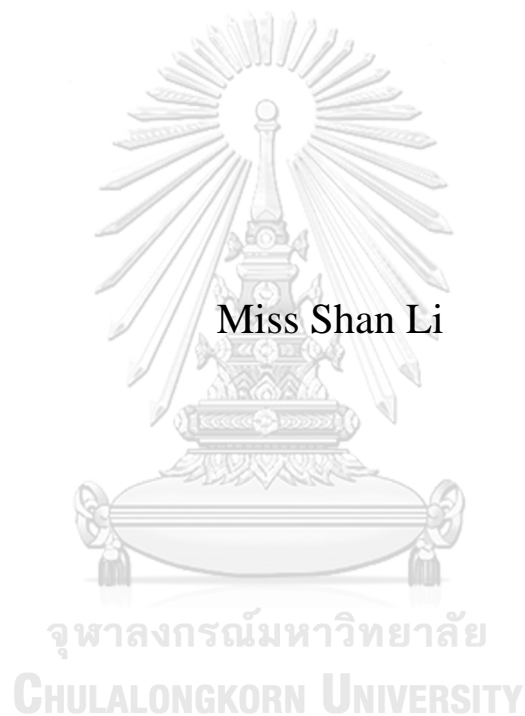


EDUCATION AND IDENTITY OF MYANMAR MIGRANT
CHILDREN IN SAMUT SAKHON PROVINCE



A Thesis Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements
for the Degree of Master of Arts in Southeast Asian Studies
Inter-Department of Southeast Asian Studies
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การศึกษาและอัตลักษณ์ของเด็กผู้ย้ายถิ่นชาวเมียนมาร์ในจังหวัดสมุทรสาคร



วิทยานิพนธ์นี้เป็นส่วนหนึ่งของการศึกษาตามหลักสูตรปริญญาศิลปศาสตรมหาบัณฑิต
สาขาวิชาเอเชียตะวันออกเฉียงใต้ศึกษา สหสาขาวิชาเอเชียตะวันออกเฉียงใต้ศึกษา
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ชาน หลี่ : การศึกษาและอัตลักษณ์ของเด็กผู้ย้ายถิ่นชาวเมียนมาร์ในจังหวัดสมุทรสาคร. (EDUCATION AND IDENTITY OF MYANMAR MIGRANT CHILDREN IN SAMUT SAKHON PROVINCE) อ.ที่ปรึกษาหลัก : ดร.ทรายแก้ว ทิพากร, อ.ที่ปรึกษาร่วม : ดร.เปรม ใจ วังศิริไพศาล

การวิจัยครั้งนี้มีวัตถุประสงค์เพื่อสำรวจสถานภาพการศึกษาและอัตลักษณ์ของเด็กผู้ย้ายถิ่นชาวเมียนมาร์ในจังหวัดสมุทรสาครและวิเคราะห์บทบาทและอิทธิพลของรูปแบบการศึกษาที่เป็นทางการและไม่เป็นทางการเกี่ยวกับตัวตนของเด็กเหล่านี้ สำหรับเด็กผู้อพยพชาวพม่าที่อาศัยอยู่ในประเทศไทยเนื่องจากสภาพแวดล้อมการดำเนินชีวิตของพวกเขาแตกต่างจากพ่อแม่ของพวกเขา การวิเคราะห์ลักษณะเฉพาะของเด็กผู้ย้ายถิ่นชาวเมียนมาร์ไม่เพียงแต่ช่วยให้เข้าใจสถานการณ์ปัจจุบันของเด็กผู้ย้ายถิ่นชาวเมียนมาร์ในประเทศไทยเท่านั้น แต่ยังช่วยให้เราเข้าใจปัจจัยที่มีอิทธิพลต่อทัศนคติและพฤติกรรมของกลุ่มนี้ในการรวมกลุ่มทางสังคม การขาดเอกสารอย่างเป็นทางการการคุ้มครองทางสังคมและการศึกษาเป็นเรื่องปกติสำหรับเด็กเหล่านี้ ในการตอบสนองต่อปัญหาเหล่านี้รัฐบาลไทยและหน่วยงานท้องถิ่นได้ให้ความช่วยเหลือและสนับสนุนในระดับหนึ่ง จากการศึกษาแสดงให้เห็นว่าในทางทฤษฎีแล้วสิทธิในการใช้สิทธิของเด็กผู้ย้ายถิ่นชาวเมียนมาร์ในการเข้าโรงเรียน อย่างไรก็ตามในชีวิตจริงไม่ว่าเด็กเหล่านี้จะสามารถเข้าโรงเรียนได้หรือไม่ และพวกเขาสามารถได้รับการศึกษาระดับอุดมศึกษาได้หรือไม่นั้น ไม่ได้ขึ้นอยู่กับผู้กำหนดนโยบายและผู้ปฏิบัติตามนโยบายเท่านั้นแต่โอกาสเหล่านี้จะถูกจำกัดด้วยเงื่อนไขทางวัสดุและข้อจำกัดทางสังคม นอกจากนี้พวกเขาคอร์ประนีประนอมกับสังคมไทยมากขึ้นเพื่อให้ได้รับการยอมรับจากคนไทย ในเวลาเดียวกันกิจกรรมทางวัฒนธรรมที่เกี่ยวข้องและการศึกษาภาษาได้รับการออกแบบเพื่อรักษาเอกลักษณ์ของชาติหรือชาติพันธุ์ ข้อค้นพบหลักในบทความนี้มาจากการสัมภาษณ์แบบตัวต่อตัวกับเด็กผู้ย้ายถิ่นชาวเมียนมาร์ผู้ปกครองเด็กผู้ย้ายถิ่นชาวเมียนมาร์ครูอาจารย์ ฯลฯ ในจังหวัดสมุทรสาคร



สาขาวิชา เอเชียตะวันออกเฉียงใต้ศึกษา

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Shan Li : EDUCATION AND IDENTITY OF MYANMAR MIGRANT CHILDREN IN SAMUT SAKHON PROVINCE. Advisor: Saikaew Thipakorn, Ph.D. Co-advisor: Premjai Vungsiriphisal, Ph.D.

The purpose of this research is to explore the educational status and identity of Myanmar migrant children in Samut Sakhon Province and to analyze the different roles and influences of formal and informal educational models on these children's identity. For Myanmar migrant children who live in Thailand, due to their living environment are different from their parents, they seem to face identity challenges. The analysis of the identifying characteristics of Myanmar migrant children is not only contributing to the understanding of the current situation of Myanmar migrant children in Thailand but also can broaden the understanding about the factors that influence the attitude and behavior of this group in social integration. The lack of official documents, social protection and education is a common phenomenon for those children. In response to these problems, the Thai government and local authorities have provided assistance and support to them to a certain extent. The research shows that in theory, the right of Myanmar migrant children to enter school is indeed guaranteed. However, in real life, whether these children can successfully enter school and whether they can receive higher education does not depend on the policy makers and implementers, the opportunities are subjected to material and social constraints. In addition, they should more or less compromise with the Thai society in order to gain the recognition of the Thai people. At the same time, relevant cultural activities and language education which have been designed to preserve their own ethnic or national identity contribute to form their identity. The main findings in the article come from face-to-face interviews with Myanmar migrant children, their parents, headmasters, teachers, etc. in Samut Sakhon Province.

Field of Study: Southeast Asian Studies

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EDUCATION AND IDENTITY OF MYANMAR MIGRANT CHILDREN IN SAMUT SAKHON PROVINCE

Introduction

1.1 Background

“ The movement of peoples across national boundaries is as old as the nation state itself. Migration has become one of the great challenges worldwide. This due to the increasing numbers of migrants in all parts in the world, though migration is by no means a new phenomenon. Nevertheless, Castles and Miller (Massey et al.) call this era the ‘age of migration’(Luchtenberg 2004).”

Thailand's geographical location is in the heart of Indochina having a land boundary of 5,286 km with its four neighbors which are Cambodia, Lao PDR, Myanmar and Malaysia. The government supports investment which makes Thailand one of the region's major economies, especially the center of business and tourism. Therefore, there is no doubt that large number of non-Thai people are pouring into Thailand every year (Kantayaporn and Malik 2013).

Thailand has historically absorbed immigrants, in Ayutthaya period, migrants came to Thailand consist of immigrants to earn a living or seek asylum voluntarily; prisoners of war, and business visitors. In the 19th century, the absorption of foreign immigrants in Thailand has already reached a relatively large scale, among which the majority are Chinese (Chaithima 2017). After the Second World War, particularly between 1960s and 1980s, with the influx of refugees, displaced persons and political asylum seekers, the border became highly politicized. As the first refugee receiving country in the Greater Mekong Subregion (GMS), Thailand provides help to refugees from Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos. Since the 1990s, the prosperous development of the Thai economy has exerted great attraction on the low-skilled labor of neighboring countries, making Thailand the largest recipient of labor immigration from

neighboring countries in the GMS. Since then, a series of Memoranda of Understandings (MOUs) have been signed and in October 2002 a formalization system was introduced for the Lao People's Democratic Republic and in May 2003 with Cambodia, also in June 2003 for Myanmar, in order to establish the channels for regular labor migration from neighboring countries to Thailand (Huguet and Chamrathirong).

However, in the past, due to the complex, lengthy and expensive procedures involved, only a small percentage of immigrants entered Thailand through MOUs. In 2015, Thailand initiated a revision of the MOUs to expand cooperation on labor issues, including skills development and re-employment. Presently, the number of migrant workers under MOUs reached 846,375 in November 2018 (DOE, 2018 #53).

At present, according to statistics, Thailand has about 3,211,274 legally foreign workers from neighboring countries, of which the largest number of workers is from Myanmar (see Table 1). Whether it is in the industrial areas surrounding Bangkok, the coastal fishing villages in the Gulf of Siam, the tourism industry in Phuket, or the small businesses in Chiang Mai, all can see the Myanmar workers entering Thailand for legal or illegal employment. They fled violence, detention, arrest and internal displacement and sought to maintain their families in Thailand.

Table 1 Distribution of Migrant Workers by Country of Origin: Cambodia, Lao PDR, and Myanmar, information on May 2018.

Nationality	MOUs	Nationality verification	OSSC
Myanmar	322,947	1,098,815	1,188,756
Lao PDR	111,171	87,292	
Cambodian	243,465	158,828	
Total	677,583	1,344,935	1,188,756

Source: Foreign worker administration office, Department of Employment, Ministry of Labor, May 2018

However, international immigration is not only a phenomenon unique to adults. Although children's migration movements are often less obvious, they are also part of the migration. According to the Thailand Migration Report 2019, latest data from the International Organization for Migration (IOM), as of 2018, there are about 300,000 to 400,000 immigrant children living in Thailand (Victor and Sowirin 2019). Based on previous research, Myanmar migrant children can be broadly divided into three categories: 1) Children migrating from Myanmar to Thailand with their families; 2) Children who migrated to Thailand by themselves or with their peers from Myanmar; 3) Children born in Thailand to Myanmar migrant parents (Adhikari et al. 2014). Migrant children from Myanmar account for a large proportion, more than 80%, of all migrant children coming to Thailand (Chantavanich and Vungsiriphisal 2012).

The recent political arena has been jeopardized by the hesitation and contradictory trends between globalization and multiculturalism, as well as between localization and seeking mono-culturalism among countries and people of similar culture in cultural, social, economic co-operation. However, due to their differences, people of different cultures and civilizations are often excluded from these co-operations. In this context, the identity issue is the agenda of those who have a fear to lose their own identities (İnaç and Ünal 2013).

Most of these Myanmar migrant children are in their childhood and are forming awareness and attitudes about their relationship with others. "Childhood is often seen as an organized period of growth, defined as the time of preparation for the values and concerns of the adult world, which is rooted in a child who is still malleable and different (Jenks 2005)". Childhood experiences are often considered to be the cornerstone of self-identification, and national consciousness is seen by many as a key foundation for modern human identity (Scourfield et al. 2006). Similarly, national feelings are often seen as things that permeate one's core as one grows and develops.

Myanmar migrant children, despite the same as Thai children, are infiltrated and edified by modern urban civilization, due to lack of document, they seem to be facing an identity challenge. Although migrant children from Myanmar may come to Thailand to seek security and determine their future, in real life, their lives often lack social protection and uncertainty (Ball and Moselle 2015).

“Thailand needs to take action not only because it is a member of United Nations with a signatory to The Convention on the Rights of the Child, but to acknowledge that children are a vital human resource and a necessary foundation on which to build the future. Children must be taken care of and protected to assure they can enjoy a stable and secure life. They must be safeguarded against exploitation, assault, and violations of their rights, no matter what their nationality, language, or location is (Vungsirphisal, Auasalong, and Chantavanich 1999).”

Studies have shown that the establishment of a stable sense of identity is of great significance to the development of adolescents, and the lack of a stable sense of identity will lead to psychological problems such as depression, anxiety and anti-social (Roberts et al. 1999). Their physical and mental development will have a major impact on the stability of the city and society. At the same time, identity also has an important impact on the psychological status of migrant children as well as an important indicator for predicting the adaptation of migrant children to the country which they immigrate to, social behavior and relationships with local groups (Birman, Trickett, and Vinokurov 2002). First, the identity of immigrants is closely related to language, and language plays a very important role in the integration of immigrants. Second, social interaction has an important impact on immigration identity. All personal identities are not formed in closed systems, but in open interactions. The construction of immigration status and immigration are closely related to local social interaction. The closer interaction between immigrants and local society, the stronger the local identity, and vice versa. There is also culture, where culture includes nationality, race, ethnicity, gender and religious beliefs. When the immigrants have a

higher sense of superiority in the sense of their original culture, the identity of the immigrants is biased towards the original cultural identity (DING, 2016 #52).

Identity can promote the process of adaptation to the country, and it also has a positive predictive effect on the self-esteem, which plays a full intermediary role in the relationship between identity and social, cultural and psychological adaptation, of migrant children. Self-esteem has a positive predictive effect on social and cultural adaptation and psychological adaptation.

From a theoretical perspective, the establishment of an identity mainly has two levels of recognition: one is innate or subjective; the other is acquired or objective (Smith 1991). Innate or subjective is defined as the degree to which the internalization process of the objectification process is relatively and because of the blood, have a certain feeling of their own history and culture (Smith 1989). At the same time, this emotional identity posting will be influenced by acquired or objective factors which are described as attributes shared by all members of the social identity unit, such as symbols, myths, languages, religions, races, geography, lifestyles, common history, values, traditions, etc. (Smith 1989). It can be said that subjective recognition is of course a kind of personal emotional posting or self-feeling, but it does not represent all; and objective identification is the understanding and position of others or the government on the self-background (İnaç and Ünal 2013). The shaping and establishment of identity must not only consider subjective factors, but also objectiveness, acceptance and attitude. This means that the growth and development of identity depends to a large extent on our interaction with others around us. Establish and actively participate in activities in a particular environment in which we live, and consider these activities to be not separate activities, but rather activities that are completely interdependent between participants and that they are part of a community. This process of development constitutes something called "education."

Education provides people with the necessary survival skills and knowledge, which in turn provides a guarantee for the economic and social development of a country. It is a

means of maintaining social stability and socializing individuals. People learn about themselves through education and find their own positioning and values.

As a formal education provider of society, the school is an important social and cultural place where our experience and identity are invented and memorized (Oakes et al. 2015). Forming personality and identity, and fostering values is the main function of the formal education system (Ali 2010). In the absence of formal education, the family environment is particularly critical to the creation of children's identity. Parents are the best teachers of their children. Parents' words and deeds and every move affect their growth.

Unlike early immigrants to Thailand, the current Myanmar migrant children, especially the children of Myanmar migrant workers who were born in Thailand, are no longer inclined to return to Myanmar. Instead, they are more “flowing” than “moving” and have a long-term desire to live in Thailand (YE et al. 2005). Because of the limited means of seeking help in unfamiliar environments, also when dealing with Thai peers, they are inevitably subjected to discrimination and injustice. In real life, due to the differences on the context of society and relationships, their identity has many overlapping dimensions.

Opportunities to enter public or informal schools are limited for most Burmese children (Amarapibal, Beesey, and Germershausen 2003) (Bryant 2005). Although some informal learning centers provide them with some training, these immigration schools are seen as a risk to Thailand's national security. For example, in March 2006, five immigrant schools in the Phop Phra district of Tak were closed (Lee 2014) because the local government did not know what the schools taught and therefore might constitute a national security risk for Thailand. By analyzing the identity characteristics of migrant children, it is not only conducive to promoting the psychological harmony of migrant children, but also affects the attitude and behavior of this group in social integration, which can avoid the risk of social development and

enhance the speed of social development (Min and Jiang 2011). Therefore, it is of great significance not only for individuals but also for the development of the whole society to discuss the identification status of Myanmar migrant children.

Noticeably, Myanmar is a multi-ethnic country with problems within itself. In fact, the country officially has 135 different nationalities. These groups are further divided into eight different ethnic groups, such as Burman, the largest population, Chin, Kachin, Kayin, Kayah, Mon, Rakhine and Shan. The ethnic conflicts in Myanmar is one of the longest conflicts in the world. Although the ethnic issue is not unique to Myanmar, its problems and failures are particularly serious. The Burman are the main ethnic groups in Myanmar. Burmanization in various ethnic minority areas is a trigger for ethnic conflicts to some extent.

According to previous surveys “Main groups from Myanmar in Samut Sakhon are Karen, Burman, Mon, and people from Dawei. They come from many different places in Myanmar. Their place of origin varies from Sittwe in Rakhine State in the far west of Myanmar to Dawei in the southernmost part (Stenbeck 2012). In the paper “Migrant children and their difficult circumstances in Thailand”, according to the author, “The most migrant workers in Thailand are Burmese” (Vungsiriphisal, Auasalung, and Chantavanich 1999). In order to avoid unnecessary ethnic troubles and to get data more easily, the focus of this paper will be on the Burman.

1.2 Objectives of study

In order to achieve this outcome, the study focused on the achievement of the following main project objectives:

1. To explore formal and informal education opportunities of the Myanmar people with special emphasis on Burman migrant children.

2. To analyze the influence of education on Burman migrant children's identity. It mainly includes the impact on language and religion.

1.3 Research Question

The Burman migrant children may have lived in different community groups. In this case, what is their self-definition (ethnic and national identity) and the characteristics of their identity?

1.4 Methodology

The research employs qualitative methods such as the observation, in-depth interview, field notes, and analysis of documents such as academic works and reliable media sources.

As for the qualitative research approach, the author reviewed of governmental documents and other relevant literature on Myanmar migrant workers and migrant children. Fieldwork research helps in accessing primary sources, which reveals the studied subjects and provides a means for collecting new information at the area of study. The fieldwork was conducted between March and April 2019.

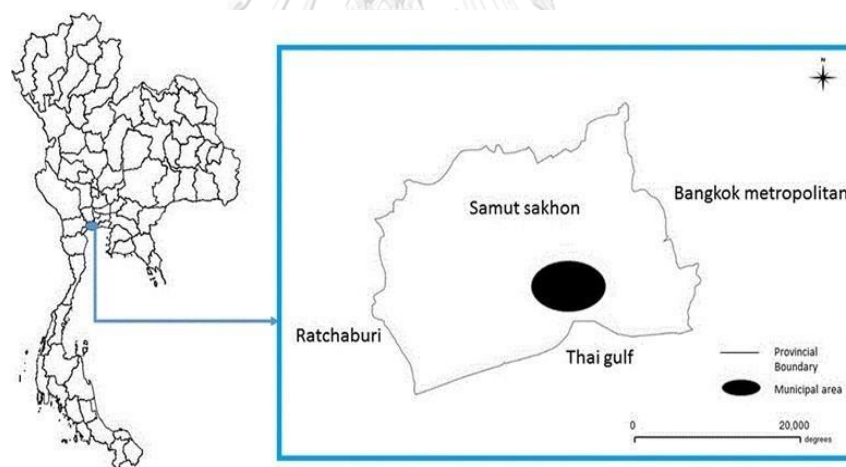
The major data were collected by means of face-to-face interviews with migrant children, their parents, principals from the schools, government officials in the education sector, and staff members who help migrant children in the field of education. Also, the author designed the questions for the interview about their personal information, employment and working conditions and education of migrant children, also related policy of the local government.

1.4.1 Areas of Study

Most of the research was done through fieldwork in Samut Sakhon Province. Samut Sakhon Province (Thai: สมุทรสาคร) (Figure 1) located in the middle part of Thailand, at the mouth of the Tha Chin Klong River, about 36 kilometers away from Bangkok. It

covers an area of 872 square kilometers and is divided into 3 districts: Muang, Krathum Baen and Ban Phaeo. The total population is about 520,000. Due to the presence of major ports, which have large number of fish and the ability to receive deep-sea fishing vessels, these advantages make the small province like Samut Sakhon became the largest fishery center of Thailand as well as a major extension of Bangkok. Samut Sakhon also owns the largest fish and shrimp market in Thailand, with a large amount of seafood refrigerated every day and agricultural products from the east, south and central regions are unloaded and traded. Fisheries, marine industries, salt industry, horticulture and rice cultivation are major economic activities. It carries the development and expansion of Bangkok in the fields of economy, finance, industry and real estate.

Figure 1: Samut Sakhon Province



1.4.2 Participants

1) Children

Three groups of children were interviewed: those who go to Thai formal schools and those who go to informal migrant schools. About 30 children will participate in the survey.

2) Parents

Three groups of migrant parents were interviewed: those who send their children to informal migrant schools; those who send their children to Thai formal schools. About 30 parents will participate in the survey.

3) Others

In this group, the participants include teachers, community leaders, local officers as well as other key informants. About 10 people will participate in this survey.

1.4.3 Data Collection Process

First, conduct field observations to gather information about the lives and communities of the participants. The participants in the province were selected by myself or with assisted and coordinated by related agencies. Then, interpreters will be required to interview Thai officials, principals and most children. As the data gathered from interviews with migrant parents, and some children were in Thai or Burmese, they should to be translated into English. After each visit to the research site, data were transcribed and analyzed. The data is synthesized and categorized into categories for validating and extending the understanding of each topic of the research question.

1.5 Conceptual framework

1.5.1 Social Identity Theory

The premise of Social Identity Theory (SIT) is that individuals define their own identities in social groups, and this identity helps to protect and strengthen self-identity. Therefore, we divide the world into “them” and “we” through the social classification process. This is called the in-group and out-group (they)(Boswell 2003). The theory of social identity believes that groups the in-group will discriminate against out-groups in order to enhance their self-image.

The first stage of SIT is categorization. We classify objects to understand them and identify them. We classify people (including ourselves) in a very similar way to understand the social environment. In the second stage, the social identity, we adopt the identity of the group we belong to. The final stage is social comparison. Once we classify ourselves as part of a group and have been identified with that group, we tend to compare that group to other groups (McLeod 2008).

Social identity theory treats individual identity as a point of continuum, from one person's personal identity to the other's social identity. The identity of a person at a particular time is represented by a point on the continuum. Numerous variables influence whether personal identity or social identity is most prominent, and which of many group members is most prominent in social identity. The conceptualization of social identity as a concept of group membership leads to the assumption that people discriminate to enhance the position of their inner group relative to the outer group (Worchel and Coutant 2001).

The researchers (Worchel et al. 2000) provided an extended individual identity model. One component is personal identity, which includes the individual's specific physical and personality characteristics. The second component, be mark as a group membership, contains the end of the social identity of the continuum provided by SIT. This dimension suggests a person's social identity is as many as an outside group that a person does not belong to, just like a in-group which one belongs to. It includes a representation of the group by the social world and information about the membership of these groups (in-group and out-group). The third component is the intragroup identity. This factor indicates that individuals live in-group and occupy positions within these groups. The data that comprise intragroup identity include the status and role one has within a group and the relationship one has with ingroup members. The final dimension is the group identity. Identity includes group boundaries, their beliefs and values, history and reputation in a broader group. Once formed, groups strive to

maintain this collective identity, often forcing individual members to support and represent this identity.

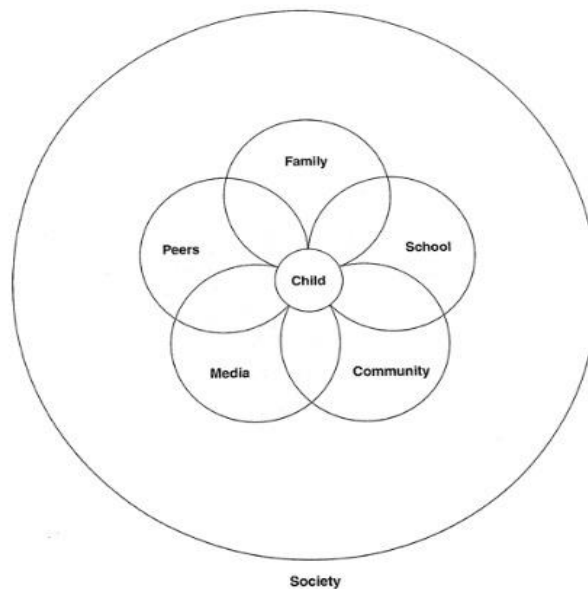


Figure 2 Basic structure of an ecological model of human development
 Source: Based on concepts from Bronfenbrenner 1989 (Bronfenbrenner and Vasta 1989)

In Figure 2, we can see that the process of children's socialization development is affected in many ways. First of all, family. Family has the greatest impact on children's development. It not only provides children with nutrition for growth, but also emotions. It is the main place in the process of children's socialization. Secondly, schools. Schools provide a formal place for children to learn about society by teaching them various skills. Teachers as educators provide an example for the shaping of children's personality. Teachers' training and education provide impetus for children's development and behavior. Third, the community. The facilities provided to children by the community determine what they will really experience. No matter the size of the community, it is the main environment for children to interact with others. Fourth, peers. In the same age group, children can understand themselves more deeply and locate themselves by comparing with others. By interacting with peers, they can

directly provide friendship and support, as well as learning experience. Finally, the media. The scope of the media is very broad, and it is not limited to face-to-face communication. Media communication has a certain impact on children's values.

Children's development is affected by all the above environmental factors. This effect is not only affected by children's relationships with family, school, peers or other people in the community, but also by the interaction between other members of these small environment systems.

It is worth noting that the social media that emerged from social development is not only the result of technological progress, but also the motivation of people's needs. Different types of social media are also emerging in the development of social media. In the era of social media, social media has become an important tool for people's socialization. As a platform for building social relationships, it affects people's self-awareness and identity. Although this article does not take the influence of the media on children as the main research object, it is undeniable that the media has become an influential factor in today's social identity.

1.5.2 Social Identity Theories in Education

Education is often regarded as a necessary tool for a social participant. Individual and collective interests can be obtained through education. It is a necessary process for a person to enter society. The theory of social identity emphasizes the value system of students, while the theory of social identity in education emphasizes the origin of the value system of students in schools and in the process of education. Previous studies have found a link between students' social identity and their participation.

From the social point of view, the main purpose of education is to spread culture, help children accumulate social knowledge and experience, establish values, outlook on life, and maintain customs. Therefore, after these necessary training, children can take on some special roles in the future, disseminate and maintain culture, and continue to

develop and innovate knowledge and technology on the basis of existing ones. From an individual point of view, the basic purpose of education is to enable each individual to acquire the necessary survival skills and knowledge, to be self-sufficient and effectively participate in society.

As the main body of socialization, school is the main place to provide intelligence and social experience. Schools regard students as individuals, which can provide relevant skills training for children, enable them to develop their own skills, knowledge, interests and attitudes, and shape their ability to perform adult roles. At the same time, teachers play an important role in school organization. Students who imitate teachers show delicate behaviors and attitudes in learning. Teachers who work closely with each child and understand group dynamics are more likely to provide a successful and beneficial learning environment.

Social identity theory emphasizes whether students attach importance to formal education. When students attach importance to the process of school, they think that the process of school is a process worthy of effort. On the contrary, when some students think that the school is inconsistent with their values, they will have some rebellious mentality. Schools are formal learning institutions in society. Schools exert various influences on children. First, students can make some achievements in the future through the school's education policy. Secondly, through the formal organization of the school, students are guided to gain authority. Finally, through the classroom teaching to help children develop social relations. Educational psychologists have proved that children develop school-related efficacy at an early age (Stipek and Iver 1989).

In addition, social identity theory is a potential powerful tool to explain the difference of students' participation. Although in schools, students are assigned to various standard courses. In theory, students are likely to move from one track to another, while experiencing upward or downward flow.

