

CHAPTER III CASE STUDIES

The first section of this chapter provides a brief background of Thai labor migration to Japan, and the next chapter will be the case studies.

3. 1. Background information: Thai migrants to Japan

The number of Thai migrants to overseas has continued to increase, and Japan is one of the destination countries for them. Since the Japanese immigration policy does not accept unskilled labors, the entry to Japan is very limited. Despite the fact that Japan has very strict laws forbidding foreigners to work and because the living cost in Japan is very high, many Thai workers choose to go to Japan illegally. In 2005, the number of registered foreign nationals was 2,011,555 in total, and the number of registered Thai migrants was 37,703, which is 7th highest number. The estimated number of overstayed Thai migrants was 10,352, which is 4th highest (Japanese Immigration Control, 2006). However, the accurate number of irregular migrants is not clear since it is difficult to keep track.

Table 1. Changes in the number of registered foreign nationals to Japan

Year	Thai	Asian	Total
1986	30,296	1,014,787	2,021,450
1989	49,117	1,791,652	2,985,764
1990	69,477	2,164,373	3,504,470
1991	105,666	2,477,006	3,855,952
1992	97,568	2,519,046	3,926,347
1995	57,767	2,344,748	3,732,450
1998	54,457	2,617,778	4,556,854
2001	77,521	3,280,514	5,285,310

Year	Thai	Asian	Total
2002	86,683	3,674,574	5,771,975
2003	95,018	3,793,793	5,727,240
2004	121,963	4,607,027	6,756,830
2005	136,868	5,135,673	7,450,103

Source: Japanese immigration control, cited at
<http://www.moji.go.jp/NYUKAN/nyukan54-2.pdf>

Japan is also one of the destination countries of smuggling and trafficking for Thai migrants. Although there are no official overseas labor contracts between Thailand and Japan, there are a large number of Thai workers, working and living illegally in Japan. This fact implies that Japanese industries rely on foreign migrant labor force. However, in order to enter Japan, those who want to work in Japan mostly use some agencies called brokers (Caouette & Saito, 1999, p37). In the case of women, high percentage of migrant women in Japan uses transnational crime agencies. In the 1990s, there were more than 100,000 Thai people who entered Japan (Ruenkaew, 2002, p 60). The National Police Agency notes a decrease in the number of recorded Thai trafficking victims since 1999, but in 2004, it increased again.

Table 2. The number of trafficked Thai women identified by the Japanese National Police Agency

Year	Number of trafficked Thai women
1999	110
2000	73
2001	39
2002	40
2003	21
2004	48
2005	21

Source: Japanese National Police Agency, cited at
<http://www.npa.go.jp/safetylife/seikan33/20060905.pdf>

Table 3. Number of trafficking victims who have contacted the Thai Embassy

Year	Thai women
1986-98	1486
1999	21
2000	19
2001	30
2002	33
2003	30
Total	1607

Source: International Labour Office. Human trafficking and sexual exploitation in Japan (2004, p17)

In general, the causes of migration include conditions both in the home country and the destination. The conditions for migrating in the case of Thailand could be referred as “push” factors while the conditions attracting the mobility could be referred as “pull” factors. The economic approach emphasizes both push-pull and supply-demand. In sum, higher wages in some nations attract workers who earn lower wages in other nations. As the research of Chunjitkaruna (2000) shows, the reason of migrating to Japan is earning easy and fast money. Compare to other destination countries, Japan stands the highest position of wages. Moreover, those Thai migrants, especially for women, came from farming families (Caouette & Saito, 1999, p27). This suggests that the need for income beyond the family farm became an issue for many rural households. Increasing demands for cash to pay for education, medical bills, daily goods, agricultural supplies and other expenses make their families to rely on debt. These women are often deceived and sent to Japan as entertainers. As one of the pull factor, the entertainment industry is so enormous in Japan that a huge number of hostess bars exist. International Labour Organization report stated that “Japan has the largest entertainment market for Asian women, with over 150,000 non-Japanese women involved, mainly from Thailand and the Philippines (ILO, 2004, p39)”. Therefore, it can be argued that the poverty and consumerism promotes the women

from farming or poor family to be recruited in international human trafficking network.

3. 2. Case studies

Field work in Chiang Rai province took three weeks. The author could have deep-in-depth interview with totally seven returnees. The interview results will be shown in the following section as case studies. The case studies will be described in following order: Situation before going to Japan, living conditions in Japan, return process and reintegration.

