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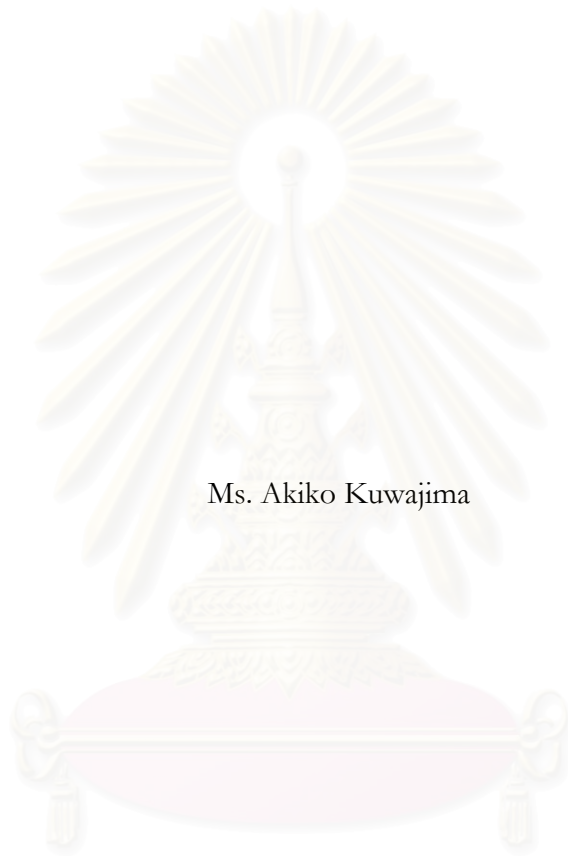
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**THAI LABOR MIGRATION TO JAPAN AND ITS IMPACT:
A CASE STUDY OF THAI IMMIGRANTS FROM A NORTHERN VILLAGE**



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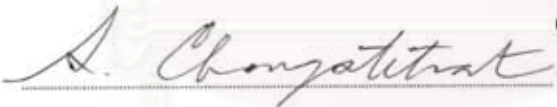
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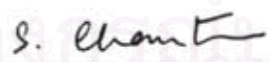
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วิทยานิพนธ์ฉบับนี้เป็นหนึ่งในความพยายามเก็บรวบรวมข้อมูลเกี่ยวกับระบบการอพยพย้ายถิ่นของแรงงานระหว่างไทยกับญี่ปุ่น และเพื่อค้นหาผลกระทบจากการย้ายถิ่น โดยปรับใช้ทฤษฎีระบบการอพยพย้ายถิ่น ในกรอบบริบท 4 ประการ ได้แก่ สังคม การเมือง เศรษฐกิจ และสติปัญญา ทั้งในประเทศผู้รับและประเทศผู้ส่ง โดยเฉพาะอย่างยิ่ง บริบททางการเมืองในญี่ปุ่น ซึ่งมีความสำคัญต่อการทำความเข้าใจระบบการอพยพย้ายถิ่นของแรงงานระหว่างไทยกับญี่ปุ่นในปัจจุบัน เนื่องจากนโยบายการเข้าเมืองของญี่ปุ่นในทุกวันนี้ไม่ต้อนรับผู้ย้ายถิ่นมาขายแรงงาน

ปัจจัยที่ก่อให้เกิดการอพยพย้ายถิ่นให้องค์ประกอบพื้นฐานซึ่งเชื่อมโยงเครือข่ายกันอย่างเป็นระบบ โดยปัจจัยหลักด้านเกี่ยวข้องกับภาวะเศรษฐกิจและสถานการณ์ทางสังคมในไทย ส่วนปัจจัยดั่งวงรั้งอิงอยู่กับสภาพการณ์ทางภูมิศาสตร์และภาวะเศรษฐกิจในญี่ปุ่น ปัจจัยทั้งสองด้านนี้ล้วนอธิบายว่าญี่ปุ่นต้องการแรงงานขาดทักษะความชำนาญ และไทยสามารถจัดหาแรงงานดังกล่าวนี้ให้ได้ เมื่อพิจารณาทุกๆ ปัจจัยอย่างรอบด้านประกอบกับภูมิหลังเรื่องการอพยพย้ายถิ่น พบว่ามีช่องว่างเกิดขึ้นระหว่างสถานการณ์ทางการเมืองในญี่ปุ่นและสภาพความเป็นจริงที่ดำรงอยู่ ช่องว่างนี้ทำให้เกิดและเสริมสร้างระบบการอพยพย้ายถิ่นของแรงงาน

ในระบบการอพยพย้ายถิ่นนี้ ผู้เข้าเมืองต่างต้องจ่ายค่านายหน้าราคาแพงให้กับผู้คัดคนเข้าทำงานและนายหน้า อย่างไรก็ตาม ผู้ย้ายถิ่นทุกคนมีโอกาสได้เป็นนายหน้าและผู้คัดคนเข้าทำงานในอนาคต พวกเขาสามารถหารายได้จำนวนมากหากประสบความสำเร็จในญี่ปุ่น ต่อมาคนเหล่านี้สามารถหาเงินได้ในฐานะผู้คัดคนเข้าทำงานและนายหน้า ดังนั้น การย้ายถิ่นไปญี่ปุ่นจึงมีทั้งความเสี่ยงสูงและผลตอบแทนสูง อย่างไรก็ตาม ไม่มีหลักฐานว่าแรงงานเหล่านี้จะมีชีวิตที่ประสบความสำเร็จในญี่ปุ่นได้ทุกคน จำเป็นต้องตระหนักว่า มีคนไทยหลายคนถูกกล่ดลงและกลายเป็นเหยื่อธุรกิจค้ำมนุษย์ข้ามชาติ ในสภาพการณ์เช่นนี้ เครือข่ายการอพยพย้ายถิ่นจึงก่อตัวขึ้นและดำเนินการครอบคลุมถึงกลุ่มเครือข่าย มิตรสหาย และบริษัทตัวแทนหลายแห่งของผู้อพยพย้ายถิ่น

ผลกระทบทางเศรษฐกิจต่อไทยเห็นได้อย่างชัดเจนและส่งเสริมให้แรงงานยังคงย้ายถิ่นไปอยู่ญี่ปุ่นเรื่อยๆ โดยเฉพาะอย่างยิ่ง มีการส่งเงินกลับประเทศ แต่ทว่า เงินจำนวนมากที่ต้องจ่ายให้นายหน้าเป็นอุปสรรคต่อแรงงานอพยพผู้ไม่สามารถหาเงินมาจ่ายได้ นอกจากนี้ การย้ายถิ่นยังก่อให้เกิดผลกระทบด้านลบทางสังคม เช่น ความแตกแยกในครอบครัว ได้แก่ ความสัมพันธ์นอกการสมรส ประเพณีนิยมการมีสามีหรือภรรยาหลายคนในเวลาเดียวกันและการหย่าร้าง การอยู่ห่างบ้านไปเป็นเวลานานสร้างปัญหาครอบครัวดังกล่าวนี้ให้กับผู้คืนถิ่น และสร้างความลำบากที่จะกลับมาอยู่ด้วยกับใหม่กับครอบครัวอีกครั้ง ทางฝ่ายญี่ปุ่น การย้ายถิ่นให้ผลกระทบหลากหลายทั้งทางเศรษฐกิจ การเมือง และสังคม ผู้ย้ายถิ่นจากไทยช่วยเติมเต็มการขาดแคลนแรงงานในญี่ปุ่น ธนาคารในญี่ปุ่นมีรายได้จากค่าบริการโอนเงินกลับบ้านของผู้ย้ายถิ่น ทางด้านการเมือง ประเด็นการย้ายถิ่นได้รับการอภิปรายกันอย่างกว้างขวาง เมื่อพิจารณาเรื่องประชากรผู้สูงอายุและอัตราการเกิดของประชากรในระดับต่ำของญี่ปุ่นแล้ว นับว่าผู้อพยพเป็นที่ต้องการเพื่อช่วยค้ำจุนสังคมญี่ปุ่น ดังนั้น ผลกระทบทางสังคมในอนาคตควรได้รับการพิจารณาไว้คร่าวๆ เนื่องจาก หากมีคนไทยย้ายถิ่นไปตกกระทบลำบากในญี่ปุ่น ประสพการณ์อันเลวร้ายจะส่งผลกระทบต่อความสัมพันธ์ในอนาคตระหว่างไทยกับญี่ปุ่น ผู้เขียนเชื่อว่าถึงเวลาแล้วที่ทั้งคนไทยและคนญี่ปุ่นต้องมาทำงานร่วมกันและช่วยกันคิดและพิจารณาประเด็นการอพยพย้ายถิ่นนี้อย่างจริงจัง

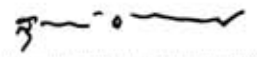
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This thesis is an attempt to capture the labor migration systems between Thailand and Japan, and find out the impact of migration with adapting migration systems theory which takes four contexts—social, political, economical and demographic—in both a sending and a receiving countries. Especially political context in Japan is important to understand the current labor migration systems between Thailand and Japan because under the current Japanese immigration policy, unskilled labor migrants are unwelcome.

Reasons of migration provide fundamental elements which bring well-organized networks. Push factors are related to social and economical situation in Thailand, on the other hand, pull factors are based on economical and geographical situations in Japan. All these factors explain that there is demand for unskilled labor in Japan and supply for unskilled labor in Thailand. Considering both factors together with background of migration, it is found out that there is a gap between Japanese political situation and the reality. This gap forms and strengthens the labor migration system.

In this migration system, migrants have to pay expensive brokerage to their recruiters and brokers. However, all migrants have potential to be future brokers and recruiters. They can raise a lot of money if they are successful in Japan and later, they can make money as recruiters and brokers. Migration to Japan is, thus, high risk and high return, however, there is no guarantee whether they can be successful or not in Japan. It has to be noted that there are many Thais who are cheated and become victim of human trafficking. In this condition, migration network has been created and organized involving migrants' relatives, friends and various kinds of agencies.

Economical impact on Thailand is obvious and encourages further labor migration to Japan, especially remittance. However, the high brokerage fees make it difficult for migrants who cannot afford to pay. There are also negative social impacts such as family disruption including extramarital relationships, polygamy and divorce. Long-time separation brings these family problems on some returnees and makes their reintegration difficult. On Japanese side, migration brings several impacts economically, politically, and socially. Migration from Thailand fills in labor shortage in Japan. Japanese banks earn from service charges in sending migrants' remittance. On the political aspect, migration issue has come to be discussed in various sectors. Considering aging of the population and low fertility in Japan, immigrants will be needed to sustain Japanese society. Thus, future social impact should be taken into consideration because if Thai migrants put in hard situation in Japan, their bitter experiences will affect on the future relationship between Thailand and Japan. The author believes that it is time for both Thai and Japanese people to work together and wrestle with migration issue.

Field of Studies

Thai Studies

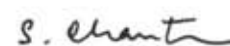
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I thank my parents who have supported me always and allowed me to pursue my studies in Thailand. Thank you, dad and mum, I love you always. I thank all my friends for their warm support and cheers. I wish to thank especially Maichin who has always supported me and put me a smile when I most needed it. I would not be able to complete my study in Thailand without her cheers. Thank you buddy!

I dedicated this thesis to my parents and to all Thai migrant workers in Japan.

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ABBREVIATIONS

ARCM	Asian Research Center for Migration
CI	Certificate of Identification
FDI	Foreign Direct Investment
GCIM	Global Commission on International Migration
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GNP	Gross National Product
IIES	Institute for Inter-Ethnic Studies Chiangrai Rajabhat University
ILO	International Labor Organization
IOM	International Organization for Migration
ISS	Institute of Social Studies
NICS	Newly Industrialized Countries
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
UN	United Nations



สถาบันวิทยบริการ
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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The hypothesis of this study is that there is a certain system of labor migration between Thailand and Japan. Moreover, Thai migration flows to Japan have brought about considerable impact socially, economically, and politically.

Since trends of Thai migration flows for employment in the 1990s shifted from the Middle East to Asia-Pacific destinations, Japan has become a popular destination for Thai migrant workers. Considering the increasing number of Thai migrants to Japan, it would be significant to find out the migration system and analyze the impact of migration on both Thailand and Japan.

1.1 Objective of Research

1.1.1 General Research Objectives

It is the general objective of this study to investigate the existing migration system between Thailand and Japan. In this context, the labor market segments into which Thai migrants are being recruited will be identified and the factors which facilitate the migratory process will be evaluated. Furthermore, the impact of migration will be addressed.

1.1.2 Specific Research Objectives

- 1) To study the system of Thai labor migration to Japan and their situation in Japan.
- 2) To study the impact of migration on Thailand and Japan.

1.2 Research Methodology

1.2.1 Research Design

This thesis relies on a combination of primary and secondary sources. Primary sources are life stories of Thai returnees from Japan which were conducted in corporation with the Institute of Inter-Ethnic Studies Chiangrai Rajabat University (IIES). Secondary data was collected from various sources which include existing studies and data from relevant organizations. These two activities were operated simultaneously.

1.2.2 Approaches

'Migration systems theory' was applied to achieve two objectives in this study. This theory is a combination of many existing approaches in order to create a more inclusive model of international migration study and is proposed as a model to investigate international migration in the Asia-Pacific region (Castles et al. 1993). Details of this theory will be given in the following chapter.

1.2.3 Questions for returnees

Questions for returnees include three parts which are 'before coming to Japan', 'working in Japan' and 'life after return' (Appendix). The first part has two sections about personal data and recruitment. The second part consists of four sections: jobs and living condition; brokers; social security; and period of stay and remittances. The last part contains two sections which are economical reintegration and social reintegration. Information was collected from Thai returnees from Japan in Northern part of Thailand. Normally, it took certain time to get enough trust from village people to elicit their experience in Japan, however, the trust of village people toward IIES made interviews easier. Interviewees introduced the author to other returnees whom they knew. Sampling of returnees from Japan were done in this way and extended in two provinces in Northern Thailand which were Chiangrai province and Phayao province.

1.3 Terminology

1.3.1 Immigration, Emigration and Migration

The Human movement before the establishment of state boundaries or within one state, is termed 'migration'. 'Immigration' in the modern sense refers to movement of people from one nation-state to another, where they are not citizens. 'Emigration' is the same as 'immigration' but from the perspective of the country of origin (Wikipedia: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Immigration#Differing_perspectives_on_immigration). Although 'immigration' implies long-term permanent residence (and often eventual citizenship) by the immigrants, in this study, both 'immigration' and 'emigration' will be used just to refer the movement of people same as the other migration studies. Thus, in this thesis, 'immigration' means the movement of people from the perspective of receiving country or Japan without any implication of their permanency. Meanwhile, 'emigration' means to the movement of people from the perspective of sending country or Thailand. 'Migration' can imply both 'immigration' and 'emigration'.

1.3.2 'Labor' Migration—Target of This Study

According to Chantavanich (2001: 13), Thai labor migrants in Japan can be divided into two categories; people who were migrant workers and people who went to work as trainees. This study focused on the first category, migrant workers. Thus, 'labor migration' in this thesis does not include trainees. Also, this study based on the interviews with Thai returnees from Japan who are living in Northern part of Thailand. Examination of the networks of migration is especially relied on the findings from the interviews to returnees. It is also important to note that the returnees whom the author could interview with were all 'economically' successful migrants. Even though some of them had problems in Japan, they were all successful in terms that they could bring back a lot of money to Thailand. Those returnees also told the author about the other Thai immigrants' stories who had very difficult lives in Japan. Thus, those information is also integrated into this study to seek about problems of immigrants in Japan.

CHAPTER II

THEORETICAL AND CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

2.1 Typologies of Migration

According to Russell (1992: 3, 4), international migration can be classified into five categories as follows.

2.1.1 Settler Migrants

Settler migrants are those whose movement across borders—whether legal or illegal—is essentially permanent. In many cases, the permanence of the move was not intended in the first instance, however migrant's preference for remaining in the new location increases with time and they will be categorized as settler migrants.

2.1.2 'Worker Migration' or 'Temporary Contract Labor'

In this category, migration includes generally low-paid workers, and is in theory circulatory. These workers are admitted for only limited periods, without accompanying family members, with the intention that they will circulate back to their homes after providing the desired labor services, earning high wages, and learning new skills. This thesis also put its focus on this category.

2.1.3 Skilled Labor Migration

The category includes short-term movements of skilled workers and technical personal to staff overseas posts. Such movements include intra-company transfers by multinational companies and governmental agencies, and the movement of those involved in international trade and commerce.

2.1.4 Students Migrants

The admission of foreign students for educational purpose is a policy practice of most nations. These migrants are admitted for limited time periods, and often are prohibited from employment during their status as students. In many cases, they too became permanent migrants by virtue of either violation of their limited-term admission or by legal adjustment of their status to a more permanent category.

2.1.5 Refugees and Asylum Seekers

Perhaps the most desperate, and paradoxically also the most privileged in some sense, are those international migrants whose quality as refugees who leave their home regions involuntarily. In addition, there are large and –so far increasing—numbers of asylum seekers who have escaped from fighting or political trouble in their own country and claim for refugee status. It is termed in some countries as ‘political asylum’ (ibid.: 8).

It is important to note that these categories are often quite soft around the edges (ibid.). In this thesis, the focus is put on the second category—worker migration or temporary contract labor—.

2.2 Migration Systems Approach

There are many theories and approaches for migration studies (table 2.1).

Table 2.1 Migration theories across disciplines

Discipline	Research Questions	Levels/Units of Analysis	Dominant Theories	Hypothesis
Anthropology	How does migration effect cultural change and affect ethnic identity?	More micro/individuals, households, groups	Relational or structuralist and transnational	Social networks help maintain cultural difference.
Demography	How does migration affect population change?	More macro/populations	Rationalist (borrow heavily from economics)	Immigration increases the birth rate.
Economics	What explains the propensity to migrate and	More micro/individuals	Rationalist: cost-benefit and push-pull	Incorporation depends on the human

	its effects?			capital of immigrants.
History	How do we understand the immigrant experience?	More micro/individuals and groups	Eschews theory and hypothesis testing	Not applicable
Law	How does the law influence migration?	Macro and micro/the political and legal system	Institutionalist and rationalist (borrows from all the social sciences)	Rights create incentive structures for migrants.
Political Science	Why do states have difficulty controlling migration?	More macro/political and international systems	Institutionalist and rationalist	States are often captured by pro-immigrant interests.
Sociology	What explains immigrant incorporation?	More macro/ethnic groups and social class	Structuralist and/or functionalist	Immigrant incorporation is dependent on social capital.

Source: Caroline 2000 p.3.

A lot of fields of the study have been engaged in migration issue, however, the study orientation and point of views are different in each field as follows (table 2.2).

Table 2.2 Modeling migrant behavior and its effects

Discipline	Dependent Variables	Independent Variables
Anthropology	Migrant behavior (emigration, integration)	Social and cultural context (transnational networks)
Demography	Population dynamics (distributions, levels, rates)	Migrant behavior as it effects population (e.g., fertility rates)
Economics	Migrant behavior (immigration and incorporation) and its economic impact	Wage/income differentials, demand-pull/supply-push, human capital, factor proportions
History	Migrant experience	Social/historical context
Law	Legal, political, social, and economic treatment of migrants	Law or policy
Political Science	Policy (admissionist or restrictionist) Outcomes (control and integration)	Institutions, rights Interests
Sociology	Migrant behavior (immigration and incorporation)	Networks, enclaves, social capital

Source: Caroline 2000 p.19.

Historically, network-related migration studies have started in 1960s and has developed with expanding its field. The findings of network-related migration studies can be summarized in Table 2.3.

