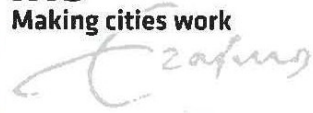




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Thesis

Title: Social Exclusion through employers' housing: The case of Low-skilled international migrants, Khon Kaen, Thailand

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Specialization: UHES

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**MASTER'S PROGRAMME IN URBAN MANAGEMENT AND
DEVELOPMENT**

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**Social exclusion through employers' housing:
The case of low-skilled international migrants,
Khon Kaen, Thailand**

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Supervisor: Maartje van Eerd

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Summary

For more than twenty years, Thailand has been receiving migration from the countries within the Great Mekong Subregions (GMS), predominantly from Laos PDR, Myanmar and Cambodia. Owing to the labour shortage within the country, the migrants, from the neighbouring countries, have been fuelling human capital to the labour-intensive industries of Thailand. The employers hire predominantly the low-skilled migrants for the industries such as fishing, agriculture, construction and others. However, historically, it is acknowledged that industrialisation has been a primary cause of internal and international migration. During industrialisation epoch, employment opportunities generated within the industrial centres, causing mass migration of people. Owing to which rapid population growth was documented within the industrial workers. To accommodate these workers, the employers of the industries developed industrial towns, which were termed as company housing/towns. These housing developments had several basic infrastructural inefficiencies. They lacked architectural aesthetics and planning. In Thailand, similar to company housing, the employers are providing housing to the migrant workers. However, contradicting to this consideration, the employers are exploitative and abusive with regards to migrants. Further, the futile governance and approaches, towards migration, in Thailand, has caused a state of isolation and exclusion for the migrant workers. The non-similar cultural backgrounds of the migrant workers have caused social and cultural deprivation. Although, there are arguments, in support and against, the migration and development nexus, it is acknowledged that migration has caused an immense demographic shift, affecting the socio-economic and cultural structures of a place. Especially, in the recent times perception towards the international migration has suffered through disputing ideologies. Growing ethnic diversity, and the governance of international migration, owing to the persistent in-migration in the receiving societies, are conceived as the prominent challenges of the current state of international affairs. Preponderantly, migrants come from diverse cultural origin or '*phenotype*', which is considered to cause insecurities among the receiving communities and governments. Hence, the growing uncertainties have placed the migrant groups on the forefront of exclusion – social, political, economic and cultural – with respect to the context. These identified challenges, in the discourse of migration, are considered being well embedded in the Thai context.

This thesis tries to study two factors of Thai in-migration. Preponderantly, the thesis tries to delve into the housing provided by the employers, to the low-skilled international migrants, and their social exclusion. As mentioned earlier, referring to the industrialisation era, the Thailand government considered the employers to be responsible for the migrants housing and their other basic necessities. However, this research tries to explain that the housing provided by the employers, to their migrant workers, is further consolidating social exclusion of the migrants from the Thai society. The research identifies planning and management, of these housing developments, as one of the factors that has been a fundamental cause of low-skilled migrants' exclusion from the Thai society, at the industry level. In this thesis, a comprehensive understanding is developed on these two factors and their sub-factors. The research also considers that with respect to the international migration, the government policies are the essential factors, causing migrants' exclusion. Likewise, along with the exclusionary policies, it is identified the employers' housing as one of the factors which constricts integration between the migrants and Thai society.

Through, this research it is found out that, the stringent regulatory system that is developed, to manage the low-skilled migrants within the industrial parameters, is one of the fundamental causes of exclusion, at the industrial level. The following thesis illustrate this finding in depth.

Keywords

International migration, Low-skilled migrant work, Employers' Housing, Social Exclusion

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Abbreviations

UN	United Nation
IOM	International Organisation for Migration
LAC	Latin America and Caribbean
NA	North America
ASEAN	Association of South East Asian Nations
UNODC	United Nation Office on Drugs and Crime
UNESCAP	United Nation Economic and Social Commission for Asia
GMS	Great Mekong Sub-region
Laos PDR	Laos People's Democratic Republic
GDP	Gross Domestic Progress
MMN	Mekong Migration Network
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
NELM	New Economy of Labour Migration
EU	European Union
GPP	Gross Provincial Product
NESDB	National Economic and Social Development Board
MOI	Ministry of Industry
BMR	Bangkok Metropolis Region
MPI	Migration Policy Institute
NCPO	National Council of Peace and Order

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Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1. Background

Cities are dynamic engines of growth, and they have been attracting potential people to find opportunities. Comprehensively, this magnetism has changed the urban landscapes which have intrigued scholars. The researchers are trying to understand the changing socio-economic fabrics of the urban centres, to enable sustainable and holistic growth of the cities. However, despite the intense research and years of urbanisations, the understanding of cities is still ambiguous. This uncertainty is caused owing to the unprecedented growth of the urban agglomeration (Frey, Zimmer, 2001). Also, the urbanisation is being influenced by time and structures of society – social, political and economic – which has further contributed to this uncertainty. However, the projected growth in the rate of urbanisation is empirical.

Urbanisation and globalisation are interdependent phenomena. As Castles, et al claims, “internal and international migration are closely linked and both are driven by the same transformative processes” (Castles, De Haas & Miller, 2013). The capital investments, from the developed economies and human investments, from the rural-urban movement, have transformed the cities in the developing nations (Clark, 1998). Hence, these investments have made the cities a ‘melting point’ of urbanisation and globalisation. However, certain scholars disagree with the aforementioned interdependency. According to McKinnon, “the national labour market and the rural-urban market could take place in the absence of globalisation” (McKinnon, 2011). He states that urbanisation is disintegrated with globalisation. Nonetheless, in the neo-liberal reign, the cities are developing to become the global economies. This development trajectories have pursued cities to invite foreign investments. The adoption of the western development patterns has forced the developed economies to convert from the agrarian economy into a service or manufacturing-based economy. Also, this adaptation is further consolidated owing to the uncertainty of the agriculture industry. Hence, the transformation manifests the effects of the global development trends on the national and local economies of the developing countries. Furthermore, it has engendered opportunities in urban centres, attracting people from rural areas, of these countries. Consequently, it can be concluded that globalisation has influenced urbanisation in the modern global world.

1.1.1. International migration in World and Asia

International migration is a complex phenomenon. In this increasingly connected world, people’s lives are affected socially, economically and culturally. People, of varied backgrounds, are migrating across countries. It has intertwined with the geopolitics, trade and cultural exchange. The governments, businesses and communities have benefited from the opportunities, which they received from migration. These opportunities have proved advantageous to the people, from the place of origin and destination. However, migration has also taken place under certain negative circumstance. People have forcefully migrated owing to the political conflict, environmental degradation, and lack of human safety. Likewise, not all who migrate are legal migrants. Under certain circumstances, there is also forced illegal migration that takes place. Hence, the international migration has varied nuances which causes difficulties in generalisation (McAuliffe, Ruhs, 2017).

Historically, international migration has caused due to some radical turning points. Industrial and agriculture revolution, colonization, free markets, modern education and technological advancement are the highlighting episodes of history, which have contributed in the growth of international migration. Recently, globalisation, supported by the has become the dominant factor contributing to this growth. The increasing advancement in technology has drastically

reduced the cost of travel and made it convenient to migrate. Also, the growing demand for professionals, across the world, has enhanced the rate of migration of the skilled labour. This worldwide demand has encouraged certain countries to adopt free movement of labour through developing bilateral and multilateral treaties. Consequently, international migration has become a common practice around the world. In the discourse on evolving dynamics of migration, scholars have expressed a need to understand international migration and its various manifestations. Also, they have enforced the acceptability to adequately concentrate on the needs of the migrants (Chan, 2012, De Haas, 2010a, King, Skeldon, 2010, Wickramasinghe, Wimalaratana, 2016) ;

In 2017, the estimated global international migrants were 258 million (United Nations, 2017) (Table 1). There has been increase of 105 million (69%) migrants from 1990 to 2017 worldwide. In the World Migration Report (United Nations, 2017), out of the total international migrant stock 57 % residing in developed countries - the ‘North’; and 43% lived in developing countries - the ‘South’. Out of the total stock of international migrants living in the ‘North’, 89 million were from developing countries. Likewise, out of the total stock living in the ‘South’ 97 million were from other developing countries. Hence, the understanding that the ‘North’ houses more migrants from the developing countries can be extensively argued.

	<i>International migrant stock (millions)</i>				<i>Average annual change in migrant stock (per cent)</i>			
	1990	2000	2010	2017	1990-2000	2000-2010	2010-2017	2000-2017
World	152.5	172.6	220.0	257.7	1.2	2.4	2.3	2.4
Developed regions	82.4	103.4	130.7	146.0	2.3	2.3	1.6	2.0
Developing regions	70.2	69.2	89.3	111.7	-0.1	2.6	3.2	2.8
High-income countries	75.2	100.4	141.8	164.8	2.9	3.5	2.2	2.9
Middle-income countries	68.5	64.0	70.2	81.4	-0.7	0.9	2.1	1.4
Low-income countries	8.5	7.7	7.5	10.9	-1.0	-0.2	5.3	2.0
Africa	15.7	14.8	17.0	24.7	-0.6	1.4	5.3	3.0
Asia	48.1	49.2	65.9	79.6	0.2	2.9	2.7	2.8
Europe	49.2	56.3	70.7	77.9	1.3	2.3	1.4	1.9
LAC	7.2	6.6	8.2	9.5	-0.9	2.3	2.0	2.2
NA	27.6	40.4	51.0	57.7	3.8	2.3	1.8	2.1
Oceania	4.7	5.4	7.1	8.4	1.2	2.8	2.4	2.7

Table 1: Number and Annual Rate of Change of the International Migration Stock by Development Group, Income Level and Region, 1990-2017

Source: (United Nations, 2017)

In 2017, 60% of the total international migration, globally, was accommodated in Asia and Europe. Out of this, 80 million were in Asia and 78 million were in Europe. Since 2000, Asia has experienced fastest growth of migration, and from 2010, it contributed 2 million migrants every year. In 2017, the regional migration within Asia was documented to be the largest in the world, with approximately 63 million international migrants moving within Asian countries. Within this corridor, the rate of migration outgrew from 1.5 million (2000 – 2010) to 1.7 million (2010 – 2017) (Figure 1) (United Nations, 2017).

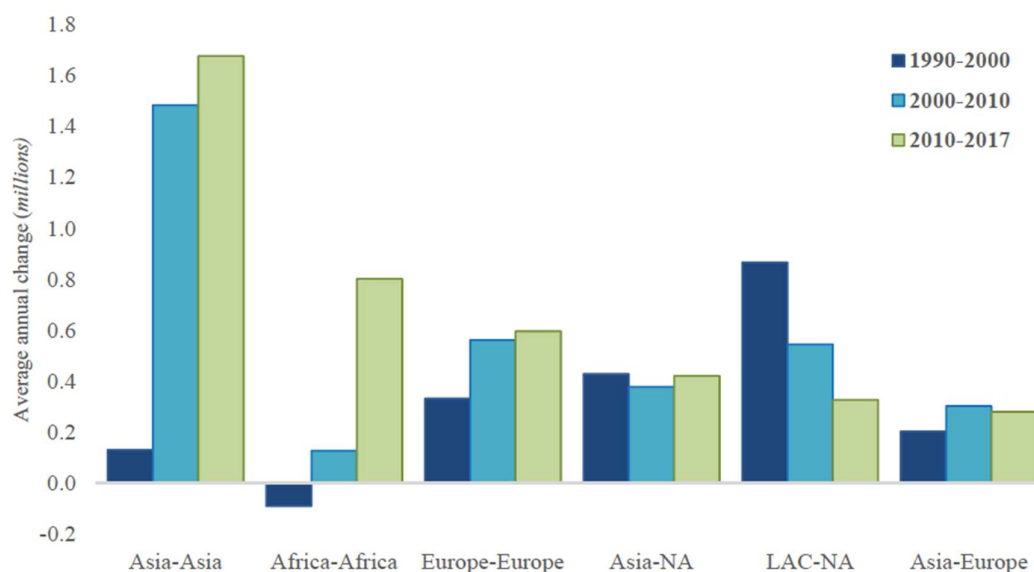


Figure 1: Average annual change in the number of the international migration along the six largest migration corridors, 1990-2017 (millions).

Source: (Frey, Zimmer, 2001, United Nations, 2017)

Note: LAC refers to Latin America and the Caribbean, while NA refers to North America

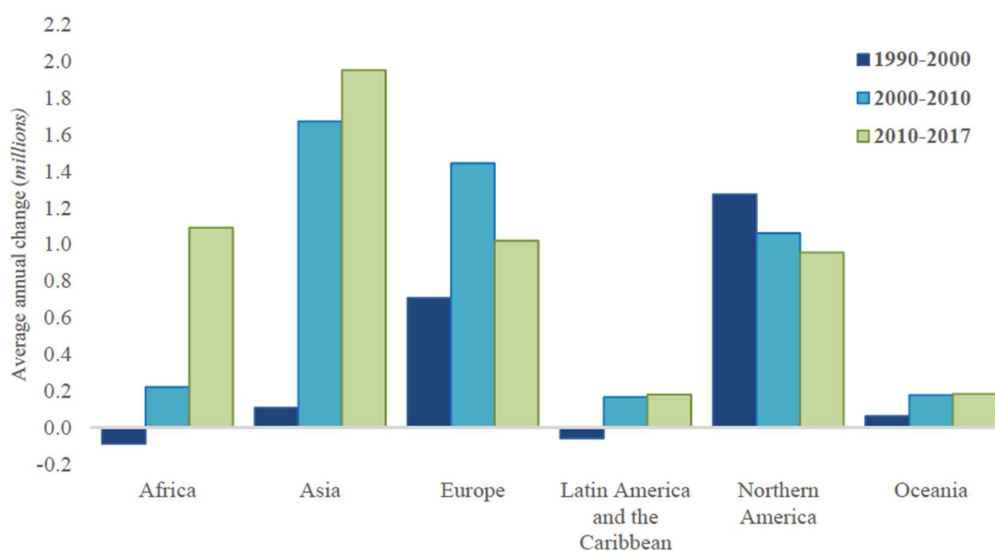


Figure 2: Average annual change in the number of international migrants by region of destination, 1990-2017

Source: (Frey, Zimmer, 2001, United Nations, 2017)

Note: LAC refers to Latin America and the Caribbean, while NA refers to North America

1.1.2. International migration in South-East Asia

For centuries now, South-East Asia has experienced significant levels of both immigration and emigration as well as transit migration. The income disparity within the region is the foremost influential factor causing these movements. Out of the 10 million international migrants, 6.9 million migrates to the countries within the sub-region (McAuliffe, Ruhs, 2017) ¹. Malaysia and Singapore, being the advanced economies, are the prominent destination for migrants. Whereas, Thailand, due to its geographical location, experience strong migration from the

¹ UN DESA, 2015a in International Migration Report, 2018

neighbouring countries – Laos People’s Democratic Republic (PDR) and Myanmar (McAuliffe, Ruhs, 2017)².

Temporary labour migration has caused impressive level of irregular migration which is also been intensified due to human security and environmental degradation³. Irregular migration is caused due to several factors including labour markets regulation, dependency of industrial sector, human trafficking and migrant smuggling (McAuliffe, Ruhs, 2017)⁴. South-East Asia has experienced human trafficking and migrant smuggling tremendously within the region. Several bilateral and multilateral treaties were formulated, such as ASEAN (Association of South East Asian Nations) and Bali Process on People Smuggling, Trafficking in Persons and Relates Transitional Crime, to prohibit human trafficking within the region. However, despite of these treaties, smugglers service still exist in the region.

It is understood that the regulated and unregulated migration is reinforced into the cause of migration⁵ (McAuliffe, Ruhs, 2017). In the region, the irregular status, of the migrants, has been the reason for their exploitation. Studies by several organisations implicate that migrants working in the industries are subject to force labour, exploitation and sombre abuse⁶ (McAuliffe, Ruhs, 2017). Hence, regional migration, in South East Asia is experiencing degrading conditions and human rights violation due to unchecked migration flow.

1.1.3. Migrant Workers

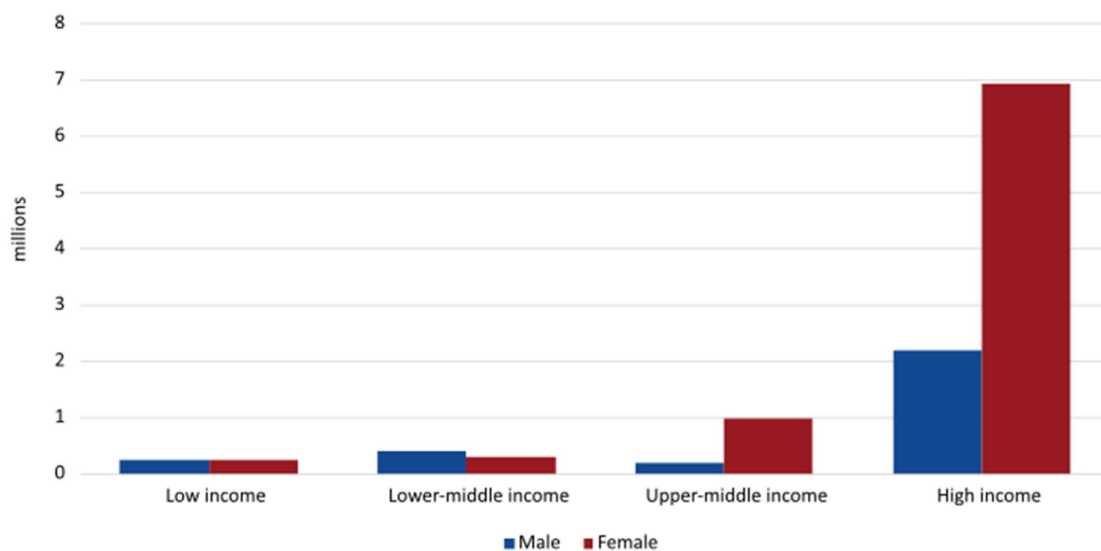


Figure 3: Migrant domestic workers by destination country income level and sex as of 2013 (millions)
Source: (ILO et al., 2015)

Under the umbrella of international migrants, migrant workers are providing labour to the unskilled service sector. In 2013, 106.8 million (71%) migrants were in service sector, while, 26.7 million (17.8%) were in manufacturing and construction and 16.7 million (11.1%) accounted for agriculture. From the total number of migrants engaged in service sector, almost 8% were

² Hugo, 2014; Hatasukana, 2015 in International Migration Report, 2018

³ Hickey, Narendra and Rainwater, 2013 in International Migration Report, 2018

⁴ UNODC, 2015; Djara and Hassan, 2012 in International Migration Report, 2018

⁵ UNDOC, 2015 in International Migration Report, 2018

⁶ Gois, 2015 in International Migration Report, 2018

providing their services in domestic work. In 2013, more than 11.5 million migrants were estimated to be in domestic work, which was counted to be 17% of all domestic workers (McAuliffe, Ruhs, 2017). Compared to high-skilled migrants, the percent of the low-skilled migrants is tremendously low. However, the absolute number of the total low-skilled migrants, individually, is copious. Hence, their state, in this unaffordable global world, cannot be neglected,