3. 2. 1. Case 1: Noi³

Situation before going to Japan

Noi was born in Mae Suai and she has younger sister who is working in Chiang Rai province. She came from a farming family, and the life as farmer was not so wealthy. Noi was brought up in Mae Suai until high school. Although she tried to enter a nursing school to be a military nurse after high school, she could not make it because she could not pass the exam. She moved to Bangkok to work at a factory and stayed there several years. One day, her friend who had been to Japan introduced her to working in Japan. Noi had no idea about Japan and what she would do in Japan. However, she decided to go there because her friend convinced her strongly. She went back to Mae Suai for preparation. She did not know about Japan at all, but she thought working abroad would be enjoyable and she expected to earn higher income than working in Thailand.

Living conditions in Japan

Noi entered Japan illegally. Her friend introduced a broker to Noi and

³ The names of the women interviewed and cited in this study are all aliases.

prepared a fake passport for her. Then, an old Thai woman accompanied her from Thailand. She did not pay for traveling, but when she arrived at Japan, she was told that she owed a 2,000,000 yen debt. She was sent to Snack bar. The boss of this Snack bar was the old Thai women who accompanied Noi from Thailand. In this Snack bar, she had to entertain customers all day. She stayed at an apartment with other colleagues and the boss stayed together to supervise them. Whenever she went out, the boss accompanied her to prevent her from running away. There was no freedom either in the Snack bar or outside of Snack bar. She did not like this job and wanted to quit as soon as possible. She worked hard to be released from this Snack bar. To pay off the debt, she paid her most of her wages to the Snack bar. During this time, she could not contact to her parents because the boss always observed her. After she paid off her debt, she went to the immigration office and was sent back to Thailand. At that time, she had Japanese partner who she met in the Snack bar, and he paid the air ticket to Thailand. She missed Thailand very much and worried about her parents because she could not contact them while she was staying in Japan.

She met her Japanese partner when she was working at the Snack bar. He came to the Snack bar regularly and started to go out privately. After Noi came back to Thailand, he visited Noi's village and met her parents. He came to Thailand to organize the documents for a spouse visa. They wanted to marry in Japan but the immigration office did not allow that because of Noi's illegal status. The office told her that she had to go back once if she wants to marry.

She entered Japan again as spouse of Japanese husband when she was six month's pregnant with her child. Her parents were glad that their daughter married a Japanese national. She delivered her first child in Japan at the hospital. She lived with her husband and mother-in-law, but the relationship with the mother-in-law was not so good. It seemed that her mother-in-law was bias toward women from Southeast Asian countries. Noi had Thai friends around her home and invited them for dinner sometimes. However, her mother-in-law did not want her to do that because she did not like the commotion. Moreover, since Noi spoke very little Japanese at that time, her mother-in-law also complained about it. After a few months, she went back to

Thailand once because her mother passed away. Noi's Japanese husband worked as a cook at a Japanese restaurant, but he only earned 200,000 yen a month. He did not say anything about the relationship between Noi and her mother-in-law and he often obeyed his mother's opinion rather than Noi. He worked very late everyday so he seldom stayed home. Noi felt lonely and missed Thailand very much. She got pregnant with her second child and delivered in Japan. However, one and half years later, she decided to go back to Thailand.

Return process

The relationship with mother-in-law became seriously bad. They increasingly quarreled almost everyday. Moreover, Noi's father was left behind in Thailand alone since Noi's mother passed away several years ago. Her father seemed very lonely. He told her that he wanted her to come back whenever Noi called him. Noi also felt lonely and wanted to take care of her father instead of her mother-in-law. It was the third renewal of spouse visa when she told him about this. He just said "I think it's OK." This answer made Noi felt very sad because it seemed that he did not have any interest in her.

Reintegration

She came back her village directly from Bangkok. She took two sons with her and stayed with her father. When she came back, the second son was just one-and-a-half years old. It has been eight years since she had come back. However, she hasn't had a job after returning to Thailand because her husband still sends money to her. She considered that her main job is taking care of the family but it was very tiring. Since her older son is mentally handicapped, she always has to keep an eye on him.