Table 2.3 Network-related findings of illustrative studies (1964-1988)

Core aspects codes describe the dominant characterization of the study in terms of the following categories:

- (1) international [i] or internal [d]
- (2) geographic locus; origin [o], destination [d], both [o-d]
- (3) Region of Origin; Asia [RO1], Africa [RO2], Europe [RO3], USA or Canada [RO5], Central or South America [RO6]
- (4) Region of Destination (same as origin except RD prefix)
- (5) empirical base; ethnographic [EBE], survey [EBS], ethno-survey [EBES], literature review/analysis [EBL], other [EBO]
- (6) Principal focus; adaptation, survival [PFA], community evolution [PFE], channeling, selectivity [PFC], systems linkages [PFS]

Author	Year	Subject	Relevant findings/Argument	Core aspects*
MacDonald and MacDonald	1964	Secondary sources on Italian immigrants to the USA. 1880-1914	Familism and patronage, which were pervasive in the origin society, become the mechanisms used by immigrants in the USA to relay information and assistance to prospective migrants in their home town, leading to chain migration as well as recruitment into similar occupations.	(1) i (2) o-d (3) RO3 (4) RD4 (5) EBO (6) PFC
Tilly and Brown	1967	US internal migration to Wilmington, Delaware	Kin groups give a considerable amount of aid to and play a large part in the reception of newcomers to an industrial city, raising questions on the theory of uprooting, marginality, and disorganization. Kin networks also seen as constraining the integration of migrants in the destination society.	(1) d (2) d (3) RO4 (4) RD4 (5) EBS (6) PFA
Philpott	1968	Historical and observational data on	As a migrant's network includes more and more non-Montserratians, the tendency	(1) i (2) o-d (3) RO3

		Montserratians in Britain	to meet social obligations in the home society (by sending back money) declines. Socialization for migration common in origin society.	(4) RD5 (5) EBE/O (6) PFC/A
Choldin	1973	US internal migration (to Chicago)	Migrants can be preceded to the city by kinfolk, they can travel in the company of other kinfolk, or be received by kinfolk in the city; assistance to migrants is provided in the form of material necessities, establishing new social connections, and maintaining.	(1) d (2) d (3) RO4 (4) RD4 (5) EBS (6) PFA
Hendrix	1975	Survey of traced out migrants from an Arkansas town	Effort to integrate micro and macro levels with regard to operation of migrant networks. Finds that migrant destinations are consistent with macro expectations based on the intervening opportunities framework. Networks operate on the macro level selecting particular migrants and influencing mode of insertion at destination.	(1) d (2) o-d (3) RO4 (4) RD4 (5) EBS (6) PFC
Lommitz	1976	Shanty town families in Mexico City from rural origins	Networks of reciprocal exchange fluctuate over time, and are reinforced by traditional social mechanisms such as fictive kinship and confianza (trust). As a survival strategy in a different existence, networks become the means for the mutual exchange of information, job assistance, loans, services, and moral support.	(1) d (2) d (3) RO5 (4) RD5 (5) EBE (6) PFA
Ross and Weisner	1977	Rural-urban migrants in Kenya	Families typically maintain two households, located in the rural and urban settings; rural-urban ties increase in strength among migrants who are more successful in the city and are dependent on availability of resources in rural origin area; social behavior must be conceptualized as taking place in two locations within a single	(1) d (2) o-d (3) RO2 (4) RD4 (5) EBS (6) PFA

			social field.	
Hugo	1981	Secondary sources on Third World and West Java data on village-to-city movement	Movement of migrants from villages into the city occurs largely through interpersonal friendship and kin connections, which remove much of the uncertainty and facilitate the decision to move as well as cushioning the adjustment of migrants after arrival. See also: Ritchey 1976; Hugo 1987; Goldscheider 1987	(1) i, d (2) o (3) various (4) various (5) EBL (6) PFC/S
Banerjee	1983	Migrants in New Delhi from rural areas	Presence of absorptive and social networks influences the choice of destination reduce the psychological and momentary costs of migration by easing adjustment and assisting in employment and placement.	(7) d (8) d (9) RO1 (10) RD1 (11) EBS (12) PFA/C
Griffith	1986	Households in Jamaica with and without a temporary migrant worker in the USA	Migrant workers tend to have extensive and competing kinship networks at origin which are useful for social security purposes, but which also lead to dispersal of earnings and inability to accumulate capital or to consolidate wealth.	(1) i (2) o (3) RO5 (4) RD4 (5) EBE (6) PFC
Caces	1986-87	Filipino immigrants in Hawaii	Personal networks are extremely effective in locating employment for newly arrived immigrants; however, their effectiveness is limited to specific occupations with high concentrations of immigrant workers.	(1) i (2) d (3) RO1 (4) RD4 (5) EBS (6) PFA/C
Gurak and Kritz	1987	Domination and Colombian immigrants in New York City	Extent and types of assistance received upon arrival described (universal and broad in scope), and effects of intensity of aid on English acquisition (strong negative) and economic success (weakly negative) determined net of background.	(1) i (2) d (3) RO5 (4) RD4 (5) EBS (6) PFA
Messey and García-	1987	Mexican migration to the	Networks reduce direct monetary costs of	(1) i (2) o-d

Espana		USA with data on both ends of flow	international movement by providing cost-saving information; opportunity costs are lowered by networks shortening the employment-seeking period; and psychic costs are reduced by networks establishing entrée. (See also Massey <i>et al.</i> 1987)	(3) RO5 (4) RD4 (5) EBES (6) PFS/C
Chavez	1988	Undocumented and legal Mexican migrants to the USA (San Diego)	Migrants without their families in the USA remain members of their households in Mexico and contribute to those households in the USA no longer participate in voluntary return migration and become settlers. Family status influences settlement more legal status.	(1) i (2) d (3) RO5 (4) RD4 (5) EBS (6) PFA/S
Griffiths	1988	Retired plantation workers after their return to the Philippines from Hawaii	Kin and village network ties are reformed after decades of absence through marriage of elderly retirees with much younger wives—an exchange that involves economic resources and potential recruitment into an immigration chain, on the one hand, and obtaining a care and support network in old age, on the other hand.	(1) i (2) o (3) RO1 (4) RD4 (5) EBE (6) PFC

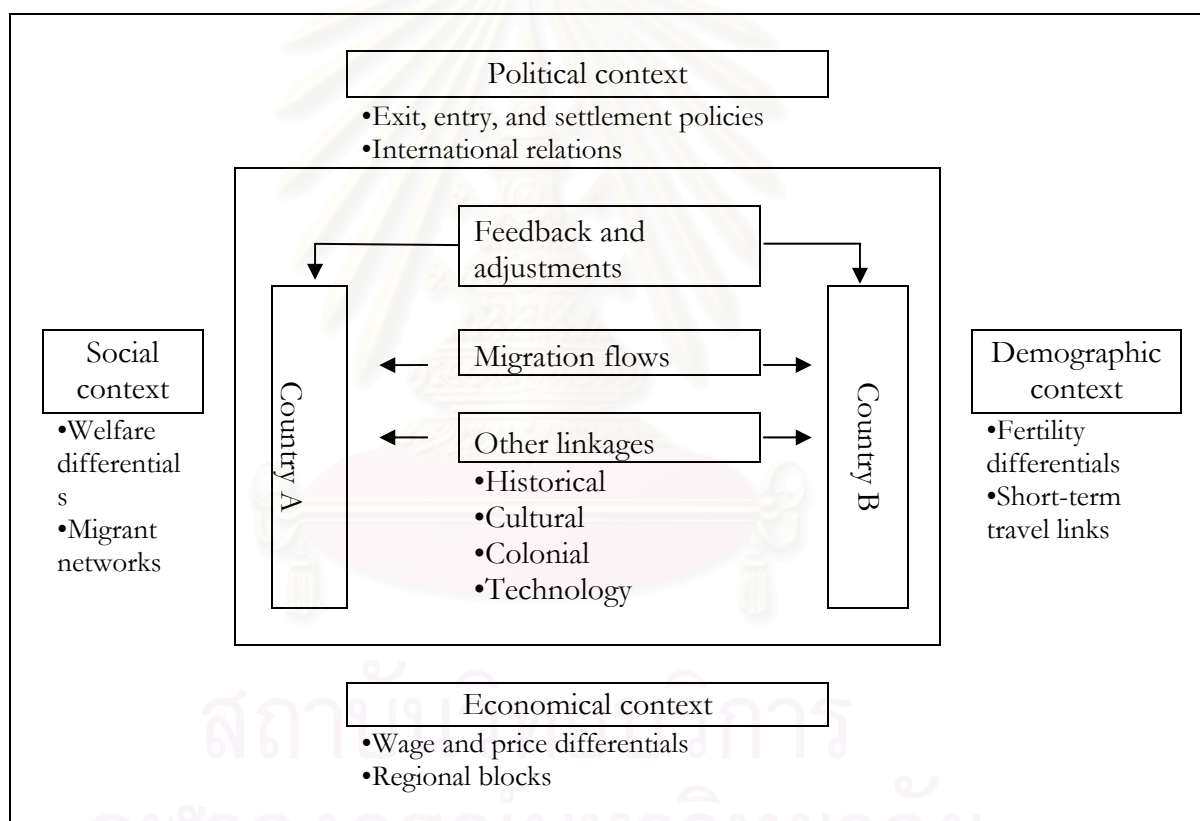
Source: Douglas T. Gurak and Fe Caces (Mary 169-172). The rows of contents are re-arranged by author ascendingly according to the published-year.

There are many approaches in migration study, however, this study adopts migration systems theory. In this theory, links between the two countries are examined in political, social, economic, and demographical contexts with focusing on the causes and impacts of international migration from both a sending- and receiving- country perspective. Since this thesis examines about the migration system and impact on both Thailand and Japan, this system approach will be useful to achieve the objectives of this study.

2.2.1 Brief Description of a Systems Approach

Calls for a migration systems approach tend to follow from recognition that to capture the changing trends and patterns of contemporary international migration requires a dynamic perspective (Kritz 1992: 2). Consideration of the causes and impacts of international migration from both a sending- or a receiving country perspective will make it possible to convey the dynamics associated with the evolution of the flow, from its origins, through the shifts in its composition and volume as it matures, taking account of return migration and remittances, and of the policy and structural conditions at origin and destination that shape migration.

Figure 2.1 Migration systems approach framework of international migration



Source: Kritz 1992: 3.

Figure 2.1 presents a schema of a migration systems approach to international migration, indicating that both migration and other flows link countries together into a system. Such flows occur within national contexts whose policy, economic, technological, and social dimensions are constantly changing, partly in response to the feedbacks and adjustments that stem from the migration flow itself. People move in both directions, from country A to B and vice versa, possibly in multiple stages as the number of countries

included in the system increase beyond the minimum of two. Moreover, population exchanges within the system involve not only permanent migrants, migrant workers, or refugees, but also students, military personnel, business men, and even tourists since such short-term movements frequently set the conditions for subsequent long-term ones. While countries characterized by higher wages and better welfare conditions are usually at the receiving end of substantial migrant inflows, be they for permanent settlement, temporary work abroad, or asylum seekers, sending countries, generally characterized by lower wages and poorer welfare conditions, may also receive substantial return flows or even inflows of foreigners having needed skills (manager, technicians, professionals, etc.). Remittances generally flow towards the relatively disadvantaged countries.

Key dimensions and each context which is brought up in the Figure 2.1 will be explained in the following sections.

2.2.2 Historical Perspective

What are the key dimensions and processes that need to be considered in studying international migration systems? In addition to the spatial dimension that demarcates all countries in a system, a time dimension is essential to capture flow and counter-flow dynamics. Thus, a historical perspective on migration allows one to identify the pattern of interactions between migrations. Also, structural conditions in the countries of origin and destination within a system will be identified. In this thesis, chapter III will provide historical perspective of both Thailand and Japan.

2.2.3 Political, Economical and Demographical Context

Economic and political linkages between those countries should be traced. In a system, for instance, one would expect tourist and student flows to follow the same paths as migrant flows and to stimulate long-term migration by promoting personal contacts and the exchange of information. In addition to such population movements, linkages in the economic and political spheres also shape migration, evolving and changing over time and thereby affecting the supply of and demand for migrants (ibid.). Increasingly, labor markets are expanding beyond the boundaries of the nation state, with both companies and

governments looking abroad for employees with the skills required to get a job done. In some cases, mainly unskilled labor may be needed due to demographic shortages as in Middle East and Japan, while in others managerial and technical skills are of labor markets, the migration policies of industrial democracies have themselves contributed to the evolution of migration systems by giving priority to close family ties in selecting migrants for admission (ibid.). Consequently, it is relevant that chain migration is now the dominant pattern of long-term movement to those democracies, allowing the migrants themselves to be important actors in maintaining and increasing migration flows and system linkages (ibid.).

These political, economical and demographical perspective will be taken into account in Chapter III, IV and IV in this thesis.

2.2.4 Social Context: Networks

While economic and political structure and ties among nation states define the systems within which international migration flows are likely to occur, they do not explain who is likely to become a migrant or why only a subset of persons ever actually migrates. To answer these questions it is necessary to look at the actual processes whereby macro conditions and policies connect to potential migrants. Those processes include networks of both institutions and individuals that assist with the mobilization and recruitment of migrants and with the actual organization of migration. Operation at and between macro levels, networks link the various countries together into a coherent migration system.

Networks are a relatively new topic of study for migration scholars. Although their networks are static sets of kin and friends who provide information, resources, and assistance to migrants, however, Gurak and Caces (1992: 150) argue that networks need to be looked at as dynamic relationships and variable social arrangements that vary across ethnic groups and time, and shape migration and its sequels. In particular, they argue that individuals are embedded in numerous formal and informal networks at origin and destination that affect migration outcomes and, therefore, that those networks should be analyzed to identify how they operate to promote or constrain migration. Networks at origin, for example, can either restrain or encourage an individual to migrate depending on

the extent to which they provide economic and social support and networks at destination can facilitate or discourage adaptation and integration depending on the extent to which they give migrants access to diverse resources. Moreover, networks between origin and destination can play critical roles in channeling information, migrants, remittances, and norms that integrate migration as a survival mechanism into the institutional framework of the community of origin (Kritz 1992: 6).

Migration networks can consist of institutions as well as individuals and be national or transnational in scope. Numerous formal institutions, including multinational corporations, transnational organizations, recruitment and travel agencies, government institutions, and financial institutions facilitate the flow of migrants and remittances. Many of these institutions operate as intermediaries between the state and some of them, such as multinational corporations, could be conceptualized as actors in elite networks that take on functions similar to networks facilitating mass migration, that is, they provide the information, resources, and assistance required for migration to take place. The migration of elites—highly skilled professionals, managers, technicians, and foreign students—discussed by Kritz and Caces (1992: 239, 240) is facilitated by those elite institutional networks.

While most formal institutions operate legally and facilitate moves that directly benefit them, by satisfying their labor needs or collecting fees, there are other networks of extra-legal institutions and intermediaries which are involved in organizing migration flows which taking advantage of migrants' vulnerability (Singhanetra-Renard 1992: 204). Just as formal organizations do, these extra-legal intermediaries also operate between the macro economic and policy context, on the one hand, and individual migrants, on the other. However, their clients are likely to come from the ranks of the masses who cannot qualify for or afford the legal means of migrating to another country. Networks of legal and extra-legal institutions can be conceptualized as extending from the macro to the micro level, while migrant networks operate in the reverse direction, i.e. they link individual migrants to formal organizations, extra-legals, and/or governmental institutions that can assist with migration (Kritz 1992: 7).

While networks are an integral element of established migration flows, their role in the genesis of flows is less clear. In most cases the roots of migration flows are found in historical factors, some perhaps fortuitous, that place certain localities and people in an advantageous situation, enabling them to establish communication with people in other locales.

Network is one of the major parts of this thesis and will be examined in chapter IV.

2.2.5 Linkage between Legal and Illegal Migration Flows

The genesis of many migration flows can often be traced to governmental or institutional actions. For instance, many contemporary migrations can be traced to labor recruitment activities of governments or employers. Governments, for example, have played a critical role in shaping flows of Asian workers to the Middle East, while employers have taken the lead in stimulating other migrant flows such as that of Mexicans to the United States and flows from Bolivia and Paraguay to Argentina (ibid.). Flows of foreign students are also promoted by government or charitable institutions or funding agencies, and may serve as channels for subsequent migration. Although migrant networks themselves would not be likely to play a critical role in the genesis of legitimate refugee flows, they may influence their subsequent development.

Once established, whether by official recruitment or other means, a migration flow tends to develop its own momentum largely through the operation of migrant and institutional networks. Kritz (1992) pointedly comments:

Balas, Garson, Simmons and Guengant, and Wilpert argue...that networks sustain this momentum even as economic incentives to migrate are reduced in different parts of the system and as migration controls are tightened by the country of destination. The similarity of their conclusions in view of the policy and contextual differences of the migration systems studies offers convincing evidence of the role of networks as sustaining mechanisms.

It is relatively easy to understand how migrant networks could give independent momentum to flows across contiguous land borders and relatively permissive policy

contexts, however, it is not as clear how they do so in restrictive-policy contexts where migrants come from non-contiguous countries. Wilpert (1992: 186) addresses this issue:

[M]igrant networks played comparable roles in the flows from Mexico to the United States and from Turkey to Germany. While Germany suspended new inflows of guest-workers in the mid-1970s, it continued to allow migrants already in Germany to bring in their spouses and dependent children. Thus, new migrations occurred as second-generation. Turks in Germany sought spouses in their ethnic communities in Turkey. The large families of Turkish migrants combined with their rural origins and minority status have given rise to a self-sustaining flow of new migrants linking origin and destination communities.

These points are also taken into consideration in chapter IV in this thesis.

2.2.6 Linkages and Feedback Mechanisms

The systems approach also calls attention to changing linkages and feedback mechanisms between countries in the migration system. One linkage that generates other exchanges is remittances, which are channeled by migrants to families back home both through migrant networks operating at the micro level and through financial institutions. Governments of many developing countries promote or accept labor migration because of the remittances generated. Arnold (1992: 217) mentions that the relational dynamics between remittances, on the one hand, and population movements, trade, and capital flows, on the other, and argues that remittances are likely to stimulate further migration both by altering aspirations and providing the resources needed to migrate. Trade can also be stimulated by remittances and migration if migrants purchase goods for relatives back home or if migrants who return home stimulate demand for foreign goods they grew accustomed to while there were abroad. Migrant entrepreneurs may encourage trade if they set up businesses abroad that involve exports from their country of origin or if they set up a business importing foreign goods after they return home.

These points will be taken into consideration in chapter IV and V.

2.2.7 Importance of a Systems Approach

The growing interdependence of the modern world, coupled with the revolutionary changes in technology and development that this century has witnessed, has led to increasingly complex population movements across international borders whose characteristics, causes, and implications can be elucidated by using a systems approach. This approach leads naturally to the conceptualization of a migration system as a network of countries linked by migration interactions whose dynamics are largely shaped by the functioning of a variety of networks linking migration actors at different levels of aggregation. The attention given to the role of institutional and migrant networks in channeling and sustaining migration is a key aspect of the systems approach.

An important facet of the systems approach is its attempt at considering the whole spectrum of population movements so as to elucidate the interactions between different types of migrant flows or different types of migration statuses. Population movements of various types are occurring among countries. The adoption of a wide perspective with regard to migration can advance our understanding about the coexistence of inflows and outflows of migrants.



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CHAPTER III

BACKGROUND

This chapter provides background of Thai labor migration to Japan. Since this thesis takes broader points of view to examine as the author mentioned already in chapter I and II, this chapter goes into four sections. In the first section, the point of view is put in the Asia Pacific region to capture the dynamics of international migration flows. The second section describes emigration flows in Thailand and the third section shifts its point of view to Japan. Considering these three sections, the last section will provide mature background of Thai labor migration to Japan.