1.1.4. International migration in Thailand

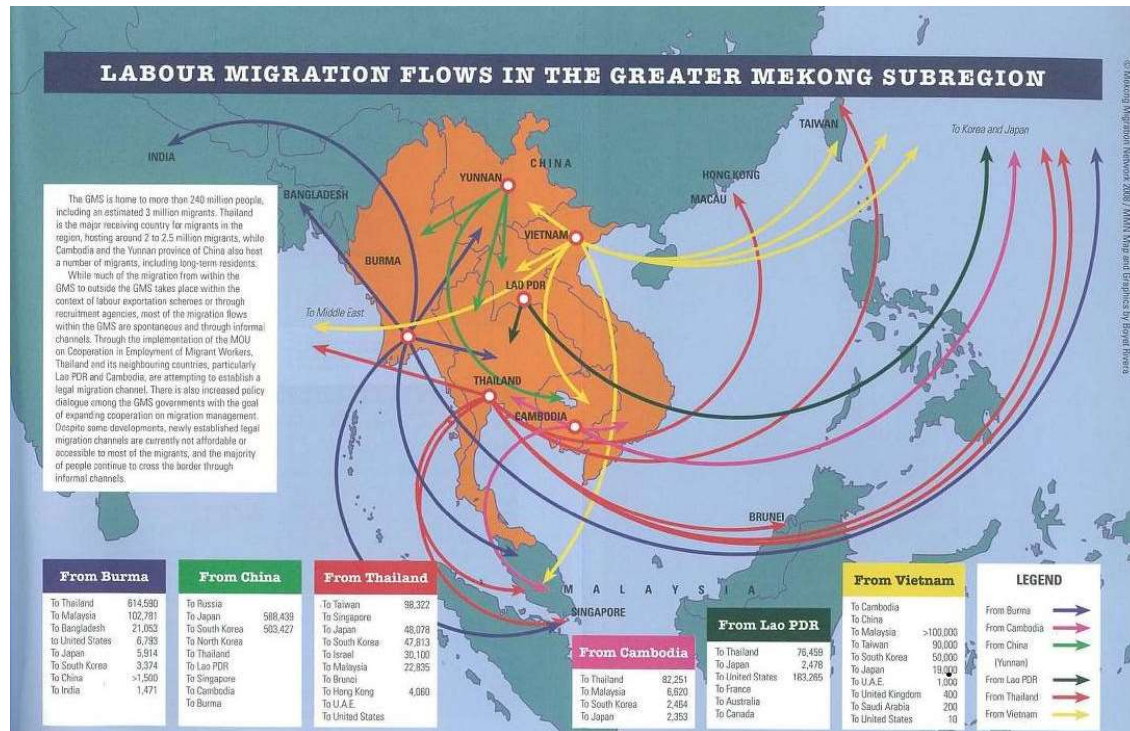


Figure 4: Labour migration flow in the Greater Mekong Sub-region (GMS)⁷

Source: http://www.mekongmigration.org/?page_id=25

Thailand can be perceived as an epitome of both urbanisation and globalisation within the region. The economic mobilisation, to export-oriented industrial sector, has soared the rate of internal migration, steering large-scale urbanisation. More than half of Thailand's population resides in urban areas. Historical studies on Thai internal migration suggest that long-term migration is mostly rural-urban, while short-term is urban-rural and very limited portion of rural-rural migration. Contributing to these trends, there is also seasonal and circular migration which has been documented in the country. Likewise, over few decades, Thailand has two-way contribution in the spectrum of international migration. The country experiences out-migration towards more developed economies such as China, India, USA, Europe, Middle-East and others. While, there is in-migration from the neighbouring countries. Predominantly, the country is receiving constant influx of people from Myanmar, Cambodia, and Laos People's Democratic and Republic (PDR). However, the in-migration has various layers embedded within. Thailand has been home to professional and skilled immigrants, low and semi-skilled immigrants, transit to asylum seekers and refugees, foreign students and retiree immigrants.

⁷ Greater Mekong Sub-region is the multinational region of the Great Mekong river basin, which came into existence owing to the development program initiated by the ADB in 1992. With Thailand, China, Myanmar, Laos (PDR), Cambodia and Vietnam are part of the region

Hence, as a middle-income country, it is, simultaneously, the origin and destination of large number of international migrants.

1.1.5. Immigrants contribution

In-migration, from Laos (PDR), Myanmar and Cambodia, has enhanced over time due to the prevailing demand for cheap labour. Factories and the overall industrial economy of Thailand, while competing with the global markets, have a burgeoning utilisation of cheap low-skilled labour. Despite of its attempt to be a knowledge based “creative economy”, as the Thai government refers to, the structurally embedded demands for the low-skilled labour have unable to respond to agglomeration of high-skilled labour. The employers find it convenient to hire low waged, low-skilled labour and to invest in the labour-intensive manufacturing units. Likewise, enrolment in higher education and the negative perception of the skilled labours towards the low-skilled jobs, has caused labour shortage in Thailand. Critically reflecting on this issue, the economy is demanding for low wage labours and it is being persistent since the financial crisis of 2009. Hence, the low capital investment and prejudice toward low-skilled employment, has created a dependency on foreign workers.

The ILO highlights both the contributions of the migrants and impacts on the Thai economy. According to the report, the *“migrant workers (in Thailand), irrespective of their legal status and occupation, have positively contributed to the Thai economy’s growth in many aspects. In particular, they have helped to: a) expand the GDP, especially in labour-intensive sectors (agriculture and manufacturing); b) sustain the short-term competitive edge through lower labour costs; c) contain wage push and price inflation; d) enable Thai women to participate in the labour market (the hiring of foreign domestic workers allows Thai women to work outside the home); e) expand the employment opportunities for Thai workers (the addition of foreign migrant workers actually creates more jobs and work hours for Thai workers); and f) improve the reallocation of resources, which enables occupational mobility among Thai workers from low-productivity sectors to higher productivity ones (occupation switching)”* (Vasuprasat, et al, 2010, p. 29) . Further, the impacts of these contributions which are: *“a) trivial reduction in wages caused due to addition of low-skilled and low-waged migrants in the Thai economy; b) unemployment within the low-skilled, the young and the agriculture workers of Thailand; and c) the low-skilled labour-intensive sectors and capital gains have sizeably increased the rate of labour exploitation and underground smuggling and illegal recruitment practices, extortion, the bribing of unscrupulous officials and exploitative employment practices, such as subcontracting”* (Vasuprasat, et al, 2010, p. 29-30). The causality between the advantageous and disadvantageous factors, has positively augmented to the Thai economy (Vasuprasat, et al, 2010).

1.2. Problem Statement

More than 5% of total Thai population is foreign born, however, there have been no attempt in delivering standard housing, especially to the low-skilled migrants (United Nations, 2017). Various organisation such as IOM, ILO, UN and other NGOs have specifically focused on the working conditions of the migrants. The migrants are predominantly employed in labour intensive manufacturing sector of agriculture, fishing industry and other manufacturing industries. However, due to their immigrant status, they have constantly been susceptible to exploitation by their employers, agents, and other stakeholders involved in the process of migration. The studies, on migration to Thailand, has in-depth addressed the human rights of immigrant labours and suggested various policy reformations to the Thai government. However, there is a gap in literature on the housing conditions of these migrants. Reports on migration in Thailand, has briefly mentioned the poor living conditions of the low-skilled immigrants. Although, there are contradicting contemplations on the migrants’ contribution in

the Thai economy, there is persistent demand for the low-skilled migrants. However, this demand has not ensued into a definitive shift in the Governance of the Migration in Thailand. The Thai Government has only obliged itself to provide with work permits. While, the employers are perceived to fulfil the other needs of the immigrant workers including housing needs. However, as IOM reported, the migrants in *“the Great Mekong Subregion (GMS) are severely vulnerable, working in difficult and exploitative conditions, living in unsanitary and crowded environments, lacking legal and social protection, having little freedom of movement and reduce civil entitlements, and being exposed to arrest and deportation”* (2009, p.15-16). Hence, the employers do not provide efficient facilities to address the needs of the migrants. However, there is insufficient knowledge about the housing provided by the employers to these migrants.

Meanwhile, the migrant workers are socially excluded from the Thai society. According to the Mekong Migration Network (MMN) (Mekong Migration Network, 2015), a research-based organisation, *“integration in the ASEAN region refers purely to the regional economic integration and all but ignores the needs for social integration. However, in reality, it is not only money and goods that move, but also the people. Within the ASEAN, migrants face various barriers and challenges in seeking to fully integrate and not merely survive in the country of destination. Millions of migrants live “side-by-side” with local communities but not “together”, resulting in loss of sense of belonging, and inability to play a visible role as a member of the community”*. Likewise, the state of insecurity with respect to deportation, further escalates exclusion. Persistently, the Thai Government has introduced “crack-downs” on the illegal migrants, owing to which the legal migrants are also under constant scrutiny. Hence, the uncertainties have restricted the migrants from integrating into the Thai society.

1.3. Research objective

The objective, of the research, is to understand the relationship between the company housing, provided by industrial employers and the social exclusion of the migrant employees hired by these employers.

1.4. Research question

How does the company housing/towns consolidate social exclusion of the low-skilled international migrant workers?

1.4.1. Research sub-question

- What kind of company housing/towns are provided by the employers to the low-skilled migrants;
- What are the factors of the social and the economic exclusion of the low-skilled migrants;
- What factors of the company housing/town lead to the social exclusion of the low-skilled migrants;

1.5. Significance of the Study

Referring to the problem statement and the research objective, the study aims to bring out insights on the housing conditions of the immigrant workers in the industries of Thailand. The problem statement alone emphasised on the living conditions and exclusion of the low-skilled immigrants. In this research the prominence is drawn upon the co-relation between these two factors. Several studies, referred, has brought out extensive understanding on the exclusion of the immigrants in Thailand. However, there is a gap in the awareness on the housing conditions, which this research tries to bridge. Through the hypothesis of the study, it is intended to explore

the housing conditions of the immigrants who are legally employed in Thailand and its impact on the exclusion of the immigrants. To indulge deep into the subject, the focus is narrowed into the context of Khon Kaen City. Sleazy

1.6. Scope and Limitation of the Study

The nature of the research question, binds it to several limitations. It explores a politically complex subject, of the immigrants' housing conditions in Thailand. The sensitivity of the topic has made it susceptible to alterations, in the due process. Previously, the study focused on the accessibility to housing for the immigrants. The research was structuring to emphasis on access to formal and informal housing, which the migrants acquire in Thailand. However, it was unsure to have an access to the key migrant groups, government officials and employers. From the problem statement, it was understood that, the illegal migrants probably will be the informal settlers in Thailand. Due the empirical understanding disseminated by the previous studies from it is not convenient for any independent research to study the subject. Likewise, the disinterest of the Thai Government, to address migrants' rights, has contributed to this inaccessibility towards the study's key respondents. Hence, as an independent study, it was decided to focus on the case of legal immigrants who enter the Kingdom formally. Further, owing to the focus group of the study (that is migrants from Laos (PDR), Myanmar, and Cambodia), it is implicit that language is also one of the key limitations, as all the different nationalities, including the respondents from Thailand, have diverse linguist. Moreover, the study was also time bound, which it could not cover the intended scope. Hence, due the aforementioned limitations, the study only probe into the housing conditions of the legal migrants working in the industries. However, despite changing the scope of the research, it lacks direct participation of the Thai government. Apart from these shortcomings, the research is also expose to time constraints, owing to which, it lacks deep investigation on the subject. Hence, the research is subject to, language barrier, disinterest of the government, hostility of the employers hiring illegal immigrant workers and time constraints. Moreover, the insecure environment, with respect to the migrants, has caused difficulties to access the key target groups. With all the above shortcomings, the research intends to focus on the legal migrants working in the industries of Khon Kaen, as they showed interest in being part of the research process adopted for this study.

Chapter 2: Literature Review / Theory

This chapter explores different theories, conceptualised in the social science studies, to validate the hypothesis, and conduct the research. The first section of the chapter concentrates deeply on the ‘synopsis of international migration’ with the global context. Moving forward it describes different ‘types of international migration’ which are observed till now. Later, the section summaries various theories developed by the cross-cutting approaches. Further, it concentrates on the objective of migration and development. The second section introduces the concept of social exclusion and its juxtaposition with international migration. Likewise, it reflects on the causality of these two concepts. The section describes the state of migrants in the host countries owing to the unprecedented rate of migration. Lastly, the third section aims to presents the concept of employers’ housing, which was widely developed post-industrialisation. The section explains the mass migration trend, during the industrialisation, which caused housing shortage. Owing to which the industrial employers were motivated to develop housing for their workers. Furthermore, the section intent to understand the factors which lead to social exclusion of the industrial labours. Lastly, a causality, between these concepts, is hypothesised, which is presented in the conceptual framework.

2.1. International Migration

The complexity, of international migration, is the constraining factor towards developing a common theory. There is no cohesive theory on international migration and the scholars from various disciplines are focused on developing one, which will comprehensively explain the phenomenon. The current theories are fragmented in nature; however, they facilitated the assessment of the relationship between the correlated variables in relation to international migration (Wickramasinghe, Wimalaratana, 2016)

2.1.1. Definitions and Global purview

International institutions have developed several definitions on international migration. IOM (Perruchoud, Redpath-Cross, 2011, p. 62), defines migration as *“the movement of a person or a group of persons, either across an international border, or within a State. It is a population movement, encompassing any kind of movement of people, whatever its length, composition and causes; it includes migration of refugees, displaces persons, economic migrants, and persons moving for other purposes, including family reunification.”*. However, there is a lack of a lucid definition developed on topic. IOM in *“International Migration Report”* referring to The United Nations’ Recommendations on Statistics of International Migration defines (McAuliffe, Ruhs, 2017, p. 15) *“an international migrant as any person who has changed his or her country of usual residence, distinguishing between “short-term migrants” (those who have changed their country of usual residence for at least three months, but less than one year) and “long-term migrants” (those who have done so for at least one year). However, not all countries use this definition. Some countries use different criteria to identify international migrants, for example, applying different minimum durations of residence. Differences in concepts and definitions, as well as data collection methodologies between countries, hinder full comparability of national statistics on international migrants”*. According to UN (United Nations, 2017) , *“international migration is a global phenomenon that is growing in scope, complexity and impact”*. It is a fundamental factor of rapid globalisation and the cause of wider development process, facilitated with rightly designed policies. International community has become a priority owing to the burgeoning global mobility, in which migrants, families and communities together have contributed. Moreover, the increasing complexity of the migratory patterns have impacted both the communities of the origin and destination. (United Nations, 2017). This patterns or trends of migration are further discussed in the following section.

2.1.2. Terms and types of Migration

To deliver a better knowledge on the topic, scholars have addressed international migration as multi-layered phenomenon. They classified migration based on the factors that influences the process. Collyer and de Haas (2010, p. 470), offered the “ways to categorise migrants and (through this) dichotomous categorisation” they lead to: a) time – space; b) location – direction; c) Governments’ perspectives; and d) cause (Collyer, De Haas, 2012). These categories are juxtaposed with aforementioned UN’s definition of international migration. First, under ‘time – space’, migration is acknowledged to be “internal and international and from permanent to temporary”. Second, under ‘location – direction’, distinguishes are drawn within “immigration and emigration” and “origins and destination”. Third, under ‘State perspective’ migration is classified as “legal and illegal” and “regular and irregular”. Fourth, under “cause”, migration is categorised as “labour migration, student migration, retirement, and family migration, forced and voluntary migration (McAuliffe, Ruhs, 2017, Collyer, De Haas, 2012). Further, Wickramasinghe and Wimalaratana (2016, p. 16) referring to Jennissen; Bell et al; Hugo; Koppenberg; and Zetter, classified international migration as: a) Labour migration; b) Return migration; c) Chain migration; d) Asylum migration and e) International retirement migration (Wickramasinghe, Wimalaratana, 2016).

2.1.2.1. Labour Migration

The theories referred, to facilitate the research, are all reviewed through the lenses of labour migration, as it being the foremost focus of the study. Chapter one presents the global statistical overview on labour migration. In this chapter the focus is on the conceptual understanding of the topic. But first the chapter tries to define the concept

According to ILO (ILO et al., 2015, p.11) “*all international migrants who are currently employed or unemployed and seeking employment in their present country of residence*”. The organisation has developed this understanding from the perspective of the migrant workers. However, IOM ((Perruchoud, Redpath-Cross, 2011, p. 58) , giving a more generic understanding, defines labour migration as, “*movement of persons from one State to another, or within their own country of residence, for the purpose of employment. Labour migration is addressed by most States in their migration laws. In addition, some States take an active role in regulating outward labour migration and seeking opportunities for their nationals abroad.*”

2.1.3. International Migration Theories

International Migration theories are broadly sub-divided into three: a) macro theories; b) meso theories; and c) micro theories. The macro theories concentrate on cumulative migration trend with macro-level explanation (Hagen-Zanker, 2008). They consider the structural and objective conditions, due to which the migrants decide to move. These conditions are also known as the ‘push’ and ‘pull’ factors for migration. The economic migration studies identify ‘push factors’ as unemployment, low-incomes or low per capita income, in relation with the country of destination. And ‘pull factors’ includes migration legislation and the labour market conditions, in destination countries (Lee, 1966). The meso-level theories, rejecting the push-pull factors, emphasis on the systems and networks. As migration is considered to occur within migration systems, linking through economies, cultures and politics and migration flows, hence, meso-level theories lie in between micro-level and macro-level (Hagen-Zanker, 2008). The micro-level theories focus on the individual’s willingness and decision-making ability to migrate. These theories aim to understand the cost – benefit analysis which the individual and/or the family of individual does before deciding to migrate (Boswell, 2007).

Most of the aforementioned theories focus on the economic factors of international migration. These factors facilitate to recognise the nature and movement of labour, which made it

convenient to understand the cause of migration, and demographic shift. Jennissen (2004, p. 33-34), referring to Massey et al (1993), distinguishes the theoretical approach of migration into two: 1) explaining the “initiation of migration”; and 2) explaining “the continuation of migration”. Jennissen explains, wage difference as an indicator that causes migration from low-wage country to high wage country. He asserts, making it clear, that initiation of migration is not only for short time space. The difference in wages can continue for decades and it can continue the labour migration until the wage disparity reduces (2004). The neo-classical theory, the dual labour market theory, the new economics of labour migration and the world system theory try to explain the initiation of migration. Whilst, the network theory and institutional theory explain the continuation of migration (Jennissen, 2004).

2.1.3.1. Theories explaining the initiation of labour migration

- ***Neo-classical theory*** is the oldest and widely excepted theory, on international migration. Ravenstein, a nineteenth century geographer, was the first to contribute in the study of migration. Through this theory, he emphasised on economic factors to be the cause of migration (Molland, 2010, De Haas, 2010). According to the theory, the inception of migration is due the unequal supply and demand of labour owing to wage inequality (Massey et al., 1993, Castles, De Haas & Miller, 2013) . However, the micro level of the theory considers migrants as individual, rational actor, and whose decision to move is premised on the cost-benefit analysis of migration. The positive conclusion, of this decision-making ability, can cause migration (Massey et al., 1993, De Haas, 2010, Castles, De Haas & Miller, 2013). The theory argues that the wage differences between the countries is the prominent reason amplifying labour migration. Such wage disparity is the outcome of the geographical differences in the demand and supply of labour. The countries, with moderate labour supply, are postulated to have higher wages to attain the equilibrium. While, the countries, with abundant labour supply, are assumed to have low wages. Hence, the movement takes place from the low-wage to high-wage country ((Massey et al., 1993, Castles, De Haas & Miller, 2013)
- ***The dual labour market theory***, is developed to study the demand for high and low skilled migrants, in the modern capitalist economies (Castles, De Haas & Miller, 2013). Labour migration takes place owing to the pull factors of the developed economies. The theory argues that the structural demand, for high skilled labour for upscale jobs as well as low-skilled labour for manual workers, causes international migration. Subsequently, there are two factions of labour that exist in developed economies. The primary faction, the ‘high skilled-labour’, is entitled to participate into the capital-intensive labour markets. While, secondary faction, the ‘low-skilled labour’, is entitled to participate into the labour-intensive markets, which provides services to the primary faction. Hence, it provides explanation for the migration of the low-skilled migrants in the international market (Massey et al., 1993, Castles, De Haas & Miller, 2013).
- ***The new economics of labour migration (NELM)***, coined by Stark and Bloom (1985), focuses on the decision-making ability of the labour migrant. The theory views migration as 1) risk-sharing behaviour of families or household; and 2) as a strategy to provide resources for investment in economic activities. The former asserts the collective decision, of a family, in sending one or more household members to foreign labour markets to generate incomes. These incomes are used to bear the risks of the markets and capital, and the remittance was either consumed or reinvented in acquiring more capital. According to this theory, it is the social act of decision making rather than individual. Also, migration is considered as a strategy to mitigate risk. The later examines the context of developing nations, where imperfect credits (capital) and risk

(insurance) markets were not accessible to the non-privileged communities (Castles, De Haas & Miller, 2013, Massey et al., 1993). The remittance, sent back to the household, will ensure increase of the income saving, which contributes to the risk management ability of the household. The understanding of income difference as an important factor among the society, will proliferate migration of the emigration community ((Jennissen, 2004). Unlike the aforementioned two theories (which have more macro understanding of labour migration), this theory took more micro approach.