She makes a phone call to her husband regularly. However, he has never called back them since they returned to Thailand. He visited Thailand only once three years ago. It seems his mother was glad that she went back to Thailand. When Noi

called her and told her that she wanted to visit Japan, his mother said "Please do not come back. Living in Japan costs a lot. If you and children come back, we will bankrupt! You know your husband's salary is low!" She also said "If you come back, please do not live with us because it will be too noisy for me. Please rent an apartment." However, it is impossible because there is no such money. She thought his mother wanted them to divorce. Noi talked about her mother-in-law: "She always says don't spend too much money, but she always go shopping. She loves shopping. Her daughter, my husband's younger sister, lives in close to our home and they always go shopping together. " Therefore, Noi does not want to go back to Japan while her husband's mother still alive.

Noi's father was glad she returned. She renovated her home and bought electric appliances after she returned. Noi's relatives lived in the same village and they were also glad that she came back as the wife of a Japanese man. Since she renovated her home and became wealthy, she became well-known by the people in the village. In her village, there are many women who had worked in Japan or still live in Japan. Migration to Japan is very common in this village so Noi thought that the jobs women engaged in Japan were not a major problem.

She said "People think if they go to Japan, they can earn higher income than in Thailand. It is true but thing does not go so well. It is not easy to make money and working conditions are very hard. People have to work everyday. Besides, some Japanese people have bias toward Southeast Asians. If my children want to go to Japan, I will not say anything. It is up to them."

3.2. 2. Case2: Mii

Situation before going to Japan

Mii was born in Mueang district and she was 42 years old at the time of her interview. She completed the 9th grade education. Her father died when she was 15 years old. She is the second of three children. She stayed in Japan around two years. It

has been 15 years since she returned. At the time of interview, her Japanese husband was 70 years old and was staying at hospital in Japan. She has a 15 year old daughter with her husband.

When she was young, her cousin who lived in the same village went to Japan and they became rich. Mii's mother told this story to Mii and she thought that going to Japan would be better place to make money than in Thailand. Mii's father emigrated to the Middle East when Mii was small, so she seldom saw her father. Her mother was alone all the time and Mii started to think of taking care of her mother by working abroad in the future. After completing 9th grade, she moved to Bangkok to work as a shop seller. However, Mii's mother suggested she go to Japan, and her uncle who had been to Japan several times and relative in Bangkok arranged to send her to Japan. They did not explain what kind of job she would get, but she assumed that she would work in entertainment industry.

Living conditions in Japan

She entered Japan with her uncle and his escort with her real passport. She arrived at Narita airport and moved to Ibaraki Prefecture. There was a guy who was waiting for her and he introduced her to work at a Snack bar. She worked at the Snack bar with a Thai boss and Thai hostess. She was worried about work because she did not know how to treat customers at the bar. Her friend who worked together helped her so she was able to manage it. She had to pay off her debt as 2,500,000 yen to the Snack bar, but she did not know that she would owe this debt. They all had to fill a quota every day. She had to take the customer outside. It was quite difficult to achieve this quota. She had to make phone calls to customers often. When she could not get any customers, she took her real boyfriend to pretend like a customer and she paid money for that. She did not like this job because some customers asked to go to a hotel. In this bar, if a customer opened a bottle of alcohol, the hostess could receive 3000 yen. Mii could hold her alcohol so she was good at letting them open bottles, and became popular at the bar. However, her health situation became worse and worse because of too much alcohol, and finally she was not able to keep on working. Her

boyfriend, who she married in the future, paid the fees for medical treatment. It was expensive since she was an illegal immigrant and had no insurance.

She met her husband at the Snack bar. He was a carpenter but already retired at that time. He was old and it seems he had a wife. Mii was a mistress at first. Although she did not know if they were divorced or not, she thought that he already stayed separately from his wife. When Mii got pregnant a child with him, he asked her to marry. She accepted that offer, but she was worried because she already overstayed. However, her husband prepared the documents and he asked her to prepare necessary documents, too. The procedure was complicated but they could do it. However, she still had illegal status. Although she was very worried about her status, she delivered a child in Japan with her boyfriend's support. This child was brought up until one and half year old. After she stopped working at the bar, she just stayed at his apartment and did not have employment. She sent remittances to her mother regularly through her husband's support.

Return process

She returned to Thailand when her child was one and half year old, since her husband became hospitalized. It became difficult to stay in Japan without him. Moreover, Mii became unhealthy so she decided to go back to Thailand. She reported herself to the immigration bureau in Japan. Her husband paid the air ticket.