3.1 International Migration in the Asia Pacific

International migration, the movement of people across international boundaries, has economic, cultural and social implications in both origin and destination countries. It is estimated that some 180 million people (three percent of the world's population) are living in countries in which they were not born (Çağlar Özaden and Maurice Schiff 2006: 1).-

Table 3.1 International migrants by region of destination, 1960-2000 (millions)

Region	1960	1970	1980	1990	2000
World	75.9	81.5	99.8	154.0	174.9
Developed countries	32.1	38.3	47.7	89.7	110.3
Developing countries	43.8	43.2	52.1	64.3	64.6
Africa	9.0	9.9	14.1	16.2	16.3
Asia	29.3	28.1	32.3	41.8	43.8
Latin America & the Caribbean	6.0	5.8	6.1	7.0	5.9
North America	12.5	13.0	18.1	27.6	40.8
Oceania	2.1	3.0	3.8	4.8	5.8
Europe	14.0	18.7	22.2	26.3	32.8
USSR (former)	2.9	3.1	3.3	30.3	29.5

Source: UN/DESA 2004: viii

Among all, population movement in Asia region is outstanding as Table 3.1 shows. In this section, international migration movement is examined especially focused on Asian and the Pacific region to capture the Thai labor migration flows to Japan in the broader context.

3.1.1 Brief History of International Migration in the Asia Pacific

In the colonial period, millions of indentured workers were recruited or sometimes by force, within European empires, and transported to other regions and continents. However, by the 1880s, discriminatory legislation was enacted to prevent these movements. Such restrictions kept Asian migration at fairly low levels in the first half of the twentieth century (Castles 2000: 104, 105).

The massive growth in Asian migration from the 1970s was closely linked with the development of economic and political relationships with the industrial countries in the post-colonial period. Western penetration through trade, aid and investment created the material means and the cultural capital necessary for migration. The rapid industrial take-off some areas and the continuing stagnation of others led to massive labor movements, first to the Gulf oil countries within Asia.

By the mid-1990s, there were estimated to be about three million Asians employed outside their own countries within the Asian region, and another three million employed in other continents (Martin et al. 1996: 163). The number of illegal migrants could only be guessed at, but might well exceed that of legal migrants. The situation is complicated by the emergence of a 'migration industry': large number of migration agents or labor recruiters, motivated by commercial or other consideration (ibid.). These people organize migration through transnational networks, which are difficult for governments to control (Castles 2000: 105). Some agents have links with organized crime, and indulge in the trafficking of illegal migrants, the abuse of women and children.

A key phenomenon is the increasing feminization of migration. One survey shows that 1.5 million Asian women were working abroad by the mid-1990s, and in many migratory movements they outnumbered men (ibid.). Trends of female migration in East and Southeast Asia have increased tremendously since 1980. This tendency began with opportunities for women in manufacturing sectors such as electronic assembly and garment manufacture, however, categories for female employment has shifted to domestic helpers, nurses and entertainers recently (Chantavanich and Risser 2000: 16).

3.1.2 The Migration Systems of the Asian Pacific Region

Many countries experience multiple migratory flows, each with its own specific causes, characteristics and effects. However, these flows can be seen as part of a number of 'migration systems', consisting of groups of countries linked by migration and other interchanges. Castles (2000: 105-110) explains the major migrations of the Asian Pacific region are:

- 1) Migration from Asian countries to Western Europe, North America, Australia and New Zealand;
- 2) Contract labor migration to the Middle East;
- 3) Labor migration within Asia;
- 4) Mobility of highly qualified personnel;
- 5) Movements of refugees and asylum-seekers.

Above all, the third one is related to this thesis topic and will be discussed in the following section.

3.1.3 Labor Migration within Asia

From the mid-1980s, rapid economic growth and declining fertility led to considerable demand for migration labor in some Asian countries, including Japan. There are broadly two systems of labor migration. The first and by far the largest involves namely unskilled and semi-skilled workers who are employed in low paid, low status, so-called 3D (dirty, dangerous and demanded) jobs and they are drawn predominantly from the South

Asian nations, Indonesia, Thailand, the Philippines, China, Burma and Vietnam (Hugo 2005: 7, 8). The second group are much smaller in number but still significant and involve highly skilled professionals drawn mainly from India, Bangladesh, Pakistan, Sri Lanka and the Philippines (ibid.). In the contemporary situation, it is possible to classify Asian nations according to whether they have significant gains or losses of migrant workers (Table 3.2).

Table 3.2 Classification of Asian nations on the basis of their international labor migration situation

Mainly emigration	Mainly immigration	Both significant immigration and emigration
Philippines, Bangladesh Cambodia, Laos China, Sri Lanka Indonesia, Vietnam Pakistan, Burma Nepal	South Korea Taiwan Singapore Japan Hong Kong Brunei	Malaysia Thailand

Source: Hugo 2005: 8.

In Japan and the NICs, fertility decline was earlier and economic growth has been more rapid and sustained over a long period. Despite strict immigration regulations, the shortage of labor in these countries has led to major inflows of workers both documented and undocumented. These countries were mainly regions of emigration in the first decades of the post-war period but have been through a rapid transition to become substantial immigration nations. This transition has been much rapid than the equivalent transition in Europe and is a distinctive feature of the Asian international migration situation (ibid.). Thailand and Malaysia are midway through this transition and are recording both substantial emigration and significant immigration of workers from nearby labor surplus nations.

3.1.4 Undocumented Migration in Asia

As Castles (2003: 6) has pointed out, the overwhelmingly dominant policy model for dealing with migration in Asia is not to allow permanent settlement and greatly restrict

non-permanent migration, especially unskilled workers. Confronted with barriers to entering countries, international migration, which occurs outside of official immigration control systems, has increased exponentially.

Table 3.3 Estimated of the numbers of Asian illegal migrants in selected countries in the early 2000s

Country	Numbers involved	Source of information
Japan	600,000	Tigno 1997, 1987
South Korea	185,719	Asian Migration News, 31 December 2004
Philippines	150,000	Migration News, August 1995
Taiwan	16,365	Lee 2005
Malaysia	1,200,000	Asian Labor News, 17 December 2004
Singapore	35,000	Battistella 2002
Thailand	1,512,587	Chalamwong 2005
Bangladesh	110,000	Asian Migration News, 15 January 2005

Source: Hugo 2005: 22.

Thailand has become a major transit country for Indians, Pakistanis, Bangladeshis, Sri Lanka and Nepalese headed for the U. S, Canada, Europe, Japan and Korea while many stay in Thailand or go to Malaysia. Moreover, Thailand is the center of the syndicated trafficking women and children (ibid.: 24). Thailand receives women and children from Burma, China and Laos and distribute them with Thai women and children to Japan, Taiwan, Malaysia and outside the region. This movement is increasing dominated by syndicated and criminal gangs. Even *Yakuza* or Japanese mafia have set up in Thailand and are involved in the trade (ibid.). Thai women are among the largest illegal migrant groups in Japan, numbering more than 100,000 (Hugo 2005: 25).

Battistella and Asis (2003: 5) estimated that in the Southeast Asian region alone there were around two million illegal migrants. It is important to note that undocumented and documented systems are not totally separate, although they are often portrayed as such (ibid.). Usually undocumented flows duplicated documented flows, some middlemen and officials are involved in both types of movements and the networks established by documented migrants are often utilized by later undocumented migrants.

3.2 A Brief History of Emigration in Thailand

From 1983 onwards, the number of Thais working abroad jumped significantly, partly as a result of the government policy of exporting labor.

Archavanitkul (1993) divides international emigration of Thai labor until the 1990s into four periods as follows.

- 1) 1967-77: the start of labor migration
- 2) 1978-81: a rise in demand for migrant labor abroad
- 3) 1982-87: demand for migrant labor slackened while the supply increased
- 4) 1988-the present: employment agencies make even more extravagant promises to entice potential workers

Explanations of each period will be given in the following sections.

3.2.1 The Start of Labor Migration: 1967-1977

Overseas labor migration became an outstanding national phenomenon for Thailand in the 1970s. At first, female migration to Europe, especially Germany, started to show an increase (Ito and Chunjitaruna 2001: 14). Beginning in around 1975, male labor migration to oil rich countries in the Middle East began to emerge rapidly and soon replaced the female migration as the dominant emigration pattern of Thailand. At the same time, as Thailand was becoming more integrated into the global economy, the consumption patterns of people especially in rural areas began to change dramatically (ibid.). At the beginnings of these international migrations, migrant workers received relatively high wages and labor recruiting agencies paid all expenses.

3.2.2 A Rise in Demand for Migrant Labor Abroad: 1978-1981

Since the migrants at the primary stage of international migration could find relatively good jobs of high income, this attracted many Thais to work abroad. More

employment agencies also sprang up, however, increasingly the migrants themselves were expected to pay expenses. There were few reports of fraud or deceit (Archavanitkul 1993.: 24, 25).

3.2.3 Demand for Migrant Labor Slackened While the Supply Increased: 1982-1987

Combined with a high unemployment rate in the Northeast region and the migration promotion policy by Thai government, it is believed that more than 100,000 Thai nationals went to work in the Middle East annually from 1980 to 1985 (Ito and Chunjitaruna 2001: 14). In addition, brokerage fees rose, and it was reported that workers mortgaged their rice farms to enable them to pay the commission charges. Deceit by recruiters became more common. Many workers arrived to discover their earnings were lower than promised.

Official government policy on the export of labor was first recorded in the Fifth National Social and Economic Development Plan between 1982 to 1986. This plan was formulated only after the increase in emigration (Skrobanek 1997: 25). Following the enunciation of government policy, migrant workers experienced a decrease in pay and growing problems with migration. The export of labor became second highest foreign exchange earner (ibid.).

3.2.4 Employment Agencies Make Even More Extravagant Promises to Entice Potential Workers: 1988-the Present

Workers pay brokerage to the agents or recruiters which was around 80,000 to 250,000 baht (US\$3,300-10,400) until around the 1990s, however, this price has been increasing. Many workers have been sent abroad by agents and employers. The government continues to encourage the export of labor.

Table 3.4 Thai migrant labors registered with the Department of Labor: 1990-1993

Country	Men		Women		Totals
	Number	%	Number	%	
Germany	412	36.9	704	63.1	1,116
Hong Kong	815	4.0	19,498	96.0	20,313
South Korea	68	29.8	160	70.2	228
Japan	9,542	49.4	9,779	50.6	19,321
England	319	49.5	326	50.5	645

Source: Ministry of Labor and Social Welfare; cited in Pongsapich 1994: 54.

In the late 1980s, the newly industrialized countries (NICs) in East and Southeast Asia became the new poles of attraction, compensating for the slowdown in the demand for workers in the Gulf countries (Asis 2005: 3). In addition, this tendency was motivated by the incident that a Thai migrant worker stole jewels from a royalty of Saudi Arabia. In the process of searching jewels, the corruption of the Thai police made the situation even worse. The diplomatic relations between Thailand and Saudi Arabia deteriorated and Saudi Arabian government decided not to employ Thai migrants.

Table 3.5 Numbers of Thai workers abroad: 1980-1993

Country	1980	1985	1988	1989	1990	1991	1992	1993
Germany	N/A	N/A	383	455	548	363	171	185
England	N/A	2	268	338	316	247	60	64
All Europe	N/A	2	893	1,056	1,119	1,007	935	898
America	N/A	3	3,240	3,864	3,731	2,167	978	706
All Asia	723	7,954	21,747	31,536	29,492	38,477	56,164	118,537
Middle East	20,761	61,659	92,175	87,748	27,478	21,354	22,839	17,019
Others	N/A	76	902	1,110	1,204	844	799	727
Total	21,484	69,685	118,957	125,314	63,024	63,849	81,715	137,887

Source: Ministry of Labor and Social Welfare; cited in Pongsapich 1994: 54.

This incident encouraged Thai labor migrants to go to work in the Asia Pacific regions. As table 3.5 shows, the number of Thai migrants who migrated to Asia Pacific regions was increased by 21.93 percent in 1992. The ratio of Asia Pacific regions to the

other regions on emigration was around 9 to 1 and this tendency was called ‘Asianization of labor migration’ (Chantavanich 2006: 92).

From 1976 to 1990, there was a five-fold increase in remittances from overseas workers, from 485 million baht to 24.9 billion baht (US\$1 billion) (Skrobarek et al 1997: 25). Most of this comes in the form of Japanese yen. Twenty percent of all migrant workers were women, who contributed 4.95 billion baht (about US\$200 million) to the national economy in 1991 (ibid.). Also, attended by this tendency, human trafficking issue has been emerged.

3.3 A Brief History of Immigration in Japan

In Japan, historical isolation led to a high degree of cultural homogeneity although with both indigenous and immigrants minorities. The move to a modern nation-state has been based on a notion of ethnic belonging, which finds it hard to accommodate new groups (Castles 2000: 136). Nations based on ethnic belonging are seemed to be unwilling to accept immigrants and their children as members. Acceptance of new linguistic and cultural diversity is seen as a threat to national culture (ibid.). This tendency results in restrictive immigration policies, an ideology of not being a country of immigration even when mass immigration has taken place, the denial of civil and political rights to immigrants, and highly restrictive policies on citizenship for immigrants and their descendants immigration policies are based on the notion that admission of migrants is only a temporary expedient. Japanese immigration policy reflects this very well. In this section, brief history of immigration in Japan will be described to get a basic idea for better understanding of the feature of Thai immigration flows to Japan.

3.3.1 Immigration up to the Early Post Second World War

Records show Chinese migrants were living in Japan in the seventeenth century, with their numbers increasing until the cession of Taiwan to Japan in 1895 (Douglass and Roberts 2000: 5). By the end of the Second World War, there were about 28,000 Taiwanese together with 34,000 mainland Chinese in Japan (ibid.). By far the largest foreign presence in contemporary Japan is that of Koreans which was colonized in 1910 by Japan, and

Korean workers subsequently came into Japan as well as forced labor. By 1938, approximately 800,000 Koreans resided in Japan, compared to 30,000 in the 1920s (Yamawaki 1996). During the Second World War, a lot of Koreans were brought into Japan and by 1945, there were 2,100,000 Koreans living in Japan (ibid.).

With a vast supply of returning soldiers and rural labor reserves available to provide cheap labor for Japan's recovery and brought economic rise. Migration from all countries to Japan was minimized after the Second World War up to the late 1970s (Morita and Iyotani 1994).

3.3.2 The 1970s to the Present

Rural migrants were the pool of low-wage labor in Japan, however, by the mid-1970s, this was changing rapidly and village Japan had been decimated. On the other hand, national population residing in urban places had increased from a little over one-third in 1950 to more than three-quarters (Douglass and Roberts 2000: 6). With income and wages rising, the stage was being set for foreign migration into urban Japan. This began in the 1980s when labor scarcities combined with the rising value of the yen against the dollar, especially those in small and medium-sized manufacturing and construction industries, with severe problems of reducing costs to compete in foreign as well as domestic markets. The use of foreign migrant labor became Japan's next source of low-cost workers in the 1980s.

The first immigration flows in the 1970s after the Second World War took the form of the recruitment of Asian women into Japan's domestic sex industry. By the 1990s, over 50,000 women were coming to Japan annually as so-called 'entertainers'. Thus, Japan's labor migration initially consisted overwhelmingly of women, however, from the latter half of the 1980s, male immigrants who were hired for low-wage jobs began to increase (ibid.). The outcome of increased demand for male workers is an almost equal balance in the numbers of male and female workers coming to Japan in recent years.

The key events in the early 1990s was the revision of immigration laws which characterized that Japan opens the doors to large-scale immigration of workers of Japanese descent (*Nikkeijin*), predominantly from Latin America and closes the doors to the all other

migrants seeking low-wage work in Japan. Also, this change came from the policy that 'desirable' migrants such as those who have special and technical skills will be encouraged to immigrate into Japan. On the other hand, those 'undesirable' migrants or unskilled labors will be kept off. However, at the same time, Japanese government decided to accept trainees to make up for the labor shortage in Japan.

Akashi (2003) explains that the recent feature of Japanese immigration law is the diversity of several actors and the emergence of sectionalism. While Japanese new immigration policies in the 1990s tend not to accept unskilled labors, small and medium-sized manufactories need unskilled labors and this situation has made a gap between the policy and the reality. Responding to the demand of small and medium-sized manufactories, some parties, especially Liberal Democratic Party, try to change the policy toward acceptance of foreign unskilled labors. In addition, the low fertility and aging of the population have been pushed this movement to change the policy toward the acceptance of foreign workers in Japan. However, the acceptance of unskilled labors is still controversial and there have been a great divide between negative actors for unskilled workers such as ministries and bureaucrats, and positive actors who wish to accept unskilled workers such as the small and the medium sized businesses, NGOs, and local governments (Akashi 2003). As a result, in Japan, many actors take part in the process of policymaking.

3.4 Thai Labor Migration to Japan

3.4.1 A Brief History of Migration from Thailand to Japan

When the world's oil price dropped in 1985, Thai migrants began to return and shifted their favored destination to Asian countries such as Japan, Singapore, Hong Kong and Taiwan as the author mentioned already in the past section. As a result, from the late 1980s to the mid 1990s, Japan, with its strong currency, has emerged as one of the largest destination countries for Thai migrant workers, matched also by the demands of Japanese economy and its serve labor shortage for unskilled workers in small and medium-size businesses. The unpopularity of so-called 3D jobs in Japan accelerated this tendency.

Especially between 1986 to 1991 when the economic boom in Japan reached its peak, the number of foreign workers dramatically increased.

Nevertheless, the Japanese government kept its tight immigration policy not to accept any unskilled migrant labor. This made a lot of Thai migrant workers enter Japan with tourist visas, while some had student and pre-college visas. Those workers become illegal workers after their visas expired in 90 days, then, without legal status, they face various problems such as unfair treatment, violation of their human rights, exploitation by unscrupulous brokers and employers.

3.4.2 Feature

According to the Japanese Immigration Bureau, Japan has received approximately between 2.5 and 3.6 million foreign nationals per year during last decades and roughly two millions of those were from Asian countries as of 1998 (Ito and Chunjitkaruna 2001: 15). In contrast, the number of Thai new entrants has been very marked. As table 3.6 shows, in 1991, Thai new entrants exceeded over 100,000. The number sharply shrank by less than half in only seven years. Such dramatic change in number is not observed in other nationalities (ibid.). Looking at the breakdowns more carefully, it would be found out the major reason for the declining number of Thai entrants is the changes of Japanese immigration policy in the early 1990s which was explained already in the last section.