- ***The worlds system theory*** postulates migration as a natural outcome of disruption and dislocation occurred in the process of capitalistic development. As the desire to achieve more profits, capitalist markets move towards the natural resources and human resources of the peripheral poor economies. Market penetration has occurred since the colonial era and these days neo-colonial regimes are the successors of exploiting the poor economies with in the regions (Massey et al., 1993).

2.1.3.2. Theories explaining the continuance of labour migration

- ***The network theory*** explains the emergence of network system, which is also termed as social networks. These networks are developed through interpersonal ties or social ties which the migrants built and maintains with other migrants and family in the place of origin. These ties are built through kinship, friendship and shared community origins, and they facilitated to connect the migrants and non-migrants from the place of origin to the place of destination. Further, these networks constitute in forming social capital for the future migrants. Also, it is assumed that after reaching the critical threshold, the expansion, of the networks, reduce the cost and risk of migration. Consequently, the causality of which is rise in migration, further expanding the networks. Such networks are considered to be meso – level social structures which manifest future migration. Hence, they form an unceasing movement. (Massey et al., 1994, Castles, De Haas & Miller, 20103).
- ***The institutional theory*** focuses on institutionalisation of international migration. In developed nations, there is an increasing demand for migrant labour, however, these nations have limited visas to offer. This imbalance and the several other recently developed anti-migration policies that emerged in developed nations, cause corresponding illegal markets, supplying migrant labours to the private entrepreneurs of the developed nations. These illegal markets instigate exploitation and victimisation of the migrant labours. In order to protect the migrants from exploitation, voluntary humanitarian organisation have emerged to address the rights of these migrants. These humanitarian groups provide counselling, social services, shelter, legal help for acquiring legitimate papers, and even insulation from immigration law enforcement authorities. Hence, as the international migration flow increased, various profit, and not for profit, legal and illegal institutions have emerged in support of international migration (Castles, De Haas & Miller, 2013, Massey et al., 1993, De Haas, 2010, De Haas, 2010b)

Through the aforementioned theories on migration, it is acknowledged that labour migration is the key to theorise international migration, as it dominated the total global migration. The theories have recognised that low-skilled migrants have also successfully become the part of the mobile world. It can be positively state that through migrating to developed economies, they manage to alleviate poverty and contribute into the development of the individual household

2.1.4. Migration and Development debate

This section tries to give a summarised understanding on the theoretical perspective on migration and development nexus, branching out from the overall study on migration. Over past years various theories, developed on migration, has a peculiar understanding over the subject. These, perception-based theories, provides the arguments which emerged in favour and against the migration – development nexus.

Migration is principally researched through economic lenses, and even the social variables were categorised as ‘development’ variables. The movement of people across the globe was the result of the ‘push’ factor from the country of origin and ‘pull’ factors from the country of destination (Lee, 1966) . However, Skeldon in his analysis proclaimed that there still lacked an(Durand et al., 1996) understanding on “how development variables influenced migration(Skeldon, 2014) ”.

The two school of thoughts, ‘pessimists’ and ‘optimist’, are developed and continued to argue on the existential relationship between the nexus of migration and development. Durand et al (Durand et al., 1996), provides the view of ‘pessimists’ as “the theoretical and empirical literature generally regards international migration as producing a cycle of dependency and stunted development in sending communities. Most migrants’ earnings are spent on consumption; few funds are channelled into productive investment”. Durando and et al (Durand et al., 1996), themselves being an optimist, argues this statement by stating that “this view is misleading because it ignores the conditions under which productive investment is likely to be possible and profitable”.

De Haas, in his study “*Migration and Development: A Theoretical Perspective*” (De Haas, 2010), gives an overview about the theories which came from both school of thoughts (Table 2). He also provides a historical progression of the views on migration and development (Fig 3). The following part tries to summaries the analysis presented by him. The initial summarisation focuses on the ‘optimist’ school of thought, moving towards the ‘pessimist’ and later, what De Haas, referring to Skeldon, called as “pluralist” (De Haas, 2010, . p. 242).

Migration optimists	Migration pessimists
Functionalist	Structuralist
Neoclassical	Neo-Marxist
Modernisation	Disintegration
Net North-South transfer	Net South-north transfer
Brain gain	Brain drain
More equality	More inequality
Remittance investment	Consumption
Development	Dependency
Less migration	More migration

Table 2: Opposing views on Migration and Development, 2010

Source: (De Haas, 2010)

Period	Research community	Policy field
Until 1973	Development and migration optimism	Developmentalist views; capital and knowledge transfers by migrants would help developing countries in development take-off. Development strongly linked to return.
1973–1990	Development and migration pessimism (dependency, brain drain)	Growing skepticism; concerns on brain drain; after experiments with return migration policies focused on integration in receiving countries. Migration largely out of sight in development field, tightening of immigration policies.
1990–2001	Readjustment to more subtle views under influence empirical work (NELM, livelihood approaches, transnationalism)	Persistent skepticism and near-neglect of the issue; “migration and development, nobody believes that anymore” (Taylor <i>et al.</i> , 1996a:401) further tightening of immigration policies.
>2001	Boom in research, in particular on remittances. Generally positive views. De-linking of development with return.	Resurgence of migration and development optimism under influence of remittance boom, and a sudden turnaround of views: remittances, <i>brain gain</i> , diaspora involvement as vital development tools. Development contribution of migration often framed within renewed hopes put on circular and return migration.

Table 3: Main Phases in Post-WWII Research and Policies Towards Migration and Development

Source: (De Haas, 2010) De Haas, 2010. p. 230

The neo-classical theory considers migration as an optimal factor in resource distribution, which benefits both the sending and receiving countries. As it hypothesises market equilibrium, re-distribution of labour, internally (and internationally), and is considered as the premise for growth. The theorisation, of Factor Price Equalisation, is postulated for achieving development. De Haas describes migrants as an “atomistic, utility maximising individuals, and tends to disregard other migration motives as well as migrants’ belonging to social groups such as households, families and communities” (2010. p. 231). The optimist’s portrayed the relative causality between migration and development through return migration. The migrants bring development, to the home country, in terms of money, novel knowledge, innovation, change and entrepreneurial ideas, gathered from foreign lands. Hence, migrants’ role in development is assumed to be positive in nature and they were expected to burgeon the spatial dissemination of modernisation in developing countries. De Haas’s summation is “at micro level, remittances were considered as vital source of hard currency. At the meso and macro level, migration was expected to lead to the economic improvement of migrant sending regions” (2010. p. 232). Hence, the contributions, by the migrants into the development, is cogitated by the price and capital equalisation, and tangible (here, remittance) and intangible (foreign knowledge and innovation) capital, ascribed through return migration.

In late 60’s, optimists were challenged by pessimists with historical-structuralist and dependency views and empirical studies and policy experiences. For pessimists changing the argument of neo-classical and developmentalist, migration was increasing the spatial disparities. For historical-structuralist, migration caused the global capitalist expansion and was unable to solve its initial cause. Complimenting debate was of the “brain drain”. It was considered that migration was depriving the national economies from their capable labour force, which was exploited in the industrialised and more developed economies as cheap labour. Further, the remittance, received from the migrant communities, was considered to put into self-utilisation than the productive markets of the home country. Hence, the pessimists

approved the cumulative causation theory, which stated that capitalist development invariably increased spatial welfare inequalities. Hence, it will hamper the development of the home country, further deepening the flow of migration. De Haas referred to Reichert phrasing of “migrant syndrome” of the vicious circle of: migration – more development – more migration, and so on” (2010. p. 238). He proclaimed that the two essential arguments of pessimists – a) the inequalities proliferated as the migrants from better of faction; and b) migration will burgeon as the improvement will further increase in the sending society – were the “logically inconsistent”. The place utility theories also consider the negative relationship between migration and development; however, they are not as inconsistent as pessimists. Hence, neither the pessimist nor the optimist theories could summarise the true relationship of migration – development (De Haas, 2010).

Eventually, in 1980’s and 1990’s, a more pluralistic understanding emerged on the migration-development nexus. The NELM theorisation, considering remittance as the deciding factor – which was neglected by the neo-classical theory – that the development was not linked to return migration, rather the remittance sent by the migrants contributing into development of the sending community. Likewise, the *livelihood strategy*, argued that poor actively tries to improve their livelihoods and rather should not be considered as passive victims of capitalist regime. “A livelihood strategy can then be defined as a strategic or deliberate choice of a combination of activities by households and their individual members to maintain, secure, and improve their livelihoods” (De Haas, 2010)

Migration is pictured as one of the rudiment strategies, households employ to diversify, secure, and potentially improve their livelihoods. It is possibly considered as strategy to insure future shocks and stresses by procuring wider range of assets. Migration can have significant benefits for global economic welfare. It can also have substantial economic benefits for developed countries. Movements from poorer to richer countries can have adverse economic impacts on sending countries.

2.2. Social Exclusion and migration

There was an increasing necessity to study the link between migration, discrimination and poverty and social exclusion. This section delves into describing this link by first understanding the concept of social exclusion and later focusing its aim on the linkage between migration and how migrants are excluded from the receiving end.

Exclusion is a multifaceted concept, which is studied across disciplines. There is no universally accepted definition and/or understanding on the concept (UN DESA, 2016) . Although, there is an ambiguity, scholars have persistently made attempts to define the concept. However, these definitions are context specific. For some scholars, it is an inability to practice once social rights, while for some, it is an individual choice of being excluded. Hence, making it synonymous to discrimination. However, it is the social distance which leads to social exclusion (Silver, Miller, 2003)

The discourse on social exclusion emerged in France in 1960’s, but came into widespread usage after the economic crisis. The credits were assigned to René Lenoir (1974), then Secretary of State. He assessed “the excluded” as one tenth of French population: the mentally and the physically handicapped, suicidal people, aged invalids, abused children, drug addicts, delinquents, single parents, multi-problem households, marginal, asocial persons, and other "social misfits" (Silver, 1994). The present understanding of the concept originated in European debate in the 1980s, where the focus was spatial exclusion. Public policies are framed to address the state of marginalisation created through poor housing, inadequate social services, weak political voice and lack of decent work (Khan, Combaz & McAslan, 2015) .

Hilary Silver (Silver, 1994) states social exclusion as *“Social exclusion is a rupturing of the social bond. It is a process of declining participation, access, and solidarity. At the societal level, it reflects inadequate social cohesion or integration. At the individual level, it refers to the incapacity to participate in normatively expected social activities and to build meaningful social relations”*

According to Popay et al, *“Exclusion consists of dynamic, multi-dimensional processes driven by unequal power relationships interacting across four main dimensions—economic, political, social and cultural—and at different levels including individual, household, group, community, country and global levels. It results in a continuum of inclusion/exclusion characterized by unequal access to resources, capabilities and rights which leads to health inequalities”* (Popay et al., 2008).

Levitas et al refers *“a complex and multi-dimensional process. It involves the lack of or denial of resources, rights, goods and services, and the inability to participate in the normal relationships and activities, available to the majority of people in a society, whether in economic, social, cultural or political arenas. It affects both the quality of life of individuals and the equity and cohesion of society as a whole”* (Levitas et al., 2007).

Labonte, Hadi and Kauffmann brought two perspectives out of the aforementioned definitions. They conceived social exclusion as a state, or a process. *“Social exclusion as a state describes individuals who are unable to participate in economic, social, political and (for some theorists) cultural activities at a level considered to be normatively acceptable. They have become socially excluded”* (Labonté, Hadi & Kauffmann, 2012). As a process, they gave a frame work which includes: *“a) a lack of **material resources** (food, shelter, clothing and other normatively defined social necessities); b) a lack of **income to acquire such necessities** (generated through employment or government subsidies and transfers); c) a lack of **access to formal labour markets** (to provide adequacy and security of income, as well as access to social relations); d) a lack of **access to adequate and affordable housing** (extending beyond basic shelter to incorporate aspects of overcrowding, disrepair, insecure tenancy); e) a lack of **access to educational and health care opportunities** (to improve access to formal labour markets and reduced barriers to broader forms of social participation); f) **socially conditioned and structured forms of discrimination** (which reduces access to formal labour markets, educational and health care opportunities and broader forms of social participation); and g) a lack of **power or voice to influence the policy choices of governments influencing all of the above conditions** (which extends to lack of political freedoms or human rights)”* (Labonté, Hadi & Kauffmann, 2012)

Taking this understanding on the concept of social exclusion, the further section describes the its relativity with migration and the state of migrants in the global context. Migration can be both, a source of alleviating poverty, and a reason of social exclusion (Khan, Combaz & McAslan, 2015). The remittance contributes to the capabilities of the receiving community to outface the socioeconomic shocks. Nevertheless, the migration – rural urban and/or international – deprives the person from social, political and economic benefits than the citizens. Resulting in a contradicting causality.

Growing ethnic diversity, owing to persistent in-migration in the receiving societies, is another challenge. Preponderantly, migrants come from diverse cultural origin or *‘phenotype’*. Due to the social and cultural similarities within the migrant groups, they tend to concentrate into certain job profiles which sometimes are low social profile. And they live a segregated life in low-income neighbourhoods. Conversely, the social acceptance of ethnic diversity depends on the receiving community (Castles, De Haas & Miller, 2013). The tension among the host community can increase, owing to the perceptions towards religion or cultural *‘otherness’*

which can consolidate social divisions, and potentially underpin social conflict (Khan, Combaz & McAslan, 2015).

The governance of transnational society has resulted in new contradicting challenges. First, the newly emerging national sovereignty into the political spheres of the powerful economies of the world, and second, the vastly globalised institutions, making it certain to co-operate with other institutions private or public, national or international (Castles, De Haas & Miller, 2013). However, the feeling of nation/ state, in the political spheres within the countries, has provoked anti-migration policy formation. Prejudices are developed through these policies towards migrant and immigrant population, by means of law enforcement, and/or inefficient efforts of the State to facilitate assimilation of the migrant community. Having a cyclical effect, the unbefitting governance of migration puts the migrant community in utmost vulnerability and ajar to exploitation, creating a state of volatility (Khan, Combaz & McAslan, 2015).

The European Commission's report for "Employment and Social Affairs" states the following factors on exclusion of the immigrants (in this report the Non-EU citizens) within Europe. a) *Legislation* – the legislative classification of the immigrant population – regular and irregular, leaves the irregular migrants in a state of deprivation in terms of social welfare. b) *Economy* – Phenotype leads to the ethno-stratification of the labour markets. c) *Active policies to welcome and accommodate immigrant population* – a gap is observed within the public policies with respect to shelter and process of assimilation of the migrant community. d) *Information and access to public resources* – the migrant community is inadequately informed about their rights and obligations. e) *Social Welfare System* – it is considered that the growing inflow of migrant community pressurises the public service sector, as it is not accounted for the additional population. f) *Housing* – the Non-EU citizen endure serious difficulties in access to adequate housing, predominantly due to the expensive real estate and lack of social housing. g) *Public safety* – the feeling of insecurity due to multi-culturalism of migrants. h) *Structuring the community* – lack or weak social networks of the migrant community and its consolidation within the receiving community also determines the degree exclusion. g) *Presence in public spaces and civil participation* – The distrust among the receiving and the migrant community is the premise of intercultural conflicts within the neighbourhood. These conflicts and lack of communication can be the precondition obstacles for civil participation, hence resulting into exclusion of the migrant community. h) *Xenophilia and Xenophobia* – Each community has a certain perception towards other cultures and the historical conflicts among them has developed a stereotypes and prejudices towards multiculturalism. i) *Mass Media* – The dissemination of the knowledge through broadcasting, has also moulded the imagery of the mass towards immigration and immigrants. j) *Political rights* – Political participation in the society is the basis of social cohesion and the ability to exercise this democratic right develops an inclusive society. However, consideration of immigrants as legal citizens and providing them total constitutional rights still awaits in various European nations, resulting in exclusion.

2.2.1. Social exclusion of low-skilled migrants in South East Asia.

Ngan and Chan (Ngan, Chan, 2013) , focusing on migration in South East Asia, emphasis on the polarised perception of the governments towards the migrant workers. Their study emphasised on the conscious exclusion of the low-skilled migrants from the labour markets and social policies. They stated that *the dynamics of social exclusion and inclusion of (...) migrant workers is a complex and multi-dimensional process, which is shaped by institutional frameworks as well as informal practices. While some of these frameworks are justified by economic rationality, migrants with low socio-economic background are often excluded from aspects of labour and social protection, therefore reinforcing hegemonic ideas about insidership and outsidership* They present an argument in which the state-enforced policies

often construct social exclusions of disadvantaged migrant groups, reinforcing patterns of disparity within society. This study emphasised on the policy structures, governing the migrants in South Korea, Taiwan, Hong Kong and China. The findings, of their study, implies that the formulation of the immigration and social policies, for low-income migrants, has further strength the stigma of them being the ‘outsiders’. Therefore, *“the dynamics of the inclusion and exclusion of migrants therefore is embedded within a wider context shaped by power relations, institutional arrangements and cultural values, and can be associated with labour protection, access to social protection and social participation.”* (Ngan, Chan, 2013). The outcome of this societal divide has caused, exploitation and abuse of the low-skilled migrant workers, predominantly by the employers. Through the policies the migrants are bind to the employers. However, lack of labour protection means for these migrants have caused misuse of power relationship between the employers and migrants (Ngan, Chan, 2013) Further, the low-skilled migrants are perceived as ‘guest workers’ who are employed on need base temporary status. Hence, this perception of the South-East Asian governments towards low-skilled migrants have demotivated them to frame constructive policies in which the rights and need of the low-skilled migrants would be addressed.

2.2.2. Indicators developed for social exclusion

This research emphasis social exclusion, as a concept, in the discourse of migration. From the aforementioned theoretical framework, it is evident that social exclusion has various nuances entrenched into it. Therefore, this research decides to delve into the understanding developed by Labonte, Hadi and Kauffmann (2012). Their analysis emphasis nine factors of social exclusion: a) employment and work; b) income and economic resources; c) material resources; d) education and skills; e) health and well-being; f) housing; g) social resources; h) community resources; and i) personal safety. Referring to their definition on social exclusion, where they claimed that social exclusion is both a state and a process, the indicators for the aforementioned variables were also developed by emphasising on this dichotomised interdependent understanding.