1.6 Significance of the Study

For Myanmar migrant children living in Thailand, lack of identity documents, social protection and education are common. They are often stateless, out of touch with family, community and culture of origin, and are excluded from institutional relationships, living on the edge of an extreme state of society. The findings of the study will contribute to the understanding of the current situation of Myanmar migrant children in Thailand. It can help us understand the factors that influence the identity of immigrant children and the main ways, ways and means of education that affect identity. This study may help the government to develop policies for these children in the future.

1.7 Ethical Consideration

It should also be noted that certain sensitive issues may arise during the period of the study. For example, the negative attitudes, positions, and adaptability of the Thai community to the immigrant families in Myanmar must be considered. Therefore, the right to information and its privacy should be protected during the investigation. Some of the people involved in the observation will remain anonymous. In addition, the researcher will be responsible for the interests of everyone involved in the study, ensuring that there is no error in processing the information.

1.8 Limitation of the Study

Although this research has been carefully prepared, there are still inevitable limitations and shortcomings.

First, the study was conducted in only one province and due to time constraints, the field work study which have lasted two months. It would be better if it was done in a longer time and multiple places. Second, the participants were conducted only on a small size of the population and might not represent majority of the Myanmar migrant

children. Third is the language barrier. Due to language problems, communication barriers and misunderstandings may occur during the interview.

1.9 Definition of the key terms

1.9.1 Migrant Worker

The UN Convention on the Rights of Migrants defines a migrant worker as a “person who is to be engaged, is engaged or has been engaged in a remunerated activity in a State of which he or she is not a national.” And a “migrant worker” is defined in the International Labor Organization (ILO) instruments as “a person who migrates from one country to another (or who has migrated from one country to another) with a view to being employed other than on his own account, and includes any person regularly admitted as a migrant for employment (Usher 2005)”.

1.9.2 Migrant Children

Refers to the movement of 3-18 years old within or across political boundaries of other countries or regions with or without parents or legal guardians. They can travel with or without legal travel documents. They may arrive in the country of destination as refugees, asylum seekers or economic migrants (Van de Glind and Kou 2013).

It is important to pay attention to how Thailand defines “child” in various situations. Mentioned in Thailand Migration report 2014, the level of compulsory education in Thailand is in the 9th grade, and children complete this education around 15-16 years old (Huguet and Chamrathirong 2014).

1.9.3 Identity

In psychology, the definition of identity depends on the concept of ego, I, self or personality, and the identity of synonyms in the social sciences. Eriksson defines it as “the permanent self-identity within the inside of the person and the reciprocal relationship of the main characters shared with others” (Erikson 1956).

1.9.4 Education

Education usually has two concepts: broad sense and narrow sense. General speaking, education refers to all social practice activities that disseminate and learn the achievements of human civilization, i.e. knowledge, skills and social life experience, in order to promote individual socialization and social individualization, which originated in the initial stage of human society. In a narrow sense, education refers specifically to school education, that is, institutionalized education. Education in a broad sense includes all aspects of social treatment, such as family education, etiquette and other civilized and social education.

In school education, teachers directly teach students a series of courses, including reading, writing, mathematics, science, history and so on. In contrast, vocational education only teaches a single vocational skill. In addition, people can get informal education from other sources, such as museums, libraries, the Internet, and life experience. Other new forms of education are emerging.

1.10 Structure of content

1.10.1 Chapter 1

Chapter 1 is the introduction. This chapter gives an overview of the research. It states and highlights the importance of the research through showing the significance of the problem and its objectives. This part includes methodology which will be used in the process of the research, a framework is demonstrated to clarify relevant concepts and theories related to the research as well as some limitations and shortcomings and definition of the key terms in the research.

1.10.2 Chapter 2

Chapter 2 is focus on the discusses of related studies about this issue and find gaps in the literature and what is still required for investigation.

1.10.3 Chapter 3

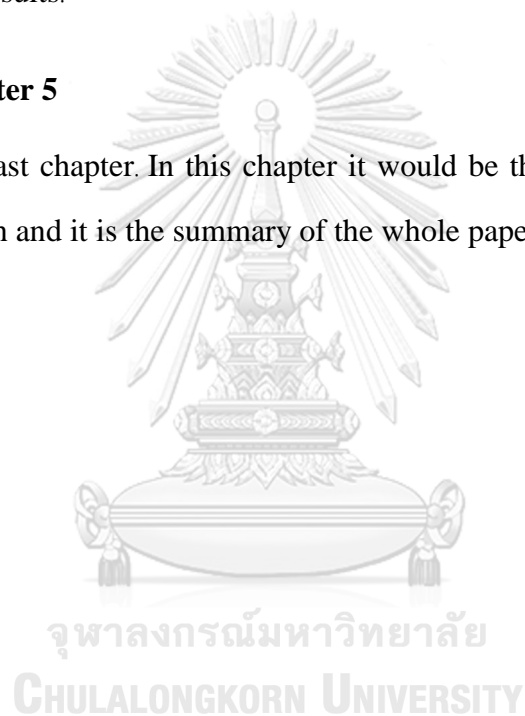
Chapter 3 is the current situation of education for Myanmar migrant children in Thailand. This includes relevant education policies and systems.

1.10.4 Chapter 4

Chapter 4 is about the result and discussion. This section will summarize the information from the fieldwork. And get the relevant results. Then, give some debates according to the results.

1.10.5 Chapter 5

Chapter 5 is the last chapter. In this chapter it would be the conclusion. It is the last part of the research and it is the summary of the whole paper.



Chapter 1 Introduction

1.1 Background and importance of problems

“The movement of peoples across national boundaries is as old as the nation-state itself. Migration has become one of the great challenges worldwide. This due to the increasing numbers of migrants in all parts of the world, though migration is by no means a new phenomenon. Nevertheless, Castles and Miller (Castles, De Haas, and Miller 2013) call this era the ‘age of migration’ (Luchtenberg 2004)”.

Thailand’s geographical location is in the heart of Indochina having a land boundary of more than 5,000 km with its four neighbors which are Cambodia, Lao PDR, Myanmar, and Malaysia. The government supports investment which makes Thailand one of the region’s major economies, the center of business and tourism. Therefore, there is no doubt that a large number of non-Thai people are pouring into Thailand every year (Kantayaporn and Malik 2013).

Thailand has a long history of immigration, and cross-border immigration is a well-known phenomenon in Thailand. Migrants who came to Thailand include immigrants who seek to earn a living or volunteer to seek asylum, prisoners of war and business visitors. In the 19th century, the absorption of foreign migrants in Thailand has already reached a relatively large scale, among which the majority are Chinese (Chaithima 2017). After the Second World War, particularly between the 1960s and 1980s, with the influx of refugees, displaced persons, and political asylum seekers, the border became highly politicized. As the first refugee receiving country in the Greater Mekong Subregion (GMS), Thailand provides help to refugees from Vietnam, Cambodia, and Laos. Since the 1990s, the prosperous development of the Thai economy has exerted a great attraction on the low-skilled labor of neighboring countries, making Thailand the largest recipient of labor immigration from neighboring countries in the GMS. Since then, a series of Memoranda of Understandings (MOUs) have been signed, in October 2002 a formalization system

was introduced for the Lao People's Democratic Republic, in May 2003 with Cambodia, also in June 2003 with Myanmar, which in order to establish the channels for regular labor migration from neighboring countries to Thailand (Huguet and Chamrathirong 2011).

In the past, due to the complexity, length, and cost of the procedure, only a small percentage of immigrants entered Thailand through a memorandum of understanding. However, in 2015, Thailand initiated a revision of MOUs intending to expand cooperation on labor issues. Currently, the number of peasant workers under the MOU in November 2018 reached 846,375 (DOE 2018).

At present, according to the statistics, Thailand has about 3,211,274 legally foreign workers from neighboring countries, of which the largest number of them is from Myanmar (see Table 1). Whether it is in the industrial areas surrounding Bangkok, the coastal fishing villages in the Gulf of Siam, the tourism industry in Phuket or the small businesses in Chiang Mai, which all can see the Myanmar workers entering Thailand for legal or illegal employment. Some of them fled violence, detention, arrest and internal displacement and sought to maintain their families in Thailand.

Table 1 Distribution of Migrant Workers by Country of Origin: Cambodia, Lao PDR and Myanmar, information on May 2018

Nationality	MOUs	Nationality verification	OSSC
Myanmar	322,947	1,098,815	1,188,756
Lao PDR	111,171	87,292	
Cambodian	243,465	158,828	
Total	677,583	1,344,935	1,188,756

(Source: Foreign workers administration office, Department of Employment, Ministry of Labor, May 2018)

International migration is not only a phenomenon unique to adults. Although children's migration movements are often less obvious, they are also part of the

migration. According to the Thailand Migration Report 2019, latest data from the International Organization for Migration (IOM), as of 2018, about 300,000 to 400,000 migrant children are living in Thailand (Victor and Sowirin 2019). Based on previous research, Myanmar migrant children can be broadly divided into three categories: 1) Children migrating from Myanmar to Thailand with their families; 2) Children who migrated to Thailand by themselves or with their peers from Myanmar; 3) Children born in Thailand to Myanmar migrant parents (Adhikari et al. 2014). Migrant children from Myanmar account for a large proportion, more than 80%, of all migrant children coming to Thailand (Chantavanich and Vungsiriphisal 2012) although there is still no specific data.

The recent political arena has been jeopardized by the hesitation and contradictory trends between globalization and multiculturalism, as well as between localization and seeking mono-culturalism among countries and people of similar culture in cultural, social, economic co-operation. However, due to their differences, people of different cultures and civilizations are often excluded from these co-operations. In this context, the identity issue is the agenda of those who have a fear to lose their own identities (İnaç and Ünal 2013).

Most of these Myanmar migrant children are still in the period of forming awareness and attitudes about their relationship with others. "Childhood is often seen as an organized period of growth, defined as the time of preparation for the values and concerns of the adult world, which is rooted in a child who is still malleable and different (Jenks 2005)". Childhood experiences are often considered to be the cornerstone of self-identification, and national consciousness is seen by many as a key foundation for modern human identity (Scourfield et al. 2006). Similarly, national feelings are often seen as things that permeate one's core as one grows and develops.

Although migrant children from Myanmar may come to Thailand to seek security and determine their future, in real life, their lives often lack social protection and

uncertainty (Ball and Moselle 2015). They are infiltrated and edified by modern urban civilization, due to lack of document, they seem to be facing an identity challenge.

“Thailand needs to take action not only because it is a member of United Nations with a signatory to ‘The Convention on the Rights of the Child’, but to acknowledge that children are a vital human resource and a necessary foundation on which to build the future. Children must be taken care of and protected to assure they can enjoy a stable and secure life. They must be safeguarded against exploitation, assault, and violations of their rights, no matter what their nationality, language, or location is (Vungsirphisal, Auasalong, and Chantavanich 1999).”

Studies have shown that the establishment of a stable sense of identity is of great significance to the development of adolescents, and the lack of a stable sense of identity will lead to psychological problems such as depression, anxiety and anti-social (Roberts et al. 1999). Their physical and mental development will have a major impact on the stability of the city and society. At the same time, identity also has an important impact on the psychological status of migrant children as well as an important indicator for predicting the adaptation of migrant children to the country which they immigrate to, social behavior and relationships with local groups (Birman, Trickett, and Vinokurov 2002).

First, the identity of immigrants is closely related to language, and language plays a very important role in the integration of immigrants. Second, social interaction has an important impact on immigration identity. All personal identities are not formed in closed systems, but in open interactions. The construction of migration status are closely related to local social interaction. The closer interaction between immigrants and local society, the stronger the local identity, and vice versa. There is also culture, where culture includes nationality, race, ethnicity, gender and religious beliefs. When the immigrants have a higher sense of superiority in the sense of their original culture,

the identity of the immigrants is biased towards the original cultural identity (DING 2016).

Identity can promote the process of adaptation to the country, and it also has a positive predictive effect on the self-esteem, which plays a full intermediary role in the relationship between identity and social, cultural and psychological adaptation of migrant children. Self-esteem has a positive predictive effect on social and cultural adaptation and psychological adaptation.

From a theoretical perspective, the establishment of an identity mainly has two levels of recognition: one is innate or subjective; the other is acquired or objective (Smith 1991). Innate or subjective is defined as the degree to which the internalization process of the objectification process is relatively and because of the blood, have a certain feeling of their history and culture (Smith 1989). At the same time, this emotional identity posting will be influenced by acquired or objective factors which are described as attributes shared by all members of the social identity unit, such as symbols, myths, languages, religions, races, geography, lifestyles, common history, values, traditions, etc. (Smith 1989). It can be said that subjective recognition is of course a kind of personal emotional posting or self-feeling, but it does not represent all; and objective identification is the understanding and position of others or the government on the self-background (İnaç and Ünal 2013). The shaping and establishment of identity must not only consider subjective factors, but also objectiveness, acceptance and attitude. This means that the growth and development of identity depends to a large extent on our interaction with others around us. Establish and actively participate in activities in a particular environment in which we live, and consider these activities to be not separate activities, but rather activities that are completely interdependent between participants and that they are part of a community. This process of development constitutes something called "education".

Education provides people with the necessary survival skills and knowledge, which in turn provides a guarantee for the economic and social development of a country. It is a

means of maintaining social stability and socializing individuals. People learn about themselves through education and find their positioning and values.

As a formal education provider of society, the school is an important social and cultural place where our experience and identity are invented and memorized (Oakes et al. 2015). Forming personality and identity, and fostering values is the main function of the formal education system (Ali 2010). In the absence of formal education, the family environment is particularly critical to the creation of children's identity. Parents are the best teachers of their children. Parents' words and deeds and every move affect their growth.

Unlike early immigrants to Thailand, the current Myanmar migrant children, especially the children of Myanmar migrant workers who were born in Thailand, are no longer inclined to return to Myanmar. Instead, they are more “flowing” than “moving” (YE et al. 2005) and have a long-term desire to live in Thailand. In real life, due to the differences on the context of society and relationships, their identity has many overlapping dimensions. Because of the limited means of seeking help in unfamiliar environments, also when dealing with Thai peers, they are inevitably subjected to discrimination and injustice.

Research shows that analyzing the identity characteristics of migrant children, it is not only conducive to promoting the psychological harmony of migrant children, but also affects the attitude and behavior of this group in social integration, which can avoid the risk of social development and enhance the speed of social development (Min and Jiang 2011). Therefore, it is of great significance not only for individuals but also for the Thai society to discuss the identification status of Myanmar migrant children.

Noticeably, Myanmar is a country with many ethnic groups, and 135 ethnic groups, such as Burman, Chin, Kachin, Kayin, Kayah, Mon, Rakhine and Shan are officially recognized. The ethnic conflicts in Myanmar is one of the longest conflicts in the world. Although the ethnic issue is not unique to Myanmar, its problems and failures

are particularly serious. The Burman are the main ethnic groups in Myanmar. Burmanization in various ethnic minority areas is a trigger for ethnic conflicts to some extent.

According to previous surveys “Main groups from Myanmar in Samut Sakhon are Karen, Burman, Mon, and Dawei. They come from many different places in Myanmar. Their place of origin varies from Sittwe in Rakhine State in the far west of Myanmar to Dawei in the southernmost part (Stenbeck 2012)”. In the paper “Migrant children and their difficult circumstances in Thailand”, according to the author, “The most migrant workers in Thailand are Burmese” (Vungsiriphisal, Auasalong, and Chantavanich 1999). To avoid unnecessary ethnic troubles and to get data more easily, the focus of this paper will be on the Burman.

1.2 Objectives of study

This study focused on the achievement of the following main project objectives:

- 1) To explore formal and informal education opportunities of the Myanmar people with special emphasis on Burman migrant children.
- 2) To analyze the influence of education on Burman migrant children's identity. It mainly includes the impact on language and religion.

1.3 Research Question

The Burman migrant children may have lived in different community groups. In this case, what are their self-definition (ethnic and national identity) and the characteristics of their identity?

1.4 Methodology

The research employs qualitative methods such as the observation, in-depth interview, field notes, and analysis of documents such as academic works and reliable media sources.

As for the qualitative research approach, the author reviewed governmental documents and other relevant literature on Myanmar migrant workers and migrant children. Fieldwork research helps in accessing primary sources, which reveals the studied subjects and provides a means for collecting new information at the area of study. The fieldwork was conducted between March 2019 and April 2019.

The major data were collected employing face-to-face interviews with migrant children, their parents, government officials in the education sector and staff members who help migrant children in the field of education. Also, the author designed the questions for the interview about personal information, employment and working conditions, education of migrant children.

To understand and collect information about the life and community of the participants, the author first conducted a few days of field observation. The participants in the province were selected by me and/or with assisted by the teachers. The interview questions are more flexible and use a semi-structured approach to prevent accidents during the interview. Second, during the interview, most of the respondents used Thai or Burmese, so their interview records should be translated into English after the interview. The author transcribes and analyzes the data after each visit to the research site.

1.4.1 Areas of Study

The research was done through fieldwork in Samut Sakhon Province. Samut Sakhon Province (Thai: สมุทรสาคร) (Figure 1) located in the middle part of Thailand, at the mouth of the Tha Chin Klong River, about 36 kilometers away from Bangkok It is a province

with three main administrative districts: Mueang, Krathum Baen and Ban Phaeo, covering a total area of 872 square kilometers.

Due to the presence of major ports, which have large number of fish and the ability to receive deep-sea fishing vessels, these advantages make the small province like Samut Sakhon became the largest fishery center of Thailand as well as a major extension of Bangkok. Fisheries, marine industries, salt industry, horticulture and rice cultivation are major economic activities of Samut Sakhon Province. It carries the development and expansion of Bangkok in the fields of economy, finance, industry and real estate.

As Thailand's economy grows rapidly, Samut Sakhon Province's industry is also growing rapidly, which leads to higher and higher labor demand. The ever-increasing factory has created more job opportunities, not only attracting workers from other parts of Thailand, but also attracting workers from neighboring countries. The number of people from Myanmar accounts for the majority of Samut Sakhon Province's international migrant workers. Most workers from Myanmar are engaged in seafood processing or fisheries-related work.

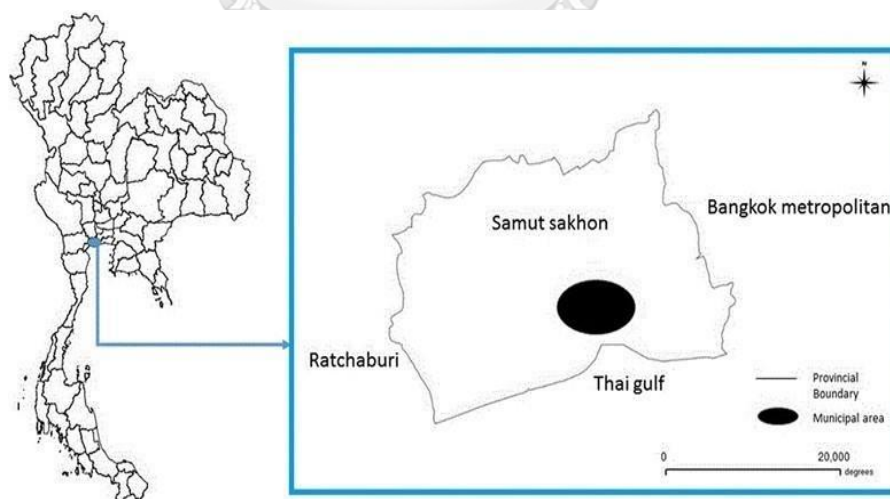


Figure 1 Smut Sakhon Province

The interviews places are concentrated in Tha Chin, Tha Sai and Tha Chalom of Mueang Samut Sakhon District.

1.4.2 Participants

1) Children

Two groups of children were interviewed: those who go to Thai formal schools and those who go to informal migrant schools. The first group only got 18 valid samples because most schools were in the final exam or the summer vacation, and the schools they attended were not very concentrated. The second group is easier to obtain than the first group, and a total of 24 valid samples were obtained.

As shown in Table 2, among the children interviewed, there were 9 male students and 15 female students from Migrant Learning Centers. Male students accounted for 37.5% and female students accounted for 62.5%. There are 7 students born in Thailand, accounting for 29.2%, and 17 students born in Myanmar, accounting for 70.8%. They are between the ages of 8 and 15, with an average age of 12.8 years. Among the students from Thai schools, there are 7 male students, accounting for 38.9%. There are 11 female students, accounting for 61.1%. Ten of them were born in Thailand, accounting for 55.6%, and eight were born in Myanmar, accounting for 44.4%. They are between the ages of 7 and 15, with an average age of 13.2 years. For children born in Myanmar, most of them have had experience in studying in Myanmar.

Table 2 Basic information of the Children

Migrant Learning Centers				Thai Schools			
No.	Gender	Age	Birth Place	No.	Gender	Age	Birth Place
1	M	11	Thailand	1	F	14	Thailand
2	F	13	Thailand	2	F	7	Thailand
3	F	14	Thailand	3	F	15	Myanmar
4	M	8	Myanmar	4	F	13	Myanmar
5	F	12	Myanmar	5	F	14	Thailand
6	M	9	Myanmar	6	F	10	Myanmar
7	F	11	Myanmar	7	M	15	Thailand
8	F	9	Myanmar	8	F	15	Thailand
9	F	15	Myanmar	9	M	14	Thailand
10	M	14	Myanmar	10	M	12	Thailand
11	F	14	Thailand	11	M	15	Myanmar
12	M	11	Myanmar	12	F	13	Myanmar
13	F	15	Myanmar	13	M	11	Myanmar
14	F	15	Myanmar	14	F	15	Myanmar
15	F	15	Myanmar	15	M	14	Thailand
16	F	13	Myanmar	16	F	13	Thailand
17	M	14	Thailand	17	M	15	Myanmar
18	M	15	Thailand	18	F	12	Thailand
19	F	13	Myanmar				
20	M	13	Myanmar				
21	F	9	Thailand				
22	M	15	Myanmar				
23	F	15	Myanmar				
24	F	14	Myanmar				

2) Parents

Two groups of migrant parents were interviewed: those who send their children to Thai formal schools and those who send their children to informal migrant schools. The first group got 11 valid samples, and the second group got a total of 12 valid

samples. What needs to be explained here is that the interview sites for children are concentrated in schools and their homes. Since most parents need to work, the off-duty time is about 17:00 or 18:00, so the authors need to wait until they get off work then to conduct an interview. Of course, the samples here also included some mothers who do not go out to work. The interview locations for parents are all in their homes.

As shown in Table 3, there are 11 parents of MLC children. Among them, there are 7 mothers, accounting for 63.6%, and 3 fathers, accounting for 36.4%. The youngest is 25 years old, the oldest is 52 years old, and the average age is 34.7 years old. The longest time to come to Thailand is 16 years, and the shortest is 2 years, with an average of 8 years. Except for two families with only one child, the rest have at least two children. These parents have received a certain education in Myanmar.

Table 3 Basic information of MLC Burman migrant children's parents

Parents of MLC Students					
No.	Gender	Age	Years in Thailand	Number of children	Education Level
1	F	25	9	2	Grade 4
2	M	52	16	1	Grade 2
3	M	50	10	3	Grade 11
4	F	34	7	5	Grade 4
5	F	36	9	2	Grade 7
6	F	39	9	3	Grade 4
7	F	35	8	3	Grade 5
8	F	39	5	4	Grade 3
9	F	36	9	3	Grade 5
10	M	39	5	4	Grade 2
11	F	29	2	1	Grade 7

As shown in Table 4, there are 12 parents of children in Thai schools. Among them, there are 8 mothers, accounting for 66.7%, and 4 fathers, accounting for 33.3%. The

youngest is 34 years old, the oldest is 57 years old, and the average age is 41.6 years old. The longest time in Thailand is 28 years, and the shortest is 7 years, with an average of 15.7 years. Except for two families with only one child, the rest have at least two children. Most of the parents were educated in Myanmar, and only two of the respondents indicated that they did not attend school.

Table 4 Basic information of Thai schools Burman migrant children's parents

Parents of Thai School Students					
No.	Gender	Age	Years in Thailand	Number of children	Education Level
1	F	35	20	2	Grade 2
2	F	41	22	2	Grade 2
3	F	34	7	1	Grade 4
4	F	45	28	2	-
5	M	57	10	4	Grade 2
6	F	48	10	4	-
7	M	40	18	2	Grade 3
8	F	45	7	5	Grade 4
9	F	34	14	2	Grade 8
10	F	38	22	1	Grade 5
11	M	43	19	2	Grade 2
12	M	39	11	2	Grade 3

3) Others

A total of 20 people in this group were interviewed, the information is as Table 5.

Table 5 Other interviewees

No.	Gender	Occupation	Nationality
1	F	Teacher	Thai
2	F	Teacher	Thai
3	F	Teacher	Myanmar
4	F	Teacher	Thai
5	M	Teacher & Driver	Myanmar
6	M	Teacher & Driver	Thai
7	M	Teacher	Myanmar
8	F	Teacher	Myanmar
9	F	Teacher	Myanmar
11	F	Teacher	Filipino
12	F	Staff of Thai School	Myanmar
13	M	Volunteer	Spanish
14	M	Staff of NFE	Thai
15	M	Staff of NFE	Thai
16	M	Headmaster	Thai
17	M	Headmaster (MLC)	Thai
18	F	Staff of MLC	Thai
19	F	Staff of temple	Thai
20	M	Monk	Thai

More importantly, the actual number of children and their parents interviewed is greater than the sample here. Since the study object is Burman, non-Burman data is not included in the analysis. The interview time for each Burman child and parent is approximately 15 to 30 minutes.

1.5 Conceptual framework

1.5.1 Social Identity Theory

The premise of Social Identity Theory (SIT) is that individuals define their own identities in social groups, and this identity helps to protect and strengthen self-identity. Therefore, we divide the world into “them” and “we” through the social

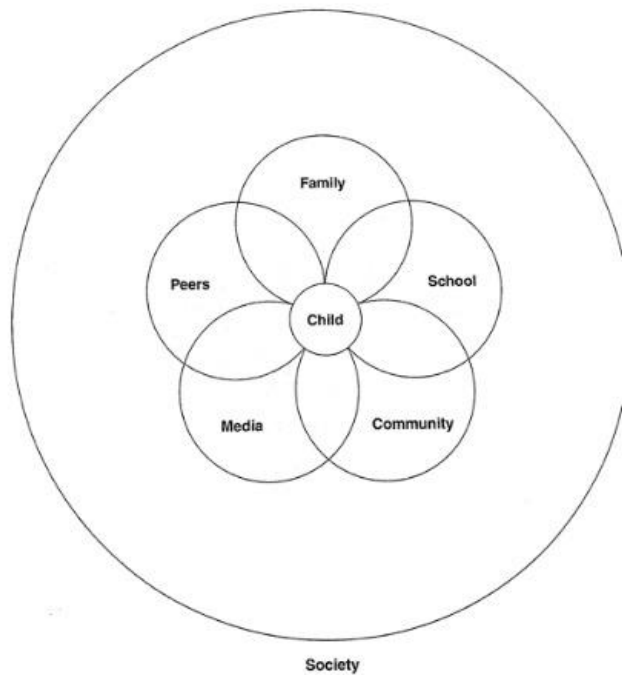
classification process. This is called the in-group and out-group (they) (Boswell 2003). The theory of social identity believes that groups the in-group will discriminate against out-groups to enhance their self-image (Tajfel 2010).

The first stage of SIT is categorization. We classify objects to understand them and identify them. We classify people (including ourselves) in a very similar way to understand the social environment. In the second stage, the social identity, we adopt the identity of the group we belong to. The final stage is social comparison. Once we classify ourselves as part of a group and have been identified with that group, we tend to compare that group to other groups (McLeod 2008).

SIT treats individual identity as a point of continuum, from one person's identity to the other's social identity. The identity of a person at a particular time is represented by a point on the continuum. Numerous variables influence whether personal identity or social identity is most prominent, and which of many group members is most prominent in social identity. The conceptualization of social identity as a concept of group membership leads to the assumption that people discriminate to enhance the position of their inner group relative to the outer group (Worchel and Coutant 2001).

The researchers (Worchel et al. 2000) provided an extended individual identity model. One component is personal identity, which includes the individual's specific physical and personality characteristics. The second component, a group membership, contains the end of the social identity of the continuum provided by SIT. This dimension suggests a person's social identity is as many as an outside group that a person does not belong to, just like in-group which one belongs to. It includes a representation of the group by the social world and information about the membership of these groups (in-group and out-group). The third component is the intragroup identity. This factor indicates that individuals live in-group and occupy positions within these groups. The data that comprise intragroup identity include the status and role one has within a group and the relationship one has with ingroup members. The final dimension is the

group identity. Identity includes group boundaries, beliefs, and values, history and reputation in a broader group. Once formed, groups strive to maintain this collective identity, often forcing individual members to support and represent this identity.



