourers is a concealed or invisible form. From a decade of experience of a government official dealing with the issue, it is stated that it is extremely difficult to know where child labour exists. There have been very few complaints and when investigated, evidences are simply non-existent.

In terms of parents exploiting children through labour, parents in rural communities do not regard child labour exploitation as damaging but as a learning process for children. Work assigned to them, however, should be suitable for their physical and mental maturity and based on "love." Children, for their part, are proud of their achievement and implicitly prepared for their future careers. In these instances it is argued that working for children is not obligatory but based on willingness and their decision to select the work types. Social networks play a part in the decision-making at the early stage, but work can be changed if children find it not to their liking. When children have higher education, more professional alternatives are open to them. If they could choose, they would not work as domestic workers because the job aspect is boring, repetitive and endless. Hence, those doing household work are more often

adults than children. The job pattern, however, has been changed nowadays. House owners especially those without children or the elderly employ either house-cleaning companies on weekends or individuals to do the job once or twice a week without residing in their households. The expenses are of similar but they do not have to take on the burden of food and accommodation as in the case of child domestic workers.

For families with dependents, the need to hire child domestic workers is still seen as mandatory. However, such workers must possess special training in skills related to child care and care for the elderly with ailments. These services are provided by some private companies, but there are problems of quality, deception and taking advantage of labour. The group who are trained and perform this type of labour must be at least ninth graders and over the minimum age for employment.

From the interview data on the general working situations of child domestic workers, most often their working period is of one year duration, and holiday leave-taking is during the Song Kran Festival (April 13-15) and New Year, which is also a time of job change. Their monthly salary is in the range of 3,000-5,000 Baht, depending on the length of working period. Raises are made in accordance with working periods. Some child workers receive the minimum salary of 3,000 Baht because they often change their job. In some cases, the salary is higher because the expense of side-dishes is included since they are provided with only lodging and rice. In cases of no or low salary, it is revealed that the employment pattern is of a kinship type. The parents ask the employers to look after their children and support their education in exchange for doing household work and some money.

The working hours of the children are well over eight hours a day, mostly without holidays. However, the majority of them state that the work is not heavy or complicated – just endless. At the start of the day, a child worker prepares breakfast for the family before leaving for school or work. After that she does the housework or takes a rest (except in a household with young children and the elderly). Life gets busy again in the evening when everybody returns home and the workload increases on holidays when everyone stays home. When the living conditions in terms of food between the employer's home and in the home community are compared, most of the children state that the former is better. However, in terms of psychological happiness, the latter receives better marks. Although the working conditions are not bad, most domestic workers do not want to stay in this work as their principal future career. They simply regard it as a springboard for other better careers.

From the above analysis, and as mentioned earlier, it seems in general that the worst forms of child labour are generally not present in the lives of the respondents in the study sample. Yet it should be noted that some study respondents who entered the labour market at a very young age and without education make up the “socially and economically marginalized” and are at greater risk of experiencing worst forms of child labour. They are not necessarily from the northeastern region alone but from remote communities in any regions including the border areas. There remain risk groups who are underprivileged children, for instance, 25,477 children in 170 Border Patrol Police schools and 36,543 children in 41 state-funded schools under the supervision of the Special Education Division nationwide. From interviews with

individuals dealing with child labour in general, from both state and private sectors as well as employers, it is revealed that the exploitation of foreign child labour is increasing. This labour group could be the next target of the worst forms of child labour, which could occur in both domestic and general work that utilizes child labour. An investigation of the process of entering the labour market of foreign child labourers is an important topic for further research.

6.2 Analysis of other factors critical to policy design and implementation

In this section, other factors that should be considered in policy formation (to alter work conditions or to make hazardous work safe), social norms or attitudes that might hinder the effectiveness of certain interventions, resource constraints, and implications of current policies or previous interventions are discussed.

6.2.1 The problem of chronic poverty in the rural community

The problem of the worst forms of child labour is a direct and indirect result of poverty created in rural communities by the past development process that focused solely on economic growth. The development was more urban-biased and industry-oriented than rural- and agriculture-oriented. The impacts of such a development had deprived rural people the right to manage their natural resources. A wave of economic migration ensued and children were obliged to participate in the survival process of their families. Schemes aimed at preventing and solving the problem of worst forms of child labour must be integrated into poverty-elimination projects in rural regions. The integrated projects must be ongoing and developing ecological, social, economic and human capitals in equal proportion.

6.2.2 The problem of pattern of production in Thai society

In the past several decades, Thailand focused on the comparative advantage production mainly in terms of cheap labour policy and resources-based industries. Such a policy encouraged serious exploitation of cheap labour, resulting in irreversible losses of precious natural resources. Many types of industries were labeled as the “sunset industry,” relying on abundant cheap labour - and child labour was a category many industries exploited. Several cases could lead to the worst forms of child labour. This pattern of production was a structural problem, existing on cheap and low quality products. There have still not been any real measures at the national level pushing industries to be technology- and innovation-oriented with high quality labour.

6.2.3 The problem of political will

Real situations in the past revealed that assorted labour laws were enforced with difficulty. The laws were issued as a control mechanism rather than improvement of life quality of labourers. Thai labourers do not get suitable employment and wages. The 1997 economic recession has been used as an excuse by certain sectors to slow down the improvement of policy and law, and acceleration of administration, the tax system, job creation and labour skill development.

6.2.4 The problem of unity and cooperation

Although there are laws, policies, prevention plans, organizations and individuals related to and involved in solving child labour problems, most of these organizations and individuals at national, provincial and operational levels need to develop their operation and coordination effectiveness. Additionally, their view of discrete working persists, thus lacking the consideration of the dimensions of child labour in connection with other social systems.

The ineffectiveness also reflects the lack of coordination with each other of the more than 30 non-governmental and civil society organizations dealing with children issues in the country.

6.2.5 The problem of empowerment and learning development at community and family levels in rural areas

There have not been sufficient endeavors to develop community and family empowerment in rural regions, nor to promote the development of skills and capitals which create activities binding families to their local communities.

The existence of child labour and the worst forms of child labour is perceived merely among those affected or involved. There are no structures creating a widespread sense of urgency and social awareness. Participation of the general public, labourers and child workers in committees at all levels dealing with labour issues is still non-existent. Lack of wide-scale awareness restricts labour movements to a group of leaders, without support from the public.

6.2.6 The problem of parents' expectations

A large number of parents expect economic gains from their children even with the realization that they may suffer physically and psychologically from hard work and verbal abuse. Their assumption is that they should be able to tolerate such a condition. Many child domestic workers send a high proportion of remittances to their parents when compared with what they receive. Some parents want their children to become domestic workers because they can save up more money due to the static nature of the work and lack of freedom of movement.

The expectation of economic gains from children is not uncommon. However, parents should be made aware of the life quality of their children rather than remittances.

6.2.7 The problem of awareness-raising on the rights of child labourers

Child labourers are made passive, ignorant and unaware of their rights. Campaigns to raise such awareness in primary and secondary schools in the provinces are very sporadic and scarce. Children lack the power to form an organization, to negotiate and demand their rights to improve their working conditions. Child labour unions to bring child victimization and worst forms of child labour to the forefront cannot be established given the current lack of awareness and support for such causes.

6.3 Policy recommendations

- For Thailand, to have measures concerning child domestic labour, it is imperative to implement knowledge in order to create change. At present, several dimensions of actionable knowledge are still non-existent, such as knowledge on the demand side of child domestic workers, size and changes, the possibility of registration, clarity of work (at present, these children have to do wholesale work), patterns of housework (hiring a company or during weekends), and businesses dealing with child domestic workers. Information must be collected to fill these gaps in knowledge. Additionally, a study should be conducted on how and whether the relationship between employers and employees in terms of consideration, nurturing, compassion and generosity which are traditional social and cultural capitals would be affected if child domestic labour is brought under the protection of future labour laws.
- It is necessary to campaign for a change of employers' attitude. The topic should be made a public issue since it is difficult to address at the individual level. In general, an individual would be less selfish when concerned topics are made public. Mass media should do their part to be an agent in raising awareness among employers to respect the rights of child domestic workers.
- In the age of globalization, the state sector or government has become very small. As a consequence, the private or civil society sector that is usually more efficient should be encouraged to eliminate violence against children by allocating budget or supporting technicalities. However, there must be clear indicators for assessment.
- Policy recommendations for three groups of children with different characteristics should be taken into account separately: (i) children with 9- or 12-year compulsory education, (ii) educationally deprived children, and (iii) foreign children.

i) Children with 9-or 12-year compulsory education

Most children with 9- 12-year compulsory education in rural areas cannot afford tertiary education. As a consequence, they are forced to enter the labour market. Until measures are in place for them to be able to stay in school, secondary school curricula should be adjusted to prepare children with vocational skills and knowledge of their rights. Curriculum management has to be flexible and in line with issues children will confront when they leave school, especially labour market needs. Moreover, children should be trained to be knowledge-inquisitive even when not attending formal school.