Reintegration

After she returned, she directly went back to her home village. She stayed with her family for three years. She received economic support from her husband so she did not need to work. After three years, she established a small stationary shop in Mae Suai by using savings and remittances from her husband. Her husband's health situation is still bad, so he remains in hospital. He was already over 70 years old now. He had never come to Thailand after Mii returned to Thailand. However, Mii makes phone calls regularly. He loves his daughter very much. He sends remittances as much

as 100,000 yen whenever she calls.

Mii said she had no difficulties getting into the family and community again. The family member accepted her and took care of her daughter well. However, she said it was because she saved a lot of money and still receives economic support. Mii said "Some women could not save money in Japan. I don't know why they could not do that." It seemed she had a sense of superiority to those women. Therefore, she had a good image about Japan. She said she wanted to go back to Japan if she had a chance.

3. 2. 3. Case 3: Nam

Situation before going to Japan

Nam was 41 years old at the time of her interview. She stayed in Japan for two years when she was 23 or 24 years old. It has been 15 years after return. She entered Japan in 1990. Her daughter is now 15 years old.

She was born in Mae Sai. After she completed 4th grade, she started to work as a babysitter in Mae Sai. Her family was poor so she had to work since she was young. The monthly wage for this job was 600 baht. After this job, she started to go to hairdresser school. However, before finishing school, she moved to Bangkok and worked at a massage parlor. This shop provided sexual massage for customers. She worked in Bangkok for two years. When she was working at the massage shop, her sister went to Japan, and she suggested her coming to Japan. Nam said "My sister told me that there are many Japanese men who want to marry Thai women". Her sister owned a Snack bar in Japan, so Nam prepared a passport and other documents with her sister's help.

Living conditions in Japan

After she arrived in Japan, her sister introduced a Japanese man to Nam and

they began to live together. They were supposed to marry, however, when they went to the immigration office to ask the procedure of marriage, the immigration office did not allow them to marry. They doubted whether this was fake marriage or not because of their age. Japanese man was about 40 years old and Nam was only 21 years old. The immigration office people said that Nam had to go back to Thailand if they wanted to marry. However, it was impossible for Nam to do that. The immigration people sometimes came to check their room whether this was fake marriage or not. Fortunately, Nam and the Japanese man were together when immigration people visited them. However, the Japanese man who stayed with Nam was not kind and he always went out late. He did not care about Nam at all. After a while, Nam moved to Ryugasaki in Ibaraki Prefecture and started to work at the Snack bar. At this time her visa was already expired, but she continued to work in Japan. The female boss and her husband in this bar were Japanese and they were kind to Nam. But she did not like this job because she had to do sexual service. Some customers used violence and treated Nam very awful. One day, she went to hotel with the customer. The customer was using narcotics and he injected it into Nam's arm. When he injected it into himself, he used rubber band on his arm. But he did not use it when it comes to Nam's turn. He injected it into her several times. After a while, they became excited and started to run around the forest. She did not remember what she did during that time. The next thing she knew was that she was lying in the forest naked. It was close to the hotel so hotel staff found her. The customer already disappeared at that time. She was fed up with this job after this incident. Around this period, she had a heart disease. However, she hesitated to go to hospital because she did not have any insurance.

One day, she was introduced a new Japanese man, and they began to live together. He lived separately with his family. But he kept quiet about dating with Nam to his family members. She left the Snack bar and changed to work at a package factory for two or three months. After that her friend introduced a new job to her. She changed jobs to an auto parts factory. She went to the hospital and she was told that she was pregnant. However, she did not have any ambition to have a child since she was illegal worker and the medical expense was expensive for those who did not have insurance. Moreover, she was only 23 or 24 years old, so she thought she was too

young to give birth. When she told her boyfriend about her pregnancy, he said he was pleased. But Nam felt that he did not think deeply. Because Nam was very worried to become a mother, she went to hospital to have an abortion when she was fourth month's pregnant. However, she realized that the abortion was not good for anyone. She had to face a lot of troubles when she was looking for hospital. The problem was medical fees. For example, when Nam stayed in the hospital for nine days, she was told that she had to pay 320,000 yen. Japanese hospitals tended not to accept illegal foreign workers. People at hospitals thought that illegal workers would bring troubles and they hardly paid treatment fees. Therefore, she traveled around the city and finally found a hospital that could accept her. Although the attitude of doctor was terrible, she had to endure it. In 1991, her daughter was born at the hospital in Japan. She stayed in Japan until nine months old. Her Japanese boyfriend did not tell his Japanese family about Nam and her daughter. When his mother visited their apartment, she found the presence of Nam and a child first time. His mother was very surprised but she accepted them. Since Nam's boyfriend did not acknowledge her daughter as his child her daughter could not get Japanese citizenship. Therefore, Nam went to the Thai embassy to register her daughter as a Thai citizen.