Table 3.6 The number of Thai, Asian, and all new entrants to Japan

Year	Thai	Asian	Total
1986	30,296	1,014,787	2,021,450
1989	49,117	1,791,652	2,985,764
1990	69,477	2,164,373	3,504,470
1991	105,666	2,477,006	3,855,952
1992	97,568	2,519,046	3,926,347
1995	57,767	2,344,748	3,732,450
1998	54,457	2,617,778	4,556,845
2001	77,521	3,280,514	5,286,310

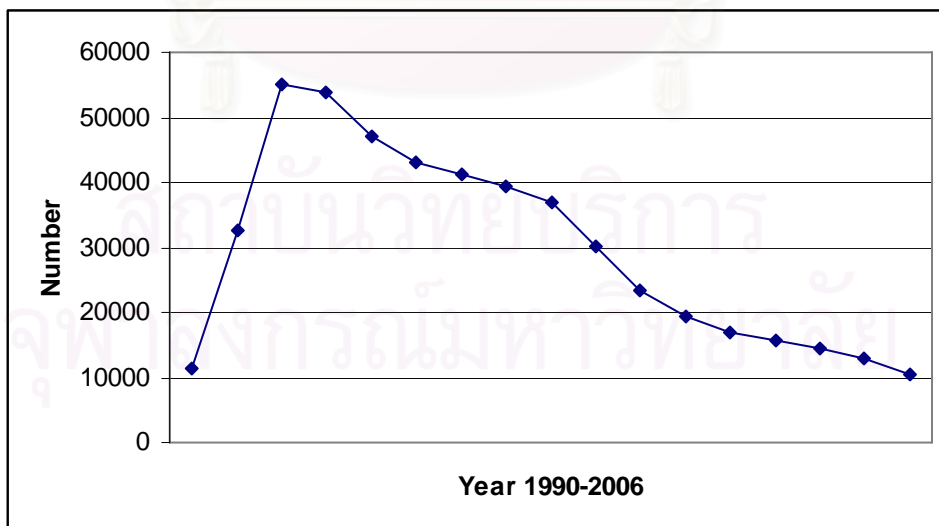
2002	86,683	3,674,574	5,771,975
2003	95,018	3,793,793	5,727,240
2004	121,963	4,607,027	6,756,830
2005	136,868	5,134,673	7,450,103

Source: Japanese Immigration Control; cited at

<http://www.moj.go.jp/NYUKAN/nyukan54-2.pdf>

According to a Japanese police report, it is assumed that 96 percent of the Thai citizens who entered the country with tourist visas later become undocumented overstayers, mostly unskilled workers (White paper of Police 1998: 265). In 2001, one survey estimates 38,191 illegal Thai migrants were in Japan (UN 2003: 8). In addition, migration experts point out that there are many overstaying illegal migrants who are not found and, thus, do not appear in the statistics. It should be noted that the government statistics do not include people who entered Japan unlawfully or entered disguised as other nationalities. In fact, it is relevant that unlawfully and disguised entries are on increase and they have difficulty to obtain legal identification such as passport and a CI (Certificate of Identification) when they return to Thailand (Ito and Chunjitkaruna 2001: 16).

Figure 3.1: The number of overstayers of Thai nationals in Japan



Source: Japanese Ministry of Justice, <http://www.moj.go.jp>

In Japan, there is both an immigration card and an emigration card completed by people coming to the country which make it possible to obtain numbers of overstayers.

These numbers have increased. The stocks of illegal migrants are considerably larger. Tigno (1997: 87) has estimated that there were about 600,000 undocumented migrants in Japan in 1997 of whom about one third were from Thailand, Philippines and Malaysia. The total number of overstayers in Japan from 2000 to 2004 was 1,147,855 persons of whom 25.8 percent were from these three countries (Hugo 2005: 23).

The declining number of overstayers also has to do with the changes of Japanese immigration policy in the early 1990s. Responding to the massive flow of illegal migrant workers, the Japanese government imposed a strict policy on suspected migrant workers (Ito and Chunjitkaruna 2001: 16). As it has become difficult to enter Japan, brokerage fees for recruiters have been more and more expensive which is now more than 700,000 baht according to the interviews to Thai returnees from Japan.

Considering the increasing number of new Thai entrants to Japan (table 3.6), the declining number of overstayers could be understood that the immigration policy has had great impact on it.

The status as illegal workers brings them a lot of problems such as lack of proper medical care, education and housing. Also their children cannot be accepted as Japanese citizens. These foreign workers receive no social security benefits nor are they properly treated in hospitals when they need emergency care.

In addition, there have been many reported cases of exploitation of illegal workers forced to work by unscrupulous job brokers and the Japanese Mafia, *Yakuza*, in poor conditions. In some cases, Japanese employers have taken advantage by embezzling their wages or unreasonably dismiss them without paying any compensation (Chunjitkaruna 2000: 246).

CHAPTER IV

CASE STUDIES

4.1 Background Information for Case Studies

Fieldwork to Northern part of Thailand took three phases. The author could have deep-in-depth interviews with totally 14 returnees from Japan and got some informal interviews with other returnees from Japan too.

The first phase of fieldwork took place at the Institute of Inter-Ethnic Studies in Chiang Rai Rajabhat University from 21st to 23rd in August 2006. Basic information was collected and the author could have opportunities to meet NGOs and some other organization which work for child prostitution issue and returnees in Northern Thailand.

The second phase of fieldwork was from 14th to 21st in September 2006. Fieldwork was took place at Mea Kham village in Mae Chan in Chiangrai province. Interviewees were all from this village. Since during this fieldwork, the author could stay with one of the returnees' family, their candid ideas toward migration also helped the author to relate this thesis with reality.

The last fieldwork took place in Chiangrai and Phayao province in Northern Thailand from 16th to 20th in January 2007. In this fieldwork, nine returnees cooperated with interview.

Ten selected interview results will be shown in the following sections. From the first case (Mr. Tee) to the fifth case, returnees are all from Mea Kham village in Mae Chan in Chiangrai province. The interviewee of case six is from Muang district in Phayao province. The lady of the case seven is from Kham Tai in Phayao province and returnee of case eight is from Nang Lae, Chaingrai province. The last two cases were gathered at Phang Ka village, Chiangkhum district in Phayao province and two of them are Mian tribe people.

Names of returnees are all changed to respect their privacy. At the end of the following section, comparison of each study will be shown (table 4.1).

4.2 Selected Case Studies

4.2.1 Case 1: Mr. Tee

Mr. Tee is 43 years old now. He finished his education until grade 7. He already married and had two children before coming to Japan. The main reason for migration was poverty and he hoped that he would earn a lot of money in Japan. He knew some village people who had ever migrated to Japan and brought back a lot of money. The recruiter was a Thai guy who was living near his village and who was murdered by his colleagues in the quarreling of some matters (it seems that he was murdered recently). This recruiter had ever sent many Thai people to several countries such as Japan and Australia. The boss of this recruiter was Bangkokian married to Japanese woman. In Mea Kham village, this recruiter was famous for arranging for going work abroad. Many village people went to Japan assisted by this recruiter. The brokerage fee was 230,000 baht and Mr. Tee prepared this money by borrowing it from a bank with five per cent interest. All arrangement was done by this recruiter in one month and he got a tourist visa. He left Thailand and entered Japan by Japan Airline with other Thai migrant workers in November 1993 when he was 30 years old.

His first job was as a fisherman in Ibaraki prefecture. He earned 120,000 yen (about 40,000 baht) per month. Accommodation was prepared by the workplace and he could stay there free. He worked there for three months.

He got a new job of construction work in Saitama prefecture which was introduced by his friends. He worked there for half a year. Salary and accommodation were same as before.

Then, he moved to Shizuoka prefecture. He also engaged himself as construction worker there. He spent his rest of live in Japan there for around five years. Salary and accommodation were same as before. At all workplaces, he had to pay 'Mikajime-ryo' or

custody-charge to *Yakuza* which took 8,000 yen (about 2,700 baht) per month. By paying this money, illegal workers including him could have 'protection' from *Yakuza*. Although he had to pay money every month to *Yakuza*, his image toward *Yakuza* is positive. Interestingly, he mentioned that *Yakuza* was more kind than the Japanese Immigration Bureau.

The most serious problem regarding his jobs was the weather because raining meant no work and no income for that day. However, he had relatively good relationship with his boss and colleagues, and had no problems with them. When he got holidays, he watched TV, took a nap, and took a ride on bicycle. Sometimes, he went to temples for merit-making. However, holidays were not so fun for him because he was very afraid to be arrested by police regarding his illegal status as overstayer. He tried not to go out as much as possible even when he had holidays. The status as 'illegal' was most troublesome throughout his entire life in Japan. Thus, even if he was sick in Japan, he avoid going to hospital and just got some medicine which he brought from Thailand. His family in Thailand sometimes sent him medicines.

Regarding skills, he got some skills about construction work in Japan. However, he had no chance to apply these skills in Thailand. He also learned Japanese language by himself through communicating with his colleagues. He worked very hard in Japan and sent a lot of money to Thailand every month. After he worked in Japan for around six years, he decided to get back to Thailand because he missed his home and though he earned enough money in Japan. He reported to the Immigration Bureau and was deported to Thailand.

After he got back to Thailand, he built a new house. His life became better than before he left to Japan. Now, he works as farmer and as *Poo-Luang*, or the chief of village. If he had a chance, he would like to work in Japan again, however, going to Japan is very difficult now because the brokerage fee is extremely high.

In Japan, he met some Thai female migrants who were working as prostitutes. His observation toward them was that female migrants had more problems with gambling

or *Pachinko* than male migrants in Japan, because female can have a Japanese boyfriend as a patron. Throughout his experience in Japan, he got an image of Japanese as workaholic.

4.2.2 Case 2: Ms. Mii

It was when she lost her parents and husband that she decided to work in Japan. At that time, she had three little children and suffered from a lot of debt. Her image of Japan was positive as rich and nice country. She was recruited by the same recruiter as Mr. Tee (case 1). The total brokerage was 170,000 baht and all preparation was finished in one month and she got a tourist visa. In 1995, when she was 39 years old, she left Thailand with his elder brother who was also recruited by the same recruiter.

Her first work was to collect eggs at poultry farm in Ibaraki prefecture. She could earn 4,000 yen (about 1,300 baht) per hour. Since dormitory was prepared by the factory, she did not need to pay any money on accommodation. She worked there for four months.

Her next job was related to recycling and remaking concrete in Saitama prefecture. She worked there for the rest of her life in Japan. Salary was 5,000 yen (about 1,700 baht) per hour with overtime pay. This factory also provided free dormitory to her and she just spent her money on food. She worked so hard from 5 am to 5 pm without weekends. However, she sometimes had small trips and parties with her colleagues such as hot spring, karaoke, picnics under the cherry blossoms.

After two years she came to Japan, her elder brother who came to work with her became sick (he worked at another place in Japan). He went to hospital and was diagnosed as a heart disease. He was also told that he would die in two years. What his factory did was just to deport him back to Thailand. As he was told by a doctor, he died in two years after he got back to Thailand. Ms. Mii had one more younger brother in Thailand, however, he was so sad for his elder brother's death and committed suicide. Ms. Mii got these tragic news in Japan. She lost all her families except her three small children.

The problem working in Japan was her status as 'illegal' migrant same as the other interviewees. Even if she was sick, she just got some medicine which she brought

from Thailand. The relationship with her boss and colleagues were good and had no troubles with them. Regarding *Yakuza*, she also had to pay money every month to them which took 20 to 30 per cent of her monthly income. Although her boss was not *Yakuza*, he had connection with them. She sent almost of all her income to Thailand. After she worked in Japan for seven years, she reported to the Immigration Bureau and was deported to Thailand.

She got a house, land, car and so on after she got back to Thailand. Currently, she is in charge as *Mee-Luang* or the chief of the village. Regarding merit-making, since she had no time for merit-making in Japan, she became a nun for a few months after she got back to Thailand for consolation to her two brothers.

Although her image toward Japan is positive, she also knew many Thai migrants who were suffering in Japan. Some of them were died from overwork. Some of them committed suicide in Japan, and some of them got HIV. She also mentioned that at some factories, foreign migrants were treated badly with violence. Those migrants have no ways to protect themselves from violence and discrimination at a workplace.

4.2.3 Case 3: Ms. Tik

Ms. Tik finished her education till grade 3. She and her family had a lot of debt and were suffered from poverty, and Ms. Tik decided to go to work in Japan. Her image of Japan was positive that Japan is economically developed and better than other countries in many points. She paid 1,500,000 baht to her recruiter which was extremely high brokerage comparing to other respondents in this study. All preparation finished just only two weeks. Her visa type was tourist's one and she left Thailand in 1983 when she was 28 years old and entered Tokyo with Thai Airline.

She worked at a *snack* or Japanese-style bar in Nagano city as a bar girl and prostitute. She stayed at *Mama-san* or owner's apartment sharing with five persons which cost 70,000 yen (about 23,000 baht) per month. This *Mama-san* was Taiwanese. Income was different from each day. In case of *Tomari* or stay overnight with her customer, she could earn 35,000 yen (about 11,300 baht) per night. In *Kyuukei* or stay with her customer for a

few hours' case, she could earn 25,000 yen (about 8,300 baht) per time. Her brokerage fee was very expensive, however, she could pay them off in one year. After she worked there, she got a Japanese boyfriend and married to him in 1990, then she got 'legal' status to stay in Japan.

Regarding problems at workplace, she had a lot of problems. The most serious problem was the trouble with her customers. Some of them were very cruel and terrible. Also, she experienced discrimination from Japanese middle-aged women who knew that Ms. Tik was working as a prostitute. When she felt lonely, she smoked and sometimes played *Pachinko* or Japanese gambling. She got holiday only when she was sick. She sent a lot of money to Thailand. Also, she donated a lot of money to temples for merit-making.

After she got marry to Japanese, she stopped working as a prostitute and engaged housework only. She also got a daughter who is two years old now.

She got back to Thailand recently because her husband died. Since the living cost is cheaper than that of Japan, she decided to make a living in Thailand with her daughter. She gets insurance and monthly pension from Japanese government because she has been 'legally' registered as a wife of Japanese. She stays in Thailand with her daughter without working now.

Although she has bad experiences in Japan, she likes Japanese climate and hot springs. She would never like to work in Japan again, however, if she had a change, she would like to visit her husband's grave in Japan with her daughter.

4.2.4 Case 4: Mr. Tao

It was 1992 when he decided to work in Japan. At that time, he was 24 years old and already married to a Thai woman. His educational level is relatively high which is grade 3rd of technical college. Before working in Japan, he had experience working in Taiwan for two years. Since her sister married to Taiwanese, he could enter Taiwan with his sister's help and stayed there as an illegal migrant worker. It was after only two months of returning to Thailand from Taiwan that he left to Japan. Although his got image of Japan

as 'scary' and 'violent' through TV programs, he finally determined to work in Japan because of the expectation of high income. Also, he was encouraged to work in Japan by his friends.

The recruiter was a Thai guy who was same as case 1 (Mr. Tee) and 2 (Ms. Mii). In case of Mr. Tao, since he had already his own passport, only visa (tourist-visa) was arranged by this recruiter. The cost for arrangement was totally 230,000 baht (200,000 baht for visa and 30,000 baht for fixing a job). He prepared this money by borrowing money from a bank. All arrangement was finished just only in one week after he had decided to go to Japan. Another Thai agent called 'Mr. Ma' assisted Mr. Tao when he left Thailand to Japan. He could enter Japan because of Mr. Ma' assistance. The route was from Don-Muang airport to Narita airport with Bangkok Airways.

His first job was cutting fishes into small parts at Orai-cho in Ibaraki prefecture. Salary was around 200,000 yen (about 67,000 baht) per month (700 yen per hour). He stayed in a container at his boss's place which cost 10,000 yen (about 3,300 baht) per month. Also, he had to pay 'Mikajime-ryo' or custody-charge to *Yakuza* every month which cost another 10,000 yen (about 3,300 baht) every month. After one year working at Orai-cho, he decided to change his job because he disliked this job. The arrangement for the next job was done by *Yakuza* with the payment, 100,000 yen (about 34,000 baht).

His second job was at a pork manufactory (屠蓄場: cutting pigs into small parts) in Mito in Ibaraki. Income was same as the previous job. However, in Mito, he stayed at apartment with his friends which cost 40,000 to 50,000 yen (about 13,000 baht to 17,000 baht) per month. He worked there around six to seven months. At that time, he had already got some Thai friends. Thus, he could get the next job with his friend' assistance without any job-arrangement cost.

His third job was fish culture farming near Denjima River. The salary and living condition was same as at the second job. He was there for five months, then, again, he changed his job by the arrangement of his friends.

His fourth job was to cut iron plates into small pieces at a factory in Kanagawa prefecture. He earned around 300,000 yen (about 100,000 baht) per month, also, he could get bonuses. He said that income was very nice and his boss at this factory was so kind that he did not change his job anymore and worked there until he was arrested and deported to Thailand. Although it was holiday on Sundays, he preferred having a part time job as gardeners and cleaning guy. Customers of these part time jobs were acquaintances of his boss and he could earn around 12,000 yen (about 4,000 baht) a day. In Kanagawa, he stayed at apartment which cost 100,000 yen (about 33,000 baht) per month, 2,000 yen (about 670 baht) for lunch per month, and internet and phone cost 3,000 yen (about 1,000 baht) per month.

After one and half years since he had come to Japan, he paid all his debt (230,000 baht for his recruiter) off. He had to pay 'Mikajime-ryo' or custody-charge to *Yakuza* at his first job though, he did not need to pay it at the other jobs. Also, since brokers who arranged him new jobs were all his Thai friends (except the first job to the second one), he did not need to pay brokerage fees to them. He had no conflict with his colleagues and bosses at any working place. Concerning to Japanese language, he learned it by himself through communicating with his colleagues and bosses. Also, he went to temples sometimes for merit-making.

Regarding to problems in Japan, he mentioned that he did not encounter troubles in Japan. Even when he became sick, he just took some medicine which he brought from Thailand. However, it seems that he got family problem during he was in Japan that he got a girlfriend in Japan and also his wife in Thailand got a boyfriend. As a result, he broke up with his wife. After he knew his wife got a boyfriend, he stopped sending remittance to Thailand and used all of his income for himself.

The reason why he had to get back to Thailand was unique in his case. When he went to Shinbashi in Tokyo for a small trip, he got lost and asked a policeman about the direction. His illegal status was revealed and arrested at once there. During he was arrested in Japan, his boss kindly took care of him. Then, he was deported to Thailand after only a few days of the arrest. It was totally for 12 years that he stayed in Japan (1992-2004).

Although he said he had no savings at the time he left Japan, he built a house and bought a rice-polishing machine. Now, he is in Chaingrai province and stays there as a farmer, charcoal-maker, and rice-polishing man. The problem in the process of reintegration is that he has no motivation working in Thailand because of the low income compared with Japan. Also, he has no one to care in Thailand and feels lonely sometimes.

He is sure to go to work in Japan again after five years when his passport expired. He still keeps in touch with his boss in Kanagawa prefecture and will go to Japan again with his assistance.

4.2.5 Case 5: Mr. Umi

It was 1993 that he left Thailand to Japan. At that time, he married already and got two children. His educational level was grade 4. Economical shortage was the greatest reason made him work abroad seeking for a good income. Also, he thought that he would need a lot of money to raise his children. Although he had no idea about Japan, his friend suggested him to work in Japan, thus he decided to work there.

The recruiter was the same Thai guy as Case 1 (Mr. Tee), Case 2 (Ms. Mii), and Case 4 (Mr. Tao). In case of Mr. Tao (Case 4), the brokerage fee was 230,000 baht, however, in case of Mr. Umi, it was totally 250,000 baht. It seems that this was because he did not have passport and it cost some money for preparing it. He borrowed money from a bank with 10 percent interest. Arrangement was completed in three months and he got tourist visa same as other interviewees. Then, he left to Japan with a Thai agent who works as a cooker in Japan. This Thai cooker got back to Thailand to pick Mr. Umi up. After the arrival at Narita airport from Don-Muang airport, another new Thai female agent was waiting there. The Thai cooker introduced him to her and left. This female agent who married with Japanese took him to Ibaraki prefecture.

His first job was cutting fishes into small parts at Orai-cho in Ibaraki prefecture. Salary was around 200,000 yen (about 67,000 baht) per month (700 yen per hour), worked from 8 am to 5 pm. This job was same as the Mr. Tao (Case 4)'s first job. He stayed at apartment with other four Thai workers which cost 30,000 yen (10,000 baht) per month

including lighting, heating and water. He was there for 5 months. The boss was *Yakuza* and he had to pay “*Mikajime-ryo*” or custody-charge to them every month. The arrangement of the next job was done with the help of a Thai guy whom he met in Japan. It cost 150,000 yen (about 50,000 baht) for job arrangement.