The need for child domestic workers to look after the elderly is a future trend. The demand of such labour is likely to increase according to the changing population structure in the country and the world. The status of

child domestic workers caring for the elderly should be raised by providing the children with education and an understanding of the physical and psychological needs of the aged, developing their aged-care skills, and creating circumstances of greater value and dignity, and better conditions. State organizations should set up a network to run the whole system from selecting interested youth (taking age and employment laws into account), and training and protecting them while bringing domestic work to a level of professional recognition and ensuring safety and quality control.

ii) Educationally deprived children

The state, in cooperation with local schools and communities, should single out, gather information about and monitor children who are educationally deprived as they are a risk group distributed all over the country. While steps are made to make education available to all, a possible rudimentary policy is that the government should encourage local schools/communities to set up an organization providing assistance to these children, such as intervention programmes and monitored and protected jobs in the community. If the community is unable to handle the issue, they should be able to get help from external organizations to deal with the problem. Meanwhile, the body of knowledge to tackle the problem should be developed continuously. At the present time, there exists a wide gap between those having the potential to help others and those in need.

iii) Foreign children

Foreign children are targeted to be invisible and most unfairly exploited in the future, especially illegal immigrants. The relaxed policy of foreign labour registration during September 24 to October 25, 2001 must attempt to cover all child labour (including child domestic workers). National policies must be adjusted or changed to facilitate foreign children to have education and work legally because the trend to use foreign child and adult labour is increasing in the present Thai society and places children at high risk of entering worst forms of child labour.

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Annex I

Domestic workers over 18 years old: an insistent group

1) Introduction

Although a child domestic worker in this study is to be under 18 years old, during the house interview a large number of them are found to be over the specified age range. In order to get the overall picture of this labour group, another additional twenty-two respondents were interviewed and the results can be summarized as follows:

2) The age of entry and education level

At present, the age of this labour group is mostly between 25-35 years old, with 23 years old as the youngest and 44 years old the oldest. They have continuously been in this profession with different employers and various employment patterns. The age of entering this labour ranges between 10 to 15 years and almost all of them have a compulsory primary education.

3) Places of origin

The majority of them are from the northeastern region of the country whereas only a few of them are from the northern part.

4) The push factor

The households of these domestic workers are in a state of chronic poverty. It can be stated that they are “ultra poor” when compared with the economic status of other families in their communities. They have had to share the economic responsibility of their families since childhood by entering the child domestic labour market as their first occupational experience. In addition to poverty as a push factor, many came to Bangkok drawn by the glittering lights of the capital. However, such a pull factor is ultimately meaningless to this group as they are mainly driven by economic necessity.

5) The salary of being a child domestic worker in Bangkok

As this group of people have been domestic workers for many years and the economic situations when they began the work are radically different from now, their salaries in general was relatively low. Some received only 200 Baht a month while others received between 300 to 600 Baht and the highest for that period was 1,500 Baht. (1 US dollar then was about 25 Baht). Moreover, some received payment on an annual basis. However, not all of them have been in this profession continuously. Some opted for other careers they thought would be better, such as, working in a restaurant or a sugar cane plantation. Nevertheless, all of them now are back in the very first occupation they ever entered. Many state that it is for their survival and with such knowledge and experience, they are left with few career alternatives. Some are married with children, but separated due to economic reasons or divorce. At the present time, their salaries range between 3,500 to 6,000 Baht per month, and most of their careers/positions at present span between two to five years.

6) The pathway leading to being a child domestic worker

Most of these workers note that work in the past was much heavier than it is at present and employers now are more compassionate than in earlier days. There are more machines to assist in their work. In any case, the workers themselves are getting older and are not as strong as when they were younger.

In terms of food, they had some difficulties with the food they were not familiar with in the initial stage, but such a problem is now nonexistent.

As for violence against child domestic workers, the sample group overall did not report experiences related to this issue. However, there was one respondent who was raped by the son of her employer and she got pregnant.

7) The future

Most of the workers cannot see how their future would be better than what they are now. Many of them nonetheless have set a goal to collect as much money as they can in order to build their own homes, support the education of their children or younger siblings or pay for their mortgaged paddy fields. When they have made enough money, they plan to call it quits to the career and spend their lives in the country.

In conclusion, these older domestic workers perceive that domestic labour would still be an alternative for the poor and the less educated, but it is not a permanent job. With their age and experience, they are able to demand higher pay and are less at risk of violence than younger ones. Furthermore, due to social changes, altered ways of life, more protective labour law, high demand on child domestic workers, and a high rate of turnover, the job opportunity is still available and negotiation power can still be had to a certain extent.

Annex II

Perspectives of the employers on child domestic labour

1) Introduction

For the development of the quality of working life of child labourers in general or domestic child labour, the target group of this research, taking the demand side (the employers) into consideration is necessary. This is because the attitude of an employer is directly concerned with patterns of child labour exploitation. Furthermore, cooperation of employers is vital to the successful implementation of the ILO Convention 182 on the prohibition and elimination of the worst forms of child labour.

In this study, interviews with 44 employers in Bangkok covering the entire area of investigation have been conducted and the findings can be summarized as follows:

2) Background of the employers

The employers, like the sample group, reside in single houses, town houses and shop houses. Some of those living in shop houses sell food and other grocery goods in their residences, therefore the child domestic workers in this case have to do housework and help with other work of their employers. On average, there are four to five family members per employer and most of them are economically well off.

3) Background of the child domestic workers

The majority of these child domestic workers are female. Some employers hire more than one worker, consisting of those in old age, middle age and teenage years. Most of them have only six-year compulsory education, followed by lower secondary school education. However, three employers are supporting the education of their domestic workers at the tertiary level and they are studying at Ramkhamhaeng Open University and Rajabhat Institutes (a local tertiary institute).

The employers indicate that most of the workers do not stay with them for long periods of time. Most have a working period of less than one year. Nonetheless, some of the older ones have a working period for as long as eight to 12 years.

Almost all of the domestic workers originate from the northeastern part of the country and very few of them are from Bangkok and other regions. In any case, all of them are from poverty-stricken families.

The employers mostly obtain their domestic workers through the social network, for instance, having the origination in the same province or being introduced or brought by former domestic workers. Very few employers use the services of workers' recruitment agencies. Almost all of the employers state that they are not related to their domestic workers in terms of kinship.

In hiring a domestic worker, none of the employers have a written contract with the child or her parents, but a verbal agreement is made instead covering issues such as if she is not good, she will not be employed or will be sent home; or how many days in advance she must inform her employer before she can quit the job.

When a family employs more than one worker, the existing ones would be entrusted to train a newcomer and the latter must learn from and obey the former.

4) A monthly salary and other returns

The average monthly salary of most domestic workers is between 3,000 to 3,500 Baht. The lowest found during this investigation is 1,500 Baht and the highest is 5,500 Baht (for those working for a long period of time).

Nevertheless, some employers have a different practice of payment, e.g., another 20 Baht are paid for food on a daily basis in addition to salary and board.

Most of the employers indicate that for those working over a one-year period, special money or gifts, such as a gold necklace, new clothing, jewelry or a new watch are given on special occasions, e.g., Chinese New year, New Year or on workers' birthdays. Some pay for travel expenses to their workers to visit their families during important festivals. Some workers are provided with clothing and other necessities by their employers when they first come to work.

In order to lessen their work stress, some employers buy small radios for their workers. For others with shopping businesses, a 2% commission is paid out of the total sales volume to each worker as a work motivation or incentive. In general, the employers are satisfied with their workers' performance to a medium degree.

5) Problems of child domestic workers from the employers' perspectives

According to the perspectives of the employers, problems of child domestic workers are listed as follows:

- (1) They do not work long in one place.
- (2) They have too many friends.
- (3) They are difficult to find and so must be appeased.
- (4) They are talkative, demanding and curious.
- (5) They can be self-centered and strike by means of a silent protest or refusal of food.
- (6) They have problems with sanitation (especially in the case of baby-sitting and ensuring proper hygiene for nursing babies and the employers' children).
- (7) They make faces when there are too many customers.
- (8) They are impolite.
- (9) They are slow learners and workers.
- (10) Some of them like to steal.
- (11) They do not pay much attention to their work, resulting in a lousy job.
- (12) Some of them are involved with men sexually.
- (13) They like to chat with other workers in the neighbourhood.
- (14) They like to request advance payment.

- 6) **Employers' opinions on having a training agency** to equip domestic workers with knowledge and skills of their responsibility 15-30 days prior to their employment at employers' expense.

Most of the employers do not agree with this idea because

- (1) Household work requires only general skills and house owners can train them, including social etiquette.
- (2) Employers do not believe that such an agency would be able to train workers the required skills.
- (3) It would be a waste of money if workers do not work with them after training.
- (4) Some employers cannot allow their workers to attend the training because they always have customers.
- (5) Some employers simply do not like the idea as they do not want any agencies to be involved.