*Figure 2 Basic structure of an ecological model of human development
(Source: Based on concepts from Bronfenbrenner (Bronfenbrenner and Vasta 1989))*

In Figure 2, we can see that the process of children's socialization development is affected in many ways. First of all, family. The family has the greatest impact on children's development. It not only provides children with nutrition for growth but also emotions. It is the main place in the process of children's socialization. Secondly, schools. Schools provide a formal place for children to learn about society by teaching them various skills. Teachers as educators provide an example of the shaping of children's personalities. Teachers' training and education provide an impetus for children's development and behavior. Third, the community. The facilities provided to children by the community determine what they will experience. No matter the size of the community, it is the main environment for children to interact with others. Fourth,

peers. In the same age group, children can understand themselves more deeply and locate themselves by comparing with others. By interacting with peers, they can directly provide friendship and support, as well as a learning experience. Finally, the media. The scope of the media is very broad, and it is not limited to face-to-face communication. Media communication has a certain impact on children's values.

Children's development is affected by all the above environmental factors. This effect is not only affected by children's relationships with family, school, peers or other people in the community, but also by the interaction between other members of these small environment systems.

It is worth noting that the social media that emerged from social development is not only the result of technological progress but also the motivation of people's needs. Different types of social media are also emerging in the development of social media. In the era of social media, social media has become an important tool for people's socialization. As a platform for building social relationships, it affects people's self-awareness and identity. Although this article does not take the influence of the media on children as the main research object, it is undeniable that the media has become an influential factor in today's social identity.

1.5.2 Social Identity Theories in Education

Education is often regarded as a necessary tool for a social participant. Individual and collective interests can be obtained through education. It is a necessary process for a person to enter society. The theory of social identity emphasizes the value system of students, while the theory of social identity in education emphasizes the origin of the value system of students in schools and the process of education. Previous studies have found a link between students' social identity and their participation.

From the social point of view, the main purpose of education is to spread culture, help children accumulate social knowledge and experience, establish values, outlook on life, and maintain customs. Therefore, after these necessary training, children can take

on some special roles in the future, disseminate and maintain the culture, and continue to develop and innovate knowledge and technology based on existing ones. From an individual point of view, the basic purpose of education is to enable each to acquire the necessary survival skills and knowledge, to be self-sufficient and to effectively participate in society.

As the main body of socialization, school is the main place to provide intelligence and social experience. Schools regard students as individuals, which can provide relevant skills training for children, enable them to develop their skills, knowledge, interests, and attitudes, and shape their ability to perform adult roles. At the same time, teachers play an important role in school organizations. Students who imitate teachers show delicate behaviors and attitudes in learning. Teachers who work closely with each child and understand group dynamics are more likely to provide a successful and beneficial learning environment.

Social identity theory emphasizes whether students attach importance to formal education. When students attach importance to the process of school, they think that the process of school is a process worthy of the effort. On the contrary, when some students think that the school is inconsistent with their values, they will have some rebellious mentality. Schools are formal learning institutions in society. Schools exert various influences on children. First, students can make some achievements in the future through the school's education policy. Secondly, through the formal organization of the school, students are guided to gain authority. Finally, through the classroom teaching to help children develop social relations. Educational psychologists have proved that children develop school-related efficacy at an early age (Stipek and Iver 1989 Smith, 1987 #30). Besides, social identity theory is a potentially powerful tool to explain the difference in students' participation.

1.6 Significance of the Study

For Myanmar migrant children living in Thailand, lack of identity documents, social protection and education are common. They are often stateless, out of touch with family, community, and culture of origin, and are excluded from institutional relationships, living on the edge of an extreme state of society. The findings of the study will contribute to the understanding of the current situation of Myanmar migrant children in Thailand. It can help us understand the factors that influence the identity of migrant children and the main ways and means of education that affect identity.

1.7 Ethical Consideration

It should also be noted that certain sensitive issues may arise during the period of the study. For example, the negative attitudes, positions, and adaptability of the Thai community to the immigrant families in Myanmar must be considered. Therefore, the right to information and its privacy should be protected during the investigation. Some of the people involved in the observation will remain anonymous. Also, the researcher will be responsible for the interests of everyone involved in the study, ensuring that there is no error in processing the information.

1.8 Limitation of the Study

Although this research has been carefully prepared, there are still inevitable limitations and shortcomings.

First, the study was conducted in only one province. Due to time constraints, the fieldwork study has lasted only one and a half months. It would be better if it was done in a long time and multiple places. At the same time, the time of the respondents is limited, some of them have their fixed schedule, and most of the fathers need to work, which leads to more data from female respondents.

Second, the participants were conducted only on the small size of the population. In the course of the interview, although the author also collected relevant data from other

ethnic groups, the main research object of this paper is the Burman. Therefore, the data is not analyzed, which leads to the singularity of the data and might not represent the majority of Myanmar migrant children.

The third is the language barrier. Due to language problems, communication barriers and misunderstandings may occur during the interview. During the interview, especially when talking to the children in the learning centers and migrant parents, most of them need to translate. In the process of translation, some answers may be lost.

The last point is that perhaps because of the protection of themselves, the respondents are more or less deliberately avoiding the issues about Thai people and Thai society.

1.9 Definition of the key terms

- **Migrant Worker**

The UN Convention on the Rights of Migrants defines a migrant worker as a “person who is to be engaged, is engaged or has been engaged in a remunerated activity in a State of which he or she is not a national.” And a “migrant worker” is defined in the International Labor Organization (ILO) instruments as “a person who migrates from one country to another (or who has migrated from one country to another) with a view to being employed other than on his own account, and includes any person regularly admitted as a migrant for employment” (Usher 2005).

- **Migrant Children**

Refers to 3-18 years old within or across political boundaries of other countries or regions with or without parents or legal guardians. They can travel with or without legal travel documents. They may arrive in the country of destination as refugees, asylum seekers or economic migrants (Van de Glind and Kou 2013).

It is important to pay attention to how Thailand defines “child” in various situations. In the Labor Protection Act B.E. 2541 (1998), a “child” refers to a person under the age of 18 (IPEC, 2010 #178). The law stipulates that an employer shall not employ a child under the age of 15 as an employee (Section 44) (IPEC 2010). The Child Protection Act B.E. 2546, Article 4 defined a “child” as a person aged less than 18 years old, except those who are mature by marriage. Mentioned in Thailand Migration report 2014, the level of compulsory education in Thailand is in the 9th grade, and children complete this education around 15-16 years old (Huguet and Chamrathirong 2014). In general, there is no ambiguity in defining the age of 15 as a child regardless of the definition. Therefore, in this article, 15 years old will be used as the dividing line between children and adults.

- **Identity**

In psychology, the definition of identity depends on the concept of ego, I, self or personality, and the identity of synonyms in the social sciences. Eriksson defines it as “the permanent self-identity within the inside of the person and the reciprocal relationship of the main characters shared with others” (Erikson 1956).

- **Education**

Education usually has two concepts: broad sense and narrow sense. General speaking, education refers to all social practice activities that disseminate and learn the achievements of human civilization, i.e. knowledge, skills, and social life experience, to promote individual socialization and social individualization, which originated in the initial stage of human society. In a narrow sense, education refers specifically to school education, that is, institutionalized education. Education in a broad sense includes all aspects of social treatment, such as family education, etiquette, and other civilized and social education.

In school education, teachers directly teach students a series of courses, including reading, writing, mathematics, science, history and so on. In contrast, vocational education only teaches a single vocational skill. Besides, people can get informal education from other sources, such as museums, libraries, the Internet, and life experiences.



Chapter 2 Review of Literature

2.1 International migration

International Organization for Migration interprets international migration as “the flow of a person or group of people within an international border or country. It is a population movement, including any movement of people, regardless of their length, composition, and causes; it includes Refugees, displaced persons, economic migrants and people who migrate for other purposes, including family reunification (IOM 2011)”.

In general, there are many reasons for the emergence of international immigration. Some are looking for suitable accommodation; some are for religious reasons and for exploring new land or resources; in some cases, human rights are suppressed and forced to migrate (IFRCRCS 2012). “more frequently the immigrants are people of intermediate social status from areas which are undergoing economic and social change (Castles and Miller 1998).” As Koser described “the reason for the recent rise in international migration and its widening global reach are complex. The factors include growing global disparities in development, democracy, and demography; in some parts of the world, job shortages that will be exacerbated by the current economic downturn; the segmentation of labor markets in high-income economies...; revolutions in communications and transportation... (Koser 2009)”. Of course, this also includes some personal factors. Whatever the cause, we cannot deny that it happens anywhere, anytime.

International migration theory conceptualizes the causal process of how international immigrants “initiate” and “maintain” or “permanently”. Koser believes that the United Nations defines international migration as “one person stays at least one year outside his or her country of residence” (Koser 2007). The emergence of international migration is a fundamental structural feature of almost all industrialized countries,

proving the power and coherence of potential forces. However, the theoretical basis for understanding these potential forces is still weak.

At present, there is no single, coherent international migration theory. There are only a few fragmented theories. These theories are largely isolated from each other, but they are not always separated by clear boundaries. “The current immigration patterns and trends suggest that the contemporary migration process cannot be fully understood by a single subject tool or with a single level of analysis (Massey et al. 1993).”

It should be noted that taking a suitable theory helps to analyze the different disciplines of each level, family, network and international, and different perspectives within the same discipline (see Table 3). As a result, international migration plays an increasingly important role in the world, both in the global economy and in cultural and social development.

Table 6 Different theories reflect different research objectives, focuses, interests

Theoretical Approach	Level of Analysis	Assumptions
Neoclassical (macro)	Country	Migration as a result of labor market gaps between countries
Neoclassical economics (micro)	Individual	Individual rational actors decide to migrate because a cost-benefit calculation
New Economics	Household	Individual migrants are influenced by household as a collective actor in economic survival
Dual Labor Market	Structural (Internal)	Structural demands of developed countries
World systems theory	Structural (International)	Market and cultural penetration from the core to peripherals

(Source: Massey, 1993)

The earliest concept of understanding migration was in 1885 when Ernest Georg Ravenstein developed the “laws of migration” (Ravenstein 1885; Grigg 1977). Since then, various theoretical explanations have been proposed to explain how it is initiated and the social, cultural, economic or political consequences it has on its destination.

According to Christina Boswell's article "Addressing the causes of migratory and refugee movements: the role of the European Union" (Boswell 2003), Douglas S. Massey, Joaquin Arango, Graeme Hugo, Ali Kouaouci, Adela Pellegrino and J. Edward Taylor's article "Theories of International Migration: A Review and Appraisal" (Massey et al. 1993)(Massey et al. 1993)(Massey et al. 1993)(Massey et al. 1993) and the summary of "A Brief Overview of Theories of International Migration" which adapted from Susan Thieme's work "Social Networks and Migration: Far West Nepalese Labor Migrants in Delhi" (Thieme 2006), get the following general conclusions.

Neoclassical economics is concerned with differences in wages and employment conditions between countries and the cost of migration. It usually sees the movement as an individual decision to maximize income (Lewis 1952; Todaro 1969; Borjas 1989). Instead, the new immigration economics considers not only the labor market as a cause of migration but also other market conditions, like capital markets or the unemployment insurance market. It sees migration as a family strategy to minimize household income risks or overcome capital constraints on household production activities (Stark 1991). The dual labor market theory, the world system theory and the world social approach focus on the forces that operate at a comprehensive macro level. The dual labor market theory links immigration to the structural requirements of the modern industrial economy (Piore 1979). According to world-system theory, migration is a natural consequence of economic globalization and market penetration across borders (Wallerstein 1974). The macro theory emphasizes structure and objective conditions. They are the "push" and "pull" factors of migration. However, these theories have been criticized. Due to the complexity of immigration, some people think that theory must be equally complex (Massey et al. 1993).

Castles and Miller explain and discuss that "the 'push' include population growth, low living standards, lack of economic opportunities and political repression, and the 'pull'

factors are demand for labor, land availability, good economic opportunities and political freedom” in their book “The Age of Migration: International Population Movements in the Modern World” (Castles, De Haas, and Miller 2013). This is the reason for leaving the country and entering another country. The reasons get together constitute the cause of migration (Castles, De Haas, and Miller 2013).

Research on Asian immigrants shows that migration decisions are usually made not by individuals but by families (Castles and Miller 1998). According to Castles and Miller, “on the one hand, immigration is a phenomenon that has existed for a long time, a natural way of life; on the other hand, with the development of the world and globalization, it has become a mix of laws and regulations and making it easier for people to get” (Castles and Miller 2009). Therefore, different theories can be used to explain immigration. Although it is widely believed that the world adapts more quickly to today’s cultural, political and immigration changes, it is not equal for every country and for all. In Southeast Asia, “people becoming trapped between or within borders simply because they have moved across them” (Ananta and Arifin 2004).

In general, the phenomenon of international migration occurs almost everywhere in the world, especially in modern society. It reflects the communication and integration between modern society and the world economy, politics and culture.

Siam and Burma have a long history of participation and continue to be associated with Thailand and Myanmar. Before 1767, there was almost no document to prove that there was a friendly connection between Siam and its neighbors. The border is not set, but an area where the smaller tribes live in harmony. A famous name that appeared in ancient Myanmar was King Bayinnaung (r.1551-1581). In 1569, King Bayinnaung attacked and occupied the city of Ayutthaya where he established Burmese rule in Ayutthaya. The importance of attacking and eventually capturing Ayutthaya during the King of Bayinnaung was that although the Burmese were considered as the enemy of the Siamese, the two countries still fought and lived

together until he died in 1581. But he did not make major changes to Siam. It is worth noting that the history of the King of Bayinnaung did not attract the attention of Thai historians until after the fall of Ayutthaya in 1767 (Chutintaranond 1992). For Thais, the most important part of the initial dismissal of Ayutthaya was the subsequent victory of King Naresuan (r. 1590–1605) in the 1593 Nong Sarai campaign. The Thais found greater power in the memory of the victory, not a failure, and emphasized the aggression and brutal nature of the enemy through the defensive victory of the Siamese rulers.

After the violence was dismissed in 1767, the Thai-Myanmar relationship and mutual understanding were far from ideal. Thailand-Myanmar relations have presented a new trend, and there is hostility between the two neighboring countries.

In 1824, the British began fighting with Myanmar as the Burmese attacked the Indian border. This eventually led the British to defeat the Burmese and Burmese colonial rule in 1926. Thailand is worried that the British will continue to march eastward and try to rule the Siamese kingdom. The strengthening of the Siamese defense and the visit of Captain H. Burney to Bangkok in 1825 proved this. Due to the “Burney Treaty”, the official border between the British and the Siamese kingdoms was launched. The British colonization of Burma led to a redefinition of relations between the two countries. The relationship between Siam and Myanmar showed a new dimension, namely "colonialism", and Thailand was worried about colonization rather than the invasion of the Burmese border. It has become an important factor in the overall comparison between Thai and Burmese nationalism.

After Myanmar's independence in 1948, the Thai-Myanmar relationship suffered a great lack of trust until in March 1955 that the Prime Minister U Nu visited Thailand and in December 1955 which the return of Prime Minister Phibun Songkhram, the two countries showed a more positive attitude towards each other. Since then, in October 1956, the two countries signed the Treaty of Peace and Friendship. After this,

other treaties were concluded which including treaties dealing with consular rights and privileges, cultural relations and extradition rights (Chongkittavorn 2001). The greatest threat to this burgeoning friendship comes from the hardships and uneasiness of ethnic minorities in Burma's rule because the Burmese government believes that Thais near the border support the resistance of ethnic minorities. By the end of the 1960s, many ethnic minorities in Myanmar tried to flee to Thailand as refugees. This is not entirely an internal problem because ethnic minorities live straddling such borders, as they remain today split between Thailand and Burma.

In the 1980s, Thailand's industrialization and service industries began to surpass agriculture. Economic growth provided workers with more job opportunities and created a shortage of labor for unskilled workers in the local labor market. Since the early 1990s, with the rapid growth of the Thai economy, the situation of immigration to Thailand has begun to emerge. Workers from neighboring countries flocked to Thailand to seek better opportunities and higher incomes.

There are many different types of migrants in Thailand, while determining the actual quantity by type is very hard, especially for those who enter the country illegally. According to the study of Migration and Health Service System in Thailand in 2015, the some secondary data on migrants from Immigration Division of the National Police Headquarters, Foreign Workers' Administration office of the Ministry of Labor (MOL), office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) for Southeast Asian region as well as the National Health and Safety Office (NHSO) technical report and other related documents, which tend to divide migrants into the following two groups: Circular migrants and tourists and Foreign migrant workers in Thailand.

This first group of migrants includes non-Thai people who legally enter and leave in Thailand and may have temporary accommodation in the country, such as tourists, migrants with temporary work permits or someone living with family members, academic study, diplomatic service, retirement, etc. For the second group, the research

subdivided this part into the following three aspects: 1) Migrant workers according to Article 9: workers legally entering Thailand refers to migrant workers who are temporarily allowed to live in Thailand for the purpose of employment. 2) Migrant workers legally entering Thailand under Article 12: this refers to those migrant workers who are allowed to work in Thailand under the “1977 Investment promotion Law”, the “Thailand Industrial Park Law of 1979” as well as other relevant laws in Thailand. Registrars must issue a license to migrant workers within seven days of receiving the notice. In most cases, these migrant workers have special skills to work in large truck manufacturers, food and beverage production, etc. which means the industrial areas and large factories. Also, they are often occupied senior positions, for instance, department managers, engineers and so on. While, it's worth noting that half of them are from Japan, followed by China, India, Taiwan and South Korea rather than Southeast Asian countries. 3) Migrant workers illegally in Thailand under Article 13, these people include ethnic minorities awaiting verification of Thai nationality: based on the “Task Force Resolution No. 337”, dated December 13, 1972, and the report of the Foreign Workers’ Administration; and Migrant workers have no documents to enter Thailand; the group consists of migrant workers from Myanmar, the Lao PDR, and Cambodia, and according to immigration laws, they are granted temporary permits while still waiting for repatriation (Kantayaporn and Malik 2013). In addition, the research also pointed out that migrant workers in Thailand should also include cross-border refugees and people waiting for Thai national certification (Kantayaporn and Malik 2013).

Workers from Myanmar can work in Thailand, which can be said to benefit from the government policies of the two countries. Although there is an improvement in the quality of life in Myanmar, there are still some problems.

2.1.1 Research on migrant workers from Myanmar

According to the summary and investigation of Chantavanich et al, the migration process of immigrants from Myanmar began with their departure from the original area, migrants from Myanmar travel to Thailand through different routes, transit through official checkpoints in northern and western Thailand or illegal entry through the unofficial entry. Due to the weak infrastructure in Myanmar, journeys to the border usually take a long time or days (Supang, Premjai, and Samarn 2004), especially in areas where there are political conflicts or conflicts with the Burmese army, and they had to constantly change their routes (Panam 2004).

Although many immigrants can get information and find jobs through their relatives and friends or people with work experience in Thailand, many of them still need someone to arrange their journey. Studies by the Asian Research Center for Migration (ARCM) (Supang Chantavanich 2003) and the Institute for Population and Social Research (IPSR) (Panam 2004) confirm that most migrants have little or no information about their destinations. In this case, the broker acts as a role to assist them in transiting or arranging the entire journey and finding a job for them.

For most migrants from Myanmar, the immigration experience is not pleasant. They have encountered various problems in different situations. In general, the main problems encountered during their journey included bribery, deception, property damage, physical and sexual abuse, arrest, eviction, accident, and death (Supang, Premjai, and Samarn 2004).

Migrant workers from Myanmar generally lack basic labor rights, whether documented or undocumented. They are paid less than the minimum wage, work more than 12 hours per day, physical or verbal abuse, police and employers are harassed as well as living and working conditions are poor (Pearson et al. 2006). In the report “Assessing Potential Changes in the Migration Patterns of Myanmar Migrants and Their Impacts on Thailand” published by IOM in 2013 shown that most of Myanmar's

workers are engaged in construction and fisheries, and their satisfaction with current jobs is relatively low (Supang, Premjai, and Samarn 2004). At the same time, women are more vulnerable than men (Panam 2004). In addition, most of these migrants are engaged in so-called “3D jobs” which refers to dirty, dangerous and demanding (Huguet and Chamrathirong 2011).

Thirayut Rattanawong (Rattanawong 2002) Studies of immigrants from Myanmar have shown that in the past few decades, Myanmar’s large-scale migration to neighboring countries has included both domestic and foreign reasons. Most of them have poverty problems, so they hope to live a good life through immigration. However, the fact is that these Myanmar migrant workers often do not have access to medical care, social welfare, at the same time, they must receive discrimination and unequal treatment.

2.2 Identity

Strictly speaking, identity is a complex, fluid sociological and psychological category. Identity is not created by itself but created by social experiences. Every society is trying to create space and rights for itself. It can be said that identity is an unstable thing that can be changed or reconstructed at any time. But it is playing the role of authority and rights (AoiSiwong 2005). For the sake of discussion, the general introduction of Peter L. Berger can be used. Berger believes that “identity is socially bestowed, socially sustained and socially transformed” (Berger 1963). This is to say identity not only represents the value and life pattern of the whole society, but it is also the product of socialization, and it will change in response to social changes (Berger 1963).

George Herbert Mead believed that “the formation of self-identity or self-building is mainly through games, playing, role-playing and other people's attitudes and feelings towards themselves” (Mead 1934). In these self-shaping processes, “significant others” have the greatest impact on the establishment of self-behavior (Mead 1934). Taylor C.

pointed out that “identity itself contains the views of the self and the opinions of others” (C. Taylor 1989). Therefore, the generation and establishment of identity cannot naturally be unilateral or isolated from the outside world (C. Taylor 1989). The children gradually establish their self-identity, values, personal image, and interpersonal relationship by imitating learning, touching and examining each other's human affairs.

Hall presented in “Question of Culture Identity”, the Identity should be understood from different concepts. Such as the self-awareness concept, Social identity concepts.

Hall believes that the so-called cultural transfer does not mean that all cultural characteristics of one group are transferred to other groups. The culture is composed of different people in different places according to the background of the economy, politics, and society. Therefore, culture sometimes changes, and some will be abandoned or mixed with other things to become a new culture. Identity is just a story of an individual based on social status (Hall and Du Gay 2006).

Manuel Castells believes that “in times of globalization and information development, the world and life have been occupied and distorted by the conflicting forces of globalization and identity. The society in which people live is already a network society, a society composed of capitalism and declining nationalism transformed by the technological revolution (Castells 1997). At the same time, Manuel Castells also believes that “globalization's identity is not without resistance”. It always faces the challenges of other collective identities such as gender, religion, country, ethnicity, territory or social biology. These identities are multiple, highly differentiated, and are shaped by different cultural and historical backgrounds. They can be progressive or reactionary. On whole, these different identities will challenge globalization and metropolitanism through the particularity and human control of their respective cultures (Castells 1997).

2.2.1 National Identity

In the research, “The Construction of National Identity in Modern Times: Theoretical Perspective” said that “in the history of France and Britain, the country became a real entity for the first time. The booming trade since the 10th century which then lead the establishment of the natural national border (İnaç and Ünal 2013).” National identity is a very complex and multidimensional problem. For this reason, each researcher will emphasize different perspectives when defining and interpreting the concept.

Some scholars believe that the relationship between culture and national identity should be distinguished. Anderson mentioned that national identity is imagined and constructed. In addition, people imagine and feel that their communities are separate and distinct from other communities (Anderson 2006). Print and other forms of media motivate individuals to imagine their country and see it as homes (Anderson 2006). Yurdusev established the interrelationship between national identity and the state, claiming that national identity is the product of state-building and national ideology (Yurdusev 1997). In the process of nationalization, each community believes that national identity is in-avoidable and it is the guarantee and foundation of the state's existence. The rise of nation-states is the dominant position of national ideology (Yurdusev 1997). Güvenç defines state identity as “way to participate in the socialization of individuals in any particular community (Güvenç 1985)”. Connor defines the term “nations” as “a sense of belonging and community based on the masses. Most countries are the product of racial integration, which makes the country look like a natural and eternal primitive community (Connor 1978: 377-400)”. It is basically psychological and irrational. This is because, basically, the country is a group of people who think they are ancestors related. In Connor's view, because of the intimate relationship, the state “is the largest group capable of controlling one's loyalty”. From this perspective, it is a fully extended family, almost in all cases does not match the history of facts (Connor 1994b: 202). Bradshaw states that “the objective

characteristics of language, religion, customs, etc. are not necessary to maintain national identity, and the existence of communities where members share a common language, religion, etc. is not a sufficient condition in and of itself. In fact, losing one's mother tongue or religious belief often does not lead to the demise of one's national identity, but instead leads to an increase in national self-awareness, which is a reaction to the mandatory nature of this assimilation process" (İnaç and Ünal 2013). Durkheim believed that "each country becomes an institution of "human ideals" because it assumes that its main task is not to expand by expanding its boundaries but to increase the moral standards of its members" (Durkheim 1973).

Some scholars believe that national identity and culture are inseparable. Rutherford claims that "national identity depends on unity, cultural communities, and common culture. National identity based on a unified cultural community indicates race (İnaç and Ünal 2013)". Breuille elaborated on the relationship between culture and national identity in a book entitled "Nationalism and the State". For him, this relationship always carries traces of history, ethics and political power that constitute a constant change and contradiction in national identity (Gellner and Breuille 1983). By calling for a common culture to defend national identity, the culture replaces any multicultural culture based on historical cultural concepts and so on, also eliminates the concept of national identity in an oppressive history. The myth of the common ancestor is crucial, and the myth reduces the possibility of the country's disintegration. Smith believes that "the myth of national origin also often emphasizes the importance of the country's geographic roots in some ancestral homeland and often portrays the country as a product of blood and soil" (A.D. Smith 1986; Anderson 2006). Smith has so far conducted the most comprehensive analysis of the cultural components of national identity. Values, beliefs, customs, habits, language, and practices are passed on to new members who accept a particular national culture. Smith emphasized that "the nationalist state is a special space community that can trace its origin or root to a specific ancestral landscape" (A.D. Smith 2002). A culture-specific identification

process means that strong emotional investment can promote solidarity between members of a particular community, and they recognize each other as compatriots (Gellner and Breuilly 1983).

Some scholars believe that national identity should be a collection of multiple aspects. According to Gilroy, “national identity is a melting pot that is assimilated according to the concept of citizenship and patriotism” (Gilroy 1993). In Gilroy’s notion, national identity is built through the concept of citizenship and patriotism, which subordinate race, ethnicity, and cultural differences to the assimilation of a common culture, or more violently as “the melting pot” (Gilroy 1993). National identity, like nationalism itself, is a social construction based on a series of tolerances and exclusions of history, citizenship and state ownership. National identity is always an unstable complex of historical struggles and experiences that are intermingled, produced and translated through various cultures. Calhoun attempts to combine national identity and democracy by using legal rights. In other words, the relationship between nationalism and democracy must not only solve the key problem, that is, provide legal rights to all groups regardless of their cultural characteristics, but also how to ensure that the multicultural community has economic, political and social resources work together to the ability to collectively vocalize and differentiate, the possibility of direct interpersonal relationships (Stokols 1972). Vamik Volkan expressed strong appreciation for the enormous complexity of national identity. He believes that national identity is not only an ideological geopolitical issue, but a question full of emotions, unconsciousness, and very irrational dimensions. For Volkan, national identity represents an unstable theme, a theme that goes deeper into the human mind than we admit (Volkan 1988).

Nationalism can be self-expressed as an official ideology or mass (non-government) movement and expressed in words of citizenship, race, culture, religion, or ideology. The self-definition of the nation is used to distinguish the types of nationalism. However, such distinctions are not completely mutually exclusive, and many

nationalist movements combine some or all of the different elements to varying degrees.

2.2.2 National Identity in Myanmar

In order to tell Myanmar's general understanding of national identity, understanding the complex history of Myanmar is indispensable. Myanmar, the full name officially the Republic of the Union of Myanmar, is located in the northwest of the Indochina peninsula and shares borders with China, India, Thailand, Laos, and Bangladesh. It is an ancient country with a long history of civilization.