Return process

She decided to go back to Thailand because she was worried about bringing up a child in Japan with illegal status. When she decided to go back, she voluntarily reported herself to the immigration bureau.

Reintegration

Her family was surprised that she brought a small baby, but they accepted it. While her Japanese partner was sending remittances, she did not work and concentrated on raising a child. However, he became silent, and finally lost contact. Nam thought that his business became bankrupted because of Japanese economy recession. After he stopped sending money, she ran out of her savings, so she had to work outside. However, it was quite difficult for her to find job because she only

completed 4th grade education. She finally found job at an accessory factory. However, the work at an accessory shop was very hard and it was located far from her home. At this time, she had already moved out of the village so could not ask for family's help. She had to take care of her daughter by herself. Since she had a heart disease, this work had bad influence to her.

After Nam came back to Thailand, her sister who used to stay in Japan also returned to Thailand. Her sister is a street vendor in Mae Sai now. While working at the accessory factory, the director of SEPOM visited her home to tell her about assistance for children. At first Nam did not believe the director. However, since she realized that she was lacking finances to send her child to the school, she began to ask for a scholarship for her child. Her daughter had a heart disease by birth, so Nam had to take her to the hospital. Her daughter had to consult with the doctor in Chiang Mai every week. Although the doctor said that her daughter needed to have surgery, Nam thought her daughter was too small to have surgery. Instead of having surgery, she had to take echocardiography regularly. These treatment fees were a financial burden for Nam.

3. 2. 4. Case 4: Wipa

Situation before going to Japan

She was 39 years old at the time of her interview. It has been 15 years since her return. She was born in Mae Lao and completed 9th grade education. Her family were farmers and suffered from poverty. After completing 9th grade education, she moved to Bangkok and worked a few years at a factory, and after a while she went back to her village to help with field work for her family. One day, a broker visited her home and talked about Japan as a good country to earn better income than Thailand. Wipa thought that working in Japan would be good opportunity to help her family.

Living conditions in Japan

The broker prepared necessary documents and Wipa entered Japan. They did not charge brokerage in Thailand but Wipa was told that she owed 3,500,000 yen when she arrived at Japan. She was taken to Kashima city in Ibaraki Prefecture. She did not move anywhere from Kashima during her stay in Japan. She was 23 years old at the time. She stayed in Japan for two years. She was forced to work at a Snack bar, and the boss at the bar was quite violent and punched and kicked her and her colleague everyday. He was Yakuza⁴. Wipa started to suffer from mental illness because of his violence. Although she worked there for two years, she had never received wage. The boss always exploited her wages. Everything was under the boss's control, so she could not contact her family in Thailand. At that bar, Wipa had to work as a hostess and prostitute. However, the boss did not give the birth-control pills to the workers. One day, she noticed that she got pregnant, but she could not identify who the father was. She delivered her child at the hospital. After a while, entertainers at the bar asked the boss to release Wipa and her child. They felt sorry for Wipa's situation, and then she was finally released.

Return process

She wanted to go back to Thailand but she did not know how to return. She ran to the Thai embassy to ask for help. The Thai embassy introduced a shelter for battered women called "Sala". She stayed there for 10 days, and the shelter paid the air ticket for Wipa and her son and sent them to the airport. Her son was just 3 month old at that time. There was no direct assistance from Thai government. When it comes to Japanese government, they regarded Wipa as illegal worker, so not to mention assistance, they might have arrested her. If she could receive some assistance, she would want any help for children. She had no expectations for what she would do after going back to Thailand. She just wanted to run away from Japan at that time.