7) **Other comments of the employers**

- There will be no need of child domestic workers (except families with young children and the elderly) because more people would use the services of cleaning companies on weekends for household cleaning and laundry once a week. As more people would eat out, it is more convenient to use the services of cleaning companies because the expenses would be somewhat the same while additional expenditure would be raised on food and accommodation if a child domestic worker is employed.
- The state should set up an agency in charge of this issue to ensure security of employers and theft by these workers.
- There is a large number of foreign child workers in Bangkok, particularly from Burma and Laos. Each of these workers is paid 2,000 – 2,500 Baht a month and they are preferable to their Thai counterparts by employers because they work harder, persevere more, and are less fussy and more loyal to their employers. Some prefer to hire Laotian workers as they have no communication problems (Lao language and Northeastern Thai dialect are closely similar).
- Very few child workers ask their employers to develop themselves educationally. Most ask for a permission to go out for pleasure.
- Employers would be kind and generous to child domestic workers on the condition that they prove themselves to be good.
- Employers would like to use the services of a child domestic workers center so that replacement can be immediately done once an existing worker leaves or has gone home.
- There should be an agency accrediting child domestic workers.

- Many employers have been recommended to employ Burmese domestic workers but dare not do so because they would be unable to do anything legally if the workers violated the Thai laws.
- Thai domestic workers are not mature enough to handle housework.
- Parents of domestic workers should not be too money-conscious and should pay more attention to the living conditions of their children. Some parents would come to take only money from their children without considering other emotional aspects. Most of the children are grateful to their parents and feel stressed if their parents would come to get the money as they sometimes have to request for an advance payment from their employers.
- Child domestic workers are in a better condition than employees in a cleaning company as they are provided with food and accommodation in addition to a net monthly payment.
- A child domestic worker is not committed to one employer until death. She is allowed to leave if she could find a better place to work.

Annex III

Samples of essays on *Child Domestic Workers in My Opinion*, written by 6th and 9th graders in Mahasarakham and Roi-Et provinces

An essay of a sixth grader:

A child domestic worker gives services, comfort and happiness to her employer. At present, many are entering into this career because they do not have high education.

In my opinion, this career is an honest job. The longer they work for their employers, the more honest they become and if they are good and work better, they will get higher salary. The money would be spent on daily necessities and a portion would be saved in case of emergency when there is nobody to turn to.

At the moment, I am studying in grade 6. If I have finished and did not study further, I would like to work to support my family. When the time comes and somebody offers me a domestic worker's job with a 3,000 Baht salary, I would accept it. Even though this profession is sometimes derided, it is still better than working in paddy fields. I think rice cultivation is a hard work and does not generate good incomes. Therefore, child domestic labour is better than rice farming. Though this career is considered low by many, it is better than having nothing to do at all. Even if the salary is low, I still want to be in this profession and will work to the best of my effort.

In conclusion, being a domestic worker is as dignified as working in other careers.

An essay of a ninth grader:

In my opinion, working as a domestic worker in Bangkok after finishing grade nine is not a good idea. One has to work without holidays or freedom of movement and lead a life without future. Such a life would be meaningless.

One good aspect of the work is that food and accommodation are provided but there would be no holidays, freedom or rest. One has to be like a servant doing everything assigned to without any rights or future. In the eyes of others at present, a domestic worker is low and uneducated without future. Other kinds of jobs like working in factories would provide one with more freedom and independence, and knowledge and experience deemed useful for their future professions, while domestic work does not provide anything good for the future. Other workers also have holidays to relax and enjoy themselves. At any rate, a child with 9-year education is not mature and persevere enough to cope with domestic work. They still want to enjoy themselves like any other ordinary children.

I think that domestic work is not good for children as it is too heavy for them to take. It is so demanding that one has to do it every moment and every single day. I don't think the work is appropriate for children at all, considering their maturity.

Annex IV

Lessons learned from the Rapid Assessment methodology

- 1) RA is most effective when one has a baseline data system clearly specifying target groups or areas. With limited baseline data, the timeframe restriction would make a search for correct and perfect areas under investigation less likely.
- 2) In case of sensitive information, rapid assessment data collection periods may need to be extended as it takes time to build rapport, understanding and trust in order to elicit factual information.
- 3) RA research would be effective for revealing data, but with restrictions for hidden data. The opportunity to access information on abused child domestic workers by interview at employers' households (work places of children) is very unlikely. Moreover, researchers must be well aware of the impacts on the children after the interview. Therefore, if possible, employers should not be present during the interview.
- 4) Collecting data on child domestic workers at places of origin should be easier than at places of destination. However, no agencies have had such data in places of origin. One way to carry out is to collect data during important festivals when workers return home to visit their families, such as, Song Kran Festival (13-15 April), New Year, Chinese New Year.
- 5) Data collection at places of child labour origin enables one to understand the push and pull factors and the process of creating migration networks, which make migration convenient, safe and secure; an essential condition to prevent the worst forms of child labour.
- 6) Researchers should be able to directly obtain data from various sources by themselves. Quantitative data from interview forms provide answers to a certain extent as they are cross-sectional data. Interviewing samples case by case enables one to perceive the relationship of question items, providing answers in another perspective. Focused-group organization interestingly reflects a thinking process, social values and norms of the community toward the exploitation of child labour. Answers from different data sources would help increase the clarity of data analysis and interpretation.
- 7) Values, culture, beliefs and meanings that society assigns to particular topics are relevant to the interpretation of the data. For instance, decompartmentalization of sleeping space is not uncommon in the rural society or the livelihood of child domestic workers in Thai households in the past and present reflects the patronage system, which does not require written contract.

- 8) Various means of data collection from conducting the RA research enable the researchers to obtain an interesting body of knowledge, which is a challenge for future research projects. An instance is that a large number of children have been abused (sometimes severely) at home or school.
- 9) RA researchers should have research experiences and skills in accurately and quickly connecting the relationship between phenomena observed during the data collection and data from various sources.
- 10) Having a local research team in the area under investigation is a necessity. Under urgent situation, the local research team could get easy access to the area and target group. They are entrusted to help plan and coordinate with the community, making data collection efficient. Furthermore, they could help explain, interpret local cultures and beliefs, or get messages in the local language across.
- 11) In the Rapid Assessment, research team skills, readiness and efficiency in team organization are crucial, otherwise the 3-month period would become a weak point of the research.
- 12) Conducting a study in the community of child labour origin, searching for and providing assistance to children in hardship in the community of origin are easier than carrying out the activities in the places of destination.
- 13) A research study on a hidden/invisible problem without specifying the number of target population could not be used as the representative to generalize to the overall population. Whether a sampling survey with large sample size or rapid assessment, the application of a mixed method or mixed model studies should render the clarity in understanding the phenomenon and cycle of the problem rather than knowing just “the quantity of the problem.” For instance, we may not know the exact number of severely abused children but we do know of the phenomenon, its factors and conditions. Such a body of knowledge could be utilized as a means to solve the problem to a certain extent and the research on the topic should be conducted periodically due to the dynamic nature of the problem.
- 14) The research should not be terminated once the findings from the rapid assessment on child domestic workers have been obtained. On-going action research projects should be carried out and a recommended methodology is participatory research method in the community of child labour origin. The ultimate aim is for safe and secure livelihoods of children in the community.

Annex V

Questionnaires and Research Instruments

**Community Profile
for
Rapid assessment of child domestic workers in Thailand**

Province.....District.....

Sub-district.....Village.....

Village Chief.....

-
1. There are a total number ofhouseholds in the village.