The first period to be outlined when looking for nationalism in Myanmar was the British colonial period. Before the British began colonizing Burma in 1824, “Myanmar” consisted of loosely affiliated semi-autonomous kingdoms with flowing borders, whose interrelationships were built on the tributary system and revolved around the dominant Kingdom of Myanmar (Ricklefs et al. 2010). In the 11th century, a unified feudal country, Bagan dynasty, was formed. As the first unified empire in Myanmar, its feudal society lasted more than 800 years (Aung-Thwin 2013). Although the concept of the country at the time was not yet rooted, it seems safe to say that it has never existed like the “Burmese country” before the colonization (Yawnghwe 1988). It was not until they disbanded Ayutthaya during the Siam War, in 1767, that there was a reunification in Myanmar. Then, Myanmar remained autonomous until it was annexed by Britain in 1826. In the 19th century, the United Kingdom gained control of parts of Myanmar by winning the British-Burmese war in 1824, 1852, and 1885, turning Myanmar into a colony. With the British occupation of Burma, new religions, government methods, trade relations, and ideas emerged. The inclusion of Burma in British India essentially disbanded the Burmese-Indian border, allowing unrestricted movement between the two peoples (Silverstein 1993). Although Burmese and non-Burmese did not immigrate to British India, in contrast, Indians came to Burma in large numbers, turning Burma into a British and Indian rice bowl (Maung

1989). In 1886, when the British finally conquered the entire "Myanmar", the British controlled a feudal kingdom and shared a feudal heritage (Maung 1989). Although starting in the 1930s, the British have made it clear that Myanmar will form a single nation-state when independence (Yawnghwe 1988). But Aung San chose an inclusive model, and Aung San tried to integrate all ethnic groups under the auspices of a unified Myanmar, thus freeing himself from the policy of polarization (Gravers 2004). Under the leadership of Aung San, the struggle for independence in Myanmar seems to end in an inclusive form of state-building, consistent with the multi-ethnic population of Myanmar. After a long-term struggle, the Myanmar people separated Myanmar from the British Commonwealth on January 4, 1948, and declared independence, establishing the Union of Burma (1948-1962). Unfortunately, Aung San was murdered in 1947 before Myanmar gained independence.

The second period was marked by the rule of U Nu. After the death of Aung San, U Nu became the first prime minister of independent Myanmar in 1948. He changed the plan of Aung San. According to his explanation, the union refers to a single ethnic nation. The trinity of "one nation, one language, one religion" is characterized by the Burmese-based concept of Burmese national identity (Sakhong 2010). In this way, national construction became a tool for participating in the Burman nation-building which caused dissatisfaction among non-Burmese people. They quickly took up arms to respond to U Nu's actions and it also made the next Myanmar history 60 years full of violent conflicts. In addition, U Nu also ignored Aung San's view of religion: emphasizing religious pluralism to avoid religious politicization and accompanying social tensions (Silverstein 1993; Sakhong 2010). U Nu promoted Buddhism among non-Buddhists in the border areas and promoted the "Burmanization" process there (D.E. Smith 2015) further exacerbating the conflict. At this time, political turmoil, rebellious behaviors of some ethnic minorities and communist groups began almost immediately. The military rule seems to be a powerful solution to the problems encountered.

In 1962, U Nu's government was overthrown by Ne Win through a coup d'état, and General Ne Win became the new prime minister, creating the third period of Myanmar's national identity. He established the Burma Socialist Programme Party and implemented Burmese socialism.

Under the rule of U Nu, Burmese nationalism is closely related to Buddhism, spreading Buddhism as the state religion. Ne Win's claim to inherit Aung San in order to make the military government's efforts to protect Myanmar's unity and independence has historical significance. Thus, after seizing power, Ne Win almost immediately reversed U Nu's religious policy (Silverstein 1993), all religious groups have been treated more or less equally. However, the military coup led by Ne Win proposed a new era of Burmese nationalism, transforming the "center of gravity" from "one religion" to "one language" (Sakhong 2010). Continue and complement the process of "Burmanization" from a new perspective. In the 1974 Constitution, Burmese was the only national language in Myanmar. All schools use Burmese as a medium of instruction, leading to the isolation of insurgents and the assimilation of the multi-ethnic population of Myanmar (Sakhong 2010). That is by making all non-Burmese languages legally unidentified, Ne Win promotes discriminatory practices against non-Burmese minority languages. By 1988, Ne Win's isolationism "Myanmar's Socialist Road" became untenable, causing public dissatisfaction and mass demonstrations, and eventually, Ne Win resigned (Ricklefs et al. 2010). After the fall of the military socialist regime in Ne Win, Myanmar was close to "anarchic collapse" (D.I. Steinberg 2001);(Ricklefs et al. 2010).

In May 1990, the country held a general election that opened a new chapter. However, in view of the failure of civilian leaders to restore public order during the transition period after Ne Win's departure, the army -- the "savior of the country" -- once again launched a coup that ended the popular protests and brutally suppressed such riots (R.H. Taylor 2009). In this case, Burmese nationalism is now a tool to legitimize and

instrumentalize the historic significance of Tatmadaw (the Armed Forces of Myanmar) (Gravers 1999). Myanmar was subjected to sanctions imposed by the United States, the Western countries, and it almost became an "orphan" on the international political and economic stage. Due to the long-term instability of Myanmar's internal political situation, it has become one of the least developed countries in the world (Aung-Thwin 2013). In 2008, after the re-establishment of public order, the long-awaited democracy, the 2008 Constitution, was finally realized, indicating the 2010 elections, and then the transition from military rule to civilian rule. It was not until 2011 that President U Thein Sein took office that there was a turn for the better and gradually open-up.

Take into account the history of Burmese nationalism, the cues of the continuous process of "Burmaization" in Myanmar after independence have been the arduous application of the "one nation, one language, one religion" model, albeit to varying degrees of intensity. As time went by, many non-Burman ethnic minorities were threatened.

Ma Thida believes that in fact, before the British colonial era, some ethnic minorities in modern Myanmar had their own leaders, their own traditions, cultures, languages, rituals, behaviors and religious characteristics. After a century of suppression, the people of Myanmar lost their ability to think about their identity. For the people of Myanmar, how to identify themselves is still very unclear. This is the main challenge facing Myanmar now (Thida 2015).

2.2.3 Ethnic identity

Ethnic identity refers to the individual's sense of belonging to a certain ethnic group, and the thoughts, perceptions, feelings, and behaviors generated by the identity of the ethnic group, as well as the individual's acquisition of the group model (Knight et al. 1993). Ethnic identity is a primitive attachment to the original religion, language, etc. It is a combination of common features and unique features (Inglis 2000).

After the psychologist Erik Homburger Erikson proposed the theory of self-identification in 1968, many scholars later displayed the theory of ethnic identity. Based on the analysis of the orientation of cognitive development, ethnic identity is considered dynamic, due to different time and context and the course of change in development (Erikson 1994). Nimmi Hutnik believed that “ethnic identity is not only an individual's personal identity to the group but also the identity of other members as to whether they belong to the group” (Hutnik 1991). Sandra Wallman argues that “ethnic identity is no longer a fixed, inflexible, sturdy, end-to-end commitment. Ethnic identity can be single or pluralistic, possibly with environmental changes and individuals as well as a change in psychological needs” (Wallman 1983).

In Smith's view, "ethnicity" is a characteristic that has existed since the beginning of the country. Ethnic identity is something with political identity, but the genetically non-sterile species will not change and there are many reasons why the identity is different from the original one (A.D. Smith 1986). Edmund R. Leach argues that although a person's ethnic identity is related to belief, it can be changed at any time due to the different positions (Naroll et al. 1964).

In addition, some scholars have suggested that ethnic group and ethnic identity are a kind of imaginary way of group classification, rather than a group that exists actually and can be clearly identified. "Ethnic identity" usually appeals to a set of "common ancestors", "common sources" and "common culture" as the boundary for defining ethnic groups; and on the premise of "modern national civil rights", requires equal treatment of all ethnic groups, especially vulnerable groups. Different ethnic groups may exist in different forms and have different meanings for individuals. Members of an ethnic group will have different forms of identity and recognition for the ethnic group (Knight et al. 1993).

Some studies have found that the degree of ethnic identity is reflected in the ethnic self-identification such as confirming that they are a certain ethnic group, ethnic cognition, for example, high learning and interest in ethnic knowledge, ethnic

attitudes and ethnic behavior. Jean S. Phinney also believes that “members of a certain ethnic group with a high degree of strong ethnic identity will identify themselves as members of the ethnic group, have a high sense of belonging and give a positive evaluation to their ethnic groups, and prefer their own ethnic groups” (Phinney 1990). Ethnic group members live together, have high knowledge and interest in the ethnic group, and like to integrate into ethnic groups; in contrast, when ethnic group identity is low, fragile or confusing, they do not identify themselves as a member of the ethnic group. It leads people to negatively evaluate their ethnic groups, and their willingness to participate in ethnic activities is low. They not only have low knowledge and belonging to the ethnic group but also prefer mainstream groups rather than coexist with other members (Spencer et al. 2000).

2.2.3.1 General Information of Myanmar

Myanmar is located in southeastern Asia, bordering China's Tibet and Yunnan in the north and northeast, Laos and Thailand in the east, and India and Bangladesh in the west. Myanmar has an area of about 678,500 square kilometers and a coastline of 3,200 kilometers (Hadden 2008). Due to various reasons such as history, Myanmar has become one of the least developed countries in the world, mainly based on agriculture, with a population of more than 60% engaged in agriculture, and agricultural products such as rice, wheat, and sugar cane.

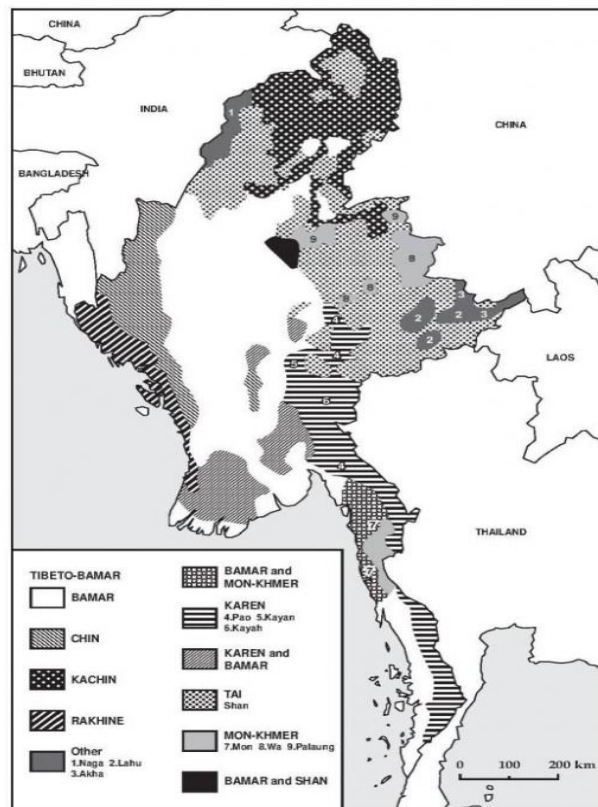


Figure 3 Major Ethnic Groups of Myanmar

Source: from Martin Smith, Burma - Insurgency and the Politics of Ethnicity, 1991

Myanmar is a multi-ethnic country with problems within itself. The government officially recognizes 135 different peoples. These groups are further divided into eight different ethnic groups, such as Burman, Chin, Kachin, Kayin, Kayah, Mon, Rakhine and Shan (Figure 3). At present, most state institutions and military are controlled by the Burman. At the same time, the entire country is dominated by Buddhism, and these conflicting schools of thought are the basis of the (Smith 2007). The ethnic conflict in Myanmar is one of the longest conflicts in the world. The conflict has been going on since 1948 which cause thousands of people have lost their lives and have become refugees (Mon 2010). Throughout Myanmar, ethnic minorities and indigenous peoples are adversely affected by the political system and the development agenda. Although Myanmar is now known as the Republic of the Union of Myanmar, the “Union” is only a concept, not in the actual application of the country, and some

regions still strongly prohibit freedom of speech and worship. Government and political decisions have also been dominated by the central government of Myanmar.

The Burman are the main ethnic groups in Myanmar, and according to population estimates, they account for almost 70% of the country's total population. They mainly live in the central plains near the Irrawaddy River (Walton 2013). The traditional Burman culture strongly influences the contemporary Myanmar national customs and identity. It is generally considered to have social and political advantages in the country's minority population. It plays a leading role in all areas of politics, economy, culture and education in Myanmar. Since the coup in 1962, the country has been subject to the “Burmanization” policy, and the Burman does not seem to be exempt from its specific human rights violations and repression.

The Burman has unified Myanmar three times in the history of Myanmar and played a key role in promoting the development of Myanmar's history. The Burman have made important contributions to the development of Myanmar's politics, economy, culture, art, customs and habits. They are far more developed than other ethnic groups and have a great influence on other ethnic groups. The Burman are mainly engaged in agricultural cultivation. In addition to growing rice, they also grow crops such as cotton, peanuts, beans and sesame.

Although the ethnic issue is not unique to Myanmar, its problems and failures are particularly serious. In Myanmar, like other places, national borders are historical accidents and rarely match the nationalities. This has been and will continue to be one of the biggest challenges facing Myanmar's reunification. This is not entirely an internal issue, because ethnic minorities cross such borders. When we are analyzing Myanmar, it is important not to ignore the main political roles of ethnic minorities and their international ties, especially with neighboring countries, Thailand. It was during the annexation of the United Kingdom that Myanmar was geographically divided.

Until that time, there was no exact border with Siam, and ethnic minorities lived in the “gray” area.

2.2.4 Research on identity of Myanmar migrants

Citizenship is an extension of the legal status of a person belonging to a country. Citizenship is the first and foremost a legal identity, which is based on the confirmation of the law. Since it is a legal status, it means that this identity cannot be arbitrarily deprived (Marshall and Bottomore 1950).

In the ancient time there's no the concept of being Thai until during the reign of King Chulalongkorn in Thailand, the expansion of the colony forced the Siamese people to inevitably think about the unity of the Siamese nation(When it was changed to Thailand on June 24, 1939, “Siam” was the official name. It was used again from 1946 to 1948 and then returned to Thailand). In the early twentieth century, the concept of citizenship was introduced to Thailand, but its meaning was not clear and seemed to be merely a simple racial ideology (Sattayanurak 2005). During the reign of Rama VI, a series of social reforms were carried out, and the concept of “Thai people” was further embodied. Although he did not define citizenship, he focused on turning non-Thai subjects into Thai citizens (Sattayanurak 2005). This move laid the foundation for the subsequent generation of the law. After the coup in 1932, the official thinking about citizenship changed a lot. Under the Phibun Songkram regime, “Thai-ization” was pushed to a climax. “Thailand” has become an official identity, bringing the identity and nationality of the people within the borders of the nation-state. The “Chon Chat Thai” or ethnic Thai is emphasized as an important feature of Thai nationality (Keyes 2002). In 1943, the regime introduced its first identity card. The appearance of identity cards represents a new way for Thai national authorities to restrict, register and manage people within their sphere of influence (Laungaramsri 2003). As a form of state power, identity card not only helps to regard citizenship as the main body of a nation-state but also means that it connects people and the state closely. Article 4 of

the Immigration Law (1979) uses the term “alien” to define a foreign migrant as any ordinary person without Thai citizenship.

The majority of the Myanmar migrants are Burman, many people settle in forests or villages, mainly minority groups such as Karen, Mon, and Shan, followed by Cambodian Laos, Chinese and South Asians, who are concentrated in border areas and in large cities with growing labor demands. In addition, more than 120,000 people live in refugee camps on the Thai-Myanmar border, but they are not technically recognized as refugees. As referred to here that cross-border refugees in Thailand mainly live in refugee camps or one of the nine temporary shelters in Thailand, these temporary shelters located in Mae Hong Son, Tak, Chiang Mai, Kanchanaburi, and Ratchaburi. Sometimes displaced people in these camps may secretly leave to find a job. Most of these immigrants are engaged in so-called “3D jobs” which refers to dirty, dangerous and demanding, including agriculture, manufacturing, construction, and fisheries (Huguet and Chamrathirong). However, due to the Thai government has not established a complete and effective management system for labor migration, the influx of large numbers of laborers has also faced many negative influences. The Thai government invented identification cards for “foreign laborers” as a means of regulating the flow of cross-border migrants. However, in different immigrant groups entering Thailand in different periods and for different reasons, the card identification system is quite confusing and random (Table 7).

A research named “Identity of Karen Hill Tribes in Salaween River Basin: A Case Study of Karengaw Hill Tribes of Mae Sarieng District, Mae Hong Son Province” written by Rojana Chuensirikulchai, Prayut Wongpang, Sutee Nontarpar and Sununtar Auemsumaveng found that economic debt, poverty, lack of resources in the environment, and the emergence of new values in the social process are all major factors influencing identity change (Chuensirikulchai et al. 2014).

 <p>People with no registration status (Issued by Ministry of Interior Starting with 0)</p>	 <p>ID card of non-Thai national</p>
 <p>Myanmar's temporary passport</p>	 <p>Myanmar's passport</p>
 <p>Myanmar temporary border pass</p>	

Table 7 Types of Myanmar Migrant worker ID cards

Sorapong Wichaidit used Karen as an example to study the identification process of Karen refugee status. He found that after entering the temporary shelter, Karen recreated his identity through a series of processes, including assimilation and selection, in a new social context. Even Karen, who lives in temporary shelters, may

change certain ethnic lifestyles, Karen's identity still depends on the original mutual awareness and patterns (Wichaidit 2004).

Sukayan Baonoed studies the lifestyle and identity formation of Mon immigrants of transnational workers in Samut Sakhon Province. Mon identity is presented in the form of language, literature, and culture. The Mon group has a wide range of characteristics. However, Mons became a cross-border worker. They must hide their original identity and adjust their identity, such as speaking in Thai, choosing and compromising the Thai society to live in harmony with the Thai people (Baonoed 2006). At the same time, Puttanee has reached almost similar conclusions by studying Myanmar students living in Thailand. In daily life, based on the attitude of the Thai people towards the Myanmar people, the Myanmar people need to adjust and change their identity, such as dressing up like a Thai. Most Myanmar immigrants choose to hide their identity and compromise with Thai society (Kangkun 1997).

2.3 Migrant Children

With the increasing number of migrants and the increasing level and scope of immigration, migrant children have become a non-negligible linkage, marginal group. A large number of immigrant children born in Thailand further increased the number of immigrant children in Thailand, and the incomplete birth registration led to the lack of legal documents, which may be a source of vulnerability.

In the paper "Migrant children and their difficult circumstances in Thailand", the authors expressed concern about the increasing number of migrant children in Thailand without any support system. According to the author, "the largest number of immigrant workers in Thailand is Burmese. In general, migrant children in Myanmar account for more than half of the total number of migrant children in Thailand" (Vungsiriphisal, Auasalung, and Chantavanich 1999). These children can be roughly divided into three groups in Thailand: registered migrant workers; have no registered status and illegal entry (Huguet and Chamrathirong 2011). As Huguet and

Chamrathirong believe that “a result of the substantial share of migrant with families, which in itself implies permanent settlement, and the high number of migrant children, different types of social services [...] are required”, however, in real life, services such as health care and legal support are only provided to a certain extent or not at all (Huguet and Chamrathirong 2011). Most migrant children are in a weak position due to inadequate social services and various legal restrictions (Huguet and Punpuing 2005).

Since no national surveys have been conducted, it is not possible to accurately understand the number of immigrant children. However, migrant children face many problems, such as lack of identity documents, lack of access to education, social services such as health care, and the risk of exploitation and abuse. The actual number of migrant children is much higher than the number of children holding documents proving their identity. Only a small number of migrant children hold documents proving their identity, and most of them do not hold birth certificates, even migrant children born in Thailand. Because their identity is illegal, it leads to various forms of exploitation.

Under normal circumstances, migrant children living in Thailand are deprived of the same rights as Thai children due to lack of documentation. Without identification documents, the results made the children stateless. According to international law, stateless children have almost all the rights granted to other children, but in practice, they are often unable to exercise these rights because of national laws and practices. Statelessness has countless immeasurable effects on children (M. Lynch 2008b). So, finding that crossing the border increases their vulnerability because they often lacking in documentation, limited or no language and literacy skills, living and working in remote areas with little or no service, and largely relying on employer security and survival (Caouette and Pack 2002). The complexity of these issues has left children in an uncertain state between Myanmar and Thailand, and neither side is

willing to admit them. There are different reasons for denying citizenship, but what matters to these children is that they have insufficient rights.

Although some of them have access to basic services such as vaccination, health care, and treatment, they have little access to basic education. “The lack of education and access to health care is not a big [...] unable to take steps to ensure their future democratic rights” (M. Lynch 2008b). The result is a continuous and harmful cycle for the children. Even if parents have visas and work permits in Thailand, their children may not have the same documents, because employers usually only register their workers and ignore their families. Therefore, some immigrants may hide their children, but this will inevitably have a negative impact on their children.

2.4 Education

It is said that education is essential to providing a person with the right tools to become skilled participants in society and providing education can generate personal and collective interests. On a personal level, children will feel stable, belonging and united. At the social and national levels, educating children can create understanding, tolerance, respect as well as reduce poverty. As Amartya Sen points out that there are two factors in the value of providing education to children. The first aspect is the personal gain that humans gain by not being excluded to understand their possibilities and making fair choices, and their chances of gaining a safe and prosperous life (Sen 2002). The nature of education plays a vital role in world peace which is another widely recognized result.

According to the policy of the Ministry of Education, every child in Thailand, including migrant children, can be educated in public schools. There are also informal schools that provide education for migrant children. In 2009, a study was conducted in the province of Tak, Wanlaya Manutkasemsirikul studied the educational management of NGOs from Mae Sot, found that many NGOs have been established to provide education for immigrant children. However, these schools are organized by

humanitarian organizations and provide children with only basic skills in reading and writing. Because their parents are illegal and may be at risk of being arrested, these children often dare not go to school to avoid being deported to Myanmar (Manutkasemsirikul 2008).

In fact, because children lack identity, most of them rarely have access to higher than primary education, and some do not have any formal education at all, even a long-term residence, or a child born in Thailand. There is a large knowledge gap between migrant children. The government also seems to admit that it does not provide the social cost of education. Migrant children cannot be able to obtain the appropriate tools to empower themselves and have the opportunity to change the future of themselves and future generations.

Mounier and Tangchiang emphasized the importance of reducing educational inequality. They demand attention to the positive impact of a more equal education system in the country. In the long run, it can bring about social and economic prosperity throughout the country, not to higher education (Mounier and Tangchuang 2010). By cultivating children's knowledge and expanding their wisdom, their human capital will increase. They will be better able to cope with the struggles in life, become the assets of society, continue to be part of Thai society or return to Myanmar. Provide opportunities for a prosperous future and provide opportunities for better work. Education is also vital to economic development because it provides individuals with the opportunity to gain more benefits and greater efficiency, laying the groundwork for the use of new technologies and enabling people to express their opinions on politics and society (M. Lynch 2008b).

Living in harsh conditions can affect children in many ways. Living in the process of instability and uncertainty can undermine the foundations of children's preparations for the future of their youth. In extreme cases, such as starvation, being alone, harassment, deportation, etc., increase the child's fear mentality. It may be harder for

these children to set a bad starting point for the future to become more promising than their parents.



Chapter 3 Access to Education for Migrant Children in Thailand

3.1 The Thai Education System

The Thai education system includes 6 years of “Prathomsueksa” (Primary Education, P1 to P6) and 6 years of “Mathayomsueksa” (Secondary Education, M1 to M6), a total of 12 years of free basic education. Normally, the basic age of admission to the basic education system is 6 years old.

According to the website of the Ministry of Education of Thailand¹: “The current Thai Education system stems from the reforms set by the 1999 National Education Act which implemented new organizational structures, promoted the decentralization of administration and called for innovative learner-centered teaching practices. The Thai education system provides 9 years of compulsory education, with 12 years of free basic education guaranteed by the Constitution. Formal education services are divided into Early Year Education, Basic Education, Vocational and Technical Education and Higher Education.” Children between the ages of 3 and 5 generally receive early childhood education. For the basic education it will last 12 years. There are eight core subjects: Thai language, mathematics, science, social studies, religion and culture, health and physical education, arts, careers and technology, and foreign languages which formed the National Curriculum. Formal vocational and technical covering eight areas of major which are trade and industry, agriculture, home economics, fisheries, business and tourism, arts and crafts, textiles and commerce. These courses and majors are subdivided into three levels: upper secondary, post-secondary and university level. Higher Education means for student admission to the higher education sector is the High School Entrance Examination taken at the end of Mattayom 6. In addition to formal education, the Thai education system also includes

¹ <https://www.bic.moe.go.th/images/stories/book/ed-eng-series/intro-ed08.pdf>

Non-Formal Education and Informal Education. The Education Act of B.E. 2542 (1999)² (Commission 1999) defined these two types of education as follows:

“Non-formal education shall have flexibility in determining the aims, modalities, management procedures, duration, assessment and evaluation conditional to its completion. The contents and curricula for non-formal education shall be appropriate, respond to the requirements, and meet the needs of individual groups of learners.”

“Informal education shall enable learners to learn by themselves according to their interests, potentialities, readiness and opportunities available from persons, society, environment, media, or other sources of knowledge.”

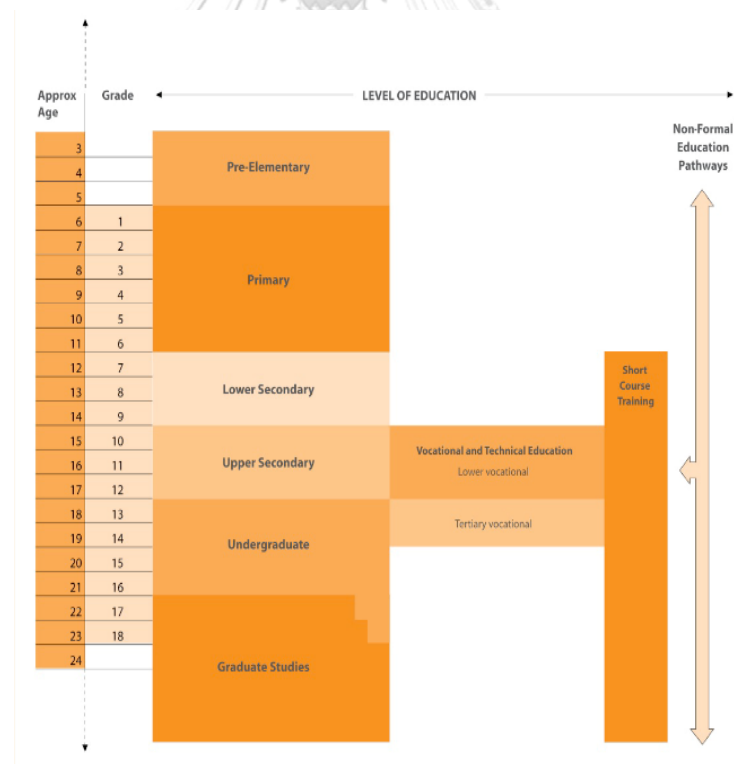


Figure 4 Thai Education System

² It should be noted that the Act has been updated a few times: Amended (Number 2) 2002 and (Number 3) 2010; Education Act (Number 4) 2019;

3.2 Development of Education policy for migrant children in Thailand

In fact, since the late 1980s, Thailand has provided educational opportunities for disadvantaged groups of children, including children of unskilled migrant workers. The policy, however, did not give many benefits to migrant children but more to hill tribes and other groups (Vungsiriphisal, Rukspollamuang, and Chantavanich 2008). In the 1990s, Thailand introduced a series of policies to facilitate immigrant children's enrollment. Ministry of Education in Thailand published in the latest policy in 1992 that non-Thai children are eligible to study in public schools in Thailand (S Chantavanich, Vungsiriphisal, and Laodumrongchai 2007). In 1999, the Ministry of Education stated that "such education provided nationwide should have high quality and free quality of education (Commission 1999)". Up to now, 12 years of free basic education has become a right and opportunity for everyone to enjoy. However, neither the 1992 nor the 1999 policy clearly define the scope of the children included, which also led to the fact that these policies did not play a substantial role (S Chantavanich, Vungsiriphisal, and Laodumrongchai 2007).