His second job was construction work in Saitama prefecture. He could earn money 100,000 yen (about 34,000 baht) a day. Monthly income was around 300,000 yen (about 100,000 baht). This construction job was to build a road from Saitama prefecture to Yamanashi prefecture (near Mt. Fuji). It took around for one and half year. When he had engaged this job, he stayed at an apartment with his friends which cost 20,000 yen (about 6,700 baht) per month. After the road construction had finished, he kept staying near Mt. Fuji and got another job as construction worker there. Daily allowance was 8,000 yen (about 2,600 baht), however, monthly income was same as before—300,000 yen (about 100,000 baht). At Yamanashi prefecture, since he stayed at dormitory, he did not need to pay rent but only for food. After he was there around four years, the number of construction jobs had been decreasing. He decided to change his job and was introduced to a new job from his Thai friend.

His next job was to make gasoline-containers in Shimizu city, Shizuoka prefecture. Monthly wages were 240,000 yen (about 80,000 baht). He stayed at apartment with his friends which cost 30,000 yen (about 10,000 baht) per month. At this working place, he had two Thai co-workers, however, those two Thai guys had quarrels all the time. His boss decided to separate them and in the end, Mr. Umi had to move to the other place with one of two co-workers. He worked in Shimizu city just only for ten months.

The next job which was introduced by the boss in Shimizu was construction work in Yamanashi prefecture. He earned 12,000 yen (about 4,000 baht) a day and stayed at dormitory which was free and close to his new boss’s place. He worked there for five years. He got some skills regarding construction work in Japan. In addition, he learned Japanese by himself. He is good in speaking and listening now.

The brokers who introduced him to new jobs were all Thai with whom he became friends in Japan, thus, he did not need to pay any brokerage for job arrangement to

them except the case of the second job which cost 150,000 yen (about 50,000 baht) as the author mentioned before. Bosses at the first, third and the last working place were *Yakuza*. He had to pay monthly '*Mikajime-ryo*' or custody-charge to them just only at the first working place.

Concerning to holidays, it was very changeable, especially at the construction work, raining days were holidays which were very boring for him because he could not make any money on those days. He had part-time jobs when he had a holiday and engaged in cleaning and gardening jobs same as Mr. Tao (Case 4)'s case. Also, he had some small trips with his colleagues sometimes. He also mentioned that there was a Thai community in Japan and helped each other. He sent some money to Thai temples with his Thai friends in Japan as merit-making.

The relationship with his colleagues and bosses were relatively good, however, he had small conflict with his bosses sometimes. Also, it was hard for him to accept the culture of '*sake*' or Japanese alcohol. Since he does not like to drink '*sake*' so much, he felt sometimes uneasy when he had to drink it after the work with his Japanese colleagues. His image of Japan, however, is positive. Although he had no idea about Japan before he came to Japan, he has got an image of Japanese as hard-workers. Regarding *Yakuza*, he also got a positive image toward them that they were not so bad and some of them were very kind. The other problems in Japan were loneliness and homesickness. His case was very exceptional that when he became sick, his boss took him to a hospital to see the doctor and also paid for him. He also mentioned that he was very impressed by the kindness of the Japanese doctor.

After working in Japan for around 13 years (1992-2006), he decided to get back to Japan. The best reason was that he was getting old. He reported to the Immigration Bureau in Japan and was deported to Thailand. He mentioned that before reporting to the Immigration, he had a contact with a Thai agent who arranged visa/passport, and he got a new passport from that agent which cost 9,000 yen (about 3,000 baht).

Regarding to the remittance, he sent 20,000 baht (about 6,700 baht) to Thailand every month via bank and brokers. The amount of the saving at the time he got back to

Thailand was 400,000 to 500,000 yen (about 134,000 baht to 167,000 baht). He bought land and a car with this money. Now, he works as a farmer and a gardener in Chiangrai province. The reintegration process is going on in a positive way, however, his left eye has a problem because of the hard working in Japan. Also, he cautioned that the married person should not go abroad for work because their marriages easy to break up. If he were young, he said that he would like to work in Japan again.

4.2.6 Case 6: Ms. Lily

She completed her education till grade 12th. In her case, recruiter was her aunt who married to Japanese and works there. Although she had no idea about Japan, poverty and her aunt's invitation pushed her to work in Japan. She arranged everything by herself with the help of her aunt. When she got a visa from the Thai immigration, she told a lie that she was going to work at a bank in Japan. Preparation was finished in 10 days and the brokerage fees for aunt were around 400,000 baht. She went to Japan by herself and her aunt pick her up at the Narita airport and took her to Kashima in Ibaraki prefecture.

Her first job was at melon farm at Hokota in Kashima city, Ibaraki prefecture and she worked from 8am to 5pm. Salary was around 150,000 yen (about 30,000 baht) per month. She also worked as a street vendor with selling soymilk and sweet doughnuts. The income as street vendor was very nice that she could earn 300,000 yen (about 100,000 baht) per month. She got a Thai boyfriend soon after she had come to Japan. She stayed at apartment with him which cost around 50,000 yen (about 16,700 baht) per month including electricity, gas and water (100,000 yen or 34,000 baht per month for two people). Since she got pregnant after she worked at melon farm for three years, she changed her job to easier one. She found the next job by herself.

Her second job was packing Oba leaves which usually attached with Sushi in Japan. She put ten Oba leaves into one package. The salary was not so good which was 60,000 yen (about 20,000 baht) per month, however, she got another income from a job as a street vendor same as at her previous workplace. Regarding living cost, since her boyfriend paid them all, she did not need to pay any money for that. When she worked there, she and her husband bought a car with the titular of her boss. She got holidays on

every Sunday, she enjoyed driving with her boyfriend and baby. Also, she got a lot of Thai friends in Japan, she sometimes hanged out and had party with them. About merit-making, she went to Pak Nam Temple every one to two weeks. Pak Nam Temple is a Thai temple in Ibaraki prefecture. She mentioned that there was a Thai community in Ibaraki prefecture and helped each other. She also joined in 'Thai Chuai Thai' (Thai help Thai) association which was organized by Thai workers in Japan. Mr. Wut (Case 9) was one of the organizers of this association.

Cold weather and homesickness sometimes made her feel uneasy. She took around two months to integrate herself to Japanese society. Luckily, she had never been sick in Japan, however, she went to Hayama hospital when she got pregnant. This hospital is run by Taiwanese. She indicated that it was difficult for migrant workers to go to hospital in Japan because they had to pay very expensive fees. Sometimes hospitals refused to see them because those hospitals knew they were illegal workers and did not want to have any troubles with them. Some hospitals rejected them with the reason that illegal workers had not enough money to pay the charge. Her debt to her recruiter (her aunt) was completed in one year.

After she worked at the second working place for one year, she got pregnant her second child. It was when she decided to get back to Thailand (she was in Japan from 2002 to 2006), because she worried about her children's education. The total amount of remittance that she sent to Thailand was about two million baht. They were all sent via bank and 'underground bank' which is run at Thai restaurants in Ibaraki prefecture. The saving was around 50,000 baht when she had got back to Thailand. She bought land, house and vehicle in Thailand. Now she does housework and is preparing to open a diner. Since the income in Japan is very high, she would like to work there again after her children have grown up enough. Also, she thinks to send her children to study in Japan.

At the end, she suggested not to go to Japan if they do not have much money to pay the arrangement fees because it cost more than 700,000 baht now. If they have some friends and relatives in Japan, it is worth going there. In addition, what was very important to survive in Japan was to 'do whatever as Japanese do'.

4.2.7 Case 7: Ms. Rose

She was the seventh child of eight brothers and sisters. She got a Bachelor of Education at Ramkhamhean University. Before she went to Japan, she engaged in a volunteer work for children in Bangkok. It was in 1990 when she was 25 years old that she was invited to work in Japan by her aunt who has already worked in Japan at that time. Her image toward Japan was positive that Japan was same Asian country as Thailand. She arranged visa and passport by herself with the help of her aunt which took around three months. Brokerage for her aunt was around 750,000 yen (about 250,000 baht). She left to Japan by herself and was picked up by her aunt at Narita airport in Tokyo.

Her first job was at '*Izakaya*' or Japanese style bar in Ibaraki prefecture. Salary was 180,000 yen (about 60,000 baht) per month. She stayed with two Thai friends at apartment which cost 34,000 yen (about 11,400 baht) per month. During she worked at '*Izakaya*' for a few months, she got a Japanese boyfriend and married to him who was a customer at this bar. Soon after she married to him, she moved to his place and got her own '*snacker*' or bar in Ibaraki and became '*Mama-san*' or owner of this bar. When she built this bar, she borrowed money from a bank. Her employees who are prostitutes are from various countries including Thailand, Japan, Philippines, China and so on. She earns around 400,000 yen to 1,000,000 yen (about 134,000 baht to 334,000 baht) per month. Although she was temporary in Thailand for giving a birth her second child when the author interviewed to her, she still works as '*Mama-san*' at this bar which has been run totally for 14 years already. Holiday is every Sunday and she enjoys shopping on that day. Brokerage for her aunt was paid off in just only six months. Concerning to Japanese language, she learned it by herself mostly, however, she took a Japanese language course for a few months which was held at Ishioka city office with only 210 yen (about 70 baht) per hour. When she becomes sick in Japan, she goes to hospital same as Japanese people do because she already got a permanent visa (Eijyu-ken visa) after she married to Japanese guy, however, she did not choose to get a Japanese citizenship just in case that she may divorce with her husband. She sometimes goes to temples for merit-making. During the new year's holidays, she gets back to Thailand every year. She refused to mention about the

amount of remittance and savings though, it can be speculated that the amount is very high. She already bought a car, new house and gas station in Thailand.

She gave the author an interesting story about 'Japanese-husband-sale'. According to her story, there is a kind of agency which provides 'Japanese husband' to Thai migrants. By being married to Japanese, a Thai can get another visa to stay in Japan legally. After they entered to Japan with tourist visa which expires in 90 days, they try to get contact with this agency at the end of the expiration of the tourist visa. Usually it costs around 700,000 yen (about 234,000 baht). It is uncertain whether she got her husband through this agency or not. Also, it is obvious that she has a role as a recruiter and a broker now.

She also mentioned that there is a volunteer organization in Mito in Ibaraki prefecture which is called 'Khiaw Home Center' managed by Thai female, Ajearn Mirin. There are also some Japanese staffs involved in this organization. This center helps illegal Thai migrants who have troubles in Japan.

4.2.8 Case 8: Ms. Jasmine

Although she married to Thai and had two children before she went to Japan, her husband passed away. She completed her education until grade fourth. It was when she was suffered by debt and could not afford the expenditure that she was invited to work in Japan by her friend who used to live at her village. This Thai friend marries to Japanese and stays in Japan now. She had no idea about Japan, however, her hope to raise a lot of money in Japan pushed her to work there.

She arranged visa and passport by herself with the help of her friend in Japan which took one month to complete the all arrangement. Her visa type was tourist visa. Brokerage to her friend was totally 100,000 baht (about 34,000 baht). She used her land as security for the loan to prepare the money. She left Thailand in 1992 by herself and her friend picked her up at Narita airport in Tokyo.

Her first job was a chef assistant in Kanagawa prefecture. She worked from 10am to 10pm and could earn 5,600 yen (about 1,900 baht) a day. She shared an apartment with

her friends which cost 40,000 yen (about 13,400 baht) per month. She worked there for around six months.

She changed her job on her friend's recommendation to a cleaning lady at a hotel in Kanagawa prefecture. She stayed at the same apartment, however she could earn just only 2,600 yen (about 900 baht) a day at this job. When the living cost ran shortly, she borrowed money from her Thai friends. She worked there for around a few months.

Her third job was at a pork manufactory, cutting pigs into small parts in Kanagawa prefecture. This job was also introduced by her friend. She could earn 800 yen (about 270 baht) per hour, and totally around 200,000 yen (about 67,000 baht) per month.

Next, she became an electronic device assembler at IBM computer factory in Kanagawa prefecture. She got this job also via her Thai friend. Income was better than the previous job that she could earn 850 yen (about 290 baht) per hour. She still stayed at the same apartment.

Finally, she got a job as a *snack*-girl at a bar in Kanagawa prefecture. She could earn 8,000 yen (about 2,670 baht) a day. She worked there for around two years and got a Japanese boyfriend and married to him.

During she was working in Japan, she learned Japanese by herself. She is good in speaking, reading and writing now. She said that she became more polite since she came to Japan. Her image toward Japan is positive that Japan is a good-ordered, clean and modernized country. When she had holidays in Japan, she sometimes traveled in Japan and she especially loved to see cherry blossoms. She also enjoyed *Pachinko* or a Japanese gambling a few times a month. When she was sick, she normally bought medicine at drug store in Japan.

It was in 1997 when she married to Japanese and got back to Thailand temporary. She was in Thailand for two years from 1997 to 1999. She just stayed there without doing anything. After two years staying in Thailand, she got a permanent visa to stay with her husband in Japan and left to Japan.

Then, In 1999, she entered Japan again legally. She stayed with her Japanese husband until 2005. She did not get any occupation in Japan, however, she spent most of the days doing housework. She gave the author an interesting story that although she was looked down upon by Thai people who are working in Japan before she married to Japanese, after she got marry to him, those people have changed their attitude positively. During she was in Japan, she sent 50,000 yen (about 16,700 baht) per month to Thailand. The total savings were around two million baht.

Although she felt safe and wanted to stay in Japan longer, she and her husband got back to Thailand in 2005 to stay there together. One of the reasons is that the living cost is cheaper than that of Japan. She bought land and home after she came back to Thailand with her Japanese husband. Also, she got a small beauty shop in her house which is managed by her daughter right now. She and her husband do nothing especially in Thailand now. Life was totally changed after staying in Japan. She said that she got more respect from village people because they have thought that she has been very rich now. However, she seems to have some problems with her two children because they have been apart for long time. It can be easily speculated that it is difficult to unite the family because her Japanese husband cannot speak Thai and her two children cannot speak Japanese.

She is very positive to get back to Japan again and work there because the income is very good and she herself had fun when she was there, however, she also mentioned that it might be difficult to get a job in Japan now. Her suggestions to those who will work in Japan were that they should be honest, diligent and should learn Japanese before going to Japan.

4.2.9 Case 9: Mr. Yai

He has three children with Thai wife. He completed his education until grade seventh. Poverty was the main reason that he decided to work in Japan. His father's friends' son was working in Japan and Mr. Yai was invited to work there. His image of Japan was very positive as developed and civilized country. His case was very exceptional that he did not need to pay any brokerage, however, he prepared 220,000 baht by

borrowing from a bank for an airplane ticket, visa and living cost in Japan. All preparation was completed just in one week. However, it is very doubtful whether he prepared everything by himself because 220,000 baht is a respectable money. Moreover, it is difficult to get a visa just only in one week when he takes a legal procedure. It was in 1990 when he was 35 years old that he left Thailand. He went to Japan by himself and his father's friends' son was waiting him at Narita airport and brought him to Sendai, in Miyagi prefecture, Northern part of Japan.

He arrived at Sendai city in Miyagi prefecture by taking '*Shinkansen*' or bullet train from Narita airport. His first job was as a sign painter. He could earn 220,000 yen (about 73,400 baht) per month and worked there for three months. Since his boss took all charges of his living cost, he did not need to use any money on them. At this job, there were three Thai workers including him. However, since these two Thai co-workers often had quarrels, Mr. Yai had to move to the other place with one of them.

Thus, he was moved to Nagoya prefecture. He worked at a stock farm. Accommodation and living cost were free same as before and he could earn 250,000 yen (about 83,400 baht) per month. In addition, he could have bonus there. He was there for around five years.

The relationship with his bosses and colleagues were good and he had no problems with them. He worked almost everyday, however, when he had holiday, he used to watching TV and window-shopping. His boss was so kind that even clothes were provided. He sent 200,000 to 220,000 yen (about 67,000 baht to 73,000 baht) every month to Thailand. His boss again, kindly transferred those remittances for him. It was when Mr. Yai's mother became sick that he decided to get back to Thailand.

He got back to Thailand with a lot of savings, around two million baht and set up a cartoon company which is called '*Chulian*'. However, this company did not run well and was closed soon. After that, he engaged in rice polishing business though, this business also did not work well.

In the rise of his family's expectation to send him back to Japan again, he decided to go to work in Japan. Since he was deported to Thailand in 1996, he could not use his passport to re-entry Japan. This time, he tried to have contact with an agency which provides visa and passport. One of his friends engaged in this business and this was how he came to know about it. He could get a visa and new passport of another Thai person who was very similar to his face through this agency which cost 500,000 baht. Then, he disguised himself to the person on a new passport and could enter Japan. This time, since he already knew about Japan, he left Thailand by himself and picked up taxi at the airport by himself and headed to Ibaraki prefecture where he was introduced by the agency that provided him a new passport and visa.

He worked at a factory which dealt with sand at Ono, Kashima city in Ibaraki prefecture. Salary was 190,000 yen (about 63,400 baht) per month. He rent an apartment which cost around 130,000 yen (about 43,400 baht) per month including lighting and heating expenses. Also, his boss was *Yakuza*. Since there were many holidays at this factory, he was suggested to change this job by his relative who was also working in Japan. He worked at this factory totally for one year. When he had holidays, he went fishing and sometimes he sold seafood to have extra income.

His second job which was introduced by his relative, was at a packing factory which was called '*Maruto*' in Taiyo-cho, Kashima city, Ibaraki prefecture. He could earn 230,000 yen (about 80,000 baht) per month. Accommodation was also introduced by his relative and he moved to another apartment which cost less than 130,000 yen (about 43,400 baht) per month. However, the packing job was very hard without holidays. His boss who was used to be *Yakuza*, was very foul-mouth person. After he worked there for one year, he injured his fingers and quit this job.

His last job was to grow Oba leaves in Asahi village, Kashima city, Ibaraki prefecture. He got this job through his friend. He could earn 200,000 yen (about 67,000 baht) per month without any holidays. Accommodation was same as before. He worked there for around four years. He sent around 50,000 to 60,000 yen (about 16,700 baht to 20,000 baht) to Thailand every month.

Through working in Japan for totally around 12 years, he got some skills including Japanese language and how to use machines. Especially in agricultural sector, he learned how to use modern machines, however, he has not had chance to make use of his skills in Thailand because there are no such modern machines in Thai village. His image toward Japan has not changed so much even after worked in Japan for many years. He was also impressed by the difference of the agricultural situation between Thailand and Japan that Japanese farmers have been well supported by government and could raise a lot of money by their products.

The most serious problem in Japan was that it was hard to go to hospital because illegal migrants had to pay very expensive charge. However, when he went to see the dentist because of the toothache and was impressed by the kindness of the dentist. This dentist made the charge lower than usual with consideration for Mr. Yai who was an illegal worker. Regarding merit-making, he sometimes donated money to temples with his Thai friends.

The reason why he had to get back to Thailand was very pitiful that he was reported to a police by one of his Japanese colleague's mother. Since he was hard worker and his boss's favorite, he had been envied by his colleagues and reported to a police.

When he was deported to Thailand, he had savings around 600,000 to 700,000 yen (about 200,000 baht to 234,000 baht). He set up a company and engaged in agricultural sectors which are litchi plantation and rice polishing business. He said that he got more respect from village people after he got back from Japan.

Although he said he has had no problems in his reintegration process, he got a Thai girlfriend in Japan and she has become his so-called 'second-wife'. His case seems to imply that long-time separation with family members is fraught with risk for family breakdown.

His suggestion for those who are willing to work in Japan is that if they already have any occupations in Thailand, they would rather stay there, because going Japan means not only the family separation but also to enter the totally new environment and they have

to struggle to integrate themselves into new society. However, those who have determined to work in Japan, he would like to give advices that they should be diligent and try to learn Japanese, especially important words related to the job.