 2. Total population
 Male.....
 Female.....

 3. Ages: 0 – 14 years
 15 – 19 years
 20 – 59 years
 Over 60 years

 4. During the past three years (July 1998 – July 2001), there have been.....households migrating to work elsewhere.

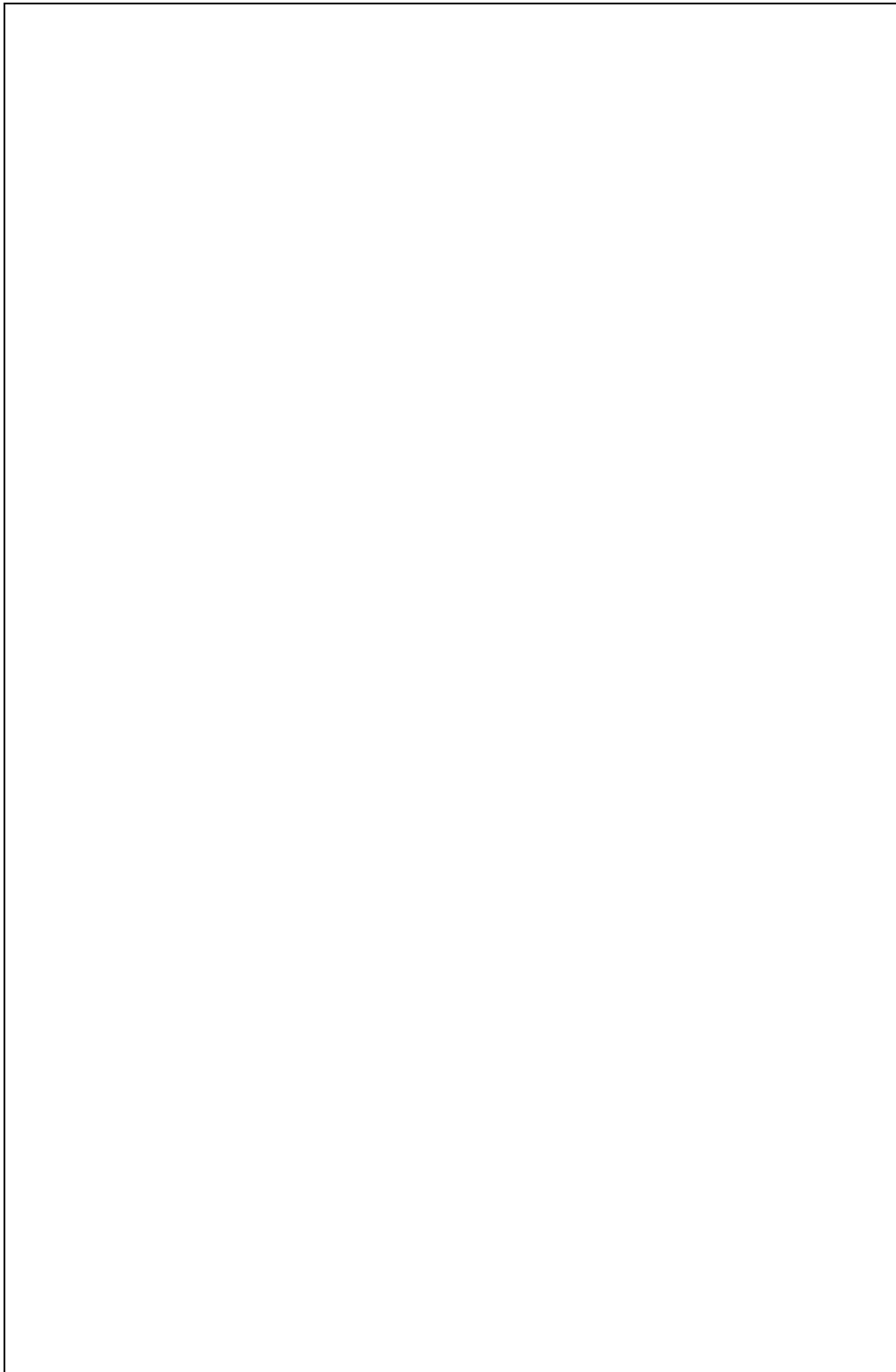
 5. Draw a map of households in the village (next page)

 6. For households migrating to work elsewhere during the past 3 years, please fill in Form A₁ attached herewith.

Household map in the village

Symbols : ○ non-migrating household

☒ migrating household



Form A₁

Directions: Please fill in information on households migrating to work elsewhere during the past 3 years (1 set per 1 household)

1. House number Village number Sub – district
District Province.....
2. Number of family members (including the migrant)
3. During the past 3 years, the number of family members migrating to work elsewhere are
4. At present, there aremembers living in this household.
5. Information on the members migrating to work elsewhere during the past 3 years:

Name (Mr., Mrs., Miss, Ms.)	Present age	Family status	Migrating in (year)	Present Occupation	Work place (District / province)
1.					
2.					
3.					
4.					
5.					

6. In case of a migrant under 17 years of age, please indicate address or phone number or contact person
Name.....
Address.....
Phone number.....

Thank you for your kind cooperation

**An Interview Form
for
Rapid assessment of child domestic workers in Thailand**

Directions:

1. This interview form is used as a guideline to interview Thai child domestic workers in Bangkok (under 18 years old, doing household chores, e.g., doing dishes, cooking, cleaning, babysitting, watering plants or washing cars. They may carry out domestic work only or help employers in their business, such as, serving food or being shop assistants).
2. The interview is based on a voluntary approach towards the workers and/or employers or guardians.
3. The obtained data will be used to create a body of knowledge to manage child domestic labour appropriately and fairly. The data will be analyzed to get an overview of the situation and no individual information will be revealed.

For interviewers only

Name of interviewer.....

Place of interview

Date/time of interview

Conclusions :

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

Part 1: General information

- 1.1 NameFamily name.....
- 1.2 Sex () Male () Female
- 1.3 Ageyears
- 1.4 Race/ Ethnicity.....Nationality.....
- 1.5 Present education
() No education () Primary school grade
() Secondary school grade..... () Others (please specify).....
- 1.6 Hometown address
.....
.....
- 1.7 Present address.....
.....

Interviewer's observation

- 1) Willingness of the household owner for the interview.....
- 2) Willingness of the child worker for the interview.....
- 3) Environment during the interview (presence or absence of household owner/ members, place of interview, etc).....
.....

Part 2: Hometown living conditions

2.1 Household conditions

- 1) Aspects of the house () parents' house () rented house
() living with others (who?)
() Others (please specify)

2) House conditions (temporary, permanent, characteristics of the house, roof, etc)

3) Land ownership () Yes () No

If yes, land sizerai

Land use () agriculture () living

() Others (please specify)

4) Number of family members (parents, siblings as well as the interviewee) are
.....persons

No. (according to seniority)	Status	Sex	Age	Education	Occupation	Work place	Literacy		
							Unable to read and Write	Able to read but unable to write	Able to read and write
1.									
2.									
3.									
4.									
5.									
6.									
7.									
8.									

Mark an * in front of the interviewee

5) In case of single parent or no parents, indicate why

.....
.....
.....

2.2 Family incomes

1) Father's occupation.....

Earning ()baht/day

()baht/month

()baht/year

() Not certain (please specify)..

2) Mother's occupation.....

Earning ()baht/day ()baht/month
()baht/year () Not certain (please specify)..

3) If no parents, family incomes are from

.....
.....

Earning ()baht/day ()baht/month
()baht/year () Not certain (please specify)

.....

5) Other income sources? () No () Yes.

From () children working elsewhere () loans
() relatives () Others (please specify)

.....

2.3 Family expenses and debts

1) Monthly major expenses

() Not known
() Known (please specify).....

2) Income sufficiency () Not known () Yes () No

3) In case of expenses exceeding incomes, how does the family manage? (please specify)

How?

Who do/does it?.....

Who makes the decision?

4) Is the family in debt? () No () Yes. Amountbaht

Causes of debts:.....

Expected time to pay off debts:.....

How to pay off debts:.....

5) If compared to other families in the neighborhood, how is your family's economic status?

() poorer () wealthier () in similar status

() Others (please specify).....

2.4 Health background

1) Do your family members often fall sick? () No

() Yes. Who? () Father () Mother

() Elder sibling No... () Younger sibling No.....

() Myself () Relatives. Which ones?.....

() Others (please specify).....

2) What is done when someone in your family is sick?

() Taken to a public health center. Where?

() Taken to a local doctor. Who?

() Taken care of by family members. How ?

() Others (please specify).....

3) How much is the expense for each hospitalization?

() a lot () moderate () a little

2.5 Your relationship with other family members

() good () not good (With whom? How?).....

.....

.....

Part 3: Living conditions

3.1 Present living conditions

1) When did you first leave your hometown? (Month, Year).....

Why?.....

.....

.....

2) Since you left your hometown, where have you lived and worked? (In chronological order)

() The present house is my first. () Lived in other places

2.1 At

With whom?

What did you do?.....

Your monthly wage?.....

Why did you move out?

2.2 At

With whom?

What did you do?.....

Your monthly wage?.....

Why did you move out?

2.3 At

With whom?

What did you do?.....

Your monthly wage?.....

Why did you move out?

3) At present, you are staying with.....Number of family members
.....persons. Your status as a/an.....

4) What are your responsibilities? (More details later)

4.1.....

4.2.....

4.3.....

4.4.....

5) Where do you sleep and in what conditions? (More details later)

☐ a separate room ☐ sleeping with other workers

() sleeping with other family members. Who?

() Others (please specify)

What are the conditions?.....

6) Describe your eating characteristics. How many meals? Is there enough food? Do you have to wait until your employer's family members finish eating? Do you have to get a permission before eating?.....

.....

.....

7) Besides your residence and work place, where else in Bangkok do you know and can travel there by yourself?

.....

.....

Interviewer's observation

1) Characteristics of the house () a single house () a townhouse

() a shop house () Others.....

2) Household conditions.....

3) Household activities () residence () business in or nearby the household
(please specify).....

4) General household environment.....

3.2 Working conditions

1) You started working at the age ofyears.

2) You started the present job at the age ofyears and have been working foryears.

3) How did you get this job?

☐ By my parents

☐ By relatives

☐ By my friends

☐ By people in my village

☐ By an agent

☐ By my employer

☐ By myself

☐ Others (Please specify).....

Additional details:.....

.....

.....

4) What are your daily activities? (in chronological order and details for each activity are needed)- What time do you start working? What do you do? How? Where? How long does it take for each activity? How difficult/easy is the work? When do you stop working? What is your bed time? How much free time do you have? When can you do personal activities?