Employment and work	Material Resources	Health	Education and skill	Social Resource	Housing	Community Resource	Personal Security
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Secure Job • Adequate remuneration • Employment benefits 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Household income • Public goods/subsidies • Homelessness • Financial Hardship 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Physical health • Mental health • disability 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Literacy and numeracy • lifelong learning • employment-relevant skills 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Social Support • Social participation • Social Network 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Adequacy and affordability • Crowding • Homelessness 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Access to community services • Civic participation • Political participation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Subjective safety • Discrimination/prejudice • Threat of harm

Figure 5: Variables for social exclusion

Source: (Labonté, Hadi & Kauffmann, 2012)

2.3. Employers’ Housing, Company Housing, and Company Towns

In this section, the focus is drawn on the housing provided by the employers. Since the dawn of industrialisation, the lexicons, Employers’ Housing; Company housing; Company towns; and industrial towns, have emerged. The entire purpose of studying these lexica is to understand their references to the industrialisation period when large-scale social and economic restructuring took place. It is to understand the mass moment (migration) during which the need of housing for the employees was realised. The following section tries to provide a detailed assessment of literature primarily dating prior to mid-90’s when industrial towns underwent a largescale urban renewal process.

2.3.1. Employers’ Housing and company housing

Leifur Magnusson (Magnusson, 1920) introduced the term *“Employers’ Housing”* in the discourse of housing for labours. He used the ‘employers’ housing’ synonymous to ‘company

housing', defining them in their true purpose as "*the housing work done by the employer*" in "*Housing by Employers in The United States*". His study involved architectural documentation to find an ideal model of the housing work done by the employers. Magnusson signified that "employers' housing" was related to the main business of the employer and should be in the interest of the employee rather than of a real estate purpose. The employer can consider, the housing work as an integral part of the business or had a total liberty to outsource to other secondary means. During the colonial reign concurrently to industrialisation, the industries moved from the parent country to colonies. With this movement came the necessity of providing housing for employees, as the newly found colonies were undeveloped (Magnusson, 1920) .

Further, Magnusson gave a descriptive picture of the housing units provided by the industries. Quintessentially, it was a single or detached unit with few interior rooms. Uniformity was a peculiar characteristic which came along with the mass production and efficient supply. Comparatively, due to the largescale construction of these housing units, the cost of construction was moderately low (Magnusson, 1920).

According to the Magnusson, there were extensive benefits achieved through the provision of housing, such as "*1) a better class of workmen was secured; 2) greater stability in the supply of labour; 3) a reduction in the number of floaters, 4) better living conditions. 5) greater loyalty of employees; 6) more contented and 7) more efficient workmen; 8) a better control over labour force (that was hire and discharge with great freedom); 9) married men were attracted; 10) there was a great regularity of employment; 11) the workmen secures a better house for less money; 12) brought profit to the company; 13) facilitated part-time; and 14) advertised the company and kept it favourable to the public*". However, some of these benefits can be exceedingly debatable knowing the empirical history of the industrialisation epoch with respect to the living and working conditions of the labour (Magnusson, 1920).

Varied motivations lead to the construction of company housing, ranging from a few dwellings in pre-existing settlements to a complete town (Porteous, 1974). Magnusson's study also reflected the need of the employers to provide housing. Firstly, the housing shortage was the key purpose. The isolated locations of the industries were the premise of the persistent housing shortage. Secondly, the employers considered it as a strategy to gain the loyalty of the employees. These housing developments ensued into company towns built by the employers in the neighbourhood of his labours. Further. The moment of decentralised company towns accentuated the purpose of housing provisions (Magnusson, 1920). Company housing proved an effective means to control workers and for which an entire company town was constructed (Porteous, 1974).

2.3.2. Company Towns

Since the dawn of industrialisation, the concept of company towns has emerged. Chronologically, the development of company towns can be stratified into three predominant events. First, in nineteenth century, through industrialisation, the development in technology proliferated new towns. These towns burgeoned in the newly developed suburbs of the manufacturing cities. Further, after the catastrophic consequences of World War 1, the State intervened in the governance of its own industrial suburbs. Later, the Economic Depression and transformation of labour laws decreased the number of the company towns (Crawford, 1995).

Borges and Torres described these towns as "*residential and service centres built by the companies near to the or place of extraction or production which companies operated not only as employers but also as landlords, as de facto enforces of security and social harmony, and*

often as providers of services and goods for workers' consumptions" (Borges, Torres, 2012). To understand the concept better, Borges and Torres referred to one of the initial definitions on company towns stated by Horace Davis, that *"a community is known as a company town when it is inhabited solely which also owns a substantial part of the real estate and houses"* (Borges, Torres, 2012).

For Porteous, company town had a high degree of control which reflected in major physical and social features. It included rigid planning, architectural uniformity, dominance of company over the townscape, and deliberate consolidation of class segregation practice, through discerning in housing quality (Porteous, 1974).

Referring to the works of John Garner, Andrew Herod asserted that company town was where singular ownership of a company over all the community facilities including the characteristics of 'model industrial towns' with predesignated social agenda despite of individual proprietorship of employees and employers. Having said that, Andrew, does not delve into defining company towns precisely, rather his interest was in the character that their spatial layout is often designed to shape social behaviour. According to Andrew, company towns were part of a continuum of deliberate efforts to shape the built environment in particular ways, ranging from the most micro of scales (the individual office) to the most macro (entire landscape) (Herod, 2011, p. 36-41).

Margaret Crawford refers to *The Encyclopaedia of Social Sciences'* definition in which 'company towns' *"as a community inhabited chiefly by the employees of a single company or (Porteous, 1974) a group of companies which also owns a substantial part of real estate and houses"* (Crawford, 1995, p. 1). She also referred company towns as industrial landscapes, direct translation of the technical and social necessities of a particular method of production into to a settlement form. However, they had a hierarchical and geometrical rigidity (Crawford, 1999). They had different forms, locations and situations and dependent on the nature and viability of the industries. Moreover, she proclaimed urbanisation to be engendered by company town (Crawford, 1995).

David Littlewood describes company town as community owned and built and administered by industrial employer, occasionally in collaboration with the State. The company was the owner of, if not all, then majority of the houses. Other facilities like health social welfare, education and public services were free of charge or at subsidised rates provided by the employer. Preponderant number of residents were directly appointed and authorised by company. These towns were closed – no access to outsiders; and open – public access but no provision for new business star-ups or residency for non-employees (Littlewood, 2014, p. 41). Hence, spatial isolation was result of obscure accessibility.

- Planning, and architecture

Company towns lacked planning and architecture (Magnusson, 1920, p. 12). Entrepreneurs were profit and production centric and undermined the physical planning of the company towns. Consequences of haphazard planning resulted in poor living conditions, but were persistently juxtaposed with locations close to harmful sources. Without focusing on ethics of planning, Porteous highlights two significant features: a) connexion of the residential and industrial architecture style - economic and social, and town and industry; and b) the radial and grid planning of street and buildings and architecture uniformity creating tedium townscapes.

Predominantly, company towns rendered uniformity in planning. Similar plans and typology of housing, rectangular geometry, absence of planned green space, relatively wide streets and ample lots, and minimum densified planning. The towns also lacked basic public

services. The sites were non-sewered, and lacked plumbing water systems. Prevailing filthy streets and absence of side-walks and gutters, were common sights. Hence, developing undesirable living conditions (Magnusson, 1920)

The planning and the considerations related to planning of company towns ensued conflicts in implementations. Visually, the company towns had an archetypal appearance, an industry on one side and a model town representing the social or physical ideology. A pragmatic planning with respect to the need of the industries. The industry owners exempting a practical planning of company towns, developed replicative sites of company towns. However, the model towns within the company towns encouraged salient features of living, such as religion. Ignoring these needs of the model town encouraged large philosophical, social and religious moments (Crawford, 1995)

The planning of the company town and the architectural design has consolidated occupational hierarchy of the company in the residential zoning. Porteous exclaimed the common features included were: “a) deliberate ethnic and socioeconomic segregation in housing location; b) creation of a graded series of house quality styles which are allocated to employees not according to need (i.e., family size) but according to class; and c) creation of separate institutions for each class” (Porteous, 1974) Hence, social hierarchy was also manifested through spatial planning of company towns.

Overtime, company towns had experienced various ideological transformations. In the nineteenth century, the company towns took more economic understanding, which later was amalgamated into the discourse of benevolence. The widening distant between the labour and capital, was later reformed by the progressive management systems and labour relations administered by trained professionals in twentieth century. The “new” company towns provided better living and working conditions, to avert unionisation. Further, the interest of urban planners and architects in the development of new company towns making them more liveable spaces. These transformations, faded the industrial origins of the company towns (Crawford, 1995).

- Location and Management

Early definitions also stressed on the location of company housing settlements. The towns were formed in isolated areas due to the geographical locations of the raw material required for industrial productions. The typologies of company towns were specific to the locations of the towns. Mill villages, work camps, and communitarian settlements – all of them commonly referred to company towns. Mill villages were situated close to the source of energy. Whereas as work camps were isolated regions with barrack housing for male workers provided by employers. Lastly, industrial communitarian settlements, which had more complex structure. Social and labour organisations were the results of these settlements which inspired the idea of urban pockets but vanished before expanding into towns.

The decentralised company towns had its own attributes. Magnusson explains, that geographical location of the raw material was one such attribute. However, he adds that the “moment away from the city centres out into the suburbs or outside of the established city limits and into new towns or smaller cities immediately adjoining the larger centres” was one of the crucial attributes of the decentralised industrial towns. This moment took an overarching acceptance due to the foreseen and calculated advantages. Cheap land, lower taxes, lower rentals and lack of congestion were the posturing reasoning articulated. However, the Magnusson’s study also reflected that employers expressed the unionisation of labour as a reason for decentralisation. According to him, “*it is in housing in remote and*

isolated localities that abuses are more likely to creep in, than in settled and accessible communities. It is also in these localities that the “one-man” town is most likely to spring up and dominate the community, given it a decided feudalistic air. The real “company town” is that product of industrial isolation” (Magnusson, 1920, p. 20).

The company towns lacked governing system. The public sector considered company towns as closed private community and rendered no accountability. Further, the complete ownership of the company over the townscapes, ensued in absence of self-governing. Moreover, the locational criterion the company towns made kept them remote from ever existing self-governed town and consequently made them into isolated industrial hamlets (Magnusson, 1920) According, Porteous, company town were quintessentially located in remote regions having accesses to natural resources and came into existence due to lack of alternative (Porteous, 1974). Subsequently, the isolated locations also deprived the company town from a strong governing and managing systems.

2.4. Conclusions and Conceptual framework

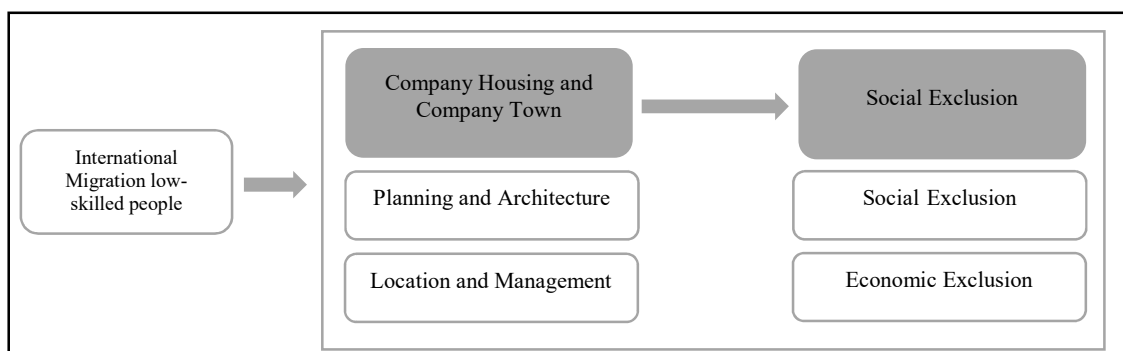


Figure 6: Conceptual framework
Source: Author, 2018

From the literature review, on international migration, social exclusion of (low skilled international) migrants and company housing and company towns, there is palpable causality drawn between these concepts. However, this causality needs to be well explained as the concepts studied are broad and diverse in understanding.

Migration is the precondition which impacts both other two concepts/variable. In chapter 1 and 2, after studying the background and theories, it can be stated that migration is the first phenomenon of the causal relation between the other two variables. Hence, to understand the research questions, it is implicit to consider international migration as a backdrop, though it facilitates the rest of the variable's existence. For this thesis, international migration is defined as a process in which a person who moves from the political boundaries of his/her country due to varied reasoning. This movement can be long term as well as short term depending on the cause of migration. Since, the research focuses of the low-skilled migrants, the predominant cause of migration is employment opportunity which is only moderately enhanced than the country of origin Hence, the low-skilled employment is consider the arterial motive (indicator) to migrate in this research.

The literature of social exclusion and company town and housing exposed a direct relationship between the two. However, as previously mentioned that these two concepts are broad, hence, precise juxtaposition of the unpacked concepts is required to understand this direct relationship. From the literature reviewed, social exclusion is an inaccessibility towards human rights or self-decision to exclude oneself from the society. For this thesis, social exclusion not delving into individual behaviour. At a collective level, it is considered to be the inability or

inaccessibility towards basic needs and practice individual rights. In this thesis, company housing and company towns are considered synonymous and is further addressed as employers' housing. The company housing is provided and managed by the employer. Literature on company housing emphasis on spatial and structural arrangements as the point of argument. For the research, these arrangements are regarded as the cause of exclusion from the public sphere.

Chapter 3: Research Design and Methods

This chapter focuses on the research strategy, which is used in answering the main question. It provides the frame work of the data collection methods, instruments which is used in the process, sampling method and sample size. It also offers an in-depth understanding on data analysis approach.

3.1. Guidelines

To answer the main research question, the approach taken is of a qualitative research. This is an explanatory research, in which the implications of employers' housing on social exclusion are studied with respect to low-skilled migrants. A single case study research strategy is adopted, to define the hypothesis which strategy is supported with in-depth interviews. As mentioned in chapter 1, owing to the limitations, the selected target groups are the low-skilled legal migrants working in the manufacturing industries of Khon Kaen, Thailand. The following chapter in illustrated chronologically as: a) revised research question; b) operationalisation of the variables; c) research strategy; d) data collection method (sampling); and f) data analysis method.

3.1.1. Research Question

The research question develops and changes after the literature review. The theoretical framework provides a better understanding about employers' housing. It is understood that planning, location and management, of employers' housing, can be the prominent reasons for the cause of exclusion. Hence, the research question develops as:

“How does the planning and management of employers' housing intensify social exclusion of the low-skilled international migrants?”

In this section, the theoretical concepts, used to answer the research questions are converted into measurable indicators for empirical research. The section coherently provides all the definitions of the concepts mentioned in the theoretical framework. Further, the operationalisation is presented to give a holistic understanding of the measurable indicators.

3.1.1.1. Concept 1: Employers' Housing (independent variable)

The definitions of employers' housing derived from the literature are as below (Table 4). From the available definitions and theoretical understanding, two sub-variables and identified: a) planning and architecture; and b) location and management of employers' housing. It is understood that these identified sub-variables passively facilitates social exclusion of the industrial workers. Hence, the study prominently emphasis on sub-variables while conducting the research (Table 5 and 6).

Author	Definitions
Leifur Magnusson, 1920	“the housing work done by the employer. It was related to the main business of the employer and should be in the interest of the employee rather than of a real estate purpose”
J. D. Porteous, 1974	residential and service centres built by the companies near to the or place of extraction or production which companies operated not only as employers but also as landlords, as de facto enforces of security and social harmony, and often as providers of services and goods for workers' consumptions
Horace Davis,	a community is known as a company town when it is inhabited solely which also owns a substantial part of the real estate and houses
Andrew Herod, 2011	company towns were part of a continuum of deliberate efforts to shape the built environment in particular ways, ranging from the most micro of scales (the individual office) to the most macro (entire landscape)

The Encyclopaedia of Social Science,	as a community, inhabited chiefly by the employees of a single company or a group of companies which also owns a substantial part of real estate and houses
Margaret Crawford, 1999	company towns as industrial landscapes, direct translation of the technical and social necessities of a particular method of production into to a settlement form
David Littlewood, 2013	company town as community owned and built and administered by industrial employer, occasionally in collaboration with the State.

Table 4: Definitions of Employers' housing

Source: Author, 2018

Author	Understanding
Leifur Magnusson, 1920	Predominantly, company towns rendered uniformity in planning. Similar plans and typology of housing, rectangular geometry, absence of planned green space, relatively wide streets and ample lots, and minimum densified planning
J. D. Porteous, 1974	two significant features: a) connexion of the residential and industrial architecture style - economic and social, and town and industry; and b) the radial and grid planning of street and buildings and architecture uniformity creating tedium townscapes.
J. D. Porteous, 1974	"a) deliberate ethnic and socioeconomic segregation in housing location; b) creation of a graded series of house quality styles which are allocated to employees not according to need (i.e., family size) but according to class; and c) creation of separate institutions for each class"
Margaret Crawford, 1999	The industry owners exempting a practical planning of company towns, developed replicative sites of company towns. However, the model towns within the company towns encouraged salient features of living, such as religion

Table 5: Understanding of the Planning and Architecture of Employers' housing

Source: Author, 2018

Author	Understanding
Leifur Magnusson, 1920	"it is in housing in remote and isolated localities that abuses are more likely to creep in, than in settled and accessible communities. It is also in these localities that the "one-man" town is most likely to spring up and dominate the community, given it a decided feudalistic air. The real "company town" is that product of industrial isolation"
Leifur Magnusson, 1920	The company towns lacked governing system. The public sector considered company towns as closed private community and rendered no accountability. Further, the complete ownership of the company over the townscapes, ensued in absence of self-governing. Moreover, the locational criterion the company towns made kept them remote from ever existing self-governed town and consequently made them into isolated industrial hamlets
J. D. Porteous, 1974	Company town were quintessentially located in remote regions having accesses to natural resources and came into existence due to lack of alternative

Table 6: Understanding of the Location and Governance of Employers' housing

Source: Author, 2018

3.1.1.2. Concept 1: Social Exclusion (Dependent variable)

The understanding of social exclusion comes from both the theoretical and empirical studies. In this thesis under the umbrella term of exclusion, focus is on the social and economic exclusion. Hence; social exclusion and economical exclusion are the sub-variables of the dependent variable. In the following table 7, the referred definitions for the concept of social capital are summarised.

Author	Understanding
Leifur Magnusson, 1920	"it is in housing in remote and isolated localities that abuses are more likely to creep in, than in settled and accessible communities. It is also in these localities that the "one-man" town is most likely to spring up and dominate the community, given it a decided feudalistic air. The real "company town" is that product of industrial isolation"
Leifur Magnusson, 1920	The company towns lacked governing system. The public sector considered company towns as closed private community and rendered no accountability. Further, the complete ownership of the company over the townscapes, ensued in absence of self-governing. Moreover, the locational criterion the company towns made kept them remote from ever existing self-governed town and consequently made them into isolated industrial hamlets

Table 7: Definitions of Social Exclusion

Source: Author, 2018

However, the context, in which social exclusion is studied, influences the nuances of the concept. Hence, referring to Ngan and Chan's study on social exclusion of low-income migrants and Labonte, Hadi and Kauffmann study on the indicators of social exclusion and inclusion, from Chapter 2, there is a probability of change in the definition and understanding of these indicators (Figure 5). The following figure (Figure 6) brings out this transformation. In Labonte, Hadi and Kauffmann's framework of social exclusion, housing was also one of the variables. However, in this research the target group is studied on the premise of their prerequisite of access to housing. Also, housing is studied as an independent variable, hence, the adopted framework on social exclusion, for this research, does not consider housing as a fundamental factor. Although, it should be understood that this action is taken with respect to the study, and that housing is a of the vital indicator of social exclusion. Referring to the research sub-question, the social exclusion is further dichotomised into social and economic exclusion. Hence, the variables are divided into these two categories in the scope of research.