4.2.10 Case 10: Mr. Wut

He had a vocational certificate before going to Japan. His case is very unique because he had visited to Japan several times already. He belonged to a company dealt with motorbikes and his company sent him to Japan for seeking and buying new items there. He had been back and forth between Thailand and Japan for four years. Company arranged tourist visa every time when they sent him to Japan. At the last visit to Japan as a member of that company, he turned himself to be an illegal worker.

He had some friends already during he visited to Japan as a member of a motorbike company. His senior was one of them and introduced him a gardening job in Ibaraki prefecture. Salary was 300,000 yen (about 100,000 baht) per month, however, he had to pay so-called 'tax' to his boss which cost five percent of his salary every month. He stayed at his boss's apartment free with his friends. He had holidays when it rained which were around four to five days a month. The relationship with his boss was relatively good, however, he was scolded sometimes when he did mistakes. He also had a part-time job as an undertaker in his last few years in Japan when he had holidays.

Concerning problems in Japan, what was most troublesome was the status as an 'illegal migrant worker'. He was very afraid to be arrested regarding to his illegal status. When he was in Kashima in Ibaraki prefecture, some Thai embassy officers come to see Thai migrant workers for research or something, however, most of them, including him, just kept silence toward Thai embassy officers because they were feared of being arrested. The status as 'illegal' made all migrants difficult to go to hospital, however, when he was sick, he could go to hospital which was open for foreigners. He and his friends set up an association called 'Thai Chuai Thai' (Thai help Thai) to help Thai people who have problems in Japan. Members have to pay a few thousand yen per month and those money were applied to help Thai migrants in needs. There are about 30 members now. He

sometimes went to Pak Nam Temple for merit-making. Concerning skills, he learned a lot of knowledge and skills on gardening, also, he can speak very good Japanese now.

It was 2006 after he worked in Japan for 11 years that he was deported to Thailand. He drove a car without license and was arrested by a police. The total remittance was around 5.5 million yen (1,834,000 baht) which was sent via bank and brokers at Thai restaurant in Kashima city. The savings at the time when he got back to Thailand was about three million yen (about one million baht). He bought a car and home in Thailand. He does not work now. Toward the question whether he would like to work in Japan or not, he said that he worked there enough and had no interest anymore. The reintegration is a little difficult for him because he does not have friends in Thailand and feels sometimes lonely. He also sometimes gets strange feeling toward his parents because they have been apart for a long time. In addition, he has been very surprised by the totally changed environment of his hometown.

His life in Japan seemed to be good economically. He invited his father to travel in Japan for one month during he was in Japan. Also, he took joint investment for Thai restaurant with massage services with his Japanese friends and Thai female friend who marries to Japanese before he was deported to Thailand. It is possible to say that he has a role as a recruiter now because he has some Thai friends in Japan and some of them marry to Japanese, in addition, he has a partnership of a Thai restaurant in Ibaraki prefecture in Japan.

At the end of the interview, he gave the author a very interesting perspective that although the 'illegal' status is troublesome for illegal migrant workers, they can receive a lot of money better than 'legal' migrant workers such as returnees. This fact would be one of the reasons that attract Thai village people to work in Japan even though they have to take risk as 'illegal' workers in Japan.

Table 4.1 Comparison of each case

Case	1. Personal Data				
	Sex & Age	Marital Status Before going to Japan	Educa-tion	Reasons for Migration to Japan	Image of Japan before Going to Japan
1. Tee	Male , 43	Married with children	Grade 7	To earn money	Rich country
2. Mii	Female, 52	Married with children	Grade 7	Debt, poverty and to raise her children	Rich and nice country
3. Tik	Female, 52	Single	Grade 3	Debt and poverty	Economically developed
4. Tao	Male , 39	Married	Technical College, grade 3	Poverty To raise a lot of money	He got image of Japan as 'scary' and 'violent' through TV programs.
5. Umi	Male , 50	Married With children	Grade 4	Economical shortage, especially he needed money to raise their children	Had completely no idea about Japan.
6. Lily	Female, 35	Single	Grade 12	Poverty, invited by her aunt who is married to Japanese and works there.	Had completely no idea about Japan.
7. Rose	Female, 42	Single	B.A. in Education (Ramkham hang Univ.)	Invited by her aunt who is working in Japan.	Same Asian country as Thailand.
8. Jasmine	Female, 45	Widow With children	Grade 4	Economical shortage and invited by her friend who is working in Japan.	Had completely no idea about Japan.
9. Yai	Male , 52	Married With children	Grade 7	Poverty He failed his new business which he began after he got back from Japan at the first time.	Developed and civilized country.
10. Wut	Male , 35	Single	Vocational Certificate	His former company sent him to work in Japan. During he was in Japan, he turned himself to be an illegal worker.	He had experiences working in Japan.

case	2. Recruitment				
	Recruiter	Visa / Passport	Preparation	Cost	Route
1. Tee	A Thai guy who lived near his village	Tourist visa, everything was arranged by recruiter	1 month	230,000 baht	Bangkok to Tokyo with another Thai migrants
2. Mii	Same recruiter as Tee	Tourist visa, everything was arranged by recruiter	1 month	170,000 baht	Bangkok to Tokyo
3. Tik	A Thai guy	Tourist visa. Arrange by recruiter.	2 weeks	1,500,000 baht	Bangkok to Tokyo
4. Tao	Same recruiter as Tee and Mii	Visa: Arranged by the recruiter. Tourist visa. Passport: He already had his own passport.	1 week	230,000 Baht	He was accompanied by an Thai male from Thailand to Japan. Don-Muang to Narita airport.
5. Umi	Same Thai guy as Tee, Mii and Tao	Arranged by the recruiter. Tourist visa.	3 Months	250,000 Baht	He left to Japan with a Thai agent who worked as a cook in Japan. At Narita airport, another Thai agent was waiting there.
6. Lily	Her aunt who was married to Japanese.	Arranged by herself. Got tourist visa.	10 days	400,000 Baht	She went by herself and her aunt picked her up at Narita.
7. Rose	Her aunt in Japan	Arranged by herself. Got tourist visa.	3 months	250,000 Baht	Her aunt picked her up at Narita.
8. Jasmine	Her friend in Japan	Arranged by herself. Got tourist visa.	1 month	100,000 Baht	She went by herself and her friend picked her up at Narita.
9. Yai	His father's friends' son	Arranged by himself. Tourist visa.	1 week	220,000 Baht	His recruiter was waiting at the Narita airport.
	Agency	Tourist visa. Got a false passport arrange by recruiter.	-	500,000 Baht	By himself. From Don-Muang to Narita airport.
10. Wut	-	His former company.	-	-	He entered into Japan as a legal worker with his colleagues.

Case	3. Jobs & Living Condition in Japan			
	First Job & Salary per Month	Last Job & Salary per Month	Skill Gained	Japanese Language Skill
1. Tee	Fishing, 120,000 yen	Construction, 120,000 yen	Construction skills	Fair for speaking and listening
2. Mii	Collecting eggs, 1,200,000 yen	Related to concrete recycle, 1,500,000 yen	No	Fair for speaking and listening
3. Tik	<i>Snack</i> girl, 1,500,000 yen	Housework as a wife	No	Good for speaking and listening
4. Tao	Cutting fishes into small parts 200,000 yen	Cutting iron plates 300,000 yen	How to use machines	Fair for speaking and listening
5. Umi	Cutting fishes into small parts 200,000 yen	Construction work 400,000 yen	Construction skills	Fair for speaking and listening
6. Lily	Gardening 50,000 yen; Street Vendor for 300,000 yen	Packing Oba leaves for 60,000 yen; Street Vendor for 300,000 yen	Cooking skill	Fair for speaking and listening
7. Rose	Japanese bar hostess 180,000 yen	Owner of a bar 400,000 yen to 1,000,000 yen	N/A	Good for speaking and listening
8. Jasmine	Chef assistant 40,000 yen	Snack girl 200,000 yen	Cooking skills	Good for speaking and listening
9. Yai	Sign painter 220,000 yen	Stock farm 250,000 yen	Gardening skills, Machinery skills	Fair in speaking and listening Poor in reading
	Related to sand 190,000 yen	Growing Oba leaves 200,000 yen	Skills related to his jobs	
10. Wut	Gardening 300,000 Y	Same job as before	Gardening skills	Good in speaking and listening Poor in reading

Case	4. Recruiters / Brokers in Japan	
	Job Recruiter/ Agents/ Brokers in JPN	Yakuza (Pay or not)
1. Tee	Thai friends in Japan (no charge)	Had to pay money to Yakuza
2. Mii	Thai friends in Japan (no charge)	Had to pay money to Yakuza
3. Tik	No	N/A
4. Tao	Yakuza (Charge: 100,000 yen) and Thai friends (no charge)	Paid money to Yakuza only at the first workplace. Some of his bosses were Yakuza.
5. Umi	Thai friends (no charge)	At some workplaces, he paid money to Yakuza. Some of his bosses were Yakuza.
6. Lily	Thai friends (no charge)	No
7. Rose	No	N/A
8. Jasmine	Thai friends (no charge)	N/A
9. Yai	No	No
	His relative in Japan and his friends (no charge)	His boss has connection with Yakuza. No payment to them.
10. Wut	No	No

Case	5. Social Supports in Japan			
	Problems	Health Care	Social Networks & Roles	Merit Making
1. Tee	Weather.	Took medicine from Thailand	No idea	At temple
2. Mii	Social security	It was expensive to go to hospital.	Help each other with other migrants	Became a nun after return, donation
3. Tik	Discrimination, mean customers	No problem, because she got Japanese husband.	N/A	At temple, donation
4. Tao	Divorced with his wife.	He just took some medicine when he was sick in Japan.	No idea.	He sometimes went to temple.
5. Umi	Loneliness, Homesickness	His boss took him to the hospital and also paid for him.	Never receive social service.	At temple
6. Lily	Cold weather, homesickness	Go to hospital by herself	No social service aid but she became a member of “Thai Chuai Thai” group which founded by Thais to help each other.	At temple
7. Rose	Nothing	Go to hospital	No	At temple
8. Jasmine	Homesickness	Buy some medicine at drug store	No	At temple
9. Yai	No	Go to clinic	No	At temple
10. Wut	Status as an illegal migrant worker	Go to hospital which was open for foreigners	He set up “Thai Chuai Thai” association with his friends to help Thais who need help in Japan.	At temple

Case	6. Period of Stay			
	Period of Stay (Years)	Remittances (Amount & Frequency) YEN	Saving (Amount) YEN	Return (Reason & Process)
1. Tee	6	N/A	N/A	Since he earned enough money, he reported to the Immigration Bureau.
2. Mii	7	A lot	A lot	Earned a lot of money and missed children. Reported to the Immigration Bureau.
3. Tik	13	A lot	A lot	Her husband died. Living cost is cheaper than that of Japan.
4. Tao	12	N/A	N/A	He was arrested by a police
5. Umi	13	60,000 yen per month	400,000 - 500,000 yen	He was getting old He reported to the Immigration Bureau and was deported to Thailand
6. Lily	4	6,000,000 yen	150,000 yen	She got pregnant in Japan and worried about her children's education. Reported to the Immigration Bureau and was deported to Thailand.
7. Rose	More than 17 years	N/A	N/A	Still in Japan with her Japanese husband
8. Jasmin e	7	50,000 yen per month	6,000,000 yen	She got married with Japanese and he wanted to stay in Thailand because the living cost is cheaper than that of Japan.
9. Yai	6	200,000 – 220,000 yen per month	N/A	His mother became sick.
	7	50,000 – 60,000 yen per month	1,800,000 – 2,100,000 yen	He was reported by his colleagues' wife and deported to Thailand.
10. Wut	15	50,000-60,000 yen per month	3,000,000 yen	Arrested by the police because he drove without license and deported to Thailand.

CHAPTER V

LABOR MIGRATION SYSTEM

This chapter scrutinizes labor migration system between Thailand and Japan. The first section focuses on the reasons for migration. Considering these factors, the second section looks at various networks which form labor migration system between Thailand and Japan. At the last section, focus shifts to the conditions of Thai migrants in Japan especially with taking into consideration that they have got influence from the labor migration system.

5.1 Reasons for Migration

Reasons for migration can be broadly categorized into two factors which are push factors and pull factors. Push factors refer to forces within the sending country or Thailand. On the other hand, pull factors refer to forces within the receiving country or Japan.

5.1.1 Push Factors

5.1.1.1 Economical Factor

Thai migrants are generally from the lower or lower middle economic classes. All of the interviewees in this thesis brought the economical problem and poverty as the best reason to migrate to work in Japan. Movements from poorer to richer countries have been seen in many countries. Economic differences between rich and poor countries are widening and encouraging migration for higher incomes and jobs (Martin 2005: 17). Some scholars point out that globalization also brought further economical gap between rich and poor (Upadhaya 1999). This situation has encouraged poorer people to move to work in richer destinations. In addition, Upadhaya (1999: 49) mentions interesting comments about the relationships between globalization and poverty:

There are serious concerns that globalization has been adapted only selectively and that its benefits have been distributed unevenly between the developed and developing countries and between the rich and poor within a country...The world FDI has been largely localized, with more than 90 per cent of it going to the North America, Europe, Japan and some parts of China. The rest of the world, with 70 per cent of its population, receives less than 10 per cent of the world FDI. This has also been referred to mainly resulting from the multinational corporations' goal to develop their networks and manufacturing capabilities within or close to the regions having a majority of their customers. In appears, therefore, that the poorer nations have not so far been able to reap their due share of the benefits of globalization.

Although the GDP in Thailand has been developing, there is still great economical gap between Thailand and Japan. Higher income in Japan attracts many Thai people to go to work in Japan.

In addition, it should be pointed out that there is a serious problem in Thai agricultural structure that Thai farmers cannot raise enough money even though they work hard. There are a lot of debt-ridden farmers in Thailand and their farmland had been seized and put up for auction by their creditors despite the government's ban on seizure of farmers' assets which went into effect on January 16th. This situation also encourages Thai villagers to seek jobs outside their villages.

5.1.1.2 Educational Factor

Educational factor should be mentioned as one of the push factors. Although some of Thai people who went to work in Japan have got high education, majority of them have less than a high-school education and little understanding of the world outside Thailand. This will proceed from the poor educational system especially in rural areas in Thailand where many villagers have been recruited to work in Japan. After the fieldwork in the Northern part of Thailand, the author realized that there has been a great gap between education in rural areas and that of urban areas in Thailand. Some village people indicated the difficulty to access to higher education not only economically but also geographically. At the stage of secondary education, many children have to take hours to go to school because the number of schools is very small. Without good transport, many students quit going to school. The quality of education is also vital factor that rural children

cannot access to higher education. The lack of educational opportunity encourages rural Thai people to be unskilled laborers. It should be noted that those village people could be easily cheated and become victims of human trafficking. What made the author surprised during interviews to Thai returnees was that most of them left to Japan without any information nor language skill.

5.1.1.3 Social Factor

It is important to note that returnees have some aspects to encourage other village people to go to work in Japan. In the interviews to returnees from Japan, most of them mentioned that they have come to get more respect from village people after they got back to Thailand. The reason is simple that they became 'rich'. Many of them built a big house, and bought land and cars. Some of them opened new restaurant or began new business. At Phang Ka village in Phayao province in Thailand where the author visited for interview with returnees, a lot of huge beautiful houses range along the road in mountainous area. This village has produced many labor migrant workers abroad including Japan. Singhanetra-Renard (1992: 202) also mentions about a class structure appearing in Thai villages through fieldwork in Chiang Wae in Udon Thani province in Northeastern Thailand:

A class structure also appears to be emerging in Chiang Wae in that there is now greater differentiation between the rich and the poor than in the past. Largely stemming from international labour migration, influence in the village is now built on money and contacts, not on the charisma or kinship positions that formally distinguished leaders...has brought capitalism, incipient class structure, and the influence of money to Chiang Wae more quickly than would otherwise have occurred. Exchange labour (farm families helping each other out during busy agricultural periods) and even religious obligations can now be fulfilled by monetary payments instead of the traditional personal services. Chiang Wae returnees are also making greater investments in their children's education, which in the longer term should have the effect of further widening the socio-economical gaps...

Economical impact of returnees and the money-oriented tendency motivate many Thais to work in Japan.

They do not simply work in Japan to enjoy their own wealth and more convenient and comfortable lives upon their return to Thailand. In fact, it was observed that traditional practice such as merit-making which now typically involved more cash contributions and far less voluntary labor than in the past, when building or renovating temple buildings. Merit making is still an essential part of village life and every household will, at certain times, 'make merit' at Buddhist temple by bringing food and alms to monks for their morning and midday meals. All Thai returnees with whom the author interviewed did merit-making even when they were in Japan.

A religious determinism is the basis of this belief that the present life is determined by the former life, and the future one, in turn, will be determined by the present life. Dhuka, which is translated as suffering, is considered the logical consequences of the misdeeds one has committed in a former life or in the present one. Thus, the benefits or sufferings of life may be seen as 'recompense' or 'punishment'. This belief helps explain why many villagers consider that money earned in Japan would provide them an opportunity to make merit and with these deeds, gain entry to heaven. In addition, gratitude is also an important part of kinship relationships. Fatherhood and motherhood are considered as institutions to be respected, honored and supported, and most young people who go away to work in Japan will send money home for their parents and family to show gratitude. Basically, the money these workers earn in foreign countries is spent on building a new house, buying more land, cattle or buffalo, buying imported Japanese-made electric appliances such as radios, televisions, refrigerators, stereos, cameras, cars or motorcycles. The female workers who have engaged in prostitution which is considered as a disgraced and bad profession in Thailand, will usually make substantial financial contributions to their family. Young people who send money to their parents and donate to local temples and schools for rebuilding or new construction are praised by the community as 'the grateful ones'. Gratitude is the first qualification of being considered a 'good person' in a village. The opposite is true for 'bad people'. Thus, importantly, even if one is engaging in economic activities, which are not considered socially respectable, one can still earn respect by demonstrating gratitude.

The findings suggest that wealth flows in many ways from the Thai workers to their homelands. One pattern is for those who have lived and worked overseas return to

the homeland, using money saved to purchase property or invest in a business. Thus, remittances and wealth brought back upon return to the home community tend to involve the community in the international marketplace as consumers of products produced elsewhere. This demand for consumer goods creates a demand for more money, which in return encourages continued migration in search of wage labor when such labor is unavailable or poorly paid in the homeland. The return of Thai workers to the village also has these social dimensions and they have roles to encourage other villagers to work in Japan. For many Thai workers coming to Japan, the accumulation of wealth is important as a way of achieving a higher social status in Thailand. Upon their return, their status is demonstrated by conspicuous consumption of Japanese consumer goods (Chunjitkaruna 2000: 257,258).

5.1.2 Pull Factors

Pull factors will be categorized into two parts which are economical opportunity and demographic factor.

5.1.2.1 Economical Opportunity

Japan's good economical conditions have motivated many Thai migrants to work there. In addition, there have been demands for unskilled labors in Japan which even low educated Thai people can engage in. Although Japan has been in long-term depression, this does not necessary suppress the employment of foreign workers. For example, even in the bad economy, there have been demands for so-called "3D or dirty, dangerous and demanded" jobs because Japanese prefer being on unemployment to engaging in these jobs (Akashi 2003). Small and medium-sized businesses in Japan need unskilled cheaper labors, and this situation matches to the demand of job seekers in Thailand.