.....

.....

.....

.....

☺ Wake up time.....☺ Start working at.....

☺ Stop working at..... ☺ Bed time

☺ Breakfast time.....lunch time.....dinner time.....

☺ Activities during breaks.....

☺ How easy / difficult is your work?.....

☺ Is it heavy?.....

☺ How much free time do you have?.....

☺ What do you do in your free time?.....

5) Is there anybody in this house working like yours? () No () Yes. (please specify)

6) You workdays/ week.

7) Do you have a day off? () No

() Yes. ()days/week (specify the days).....

()days/month (specify when).....

()days/year (specify when).....

() Can you accumulate your days off?.....

8) What do you do on your days off?

() go on leisure () visit friends

() visit siblings/relatives working in Bangkok

() study What?.....Where?.....

() Others (please specify).....

9) Do you write or phone home?

() No () Yes. How often?

10) Have you visited your family?

() No () Yes.time(s)/year

Home-coming period.....

11) Do you like your present job?

() Yes because.....

() Neutral because.....

() No because.....

12) Have you ever fallen sick since you started working here?

() No () Yes

What kind(s) of ailment?.....

Is it work-related?.....

What do you do when you are sick?.....

13) Are there any workers in this house who become sick like yours?

() No () Yes

14) Comparison of hometown and present living conditions

14.1 General living conditions () better () same () worse

14.2 Food () better () same () worse

14.3 Job responsibility () lighter () same () heavier

14.4 Psychological conditions () happier () same () unhappy

15) If you have had to quit job, can you find another one?

() Yes because.....

() No because.....

() Don't know because.....

Interviewer's observation

1) General health, traces of wounds or sickness.....

2) Gestures, emotional expressions, fear or depression while being interviewed.....

3) Manners of answers (unwilling, word for word, talkative, too positive, informative or confusing).....

3.3 Relationship with the employer and others

1) Who do like/love most in this family?

() None. Because.....

() Some. (From most to least)

- 2) Why do you love/like this person the most?
- 3) Why do you love/like this person the least?
- 4) Do you have to do a job involving with others other than the family members?
 () No () Yes. Who?
- 5) Do you like to be involved with these people?
 () Yes. Because.....
 () No. Because.....
 () Neutral. Because.....
- 6) When you are unhappy, who do you turn to?.....

3.4 Reward and punishment

- 1) Do you get a salary? () No. Because.....
 () Yes. Amountbaht per.....
 () Yes. In a non-monetary form (please specify).....
- 2) Do you get your salary regularly?
 () Yes. () No (please specify).....
- 3) Is your salary deducted when you take a leave of absence?.....

- 4) Do you have other sources of income? (From siblings/relatives or customers)
 () No () Yes. From.....Amountbaht/month

5) How is your salary spent? (on monthly average)

- ☐ Given to parents Amount.....Baht
- ☐ Given to sibling or relatives Amount.....Baht
- ☐ On food Amount.....Baht
- ☐ On personal belongings Amount.....Baht
- ☐ Pay debts Amount.....Baht
- ☐ For personal use Amount.....Baht
- ☐ On education Amount.....Baht
- ☐ Others (please specify)..... Amount.....Baht

6) Is your salary sufficient? ☐ Yes. ☐ No. Because.....

7) Have you ever spent a large amount of money?

- ☐ No ☐ Yes. Amount.....Baht for.....

8) Has your employer ever raised your salary? ☐ No

- ☐ Yes. Why?

How many times? AmountBaht

Is it satisfactory? ☐ Yes ☐ No. Because.....

9) Have you ever have problems concerning your salary?

- ☐ No ☐ Yes. (please specify).....

10. Have you ever been punished? ☐ No

- ☐ Yes. Why?

How?

How often?

11) If chosen, how would you like to be punished?.....

12) Are there any workers in this house who have been punished like you have?

- ☐ Yes ☐ No

13) How would you avoid being punished?.....

Part 4: Attitudes of child workers

4.1 Attitudes towards work

1) Should a child work?

() No. Because.....

() Yes. Because.....

2) A child worker should be at least.....years old.

3) If it could be chosen, would you like to quit this job?

() No. Because.....

() Yes. Because.....

4) If you wanted to quit, what would you like to do?

() Find a new job in Bangkok (please specify).....

() go home to () stay idly () study further

() help out the family () find a job in the hometown

() Others (please specify).....

4.2 Attitudes towards education

1) Had you been in school? () No

() Yes. Where?.....

2) How was your academic achievement?

3) How did you go to school?

4) What did you like most about school?

What did you like least about school?

- 5) Were you punished in school? How? Why?
- 6) Did you have to work during school years? What did you do?.....
- 7) At what age or what level did you leave school?
- 8) Why did you leave school?
- 9) Do you want to study further?
- ☐ No. Because.....
- ☐ Yes. Because.....
- 10) Do you think you would have an opportunity to go back to school? How?
-

4.3 Attitudes toward quality of life and future

- 1) What do you want to be when you grow up?.....
- Why?
- 2) What are the chances of dream fulfilling? ☐ a lot ☐ a little
- Why?
- 3) How do you feel about having to do this job?
- 4) In the future, what aspects of child labour would you like the government to take care of?

Thank you for your kind cooperation

**A Questionnaire
for
Rapid assessment of child domestic workers in Thailand**

Directions :

1. This questionnaire is used as a guideline to interview parents of child workers in communities of origin having children under the age of 18 years as child labourers or otherwise.
☐ having children under the age of 18 years without work.
☐ having children under the age of 18 years as domestic workers.
☐ having children under the age of 18 years doing other work.
2. The interview is based on the voluntariness of the parents.
3. The obtained data will be used to create a body of knowledge to manage child domestic labour appropriately and fairly. The data is analyzed to get an overview of the situation and no individual information will be revealed.

Part 1: General information

- 1.1 NameFamily name.....
- 1.2 Sex () Male () Female
- 1.3 Ageyears
- 1.4 Ethnicity.....Nationality.....
- 1.5 Present education
() No education () Primary school grade
() Secondary school grade..... () Others (please specify).....
- 1.6 address
.....

For interviewers only

Name of interviewer.....

Place of interview

Date/time of interview

Other observations :

.....
.....
.....
.....
.....

Part 2: Household living conditions

2.1 Residence conditions

- 1) Aspects of the house ☐ own house ☐ rented house
☐ House of others (who?)
☐ Others

- 2) House conditions (temporary, permanent, characteristics of the house, roof, etc)

- 3) Land ownership ☐ No ☐ Yes

If yes, land sizerai

- Land use ☐ agriculture ☐ living
☐ Others

4) Number of family members :(parents, siblings as well as the interviewee).

No. (according to seniority)	Status	Sex	Age	Education	Occupation	Work place	Literacy			
							Unable to read and Write	Able to read but unable to Write	Able to read and write	
1.										
2.										
3.										
4.										
5.										
6.										
7.										
8.										

Mark an * in front of the parents giving the interview

2.2 Family incomes

1) Father's occupation.....

Earning ()baht/day ()baht/month
 ()baht/year () Not certain (please specify)..

2) Mother's occupation.....

Earning ()baht/day ()baht/month
 ()baht/year () Not certain (please specify)..

3) If parents have no occupation, family incomes are from :

- ☐ Children (which ones?).....
- ☐ Relatives (which ones?).....
- ☐ Other people (who?).....
- ☐ Loans (From whom?).....
- ☐ Others.....

2.3 Family expenses and debts

1) What are the monthly expenses?

- ☐ Food Amount.....Baht
- ☐ clothing Amount.....Baht
- ☐ Utilities Amount.....Baht
- ☐ Equipment/raw materials for occupation
Amount.....Baht
- ☐ Education Amount.....Baht
- ☐ Travelling Amount.....Baht
- ☐ Debt payment Amount.....Baht
- ☐ Others Amount.....Baht

2) Other extra expenses during the past year

- ☐ Household utilities (specify).....
Amount.....Baht
- ☐ Vehicles (specify).....
Amount.....Baht
- ☐ House Amount.....Baht
- ☐ Land Amount.....Baht
- ☐ Others Amount.....Baht

3) Income sufficiency ☐ Not known ☐ Yes ☐ No

4) In case of expenses exceeding incomes, how does the family manage? (please specify)

How?

Who does it?.....

Who makes the decision?

5) Is the family in debt? () No () Yes. Amountbaht

Causes of debts:.....

Expected time to pay off debts:.....

How to pay off debts:.....

2.4 Health background

1) Do your family members often fall sick? () No

() Yes. Who? () Father () Mother

() Children (Which ones?).....

() Relatives. Which ones?.....

() Others (please specify).....

2) What is done when someone in your family is sick?

() Taken to a public health center. Where?

() Taken to a local doctor. Who?

() Taken care of by family members. How ?

() Others (please specify).....

3) How much is the expense for each hospitalization?

() a lot () moderate () a little

2.5 Relationship with other family members

() good () not good (With whom? How?).....