Reintegration

⁴ Yakuza are members of traditional organized crime groups in Japan

She went back to her village directly. Her father already died a year before she came back. Her family was surprised when Wipa brought a child and disappointed that she did not bring any money. She helped with field work at the farm. When she was working at the farm, people in the village introduced her to work in Taiwan. For her, she did not mind helping field work, but she knew the farming could not make profitable income. Therefore, she migrated to Taiwan when her son was seven months old. There were many men and women who emigrated to Taiwan in her village, so she did not have any negative thoughts about going to Taiwan. The wage in the factory was not so high. However, compared to Japan where she worked as a hostess, it was not a hard job for her. She worked in Taiwan for a year, then came back to Thailand. After a while, she went to Taiwan again for two years. Although she worked in Taiwan total about three years, she was not able to save much money.

Although she migrated abroad repeatedly to help family finances, life did not change dramatically. Life did not become better. She thought it was because her family did not help her. After she came back from Taiwan, she thought the money which she earned would be great contribution to the family. However, her sister owed a new debt from the bank. The money that Wipa earned abroad was not enough to pay off this debt, so they sold their farming field. However, it could not cover all the debts, so Wipa's family still suffers from the debt. So Wipa thinks that life became harder after she returned to Thailand. She thinks her family has too many problems. Wipa was not able to handle these family problems sometimes and her mental health condition became worse. Therefore, she move out from home and stayed at the office of SEPOM. Wipa cannot open herself to family members. It is because she did not bring economic contribution to the family. Instead, she brought a child who needed to be nursed carefully. However, her niece who is 25 years old is the only one who tries to understand Wipa.

The community environment is not a comfortable one for Wipa's family. Since her family had been poor, the people in the community did not have a positive opinion toward Wipa's family. When Wipa returned from Japan without husband, people gossiped about her. Wipa said that those who migrated to Japan were regarded

as prostitutes in her village, and they were expected to bring economic contribution to family and the community. However, in the case of Wipa, she did not bring any contribution. Instead, she brought a baby. This became a good material for gossip and rumor. Therefore, the community did not help them. For her, it is quite difficult to find a job because she still suffers from mental illness. One day, she fell in a state of panic and burned herself on purpose. Her son used to be a violent child when he was small. He used to hit other friends. Wipa thinks it is because of Wipa's frequent migration. When Wipa was working in Taiwan, he was placed with Wipa's family. Therefore, the relationship between Wipa and her son is not like a normal parent-child relationship.

3. 2. 5. Case 5: Pui

Situation before going to Japan

Pui was 36 years old at the time of interview, and stayed in Japan for seven years. Her family was poor farmers. She completed 6th grade education, and then she went to Bangkok to sell small products on the street. After she worked there for a few years, she got married with a Thai man and had a daughter. However, their married life did not go well. She divorced and returned to her home village with her child. After a while, her friend introduced a job in Japan. Pui thought this was good chance to gain income since she had a child who needed to be taken care of. Her parents did not know what she would do in Japan.

Living conditions in Japan

She entered Japan illegally with other Thai women. She was 22 or 23 years old at the time. She thought she was the only one who would go to Japan from her village, however, there were some girls who were from the same village. When she arrived at Japan, she was told that she owed debt. She was sent to Chiba prefecture and worked at a Snack bar. She had to work as a prostitute and tried to pay off the debt by working hard. She was not told about this debt in Japan and she had no idea what she would do in Japan. She earned around 7,000 yen a day at this bar and stayed

at an apartment with other foreign workers. The boss at the bar was scary so she wanted to repay and leave the bar as soon as possible. She paid off this debt in one and half years, and then she moved to different city in Chiba Prefecture. She stayed there for six years.

After she left the bar, she engaged in a service job. She liked to work in Japan because she could earn a lot of money. That is why she stayed in Japan for a long period. She saved a lot of money and sent remittances to her family. She left her daughter in the village, so she made phone calls often. She met a Japanese guy at the Snack bar. After she finished working at the Snack bar, the Japanese guy moved to live with Pui. They lived together for three years. After a while, she noticed that she got pregnant. He agreed with having the child. At this time, she could speak conversational Japanese without any problem.

Return process

She decided to go back to Thailand. It is because she got pregnant and was physically weak and the medical expenses in Japan were so high. When she went to the hospital about the pregnancy, she was told that she had to pay around 1,000,000 yen if she wanted to deliver at the hospital. Moreover, her boyfriend agreed with having a child, but he did not want to marry. She came back to Thailand when she was six month's pregnant. She went to the Thai embassy to be deported. The air ticket was paid by her boyfriend.