Employment and work	Material Resources	Health	Education and skill	Social Resource	Communtiy Resource	Personal Security
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Access to formal employment opportunities Freedom of employment selection Working conditions Security of employemnt 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Access to quotidian necessities Public goods/subsidies Financial support systems (government and private) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Access to public health care Provision of the health facilities by the employers Health private health care 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Employment relevant skill developemnt programs Access to education for children 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Social Support Particiaption in common socail activities Social Network 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Access to community services (involvement in immedeate neighbourhood, transportation) Civic participation Politiital participarion 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Subjective safety Discrimination/pre judice Threat of harm Threat of deportation

Figure 7: Variable for socail exclusion with respect to research

Source: Author, 2018

3.2. Operationalisation

From the definitions of the concepts referred in the literature review the several indicators are generated and presented in Table 4. These indicators are subjective and objective indicators in nature. Hence, based on these characteristics, the scales of measurements are decided with a varied range of values.

Variable Type	Variables	Sub-Variables	Indicators	Description	Data collection method
Independent Variable: Company housing/ town	Planning and Architecture	Type of Planning	Territorial Development	Built-up density, land cover	Observation and interviews
			Public services	The public services which includes water supply, sanitation, electricity provided by the industrial owner within the parameter of company housing	
			Public Health and Education	The health services provided by the industrial owner within the parameter of company housing	
			Transportation and Mobility	Main access to company housing and roads developed within the boundaries of company housing	
			Urban greens	Land cover, planned greens, vertical vegetation,	

			Amenities and recreational Facilities	Provision of parking spaces, play grounds, gardens, multipurpose activity rooms.	Observation and interviews
		Type of Architecture	Housing typology	The type of housing provided to understand the typologies developed by the industry owners.	
			Interior rooms	The rooms provided inside a single unit, to understand the space internal space segregation	
			Area of the rooms	The habitable room size	
			Light and ventilation	Proper provision of light and ventilation	
	Location and Management	Geographical location		The geographical location of the company housing/ town from the city centre	Semi - structured interviews
		Governance and Management	-	The system and actors that manages the housing/town. The rules and regulations of the company town. Governing of the company housing/town.	
	Social Exclusion	-	Material resources	Access to quotidian necessities, public goods, financial support systems	Semi - structured interviews and secondary data
			Health	Access to public health care, provision of health care facilities by employers and other private health care facilities	
			Social structure	Access and awareness of social support, participation in common social activity outside industries, social networks outside industries	
			Community resources	Access to community service, involvement in immediate neighbourhood, transportation, civic participation, political participation	
			Personal safety	Access to civil security system, individual safety, personnel to provide physical safety. Discrimination/prejudice, threat of harm, threat of deportation.	
			Education, skills and information	Access to employment relevant skill development programs, Access to education for children and access to knowledge on human right based information.	
Dependent Variable: Social Exclusion	Economic exclusion		Employment and work	Access to formal employment opportunities, freedom of employment selection	Semi - structured interviews and secondary data
			Income and economic resources	Minimum wages, government financial support, private economic support	

Table 8: Operationalisation table
Source: Author, 201

3.3. Research Strategy

To answer the research question, a case study strategy is used. It is a strategy appropriate for both inductive and deductive research (Van Thiel, 2014). This thesis is a deductive research, where, in chapter 2, a suitable theoretical framework is designed, for the findings of the research question. Yin defines case study as “an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context, especially when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident” (Yin, 2009). A case study method enables a researcher to closely analyse the data with respect to the context (Zainal, 2007). From the definitions and understanding, it is clear that case study is used when the researcher wants to gain an in-depth knowledge of a problem raised or a situation. It can be used for exploratory, descriptive or explanatory research (Yin, 2009). This is an explanatory research which aims to unravel the causality of the independent and dependent variables. Explanatory cases are also framed for causal studies, where through the use of pattern-matching, certain phenomena can be examined in very complex and multivariate cases (Zainal, 2007). Pattern-matching is a concept where the theoretical and observational framework is used to construct validity. The research intended to explain the causality between the employers’ housing and social exclusion. Since, social exclusion is a subjective variable, it is necessary to explore the varied understanding in correlation with the independent variable. Also, the causality between the independent and the dependent variable is unexplored in the context. Hence, case study becomes the suitable research strategy, which brings begets novel understandings.

A single case study strategy is used for this research. In the single case study, the case can almost be anything: a group, an organisation, a country, a city or neighbourhood, an event, a relationship, a project or process – it can be a Law or decision (Van Thiel, 2014). The study focuses of the single case of the Khon Kaen city, where it intended to explain the causality between the variables. In the city of Khon Kaen there are several industries which have employed foreign low-skilled workers. To find the causation between the variables it is essential to study all these industries. However, focusing on the limitations, where time is also a crucial factor, it is not feasible to study all the industries. Moreover, knowing that the topic is unexplored, hence it is decided to study only the selective industries, through which a first-hand understanding is drawn for future studies.

3.3.1. Limitations of Case Study

Although, case study is a suitable research strategy for the explanatory research, it has certain limitations. The case study strategy focuses on the specific context, which provides enough information with regards to the context. However, the information is restricted to the context. Hence, case study has a limited external validity. Furthermore, it limits the means of statistical analysis. With validity, the small study samples jeopardise the reliability of the research. (Van Thiel, 2014) Moreover, the strategy is a laborious process which makes it difficult to conduct a research in restricted time framework. Further, the unwillingness of the key respondents to participate in the research process also endures limitations.

3.4. Data Collection Method

Data is the primary factor of any scientific research. The type of research strategy adopted indicates the data collection method, further suggesting the instruments for the process. Owing to the unexplored characteristics of the context, it is eminent to gather first hand data. Hence, the research is contingent to primary qualitative data collection as a foremost method. The secondary qualitative data is opted due to the foreseen limitations of the context.

3.4.1. Primary Qualitative Data

Primary qualitative data are two different has two entities entrenched in itself. Firstly, it is a first-hand information that is gathered by the researcher. Secondly, qualitative data is a non-statistically, descriptive and subjective in nature. In general, interviews and observations are the research instruments that are used in the case of qualitative data. Hence, in the primary qualitative data, it is the real-time data collected by the researcher with help of interviews and observations (Van Thiel, 2014). Interviews are of varied kinds; however, this research is grounded semi-structured. Due to the unexplored characteristic and limitations, it is ineffective to have structured interviews. And the semi-structured interviews generated convenience to gather enormous data, and perception of the respondents. In this research interviews were conducted with all the respondents who are part of the governance of the employers' housing in Khon Kaen and also who are willing to participate in the research. The interview questionnaire is divided into three sections (Annex 1). The first section focuses on the generic questions, the second on the main core questionnaire with respect to the status of the respondent and the third is the consent note from the respondent. The questionnaire is translated into Thai (local language of Thailand). However, certain migrant respondents are non-Thai speakers, for which the questionnaire is translated during the time of the interview. Owing to the numerous limitations and the subjectivity of the respondent, observation is also adopted as research method. Also, referring to the literature on social exclusion, it was eminent to understand the power relations among the actors involved in providing housing to the migrant employees. These power relations are best understood through observations. These interviews were conducted between 1 July 2018 to 20 July, 2018. It is necessary to state the time owing to the consistent developments which take place in the migration policies in Thailand, which influence the subjective nature of the research.

3.4.2. Secondary Data

In the research, the existing data source that is generated by others, is termed as secondary data (Van Thiel, 2014). In this research, secondary data is collected from the government's policies, laws, NGO's reports, articles from reputed newspapers and international organisation reports. Also, for this research, owing to the limitations and subjectivity, secondary data is an important source of data. The list of secondary data used in the research is presented in Annex 2.

3.5. Sampling

Sampling is a section of the unity to be studied. Depending upon the research, this unit can be unit of people, cases or data sources which are the focus of the study. For sampling, a sampling frame is developed that describes the process of sampling, describes the chosen sample size, the application of the selection method and the ways in discrepancies with the respondents were dealt with (Van Thiel, 2014). For this research a snowball and purposive sampling technics are applied. A purposive sampling technic is a process in which the target groups are consciously selected depending on the research subject. While in snowball sampling, through the assistance of the first respondent, other suitable respondents are identified. This identified respondents are requested for assistance to find the other respondents (Van Thiel, 2014). Owing to the specificity, through purposive sampling the key targeted group are identified. Likewise, snowball sampling technic is applied to the research, in order to overcome the limitations of being unapproachable to these targeted groups. The information regarding the selected sample size is provided in Table 9 and is further dichotomised into four categories: a) Migrant workers; b) Industrial Management; c) NGOs; and d) Academicians. With respect to this research, the migrant group selected included from Laos (PDR), Myanmar and Cambodia. As mentioned in chapter 1, this was an independent research, hence, selected sample does not represent the

entire population. There were various complications and insecurities while accessing the migrant groups, hence, the interviews does not give a reasonable representation of migrants. Also, in due process, the Cambodian migrant workers were unapproachable, owing to the insufficient knowledge of their location among the other strata of respondents. However, special care is taken to overcome this discrepancy by selected other sources where the information is postulated to be available.

Respondents Designation	Number of Respondents	Organisation
Academicians	2	Khon Kaen University
NGOs	2	AidsNet
Migrants	6	Laotian, Myanmar
Industrial Housing Management	2	Fishing net and footwear manufacturing industries (Due to the privacy reasons only the type of industry can be specified)

Table 9: Interview Respondents
Source: Author

3.6. Validity and Reliability

The research is subject to internal and external validity. Internal validity refers to the quality and effectiveness of the research. It inquires whether causality hypothesised between the independent and the dependent variables is justified by the researcher. While, external validity refers to the research finding that can be generalised in any give case (Van Thiel, 2014). In this research through semi-structured interviews, internal validity cannot be realised. Thereafter, the observation and secondary data, as research instruments, are applied to the research, to increase the level of internal validity. Hence, the relationship between the employers' housing and social exclusion is substantiated, to validated the research. Furthermore, the study is specific to single case. This characteristic of the research makes it incapable of being generalised in other contexts. Nevertheless, the findings can be generalised in the Thai context, as the secondary data was generated from the national policies, on migration, of Thailand. Hence, the external validity can be realised in the country.

Reliability of the research is attained through accuracy and consistency. The accuracy of the study is referred to the measurement instruments. The variable to be study should be explicit within the instruments. Whilst, the consistency is referred to the repeatability of the measurement instruments. It complies that under similar circumstances, the instruments should be replicable. These two features – accuracy and consistency – indicates the reliability of the research (Van Thiel, 2014) In this research, the instruments developed to measure the independent variable are context specific. Hence, its reliability out of the context is dubious. Further, owing to the nature of the dependent variable (that is not context specific), the measurement instruments can be replicable irrespective of the context. However, the causality between the two can only be considered with respect to the context.

3.7. Data Analysis Method

Atlas Ti is the instrument applied to analysis the qualitative data. Prior to the analysis, the data needs to be managed and transformed into a document from where analysis can take place. The data collected is in varied languages, owing to the different nationalities of the respondents. The interviews were recorded with the consent of the interviewees. Moving forward, these recording were translated into Thai with the assistance of an interpreter. The Thai version were later transcribed into English and cleaned for analysis in Atlas Ti. To work in Atlas Ti, primarily, a code list was prepared with the guidance of the indicators from the

operationalisation table (Table 8). Through the list the interviews are coded, which later became essential material for data presentation in Chapter 4. It should be noted that this is a qualitative research and apart from interviews and secondary qualitative data, there was no other source of data applied. Hence, Atlas Ti was the only essential means for data analysis and no other means/tools are used.

Chapter 4: Research Findings

In this chapter, the primary focus is on the case of Khon Kaen, which is studied to the answer the research question. The chapter is divided into three sections. The first section, briefly offers the background of the Khon Kaen city. Moving forward, it describes the inception of industrialisation in the city and the crisis of labour shortage. The second section, it presents the characteristics of the target group which is studied within the case, to prove the hypothesis. Finally, the last section, of the chapter, provides description of the analysis of the data and findings from the field.

4.1. Case study – Khon Kaen



Image 1: Map of Thailand and Khon Kaen

Khon Kaen city is the provincial capital of Khon Kaen District, located in the North-eastern region of Thailand. The city developed as a commercial, financial, educational, and communication centre, within this region. In the early 60's from the initiation of regional development, the city was idealised as the “Regional Capital City” from the inception of the modern development. Consequently, Khon Kaen served as a centre for government services and currently is home for 484 government agencies. Currently Khon Kaen is a medical and educational centre in the region. Industries and businesses started to proliferate from last twenty years. This commercial burgeons was partially the consequence of the growth pole policy of Thailand. In 2013, the city housed 4,131 industries and 66,000 labourers. In 2014, Khon Kaen's population was 1.9 million. In 2010, the Gross Provincial Product (GPP) from non-agriculture was above 135,000 million Thai Baht and the total GPP of agriculture was marginally above 20,000 million Baht. Also, the average income of the people in Khon Kaen city is 82,000 Bhat per year, less than the average income of the country.

4.1.1. Industrialisation in Khon Kaen

Industrialisation, in Khon Kaen, begin in 1960's under the ‘growth pole theory’. The Thai government, under the industrial decentralisation strategy, facilitated foreign and domestic private investor to capitalise into the country's remote regions. The National Economic and Social Development Board (NESDB), in its fifth and sixth plan, selected 12 secondary cities - Nakhon Rachasima, Khon Kaen, Ubon Ratchathani, Udon Thani, Nakhon Sawan, Phitsanulok,

Chiang Mai, Saraburi, Ratchaburi, Chonburi, Surat Thani, and Songkhla – to contribute to the rural economy and enhance employment. The Ministry of Industry (MOI), which the Thai government established to initiate industrial development in the country, provided necessary infrastructure and support to enhance the development of provincial industries. Nine provinces in the country - Nakhon Rachasima, Khon Kaen, Nakhon Sawan, Phitsanulok, Chiang Mai, Saraburi, Ratchaburi, Surat Thani and Songkhla were selected to undergo industrial development (Pansuwan, A., 2010).

Year	NESDP	Focus
1961-66	First	Reduction of Thai Government's involvement into manufacturing, and promotion of privatisation of manufacturing sector through provision of incentives.
1967-71	Second	Reduction of Thai Government's involvement into manufacturing, and promotion of privatisation of manufacturing sector through provision of incentives.
1972-76	Third	Focused on production of export quality goods and hence, providing incentives to such industries. Beginning of decentralisation of industries.
1977-81	Fourth	Focused on production of export quality goods and hence, providing incentives to such industries.
1982-86	Fifth	Aimed at improving the labour-intensive, resource based and export-oriented industries.
1987-91	Sixth	Focused on export-oriented, small-scale, regional enterprises, agro-based and engineering-based industries. Foreign investment in intermediate and heavy industries.
1992-96	Seventh	Development of rural-industries through concrete measures such as committee on regional development, and providing different incentives. Foreign investment in intermediate and heavy industries.
1997-01	Eight	Focus continued in endorsing of export industries, small-scale and regional industries. Economic Crises.
2002-06	Ninth	Economic stability and sustainability, establishment of good governance, establishment of a strong national development foundation, empowerment of the people, and reduction of poverty
2007-11	Tenth	'Sufficiency Economy' on the philosophy of the King Rama IX. Economic stability and sustainability, establishment of good governance, establishment of a strong national development foundation, empowerment of the people, and reduction of poverty
2012-16	Eleventh	Fair society of quality, provide social protection and security, and participation in development under good governance. Increase the efficiency of production and services, make consumption eco-friendly and strengthen the relations with neighbouring countries.
2017-21	Twelfth	Promotion of science, technology, and innovation. Development of human capital. Creation of Just Society and reduction of Inequality. Restructuring production and creating economic opportunities at each stage of value chain.

Table 10: NESDB Plans

Source: Author

Industrial decentralisation was planned to avert the rapid urbanisation and industrialisation from Bangkok Metropolis region (BMR). Industrialisation proved to be successful in Thailand, however, there was no importance given on equal distribution of industries, sectoral linkages and economic distribution. Due to the geo-economic location, the import substitution and export-oriented industries concentrated within and peripheral areas of BMR. The concentration of industries in Bangkok resulted into rapid urbanisation and other negative externalities such as burgeoning of slums, environmental degradation, traffic congestion and income disparities. Hence, to reduce the load of these externalities, new industrial centres were planned in several parts of the country (Pansuwan, A., 2010).

Later, from 1970 onwards Khon Kaen became a melting pot of development. in Northeast. catering to Thai Government's vision. While creating the diversion of population and industries, the government endorsed Khon Kaen as feasible region for industrial development. The regional development plans were laid to achieve decentralised economy and reduce the disparity within the provinces. Likewise, NESDB, provided several financial and monetary

incentives for the provincial industries in Khon Kaen. Hence, industrialisation flourished in Khon Kaen as part of the national vision of decentralisation of industries and decongestion of BMR (Glassman, and Sneddon, 2003).

4.1.2. Labour Shortage

Khon Kaen could not contribute to pull back the influx of migration into the BMR. It failed to develop as a large-scale industrial developed region. The vision of the Thai Government to transform Khon Kaen into a new urban industrial centre was unable to realise. The city successfully provided as a regional political and service centre and home for public sector institutions. However, the overarching vision of ‘growth pole’ centre was not accomplished.

There were several reasons which were analysed for Khon Kaen’s unsuccessful consequences with regard to decentralised industrial economy. The BMR continued to have a high concentration of industries which could not contribute into reduction of the industrial disparity between BMR and newly developed industrial centres and certainly to some extent poverty in Thailand. Hence, the Thai Government to correct the geo-economic inequality, placed prominence on the rural industrial development and manifested to be the focal point of development of the country. Policies were redesigned to address this declaration. However, these policies were still ineffective to make rural development prominent. Likewise, these policies still lacked an effective institutional machinery support (Pansuwan, A., 2010). Hence, the inefficiency in successful implantation of rural industrial development goals to achieve the national vision, conclusively left Khon Kaen a semi industrialised state.

Khon Kaen continued to face labour shortage for the industrial development of the province. Khon Kaen’s development model was unable to slow the migration to the BMR. Instead, it increased the rate of out migration to the BMR. Also, Khon Kaen’s average wage remained low as compared to the BMR, which further influenced outmigration from the region. Further, Thai Government’s later policy development focusing on the quality of life, transformed perception and willingness of the Thai people to work in the already developed industries. Disinterest was the major concern to generate human workforce within the region. Hence, the industries developed, continued to be unattractive economically and socially to the Thai people. During an open-ended interview with a Human Resource personnel of an industry in Khon Kaen also referred to these imbalances. He explained that:

“before that (this), Thai workers were really hard to find. (...) the (previous) law(s) (did not) stay that all workers must have 300 Baht per day. (Hence), most Thai labours, they went to industrial estate in the central part (BMR) of Thailand. And that’s why (we) started bringing in the Laotian workers. And once the law(s) stated that all the workers will be paid 300 Baht so at that time Thai workers started to come home.”

Consequently, the owners of the industries, developed in Khon Kaen, had to import labour force from the neighbouring countries, to stimulate the human labour in the industries.