Since the beginning of the 21st century, the Thai government has been increasingly aware of the potential threat to national security posed by migrant children while actively responding to the trafficking and exploitation of migrant children by international organizations (Kneebone 2010). In order to solve this challenge, the Thai government regards education as the best solution to help immigrant children better integrate into Thai society and reduce child labor. The Thai government hopes to reduce the threat to national security through education.

In July 2005, access to public education for children of migrant workers was allowed for the first time through a cabinet resolution. The main content of the resolution includes the opportunity to expand into the education system; promote private education; issue corresponding certificates (Nawarat 2012). The opening up education system to migrant children is one of the most progressive moves the Government of Thailand has implemented regarding migrants. Following intense lobbying from many

agencies, the Cabinet passed a decision on 5 July 2005 which made education available to all people living in Thailand, including migrant children, regardless of their identity status, except for displaced persons in the temporary shelters where schools are provided. Since then, the MOE has implemented the regulation, directing schools to enroll all students, including those that do not have proper identification documents (Paitoonpong 2014). This policy not only benefits many children without identity documents or legal status but also increases the number of immigrant children in local schools in Thailand.

The Thai Cabinet approved the registration of a migrant learning center (MLC) initiated by a non-State actor in 2009. The regulations were enacted in 2011 and 2012 to address their legal status issues and legalize MLC.

The ministerial declaration to remove barriers to entry for children of irregular immigrants was promulgated in March/April 2018. Each school no longer needs relevant documents in the admission process, and it is the responsibility of the school to create a 13-digit identification number for each immigrant child enrolled (if they do not already have one). Any public school accredited by the Ministry of Education of Thailand can accept the registration of immigrant children and provide them with learning opportunities until higher education (Victor and Sowirin 2019).

3.3 Main types of education provided for migrant children

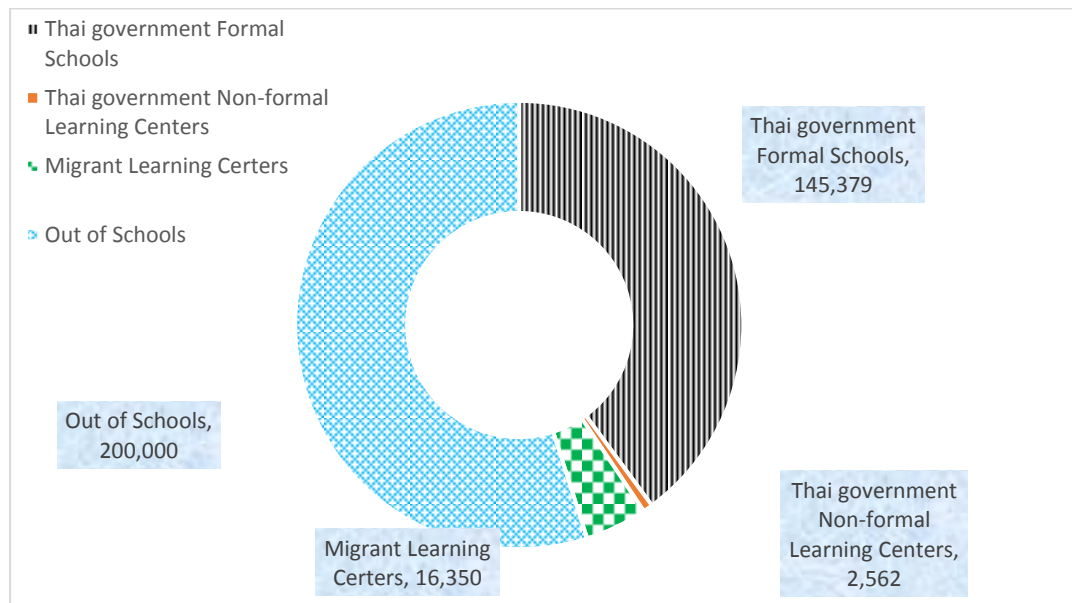


Figure 5 Enrolment of migrant children in Thailand's educational system
Source: Ministry of Education and Migrant Working Group (2018)

According to the 2019 report (Figure 5), although about 164,300 non-Thai children are enrolled in the Thai education system through the efforts of the Thai government and NGOs, it is estimated that at least 200,000 migrant children still do not receive any form of education (Victor and Sowirin 2019).

For migrant children living in Thailand, they can mainly receive education in three ways :

1) Migrant learning centers (MLC)

These MLCs are mainly organized by NGOs and immigrant communities in the region to provide education for migrant children. They can only be called learning centers and are not allowed to gain status as a school (Thu 2006). In various provinces of Thailand, Myanmar migrant workers receive education primarily through MLCs (Nawarat, 2012).

The number of migrant students and similar learning centers has been increasing in recent years. For example, in Tak Province, the number of migrant learning centers

has increased from 46 in 2006 to 61 in 2010, and the number of students has increased from 4,416 to 9,640 (Vungsiriphisal 2011). In some border areas of Thailand, including Mae Sot and Phan Nga, there are at least about 80 well-known centers providing basic education for migrant children. As of 2018, there are 110 MLCs on the Thai-Myanmar border, and other provinces with large numbers of migrant workers, such as Ranong and Samut Sakhon, also have a considerable number of migrant learning centers (Victor and Sowirin 2019).

In theory, learning centers can involve courses from kindergarten to secondary school. In fact, most MLCs only provide primary education. The teaching location can be a permanent building or a temporary room or a small room in a building (Vungsiriphisal 2011). Usually these learning centers are five-day. There are a small number of schools operating as correspondence schools, students can study at home or at work, and some will also offer courses at night or on weekends, but these models should be evaluated at local schools. Children attending immigration centers are basically free.

Depending on the size of the school, the funds, and the region in which it is located, the teaching methods offered by the school are not completely consistent. The Ministry of Education of Thailand does not explicitly regulate this. Therefore, each learning center operates in a decentralized and independent manner, and can flexibly select courses, teaching methods, assessment methods and certification requirements based on their actual situation. However, the course arrangement must comply with the relevant provisions of the Thai National Safety Regulations for the course content. The teaching content involves political, social, royal and other sensitive issues are prohibited situation. Most of the courses taught at these centers are adapted from Myanmar courses or Thai courses (Wallaya, 2008). The language used in teaching includes Burmese, Thai, English and some ethnic languages, such as Mon language (Vungsiriphisal 2011).

The level of these center teachers is uneven, most of them only have a secondary school background, and only a few teachers have teacher qualifications. Teachers

from Myanmar account for a large proportion, and Thai teachers are mainly engaged in Thai language teaching. MLC can determine wages or give certain allowances based on the teacher's academic qualifications, experience and so on.

In general, flexibility is a prominent feature of MLC, and providing a safe place for neglected and vulnerable children is the original intention of its establishment (Nawarat 2012). Most of the establishment of MLC relies on the support of individuals, communities and humanitarian organizations, and the legitimacy of its status remains controversial. However, it is undeniable that the development of MLC can not only improve the knowledge level of immigrant children, but also maintain the safe and stable development of Thai society.

2) Non-formal Education

For out-of-school youth and adults in Thailand, non-formal education in Thailand plays a pivotal role. Under the leadership of Dr. Kowitz Vorapipatana, the father of non-formal education in Thailand, the Adult Education Department of Thailand was established in 1938 and has now been transformed into an important non-formal education sector in 1979. The introduction of the concept of "lifelong education" not only extends the initial literacy and primary education goals to medium and professional levels, it also extends the age of eligible education to all ages.

The Office of the Non-Formal Education Commission (ONFEC) provides basic education, vocational education and skills training, and information services, three main areas' non-formal education programs and activities. Its special equivalent course provides a second opportunity for those who need to be educated to complete primary and/or secondary education (Siltragool 2007).

Various types of non-formal education in Thailand offer considerable potential learning opportunities to improve quality of life and increase employment productivity and capacity. To support lifelong learning in the non-formal education sector, government agencies have achieved Internet connectivity in rural areas,

developing a range of life skills through distance learning, establishing workplaces and community learning centers, and promoting resource sharing with formal school sectors. At the same time, system upgrades and improvements have been implemented to provide recognition of prior learning and facilitate the transfer of credits.

Currently, there are mainly seven NFE Divisions at the main office, and a large number of non-formal education institutions at regional, provincial, district levels. The government allocates a budget for the program by counting the number of learners in the program (Siltragool 2007).

Normally NFE schools only accept students over the age of 16, that is, they are primarily suitable for adults. According to the 2019 report, there are currently approximately 2,039 immigrants participating in primary and secondary education at the provincial and district level non-formal education centers (Victor and Sowirin 2019). After these students complete their studies, they will receive a certificate equivalent to primary or secondary education recognized by the Ministry of Education (Victor and Sowirin 2019). Those with these certificates are eligible to continue their education in Thai higher education institutions.

NFE is no longer as flexible and autonomous as MLC in the curriculum, rules and regulations. Educational authorities require undergraduate degrees as a minimum prerequisite for teachers in NFE schools which in order to ensure the quality of education (Stenbeck 2012). NFE is taught in Thai and is consistent with the public schools' curriculum, including Thai, English, math, science, etc. A small number of NFEs provide migrant children with language, life and vocational skills training so that they can better communicate with locals and gain more employment opportunities (Stenbeck 2012).

3) Local Thai schools

Before 2005, there were not many migrant children attending local Thai schools. After 2005, the new policy initiated by the Thai government was more flexible, paving the

way for all children, including migrant children, and making it easier to enter local schools (Vungsiriphisal 2011). For migrant children attending school, in addition to the above two options, they can receive primary to intermediate education at the Thai public schools under the Office of the Basic Education Commission (OBEC) (Victor and Sowirin 2019). After the policy was launched, although the enrollment rate of migrant children entering Thai schools was still at a relatively low level, however it was significantly higher than before. According to statistics, as of the 2017 academic year, a total of 145,379 non-Thai students were enrolled at the OBEC School (Victor and Sowirin 2019).

It is reasonable to say that Thai public schools are open to migrant children and should meet the entry requirements of migrant children. In fact, due to language, family, and economic reasons, Thai public schools are not very attractive to migrant children. The ability to communicate in Thai language seems to play a key role in whether local schools accept migrant children. However, in border areas and small schools, the way of enrolling is not only more flexible but also easier, the rate of enrollment of migrant children and Thai children still not high (Nawarat 2012).

The school uses standard Thai courses and books in accordance with the regulations of the Ministry of Education (Chantavanich, Vungsiriphisal, and Laodumrongchai 2007). Following mainstream education is a school-running indicator. Of course, in some schools, national languages are included in the curriculum, but it is not a recognized compulsory course.

3.4 Education challenges for migrant children

There is no doubt that Thailand's education policy protects immigrant children from outside exploitation during childhood and increases their literacy rate. Many migrant children are direct beneficiaries of Thailand's education policy, but migrant children, including their parents, face different problems in accepting different types of education (Vungsiriphisal 2011).

First of all, from the geographical environment of the two countries, border control does not prevent children and their parents from entering Thailand from neighboring countries. Displaced people from Myanmar have long been seen as a threat to Thailand's security and, for security reasons, need to provide some form of education for these children. This requires an improvement in the country's original educational mechanisms. In this way, it will increase the burden on education budget and welfare in Thailand. At the same time, the increasing number of immigrant children is considered to occupy the educational resources of Thai children, leading to dissatisfaction among some local communities (Vungsiriphisal 2011). Although the Thai government is now consciously protecting these migrant children from exploitation and discrimination, educating these children requires consideration and balance of local interests.

Secondly, the registration of MLC is only based on national security considerations. Alternative education models such as MLC have not been incorporated into the Thai education system. Most of the education courses offered by MLC are not recognized by the Thai or Myanmar government. Although the Ministry of Education of Myanmar has been actively cooperating with Thailand to support some MLCs in Thailand and to carry out non-formal primary education (NFPE) courses to help some migrant children return to Myanmar to study in the future and obtain a certificate issued by the Ministry of Education of Myanmar. In practice, the documents required by the Myanmar schools vary widely and are not easy for migrant children who are interested in going back to study (Victor and Sowirin 2019). In addition, although these MLCs provide the children with some training, these immigration schools are seen as a risk to Thailand's national security. For example, in March 2006, five immigrant schools in the Phop Phra district of Tak Province were closed (Lee 2014) because the local government did not know what the schools taught and therefore might constitute a national security risk for Thailand.

Again, in formal Thai schools, many Thai parents have expressed opposition to immigrant children studying at the same school as their children. According to a UNICEF survey, most Thai parents believe that immigrant children should participate in MLC rather than Thai government schools. Only about 33% of Thai parents agree that “immigrant children have the same rights as Thai children” (Victor and Sowirin 2019).

Finally, for immigrant parents, although tuition fees are free, other education costs are unaffordable for them, such as school uniforms, counseling books, and stationery. It should be noted that although the state stipulates that every student has the right to attend school, not all schools accept migrant children, especially in urban areas, so these migrant children are forced to choose schools far away from home to study which requires the parents to pay extra transportation fee for them. In addition, in some cases, children must stay in the dormitory during their studies, which will put more economic pressure on migrant parents (Victor and Sowirin 2019). As a result, many of the children chose to drop out after primary school; some entered the labor market after completing middle and high school studies; others also followed their parents move to other areas or returned to their own countries.

Except for the challenges mentioned above, the current expansion of industrial and service industries is the development direction of most ASEAN countries. The labor-intensive production sector tends to shift to countries with low wages and excess labor such as Cambodia, Laos, Myanmar and Vietnam. Many ASEAN countries, including Thailand, face labor shortages. The labor here does not refer to cheap labor, but to knowledge-based talent with professional skills. Migrant children and displaced children have been included in the Second National Child and Youth Development Plan, 2017-2021. Thailand's goals and expectations for these children determine the future of an educational strategy for migrant children. All of these challenges should be determined by Thai education policy makers and educators (Vungsiriphisal 2011).

Chapter 4 Findings

The first part of this chapter focuses on the two objectives of study and the second part focuses on answering the research question.

4.1 Educational Opportunities for Migrant Children

In this field work, I interviewed Burman migrant children from three MLCs and four Thai schools, their parents, teachers, relevant staff of a school. I also went to Samut Sakhon Provincial Office of the Non-Formal and Informal Education and interviewed the director and staffs.

Each of the four Thai schools has a certain number of migrant students. The three migrant learning centers are taught every Monday to Friday and are supported by the Catholic Centre Which is considered a mission in social work: love for friends, underprivileged people, marginalized people and displaced people. Provide humanitarian assistance to organize or promote non-formal education for children and adolescents who are uneducated and unable to receive equal education. These learning centers have courses both inside and outside the education system. In addition, these centers are concerned about the health of children, encouraging children to be self-reliant, promoting human dignity, reducing poverty and promoting social and cultural interactions for peaceful coexistence. As of 2018, the three schools add up to a total of approximately 450 students and they are all children from Myanmar.

In the course of the interview, the author found that, in theory, the right of Burman migrant children to enter school is indeed guaranteed. Going to school is not an unreachable thing. However, in real life, whether these children can successfully enter school and whether they can receive higher education does not depend on the policy makers and implementers. Opportunity to education is also affected by the following factors.

1) Thai Language Proficiency

As a communication tool, language not only serves as a bridge between teachers and students in the process of teaching, but also masters the language of the host country and helps to improve the understanding of knowledge.

There is no doubt that in most ordinary Thai schools, Thai is the only language of instruction. Children born in Myanmar, who have just arrived in Thailand from Myanmar or who have not come to Thailand for a long time, basically do not speak Thai or know very little about Thai. When these children try to enter the Thai school, even if the school accepts them, language problems may often interfere with their achievements in school.

“My mother wants to send me to a Thai school, but I don't want to go. Because my math is not good, if the teacher teaches math lessons in Thai, I may not understand it. Thai is too difficult.”

-----13 years old MLC Student

“One of the reasons why most immigrant parents don't consider sending their children to Thai schools is that parents and children don't speak Thai. They think the children don't understand what the teacher's class is about.”

-----NFE Staff

For children born and raised in Thailand, they can speak Thai, even like their mother tongue. They said that there is no problem in understanding what the teacher is teaching. The children who study at the Thai school are full of confidence in their Thai language. School staffs also confirmed that the Burman children in their school did not have the difficulty of Thai language.

“I work in the school cafeteria. These Burmese children basically speak Thai in school. Because most of the students are still Thai.”

-----Staff of Thai school

“I am a teacher from Myanmar. My main responsibility in school is to take care of the kindergarten students and count as a childcare worker. The Thai language of these children is very good, much better than me. Most of the time I have to let them translate for me.”

-----Teacher of Thai school

Compared to children who are educated in Thai schools, the children in the MLCs, only older children, such as 15 years old, also mostly born and raised in Thailand are proficient in Thai.

“I was born in Thailand, I am used to speaking Thai, because I have spoken Thai with people around me since I was very young. I am mainly here to study Burmese.”

-----15 years old MLC Student

The rest of the children's Thai language ability is not strong. During the interview, although the questions are very simple, such as asking for age, they do not understand the questions I asked and need for translation.

When these children graduate from the sixth grade of primary school, if they want to enter the next stage of study, choosing the suitable school is an inescapable problem. In the interview, more than 80% of the children hope they could go to study in non-formal education schools.

“I am going to graduate next semester. After graduation, I am going to take a non-formal school. I hope I can get it.”

-----15 years old MLC Student

“I want to go to a non-formal school, but I am less than 16 years old. I should stay at home for a while and then think about what I want to do.”

-----14 years old MLC Student

However, entering a non-formal school, in addition to the age requirements, excellent Thai language proficiency is indispensable.

“Our institution is mainly set up for local Thais who have not attended school or want to improve their academic qualifications. The purpose is to improve the literacy ability of Thai people. If they are foreigners, such as these immigrant children, they are eligible to register and will only be accepted if the Thai language is good. We have related Thai tests.”

-----Headmaster of NFE

“My main jurisdiction is not here, but in the area which I take responsibility, I have not met children from Myanmar. Our teachers are all Thai, and they use Thai in class. If Thai is not good, they should not pass the entrance test.”

-----Staff of NFE

“I really want him to go to school, but he doesn't speak Thai very well. He is too old to go back to study in Myanmar and our family is now in Thailand. It is impossible for him to go back alone. After he graduated, I will ask him to go to work in the factory I can't do anything about it.”

-----Mother of MLC Student

In addition, the Thai language ability of parents has also played a role in the choice of admission for their children. The interview found that most of the parents of the children who attended the migration learning center did not understand Thai. On the contrary, the parents of children studying in Thai schools can understand and communicate, and even some parents have a very high level of Thai.

“I can't speak Thai. If there is anything I need to say in Thai, I will let others help translate. I don't want my child to go to Thai school because I don't know how to communicate with the teacher.”

----- Mother of MLC Student

It should be pointed out here that whether it is a Thai school or MLC, although the children are over 12 years old, they are still in the sixth grade of primary school. The main reasons for this phenomenon include not speaking Thai at first and learning experiences in Myanmar are not recognized by Thailand.



*Figure 6 Students of MLC took Thai language proficiency test organized by NFE
(Source: Facebook of MLC)*

2) Legal Documents

As mentioned earlier, the 2005 resolution has shown that any child has the right to be educated and to enter a Thai school, regardless of whether he or she has a legal status. However, in real life, especially Burmese children enrolled in public schools are required to provide legal documents. If the student is unable to provide a full proof of identity, some schools will not accept migrant children at all, and some even if they accept them, the school can only guarantee that they complete the sixth grade of primary school.

“We do not participate in the specific document preparation process, which is mainly handled by the school where the student is located. Usually, our institution will check the relevant information provided by the students before entering the school.”

----- Headmaster of NFE

“Usually we need a birth certificate, a family registration card and parents who have legal status as much as possible. In some cases, students who are missing one or two documents can still enroll. If

parents do not have a valid work permit, their enrollment may be affected.”

----- Staff of NFE

Migrant children who studying in Thai school said that the document is a major problem for migrant children and parents. They have already held legal status when they entered school.

“I have been studying at a Thai school since the beginning of kindergarten. I am holding a ten-year card.”

-----12 years old student of Thai school

“I have a card for ten years, but it is almost overdue. My parents also have cards, so there should be no problem when changing cards.”

----- 13 years old student of Thai school

Sometimes, if the relationship between the migrant parents and the employer is relatively good, the employer will assist them with the household registration certificate, so that their children can easily enter the local school. This situation often only exists between long-term employment, of course, if it is a short-term labor or the relationship between employee and employer is not harmonious, needless to say help, even signing is difficult.

“My daughter was born in Thailand. I didn't follow the vacation time before, and I extended my vacation without permission. The boss is very dissatisfied. He doesn't sign my form. I can't get a birth certificate for my child.”

----- Mother of MLC Student

For children attending the MLCs, they do not need to provide any legal documents, as long as their parents agree, it is ok to register for the school. However, like some public schools, the MLCs also only provides primary school education.

“Children who go to school here can be said to have basically no legal documents. If parents want them to come to school, just register.”

----- Teacher of MLC

“I am now in sixth grade. When I graduate, I don't think I can go to school any more. To be honest, I don't have an ID card.”

----- 14 years old student of MLC

“The most feared thing in Thailand is to be caught by the police.”

----- 9 years old student of MLC

“Living in Thailand, except for the police, I think everything else is fine.”

----- 11 years old student of MLC

In order to prevent students from falling into a dilemma, and to ensure that children can learn with peace of mind. The MLC has issued student cards for their students. This student card can only indicate that the child is studying at the center, but it does not have legal effect. It is a temporary identity card that the school has customized for these children.

“Every student has this student ID. If they are caught, the police will inform the school. After confirming that he or she is our student, the police will release he or she. At the beginning, the police will bring them back to the police station. Now everyone knows that we provide

such a card to our children in the center, so generally they will not have trouble if they don't commit crimes.”

----- Headmaster of MLC

“The children here have almost no legal status, so they care about this student card. With this card they will not be caught by the police.”

----- Staff of MLC

“I used to be afraid of the police. I am not so scared now because I have a student card.”

-----13 years old student of MLC

Overall, the 2005 resolution did improve the enrolment of migrant children and their entry opportunities. However, legal document is a complicated issue. The requirements of some public schools for documents and the fear of being arrested and harassed by the police due to lack of documents have affected the admission opportunities of migrant children to some extent.

3) Financial support

The operating funds of Thai schools come from the national budget. The 2005 resolution stated that migrant children, regardless of their status, should be entitled to the rights of Thai students, including government-provided funds. The government's education budget for migrant students should be the same as for Thai students.

“We are practicing compulsory education. Students are free to go to school and the funds are from the state. The exact amount will depend on the number of students.”

----- Staff of NFE

If a migrant student is unable to provide a legal identity document, the school cannot receive a budget from the government. This has led to the schools have to use the budget of Thai students to cover these additional costs. In the state that the school is unwilling to bear, the cost will be passed on to the migrant parents.

“Myanmar parents are sometimes reluctant to send their children to our schools because they are not eligible for government budgets without government documents. This may put economic pressure on them.”

----- *Teacher of MLC*

“When we went to the home of the students, we found that some of the children's homes were really poor and very poor, and they were not able to pay extra fees.”

----- *Teacher of MLC*

“I am very supportive if I don't spend money on school. But if he wants to spend money in high school in the future, then it will not be. No money.”

----- *Mother of MLC Student*

“I really want to send my daughter to study in a Thai school, but the school is far away from where we live. If she goes to school there, I have to pay 500 Baht per month for the transportation fee. This is still very expensive compared to the rent of our family. This room is about 2,000 Baht per month includes utilities.”

----- *Mother of MLC Student*

Compared with public schools, due to its particularity, the MLC relies heavily on external contributions, such as international organizations and non-governmental

organizations. The MLC does not require students to wear uniform, which can be prepared according to the family's situation. The center also provides books, stationery, etc. for poor students. All students also have free access to lunch, milk and snacks. The school also provides a free pick-up service every day during school time.

“Our learning center provides pick-up and drop-off service for the children. According to the student's home address, they are picked up in the morning and sent back in the afternoon. These are free. Although our car is not good any more, as long as it can be used, we will insist on picking up.”

----- Teacher & Driver of MLC

“In addition to teaching here, I still have to be a driver. I have to get up at four o'clock every morning and take the children to school. I will finish at 7 o'clock in the morning. Then, when classes were over, I have to send them back together and go home every day at around 8pm.”

----- Teacher of MLC

“The school is very good, tuition, meals, and fares do not need to be paid by us, so I can save some money and go back to Myanmar to build a house in the future.”

----- Father of MLC Student

At the same time, it was found in the interview that the economic situation of the family is often related to child labor and the desire to abandon school. Children must help adults to support their families, and money has long replaced the desire for knowledge.

“After I left school, sometimes I will go to work as a temporary worker at night to help people peel the shrimps. I can probably earn about 150 baht. The money I earned was given to my mother.”

-----15 years old student of MLC

“I want to go to work in Bangkok this holiday. My friend is there. I heard that it is not bad. I can earn 14,000 Baht a month, which is more than my parents. I don't want to go to school, I want to go to work.”

-----15 years old student of MLC

4) Lack of Information about schools

In the interview, I found that the social circle of parents is very small. Every day, except for going to work, they are at home, have almost no Thai friends. Contact with the school and the teacher is only a small number of activities held by the school, such as Mother's Day and Father's Day. Therefore, their access to enrollment information mainly comes from neighbors, friends and colleagues.

“I saw the child next door going to school, so I asked her mother.”

-----Mother of MLC Student

“It was my mother's friend who introduced me to school here because her daughter is here too.”

-----12 years old student of MLC

For parents of migrant children, they lack the opportunities and abilities to communicate with the outside world. Basically, most of the parents go to work between 8 am and 8.30 am and go back between 5 pm to 6 pm. Some will choose to work overtime, in order to earn more wages. Some parents, especially fathers, choose

to go to work at night and sleep at home during the day. These have led to their living environment limited to home and work. More importantly, some don't speak Thai at all.

“I work in the factory and I work on the assembly line all day, barely talking.”

-----Mother of MLC Student

“I think the happiest thing in Thailand is to work overtime because the boss gives more money.”

-----Mother of Thai school student

“I only work at night. I get off work at 5 or 6 in the morning. I will go home to sleep after work. I will be ready to go out to work after dinner.”

-----Father of Thai school student

Once again, they don't know what regulations Thailand has for migrant children going to school, don't know what documents they need, and don't know which schools accept migrant children. In fact, when I chatted with local Thais, I found that they didn't really know also. Even some motorcycle drivers didn't know where the MLC located.

“I don't know that the NFE has the requirement of Thai language. My son won't speak Thai. He should have no chance.”

-----Mother of MLC Student

“I have never heard of a migrant education center before, or else I will send my daughter to study there, so she can learn Burmese.”

-----Father of Thai school student

In addition, the staff of the Education Office also mentioned the lack of information between the school and immigrant parents.

“We generally do not have direct contact with parents or students. Our students are basically enrolled by their school or institution. The specific teaching is also arranged by them.”

----- *Headmaster of NFE*

In this case, NGOs often play a key role. They help the children to contact the new school and handle some related procedures and materials. In the interview, I found that many students were sent to study by an organization called “Raks Thai Learning Centers”. Raks Thai Learning Centers is a migrant children's learning center established by the Raks Thai Foundation, a non-profit organization that promotes the education of migrant children.

“I used to study at ‘Raks Thai Learning Centers’. Later, when the school was closed, the teacher introduced me to here.”

----- *9 years old student of MLC*

“I studied at ‘Raks Thai’ for a while, then my parents moved, and the teacher recommended me to come here, closer to the new home.”

----- *10 years old student of Thai School*

Remarks

Through the above discussion, we can say that whether it is the policy of Thailand, the mainstream education system in Thailand or the MLC and NFE provides these children with the opportunity to go to school. However, these opportunities are subject to material and social constraints when entering school in reality.

4.2 Influence of education on Burman migrant children's identity

Education is often enjoyed as a necessary tool for a social participant. Individual and collective interests can be obtained through education and providing identity is the first (Akbar 1989). It is a necessary process for a person to enter society. The most influential part of child development is the education of the two social environments of school and family. As a formal education provider of society, the school is an important social and cultural place where our experience and identity are invented and memorized (Oakes et al. 2015). In the absence of formal education, the family environment is particularly critical to the creation of children's identity. Parents are the best teachers of their children. Parents' words and deeds and every move affect their growth.