5.1.2.2 Demographic Factor

The population of those aged 65 or older in Japan was 24.31 million as of October 1 in 2003. The percentage of the elderly to the total population was 19.0 per cent and has been estimated that the elderly population will continue to increase rapidly until

2020 and stabilize thereafter. On the other hand, while the total population is turning to a decrease, the percentage of the elderly is estimated to continue increasing, and to reach 26.0 per cent in 2015 and 35.7 per cent in 2050 (Statistics Bureau). Japan's aging of the population hold various misgivings in the future and is pointed out that Japanese society need labor immigrants in many sectors especially care workers in the future. A Thai woman whom the author met in Chiangrai province has started new business in Japan. She migrated to Japan several years ago and married to Japanese, and now she expanded her business in domestic care sector. This business targets old people in Japan and provides day-care services to them. With consideration to Japan's aging of the population, the number of Thai migrants who engage in domestic care sector might increase in the future. Also Hugo's (1998) shows quite clearly that demographic factors which lead to migration flows are going to become even more significant in the years ahead. Falls in fertility in migrant-receiving countries like Japan will lead to a decline in the proportion of the population of working age (15-34 years) will be greater than ever before (Castles 2000: 120). This situation will bring labor shortage to Japan and need immigrants to make up for it.

5.2 Networks of Migration

The social networks which develop within the migratory process have been well established. Those networks will be a powerful force in sustaining migratory flows, whatever policies governments adopt. Networks also help to reshape migratory flows as they mature, facilitating family reunion and community formation.

Considering all push and pull factors in the last section together with background of migration between Thailand and Japan, it is important to note that in case of Thai labor migration to Japan, migration networks have been established very systematically which is because of the gap between immigration policy and the reality. The demand for labors from Japanese factories match to the demand of village people who seek good income, however, they have to face the hurdle of the Japanese immigration policies which negative for unskilled labor. This situation contributes producing a lot of illegal migrants and networks of migrants have been even more strengthened. This section

will scrutinize networks which have been created between Thailand and Japan, and reveal the labor migration system between two countries embedding those networks.

5.2.1 Background: Mode and Procedures of Labor Recruitment

Employment recruitment in Thailand is controlled by the Employment Recruitment Act 1985 which revised in 1994. According to the act, private recruiting agencies are allowed to offer services to job seekers and charge them a certain fee. Nonetheless, Thai workers can also find employment for themselves or use the services of the Department of Labor Recruitment. There are five major channels for Thai workers who would like to work in Japan as below.

- 1) Private employment recruitment agencies which are registered to the Ministry of Labor
- 2) Self arrangement
- 3) Services of the Ministry of Labor
- 4) Employment as trainee
- 5) Recruitment by employers

The first two channels of recruitment occupy almost 80 per cent of all annual departures of work and governmental services are minimal which covers not more than five per cent of all departures (Chantavanich 2001: 24). Also, between 1996 to 1998, more than 15,000 workers were cheated by unlicensed employment recruiting agencies and illegal brokers (ibid.).

However, many Thai job seekers do not take legal procedures to work in Japan. Most of the returnees with whom the author interviewed disguised themselves as tourists and overstayed in Japan. They do not declare themselves that they will work in Japan at the time of leaving. Thus, none of them took procedures which are showed above. One question will be raised here which is 'how do they enter into Japan?'. In the severe restriction of Japanese immigration control authorities, illegal Thai migrant workers used to enter into Japan in connections with the brokers' services such as the invitation to Japan, preparation of passports, visas including forged or altered visas. The brokers who

intermediate between the employers and illegal foreign workers take important roles especially in case of Thailand, because Thai workers are ranked up first at 3633 in the total number of migrant workers who received services from brokers in Japan (Nagayama 1996). The following section will focus on brokers and recruiters.

5.2.2 Recruiters and Brokers in Thailand

Table 5.1 below shows the data collected through interviews to Thai returnees from Japan. The reason why the total number became 15 is that one of the returnees went to Japan twice.

Table 5.1 Recruiters and brokers in Thailand (Total: 14 samples)

Recruiters/brokers	Relatives	Friends	Thai agent	Others	Total
Number of the cases	3	3	7	2	15

In case of Mea Kham village in Mea Chan in Chiangrai province in northern Thailand, there was a particular recruiter who provided services to village people. The boss of this recruiter who married to Japanese woman, has its base in Bangkok. Some cases in Phayao also show that they had relatives and friends who have worked in Japan or who married to Japanese. In some cases, recruitment agencies provide false passport and visas for those who would like to work in Japan. The two cases which categorized 'others' in table 5.1 were those who got legal procedures through government and became illegal workers later. In any case, it is the characteristic of recruitment of Thai workers to Japan that they have someone in Japan who give them guidance to work in Japan. In all cases, recruiters and brokers were all Thai.

Table 5.2 Classification of broker's nationality (outside Japan)

Nationality	Thai	Filipino	Chinese	Japanese	Korean	Others	Total
Number (persons)	3633 57.6%	900 14.3%	521 8.3%	227 3.6%	199 3.1%	826 13.1%	6305
Male	855 39.1%	282 12.9%	376 17.2%	51 2.5%	101 4.5%	519 23.7%	2188
Female	2778 67.5%	618 15.0%	145 3.5%	172 4.2%	97 2.4%	307 7.5%	4117

Source: Nagayama 1996.

Not only in the case of Thai migrant workers, but also other countries' migrant workers who wish to work in Japan, Thai brokers have important role for recruitment as table 5.2 shows. This will indicate that in Thailand, recruiters and brokers' system is well organized. Moreover, this situation made Thai workers possible to enter Japan even though the immigration law is strict for unskilled labors.

5.2.3 Brokers in Japan

When Thai labor migrants change their jobs for better employment and salary, they need brokers who provide them a new job. Table 5.3 shows the data about brokers in Japan who got charge when they prepared new jobs to Thai migrants. This data was collected through fieldwork in Northern part of Thailand. Since in some cases, they changed their jobs many times, the total number exceeded to the number of samples.

Table 5.3 Brokers in Japan (Total: 14 samples)

Brokers	Thai whom they met in Japan (Brokerage: 50,000yen to 150,000yen)	Friends (Brokerage: free)	No brokers	Total
Number of cases	7	20	2	29

In most of the cases, when they changed their jobs from the first job to the second job, they had to pay brokerage to their brokers which cost 50,000 yen to 150,000

yen. This seems to be because of their lack of information and connection in Japan. After they stay in Japan for a while, they get some Thai friends and came to be involved in networks of Thais in Japan. Then, through those networks, they get better jobs in Japan later without any payment. The nationalities of brokers in Japan were all Thai. Table 5.4 shows an interesting data about broker's nationality in Japan. According to Nagayama's research, Thais occupy the largest portion of the total number of brokers in Japan.

Table 5.4 Classification of broker's nationality (in Japan)

Nationality	Thai	Japanese	Chinese	Filipino	Korean	Others	Total
Number (persons)	1874 38.8%	1179 24.4%	547 11.3%	332 6.9%	184 3.8%	711 14.7%	4827
Male	335 21.5%	278 17.8%	306 19.7%	87 5.6%	92 5.9%	452 29.2%	1150
Female	1539 47.0%	901 27.5%	241 7.4%	245 7.5%	92 2.8%	259 7.9%	3277

Source: Nagayama 1996.

Table 5.4 indicates that Thai communities or groups in Japan create a good network to provide illegal migrants with new jobs.

If Thai migrants could be successful in Japan, they can raise a lot of money and can take a charge as future brokers. Some of returnees became brokers now and have raised a lot of money. They have to take high risk because they have no legal support in Japan, however, at the same time, migration to Japan can expect great economical success in return.

5.2.4 *Yakuza*

The immigration authorities show 1,314 illegal foreign workers were hired by persons who had some connection with a gang or *Yakuza* (Nagayama 1996). Female workers are majority and 970 (73.8 per cent) of them are female workers with a gang connection, and most of them work at restaurants and bars. Among them, Thai workers

occupy the most composition which is 717 in 970, consisted by 61 male and 656 female (ibid.).

Table 5.5 Illegal migrant workers in Japan who had connections with *Yakuza*:
male workers

Nationality	Thai	Korean	Filipino	Chinese	Peruvian	Others	Total
Numbers (persons)	61 17.7%	55 16.0%	48 14.0%	46 13.4%	38 11.0%	96 27.9%	344

Source: Nagayama 1996.

Table 5.6 Illegal migrant workers in Japan who had connections with *Yakuza*:
female workers

Nationality	Thai	Filipino	Korean	Colombian	Peruvian	Others	Total
Numbers (persons)	656 67.6%	209 21.5%	42 4.3%	21 2.2%	16 1.6%	26 2.7%	970

Source: Nagayama 1996.

As table 5.5 and 5.6 show, many Thai workers have connection with *Yakuza* or Japanese mafia. In the interview with returnees in Northern Thailand, also, most of factories and shops where they worked had connection with *Yakuza*. In some cases, their bosses were *Yakuza* and migrants had to pay 'Mikajime-ryo' or custody-charge to them every month. By paying this custody-charge, illegal migrants can get 'protection' from *Yakuza*.

It is important to note that in case of Thai labor migration to Japan, anyone can be a broker. After Thai migrant workers enter into Japan, raise money and get connection with other Thai migrants and Japanese people including *Yakuza*, they can become brokers. They can invite their friends and relatives in their villages in Thailand with a lot of brokerage. The brokerage is so expensive which is about 700,000 baht now as the author already mentioned in another chapter. Some Thai women marry to Japanese and get status as legal resident in Japan. Those women take a role to prepare visas for Thai people who would like to work in Japan. One of the interviewees mentioned about the so-called

'Japanese husband-sale' in Ibaraki prefecture in Japan. They can buy 'Japanese husband' with the charge of around 700,000 yen and can get a status as a wife of Japanese.

5.2.5 Thai Community in Japan

It should be noted that there are some Thai communities in Japan and these communities have important roles for Thai illegal migrant workers. In Ibaraki prefecture next to Tokyo, it is relevant that there is a huge Thai community including Thai restaurants, hair-salons, rental shops of Thai movies and so on. One of the returnees with whom the author interviewed had an important role in Thai community in Ibaraki prefecture. He built up 'Thai Chuay Thai [Thai help Thai]' association during working there with his friends. All the members pay a few thousand yen every month, and this money was used for Thai people who need help in Japan. Also, at some occasions, they did merit-making together at Thai temple in Japan, such as donating money.

Regarding remittances, it is worth to note that the measurement of remittances in Asia generally is problematical and this difficulty is exacerbated in many contexts by the illegality of much movement, the isolation of the home areas and the long history of remitting money to the area through non-formal, traditional channels. Hence they do not include the following type of transfers which all appear to be significant (Hugo 2005: 28):

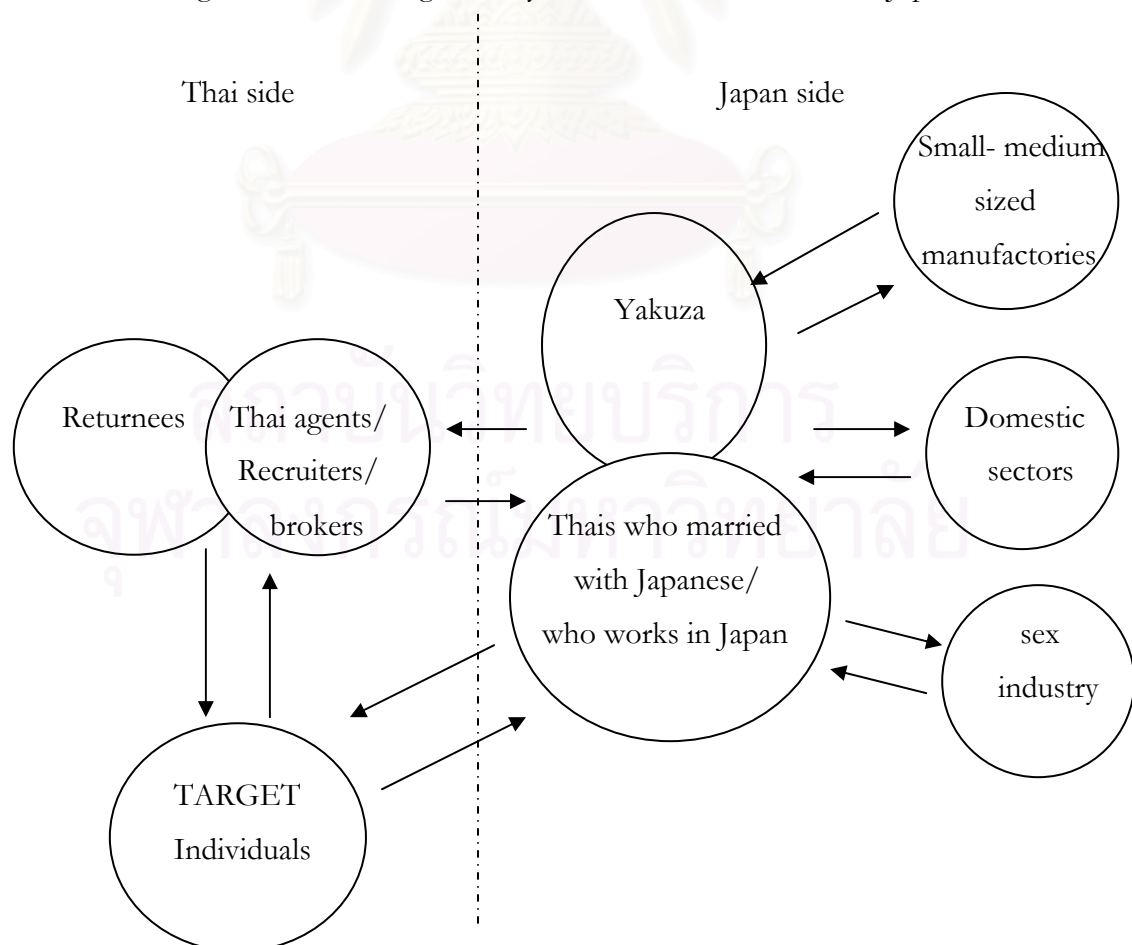
- 1) Where the migrants themselves bring the money earned back with them when they return. In Indonesia there is a free foreign currency exchange system and no distinction is made between money which is changed in Indonesia by returning workers and that changed by tourists and other foreign visitors.
- 2) There is also a considerable amount of batching of remittances with relatives and close friends bringing back money for workers still in destination areas. There is so much coming and going of workers and the scale of movement from individual villages is so substantial that this method is feasible.
- 3) Some workers bring back goods (especially gold) rather than cash.
- 4) There are significant flows using postal transfers.

- 5) There are several schemes set up by private companies to remit funds for overseas workers, several in association with particular recruitment agencies.

It is clear that there is so-called ‘underground bank’ in Japan. Most of the cases, Thai restaurants in Thai community combined this work together. Thai migrants bring their salaries to Thai restaurants and can send money to Japan with cheaper costs than other banks. The system of these underground banks is still unclear, however, it can be said that this remittances sending services are one of the big businesses running in Japan by Thai migrants.

Together with all networks which have mentioned before and background of migration, labor migration system between Thailand and Japan will be described as below (figure 5.1).

Figure 5.1 Labor migration system between Thailand and Japan



Next section describes migrants' condition in Japan considering what has discussed above.

5.3 Conditions of Thai Labor Migrants in Japan

What are conditions of Thai illegal workers who are in this migration system which was described in the last section? This section will focus on their conditions and problems in Japan based on life stories of Thai returnees from Japan.

5.3.1 Adjusting to Japan

As some returnees mentioned during interviews, many of labor migrants faced some problems to integrate themselves into Japanese society. Workers cannot adapt themselves to the new working environment and social life in Japan. This is due to an insufficient period of time for pre-departure orientation. In addition, Thai workers have poor language skill, nor do they know local customs and traditions, nor they have sufficient knowledge of the conditions of their work compared to workers from other countries.

It seems that language is the first hurdle for Thai immigrants as many returnees mentions. One of the interviewees told that she got lost often in Japan and felt desperate every time. In the process of integration to Japanese society, all returnees with whom the author interviewed experienced the homesickness.

5.3.2 Working Conditions

Thai workers in this sample have been employed in various types of enterprises in Japan. Small and medium-sized businesses predominated among all for male workers. On the other hand, some female workers engaged in service sectors such as bar girl, hostess, and so on.

Most of respondents worked very hard in Japan. It is not rare that they worked without any holidays and weekends. With regard to the daily working hours, it was observed that they worked more than eight hours a day, some of them worked more than ten hours a day.

The hazards related to work correspond with the distribution of professions in Japan. Thus, danger due to building height was reported by returnees who engaged in construction work. Also, hazards from chemical substances were reported. Sickness related to long-hours working also raised as problems. Some returnees mentioned that their Thai friends who worked in Japan injured and hospitalized. Some of them died of overwork. Some respondents mentioned that they experienced discrimination in Japan. A male returnee mentioned that when one of his colleagues' wallet disappeared, he was suspected firstly at the working place because he was an illegal migrant worker. A female returnee who worked as a prostitute in Japan had bad experiences in Japan that she was looked down on by Japanese middle-aged women who knew that she was a prostitute. Some returnees also mentioned that some of their friends got violation from their employers. Since they were illegal workers, they were feared of losing jobs or reported to police. They had no means to protect themselves from violence and discrimination at working places. The status as illegal migrants brings this situation and makes them difficult to against those violation and discrimination.

While many of Thai labor migrants finishes their work in Japan as employees, some of them succeed to have own shops and begin new businesses in Japan. In case of male migrants, one of the respondents opened a new Thai restaurant in Japan with his friends. Also, a female respondent got her own bar in Japan after she got marry to Japanese. She became '*Mama-san*' or owner of the bar and has raised a lot of money. Those who married to Japanese, they could get legal status to stay in Japan and were seemed that they have stayed in Japan relatively comfortably.

In regard to holidays, most of respondents tried not to go out but stay in home because they did not want to invite any troubles concerning to their status as overstayers. However, some returnees reported that they had small trips and small parties with their colleagues sometimes. Three of the respondents had part-time jobs on holidays which were fixed by their bosses. In any case, illegal migrants tend not to go out even when they get holidays in Japan. Status as 'illegal' keeps them staying at home.

The working conditions are different in each case. If a migrant worker were lucky, they could work there relatively comfortable with kind boss and colleagues. On the other

hand, if they were unlucky, their working conditions were very bad and they were forced to have difficult lives there.

5.3.3 Living Conditions and Health Care

In some cases, the accommodation was offered for free by employers, however, some respondents rent an apartment in Japan. In case of those who rent an apartment, they had to pay a lot of money on accommodation every month even though they shared the room with their friends. The rent was ranged from 40,000 yen to 100,000 yen (about 13,500 baht to 33,500 baht) per month. Since nobody can rent an apartment without legal status for staying in Japan, apartment arrangement was done by some intermediates such as boss of the workplace and Thai who marries to Japanese.

The most serious problem for illegal migrants was their statuses as 'illegal' overstayers. Since they were illegal migrants, they could not access to any social services. When they became sick in Japan, they just got some medicines which they brought from Thailand. Some respondents had bitter experiences that they were rejected to receive any services at hospital. While some hospitals provide their services for illegal foreign workers, some hospitals hesitate to see illegal foreign patients because these hospitals would like to avoid having any troubles with them. Since most of the illegal migrants have great risk at their workplaces as the author mentioned before, the difficulty for accessing to hospitals sometimes causes tragic death to migrants workers. One of the returnees lost her elder brother who came to work in Japan together. Some of the returnees lost their Thai friends who worked together in Japan because of overwork. The status as 'illegal' workers is a crucial problem for all illegal overstayers in Japan.

Most of illegal workers were seemed that they did not have any Japanese friends in Japan. Their lives in Japan were limited only in the workplace and Thai community in Japan. They work all the days without holidays. Even if they got holidays, they spent their holidays in their home because they were afraid of being arrested concerning their status as illegal overstayers. Most of Thai returnees lived in very closed society—workplace and Thai community— in Japan. As I mentioned above, Thai communities in Japan help each other and exchange information each other, however, most of them had no interaction with Japanese people except Japanese colleagues, bosses and *Yakuza*. They are living in a small

Thai society in Japan, and ‘Japanese’ for Thai migrants in Japan means their ‘colleagues, bosses, and *Yakuza*’.