Reintegration

She went back to her home village directly. She gave a birth in Thailand. Pui did not work for three years after she returned. She received remittances from her boyfriend, so she could concentrate on raising child. She lived with her family at that time. She started to work at a guest house where many Japanese tourists came. She found that job by herself. She thinks she could obtain that job because she learned enough Japanese skill to be qualified. She thinks that she only completed 6th grade

education, so it would have been difficult for her to find a job if she did not speak Japanese. She worked there for a year, and then moved to another guest house. The owner at the first place introduced new job. She has been working at the next guest house for three years so far. Although she said that she liked working at the guest house, she was not satisfied with the wage. However, since her boyfriend still sends remittances, she is financially better off. Her Japanese boyfriend still sends 50,000 yen every two months. She thinks this is not enough to cover the living costs. Now he is married with a Japanese woman and has two children. It is a secret for his wife that he sends money to Pui. His wife does not know his husband had a child in Thailand at all.

Pui has a Thai boyfriend now and they are working together at the guest house. Her son also lives with him together. Her son also attached him.

When she returned to Thailand, she was glad that she could come back to Thailand. However, she said that she liked Japan because she was able to earn higher income. So if she had a chance to work again, she would go back to work again. She said that the life got better than before going to Japan. However, since she was in a delicate health, she needed to consult with the doctor regularly.

She said that when she returned, the community also accepted her and she did not face any gossip. Her family did not blame her when she returned to Thailand with a child. Pui's daughter who was born with Pui's ex-husband was placed with her family. Her family treated her daughter carefully.

3. 2. 6. Case 6: Mari

Situation before going to Japan

Mari is 38 years old and stayed in Japan about five years. She migrated to Japan when she was under 20 years old. She completed 6th grade education, however,

now she is undertaking the 12th grade education. She was born in Mae Sai and her family was poor farmers. When she was in 6th grade, her father passed away, and her mother's health situation was not well. Therefore, she had to work to help her family's finances. She had four sisters and the oldest sister took care of mother. After she finished 6th grade, she went to Bangkok to sell food on the street for a few years.

Living conditions in Japan

After she finished working in Bangkok, she came back to her home, and started to help farming for a while. One day, a broker visited her home and introduced working abroad to her. The broker did not tell the destination at all and they explained how much she could earn in the destination country. Mari agreed with going abroad because she needed money to help family finances. She was taken to Hat Yai at the Malaysian border at first and she found that her friends in the village were also there. She had to stay in Hat Yai for two or three months. After that, she was taken to Kuala Lumpur in Malaysia. Since Mari and the others were supposed to enter Japan as Malaysian, they were forced to practice how to answer the questions at the immigration at the airport in Japan. They were asked to say they were from a small village near Kuala Lumpur. Nobody was arrested in Narita airport. The immigration officer stamped 15 days visa on her fake passport. Mari overstayed after the visa expired.

When she arrived in Japan, she was told that she owed a 3,000,000 yen debt. She was sent to a Snack bar in Shinjuku, Tokyo. She worked there for three years. There were many foreign females at the bar such as Thai, Filipino and Myanmar. Mari thought that they were brought to Japan in the same way as her. Mari did not like working in the bar because she had to provide sexual service to many customers. She owed a debt as much as 3,000,000 yen, but she realized that it was impossible to pay off. Therefore, she escaped from the bar. She ran to the friend house in Tochigi Prefecture. This friend helped to let her get out from the bar. She successfully escaped from the bar.

In Tochigi Prefecture, she met a Japanese guy right after running out from Tokyo, and started to live together for a few years. She did not work there because her boyfriend earned for her. She sent small remittances to her family in Thailand by using his earnings.

Return process

One day, she noticed that she became pregnant. She told him about her pregnancy, and then he said that it would be better for her to go back to Thailand once. He said that he would send money for her and their child. Therefore, she decided to return to Thailand. She went to Thai embassy and her boyfriend paid for the air ticket. She had to wait for a month to be sent to Thailand.