4.2.1 Language

The Burman have their own language, both spoken and written, called Burmese which is the official language of Myanmar that we usually know. The earliest extant Burmese writings date back to the mid-11th century. During British rule, the rulers compiled the Burmese dictionary that the Burmese text and pronunciation have been standardized to some extent. At present, there are 33 consonants in Burmese, and they are combined with vowels to form words with a total of four tones (Wheatley 1987). Although there are differences in pronunciation due to geographical reasons, the overall difference is not large. The Burman literature is the foundation of Myanmar literature and the mainstream of the development of Myanmar literature. It has a great influence on the literary development of other ethnic groups.

As a unique communication tool for human beings, language is the carrier of culture. Without language as the foundation, the cultural connotation of a civilization cannot be integrated into one's spiritual world. Language itself is also a status symbol. From the diachronic development of language, this language identity is constructed and reconstructed in a specific context. Through language, we can understand, touch and

integrate into the culture, history, society and literature of a nation or group and become a part of it. At a more macro level, language is a symbol of the state. The cultural symbols and social thoughts also reflect the identity and characteristics of a nation-state. The recognition of a language is more or less a recognition of culture. Therefore, in this sense, language and culture are equivalent. If language cannot carry the corresponding culture, it will inevitably lead to the loss of learner identity. That is to say, language, in the formation and expression of identity, has always played an important role (Warschauer 2000).

Studies in anthropology and sociolinguistics show that language cognition is the foundation of the construction of national cultural identity. Language represents the values of a nation's history, beliefs, culture and language users. Language and cultural identity are mutually constructed (Trofimovich and Turuševa 2015). Language carries the history of a nation and also expresses the reality of a nation. It can shape a nation and is reflected in a nation. Each language expresses the personality characteristics of language users. Language and national consciousness are indispensable (Demont-Heinrich 2005). At the same time, the individual's national identity consciousness is part of the national state consciousness. Since human understanding and thinking are socialized, as the individual language system matures, the ideological system tends to mature, and the judgment of things is based on cognitive analysis and becomes an unconscious habit. The process of naturally acquiring language in a certain environment is also the identification and absorption of cultural traditions and values which help forming an individual's outlook on life, personal values and worldview. For individuals, the formation of national identity is to find a sense of belonging in the subjective experience of these factors, to integrate self-emotional understanding, to determine that they are part of a certain group.

In daily communication, the vocabulary we encounter and the way we use vocabulary are diverse. The language style of communication has become a social practice. Language enables people to talk, communicate, debate and discuss, learn and

remember each other. We choose language or language variants to present ourselves in front of others with appropriate identity. Therefore, this language choice or language itself is part of identity construction and a symbol of national identity (Wodak 2012). The language choice not only reflects the identity of the language user, but also further promotes and strengthens this identity. Language choices are often related to the language attitude of language users. The language attitude of language users is mainly influenced by the social environment.

From a school perspective, we can use the role of school education as the dominant factor affecting human development, because schools are social institutions with planned, organized, and systematic education for individuals. In Thailand, there is no doubt that the language used by Thai schools in the teaching process is Thai. As mentioned earlier, the Thai language level of Burman children studying in Thai schools is almost close to the native language level. In the interview, the author found that some children, especially those born in Thailand, have limited expression and vocabulary in Burmese because they have not received formal Burmese training. Some of them cannot even tell a complete sentence in Burmese. In daily life, they use Burmese in a lesser frequency, they use Thai in most of their daily lives. Of course, the frequency of use of Burmese is further reduced when parents can speak Thai.

“My father speaks Thai, he speaks better than me, so I usually speak Thai with my father.”

-----14 years old student of Thai School

“I can understand people talking Burmese, but I don't know how to answer, I don't know how to use Burmese.”

-----12 years old student of Thai School

“I used to go to elementary school in Myanmar. Now, apart from using Burmese with my family, I basically use Thai.”

----- 15 years old student Thai School

“Our courses are developed in accordance with national regulations. We have not provided them with special Burmese training. These children have the same courses as ordinary Thai children.”

----- Staff of NFE

In contrast, the courses at the MLCs are basically taught in Burmese, and the books used are also from Myanmar. The teachers are basically all Burmese. Their Thai level is not high, and some do not even speak Thai. They also use Burmese in their usual teaching and communication.

“Our textbooks come from Myanmar and the courses are set up in accordance with the requirements of the Ministry of Education of Myanmar. The purpose is that if these children return to Myanmar in the future, they can be recognized by the state.”

----- Headmaster of MLC

“I am with the students every day at school. They speak Burmese. We communicate in Burmese. I don't speak Thai myself.”

----- Teacher of MLC

Whether these children are born in Thailand or Myanmar, almost all of the students have weak Thai proficiency except for some older students.

“Our students here except the children of Class A, most of them will not speak Thai. Sometimes I need children in Class A to help translate.”

----- Staff of MLC

In the interview, they said they were confident in Burmese. At the same time, many students said that they did not like Thai classes.

“I have no problem in listening, speaking, reading and writing in Burmese. If I can learn Thai well, I hope to become a translator in the future.”

-----11 years old student of MLC

“My favorite course is Burmese because it's easy. The less favorite course I have is Thai, because I can't remember the letters.”

----- 13 years old student of MLC

“No one in my family speaks Thai, and I don't like Thai classes because I don't understand.”

----- 9 years old student of MLC

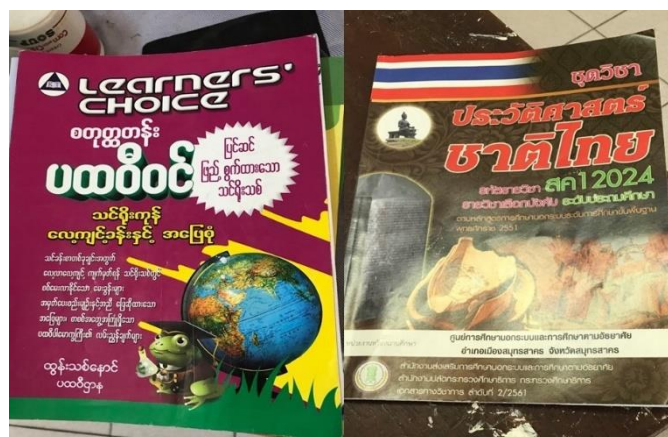


Figure 7 MLC Student's textbook

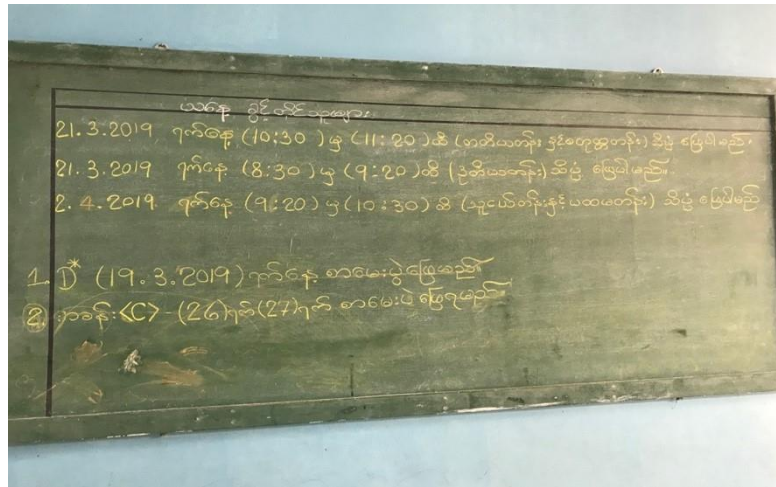


Figure 8 Burmese language on MLC's blackboard

The family is the cell of society and affects the initial social factors of personal development. Parents, as children's language enlighteners, is the child's first teacher, and the influence of parents on children is the most direct. Parents' attitude towards language affects children's language choice and language identity to a certain extent. Found in interviews that parents of two different kinds of schools' students have a completely different attitude towards Burmese and Thai language. All parents who send their children to Thai schools, whether their children are born in Thailand or Myanmar, their attitude towards Thai are very positive.

“I have been in Thailand for many years, and my child has never been to Myanmar. I hope she will stay in Thailand in the future, so Thai is still very important.”

-----Mother of Thai School student

“At present, our family lives in Thailand. Thai is very important to us. In the future, it will help him find a good job and life will be easier.”

-----Father of Thai school student

Although these parents have different ages, years of coming to Thailand, education levels, etc., they all want their children to stay in Thailand. Compared to Thai, they have less attitude towards Burmese.

“He studied in Myanmar for a few years when he was a child, and he has some Burmese language. However, in recent years, it has been used less in Thailand. He cannot read and write anymore. I am also busy with my work. I don't have time to teach him. We usually talk about two languages at home. It is more important to speak Thai in Thailand. If we want to go back to Myanmar in the future, let him start learning Burmese again.”

----- Mother of Thai school student

“If you want me to sort, I think the first thing is Thai, the second is English, and the third is Burmese.”

----- Mother of Thai school student

“I think it does not matter if he doesn't speak Burmese. I won't force him to study.”

----- Mother of Thai school student

In addition, they also said that English is an international language, and it is very necessary to learn English well.

“Now everyone is talking about internationalization. If you speak English, you will have more opportunities to work. You may not be in Thailand in the future, maybe you can go to Singapore, Japan, South Korea.”

----- Father of Thai school student

“English is an international language that can be used wherever you go. There are so many foreigners coming to Myanmar, maybe she can be a tour guide.”

-----Mother of Thai school student

Parents of MLCs have a bit negative attitude towards Thai, and the main reason for this phenomenon is their uncertainty about future life and the idea of returning to Myanmar.

“I plan to return to Myanmar in a few years. I don't expect to come back to Thailand in the future. So now she doesn't have to learn Thai, it is more important to learn Burmese.”

-----Father of MLC Student

“Now the visa is difficult to handle every year, I don't know when I can't get a visa. We can't live in Thailand forever. I still hope that our family can go back to live in Myanmar. After all, that is our home, so I hope my children only learn Burmese.”

-----Father of MLC Student

“How do I say that she is hard to be part of Thailand anyway. Her sister is now in school in Myanmar. When she graduates, I am also ready to send her back to school. The school has already contacted.”

-----Mother of MLC Student

These migrant parents interviewed expressed doubts about their life in Thailand. For them, living in Thailand is only temporary. They believe that the main purpose of letting children go to the MLCs is to learn Burmese. In this way, when they go back, their children do not need to adapt to the Burmese society again.

Remarks

In general, the educational environment of the school and the attitude of the parents determine the language preference of the children to a certain extent. The formulation of national language policies is always closely related to the special history and language status of different regions. As an executor of national policies, Thai schools pay attention to the education of migrant children's localization. By enforcing the language choices of language users, it affects their identity (Gentil and Séror 2014) and increases their sense of belonging to Thailand.

Most children in Thai schools have lost their ability to read and write in Burmese. The reduced frequency of use also leads to a significant reduction in vocabulary. However, the study and use of Thai language has made these children more involved in Thai society, which is why they said they belonged to Thai society in the interview. In comparison, Migrant Learning Center better retains their native language skills.

If parents in the family have a negative attitude towards their ancestral language, they do not encourage their children to learn their ancestral language while growing up and reduce the use of ancestral language among family members. Children will rarely have the identity of their own ethnic ancestral language identity (Shin2010). The parents of Thai school students have the idea of letting their children settle in Thailand, so they encourage their children to be proficient in Thai, and at the same time, they are actively learning and using Thai. They no longer regard Burmese as a necessary ability. They expect children to break through the boundaries between geography and nationality, which leads to the weakening or blurring of children's national cultural identity.

4.2.2 Religion

Myanmar is located at the intersection of the two world civilizations of India and China. It is one of the most developed countries in Buddhism. Religion is the essence of its culture. Religious culture has a dominant position in its political life and

government decision-making, and affects the relationship between government and society, social groups and countries, and changes in regional political patterns. More than 80% of Myanmar's total population believes in Buddhism.

Buddhism is deeply rooted in Burmese culture and is associated with the Burmese national identity. The notion that “to be Burman is to be Buddhist” is deeply rooted (Steinberg 2013). Theravada Buddhism which has an absolute dominant position in the Burman faith, the Buddhist 'Triple Gem', which are Buddha, Dharma and the Sangha, provides a daily life-based structure that provides stability sense in Burmese society. Buddhist activities run through the whole life of the Burman people, and worshipping Buddha is a habit in the daily life of Burman people. Most villages have a monastery, usually built and maintained by villagers. The Burmese think that the pagoda is the embodiment of the Buddha, and the construction of the pagoda can accumulate the greatest merit. In Myanmar, from ancient times to today, the construction of pagoda is considered to be above all else. The monastery is the center of cultural life and the monks are very respected by the common people. The Burman people celebrate Buddhist festivals extensively (Steinberg 2013).

Religion is obviously a cultural identity earlier than the nation. Religion is the earliest cultural form of mankind. The initial understanding of nature and society by human beings is contained in the form of primitive religion. Human beings are social animals. People are different from other animals in that they are self-conscious. As a person, in the face of the vast society, you need to find an identity in order to gain a sense of belonging. The historical reasons for long-term residence often make them have the same religious beliefs and frequent exchanges between religious people, so they can easily reach an ideological consensus. In the ideology of many ethnic groups, religion is the foundation of their national culture and the support of the spiritual world, and its importance even exceeds the national consciousness. Applying the concept of identity to religious issues, then religious identity is the self-identification of people with the

same faith and the distinction between people with other beliefs. In the history of the development of the human race, religious identity often becomes the identity of the nation and produces a role in increasing national cohesion. There is a complex relationship between religious identity and national identity, which cannot be generalized. Although religion is not necessarily the core element of every nation, it is undoubtedly the most sensitive part of the nationality. In the long-term common religious life, religious believers have acquired various mysterious religious feelings that are not available to the outsiders. This is also difficult for the outsiders to understand. If this religious sentiment is intertwined with national sentiment, it will further strengthen its irrational impulse because of the attribute of the "fate community" that the nation itself has. Generally speaking, the more in a relatively simple and closed environment, the more the religious identity helps to strengthen the national identity.

The right to religious education is an important part of citizens' religious freedom. Children do not have the ability to stand on their own feet in the early stages of life, lack mature judgment, and need the support of the other in material and spiritual terms. By educating children, it is possible to spread religious beliefs, meanings and values, to develop the spiritual character and mission of the next generation, to establish religious historical traditions and to enable religion to be transmitted between generations (Lynch 2008a). These are crucial to the development and survival of any religion.

Religious education is the right of children, and family religion education is very different from the nature of school religious education. Parents may not be able to carry out religious education in terms of knowledge and religious attainments. Many religious teachings, rituals and spiritual cultivation can only be carried out effectively in large-scale formal places or religious fellowships such as schools.

The students of the Thai school interviewed by the author are all from the temple schools. The school is near the temple and the Buddhist atmosphere is very strong.

“The students from Myanmar are Buddhists. We often go to the temple next to the school to worship Buddha and ask the Buddha to bless.”

-----13 years old student of Thai school

“I still go to the activities in the temple because it is not far from the school.”

-----15 years old student of Thai school

The MLCs are supported by the Archdiocese of Bangkok to provide humanitarian assistance to migrants. The teachers and staffs of the school are basically Catholic. Catholic prayers are a compulsory subject for students, and sculptures and portraits of the gods are everywhere.

“I have never been in contact with Christianity or went to church when I was in Myanmar. I feel that there is a big gap with Buddhism. I am not very used to it.”

-----13 years old student of MLC

“At the beginning, I felt that some activities and ceremonies of the Catholic Church were very fresh and strange, I became accustomed to it as time went on.”

-----14 years old student of MLC

In the interview, the author found that the teachers here are basically Christian. The teachers are emphasised, they don't ask students to change their beliefs.

“The children here are all Buddhism, and our teachers have their own beliefs. We have not tried to change the children's beliefs.”

----- Teacher of MLC

“We are here to work according to the priest's appointment. Teaching is our mission. We are here to help these poor children regardless of their beliefs.”

----- Teacher of MLC

Despite this, there are still individual children who have a certain influence in interviews with children.

“I will pray both in Buddhism and Catholicism before going to bed.”

-----11 years old student of MLC

“We don't call teachers, we call them sisters and we often have to pray, so I basically remember the scriptures.”

----- 15 years old student of MLC



Figure 9 MLC's Madonna sculpture

From a family perspective, the parents of these children have experience living or studying in Myanmar. They are firmly committed to their beliefs is very important for the Burman people. In the interview, it was found that the Buddha statues were enshrined in the homes of these Burman children, and their parents insisted that worshipping Buddha and praying is part of their lives. Parents, especially mothers, prefer to go to the temple and go with their children.

“Buddhism is the religion of the Burmese. I also don't know why it is very important. I have been following adults in the temple since I was a child. I believe in karma.”

----- Father of MLC Student

“It is a habit to worship Buddha. I will worship Buddha before I go out. There are many temples nearby, and when we have time, our family will go together.”

-----Father of Thai school student

“Her father and brother are fishermen. It takes about a week to go to the sea every time. You also know that fishing is a dangerous job, so I am worried about them. I don't work, I take care of my children at home and do housework. I worship Buddha at home every day and pray that they will return safely. Sometimes I will take her to the temple together. I hope that our family can be safe.”

-----Mother of MLC Student

There are some parents said there is do not have too much changes for them since they came to Thailand, the only difference is that the frequency of visits to the temple is significant reduced compared to when living in Myanmar. The main reason for this is that the work is busy, but this does not mean a reduction in enthusiasm.

“When I was in Myanmar, our village had temples, and I often went there. Now in Thailand, I have to go to work from Monday to Friday, and sometimes I have to work overtime. I usually rest at home on weekends and rarely go out. However, if the temple organizes any activities, I will still go. Of course, two or three times a year.”

-----Mother of MLC Student

“I was a farmer before coming to Thailand. There are temples in the village, and we often go there to worship Buddha and travel with friends or family. At that time, I was poor, so I came to work in Thailand. I am now working in a seafood processing factory. I have not

been to a temple since the New Year. But if there is a chance, I will still go.”

-----Father of Thai school student

A small number of parents have expressed their loyalty to their aboriginal beliefs and have never been to a Thai temple.

“I used to go to temple when I was in Myanmar and I have never been to temples in Thailand. The temple here is not the same as ours. When I have the opportunity to return to Myanmar, I will go again.”

-----Mother of MLC Student

There are several parents have revealed that although they have not returned to Myanmar for many years, they are prepared to take their sons back within one or two years to host the Buddhist monk ordination ceremony for them. This ceremony is called “Shin Pyu” in Burmese which is integral and essential ceremony for a Buddhist Burman male and his family. For the Burman people, they believe that being a novice and spending a certain period in the monastery can not only improve his and his parents' Merit to gain Nirvana, but also a chance to repay their parents, which is a blessing to both himself and his parents or family. Interviewed parents who believe that such an important ritual should be held in temples of Myanmar.

“We plan to return to Myanmar next year to hold a ceremony for him. Although I have not returned to it for many years, I still have to go back for this ceremony. This is very important for each of our families with sons.”

-----Father of Thai school student

“Although males can still be a monk in Thailand, I still prefer in Myanmar. We have many relatives and friends in Myanmar. The more people there are, the more blessings there are.”

-----Mother of MLC Student

In the interview, someone mentioned a temple called Wat Noi Nang Hong. It is understood that in the past this temple was completely a Thai-style temple. Later, with the influx of Burmese labors into Samut Sakhon Province, more and more Burmese people lived near the temple. In order to meet the religious needs of the Burmese, Burman and other Burmese groups has collectively donated the temple after the permission of the temple administrators. Some of the buildings are presented in the traditional Burmese style as much as possible to strengthen the religious consciousness of the Burmese. At present, in the eyes of some Burmese people, Wat Noi Nang Hong is an important network for promoting the religious or traditional activities of Burmese migrants in Samut Sakhon Province (Ussawarakha 2015).

“This temple is not a Burmese temple as it is said. It is completely a Thai temple. The pagoda you saw was indeed built by the Burmese, because there are many Burmese people living nearby so someone asked us to give up some land to build the pagoda which was later built with our consent. There are monks from Myanmar. Usually, Burmese workers are looking for monks from Myanmar. We generally don't participate, so there are many things that are not well understood. Every year, there are Buddhist monks in Myanmar who talk about Buddhist scriptures. At that time, there were more people. In our temple monastic ceremony, there are almost no children from Myanmar.”

-----Monk of Wat Noi Nang Hong

“This pagoda and the surrounding Buddha statues have been built for about 15 years. There are often Burmese people coming to worship Buddha. Sometimes they will buy some flowers to worship. They have their own way of worshipping Buddha. I don't know much because I can't communicate with them.”

-----Staff of temple



Figure 10 Burmese style in Wat Noi Nang Hong

Relative to the piety of parents, the author found that some children, especially boys, generally do not take the initiative to go to the temple. Usually they go with their parents, and at this point they compromise with their parents.

“I don't really like to go to the temple. Only my mother told me to go, I will be with her.”

-----14 years old student of Thai School

Remarks

From a religious point of view, Thailand is also a Buddhist country and does not face religious conflicts for Burman people living in Thailand. The school did not deliberately incorporate religion into its teaching, but it was only subtly affecting them through daily life and the surrounding environment. Parents who migrated from Myanmar to Samut Sakhon still strongly support Buddhism and pay attention to the cultivation of their children's beliefs in their lives. Despite some differences in religious activities in these two countries, most of them still participate in Buddhist religious activities in Thailand.

In addition, the author also found a phenomenon in which there are portraits of Thai royal family members in their homes. This shows that they are aligning with the Thai people, working hard to adapt to the mainstream of Thai society. Because, as we know that for Thai people the king is not only a king, but the soul and spirit of their hearts and respecting the royal family is a culture of Thai people.

4.2.3 Other aspects

The success of migration is reflected in the mutual adaptation of migrants and host society. One of the sources of social adaptation is the difference between the culture of the outflow and the culture of the inflow. From a narrow point of view, this cultural difference is reflected in language, clothing, eating habits, values and other aspects, and the adaptation process of the migrant population caused by this difference is an important part of adaptation.

During the long production activities and life processes, the Burman gradually formed a common point in the material life of the nation. Therefore, during the interview, the author also asked about other aspects besides language and religion, in order to provide some additional information. The author found that Burman living in Thailand

have shown compromises in Thai society in many ways, at the same time, it also shows the trend of diversification.

- **Traditional Dress**

Almost every nation or the ethnic group in the world has its own costume culture and customs. The Burman is no exception and the traditional customs of Burmese costumes is a national cultural treasure that is still maintained today. Despite most countries or regions have already advocated western culture and are keen on western-style clothing, the Burmese still wears the traditional costumes passed down by their ancestors which observing the aesthetics of the costumes for thousands of years.



Figure 11 Burman Traditional Dress

(Source: Internet)

Burman costumes can be divided into different styles according to their functions. The always wearing a sarong which for women is called “Htamain”, while for men is called “longyi”. On some formal occasions, men often wear a headscarf called “Gang Baung” and a common collar jacket called “Taikpon” (Steinberg 2013). Although some people think that it does not conform to the trend of the times, it should be abolished. However, due to Myanmar's tropical monsoon climate and terroir conditions, coupled

with the ethnic sentiments of the Burman self-respect and self-love, the Burman still retains the habit of wearing it. But for the Burman who live in Thailand, this tradition seems to be being quietly changed.

According to the author's observations and interviews, most of the students in Thai schools have never worn Burmese clothing, and uniforms are standard for students. Children in the Migration Learning Center, although they do not have uniforms, most children will wear different styles of Thai uniforms to school and wearing their traditional costumes every Wednesday has become a rule of the school. However, in their daily lives, they have not taken the initiative to wear Burmese clothing.

“I just saw others wearing them. I have never worn it myself, and I don't have such a costume. No one in my family wears it.”

-----13 years old student of Thai School

“When I was in school, I wore school uniforms. I didn't wear longyi at home because it was too hot. My parents didn't wear it too. My mother didn't even know how to tie it.”

-----15 years old student of Thai School

“I think Myanmar's clothes are still very good-looking, but I don't usually wear it. I only wear it when I go to the temple.”

-----11 years old student of MLC

“Our school has regulations that we wear every Wednesday. I don't like to wear it because it is too inconvenient. If the school doesn't have regulations, I won't wear it.”

-----14 years old student of MLC

“I don't like to wear that clothes. I prefer to wear pants. It is a bit strange that a boy wears it.”

----- 12 years old student of Thai School

For parents who are not working, they still insist on wearing their traditional costumes. But those who need to go out to work will choose to wear clothing similar to Thais, most of them also wear uniforms in the case of uniforms provided at the workplace, so they are usually only worn the sarong at home and treated as home clothes. In most cases, these men and women will only wear Burmese clothing when participating in religious activities.

“I live in Thailand and I have to follow the rules of Thailand. Where work is required to wear uniforms, then I have to wear uniforms to go to work. This is the rule that I can't challenge this rule.”

-----Mother of MLC Student

“If I go out in my traditional costume, others will know that I come from Myanmar, which may cause unnecessary troubles, such as being easily questioned by the police. If I wear the same as the Thais, I will not be treated differently. You know if you can speak fluent Thai, it is even more difficult to distinguish between Thais and Burmese. After all, some Thais still discriminate against Burmese.”

-----Father of Thai School student

“Now the children basically don't wear our clothes. For them, this kind of dress is a bit old-fashioned. I don't really care about what my children wear, as long as they are decent. If they go to work in the future, I think they will have the uniforms as mine.”

-----Mother of MLC Student



Figure 12 MLC students wear Burmese costumes
(Source: Facebook of MLC)

- **Traditional Festivals**

The Burman people celebrate traditional festivals and Buddhist festivals extensively, most of which are based on the traditional Burmese calendar (Nyunt 2005). The most famous festival is Thingyan (water festival), which is similar to the Songkran Festival in Thailand. People splash water, dance, sing and perform, and hold various events. This festival marks the beginning of the Burmese New Year. Thadingyut also called lighting Festival, the second most popular festival in Myanmar. During the festival, people from all over the country lit candles to welcome the Buddha back. In addition, there are other public holidays in Myanmar (Nyunt 2005). Such as Independence Day, Full Moon Day of Kason.

When the author asked about Myanmar-related festivals, whether they were children at a Thai school or Migrant Learning Center, their responses were almost similar, that is, they did not know much about the festivals in Myanmar.

“I don't know very well what festivals are there. They are usually told by others. But I know and celebrate the Father's Day, Mother's Day and the Lantern Festival in Thailand.”

-----15 years old student of Thai School

“I only know that there is a Thingyan Festival. I don't know others. Because I don't usually celebrate at home. But I have participated in some festivals in Thailand.”

-----12 years old student of Thai School

“I was born in Myanmar, but I have not studied in Myanmar. I have no idea about Myanmar history. We basically celebrate the festival in Thailand.”

-----10 years old student of Thai school

“I am attending a festival organized by the school, or organized by the embassy, but it is usually held at the school. There is no special celebration at home, and at most, the family eats together.”

-----15 years old student of MLC

“We will celebrate some festivals at home, but they are usually prepared by parents. I am not very clear about them.”

-----13 years old student of MLC



*Figure 13 MLC students celebrate the Thingyan festival
(Source: Facebook of MLC)*

We can see that parents and schools are the leaders of festival celebrations. At the Thai school, celebrating the Thai festival, the MLCs will celebrate at the same time, but it will still be based on Thai holidays.

“I lived in the countryside in the past, and the level of education of me was not high. I learned about some Buddhist festivals. Now I celebrate the festivals that Thai people have, because we have the opportunity to take a break for the holidays.”

-----Mother of MLC student

“We basically don't celebrate our festivals in Thailand. Sometimes we go to the temple to participate in Buddhist festivals. This is Thailand, I don't think I can celebrate my own holiday and can't disturb the lives of Thai people.”

-----Mother of Thai school student



*Figure 14 Parents of MLC students participate in religious activities
(Source: Facebook of MLC)*

- **Lifecycle Events**

Marriage and family are the basic factors that constitute human society. Most Burmese people are still free to fall in love, and they usually find their own marriage partners. Sometimes, the arrangement of marriage can be arranged by others, such as parents

and marriage agencies (Jones 2009). When the parents' consent is obtained, a traditional wedding is usually held, which includes many ceremonies and customs, and the wedding expenses are usually borne by the groom's family. Weddings can be in the form of religion or secular. In addition to wealthy families, wedding ceremonies are relatively simple.

The parents interviewed came to Thailand after they got married in Myanmar. But for the marriage of their children, they already have some ideas.

“Love is something we can't control. No matter who is in the country, as long as she can find someone who can take care of her. But in my heart, I still hope she can find a Burmese, so that life is easier.”