4.2. Profile of the respondents

To bring out the understanding on the research question, key respondents are identified from the migrant groups, industrial administration, NGOs, and academicians. However, as mentioned in chapter 1, there are numerous limitations in the due process of the research. One of which was access to the identified respondents. Hence, the research has conceived through 7 interviews, and one group interview. Due to the controversiality of the topic, two industries, a footwear and a fishing net manufacturer, in Khon Kaen gave the agreements for the interviews. From which, 5 Burmese migrants, 2 Laotian migrants, a human resource head, and an interpreter (for Burmese migrants) were being interviewed. From the outer sphere, 2

academicians from the Khon Kaen University and 2 project heads from an NGO were interviewed. Data from these interviews and other secondary sources (that are Thai policies and other academic and non-academic publications) enabled the following analysis to answer the research question. However, unfortunately, all the respondents are male, and hence, in this research, it was difficult to bring out the gender perspective.

4.3. Analysis of Company housing/towns (Independent Variable)

From the empirical data collected, the analysis of the Employers' housing comprises of two sections. The first section presents the findings about the planning and architecture of the Employers' housing in Khon Kaen. Moving forward, based on the operationalisation table, this section also offers the empirical findings on the management and location of the housing. Further, the data collected and analysed is used to answer the research question.

4.3.1. Planning and Architecture

The empirical investigation, from the interviews and observations on planning and architecture of the Employers' housing, offer an understanding on the living conditions of the low-skilled immigrant workers, in Khon Kaen. The understanding is drawn by visiting one industry (as others were inaccessible) and from the descriptions of the respondents. Hence, the visual documentation is restricted to one industrial site and is not subjected to generalisation. Likewise, according to the respondents, the visited industry is an optimum case of the employers' housing, in Khon Kaen.

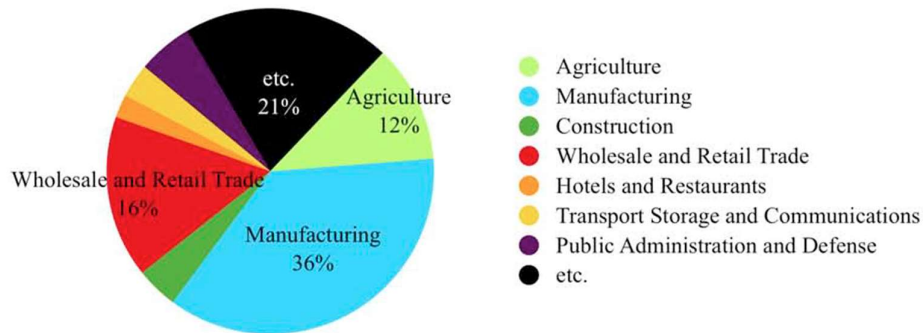


Figure 8: GDP of Khon Kaen Province, 2007
Source: (Chaowarat, 2010)

From the literature studied, it is understood that the physical planning is an essential feature of Employers' housing to indicate the quality of living conditions. With respect to the living conditions of the legal migrant workers, the common responses received are:

“compare(d) (...) (to) the living conditions in their (migrant’s) country, the living conditions here (Thailand) are much better or some of them they feel that living conditions back in their home country is much more difficult. For example, like Cambodian and Myanmar workers some of them come from hilly tribes, so they live in very difficult condition back home, so compared to the living condition (there), here it is like heaven to them”.

The neighbouring countries, Myanmar, Laos PDR, and Cambodia, are less developed as compared to Thailand. Most migrants, interviewed, came from the rural regions of these countries with less than moderate living conditions. Hence, the respondent from the NGO expressed it as:

“for some of them they feel that living condition back in their home country is much more difficult”.

As for the academicians and NGO's, the housing conditions are widely objectionable with compared to the Thai standards. The academician from interviewed claimed it as:

“it is like immigrant camps, but they are more relaxed inside”.

Hence, there has been a conflicting understanding on individual's living conditions.

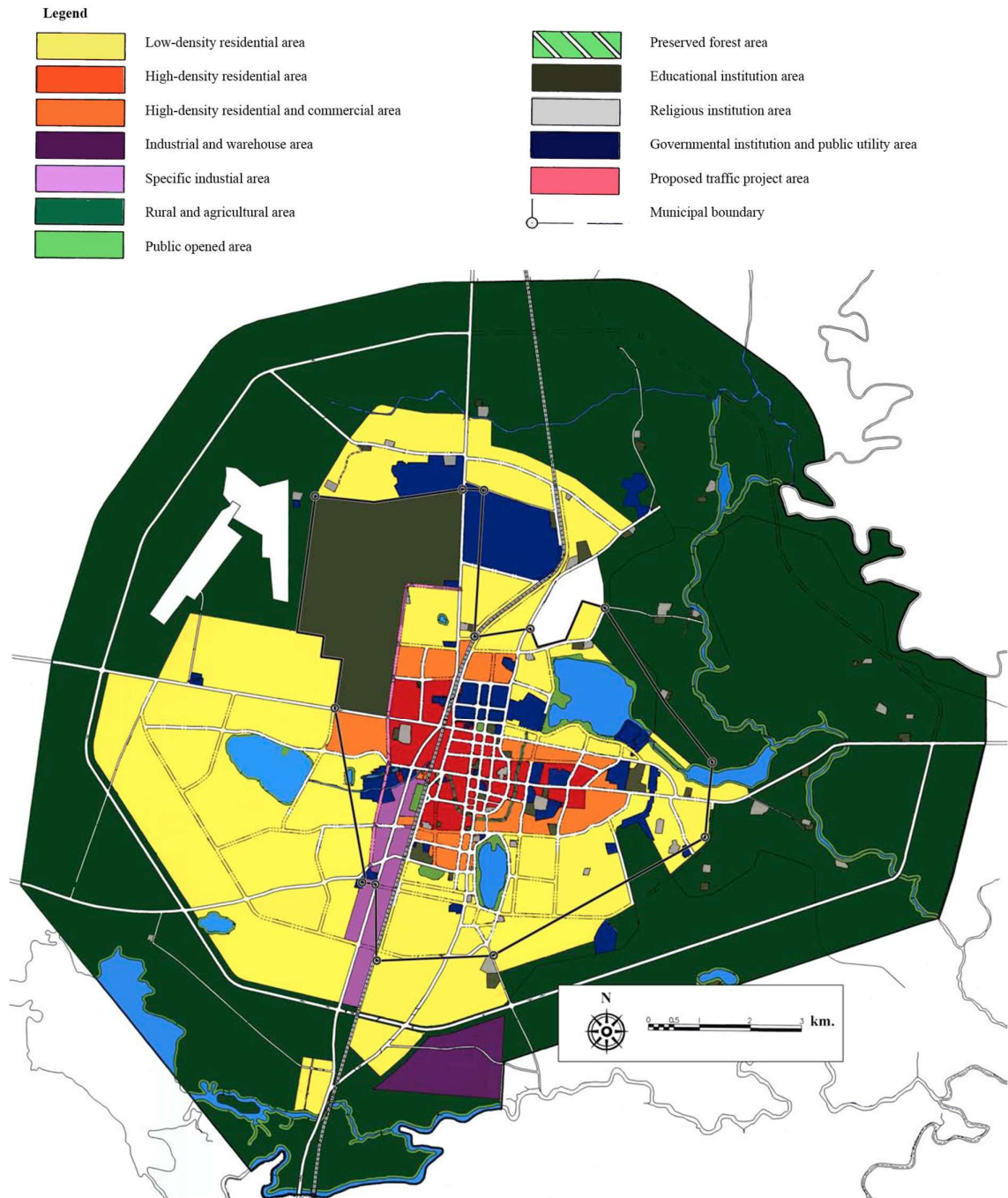


Figure 9: Land Use Plan of Khon Kaen City
Source: (Chaowarat, 2010)

The living conditions varies according to the migrants' nationalities. There are no existing guidelines to ensure that a quality of housing. (both in terms of architecture and planning)

provided by the employer, to his legal migrants. Moreover, these difference in living conditions exists due the difference in type of work. The Laotian workers and Myanmar migrants live in better conditions within the industrial compounds (employers' housing). While, the Cambodian workers, employed in constructions industries live, in hazardous conditions. Also, in case of illegal migrants (which are not the target group of the study), the respondent from the NGO stated it as:

“their accommodation is very cramped (and) they live in very crowded accommodation”.

Hence, the housing, developed by the employer, does not have any quintessential planning and architectural features, to draw similarities between the cases.

4.3.1.1. Type of Planning

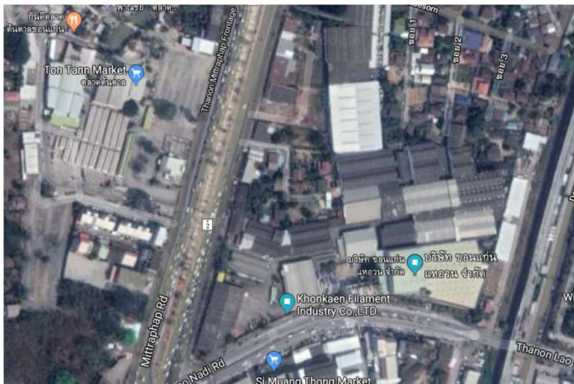


Image 3: Industry within the inner-city of Khon Kaen

Source: Google Maps



Image 2: Industry within the inner-city of Khon Kaen

Source: Google Maps

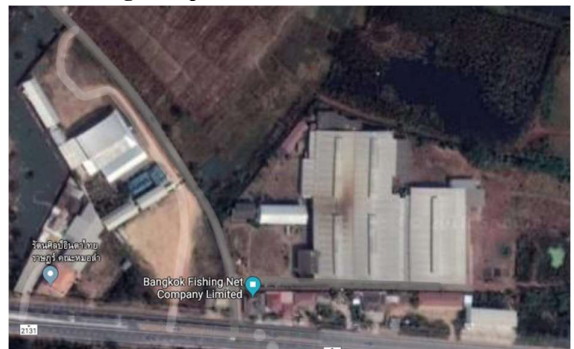


Image 4: Industry within the inner city of Khon Kaen

Source: Google Maps

Based on the empirical data collected it is implicit that the planning of company housing/town varied tremendously according to the existing industries in Khon Kaen. According to the respondent from the NGO:

“We can basically divide them (migrants) into different nationality like worker from Laos (PDR), Cambodia, and Myanmar. The living conditions of the people (migrants) from different country, they are not the same. Because (...) they did not do the same job. It was (is) pretty diverse (...). The Laotian workers, they speak very similar language (as to Thai) and the way they work most Laotian people they work in a factory which has good quality, kind of modern factory, modern machines and technology.” Whereas ***“for those factories who hire Myanmar and Cambodian workers they got separate community (...) they are going to build the Myanmar community in one place and for Cambodian community they are going to build another community and these two communities are not close to each other.”***

There are no existing guidelines to ensure that a quality of housing (both in terms of architecture and planning) is provided by the employer to his legal migrants. Hence, it is understood that the ethnic and employment difference can be relative to the existing variation in planning, which is further attributed due to lack of standardised guidelines.



Image 5: Industry within the inner-city of Khon Kaen

Source: Google Maps

- Territorial Development – can be dichotomised in two types of planning development. One within the Khon Kaen's Municipal boundaries, which can be termed as inner-city industrial areas and the other in the peripheral areas called as outer-city industrial areas. There are some commonalities and difference in the appearances of both these industrial towns. The plot sizes of the inner-city industrial towns are smaller compared to the outer-city industrial towns. Likewise, the land use planning of the Khon Kaen city has allotted

less than 5% of the city's land for industrial development. Due to the proposed land use planning (figure 9), the inner-city industries lack space for individual town development under per ownership. However, the outer-city industries have ample amount of land, due to which it is convenient for the town size development within the industrial compound. Hence, the ratio of the built-up space to non-built up is more in the inner-city than in the outer-city industrial development. The commonalities between both the development is the typologies of the building within the industrial town. As highlighted in the literature on company town, both the industrial building and the residential building co-exists alongside each other. This characteristic of economic and social juxtaposition is also found in the industrial compounds. Moreover, the other commonality identified is the screening created to visually obstruct the industries from the main access. For the inner-city industrial towns, these screenings are tall compound walls and for the outer-city there is use of vegetation creating visual obstruction.

- Public Services – provision is based on the type of industry and the type of migrants employed. From the interviews, the consensus drawn are that some employers' housing are equipped with basic public services like water supply, electricity and sanitation. These industries are known to be economically resilient in Khon Kaen. The Laotian migrants' due to the proficiency in the language, managed to have better access to these industries. Whilst, the Myanmar migrants are employed in economically less proficient industries within the city, due to which not much emphasis is given on the provision of the public services. As described by a respondent from the NGO:

“for Myanmar workers, (...) they lack accessibility to some important facilities like water, electricity.”

While, the Cambodian migrants, being employed predominantly in construction industries of Khon Kaen, and living into precarious conditions of the makeshift housing, it can be claimed that they unequivocally lack access to basic public services. As stated by the respondent from the NGO:

“Cambodian workers have less opportunity to access to necessary living conditions.” It was justified as ***“once they (Cambodian migrant workers) finish the job (on) one site they will be moving to other site so the accommodation is like temporary.”***

Hence, in the case of Cambodian migrant workers, it is conclusive that the inaccessibility to basic public services is relative to the temporary state of the housing

provided by the employers. Consequently, the level of economic resilience of the industry as well as accessibility to better status industries determined the availability of public services.

- **Public Health** – In Khon Kaen, the employers' housing lacks provision of health care facility within its parameters. As mentioned earlier, the two main activities identified within the industrial campuses, of the city, are the manufacturing units and the housing units for the employees. However, there is lack of health care facilities for the employees within these industries. The legal migrant workers are eligible for the health care service provided by the Thai Government. However, these services are not established within the industrial towns. Having said this, the migrant employees, have access to the government health care clinic and pharmacies in Khon Kaen city. Nevertheless, the inner-city industries have better access to these services than the outer-city industries, owing to the physical proximity between the industries and city centre. Subsequently, it is understood that migrants are highly dependent on the government health care services, social welfare systems which will be explained in later section of this chapter.
- **Transportation and Mobility** – The external accessibility for the industries within the inner-city is efficiently planned, due to Khon Kaen's centralised physical urban planning. The demarcated area (Figure 5), for industries, have two cardinal road access, of which one is the national road connecting to Laos PDR and the other is the provincial road. But the internal road network within this demarcated land use for industries does not provides easy access to the external transportation means. The outer-city industries have external road access but the transportation system is insufficient. The public transport connectivity is only via roadways, but the inexpensive means of transportation only runs during the day time. Hence, accessing these industries after the second half of the working hours is difficult. In the case of the inner-city industries, since, these industrial town are sizeably small, there is not much emphasis given in the internal road connections. They rather are the only non-built-up areas in the inner-city industries. Likewise, in the outer-city industries, roads are only until the boundary of the housing units, further, through the use of soft scape and paver, block quasi pathways are created. Hence, being in the parameters of municipality, through the industries, the housing inside has a better external connectivity, whereas the internal connectivity is spontaneous.
- **Urban greens** – The inner-city industries due to the space crunch lack planned green landscapes. As mentioned in earlier sections, the proportion of built-up area compared to non-built-up area is more in these industries. Moreover, the non-built-up area is predominantly hardscapes used for accessing the buildings within the parameters of the industries. Hence, the need for green spaces is neglected in the inner-city industrial towns. In the outer-city industries, the green spaces are organic rather than planned. Thailand being tropical region, green covers are part of nature. In the outer-city industries, these natural green covers are utilised to create visual screening, unplanned landscaping.
- **Amenities and recreational Facilities** – According to the inferences drawn from the empirical study, the provision of amenities vary as per the economic sufficiency of the industries. In some industries basic amenities, such as parking spaces and recreational spaces are provided. Whilst, in most of the industries it is fairly absent. Also, the size, of the industrial, plot factored the existentiality of these amenities. Subsequently, provision of amenities and recreational spaces are relative to the economic resilience and availability of space.

4.3.1.2. Type of Architecture

In this section, the empirical data analysis preponderantly emphasis on the building typologies in which the migrant employees are accommodated within the industrial towns of Khon Kaen. As per the respondents interviewed, the accommodations are *“pretty spacious”*. Also, similar to some of the elements of planning, (...) *“there is difference between factory to factory”* in the type of accommodation provided and also, varies according to the nationality of the migrants’ employees. The variation existed due to the non-existentiality of a standardised guidelines to provide accommodation for the migrant employees or rather for employees in general. Due to which, each individual factory argued that it has better standard of accommodation *“(…) compare(d) with other factories,”* in Khon Kaen. Further, to have an articulated understanding on the architecture of these accommodations or housing units, five factors are identified. With reference to the Chapter 3, the section tries to focus on: a) housing typologies itself; b) the interior rooms; c) room sizes; d) light and ventilation and e) room heights. These five factors were identified as the most important factor to understand the liveability of the space. Further, the findings on these five factors are described in detail the following section.



Image 6: Spatial planning of employers’ housing

Source: Author



Image 7: Spatial planning of employers’ housing

Source: Author

- Housing Typologies – As mentioned earlier the type of housing provided was according to a) factories economic sufficiency; b) the type of work; and c) the nationality of the migrant employees. These three factors have influenced the housing conditions provided to the migrants. The following housing typologies are identified from the interviews and descriptions of the respondents.

- Row Housing typology: They are a single stretch of maximum 10 concrete houses segregated with common walls and connected with a singular linear sloping roof. They appear to be scaled down version of warehouses (Image 1 and 4). The respondent from the NGO describes it as:

“10 rooms in a row and they have backyard which they share with the other series of houses. And also have the rooms have bathroom inside (...). It cost about 1,500 Baht per month (rent). But these accommodations are located in factory area, the space that the factory provide to them”.

- Hut Housing typology: Similar to row houses, ‘Hut housing typology’ are more temporary in nature. They are made out of wood which appears to be a petite version of cottage



Image 8: An example of recreational facilities, provided within an industry of Khon Kaen.

Source: Author



Image 9: An example of housing typology within an industry of Khon Kaen.

Source: Author

- Building housing typology: These are two or three storeyed concrete buildings with series of single tenement houses connected with linear corridors and have singular linear sloping roof.

The aforementioned typologies are architecturally weak. Referring to the literature on company housing from the industrialisation period, the industrial housing in Khon Kaen are also visually universal. Simply due to the economic efficiency of mass productions of a similar type of house. Moreover, these houses resemble a petite version of warehouse which are a couple storeyed condominiums.

- Interior rooms –The several types of houses provided by the employers, they have certain interior utility demarcation. The housing units have a common room with one multiple uses. Some industrial housing has a kitchen space and toilets inside the unit, however, some lack these facilities. Moreover, the kitchens provided are not equipped with cooking gas supply, hence, the sites are witnessed with outdoor vernacular cooking

facilities developed by the migrant employers. Since, the migrant groups are religious, they are also allowed to develop a space of worship inside the housing unit.

- Size of the rooms – The housing units identified, are predominantly designed for 2 people. The average of rooms provided is 30 sqmt in size. The respondent from the NGO describes it as
- *“Approximately 2 people share a room. But mostly in one room would be for one family. But if they are friends then they share among 2 to 3 people. And also, they would share they expense as well, so they share the room renting cost (electricity, water).”*



Image 10: Housing typology in an industry of Khon Kaen.

Source: Author

Although, these housing units are functionally for a restrictive number of users, but in some cases, they are allocated to more than 2 number of migrants. Sometimes, de facto, these houses are shared between 6 migrant employees to reduce the individual cost of housing. Fundamentally, the housing is provided for free, however, some industrial housings are rented to the migrant employees. Hence, to divide the load of the rent from the individual piecemeal salaries, the migrant employees share their allotted accommodations with more than 2 migrants.