Reintegration

After she returned, she went back to her home near Mae Sai. She tried to contact her boyfriend in Japan, but there was a problem. Because there was no communication tool which could connect to Japan in her village, she had to travel to Mae Sai City to make a phone call. It took so much work for her. She tried to contact with her Japanese partner and he also sent remittances for a few years. However, it disappeared gradually. Her boyfriend never visited Thailand. Mari returned to Thailand when she was eight months pregnancy. She delivered a daughter in Thailand. Since she saved some money in Japan and received remittances from her partner, she could live without working for several years. Her family accepted her and Mari helped farming the field work. Mari got married with a Thai man when her daughter was three years old. He was her childhood friend and used to live next to her home. He is a kind man and treats her daughter as his real daughter. Mari had another daughter with new husband. Her husband treats them equally. Now Mari and her husband mainly work as farmers. But the farming is not enough to make a living, so she makes traditional crafts for extra money. She is also involved in the community activities. She said that she was helping to produce clean water for the community. Since she only completed 6th grade education, she thinks it is difficult to find better job than farming. That is why now she goes to the school to complete 12th grade education. She thinks the life got better than before going to Japan. But it is because her family

used to be too poor. She said it was difficult to become really rich person. Since she is satisfied with her current life and did not like the job in Japan, she does not want to go back to Japan. She did not feel apparent discrimination from the people in the community. Even though she got pregnant with a Japanese guy, people regarded those who migrated to Japan as an object for jealous eyes. She was regarded as successful. However, at the village meeting, some people were gossiping about her. She thought that they felt jealous about her since she had experience in the foreign country.

3. 2. 7. Case 7: Rose

Situation before going to Japan

She was 44 years old at the time of interview. She stayed in Japan for six years. Her family was struggling with poverty so she did not have a chance to take fundamental education. Therefore, she is not good at writing and reading in Thai. She helped her family with farming since she was young. She had older sister and she also did not have education. She was sent to Hat Yai when she was an adolescent. She became a mistress of a Chinese Malaysian. She stayed in Hat Yai for 10 years. Her job in Hat Yai was prostitution. In Hat Yai, there were many girls who were from Northern part of Thailand. One day, her lover introduced a broker to her and he recommended going to Japan. She thought she had no way to reject it, so she agreed with going to Japan. Although the broker did not tell what kind of job she had to do, she expected that she would work as a prostitute.

Living conditions in Japan

She went to Malaysia from Hat Yai and entered Japan with fake passport. She was sent to Ibaraki Prefecture and work at a Snack bar. She was 28 or 29 years old at that time. There were many foreign workers at the bar such as Filipino. The boss at the bar was Thai woman who was from North East of Thailand. She owed the debts and paid off it in two years. She used to be a prostitute in Hat Yai, but she did not like that job. However, she did not have fundamental education, so she thought that the only job she was qualified for was prostitution. At the Snack bar, she met a Japanese

guy. He was kind and they started to go out together. He helped her money troubles at the bar sometimes. After paying off the debt, her boyfriend took her to another prefecture and they started to live together. Rose did not work there and relied on her partner's earning. Her boyfriend was a carpenter. Then she noticed that she got pregnant. Her boyfriend tried to acknowledge paternity of the child, however, he was not able to do it because of lack of information about the procedure. Around this time, her mother in Thailand passed away so she had to go back.

Return process

When she was six month's of pregnant, she decided to return to Thailand. Since she got pregnant and worried about bringing up in Japan and her mother passed away, she thought it was the time to leave. Rose and her Japanese partner did not marry officially, but he made a promise that he would send remittances to Rose.

Reintegration

She came back to her home village directly. Her mother already passed away so there was only her father. Her sister disappeared and her father even did not know where Rose's sister went. Rose thought that her family was disrupting and she was the only one who could take care of her father. However, her father accepted Rose and took care of her son. The problem is that he was too old to work as farmer, so her family has to rely on the remittances from her partner.

After she came back, she went to the hospital in Chiang Rai city and delivered a son. Rose has not had employment since she came back from Japan since she relies on the remittances from her boyfriend. Her boyfriend visited Thailand when her son was two years old. He still sends money to her regularly, so she has enough to live without doing work. Now she goes to massage school to have marketable skill.

She said that life became better than before migrating to Japan. Since she was engaged in the entertainment industry for a long time and she did not have education,

she thought that if she did not receive remittances, she would face difficulty finding job. People in the community gossiped about her a lot when she delivered a son without husband. Her family was very poor prior to Japan, so the community relationship was not well since before. Moreover, since her sister disappeared, there were many topics which encouraged them to gossip her family. She does not have bad opinion about Japan. She said if she has a chance she wants to go back and stay with her Japanese partner.