-----Father of Thai School student

“Our family is still very poor, and we still have no ability to give a wedding to our eldest son. In the next year, I should find someone to help me find a girl in my hometown, because the child is too old to marry.”

-----Mother of MLC student

“I don't have any opinions about who she is married to, as long as she likes it. But if I choose between Thai and Burman, I hope to be Burman. We can go back to Myanmar together in the future.”

-----Mother of Thai School student

Although most of the children are not old enough to get married yet, when asked about the future, especially the older children express their ideas about the ideal marriage.

“I don't want to go back to Myanmar. I want to find a Thai person to marry, so I should have the opportunity to acquire Thai citizenship, at

least I could stay in Thailand for a long time. I also hope that my child can become a Thai."

----- 14 years old student of Thai School

"I don't want to marry the Burmese. I want to marry foreigners. Thais, Chinese, and Singaporeans can. Thus, I will have the opportunity to go to other countries."

-----15 years old student of Thai School

"I haven't considered this topic yet. My parents only have one child. Although I don't want to go back to Myanmar, I think the opinions of my parents are still very important. If they choose the right person for me, I should follow their arrangement."

-----13 years old student of MLC

In terms of marriage, the hopes of parents are very clear, and marriage with their own people is an ideal choice. For children, they seem to want to change their status through marriage, or to create a better life for their next generation.

For most people, an important task after marriage is to have children. People often say that children are the crystallization of parental love. It is a manifestation of happiness in family life and can help maintain marriage relations to a certain extent. In Myanmar, this is considered very strange for a couple who do not want to have children and couples without children are often considered pitiful.

In recent years, although the child mortality rate in Myanmar has decreased, it is still a country with a high child mortality rate in ASEAN countries. Fortunately, Thailand currently provides some medical insurance for Myanmar workers and children, which guarantees the survival rate of infants to some extent.

“The factory bought insurance for us, and it also reduced the financial burden when I gave birth to my children. My little daughter’s school has insurance for her, but the older daughter does not have insurance now, because we need to buy it ourselves, I think the price of insurance still a little expensive, I won’t buy it.”

-----Mother of MLC student

Perhaps people are accustomed to higher mortality rates, and the birth of a baby is not characteristic in itself. Usually, after the baby is born for one month, the family will take the child to the temple to give alms. Some families will also hold a “Name-giving” ceremony or “100 Days old” celebration for their child. Banquets can be held at home or at the hotel, except for inviting relatives and friends, the parents also invite the monks to pray and bless the baby. The name of the name can be determined by the monk of the temple. The name of a typical Burmese is based on the day of one’s birth, different day in a week, and the corresponding consonants are different. Burman believe that names can affect an individual’s life, so parents will be careful to choose a suitable name for their child. Strictly speaking, Burmese people have names without surnames. In front of the name, some specific words are often added. They are similar to the title, but not the surname, for example, the senior men are always “U”; the young men are all “Maung”; the female seniors are “Daw” and young women are “Ma” (Steinberg 2013).

According to the interview, most of the children born in Thailand ignored the process of banquets and ask the name from the monks. The child’s name is often determined by the parents. What’s more interesting is that most children also have a Thai nickname, such as “kai” (chicken), “chompoo” (Laungaramsri), “som” (orange), “daw” (Stark) and so on. In their daily lives, they are also more inclined to introduce their Thai names to others.

“My Burmese name was taken by my mother. My mother likes floweres, so she gave me a flower-related name.”

----- 12 years old student of MLC

“It's the name of the Burmese word that my father gave me. It means 'wealth'. Our classmates call each other Thai names because Thai people don't know Burmese, they don't know how to pronounce. I think it's more convenient to use Thai names.”

-----15 years old student of Thai School

“I gave the two daughters a Thai nickname, one called som (orange), one called chompoo (rose apple), which is my favorite fruit. We used Thai names especially when we were with Thai people. I have been in Thailand for so many years, to be honest, few people know my real name.”

----- Mother of MLC student

At the same time, for parents of children born in Thailand, there is something more important than giving the name or held a ceremony, which is the birth certificate. With the birth certificate, they can apply for subsequent passports, parent-child relationships, etc.

“This child has just been born for two months. I haven't got a birth certificate yet. I am very anxious. I intend to send him back to Myanmar. But if there is no birth certificate or other documents, there is no way to send him back. Other things will be planned later, and the most urgent task now is to apply for a birth certificate. I am afraid that the duration will be too long, the child will become a stateless child.”

-----Mother of MLC student

“My little son is four months old. We just got proof of parent-child relationship. From birth, I started to go through these procedures with his father. Since we don't understand Thai, we have to ask someone for help, and we went to several times and places. Because his father did not have too much free time, so we waited for a long time.”

-----Mother of MLC student

Kinship is social relationship based on marriage, blood, and legal fiction. Kinship can include couples, parents, children, brothers and sisters, grandparents, grandchildren and so on. The Burman society has experienced the matrilineal and patriarchal development stages. The Burman people attach great importance to the maintenance of the family. Individual small families are the most common form of family in Myanmar.

The interview found that most families have a good relationship with their relatives in Myanmar. Only a very small number of Myanmar parents who have lived in Thailand for more than 20 years have indicated that they have almost lost contact with Myanmar. Both children and parents think that it is the happiest thing to have a family together.

“I used to be with my grandparents when I was in Myanmar. They all passed away. Mom and Dad took me to Thailand. I am very happy to be with them. I will go where they go, I don't want to separate with them again.”

-----11 years old student of MLC

“I have a small portion of my monthly salary sent back to Myanmar, so that my family can help save it. This money is for my plan to build a house. When the house is built, I am ready to go back to Myanmar.”

Anyway, this is not our home. If my children are willing to be in Thailand, it's fine."

-----Father of MLC Student

"It's been too long to come to Thailand. I have almost never returned to Myanmar during this period. My parents have already passed away. There are no people in Myanmar anymore. Now, our family lives in Thailand very well. Even if we will go back Myanmar in the future. I also hope to go back together."

-----Father of Thai School Student

"I have 4 children, 2 in Thailand and 2 in Myanmar. Children in Myanmar are taken care by grandmother and I give some money each month. We call almost every day and I hope to make more money and go back to reunite with them sooner."

-----Father of Thai School Student

Death is a sensitive term and many people are reluctant to talk about it. But this is another topic that every one of us has to face, or that this is the stage that everyone must pass. Funeral is the end of life. Thai people generally practice cremation. The cremation ceremony was held in the temple. Most of the temples in the temples had cremation towers, ashes or stored in the home, or stayed in the temple or poured into the river or the sea. In Myanmar, the Burmese funeral is also very grand, and burial is a more popular model, especially in remote, underdeveloped rural areas. But as society progressed, more and more people began to choose cremation. Unlike Thailand, funeral ceremonies are not held in temples. There is no cremation tower in the temple, the coffin was carried to a special crematorium and handed over to the workers for cremation.

Buddhism based Burman people are usually close to death with calm and mindful attitudes and values (Langer 2013). The funeral family will generally ask the monk to recite the scriptures and surpass the deceased so that the soul of the deceased can be promoted into the world of bliss (Langer 2013). Normally, the body is traditionally buried or cremated on the third day, also sometimes on the 5th and 7th depending on the family. If the family of the deceased is economically backward, donations will usually be made. However, if someone died in Thailand, cremation was their only choice.

“They have no land in Thailand and cannot be buried. If it is sent back to Myanmar, the cost is too high. If someone dies, they can only be sent to the temple to cremate. This is the only option, even if some people can't accept this way.”

-----Staff of temple

“The Burmese who died near this place will be sent to the temple to be cremated. However, I found that they basically did not collect ashes. Every year they gather to do a ritual for the dead.”

-----Monk

At the same time, the funeral process here is more simplified than the various rituals in Myanmar.

“If it is in Myanmar, the family of the deceased will not only invite the people who know it to participate, but the corpse will be placed for at least 3 days before it will be cremated or buried. The supplies needed to buy cremation for the deceased here are not a small amount, probably more than 10,000 baht, which is equivalent to one month's salary. Therefore, Burman usually only spend one day, and if the time is too long, they will delay their work.”

-----14 years old student of Thai School

- **Cuisine**

Human beings are omnivores, and human survival and food ecology constitute a symbiotic phenomenon. Food and eating habits are also a kind of “culture” that is integrated into the body and is not easily changeable.

Myanmar is rich in rice and soybeans, and rice is the staple food of the Burman people. Both Myanmar and Thai cuisine have one thing in common, which is known for their sourness and spicy. Vegetable oils such as soybean oil and coconut oil are used more frequently during cooking, onions, curry powder, lime and hot peppers are all commonly used ingredients. Although Myanmar and Thailand are neighbors, Burmese dishes are far less popular than Thai food.

Mohinga (rice noodle) is one of the more distinctive dishes of the Burman (Marks and Thein 1994). It is available in almost all parts of the country and is considered a national dish of Myanmar. Tea is usually the first choice for beverages, and you can find refreshments in both the city and the countryside. The tea shop is an important social place for Burman. In addition, Burman not only drink tea, but also make tea into snacks. The mixed tea made from fermented tea, fried onions, sesame seeds, ginger, dried shrimps, fried beans and a little edible oil is an important snack for receiving guests (Marks and Thein 1994). Everyone who has been to Myanmar should know that Burmese people have the habit of chewing betel nuts, but they only chew and do not swallow, and finally spit betel nut slag and betel nut water together.

Although the local Burman family has different family incomes and conditions in Samut Sakhon Province, most of them will choose markets near their factories or homes to buy vegetables, pork, chicken, fish and seafood. In addition, there are also some local vendors who sell ingredients imported from Myanmar. For the parents of Burman children, cooking Burman dishes is not only a habit but also a feeling for hometown.

“I will make Burmese food based on the existing ingredients. Although there will be a little difference in taste, it is still very delicious. After eating for so many years, I am used to it. It is very difficult to change the taste. I have lived in Thailand for a long time, and many habits have changed. Only this meal still retains the original flavor, which is also a miss for my hometown. Also, it is cheaper to do it yourself. It is not worthwhile to buy it.”

-----Mother of Thai School student

Children's diets are more abundant than their parents' single tastes. First, at home, they can enjoy Burman dishes made by their father or mother. Secondly, the school will provide students with free meals. No matter what type of school, the chefs are Thai and they make fried instant noodles, egg fried rice and other Thai-known dishes for the students. Third, some children's parents, due to the working times, will give the children some pocket money for their own purchases and arrange meals.

“My mother only makes Burmese food. Dad sometimes does it. I eat Thai food at school. Sometimes if I have pocket money, I go to the nearby market to buy Thai snacks.”

-----12 years old student of Thai School

“We all eat Thai food at school. My parents go home very late and don't have time to cook for me. But the place we live has a market every day. If I am hungry, I will buy it.”

-----13 years old student of MLC



Figure 15 lunch menu



Figure 16 Student canteen

- **Manners**

In Cambodia, Laos, Myanmar, and Thailand, where Buddhism culture is dominant, the way people greet each other is very elegant, with both palms closed inward and fingers up consists of a slight bow. Burmese people are very humble and friendly in their interpersonal relationships. In the book “Myanmar's Attractions and Delights” written by Ba Than said that: “Mingalabar is a gentle greeting that can be used during the first meeting. Even though it can be understood as ‘Hello’. In fact, it has a deeper meaning, that is, ‘I wish you good luck.’ Since most Burmese people believe in Buddhism, the Burmese lifestyle, ethics and social behaviors and norms are centered on Buddhist teachings, and Mingalabar also highlights such a harmonious society.

Therefore, whenever you say hello to others, there will be a double blessing, both the blessing one and the blessed one are blessed" (Than 2003).

In daily life, Burman people respect the elders. Children are educated from an early age to know how to respect their elders, for example, use both hand when delivering things to the elders; the younger should be low when passing in front of the elders; when the elders come indoors, the younger generation must quickly get up and welcome them; when say goodbye to the elders, the younger ones should say first and then leave. At the same time, children should follow the instructions of their parents, do not do things that violate morality, but also know how to respect their peers, be kind to the weak, and know how to be grateful. Don't over-express emotions in public, especially for couples.

As mentioned before, most of the children's parents are busy with work, and the time spent with them is very limited. In terms of moral education for Burmese children, I think the school has played a very important role. In the more than a month with these children, I found that children in both Thai schools and Migrant Learning Centers are very polite, and children often use polite expressions such as "thank you" and "sorry". In this regard, the principal of the Migrant Learning Center gave an explanation.

"The children here know that they are not Thai, and many things are not advantageous in their daily lives. Initially, parents sent their children here because no one in the family took care of them. If they are allowed to wander outside, they may be exposed to some bad habits, which not only threaten society but also ruin the child's life. As educators, we not only impart knowledge, but also need to pay attention to children's moral education, so that children can develop some good habits. Being a civilized and polite person, obeying the law, can help them be accepted by Thais and Thai society."

-----*Headmaster of MLC*

At the same time, although children will have differences with parents on certain issues, parents are still decision makers, and obeying parental arrangements seems to be the norm.

“I don't want to study. I want to go to work in Bangkok, but my father doesn't agree. He thinks that a girl is too dangerous. He thinks that I have to go to work at least after I finish school, and he wants me to work at my mother's factory. I think I should listen to his opinion.”

-----15 years old student of MLC

“I am going to graduate soon, my father has already found a job for me, just near here. He didn't intend to let me continue studying. I can't refute him because I don't know what I can do.”

-----15 years old student of Thai School

In addition to the above, there is a need to mention a thing that is often recognized as a Burmese identity, Thanaka, which is a yellowish-white paste and traditional cosmetic that Myanmar people love. It is a pure natural material made from ground bark. It is suitable for all ages and Thanaka is painted on the faces of common women, men and children, which is the iconic custom landscape of Myanmar. Burmese scholars have verified that as a traditional sunscreen cosmetic, the history of using Thanaka has a long history. The text clearly records that around the 11th century, Thanaka eucalyptus has been widely used in the royal family (Goldsberry, Dinner, and Hanke 2014). It is very popular as a must have daily cosmetics for homes in Myanmar. Burmese believe that the use of Tanaka not only prevents mosquito bites, but also acts as a sunscreen and cooler. Long-term use can also make the skin smoother and more delicate. In recent years, under the impact of modern concepts, male users have dropped sharply. They are generally not used in public. However, in remote rural areas, many men and women still use the cheap economy Tanaka on their faces as the sunscreen.

Burman living in Samut Sakhon, especially working parents, rarely see them using Thanaka, some of them will be replaced with baby powder. However, the children in the migration Learning Center are still used frequently.

“Using 'Tanaka' can be regarded as one of the characteristics of Burmese. People from other countries, especially Thais, know this. I don't want them to look at us from a different perspective, so I basically don't use Tanaka now, I will Use ordinary powder instead.”

-----Mother of Thai School student

Remarks

Integration into society depends on a variety of factors, including the ability to communicate in local languages, access to the labor market and employment, familiarity with customs and acceptance of the social value of the host country. If cultural differences are too significant to make children could easily be labeled as “alien”. Migrants are responsible for knowing the laws and values of the host society, but also an obligation in particular respect for cultural identity of others.

The adaptation of the Burmese people into the local mainstream society is not to obliterate their own characteristics, but to respect the Thai people and to work together with the Thai people to fight for the prosperity and progress of the local society.

4.3 Media

The word “media” comes from the Latin word “Medius”, which refers to the tools, channels, carriers, mediators or technical means by which people use to transmit information and obtain information. The media has two meanings, one is the object that carries the information, and the other is the entity that stores, presents, processes, and transmits the information. There are papers, sounds, videos and modern networks in the communication pipeline. The main features of the media include the wide

spread of communication, the immediacy of communication and greater influence. The main functions of the media include monitoring the social environment, coordinating social relationships, inheriting culture, disseminating information and providing entertainment.

As we know, there are many ways and types of media. After the author's observations and inquiries, Burmese children in Samut Sakhon province are mainly exposed to three modes of media, the first is television, the second is the Internet, and the third is billboards or signs. The following sections will explain the impact of these three different media on identity.

1) Television

Television refers to a device that uses electronic technology to transmit active image frames and audio signals. As a recorder and witness of modern civilization, television has entered the complex system of human modern culture since its inception. The advancement of science and technology is an important reason for the rapid spread of television. Regardless of the development of television technology and culture, or the impact of TV content production and dissemination on human society, television constitutes an important part of human social and cultural identity, maintaining the cultural form of human society diversity.

TV system culture refers to the related system that supports and maintains the operation of TV culture. It determines the value orientation, behavior orientation and even existence of TV culture identity. It stipulates the TV industry's "value and interests". The acceptance and consumption of TV program products is mostly a spiritual acceptance and consumption. The functions of television, such as social opinion function, communication and dialogue function, consumer entertainment function, artistic aesthetic function, life information service function, etc. are all directly related to TV programs, and are directly related to TV spiritual culture. The diversification of TV culture can be roughly divided into several main forms.

The mainstream culture is an ideological culture determined by the dominant mode of production in a particular historical period and in a social dominance. Because the mainstream culture must take the responsibility of maintaining the authority of the state and social center ideology, it must be based on a profound national culture and impose a mandatory norm and agreement on the entire social values. Therefore, any country supports the mainstream culture in the form of laws and regulations.

As we all know, popular culture is an active channel that directly meets the spiritual needs of the broad masses of the people. The ideology and values embodied in it can easily directly affect the spiritual world of the broad masses of the people and affect all aspects of their social behavior. In the era of cultural pluralism, the popular culture dominated by television that greatly promotes the secularization of culture, and thus makes a reasonable affirmation of human sensory needs in its specific practice, so that the public can be consciously feel free to enjoy the freedom and value of personality.

Because children are immature, they are often a special audience for television media (Strasburger, Wilson, and Jordan 2009). They are generally considered to be more likely than adults to believe that what they see is real, and the values portrayed on television have become a model of what should be.

There is a TV in the school and when interviewed at the children's home, the author finds that every family also has a TV. In fact, schools rarely use television for teaching, mainly entertainment equipment.

“This TV in our school usually opens to young children to watch cartoons during lunch breaks or after school. Mainly because they are younger, afraid that they will fight each other or run into the road to an accident.”

-----Teacher of MLC

In children's homes, due to most parents have language barriers the main role of television is to prevent loneliness. At the same time, most of the children's attention is on the phone, TV seems to have lost its attraction to children and it is just a must-have device for the family.

"I came back to work and watched TV. I kept it open until I was going to sleep. I don't really understand what TV is saying, but I don't know what to do except watching TV. My son barely watches, he prefers to play mobile games."

-----*Father of MLC Student*

"There is a TV at home, and Mom and Dad will watch TV when they get off work. I rarely see it. I like to use a mobile phone. It is more convenient and has more choices."

-----*12 years old student of Thai school*

In addition, in the interview, a teacher said that she usually likes to watch the news. When she saw the news related to the Burmese, she would tell the children what happened.

"To be honest, whether they are children or parents, most of them are not very concerned about news in Thailand because they feel that there have nothing to do with themselves, only those related to migrant workers will attract their attention. If I see news about Burmese, I will come to the school to share with the children. But most news is more negative. I hope that the children can take the precautions and obey the law. I hope that when they grow up, they can be a useful person to society."

----- *Teacher of MLC*

2) Internet

The Internet has a highly interconnected, timely and efficient communication feature, and its development has changed many aspects of people's production and life. The development of the Internet and social software has enabled people to obtain another display platform outside of real life. With this means, individuals can have multiple virtual identities and even personalities while having a realistic identity. Interactive media dominates the media world, such as social media, video and games.

Social media has become an important tool for people's socialization. As a platform for building social relationships, it affects people's self-awareness and identity. We build our identity on different levels in different ways. In real life, the identity attributes of individuals such as name, gender, age, address, occupation, etc. are not only the signs and symbols that distinguish us from others as production and practice activities, but also the bond of establishing relationships with other members of society. In virtual online communication, people's expressions and physical movements are hidden, and people's real social attributes are also hidden. When using social media on the one hand, we can reach many people who are not in contact with real life and see the new "I" in the interaction with different members of the society. On the other hand, many rules and regulations in the real society often hinder the individual's satisfaction with the needs of the individual, and in an anonymous weak relationship environment, the individual can boldly display the "I". The emergence of these different "I" strengthens self-interaction, and gradually forms a complete self-concept in the interaction with different identities. The process of social media use is a process of multiple-identity interaction in which self-confirmation is achieved. In the interview, most of the children said they had the habit of using Line and Facebook.

As a new form of life for network groups, Line is an important manifestation of "micro-culture" and also has the basic characteristics of "micro-life". Based on the individual's real social circle, most of Line's friends come from real life family,

friends and classmates. This connection is not a unilateral follow-up concern but is based on mutual certification. After getting rid of the real-life scenes and social relations, the information about the state of life displayed by Line friends is obviously not an objective and comprehensive reality.

“My friends are basically people I know. For those who have a bad relationship with me, I will not add them to my friends because I have nothing to say to them. Also, I will go to add some Thai people. I chat with them in Thai. They think that I am Thai, which makes me feel very happy.”

-----15 years old student of Thai school

Facebook is a kind of social media whose media attribute is greater than social attribute. The relationship between people and people in Facebook is mostly unfamiliar weak relationship. In the environment of mutual understanding, under the shackles of getting rid of the real identity, people in Facebook often show themselves different from real life. In the setting of self-identity, I can set personalized nicknames, inconsistent identity information and styled profiles, which can be virtual rather than real. The absence of a real identity provides an opportunity for the construction of the virtual self. The content displayed is selected to show the ideal image and perfect life.

“I like to send my photos to Facebook. I want to know more people and more friends. In Thailand, we are still more or less discriminated against, but I believe there are always people in the world who will appreciate us.”

-----13 years old student of MLC

“There are a lot of new and interesting things on Facebook. My usual life circle is too small. I want to know the outside world through the

Internet. I know that it is difficult for me to escape the current life circle, but I hope that one day I can go out and take a trip.”

-----14 years old student of Thai school

The Internet is a double-edged sword, and social media use has its advantages and disadvantages. While these may increase children's learning and social skills, they also increase the risk of engaging with content and experiences that may not be suitable for children (Wartella & Jennings, 2000). The real world and the virtual world need to be correctly distinguished. The excessive social media is harmful to the body and mind. During the interview, the author found that some children, especially older boys, seem to have exceeded their age range in terms of speech, pornography, violence, etc. as if these have begun to influence their personality. At the same time, online games accounted for most of their time.

In the era of new technologies for network communication, online games have become a kind of existence and situation of people's identity, or a social construction. Video games have been popular all over the world since the 1980s. Role-playing games, as an important type of game, have been loved by players all over the world. Players can get rid of themselves in this kind of game, enter a new setting to experience the life of the other, and create self-identity and sense of belonging and identity to the group through the interaction between players. “Video games are the best medium for combining visual dynamics with the active participation of children in roles” (Greenfield, 1984).

“For me, playing games, besides leisure, is also a way to escape the real world. I am going to graduate, and the future is very embarrassing to me. I don't know what I can do, I don't want to think about life in the future, I am afraid to face reality.”

-----14 years old student of MLC

“Every day, except for school, eating, and sleeping, I spend most of my time playing games. I know that indulging in games is a very bad phenomenon, but I often have difficulty controlling myself. In the game, I can appear in any image. Perhaps it is in the real life that we have been on the verge of this mainstream society, so the pleasure of winning the competition and being praised is a pleasure for me. This feeling can only be found in the game.”

-----13 years old student of Thai school

In modern society, the mass media has become an important source of alternative cultural identity, promoting the deconstruction and construction of contemporary cultural identity. The globalization and localization of media and electronic communication is the denationalization of information. The virtual identity generated by the Internet affects personal identity, and the emergence of virtual communities has also triggered a new community of imaginative culture.

The essential attribute of human beings is social, which determines that people cannot exist in isolation, and people need to communicate and interact with others. Only when a person interacts with “others” can he/she put himself/herself in the network of social relations, determine his position, and form his own concept of belonging to a certain group. At this time, it is possible to form an identity. It is the human needs of this identity that makes it constantly invent and create new media to achieve communication and interaction with others. In this process, people's interaction needs determine the participation of people, and social media itself provides the possibility of communication and interaction.

The characteristics of the media itself as a scarce resource and a profitable organization have determined that it does not regard migrant children as its main audience, and of course lacks corresponding attention to them. Multimedia technology enables children to interact with simulated characters, assume multiple identities, and

chat with strangers who may also have simulated identities (Subrahmanyam et al., 2001).

3) Billboards or signs

Advertising is usually a means of publicizing and widely communicating information to the public through certain forms of media and at a certain cost for a specific need. Advertisements can also be non-profit-oriented advertisements, such as government announcements, notices, statements, etc. Billboards, also called signs, its definition is more extensive, such as toilet signs, road signs, park signs, etc.

In Samut Sakhon, billboards written in Burmese are everywhere, which is enough to show the huge number of Burmese. For the Burman who live here, they are more inclined to go to the stores of Burmese. This made them feel a sense of presence and intimacy in Thai society.

“There are a lot of Burmese signage advertisements here, I think this is necessary for people like me who don't understand Thai. Although I can't communicate with the Thai people here, the signs make my life more convenient and make me feel that I am part of this society. We, people from Myanmar are receiving the attention of Thai society.”

-----Father of MLC Student

“When I first arrived in Thailand, I saw these signs and languages and I felt a kind of intimacy. Later, I slowly felt that these were all for us, and I felt that I belonged to this society, not an isolated group.”

-----12 years old student of Thai School

Just as everything has its two sides, when these people from Myanmar enjoy these resources tailored for them, in turn, these advertising signs and so on are reminding them of the fact that they are strangers.

“I don't understand Burmese, it's useless to me. But these billboards seem to remind me where I am from. I have adapted to everything here, and they remind me of the fact that I don't really belong to Thailand. This is a fact that I cannot escape and must face.”

-----15 years old student of Thai School



Figure 17 Warning signs around the residential area



Figure 18 Room rental advertising

Remarks

It is worth noting that the capture of information is important, but it is more important to be able to interpret the information correctly. Some migrant children, despite their strong cognitive ability, will reject or evade the information if they interpret the information they receive as psychologically insecure. The virtual world built by the media is the basis of social identity and the resulting form of practice. In the social media world, individuals temporarily get rid of the constraints and oppression of the real relationship, and the diversified roles and identities will bring freshness and satisfaction to the real self. But virtual and reality are different after all. The network society is, after all, a mimetic environment society constructed by countless meaning symbols.

Burman children who live with various social software will choose different identities according to their different environments, showing different behaviors. These diverse roles and mobile identities bring new challenges. How individuals can correctly transform roles in different scenarios, and distinguish reality from virtual reality, so that they will not be lost in the online world.

Finally, it is worth noting to note that, in general, the media in Thailand dominates, and the main reason for this phenomenon is the lack of resources related to Myanmar. Therefore, even if the Thai media reports on Myanmar or Burmese, they are not focused on themselves, but more on meeting the needs of Thai audiences. One more thing is that the choice of videos, shows, etc. also depend on the age, gender and language ability.

4.4 Analysis of Burman children identity

Identity is the determination of an individual's self-identity. Since the generation of ethnic consciousness is the result of inter-ethnic communication, the determination of individual ethnic identity often has a process of re-selection. Individual self-group identity shows multiple attribution, which makes the existence of ethnic consciousness or the identity also have diversified and multi-level characteristics. Specific to Burman children, its performances are: preference for Thai identity, in this group the children who are almost completely adapted to the local Thai culture and try to think of themselves as so-called Thais; preference for Burmese identity, these children generally believe that they are authentic Burman and will not be Thai in the future; and preference for Burmese Thais identity, this is the most complicated one. These children express a dual identity rather than a single identity.

4.4.1 Influencing factors for different identities of Burman children

1) Family

Family is a very important component of society. The family is the core of our identity, and identity is first formed in the family. Parents are the longest and most influential people in the process of growing up. Parents' personality or way of doing things will have a certain impact on their children's cognition. Thailand is a strange place for most migrant children, so their code of conduct comes from imitating their parents, and parents' ideas directly affect the children's own identity.

The family factors are first expressed in the attitude of parents to the language and culture of Myanmar and Thailand. In order to maintain cultural homogeneity with mainstream Thai society, some parents never encourage their children to learn Burmese and do not teach Burmese culture to their children. Children living in such families naturally regard themselves as cultural Thais. For parents who are very concerned about their children's inheritance of traditional culture, family daily life is the most basic way to help children build Myanmar's identity. Children learn about Myanmar's cultural knowledge through their family daily life. These parents are unable to get rid of their strong sense of Burmese and they hope that their descendants will inherit the values of Burmese.