.....

.....

Interviewer's observation

- 1) Household conditions.....
- 2) Materials of economic status.....
- 3) Residence environment.....
- 4) Relationship/conflict with family members.....

Part 3: Benefits from and perceptions of children's working conditions (only those working as domestic workers)

(This part is exclusively for those with children under 18 years of age and working as child laborers during the time of investigation. For those not under this condition, please proceed to Part 4)

3.1) (To recheck the information in Part 2)

The total number of working children:.....

The number of working children under 18 years of age:.....

The number of children under 18 years of age not working:.....

The number of children under 18 years of age working as domestic workers:.....

3.2) Why do the children have to work?

- ☐ Support the family ☐ Do not like studying
- ☐ Having problems/do not want to live in hometown
- ☐ Want to see City civilization
- ☐ Others

3.3) Why do some of them not have to work?

- ☐ Too young
- ☐ Have health problems
- ☐ like/good at studying
- ☐ Without working, the family is fine.
- ☐ Have to help household chores
- ☐ Have to look after parents/younger siblings/relatives (specify).....
- ☐ Others

3.4) How did your children get a job as domestic workers?

- ☐ By my parents
- ☐ By relatives
- ☐ By my friends
- ☐ By people in my village
- ☐ By an agent
- ☐ By my employer
- ☐ They went to find the jobs by themselves
- ☐ Others

3.5) Did the parents get anything in return for bringing the children to work?

- ☐ No. ☐ Yes. In the form of ☐ money. Amountbaht per.....
- ☐ debt payment. Amountbaht per....
- ☐ Others (specify).....

3.6) Do the parents get any money from the working children?

- ☐ No. ☐ Yes. In the form of ☐ money. Amountbaht per.....
- ☐ debt payment. Amountbaht per....
- ☐ Others (specify).....

3.7) Have you been in touch with your children?

- ☐ No. ☐ Yes. By ☐ letter
- ☐ visit from siblings/relatives
- ☐ personal visit
- ☐ an agent
- ☐ Others

3.8) What is the purpose of contacting the children?

- ☐ Missing them
- ☐ Getting the salary
- ☐ Bringing them back home
- ☐ Having them change jobs
- ☐ Others (specify).....

3.9) Have your children been in contact with the parents?

☐ No. ☐ Yes. By ☐ letter

☐ an agent

☐ their visittime(s) a year

Period of family visit:.....

☐ Others

3.10) Have your children ever talked about their work to the parents?

☐ No. ☐ Yes. How often? ☐ Often ☐ once in a long time

3.11) The topics they talk about are:

1) Job responsibility ☐ heavy ☐ light ☐ no mention

2) Living condition ☐ bad ☐ good ☐ no mention

3) Food ☐ bad ☐ good ☐ no mention

4) Salary ☐ unsatisfactory ☐ satisfactory ☐ no mention

5) Verbal abuses ☐ Yes ☐ No ☐ no mention

6) Punishment/assault ☐ Yes ☐ No ☐ no mention

7) Harassment ☐ Yes ☐ No ☐ no mention

8) Sickness/work-related injuries ☐ Yes ☐ No ☐ no mention

9) Loneliness/unhappiness ☐ Yes ☐ No ☐ no mention

10) Others(specify).....

3.12) How did you feel about the topics they talked about?

☐ unhappy and attempt to help by.....

☐ unhappy but unable to help because

☐ It is not unusual for working

☐ Others(specify)

3.13) What do parents think about their children's being domestic workers?

- ☐ It is a good job because.....
- ☐ It is like other jobs.
- ☐ It is not a good job because.....

3.14) If you could choose, you would like your children to..

- ☐ go on with job
- ☐ find a new jobs.
- ☐ return home to ☐ study further
- ☐ help out the family
- ☐ look after the parents
- ☐ find a new job around home
- ☐ Others.....

Part 4: Attitudes toward child labor

4.1) Should a child work?

- ☐ No. Because.....
- ☐ Yes. Because.....

4.2) At what age should a child work?

- ☐ They should be years or over.
- ☐ No restriction, depending on ☐ their readiness
- ☐ family needs
- ☐ parents' needs
- ☐ Others.....

4.3) If a child has to work, is being a domestic worker suitable?

- ☐ No. Because.....
- ☐ Yes. Because.....

Thank you for your kind cooperation

For children in community

Form D

A Questionnaire for

Rapid assessment of child domestic workers in Thailand

Directions :

1. This questionnaire is used as a guideline to interview children under the age of 18 years, not studying in formal education and living in communities where child labor is exported. The sample group are working and non-working children in the community.
2. The interview is based on the voluntariness of children and/or their parents.
3. The obtained data will be used to create a body of knowledge to manage child domestic labor appropriately and fairly. The data is analyzed to get an overview of the situation and no individual information will be revealed.

For interviewers only

Voluntariness of the interviewee

☐ Voluntary

☐ non - voluntary

Name of interviewer.....

Place of interview

Date/time of interview

Other observations :

.....

.....

Part 2: Hometown living conditions

2.1 Residence conditions

- 1) Aspects of the house ☐ parents' house ☐ rented house
☐ living with others (who?)
☐ Others (please specify)
- 2) House conditions (temporary, permanent, characteristics of the house, roof, etc)
.....
- 3) Where does the interviewee sleep?
☐ In a separate room/bed ☐ with other children
☐ with other family members. Who?.....
☐ Others (specify)
- 4) What is his sleeping place like?.....
.....
- 5) Describe your eating characteristics. How many meals? Is the food sufficient? Do you have to wait until the family members finish eating? Do you have to get a permission before eating?.....
.....
.....
.....
- 6) Land ownership ☐ Yes ☐ No
If yes, land sizerai
Land use ☐ agriculture ☐ living
☐ Others (please specify)

7) Number of family members :(parents, siblings as well as the interviewee)

No. (according to seniority)	Status	Sex	Age	Education	Occupation	Work place	Literacy		
							Unable to read and Write	Able to read but unable to Write	Able to read and write
1.									
2.									
3.									
4.									
5.									
6.									
7.									
8.									

Mark an * in front of the child giving the interview

2.2 Family incomes

1) Father's occupation.....

Earning ()baht/day ()baht/month
 ()baht/year () Not certain (please specify)..

2) Mother's occupation.....

Earning ()baht/day ()baht/month
 ()baht/year () Not certain (please specify)..

3) If the parents have no occupation, family incomes are from

.....
Earning ()baht/day ()baht/month
()baht/year () Not certain (please specify)
.....

4) Does the family have other sources of incomes? () No

() Yes. From () children working elsewhere () loans
() relatives () Others
.....

2.3 Family expenses and debts

1) Do you know what the family's monthly expenses are?

() Not known
() Known (please specify).....

2) Are the incomes sufficient ?

() Yes () No () Don't known

3) In case of expenses exceeding incomes, how does the family manage? (please specify)

How?

Who do/does it? () Father () Mother
() Children (Which one?).....
() Relatives (Which one?).....
() Other people (Who?).....

Who makes the decision?

- ☐ Father ☐ Mother
☐ Children (Which one?).....
☐ Relatives (Which one?).....
☐ Other people (Who?).....

4) Is the family in debt? ☐ No ☐ Yes. Amountbaht

Causes of debts:.....

Expected time to pay off debts:.....

How to pay off debts:.....

2.4 Health background

1) Do your family members often fall sick? ☐ No

- ☐ Yes. Who? ☐ Father ☐ Mother
☐ Elder sibling No... ☐ Younger sibling No.....
☐ Myself ☐ Relatives. Which ones?.....
☐ Others (please specify).....

2) What is done when someone in your family is sick?

- ☐ Taken to a public health center. Where?
☐ Taken to a local doctor. Who?
☐ Taken care of by family members. How ?
☐ Others (please specify).....

3) How much is the expense for each hospitalization?

- ☐ a lot ☐ moderate ☐ a little

2.5 General family relationships

1) Relationship with other family members

() good () not good (With whom? How?).....

.....

.....

2) Have you ever been beaten or assaulted at home?.....

3) When you are unhappy, who do you talk to?.....

Part 3: Working conditions

What are you doing at home?

() help out domestic work

() study (non-formal Education) grade.....

() work Type of jobs:.....

Work place:.....

Monthly salary.....baht

3.1 Working conditions in case of work

1) You started working at the age ofyears.

2) You started the present job at the age ofyears and have been working for
.....years.

3) How did you get this job?

- | | |
|--|---|
| ☐ By my parents | ☐ By relatives |
| ☐ By my friends | ☐ By people in my village |
| ☐ By an agent | ☐ By my employer |
| ☐ By myself | ☐ Others (Please specify)..... |

Additional details:.....
.....
.....

4) What are your daily activities? (in chronological order and details for each activity are needed)- What time do you start working? What do you do? How? Where? How long does it take for each activity? How difficult/easy is the work? When do you stop working? What is your bed time? How much free time do you have? When can you do personal activities?

.....
.....
.....
.....
.....