Image 11: Housing typology in an industry of Khon Kaen

Source: Author

- **Light and ventilation** – This factor is relative to the location of the industrial housing. The inner-city industrial housing, due to space constraints, lack sufficient light and ventilation. However, the outer-city industrial housing, benefit from the copious space, and could provide enough light and ventilation within the housing units.

Class segregation, which was emphasised in the literature is not a dominant factor in the industrial housing of Khon Kaen. The housing provided is visually uniform. It is not segregate with respect to the hierarchy of the employee. Hence, it creates more socially stable community life within the industrial towns of Khon Kaen.

4.3.2. Location and Management

In the empirical findings derived from the field, it is comprehended that the management of the towns was a prominent factor than the location. The industries have developed a sophisticated management and governing systems to administer the employers with minimal interference of the Thai government. The proceeding section delves into describing the management systems of these industrial housing and the minimal influence of location which isolates the migrant employers from the rest of the Thai community in Khon Kaen.

4.3.2.1. Location of company House

The location of industrial housing is demarcated in the urban land use plan Khon Kaen (fig 5). According to the plan the, the industries are allotted a linear stretch of land which extends from the centre of the city to down south. It is approximately 5% of the total land use of the Khon Kaen city. This reflects the unsuccessful progress of the ‘growth pole theory’. The identified industries within Khon Kaen city and peripheral, are developed along the demarcated land use. Image 5 indicates the location of the industries in Khon Kaen. On field, 6 industries are successfully located. Out of these, 4 industries are situated in the urban city and 75% of them are manufacturing fishing nets and the remaining are in the peripheral regions. The Municipality of the city is surrounded with a ring road which divides the urban city and the peripheral regions. The distance between the farthest industry and city centre is 16 km. Hence, the consensus drawn from the findings and literature, is that maximum industries are situated within the urban centre due to their independency on the natural resources for production of goods. Nevertheless, Khon Kaen was envisioned as an industrial city and thus majority of the industries are found in the within the city due to the demarcated land use. However, inefficient development of the industries with in the urban centres, influenced the industries to move out of the ring road in the peripheral regions.

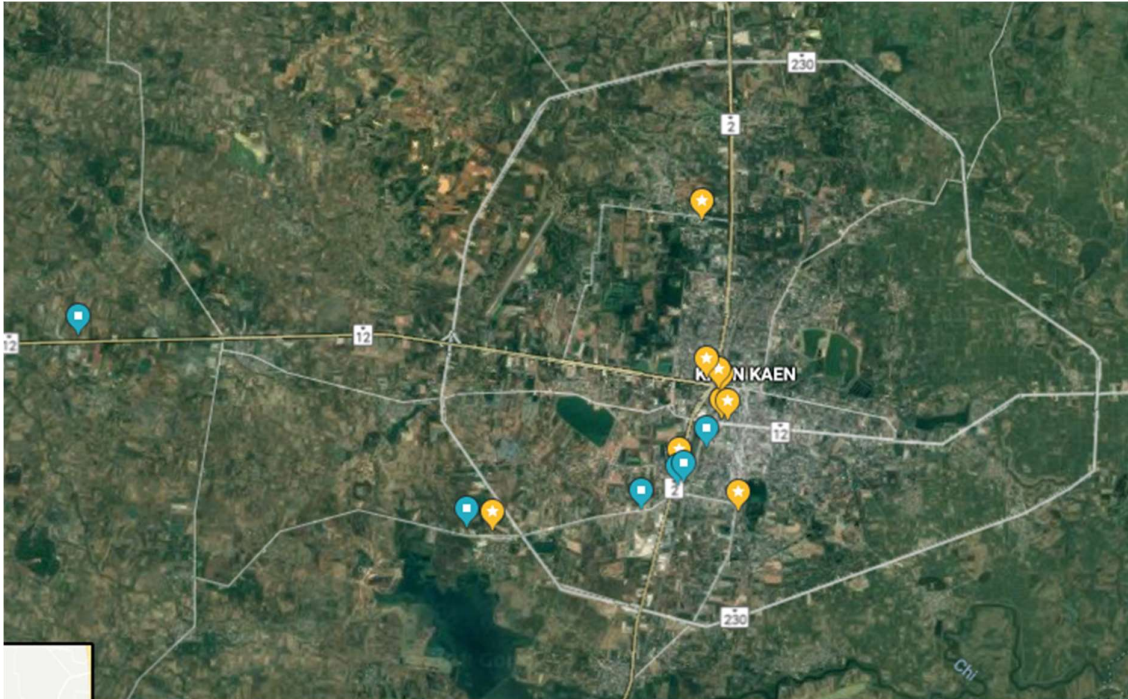


Image 5: Location of the identifies Industries in Khon Kaen

4.3.2.2. Governance and Management

The empirical findings from the field explicitly focus on the quintessential governance and the management system of the industrial housing which is widely adopted by the owners of the industries. The following sections tries to provide an explanatory understanding on the functioning of this system. The section also focuses on the main actors who are claimed to be accountable for the wellbeing of the migrant employees. As described by an academician interview during the field study:

“They (Migrants) come to Thailand in the big group works in the factory here (Khon Kaen). So, the employers will provide shelter to them. Migrants coming from other countries to Thailand it is with the special arrangements it is not totally lawful. They come with MoU with local government, whereas the central government will say “this is not following according to our regulations but we’ll turn away our eyes from them”. So, if you look at workers in the factory both from Laos, from Myanmar, from Cambodia, shelters provided by their employer. Sometimes they(employers) do business on that as well. They would subtract the money from their (migrant workers) income to compensate the housing. And even sometimes they provide food for the employer and they would deduct from the income of the employee. So, people from Myanmar working in the fishing net factory, they totally live in the compound of the factory, they don’t allow the Myanmar migrants to step out. And they’ll have a specific time, migrant employees can go out to buy things and this specific time the employees must return (to the factory). We can say it is like immigrant camps. But they are more relaxed inside. If you go to fishing net factory, the factory compound will be just like Myanmar. Most people will be speaking Myanmar. But I would say they have no right to.”

- **Community development:** The industrial housing transforms into a close community according the ethnicity of the migrants. The industries in Khon Kaen hire migrant workers in thousands and sometimes of different ethnic backgrounds. Likewise, mass scale housing is built for these migrant workers within the industrial parameters.

However, each migrant group are separated in different set of housings, forming quasi-communities within the industrial boundaries. The respondent from the NGO explained it as:

“So, these group of workers they live in the community they have something similar to our dormitory and there are many different rooms may be 10 rooms and, in some cases, there might be almost 100 rooms. There are like another community of their own. But for the factory who hired Myanmar and Cambodian workers they got separate community. For Myanmar workers, they’ll live will stay together in same community. For example, if there are 4000 Myanmar workers, they are going to build the Myanmar community in one place and for Cambodian community they are going to build another community and these two communities are not close to each other.”

“Normally the factory will separate the communities of different nationalities of their workers.”

- **Management of Industrial Communities:** The industrial owners have adopted a specific management system. This system is developed to monitor the migrant workers accommodated in these industrial communities. A quintessential working of this system, has imposed rules on migrant works mobility outside the industry. The migrants permitted to exist the industry’s boundary, once a week, preponderantly of Sundays. Further, the exist is only allowed if the migrants have specific requirement to fulfil in the city. Moreover, the migrants can only leave the campus for couple of hours, and will be accompanied by a person from the management. Most of the time this person is the interpreter. Whilst, returning back to the industry, the migrants are checked by the security guards of the industries more than twice. Furthermore, the migrant employees require permission for recreational activities within the industrial boundaries. According to the Laotian migrant interviewed within the factory:

“we need to ask for permissions from the factory. When we have to get in the out, we need to inform the security guard. We are allowed to go out. During weekends (Sundays) we can go anywhere we like. We can go to the common shopping centre, but we need to make sure to go through the screening before going out and getting in”.

Moreover, permits are also required for people to interact with the migrant workers hired by the industries. These concerns were expressed by the respondents from the NGO as:

“first have to meet the factory (owner), the community leaders and the Human Resource Managers to give then the information of the purpose of their visits to the housing compounds. But some industries they prohibit the entry of the NGO’s. (...) They have gone through at least three screening checks before they get into the community”

Hence, it can be proclaimed that the migrant workers accommodated, in the industries of Khon Kaen, have a restrictive living condition.

- **Actors involved in the management of the industrial housing:** From the empirical data collected on field, several actors are identified, who are accountable for the low-level management of the migrant workers. Following section describes the roles of the identified actors.
 - **Community Leaders** – are the leaders of the migrant community, residing in the industrial parameters. They are one of the key figures who permits the access of

the civil society workers in the industrial housing. Also, they are predominantly involved in organisation and management of religious activities for the migrant groups within the industrial boundaries.

- Interpreters – are the people who become the point of the connect within the Thai speaking administration and the migrants. These interpreters are appointed due to the linguistic differences between the Thai speaking administrative departments of the industries and the migrants. For every group of migrants, the industries will hire respective interpreters who have proficiency in both migrants' and Thai language. From the interview with the interpreter (for Myanmar migrants):

“when they (migrant employees) go to the hospital they will have the interpreter (...). When they have any problem such as communication or any other problem they'll turn to the interpreter, as he sometimes suggests solutions for their problems.”

The migrants are exceedingly dependent on the interpreters due the language constraints and favourable help which they provide. The interpreter continues to explain:

“So, the interpreter(s) is(are) one of the people that these workers will turn to. Because studying Thai language is... communicating through the Thai language, of course they need the interpreter to transfer the message to them. For example, the message from the factory that today we are going to finish whatever in the working plan or the details in the working plan, the factory will give these details to communicate with the Myanmar workers. So, If the Myanmar workers find any problems at work for example any hazardous situation some danger, something they would like to suggest or tell the employer they would use the interpreter to communicate the message. Because, our factory id very concerned about the safety of the workers.”

As mentioned earlier the migrants are also accompanied by the interpreter during their visit out of the industrial campus. They are the only point of contact for the migrants to conduct indirect communications with the Thai people. Hence, the dependency on the interpreters' due to linguistic constraints makes it necessary for the migrants to develop good relationships with the interpreter.

- Security guards – are people who are responsible for the security of the workers industrial housing parameters. As described by the respondent from the NGO:

“when they (migrant) live in the accommodation provided by the factory there are some access systems, people going in the out, will be checked all the time. They have security guards (who will check the migrants).”

And from the interviews with the migrant inside the factory:

“we need to ask for permissions from the factory. When we have to get in the out, we need to inform the security guard.”

Consequently, the security guard is the person who monitors the entry and exit of the migrants in the industrial housing campuses.

- Human Resource Managers – which are appointed by the industries to conduct the need full management works with respect to the migrant workers and the

housing. They are also responsible for providing the information regarding the healthcare services.

- Health care officers – From the interviews analysed, there is no prominent emphasis on the health care officer. However, the respondent from the NGO referred the health care officer as one of the important actors in the system. The respondent described them as:

“These people are not regular employees of the industry rather they are hired for the health care services of the migrant workers. Like they are in charge of the health care of the foreign workers, once they have any problem these people, they’ll be both interpreter and the carer to take these sick to the hospital. So, they are like co-ordinator, they are not actually working for the factory but they are working as co-ordinators for these foreign workers.

From the aforementioned analysis, describes the management system through the roles of the actors involved. It drawn attention on the stakeholders involved in the management of the migrant workers. Likewise, it is understood, that the management system is rigorous in nature, which dictates the migrants within industries as well as outside. Therefore, the austerity of the systems has attributed into the depriving state of the migrant workers.

4.4. Social Exclusion (Independent Variable)

From the literature, various facets of social exclusion are being described. However, in this thesis, the emphasis is only given on the economic and social exclusion. To address these dimensions, the section delves into Thai policies on migration and labour laws for foreign workers, which impacts the working and hence living conditions of the low-skilled migrants in Thailand. This section is bifurcated into ‘social exclusion’ and ‘economic exclusion’. The former is described, with respect to the context, through six components: Material resources; Healthcare; Housing; Social Welfare; Community Resources; and Personal safety. And the latter is through: Income and Economic resources; and Employment and work.

4.4.1. Social Exclusion of low-skilled migrant labour force

This section focuses on the implications of the management of the employers’ housing which strengthen the social exclusion of the low-income migrants. Referring to the operationalisation table (from chapter 3), social exclusion is analysed with the assistance of: a) material resource; b) health care; c) social structure; d) community resources; e) personal safety; and f) education, skills and information. The following section provides the findings, with regards to these indicators.

- **Access to Material Resource:** The material resources are measured in terms of access to necessary utilities, public goods, financial support. For this research, one of the factors to measure exclusion is through the deprived access to these resources. The assessment is done with regards to the planning and management of the employers housing. From the empirical data it is understood that the stringent schedules of the housing camps are the fundamental aspects which caused deprivation from the material resources. Migrant workers are granted a day off during the weekends, during which, they take care of their daily necessary supplies of the week. They are allowed few hours, approximately 3 hours, to visit the neighbourhood markets to purchase their supplies, such as food and other utilities. Hence, the permitted time, deprives the migrants from their daily necessary resources. Moreover, the location of the industries, further escalated the deprived state of migrant workers, with regards to material resource. From the analysis the independent variable (that is employers’ housing), the industries are categorised as the inner-city industries and outer-city industries. For the outer-city

industries, the proximity to the local markets is time-consuming. Hence, the inconvenience caused to the distance between the industries and local markets, also further hindered the access to necessary utilities. Also, the planning of the employers' housing fails to address the daily needs of the migrant employees, as there were no such facilities are provided within housing parameters. Moving forward, the access to public goods is determined, through frequent usage of the common goods and services provided by the government or private entities. In this research, the focus was on the use of infrastructure provided to the city and the frequency of usage by the migrant workers. From the analysis, the empirical understanding derived that in the city of Khon Kaen, there is no deliberate attempt to deprive the migrant workers from the common services. However, again the permitted time restriction by the employers of the industries, to visit the city, limits the use of these common services and goods. Finally, the indicator, material resources, is measured in terms of access financial services. This sub-indicator is affected more by the perception of the Thai government which is translated into policies. Low-income migrants are considered to be temporary in Thailand, which is indicated in the two-year visa permitted to them. Hence, this temporary status limits their access to any formal financial institutions outside the industrial premise. Hence, planning and management of employers' housing and the government policies, both have the effects on the material resources.

- **Access to Health services:** This indicator is measured with regards to the access to the public health care facility, facilities provided within the employers' housing and other private health care facilities. Since this research only target the legal low-skilled migrant workers, it is a prerequisite under the Thai migration policies that the employers should insure their migrant workers with public health care services. In the context of Khon Kaen, the employers register their migrant workers with one such health care facility near the Khon Kaen University. Although, the legal migrant workers are registered, they do not have direct access to this facility. In this due process, series of actors who get involved from the housing management. Due to the language constraint, the first point of contact are the interpreters within the industrial parameters and from the managerial administration, the human resource personnel are the key actors. They are in charge of transferring the information forming the health issues of the concerned migrant workers to the employers. The employers are then in charge of reporting to the health service facilities. Although, this management structure can be perceived most organised, in this process the migrant workers are deprived from basic and immediate health care attention. It is an arduous process, which the migrant workers have to follow when they need urgent health services. Moreover, despite of the lengthening process of managerial administration, there are no health facilities provided within the housing parameters of these industries. Further, access to other health care services, such as one provided by the NGOs is scarce. The respondent from one of the NGOs explained that to provide information and facilities related to health care, they have to go through series of approval process within the industries. They have to conceive permissions from most of the stakeholders involved in the managing process, and if permitted then they are granted access to the migrant workers. The respondent also explains that some employers does not work within the interest of the migrant workers. They refuse to grant access to these workers. Hence, despite of the available health service, the stringent management process opted by the employers, deprives the migrant workers from sufficient access to these facilities.
- **Social Structures and community resource:** From the empirical data gathered, it is decided to combine these two indicators as the analysis of the findings are coinciding.

They are measured with reference to the access to social security systems and participation in the social and community activities outside the industrial parameters. Referring to the first sub-indicator, the migrants with only legal immigration status and enrolled in considered formal jobs are eligible for the Social Security and Migrant Health Insurance. The former is more expensive than the latter. However, the migrants interviewed were enrolled into the Social Security, hence, this section only delves in providing understanding on the former.

Under this service, the migrants are entitled to receive health benefits for injuries and illness, disability, death, parturition, child health and old age and unemployment. According to the MAP Foundation – a Thai based NGO, working for the Myanmar immigrants – states that although, benefits such as unemployment, retirement benefits and maternity leave are mentioned in the Social Security policies, legal migrant workers are deprived of these benefits (MAP Foundation, 2015) (2015, p. 19). As per the Social Security Policy, for enrolment of the employee in the benefit system, the employer has to contribute amount equivalent to 10% of the employee's salary. To participate the employee contributes 5% of the salary into the service. However, the employee can only access the insurance after regular payment of premium for three months, that is worth 1000 Baht/month (27 Euros). Further, the migrants may not be well informed about the social security systems. According to MAP Foundation's report, despite it being illegal, the employer may not enrol the employees into service due to the cost of the service incurred on the employers. While, if an employer does so than sometimes the information is only transformed to the migrant employee during the time of use of this benefit (MAP Foundation, 2015) (2015, p. 19). Also, the short-term visas permitted to the low-skilled migrants and the clause of unemployment, country, does not allow to access sufficient benefits of the social security services (MAP Foundation, 2015) (2015, p. 20).

Further, the controlled movement of the migrant workers, by the administration of the employers' housing, has hindered their integration with in the Thai community. The granted hours, to access to necessary utilities, outside the housing parameters, has given them limited time to communicate with the Thai community on a temporary basis. Likewise, during their visits in the city, the migrant workers are accompanied by personnel from the industry, mostly the interpreter, who facilitate the communication with the Thai community. Hence, the regularisation of the weekly visits through time and interpreter, there is almost not possibility of developing relationships with the local Thai groups. Owing to the restricted communications, circumscribed social relationships are developed, which cannot translate into social networks and social participations. Similar, the pessimistic perception of the Thai community towards the migrant workers, has escalated into negative social networks. Hence, the inadequacy of time and language and the cynicism within the Thai community, has cause deficient social participation of the migrant workers outside the employers' housing parameters.

- **Personal Safety:** In this research, this indicator is measured through access to civil security systems individual safety personnel to provide physical safety, discrimination/prejudice, threat of harm and threat of deportation. The research indicates two separate understanding on the personal safety: a) a general understanding; and b) findings related to the employers' housing. Here, it should be understood the research does not take into consideration safety within the working areas. It more emphasises on the personal safety within the housing parameters, that is considered after the working hours of the migrant workers.

The migrants, irrespective of their immigration status are always under surveillance. According to MAP Foundation reports (MAP Foundation, 2012), the migrant workers even with legal documentation were frequently questioned and checked. There is persistent threat of deportation, as the Thai immigration laws are ambiguous. Migration Policy Institute (MPI), is an independent, nonpartisan, non-profit think tank in Washington, DC, who presented a study of the recent crackdowns in Thailand. According to MPI, The New Royal Decree, 2014, imposed rigorous clauses on migrants of heavy penalties and imprisonment. Owing to which approximately 220,000 Cambodian migrants left Thailand under the threat of deportation (Bylande, Reid, 2017). As one of the migrant worker respondents, they are constantly checked in by the public authorities by the job descriptions. The employment description of the migrants should satisfy the list of authorised employment under the Working of Alien Act, 2008 (Table 11). They are endured with heavy penalties, if they fail to provide the approved job description. According the MAP Foundation reports, the legal migrants reported that apart from the frequent checks by the local policy, they have to have to report to the Immigration authorities after every 90 days. Hence, the security laws of Thai government to target human trafficking of the immigrants, has culminated in an arduous process even for the legal migrants.