The second point is in the living conditions of the family, including the family living environment, economic conditions and legal status. The living environment chosen by migrant parents, especially the neighborhood, has a major impact on their children's understanding of ethnic identity. Burmese settlements not only provide migrant children with the opportunity to communicate in Burmese language, but also enable them to witness and participate in the lifestyles of other Burman people. This subtle lifestyle has made it easy for immigrant children to reach a consensus on "Burmese". On the contrary, when migrant parents choose to live with Thais, even if some migrant parents who settled here want their children to retain Burmese cultural heritage by studying Burmese, they lack the support of a language environment. Thus, in their neighborhood relationship with Thais, children will more or less imitate the behaviors and language of the Thai people around them, and as a result, these children will gradually recognize the identity of the Thai. Most migrant parents who work in Thailand are engaged in relatively hard occupations due to their low level of education. In general, the income levels of migrant parents are basically the same, which is in line with Thailand's regulations on migrant workers. However, the family economic conditions of immigrant parents before coming to Thailand are different, for example, some choose to work in Thailand in order to repay their debts. Therefore, although the incomes are not much different, their economic situation in Thailand is

still different. At the same time, living in a family where only a father or mother works is more stressful than a family where both parents work. For children living in families with poor economic conditions, although most of them do not feel embarrassed, there are still people who feel inferior. Some of the children become child laborers in order to reduce their burdens which making negative emotions stronger, and more likely to feel that they are in the marginal group, or even the status of “second-class citizens.” This kind of consciousness makes them think that Thailand is a place with a sense of distance and therefore do not want to actively interact with Thai people, which makes it easier or have to identify with their own Burmese identity. For children living in relatively wealthy families, they not only have more freedom, but also better economic conditions make them easy to form psychological advantages. The psychological distance between Thailand and Thai people is shortened, so it is easier to agree Thai identity. For migrant parents and children living and working in Thailand, having a legal status is also a very important factor in the identity. The legal status referred to here is the possession of relevant documents that can be legally resident in Thailand. Generally, in the absence of legal documents from migrant parents, their children are often not likely to have legal documents. An important issue for these children is that they must always stay away from the police. They may be afraid of arrest or harassment because they are illegal. Fear of arrest or harassment may force them to refuse or reduce contact with the outside world, which leads them to psychologically believe that they are outsiders. For children with legal documents, they are more confident in their daily lives, and subjectively feel that they are close to or have been integrated into the mainstream group in Thailand.

The influence of parents or families on the identity of migrant children is also reflected in the duration of migrant parents stay or live in Thailand. As migrant parents spend more time in Thailand, they are becoming more aware of the lifestyles and customs of Thailand. They learn to speak Thai and they believe that the knowledge of Thai can enable them and their children to a good life and better future,

some of the parents even want their children to obtain Thai citizenship. In the interview, the author also found that the parents of most children who are inclined to recognize the Thai identity have lived in Thailand for at least ten years. For children who live for a short period of time, or frequently follow their parents move from one place to another, or travel back and forth between Thailand and Myanmar, the unfamiliar surroundings can easily get them into an adaptive barrier. It also leads to their lack of access to people and things around them, so they are more inclined to the original identity. In addition, the migrant parents' perception of the future also affects the children's identity to some extent. Specifically, when parents insist that life in Thailand is only temporary, doubts and uncertainty about future life, these negative attitudes will have a subtle influence on their children. At the same time, when parents hope to return to live in Myanmar in the near future and have confidence in the future of Myanmar, which will lead children to be suspicious of their future life and believe that life in Thailand is unlikely to last long, and makes the children more willing to admit their Burmese identity. On the contrary, when parents are more negative about Myanmar's future and are active or satisfied with life in Thailand that their children showed a firm belief in the future of life in Thailand and inspired their recognition of their Thai identity.

It should be noted that in some cases, when these migrant parents try to impose their ideas and values on their increasingly Thai-ized children there will be contradictions between the two generations. Specifically, this contradiction is manifested in the degree of recognition of Burmese culture. However, due to moral reasons, many children still succumb to the majesty of their parents. In this case, the children tend to maintain a neutral attitude, that is, to identify themselves as Burmese Thai.

2) School

School education is a form of formal education. Schools are the main place to implement integrated education and play a leading role in the development of education. The school is where children spend most of their time studying outside the

home, whether children can recognize the social role of oneself and integrate into social life, school education has an important influence.

The original intention of most migrant parents to let their children go to school includes hoping that their children will receive a good education, help them grow their knowledge and have a bright future. This point was also confirmed in the interview, almost all migrant parents, regardless of their education and income levels, have a positive attitude towards education. It can be seen that school education plays an important role in the minds of parents. The implementation of classroom teaching and extracurricular activities in schools affects the development of students from major channels or subtle influences.

First, from the school level, children study at the MLCs, they can learn things that cannot learn at Thai schools, including singing Burmese songs, dancing Burmese dances, etc., and children will not be ridiculed for Thai language barriers. Studying at the MLC has greatly enhanced the sense of identity of the Burmese and promoted and influenced the construction of their Burmese identity. Children study at a local school and do not have the opportunity to learn and access their own knowledge and culture. They accept the institutionalized and stylized Thai curriculum. Almost all curriculum design, such as Thai history, is to strengthen the Thai nationalism of the children, with Thai-ization as the ultimate goal. Children in this learning atmosphere will naturally be more inclined to the Thai identity.

Secondly, from the perspective of school administrators and teachers. The school provides an important opportunity for migrant children to reach out to society. For children, the attitude of administrators or teachers is largely equivalent to the attitude of society. Therefore, migrant children are close to Myanmar or Thai culture, and the attitude and guidance of administrators or teachers are very important. Usually, some management policies, rules and regulations within the school are formulated by school administrators. They have certain rights or even to decide whether they can

accept or are willing to accept migrant children. For many teachers, the core of the teacher's work is to complete the teaching tasks assigned by the school administrators and achieve excellent results and necessary honors. This standard of judging the quality of teaching with performance has long been deeply rooted in the hearts of the people. When school administrators or teachers think that receiving immigrant children will reduce the school's teaching achievements and the school's reputation, although these administrators or teachers will not clearly show dissatisfaction, but in the mind cannot fully accept them, under this situation, the administrators or teachers will not be very friendly towards migrant children. Therefore, this unfriendly attitude could be considered as so-called "discrimination" will lead to the alienation of the teacher-student relationship and the alienation of migrant children to the school. Children who have had such experiences or who have been in this environment for a long time will involuntarily distinguish between "we" and "them", which makes them more inclined to the identity of the Burmese. On the contrary, if immigrant children think that they and Thai students are equal in school and fair, they will gradually eliminate their inner uneasiness and regard themselves as a part of Thailand.

3) Society

In Thailand, there is a prejudice against Burmese in mainstream Thai society which is almost a consensus of the children. However, this consensus is largely a habitual prejudice, not built by the individual's personal experience. Of course, it is an undeniable fact that the families of most migrant children have a hard life in Thailand, which makes them likely to suffer from double discrimination: one is discrimination against their social status; the other is discrimination against their economic status. Often the "demonization" of the Thais among the Burmese is largely due to the lack of interaction between each other and the strangeness between each other. It is a fiction based on imagination and misunderstanding, and once this stereotype is formed, it will further hinder the interaction between the two. Migrant parents are often more likely to accept and understand social discrimination and other disadvantages than

their children. Because for most migrant parents, migrant to Thailand is their own choice. Children are more sensitive than their parents, which makes it possible for some children to find their own unique cultural identity in order to maintain their own instinct in the mainstream society, thus turning to emphasize Myanmar culture. But when some children don't want to be labeled as "Burmese" by others, they will try to imitate the lifestyle and habits of Thai people. This is why more and more people are beginning to abandon some customs they have been used to. They want to be accepted by the Thai society and they also identify with their Thai identity.

4) Self

The identity of migrant children is inseparable from the external factors, and children's own traits also significantly affect their thinking of identity. The level of self-esteem and self-confidence is a key factor in measuring the development of children's self-identity. The affirmation of one's own culture is largely affirmation of the self.

In fact, most children move with the migration of their parents. In general, the younger the child, the more likely to migrate with their parents. For younger children, parents impose a dominant position on their culture and values, and their views on identity are almost determined by their parents. As they grow older, they will encounter or reach out to more people and new ideas, and have the opportunity to think about what is different from others and what values they believe in. Some children are disgusted with past life experiences or have been discriminated against or ridiculed because of the identity of the Burmese. These children are more likely to integrate into the mainstream society and therefore prefer Thai identity. And some other children, when they meet more peers of the same ethnicity in school or in the community, may show great interest in who they are, and thus stimulate the curiosity of understanding the history and culture of their own ethnicity, then they will It is possible to be more inclined to identify with Burmese. When individuals adapt to new cultures and

connect with new cultures, they also maintain their affirmation of their own culture, which is most conducive to their cultural adaptation. Therefore, if migrant children can have more acceptance of their past and present, and have expectations for the future, then it will undoubtedly greatly promote the commissioning of two different cultures, become an individual with both identities.

In addition, communication with peers is also an important way for migrant children to socialize. As the child grows older, the behavioral system outside the family gradually transcends the behavioral system within the family and eventually becomes part of the personality.

For children, the most important interpersonal relationship in childhood is the relationship with peers. In the interview, the author found that most migrant children think that the happiest thing of living in Thailand is having friends. Friends are one of the reasons why they are willing to stay in Thailand or go to school and are unwilling to return to Myanmar. It can be seen that almost all immigrant children want to get friendship, but due to family or social reasons or bad experiences in the process of communication, some children are more inclined to communicate within the group, and rarely make friends with local Thai children. Of course, this also includes that some Thai students have a certain rejection of the Burmese and are unwilling to make friends with them. A relatively closed circle of life is more conducive to the identity of the Burmese. Other children, especially those studying in Thai schools, have more opportunities to interact with Thai children. Through contact with local Thai children, they can enhance mutual understanding, learn from each other in terms of culture and values which could narrow down the psychological distance with Thai children. This kind of good interpersonal relationship can satisfy the needs for migrant children to be respected, which can help them gain a sense of security and belonging. Thereby increasing confidence in their Thai identity.

Remarks

In general, children with different identities have different characteristics. These children who preference for Thai identity have the following characteristics: First, they were born in Thailand, studied in Thai schools, and have Thai friends. Secondly, the Thai language has a high level of listening, speaking, reading and writing, and the Burmese language ability is poor or almost impossible. Again, one or both parents also speak Thai and live in Thailand for a relatively long time. Their parents do not emphasize the cultivation of Burman feelings, cultural traditions. Their growth is almost entirely Thai-style, and they consider themselves to be “Thai people” who are no different from those around them and regard themselves as cultural Thais, accepting Thai values, culture and lifestyle. The main characteristics of the children who preference for Burmese identity are those who were born in Myanmar or have a living experience in Myanmar, and they are only proficient in Burmese language. Some scholars believe that the use of this ethnic language plays a decisive role in the formation of a person's ethnic identity, and the factors affecting language choice and identity are consistent. At the same time, their parents also only speak Burmese, in which case the child's ability to speak the mother tongue is strengthened. Because they speak Burmese which will have a sense of closeness to Myanmar and will define itself as a “Burman”. In addition, they are educated at the Migrant Learning Center, live in communities where Burmese people gather and have almost no Thai friends. This identity emphasizes the origin of the family. Children who tend to have preference for Burmese Thai identity are mainly divided into two categories, one is a child born in Thailand who studies at the MLC; the other is a child who was born in Myanmar, especially those who came to Thailand when they were very young, and now studied at a Thai school. Compared to their parents, these two types of children, as a second-generation migrant in Thailand, they were exposed to Thai culture and society in the early stages of their growth. Not only did they quickly accept the Thai way of life, but they also accepted the values of Thai people. The process of integration into the

mainstream society of Thailand will lead to an awareness or recognition of non-Thai people. As a large number of Burmese migrants enter the ethnic social system of Thailand, the recognition of non-Thai people will become more prominent and more typical in daily life. Thailand's policies on immigrants have forced them to face the fact that they are not Thai. As a result, these children began to look for intermediate positions, which led to their possible dual identity. For them, personal identity changes with different communication environments. This identity is not based on a common nation, ethnic group or linguistic, but on a common social living environment.



Chapter 5 Conclusion

5.1 Summary of Findings

There is no doubt that Thailand's education policy protects migrant children from outside exploitation during their childhood and increases opportunities for admission. Many migrant children are direct beneficiaries of Thai education policy.

First, Thailand has developed a progressive policy and legislative framework to provide immigrant children with services, including education. Many migrant children are direct beneficiaries of Thai education policy (Vungsiriphisal 2011). Regardless of their legal status in Thailand, migrant children are entitled to 15 years of basic education. They have the right to choose to study in a formal or informal school. The Thai government is committed to ensuring the provision of education by providing free and compulsory education to every child in its territory, which guarantees the availability of education.

Second, due to the convergence of the goals and interests of local, national and international parties, policy implementation has also been promoted and supported by international organizations. Samut Sakhon attaches great importance to the education of migrant children and also provides educational opportunities for migrant children living in Samut Sakhon, which has greatly improved the educational status of migrant children in the province (Petchot 2014). However, all migrant children are still not fully accessible, and the factors influencing this are manifold, including economic status, parental preferences, and attitudes, legal status, etc.

The third point is the acceptability of education. The Samut Sakhon Education Service and public schools promote the use of Thai as a medium of instruction because they focus on the integration of children, while the MLCs use bilingualism between Thai and Burman. Although one of the purposes of education is to protect children, migrant parents do not want to involve their children in the Thai education system because they believe that there's no future for their children. Parents' concern is that after

receiving education, their children will eventually be in the same state as they are, having the "extreme legal status" and getting the same low-paying jobs. Therefore, helping their families become the responsibility of some immigrant children, learning is only the second duty (Stenbeck 2012).

Finally, adaptability asks the school or the family adapting to the needs of the Children. Children should not change and make sacrifices in order to go to school. Instead, those who provide education should make adjustments; it is at least desirable to make children a student and gain knowledge (CESCR 1999). Living in a grey area of unstable legal status, the mixed state of migrant children leads to skepticism about education, affecting the educational life of migrant children and affecting their integration into Thai society, which further affects the long-term opportunities of migrant children (Petchot 2014).

The study found that school education and parental family guidance play a major role in the identification of Burman children.

Language is a symbol of identity and the most direct impact that Thailand brings to migrant children. In daily life, the attitude of parents determines the feasibility of certain things. However, most parents are busy, so the education of their children depends mainly on school. Thai local schools tend to make migrant children "localization" and "Thai-ization". These children, because of their language advantages, allow them to better integrate into Thai society, thus accelerating the fading of their own culture. The education provided by the MLCs retains their language and culture to some extent. Although some children in the MLCs were born in Thailand, they will subconsciously think that Thailand is their home country, MLCs are working hard to help their parents realize their desire to maintain the tradition of Burman. Despite negative and uncertain aspects in some respects, the Buddhist beliefs of Burman children are still deeply rooted.

Burman children in Samut Sakhon, live in different communities. Due to the differences in the place of birth, the school, and the living environment and conditions, they are different from their parents, or the first generation of migrants, in terms of their thoughts and psychology. The reshaping of migrant children by Thai-ization has prevented them from ignoring the influence of Thai culture, but in fact, for most Burman children, traditional culture exists because they still live in the communities where Burmese gather. They are more or less influenced by the ancestral cultural traditions and have a deep or shallow ethnic consciousness. It's just that these two different identities may be in a mixed state of both, especially for children who have life experiences in Myanmar, they grow up in two countries, and neither country seems to belong to them. For most children born in Thailand, many of them have never been to Myanmar. They think that Thailand is their home and Myanmar has become a foreign and unknown thing. On the other hand, however, they know their ancestors and heritage. The Thai people around them seem to remind them not to forget where they are from. Under the influence of certain factors, such as family, school, society, etc., there will be a tilt between the two, some show the recognition of Thai identity, and some will show the recognition of Myanmar identity.

It is important to note that the impact of school and family is not isolated. The family environment plays a leading role in the formation of their identity before they enter the social environment. School education encourages children to have a new understanding of identity in the process of socialization in order to maintain, adjust or form new identities. Therefore, when they lived in Thai society, they had to face the Thai society, almost all children hope to be accepted by Thai society, they have to adjust themselves, make compromises and concessions to the mainstream culture of Thailand in order to be consistent with the Thai people.

5.2 Conclusion Remark

Migration is a worldwide problem, as the degree of economic development and social openness increases, cross-border migration will be an irreversible trend. The Burman children live in Thailand have a wide range of characteristics and variations. From the perspective of identity, the first generation of migrants, that is, the parents of children, are the least likely to be integrated, and the vast majority of them agree with Myanmar and Burmese culture. The Burman children, as the second generation of migrants, their destiny and future have been closely linked to Thailand. Their concepts and values are more Thai and gradually identify with the local community. In Thai society, they live under different conditions, but most of them know how to treat different situations with the right identity. The Burman children moved to adjust their identity to be in harmony with the Thai people. In society, they speak in Thai, used the Thai name, try to define themselves as Thai people which in order to harmonize with the Thai people.

All in all, when the original cultural identity of migrant children is relatively weak, the cultural experience of the original country is less, the core values, living habits, language structure and mode of thinking of the original society are not deeply embedded, they are more susceptible to external education and psychological guidance. It is also easier to acquire and accept the knowledge, skills, and attitudes needed to function in a multicultural society, and to form a reflective, positive and complete identity. On the contrary, when the children have higher recognition of the culture of the home country, the original ethnic network is embedded deeper, and in terms of lifestyle, behavioral attitudes and conceptual cognition, they have a strong dependence on the original cultural system. Then, they need more comprehensive and in-depth guidance on the cultural environment of the new country. After entering a new national and social environment, the original social relations of migrant children cannot continue to support their social interaction capabilities. At the same time, it takes a long time to construct a new social relationship. Under the circumstance of this

social relationship breakup, it is often difficult for migrant children to interact directly or benignly with the influx of society to obtain a complete, clear and positive identity. Therefore, the identity of migrant children needs a lot of joint efforts which including family and school guidance.



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APPENDIX A

Introduction before interview

Hi, I am a student of Chulalongkorn University and an interviewer in the study on “Education and Identity of Myanmar migrant children in Samut Sakhon Province”. The finding of this project is my master thesis report.

Your answer will be confidential. I will not ask your name and will ask for your cooperation to interview you for not over 30 minutes.

You can choose not to answer any questions or to stop the interview. The information from you answer is important. Therefore, please share your opinion with us. If you permit, may I start the interview now?

APPENDIX B

Questions for Children

General Information

- Gender Age
- Nationality/ Ethnicity
- Education level.....
- Where were you born?
- How long have you been live in Thailand?
- What do your parents do?
- How old are your parents?
- How long have they been in Thailand?
- The education level of your parents
- Do you have brothers and sisters? If yes, how old are they? Are they going to school or work?

Language

- Can you speak Thai?
- Do you speak Burmese?
- Who taught you to speak Thai and/or Burmese?
- What languages do you speak fluently?
- How well do you think your Thai and your own language skills?
- What languages are spoken at home?
- What languages do you use at school?
- What languages would you prefer to use in your daily life? why?
- Do your parents speak Thai and/or Burmese?
- Do your parents ask you to learn Thai and/or Burmese?

- What do you think is very important in Thai and/or Burmese?

Religion

- Do you have any religious beliefs?
- Do you often participate in religious activities?
- Do you actively participate in an organized religious activity?
- How important is religion for you and your family? Why?
- Have you been to the local religious sites? If not, why?
- Do you think the religion or belief here is different?
- Which religious site do you prefer to go to? why?
- Who are you going with?
- How often do you go?
- How do you think about Catholic? (question for MLC student)
- Do you think Catholicism has an impact on you? (question for MLC student)

Education

- Have you ever studied in Myanmar? If yes, how many years?
- Which school did you go to now?
- Who choose this school for you?
- How long have you been studying at this school?
- Do you like your school? Why?
- Does the teacher teach Thai and Burmese?
- What subjects do you have?
- Which subject do you like the most? Which subject do you least like? Why?
- Which subject do you think is the most important?
- Does the school have courses related to Myanmar?
- Which country do your teachers come from?
- What language do you use for class?
- Do you know how many Myanmar students are there in the school?
- Do you think that going to school will help you stay in Thailand in the future?

Cultural and social issues

- What was it like when you first arrived in Thailand?
- What most surprised you?
- How has your life changed a lot since coming here?
- Have you been to Myanmar and go with whom? If not, Why?
- What do you miss about the place or community you came from?
- Do your parents like to / always talk Myanmar with you? What they were talking about?
- Do you know any traditional festivals in Myanmar? Have you ever participated?
- Do you know any traditional festivals in Thailand? Have you ever participated?
- Can you define and describe the most important (or most celebrated) holiday of your culture?
- Did your parents take or tell or ask you to join the traditional festival?
- Do you have traditional Myanmar costumes?
- Are you wearing these costumes? Do you like it? Why?
- Did you parents ask you to wear your traditional costumes?
- Do you have any eating habits/rituals that are specific to your culture?
- Do you like Myanmar? Why?
- Do you like Thailand? Why?
- How would you describe your family's national, ethnic, and/or racial background?
- In terms of your background, how do you usually describe yourself to people outside your community?
- Do you experience any difficulties related to your background, such as discrimination, stereotyping, or being misunderstood?
- Do you want to go back to Myanmar to study or work? Why?
- Which country do you prefer to stay, Myanmar and Thailand? Why?
- Do you have any Thai friends?
- Do you like to play with Thai or Myanmar children?
- Do you have a Thai name? If yes, who gave it to you?

- How important is belonging to Thailand to you? Why?
- Do you think you have integrated into Thai society? If not, why? On what aspects?
- Do you like talk to Thai people? why?
- Have you ever felt excluded based on your culture or background?
- Is there anyone in your social circle or family or school who listens to you and gives you advice when you have problems in Thailand? What did they say?
- What were your parents hopes for your life in the future?
- What do you want to do in the future?
- If you want to get married in the future, what kind of person do you want to get married?
- What are your concerns for your own and your family's future here?
- How do you think your culture differs from the Thai customs and opinions? Is that important to you?
- What is the best thing about living in Thailand?
- What is the worst thing about living in Thailand?
- Who cooks at your home?
- Have you ever eaten Thai food? Do you like Thai food?
- Do you know any traditional food in Myanmar or your ethnic group?
- Thai and Burmese dishes, which one do you prefer?
- Do you usually watch TV or go online?
- Do you have a cell phone? If so, who bought it for you?
- What do you do online?
- Do you think you belong to Thailand or Thai society?
- If you have a chance, do you want to be a Thai?

APPENDIX C

Questions for parents

General Information

- Gender Age
- Nationality/ Ethnicity
- Education level.....
- How long have you been live in Thailand?
- What kind of Document you have?
- What do you do?
- How much is the monthly salary?
- How many children do you have and how old are they?
- Where was/were your child/ children born?

Language

- Can you speak Thai?
- Can you use your own mother tongue?
- Do your child/children can speak Thai?
- Do your child/children speak Burmese?
- Which language do you think is more important? Why?

Religion

- Do you have any religious beliefs?
- Do you often participate in religious activities?
- Do you actively participate in an organized religious activity?
- How important is religion for you and your family? Why?
- Have you been to the local religious sites? If not, why?
- Do you think the religion or belief here is different?
- Which religious site do you prefer to go to? why?

- Who are you going with?
- How often do you go?

Education

- Have you ever taught your children about Myanmar culture, knowledge, customs, etc.? If not, why?
- Do your child/children go to school?
- Which school is he/she/ are they in? What grade?
- Why did you choose this school?
- How did you know about this school?
- Do you think it is important to go to school?
- Do you expect to send your children back to study in Myanmar? why?
- Do you expect your children have study in high level of school such as secondary school or college?

Cultural and social issues

- What was it like when you first arrived in Thailand?
- What most surprised you?
- How has your life changed a lot since coming here?
- Have you ever taken your child/children to Myanmar? If not, why?
- Have you taken your child/children to participate in some ethnic activities? why?
- Do you think it is important for children to participate in ethnic activities?
- Where do you think is better for your child/children in Thailand and Myanmar?
- In terms of your background, how do you usually describe yourself to people outside your community?
- Do you experience any difficulties related to your background, such as discrimination, stereotyping, or being misunderstood?
- Do you have traditional Myanmar costumes?
- Are you wearing these costumes? Do you like it? Why?

- What were your hopes for your life in the future?
- What do you want your child/children to do in the future?
- If your child/children will get married in the future, what kind of person do you think is appropriate?
- What are your concerns for your own and your family's future here?
- How do you think your culture differs from the Thai customs and opinions? Is that important to you?
- What is the best thing about living in Thailand?
- What is the worst thing about living in Thailand?
- Have you ever eaten Thai food? Do you like Thai food?
- Do you usually watch TV or go online?
- Do you think your child/children belong to Thailand or Thai society?
- If there's a chance, do you want your child/children to be a Thai?

APPENDIX D

Questions for teachers

GenderAge Nationality/ Ethnicity

Education level.....How long you stay in Thailand? (if Myanmar)

- How did you get the job?
- Why did you want to work at this school?
- What did you do before? (Myanmar teacher)
- How is your experience before moving to Thailand? (Myanmar teacher)
- Do you speak Myanmar language?
- What do your friends and family say about your work here?
- What do you teach the children?
- How do you think the curriculum can help the children?
- Does the school teach content about Myanmar? why?
- Is it a lot of issues concerning the children? How do you as a teacher deal with it?
 - Attitudes from the Thai community
 - Personal struggles being in a foreign country
- Do you experience negative attitude outside the school, being a teacher for migrant children?
- Do you sometimes discuss with the children the negative attitudes they might experience outside the school?
- How is it being a teacher for migrant students? Any reoccurring challenges?
- Do your school offer language training for the migrant students?
- How is the student interaction with Thai students?
- What do you think of the impact of life experiences in Thailand on them?
- Do you think these children can integrate into Thai society?
- Do you think they have a chance to be Thai?

APPENDIX E

Questions for the headmasters

- How was the school developed?
- Are there any negative experiences during the development of the learning center?
- What were the challenges for establishing the learning center?
- What educational opportunities are given for your school or learning center?
- What subjects are being taught at your school or learning center?
- How is the curriculum developed? Who develops the curriculum?
- What is the intention with the curriculum?
- What language/languages is/are being taught?
- What opportunities can the children gain from this type of education?
- Where/how does the school or learning center find the teachers?
- Does it difficult to hire teachers and staffs?
- Do the teachers and staffs speak Myanmar or Thai language?
- Where and how do the school find the children?
- How do the school or learning center deal with problems and negative attitudes that the children might experience outside the school?
- What challenges will be faced in providing migrant children with education?
- Are there any opportunity to continuing studying for migrant children?
- Will the school organize some activities related to Myanmar?
- Will the school provide Thai language training for Myanmar children?
- What are the reasons given not to accept the migrant children into local Thai school?
- Are there any negative attitudes from Thai parents towards the migrant children?

APPENDIX F

Questions for other interviewees

Gender Age Nationality/ Ethnicity

Education level.....How long you stay in Thailand? (if Myanmar)

- How did you get the job?
- Why did you want to work at this school?
- What did you do before? (Myanmar)
- How is your experience before moving to Thailand? (Myanmar)
- Do you speak Myanmar language?
- What do your friends and family say about your work here?
- Do you think these children can integrate into Thai society?
- Do you think these children are different from those living in Myanmar? What are the differences?
- Do you think their parents are the main way to spread the culture of Myanmar to them?
- Do you think it is necessary to learn their own language and culture?
- Which of Myanmar and Thailand has a greater impact on them?
- What do you think of the impact of life experiences in Thailand on them?
- Do you think they have a chance to be Thai? Why?
- What do you think of these Burmese children?
- Are there any negative attitudes from Thai people?
- Do you think they will choose to return to Myanmar or stay in Thailand?
- Does the Burmese here often come to the temple?
- Are they holding a funeral in the temple? Is the form of the funeral the same as the Thai?
- Will the Burmese come to the temple to hold a monastic ceremony?

VITA

NAME Shan Li
DATE OF BIRTH 20 September
PLACE OF BIRTH Shaanxi Province, P.R.C.



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CHULALONGKORN UNIVERSITY