- ☺ Wake up time.....☺ Start working at.....
☺ Stop working at..... ☺ Bed time
- ☺ Breakfast time.....lunch time.....dinner time.....
- ☺ Activities during breaks.....
- ☺ How easy / difficult is your work?.....
- ☺ Is it heavy?.....
- ☺ How much free time do you have?.....
- ☺ What do you do in your free time?.....

5) Is there anybody in this house working like you? ☐ No ☐ Yes. (please specify)

.....

6) You workdays/ week.

7) Do you have a day off? () No

() Yes. ()days/week (specify the days).....

()days/month (specify when).....

()days/year (specify when).....

() Can you accumulate your days off?.....

8) Can you accumulate your days-off?.....

9) What do you do in your days-off?

() go for a leisure () visit friends

() visit siblings/relatives living or working in Bangkok

() study What?.....Where?.....

() Others

10) Do you like your present job?

() No because.....

() Neutral because.....

() Yes because.....

11) Comparison of present living conditions with those of hometown.

11.1 General living conditions () better () same () worse

11.2 Food () better () same () worse

11.3 Work responsibility () lighter () same () heavier

11.4 Psychological conditions () happier () same () unhappier

13) If you have had to quit job, can you find another one?

() Yes because.....

() No because.....

() Don't know because.....

3.2 Work-related sickness

3.3 1) Have you ever fallen sick or injured?

☐ No

☐ Yes. What?.....

Is it work-related?.....

What do you do when you are sick or injured?.....

2) If there are other child workers in the family doing the same work, have they been sick or injured in a similar manner?

☐ No

☐ Yes

3.3 Reward and punishment

1) Do you get a salary? ☐ No. Because.....

☐ Yes. Amountbaht per.....

☐ Yes. In a non-monetary form (please specify).....

2) Do you get your salary regularly?

☐ Yes.

☐ No (please specify).....

3) In case of taking a leave of absence, will your salary be deducted?.....

.....

4) Do you have any other sources of income? (given by siblings/relatives or customers)?

☐ No

☐ Yes. From.....Amountbaht/month

5) How do you spend your money? (on a monthly average basis)

- ☐ Giving to parents Amount.....Baht
- ☐ Giving to siblings or relatives Amount.....Baht
- ☐ Buying food Amount.....Baht
- ☐ Buying personal necessities Amount.....Baht
- ☐ Paying debts Amount.....Baht
- ☐ Saving for personal use Amount.....Baht
- ☐ Paying for education Amount.....Baht
- ☐ Others (please specify)..... Amount.....Baht

6) Is your salary sufficient? ☐ Yes. ☐ No. Because.....

.....

7) Have you ever spent a large sum of money?

- ☐ No ☐ Yes. Amount.....Baht for.....

8) Has your employer ever raised your salary? ☐ No

- ☐ Yes. Because?

How many times? AmountBaht

Are you satisfactory? ☐ Yes ☐ No. Because.....

9) Have you ever had any trouble with your employer concerning your salary?

- ☐ No ☐ Yes. (please specify).....

10. Have you ever been punished? ☐ No

- ☐ Yes. Because?

How?

How often?

11) If you could choose, how would you like to be punished?.....

12) If there are other child workers in the family doing the same work, have they been punished in a similar manner?

☐ No ☐ Yes

13) What are the means to avoid being punished?.....

.....

14) After the punishment and you feel unhappy, who do you talk to?.....

.....

Part 4: Perceptions and opinions on child labor

4.1) Have you known any other children in the community who have to work?

☐ No.

☐ Yes. They are ☐ community children working in/as.....

☐ friends working in/as.....

☐ relatives working in/as.....

☐ siblings working in/as.....

☐ Other (specify.....working in/as.....

4.2) Have you known the following topics concerning the work conditions of these children?.

☐ No. ☐ Yes. How do you know.....

1) Job responsibility ☐ heavy ☐ light

2) Living condition ☐ bad ☐ good

3) Food ☐ bad ☐ good

4) Salary ☐ bad ☐ good

5) Verbal abuses ☐ No ☐ Yes

6) Punishment/assault ☐ No ☐ Yes

7) Harassment ☐ No ☐ Yes

8) Sickness/work-related injuries ☐ No ☐ Yes

9) Loneliness/unhappiness ☐ No ☐ Yes

10) Others(specify).....

4.3) How do you feel about what you have heard?.....
.....

4.4) Do you want to earn a living like other children?

() No. Because.....

() Yes. Because.....

4.5) Do you think it is likely that you will have to work?

() No. Because.....

() Yes. Because.....

4.6) If you had to earn a living, would you be a domestic worker?

() No. Because.....

() Yes. Because.....

Part 5: Attitudes of children in general

5.1 Attitudes toward work

1) Should a child work?

() No. Because.....

() Yes. Because.....

2) A child should work from the age ofyears and over.

3) If a child had to work, is being a domestic worker a suitable job?

() No. Because.....

() Yes. Because.....

5.2 Attitudes toward education

- 1) Had you been in school? () No
() Yes. Where?.....
- 2) How was your academic achievement?
- 3) How did you go to school?
- 4) What did you like most about school?
What did you like least about school?
- 5) Were you punished in school? How? Why?
- 6) Did you have to work while attending school ? What did you do?.....
- 7) At what age/level did you leave school?
- 8) Why did you leave school?
- 9) Do you want to further your education?
() No. Because.....
() Yes. Because.....
- 10) Is education necessary for children?
() No. Because.....
() Yes. Because.....
- 11) Do you think you would have an opportunity to go back to school?
() No. () Yes How?.....

12) What do you think your highest education should be?

- ☐ Primary school grade..... ☐ Secondary school grade.....
☐ Others.....

13) How much support will you get from your family on your education?

- ☐ A lot ☐ Moderate ☐ No support

5.3 Attitudes toward quality of life and future

1) What do you want to be when you grow up?.....

Why?

2) What is the likelihood of achieving such a dream? ☐ a lot ☐ a little

Why?

Thank you for your kind cooperation

Form E

A Survey Form on General characteristic of areas where child domestic workers exist for Rapid assessment of child domestic workers in Thailand

Directions :

1. The purpose of the survey is to study various environment in areas involving in or leading to the existence of child domestic labour.
2. The main information is obtained from interviewing key local informants, such as, community leaders, teachers, monks or public health officials, whereas some information is from documents of related organizations, such as, National Statistical Office, Provincial Public Health Office and local organizations.
3. Area refer to villages under this investigation.

Part 1: Population structure

1. The total number of households is.....
2. The total number of the population is.....Male:
Female:
3. The number of population under 1 years of age:
From 1 – 14 years :
From 15 – 59 years :
Over 60 years of age:

4. The rate of population increase during the last 5 years is.....%
5. Estimated birth rate is.....and general productive rate is.....
6. Estimated death rate is.....and the rate of infant mortality is.....
7. Percentages of the population using a means of birth control are.....
8. Ethnicity of the population:
 - 8.1 Thai about.....% 8.2 Lao about.....%
 - 8.3 Khmer about.....% 8.4 Suay about.....%
 - 8.5 Others about.....%

Part 2: Economic structure

1. Number of households and land ownership
 - 1.1 Number of landless households :.....
 - 1.2 Number of households with land ownership and land right :.....
 - 1.3 Number of households with land ownership but without land right :.....
2. The average household income is.....baht/year
3. What are the main occupations of the population and can they be done all year round?
 1.
 2.
 3.

4. What are the supplementary occupations of the population and can they be done all year round?

1.

2.

3.

(specify details on types and places of work in order to realize work characteristic of the population)

5. Number of households having television sets.....%

Number of households having refrigerators.....%

Number of households having pick-up trucks.....%

6. Number of households migrating to work elsewhere in the previous year is.....

6.1 Major final destinations are.....

6.2 Occupations/jobs at final destinations are:

1.

2.

3.

7. Does economic migration stem from job network? How?

.....

Part 3: Social structure

3.1 Health

1) Number of sub-district health offices:Providing services to households.

1.1 Treatment/nursing services are.....

1.2 Health promoting activities are.....

1.3 Health prevention activities are.....

1.4 Health rehabilitation activities are.....

- 2) The average distance from the community
to the closet public health office is
approximately.....Kilometers.
to the farthest public health office is approximately.....Kilometers.
- 3) When people in the community become sick, most of them will be taken to:
- () Sub-district public health office
 - () Community hospital
 - () Provincial hospital
 - () Private health service center
 - () Others (specify).....

3.2 Education

- 1) Number of educational institutes in the community
- 3.1 Child care centers:.....State-run:.....Private:.....
 - 3.2 Primary schools :.....State-run:.....Private:.....
 - 3.3 Secondary schools :.....State-run:.....Private:.....
- 2) Pre- school institutions for people in the community are
- () within the community () outside the community
- Primary school institutions for people in the community are
- () within the community () outside the community
- Secondary school institutions for people in the community are
- () within the community () outside the community
- 3) The average distance from the community
to the closet educational institution is approximately.....kilometers.
to the farthest educational institution is approximately.....kilometers.