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CHAPTER VI

IMPACTS OF MIGRATION ON THAILAND AND JAPAN

In this chapter, impacts of migration on both Thailand and Japan will be examined with consideration of all discussions in the previous chapters.

6.1 Impacts on Thailand

Impacts on Thailand will be consisted of three parts which are remittance, brokerage, and social impact.

6.1.1 Remittance

Economically, labor migration reduces local unemployment and yields a huge amount of remittances (table 6.1). Remittances are a source of income to rural populations and thereby alleviating rural poverty. For workers, higher wages mean that they can have some savings after paying off debts caused by the high recruitment fees. If they manage their savings efficiently, they can have a small business and improve their living conditions. However, some workers do not have income mobility and occupational mobility after their return, and end up to emigrate again. One of the respondents of this study migrated to Japan twice because he could not run his own business well after he returned to Thailand from Japan at the first time.

Table 6.1 Remittances to selected Asian countries (Million US\$)

(*: 1979, **: 1982, ***: 2002)

	Bangladesh	India	Indonesia	China	Philippines	Sri Lanka	Thailand
1980	339	2,756	33	541**	421	152	191*
1992	912	2,891	264	228	2,222	548	1,500
2003	3,200	8,400	2,180***	2,400	7,640	1,500	1,718

Source: Hugo 1995; World Bank Development Report, various volumes and country data, <http://www.worldbank.org/data/countrydata.html>; Soeprono 2005: 10; Chalamwong 2002; IMF Balance of Payments Statistics Yearbook; Dimzon 2005; World Bank 2004, cited at Hugo et al 2005: 31.

Table 6.1 shows the amount of remittances to selected Asian countries. It is relevant that remittances are contributing economical development in Thailand. Sriskandarajah (2005: 15) explains types of potential impacts of remittances and financial transactions (table 6.2).

Table 6.2 Types of potential impacts of remittances and financial transactions

For individual remitter	For 'host' country of remitter
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ Strengthens ties with home. ◆ May repay financial and other debts at home. ◆ Risks being an excessive drain on often meager disposable incomes. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ Relatively small leakage from developed countries (migrants on average remit a small percentage of total income earned). ◆ May serve as indirect compensation for brain drain.
For recipients of remittances	For country receiving remittances
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ Increased income. ◆ Access to goods that migrants send or bring with them. ◆ Many find increased human capital investment (e.g. education for family members). ◆ May provide capital for entrepreneurs. ◆ Remittances may provide insurance against risk. ◆ Steady remittance income may act as economic disincentive. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ Important source of foreign exchange. ◆ May boost financial sector and investment. ◆ May push exchange rates up decreasing export competitiveness. ◆ May help to alleviate poverty, especially in particular regions or during emergencies. ◆ Opportunities for leveraging loans using expected remittances. ◆ Migrants visiting home may bolster tourism and related industries. ◆ Migrants' demand for 'nostalgia' products may create new export markets for domestic industry.

	◆Migrants may help fund relief, development or community organizations.
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Source: Sriskandarajah 2005: 15.

However, it is also reported that some of the recipients of remittances in Thai villages are lack of financial management. They use remittances which their family members earned in Japan on gambles and shopping. One of the respondents told the author that one of her friends who worked as a prostitute committed suicide because she got a call from her family in Thailand that her remittances were wasted on gambles. Financial management skill of family members is crucial to make the labor migration be successful economically.

A large amount of remittances lead migrant workers to be 'respectable' persons in Thai villages. Most of the returnees reported that they got more respect from village people after they returned to Thailand because they raised a lot of money and made a lot of 'merits' for their parents.

6.1.2 Brokerage

Economically, the most negative impact which has to be urgently solved is the high costs of brokerage fees at the time of recruitment. The high costs associated with brokerage fees were found to be a major disadvantage to workers, with most having to work six months to three years to pay them off, some costs are paid to brokers in destination countries to obtain positions. In addition, since most Thais are unskilled workers, they receive low wages and are not welcome in Japan. As indirect impact of this is that more workers with good skills will migrate easily while those with low skills will be left in local employment, resulting in lower productivity in Thailand.

Brokerage at the time of recruitment is getting more and more expensive in connection with the strict immigration policies in Japan. It can be easily conjectured that the risk of migration be higher and make migrants' lives harder than ever to pay this expensive brokerage off.

6.1.3 Social Impact

Socially, returnees are more acknowledged by their neighbors, although only 10 per cent of them become more active in local/community affairs, or local politics (Chantavanich 2001: ii). Generally, the skills acquired while working abroad are not used when they return home, and thus there is no transference of new technologies or skills to local villagers, who are predominantly agricultural workers.

The social costs of migration are not always apparent, especially in the short term, however, there is the negative impact of poor quality of life in Japan which is the risk of deteriorating both physical and mental health such as in case of sudden unexpected nocturnal death syndrome. Workers who go to work illegally abroad do not receive any welfare benefits and suffer from deteriorating mental health as they have to continuously hide from the police. Some of women who are in the commercial sex business in Japan have serious mental health problems due to their not having legal status and the tension within their families when they have children with Japanese who do not recognize them. As a result, some of the migrant women have committed suicide or become mentally ill and have to come back to recover in Thailand.

In regard to family life, extramarital relationships, polygamy and divorce were found to occur. This negative impact on society indicates that the social costs of migrant workers are being away from their families for a long time. To be away for a long period of time leads to workers having new partners or having extramarital affairs and taking minor wives or new husbands. According to the information acquired from informal interviews, it was found that there were some workers who got divorced from their spouses in Thailand. A male returnee who worked in Japan for 11 years mentioned that he sometimes has strange feeling toward his parents because they have been apart for long time. Also, he got a shock that his village was totally changed during he was in Japan. The other Thai male returnee divorced during he was in Japan because he got a new girlfriend in Japan and his ex-wife also got a new boyfriend in Thailand. Now, he is alone in Thailand and feels lonely sometimes. A female returnee who got a Japanese husband lives in Thailand with her new Japanese husband now. She had two children with her ex-husband who passed away. She faces difficulty to communicate with her children because of long time of separation and

family reunion is very hard because her new Japanese husband cannot speak Thai and her children cannot speak Japanese. The other male returnee got a Thai girlfriend in Japan and still has kept in touch with her even though he has wife and children.

Those Thai migrant workers left Thailand to raise money for their family members, however, ironically, migration brought family crisis on some returnees.

6.2 Impacts on Japan

Impacts on Japan will be scrutinized with three points which are economical impact, political impact, and social impact.

6.2.1 Economical Impact

Migrants increase GDP by lowering wages. Cheaper labor contributes to produce cheaper goods and bring Japanese industry positive economical gain. There are several speculative estimates of the economic gains from more international migration based on increased allocative efficiency, which means that the gain is measured by the increase in wages from migration. Humilton and Whaley, in a 1984 exercise, estimated that world GDP could double if barriers to labor migration were removed.

The gains through sending remittances should be also taken into consideration. Although some Thai migrants use 'underground banks' to send their remittances, Japanese banks get a lot of services charges by sending migrants' remittances to their home countries. The amount of this money will be considerably high and contribute to Japanese economy.

6.2.2 Political Impact

Although the Japanese immigration policy is negative for acceptance of unskilled labor migrants from outside the country, the demand from small and medium-sized businesses toward unskilled labor is getting high. Moreover, low fertility and aging of the population encourage this situation. Thus, many sectors are involving in the process of making policies now in Japan such as bureaucrats, ministries, parties, various businesses,

NGOs, local governments and so on. It can be said that the unskilled labor migrants issue has influenced on many sectors.

6.2.3 Social Impact

Illegal foreign workers in Japan have been viewed by Japanese authorities as a threat to national unity and identity as well as cultural homogeneity and social order. They tend to reject the idea of permanent settlement. This view is partly derived from Japanese mass media's reports on social problems caused by foreign workers, following the recent flow of foreign workers to Japan, and an overall increase in the crime rate. For example, in 1992, several articles concerning crimes committed by Thai workers were published by several newspapers (Chantavanich 2001: 269). As a result, Japanese authorities have been tightening their controls of illegal workers by deporting anyone found working illegally in Japan. It cannot be denied that Japanese people's image toward illegal migrants is negative that they are 'illegal', thus they are 'dangerous' or they have potential to be criminals. This situation makes it difficult for Japanese to understand the reality of Thai migrants in Japan. Many Japanese have no idea about illegal migrants and the image of 'potential criminals' precedes.

Also, it should be noted that the number of Thai wives and children is increasing in Japan. The total number is not as high as that of Chinese, however, registered numbers of Thai nationals are increasing steadily. Considering the low fertility, it is possible to speculate that Japan will be more cultural diverse country in the future. Considering the increasing number of registered foreign nationals, the issues of their children's education and citizenship are raising. It is important to prepare comfortable conditions for foreigners. Moreover, Japanese people should learn about the reality of increasing number of registered foreign nationals and cooperate with them to create good society together.

Concerning to the increasing number of immigration in Japan, there is an interesting research of United Nations about the relationship between population and immigration (UN 2001: 54):

The population of Japan aged faster between 1950 and 2000 than the population of other developed countries owing to a rapid process of demographic change that consisted of declines in fertility and increases in survivorship. Under the assumption of zero immigration in the future, the total population as well as the working-age population of Japan is projected to decline continuously during most of the first half of the twenty-century...above suggests that, if the loss of population were to be prevented through immigration, 17.7 per cent of the population would be composed of immigrants and their descendants by 2050. Similarly, 30.4 per cent of the population would be made up of immigrants and their descendants by 2050 of the country wished to maintain the size of working-age population constant.

As this UN's research shows, Japan will have to accept large number of immigrants to sustain the society in the near future. Japan will be no longer 'one-ethnic-country' as the government believes. The preparation for this coming large portion of immigrants will be needed. In addition, the effort to open the society toward foreigners will be crucial.

Here is another interesting data about foreign residents in Japan (table 6.3)

Table 6.3 Desire to settle and views of Japan

(%)

	Average Period of Stay (years)	Desire to settle		Views of Japan		
		Yes	No	Like	Dislike	No strong feelings
Filipinos*	3.8	57	43	64	3	34
Chinese*	6.8	51	49	31	19	50
South Koreans	1.8	7	93	29	16	55
Thais	3.2	62	38	27	42	31
Malaysians	5.6	29	71	65	28	7
Myanmarese	4.5	13	87	58	27	15
Indonesians	2.0	42	58	61	3	36
Brazilians	4.5	12	88	35	45	20
Total	5.0	37	63	40	22	29

* Recalculated after excluding no answers.

Source: Zainichi Gaikokujin Johoshi Rengokai (Ethnic Media and Press Coalition), 'Sainichi gaikokujin shijo chosa/data shu' (Collection of market surveys and data on foreigners in Japan), 1996, in Komai Hiroshi, *Shinrai/teijyu gaikokujin shiryō shusei* (Compilation of resources related to newcomer and settled foreigners), Tokyo: Akashi Shoten, 1998. Cited at Komai 2001.

According to table 6.2 above, it is clear that many Thais have negative image toward Japan despite that they desire to stay in Japan. It is interesting that the views of Japan are very different in each country and the question will be raised here that why each country has each views. Although this study is not aimed to have comparative study, the future study on this issue may contribute to help immigrants who have difficulties in Japan. Especially in case of Thailand, many Thai immigrants have negative image toward Japanese society. Those who dislike Japan someday get back to Thailand and bring the bad image of Japan to their villages. The bad image of Japan will affect on the relationship between Thailand and Japan in the future. Also, this data implies that there are many Thais who are forced hard lives in Japan. It is important to capture the Thai migrants' situation and their problems. In addition, considering the current labor migration system between Thailand and Japan, it should be noted that Thai immigrants in Japan are living in very limited society in Japan. In other words, their living space is very narrow and they have few opportunities to communicate with other ordinary Japanese people. This situation makes it difficult to have interactions and cultural exchanges between Thai immigrants and Japanese, and invites misunderstandings between them.

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CHAPTER VII

CONCLUSION

The motivation of this study has come from the author's personal astonishment toward the fact that there are a lot of Thai migrants in Japan and some of them are forced very hard lives there. Ashamedly, most of Japanese have no idea about illegal migrant workers in Japan, however, this is no wonder because most of illegal migrants work and live in labor migration system which is invisible and difficult to access for ordinary Japanese people.

Poverty was the prime reason for most of Thai migrants to come to Japan. Some of them were so desperate and had no choice but go to work abroad. This hopeless economical situation for Thai village people invites inadequate preparation for migration and sometimes they become targets of human trafficking. Poverty reduction together with adequate education and information of outside Thailand is necessary. However, the study of Thai workers in Japan also reveals that some of them come to Japan to have more comfortable lifestyle which is a reflection of changes to the value system of villagers following the Thai governments' adaptation of western ideology on development and capitalism. These socio-cultural changes resulting from modernization have greatly affected on rural Thai lives and attitudes toward money, which has become a necessary means to achieve life-goals and higher social status for many villagers. This tendency has also escalated with the idea of merit-making of Buddhism.

A Labor migration system has revealed through the series of fieldworks in Northern villages which is explained clearly by adopting Migration Systems Theory. As Kritz (1992: 3) showed the framework of systems theory (figure 2.1), Northern Thai migration system has been created and strengthened by the gap between the Japanese immigration policy and the actual demand in Japan and supply in Northern Thai villages for unskilled laborers. In other words, despite the fact that the demand for unskilled labor in Japan can be readily met by the supply in Thailand, the Japanese government has adopted a very strict immigration policy by closing its door to unskilled laborers. This gap contributes to create and strength the labor migration system between Thailand and Japan

which is supported by various networks involving various actors such as migrants' relatives, friends and gangs. In order to enter Japan, Thais have to depend on brokers and criminal underworld such as the Japanese *Yakuza*, because the legal channel for unskilled laborers was closed by strict immigration policy in Japan. Thus they had to rely on illegal channels to come to work in Japan. Recruiter and brokers are often their friends and relatives who have been successful or married to Japanese. It is the characteristic of Northern Thai labor migration that each migrant has a potential to be a future broker, however, it has to be noted that the risk to work in Japan is very high because there would be neither social security nor adequate health care for illegal migrants. In addition, the brokerage fees are extremely expensive. If they could not succeed in Japan or they became sick in Japan, they had to owe more and more debt regarding brokerage fees. In the worst case, they might be cheated at the time of recruiting and became a victim of human trafficking. Although if they were successful in Japan, they can raise a lot of money as a future recruiter and broker, to work in Japan is high risk for village people. Adopting Kritiz's framework (1992), it might be said that if there is a factor which prevent the flow of the migrants against the actual demand (in this case, the Japanese immigration policy), the migration system will be shaped to have a balance between the actual supply and demand for migration (in this case, networks of migration involving criminal gangs). Northern Thai labor migration to Japan has, thus, been created to hold the balance between supply in Thai villages and demand in Japan.

The problems they encounter in Japan are usually the result of their illegal status. They have no access to health care and social security. Health care is important issue for migrants because many of them engage in high-risk jobs in Japan. In addition, mental care is crucial especially for female workers who work as prostitutes. Moreover, health care and mental support should be continued after they returned to Thailand as reintegration program. Regarding social security, they have no means to protect themselves from violence and discrimination at the workplace. In the case of human trafficking, the situation would be worse than other cases. It should be noted that many Thai migrants are often ignorant of the immigration rules of both Japan and Thailand and the idea of human rights. Thus, they cannot appeal to government agencies or local government for help when their human rights are abused.

The living space of Thai labor migrants in Japan is very limited. They live in a small Thai society in Japan where social security is very vulnerable. In case of human trafficking, they cannot even access to this Thai society in Japan and their lives are confined to their workplace and forced slave-like lives there. For labor migrants, 'Japanese' indicates only 'colleagues, bosses and *Yakuza*' or in some cases, 'immigrant officers' might be included. The opportunity for interaction with ordinary Japanese is thus, limited. Ordinary Japanese also have no idea about migrant workers. The labor migration system between Thailand and Japan invites this situation.

Regarding impacts, migration brings enormous economical impact on both Thailand and Japan as Castles (2000) discussed in his book, however, long-time separation causes family crisis on Thai villages, including extramarital relationships, polygamy and divorce. Most of Thai migrant workers left Thailand to raise money for their family members, however, ironically, migration brings family breakdown. Also, social impact on Thailand is important that successful returnees have functions to encourage other village people to work in Japan. Their successful story in Japan definitely attracts many poor villagers. In Japanese side also, social impact is huge. Although Japanese government decided not to accept unskilled labor with the background of increasing number of illegal migrants and criminal cases of foreigners, considering low fertility and aging of the population, it is obvious that large number of immigrants will be needed to sustain the society which means that Japan will be more cultural diverse country and Japanese have to create its society cooperating with immigrants in the future. Regarding policy making, many sectors such as ministries, parties, bureaucracy, small and medium-sized businesses, NGOs and local government have begun to pay attention toward immigrants and have influenced on policy making processes.

It is important to note that many Thai immigrants have negative views toward Japan. In this case study, all returnees are relatively 'successful' people. Although some of them have problems during and after their migrations, it can be said that they were relatively successful migrants 'economically' and also they were 'lucky' migrants because they had good bosses and colleagues in Japan. However, it is obvious that there are a lot of Thai migrants who are suffering and forced slave-like lives in Japan. The author believes that each Thai person in Japan represents Thailand for Japanese people and each Japanese

in Thailand represents Japan for Thai people. If any Thais in Japan have terrible and tragic experiences, those experiences will be feedback to Japan negatively. On the other hand, if any Japanese in Thailand could have wonderful relationship with Thai people, their experiences will also be feedback to Thailand positively. Further research and support for these groups of migrants will be crucial for both Thailand and Japan.



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Appendix

QUESTIONNAIRES FOR THAI RETURNEES FROM JAPAN

Interview date & place:

Name, sex and age:

Before coming to Japan:

I. Personal Data	
Marriage and family?	
Educational level?	
Reasons? why did you choose Japan?	
Images of Japan?	
II. Recruitment	
Who were recruiters?	
Preparation: passport/visa/documents how did you prepared?	
Preparation period? How many days?	
How much costs/brokerage to a recruiter?	
Route & with whom to airport/Japan? (Agents at village level?)	

Working in Japan:

I. Jobs and living conditions						
Jobs and living conditions? & Processes of settlement?		Where	Jobs	How long	Salary	Living condition & cost
	↓					
	Time					
	↓					

	(Remarks)
Brokerage? (How long did it take to pay them off?)	
Relationships with your co-workers and bosses?	
Holiday? How many? What did you do?	
Hobbies? including gambling, smoking and drug?	
Image of Japan changed? How changed?	
Got any skills?	
Japanese language?	
II. Brokers	
Contact with recruiters in Japan?	
How did you change the job? Who were brokers? Their Nationality? How did you know them?	
Cost of changing jobs (payment for brokers)	
Yakuza? Did you have to pay money to them? How? And how much? Do you know the relationship between Yakuza and your boss/factory/working place?	
III. Social security	
Problems?	
What about when you were sick? Any social services?	
Whether you had someone help you in Japan? Associations/professionals?	

Thai networks/communities to help each other?	
What kind of support did you need in Japan?	
Merit-making?	
IV. Period of stay and Remittances	
From when?	
How long?	
How and why did you get back to Thailand?	
How much remittances? How did you send them to Thailand?	
How much savings did you had when you have returned to Thailand?	

Life after return:

I. Economical reintegration	
The use of remittances?	
Present job?	
Wanna work in Japan again? & Why?	
II. Social reintegration	
Problems?	
Life became better?	
Any suggestions who will work in Japan future? & suggestions for better life in Japan? (ex. legal assistance?)	

(Other remarks)

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