4) In private educational institutions, the average annual fees are

Child-care center	approximately.....baht/year
Primary school	approximately.....baht/year
Secondary school	approximately.....baht/year

5) Average number of teachers in educational institutions within the community

5.1 Primary schools: ...with education lower than undergraduate level:...

with undergraduate level:.....

with education higher than undergraduate level.....

5.2 Secondary schools: ...with education lower than undergraduate level:...

with undergraduate level:.....

with education higher than undergraduate level.....

3.3 Community participation

1) Number of civic groups in the area :.....

(Describe their structures, roles, responsibilities and activities)

.....
.....

2) Community participation in public activities (Describe activities, participation characteristics, number of people involved, etc.)

2.1 Community development activities.....

.....

2.2 Local political activities.....

.....

2.3 Community problems (issues on earning a living, environment, health, education, children or women).....

.....

2.4 Others.....

3) The Sub-district Administration Organization in this area is at level.....

4) Specify 3 community development activities supported by the Sub-district Administration Organization in the respective order of importance.

1.

2.

3.

5) Percentages of the people casting their votes in local to national elections recently are approximately.....

Thank you for your kind cooperation

Form F

Focused Group Forum for Rapid assessment of child domestic workers in Thailand

Directions: The research team organized forum discussions on the project and its operation after rapport building with communities is established. The discussions cover the following issues:

A. Situations and causes of child labour within the community.

1. How long has the community exported child labour to other areas, particularly Bangkok?
2. Is the number of child labourers working outside the community increasing or decreasing compared with the past? Why? Have child labour characteristics been changed in regard to gender and age?
3. What types of work are these child workers involved? What are the percentage points of child domestic workers?
4. Why do certain families have their children work as domestic labourers, some have them work in other fields, whereas others do not require them to work?
5. What are the steps and procedures of sending children as domestic labourers (agents, employers, friends or relatives in the village)?
6. Do parents accompany children to employers' houses? Why?
7. Are there any cases which children insist on going to work because of peers or needs to have experiences with modern life in cities?
8. If children do not work in Bangkok, are there jobs available for them in the community?
9. Which ones tend to be more domestic workers, young boys or young girls? Why?
10. What are parents' expectations from having children work as domestic labourers? Are they different between boys and girls?
11. What are children's expectation from working as domestic labourers?

B. Impacts of exporting children as domestic workers

1. What are positive impacts of such an undertaking?
2. What are negative impacts of such an undertaking?
3. How much does the family receive remittance monthly/annually? How is the money spent?
4. Does the family receive money from the employer prior to sending their children to work?
5. Does the community receive news about child workers? How?

C. Policy issues

1. If children work with the community, what is a suitable daily wage?
2. Are there jobs within the community? What kinds of job? How much is the daily wage?
3. Will the nine-year compulsory education suspend child labour from being exported?
4. What are the roles of local bureaucratic agencies, temples, schools and civic groups on child labour?

Thank you for your kind cooperation

Form G

In-depth Interview Form on Child Domestic Workers

Sources: Experts, policy-makers, operational personnel and non-governmental
Organizations working on children

for

Rapid assessment of child domestic workers in Thailand

Directions : The interviewer introduces him/herself and indicates the
objectives of the research

1. Status of the interviewee.....
2. Work experiences on children.....
3. Opinions on children labour situations in Thailand or his/her general
responsibilities.....
4. Opinions on situations about child domestic workers
 - 4.1 Size of the problems.....
 - 4.2 Directions of the problems.....
 - 4.3 Effectiveness of previous problem-solving strategies.....
 - 4.4 Lessons learnt.....
 - 4.5 Future directions.....
5. Comments and suggestions on issues of child domestic workers.....

Thank you for your kind cooperation

**An interview form for
households with child domestic workers
for Rapid assessment of child domestic workers in Thailand**

Directions:

1. This interview form is created by the researchers of the faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, Mahidol University, as a guideline to interview household owners with child domestic workers in Bangkok.
2. A child domestic worker is a minor under 18 years of age (or at present over 18 years but started working in this household when he/she was under 18 years) hired to do household chores, such as, doing dishes, preparing meals, cleaning, babysitting, taking care of the aged, washing cars or watering plants. He/she may carry out domestic work only or help his/her employer in business, such as, being a shop assistant.
3. The interview would be conducted with the voluntary of the household head or his representative.
4. The data obtained will be used for the purpose of analysis and analyzed to get an overview of the situation without revealing any individual information.

For interviewer

Willingness of the interviewee

☐ Voluntary ☐ non-voluntary

Interviewer's name.....

Place of interview

Date/time of interview

Summary of interviewer.....

.....

Part 1: Household conditions

1.1 Residence structure

1) Aspect of the house

- ☐ a single house ☐ a townhouse
☐ a shop house ☐ Other (please specify).....

2) Number of family members (parents, siblings, children and relatives exclusive of child domestic workers) :

No. (according to seniority)	Family Status	Sex	Age	Highest Education	Occupation	Remarks
1.						
2.						
3.						
4.						
5.						
6.						
7.						
8.						
Information on child domestic workers						Specify his/her hometown, years of working in this household, etc.
1.	worker					
2.	worker					

Mark an * in front of the interviewee

3) Family monthly income before deducting expenses

- ☐ 10,000 – 30,000 baht ☐ 30,001 – 50,000 baht
☐ 50,001 – 80,000 baht ☐ 80,001 – 100,000 baht
☐ 100,001 baht and over ☐ Other (please specify)....

Part 2: Information on child domestic workers

For interviewer: If more than 1 child worker, this part should be done individually (starting with the youngest)

2.1 Why does your household require child domestic workers?.....

.....

.....

2.2 How did you acquire this domestic worker?

- () His/her parents brought him/her () His/her relatives brought him/her
() His/her friends brought him/her () You brought him/her from the
hometown
() Other (please specify)
Other additional information.....
.....

2.3 Is this child worker a relative of yours or other family members?

- () No () Yes (specify).....

2.4 In hiring this child worker, has a contract been drawn up with the child or his/her parents? How?

- () A written contract (specify the main content).....
.....
() A verbal contract (specify the main content).....
.....
() Other (please specify)

2.5 How would you compare the economic status of the child's household with that of others in the community?

- () Poorer () richer
() same () Other (please specify).....

2.6 How do you pay for the child labour?

- ☐ a monthly pay to the child ofbaht
☐ pay to his/her parents (please specify).....
.....
☐ Other (please specify).....

2.7 Besides salary, have you ever given the child extra money, tokens, clothes, or jewelry?

- ☐ No ☐ Yes (specify).....

2.8 What are the child's domestic chores?

- | | |
|--------|--------|
| 1..... | 2..... |
| 3..... | 4..... |
| 5..... | 6..... |

2.9 What is your satisfaction with the child's work performance?

- ☐ high ☐ Moderate ☐ Low because.....

2.10 The child is assigned to get up at..... o'clock and go to bed at.....o'clock.

2.11 During the day (Mondays-Fridays), is the child at home alone?

- ☐ Yes ☐ No. With.....

2.12 During weekends (Saturdays and Sundays), is the child at home alone?

- ☐ Yes ☐ No. With.....

2.13 How do you assign the child a sleeping place?

- ☐ a separate room/bed ☐ with other child workers
☐ with other family members (who?).....
☐ Other (please specify).....

2.14 How do you provide food to the child?.....

2.15 How do you allocate his/her day-off or rest while on duty?.....

2.16 Has the child been sick or injured?
 () Yes. How have you dealt with it?.....
 () No.
 If he was sick or injured, what would you do?.....

2.17 Has the child ever requested the following and how have you responded to them?

Request	No	Yes and your responses	Remarks
1. Using your telephone to call his/her parents/ relatives at the hometown			
2. Going for leisure during holidays in Bangkok.			
3. Visiting his/her family			
4. Allowing visiting parents / relatives /friends to stay with him/her			
5. Studying in the Non-Formal Education			
6. Attending a short vocational training course.			
7. Having a medical check-up at the hospital			
8. Asking for salary advancement			
9. Visiting friends in Bangkok			
10.			
11.			

2.18 If there are volunteer teachers teaching, training vocational skills to child labourers and facilitating them to have their own social group, what is your opinion on the issue?

.....
.....
.....

2.19 In your opinion, what are the main problems of child domestic workers and how can they be solved (e.g. social manners, sanity, etc.)?

- 1.....
- 2.....
- 3.....
- 4.....
- 5.....

2.20 If the child domestic worker is trained for the understanding and skills of his responsibilities for 15 to 30 days before working with you and you are to bear all the training expenses, what is your opinion on the issue?

.....
.....
.....

2.21 In your opinion, the minimum salary for a child domestic worker (with the provision of accommodation and food) should bebaht. What other welfare benefits should he/she be covered (e.g. medical care, holidays, leaves, overtime pay, etc.)

- 1.....
- 2.....
- 3.....

2.22 Your free comments on child domestic labour.

.....

.....

.....

.....

Thank you for your kind cooperation