With regards to the employers' housing, the security guards are the forefront stakeholders for the safety of the migrant workers. As mentioned earlier, under the governance and management of the employers' housing, the migrant workers obscure access to free movement. The main access points of housing complexes are on constant surveillances. As one of the migrant workers, from the outer-city industry, responded, that the appointed guards check the workers, both at the time of entry and exist. They migrants also are constantly checked with the parameters of housing by the guards, during any organised social events. Likewise, in past, due to employer's scepticism, the migrants had to deposit with their legal documents at the industries, which was recently changed. Hence, the constant security screening by the government authorities and the management of the housing, which was acct of cynicism, has created a space of immense insecurities for the migrant workers.

Education, skill and information: This indicator is measured through access to employment skill development, access to education, and access to knowledge on human rights. From the empirical findings, it was understood that some migrants after acquiring employment in Thai industries, are kept on three-month probation training. This training involves skill development for the employed work. However, these three months of probation does not ensure the security of job. The migrants are at risk of being claimed as incapable for the job and if not qualified then they are orphaned from the security supports that they would be receiving by being employed.

Moving forward towards the education for children, the recent education policy included the foreign origin Thai born children. The migrant workers' children born in Thailand could access primary education through these policy reforms. However, the policy does not ensure access to higher education. Hence, most migrant workers interviewed did not find it convenient to educate their children in Thailand, nevertheless, other secondary sources reflect that the other migrant parents with Thai born children and finding it difficult to enrol their children in higher education. The project done by the Mekong Migration Network ((Mekong Migration Network, 2016), indicates that "language barriers and out of pocket expenses are obstacles in attending schools. Their migrant status, limits opportunities for further education and meaningful work. Caught in between and wanted to fit-in and knowing that their status is only

temporary few migrant children complete secondary school. Instead most migrant children start working early in unskilled jobs early.” Hence, access to education despite of policy reforms screwed process.

Further, the migrant workers have limited sources to access information. This includes from the inception of job and visa application until their time in Thailand. Theoretically the structure which the Thai government has adopted to regularise appears to be ideal to control the migration flow in kingdom. Nevertheless, the inefficient application of the structure has caused immense discrepancies. However, this research focuses on the opportunities to access information within the employers’ housing parameters. The findings indicate that the amount of information, provided to the migrant, is controlled by the employers and other identified stakeholders. The organisations, working in the interest of the migrants, have to initially have informative meeting with the stakeholders in the management system of housing. If convinced, these stakeholders then grant permissions to the organisation to enter the housing complexes. Further, within the parameters of the industries, as mentioned in former sections, there is ambiguity on the information on the social security systems, living conditions and even process of the work visa. The outcome of this partial or basic information, has developed the sense of content among the migrant workers. The legal migrants interviewed, most of them respondent that they felt satisfied with the conditions in Thailand. However, the limited access to information has restricted migrant workers’ awareness towards their rights.

4.4.2. Economic exclusion of migrant labour force

This section focuses on the analysis of the secondary data to explain the economic exclusion of the migrants. From the above analysis, it is reasonable to imply that the management of the employers’ housing has deprived the migrant workers from certain essential needs. The economic exclusion is caused due to the institutional framework which the Thai government has adopted. In this section the indicators: a) income and economic resources; and employment and work, are analysed through the policies developed, in Thailand, with respect to the low-skilled immigrants. The indicators are measured through, access to formal employment opportunities, freedom of employment selection, minimum wages, and public and private financial support.

4.4.2.1. Thailand’s Migration policies and Labour laws

Thailand government has developed several policies to address the concerning issues of migration in the Mekong region. Although, these policies are formulated rendering the rights of the migrants and intensify the access to social protection, there is a clear contradiction with the Thai Labour laws. Hence, a state of ambiguity is developed especially among the low-skilled migrants, due to the lack of awareness. Hence, it is necessary to unpack both the labour laws and migration policies simultaneously, to address the issues of social exclusion.

Working of Alien Act B.E. 2551 (2008): According to this act, the migrant workers are only permitted to seek employment in certain sectors which are approved by the Ministerial Regulations. The Act has reserved 39 occupations for the Thai people, which includes skilled and also low-skilled work such as manual work, agriculture work, animal husbandry, forestry or fishery excluding specialized work in each particular branch or farm supervision, bricklaying, carpentry or other construction works and wood carving.

Sr. No.	Occupation Excluded for Migrants	Sr. No.	Occupation Excluded for Migrants
1	Manual work	21	Shoemaking

2	Work in agriculture, animal husbandry, forestry or fishery excluding specialized work in each particular branch or farm supervision	22	Engineering work in civil engineering branch concerning designing and calculation, organization, research, planning, testing, construction supervision or advising excluding specialized work
3	Bricklaying, carpentry or other construction works	23	Brokerage or agency excluding brokerage or agency in international trade business
4	Wood carving	24	Hat making
5	Driving mechanically propelled carried or driving non-mechanically-propelled vehicle, excluding international aircraft piloting	25	Architectural work concerning designing, drawing of plan, estimating, construction directing or advising
6	Shop attendance	26	Making of mattress or quilt blanket
7	Auction	27	Garments making
8	Supervising, auditing or giving service in accountancy excluding internal auditing on occasions	28	Pottery or ceramic ware making
9	Cutting or polishing jewellery	29	Cigarette making by hand
10	Haircutting, hairdressing or beauty treatment	30	Guide or conducting sightseeing tours
11	Cloth weaving by hand	31	Street Vending
12	Weaving of mate or making products from reeds, rattan, hemp, straw or bamboo pellicle	32	Type setting of Thai characters by hand
13	Making of Sa paper by hand	33	Drawing and twisting silk-thread by hand
14	Lacquer ware making	34	Office or secretarial work
15	Making of Thai musical instrument	35	Legal or lawsuit services
16	Alms bowls casting	36	Niello-ware making
17	Making of silk products by hand	37	Making of products from gold, silver or gold-copper alloy
18	Casting of Buddha images	38	Bronze ware making
19	Knife making	39	Making of Thai dolls
20	Making of paper of cloth umbrella		

Table 11: Occupation excluded for Migrant Workers

Source: (Anonymous, 2008, Alien Occupational Control Division, Department of Employment Ministry of Labour and Social Welfare, 2018)

Further, the cost of obtaining the work permits is high for the low-skilled migrants. With reference to the NCPO, 2014, work permit is granted only on the request of the employer, when he/she expresses the necessity of hiring the migrant workers. In the Working of Alien Act, 2008, there is an ambiguity on the person who is entitle to pay the cost of the work permits. In regular cases, the costs incurred in the process of obtaining the work permits are paid by the employer. However, they are later been deducted from the migrant workers salary. The cost of each work permit is for low-skilled migrants is 10,000 Baht (300 Baht is minimum daily wage), summing up to a month's wage. During the interview, the respondent from the NGO also addressed by adding that *“the company will be responsible for the all the expense for these (migrant) workers. It is about 7000 (revised cost) Baht, and once these workers come work in the factory, they will deduct this sum of money from the salary later.”* However, according to Section 11 *“any person who is wishing to employ an alien who residents outside the Kingdom in his business in the Kingdom shall submit an application and pay for a fine on behalf of the alien.”* Further, the migrants also pay the cost of renewal of the work permit after every two years, if he/she wishes to continue their stay in Thailand. Subsequently, it is concluded that work permits are granted as per the need of the employers, however, the cost of the same are paid by the migrant workers due to lack of the information.

Moreover, the migrants holding work permits (temporary passport), are regulated from changing their work place. Firstly, under Section 7 of Working of Alien Act, 2008, it is being stated that *“any work which an alien is prohibited to engage is any locality and at any particular time shall be prescribed in the Ministerial Regulation with regards to national*

security, Thai national's work opportunity, and demand of alien labour necessary for countries development". Consequently, under this act the work place of the migrant is subject to permission given by the Thai's Ministry of Labour. Later, the migrant workers are allowed to change their work place only at the time of dismissal of the employer, shutting down of the business or if the migrant worker reports a complaint of exploitation or abuse against the employer. Further, the migrant workers have to follow a due procedure at the time of changing of their work process. ***"In the case of refusing to issue a permit or not granting permission under section 7, section 8, section 10, section 12 or refusing to renew the permit under section 15 or not granting permission to change the work or locality or place of work under section 21, the applicant has the right to appeal to the Minister by submitting a written appeal to the Director-General or official entrusted by the Director-General or the Registrar, as the case may be, within thirty days from the date of the knowledge of the order of refusal. Upon receipt of the appeal, it shall be referred to the Committee within fifteen days and the Committee shall then consider and submit its opinion to the Minister within fifteen days and the Minister shall complete his consideration of the appeal within thirty days. The decision of the Minister shall be final."*** Also, for the ***"permission for changing work or locality or place of work 500 Baht each."*** (Working of Alien Act B.E. 2551 (2008)). Hence, the migrant workers are deprived of right to choose their employment in Thailand.

Further, the act provides the authority to terminate the flow of the low-skilled migrant in the kingdom. According to the Section 8, for ***"the purpose of limiting as alien who is not a skilled or specialised person entering into Thailand to work in any particular type of work, the Minister upon the approval of the Cabinet may prescribe by publishing in the Government Gazette a fee on hiring an unskilled or unspecialised alien entering into Thailand to work in the prescribed work"*** Working of Alien Act B.E. 2551 (2008).

Labour Protection Act 1998 and Labour Relations Act 1975: The two points which are emphasised here, are the 'minimum wage scales' and 'labour union'. Although, these acts were

amended before the critical policies on immigration, there are no reformations done with respect to the migrant workers.

According to the Labour Protection Act, 1998, the minimum wage for any employee is 300 Baht. However, for the migrant workers it is observed that this non-negotiable clause in the act is condition to negotiation (MAP Foundation). Further, from the empirical data, it is implicit that certain employers deduct the living cost of the migrant employees from the minimum wages. As per a migrant respondent ***"they get the Salary of 8000 Baht. (...) This 8000 Baht included their (monthly) salary 6000 baht and overtime money as well. And they got to work 6 days a week."*** Also, the rent of accommodation

New Minimum Wage Rate Table Under the National Wage Committee's Notification on Minimum Wage Rate (No. 8) Published to be Effective on January 1, 2017			
No.	Number (Provinces)	Minimum Wage Rate (Baht/Day)	Applicable Areas
1	8	300	Chumphon, Trang, Nakhon Si Thammarat, Narathiwat, Pattani, Yala, Ranong and Sing Buri
2	49	305	Kanchanaburi, Kalasin, Kamphaeng Phet, Chanthaburi, Chai Nat, Chaiyaphum, Chiang Rai, Trat, Tak, Nakhon Nayok, Nakhon Phanom, Nakhon Sawan, Nan, Bueng Kan, Buri Ram, Prachuap Khiri Khan, Phayao, Phatthalung, Phichit, Phitsanulok, Phetchaburi, Phetchabun, Phrae, Maha Sarakham, Mukdahan, Mae Hong Son, Yasothon, Roi Et, Ratchaburi, Lop Buri, Lampang, Lamphun, Loei, Si Sa Ket, Sakon Nakhon, Satun, Samut Songkhram, Sa Kaeo, Sukhothai, Suphan Buri, Surin, Nong Khai, Nong Bua Lam Phu, Ang Thong, Amnat Charoen, Udon Thani, Uttaradit, Uthai Thani and Ubon Ratchathani
3	13	308	Krabi, Khon Kaen, Chachoengsao, Chon Buri, Chiang Mai, Nakhon Ratchasima, Prachin Buri, Phra Nakhon Si Ayutthaya, Phangnga, Rayong, Songkhla, Saraburi and Surat Thani
4	7	310	Bangkok, Nakhon Pathom, Nonthaburi, Pathum Thani, Phuket, Samut Prakan and Samut Sakhon.
Minimum Wage Rate Table Effective on January 1, 2017			
Note	1. The Council of Ministers passed a resolution approving the National Wage Committee's Notification on Minimum Wage Rate (No. 8) on November 22, 2016 which shall be effective on January 1, 2017.		
	2. The Notification and Explanation can be downloaded here.		

charged by the employer is approximately 1,200 Baht which is deducted from the minimum wages including the cost of services provided. Hence, it is clear that the minimum wages according to the Labour Protection Act is subject to the clauses applied by the employers on the migrant workers.

In Section 86 of Labour Relation Act 1975, The migrant workers are prohibited from forming labour unions. According to the section, *“persons who have the right to establish a Labour Union must be Employees working for the Employer, or Employees in the same description of work (whether or not they work for the same Employer), sui juris and of the Thai nationality.”* The Act only permits the Thai nationals to formulate unions. Similarly, the Thai Government does not promote naturalisation of the non-citizens and only permits restrictive time period entry of these migrant workers in Thailand. It is consolidated in Section 7 (mentioned earlier) of Working of Alien Act, 2008. Consequently, since the migrants cannot obtain Thai citizenship they are forbidden from unionising.

After careful examination of the Thai policies on Migration and Labour, it is convenient to state that Thai Government, has deliberately manifested a state of despair and isolation for the migrant workers. Under the promotion of “national security”, these policies have always been premised on restricting the liberty of migrants and ensuring their temporary status in Thailand (MAP Foundation).

National Council of Peace and Order (NCPO) No.7/2557 (2014): issued an announcement to solve the problems related to migrant workers and human trafficking. This announcement highlights the “interim measurements” to manifest employment standards for migrant workers as per the international labour laws through orderly management of migrant workers within Thailand. It also desires to manifest abolition of forced labour and labour exploitation

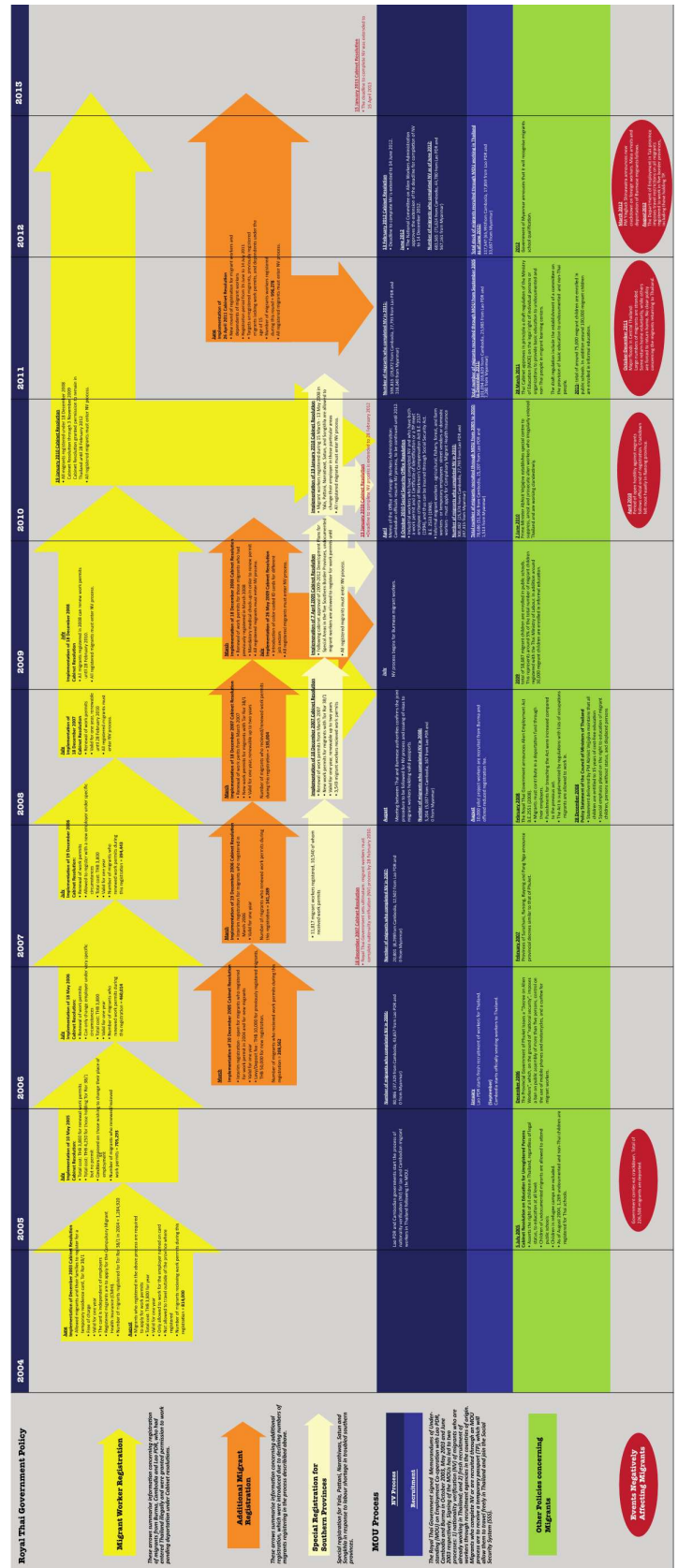


Figure 10: Migration in Thailand - Time Line of Facts and Figures
Source: Mekong Migration Network

within the Kingdom and reduce the problems faced by the employers who wants to hire migrant labour for their business.

“In case where an employer submits a request for migrant workers, or submits a name-list of migrant workers previously worked in his/her business to the Coordination Centre, and should the Centre finds that there is a Cambodian national worker who has notified of his/her intention to work in Thailand and whose qualifications match those set by an employer, or whose name matches the name-list submitted by an employer, the Centre shall notify the employer so that a temporary work permit can be proceeded.” (the National Council for Peace and Order (NCPO) No. 70/2557 (2014)).

The aforementioned analysis brings out stark understanding of the employment conditions of the low-skilled migrants. Firstly, the migrants do not have access to all the employment sectors in the kingdom. Second, the migrants are offered work visas if an employer express the need of labour. Third, the migrants are bonded with the employer who wish to hire them, until their term expires. Next, the migrants are restricted from any political engagements. However, after the close analysis, it is understood that, the policy arrangements have imposed more restrictions over the migrant workers and have made them more susceptible to exploitation by the employers. These work permits are not passports and through which the migrant workers cannot willingly change their locations within the Kingdom. Further, the migrant workers are forced to work with the abusive employers, as their work permits bind them with these employers. Hence, this development within the policy has created a state of despair for the migrants.

Chapter 5: Conclusions and recommendations

This chapter concludes the thesis research by answering the main research question, sub-research question, through the empirical data obtained from the field and also provided recommendations for further research.

5.1. Research Objective

The research objective is to understand the relationship between the company housing, provided by industrial employers and the social exclusion of the migrant employees hired by these employers. This relation is studied in Khon Kaen, to address the outcomes of the unsuccessful industrialisation development in the region. However, the main research objective is to emphasise the housing conditions of the low-skilled migrants within the industries of Thailand. Hence, due to the specificity of the research, there was a gap in the theoretical knowledge. Thus, the research tries to bridge this gap, by studying the existing empirical literature dating back to industrialisation in Europe and USA, when housing was provided by owners of the industries to their employees, forming what was termed as “company housing/towns”. Hence, the basis of the literature is to understand the theories of migration, empirical understanding of employers’ housing and social exclusion of the low-skilled migrant workers. This theoretical framework is then studied in the context. The empirical analysis charted the planning and management of the identified company towns in Khon Kaen and presented its correlation with social exclusion of the migrant workers both at industrial management level as well as at State level.

5.2. What kind of housing is provided by the employers to the low-skilled migrant workers of the industries, in Khon Kaen?

Theoretical understanding on Employers’ housing is “*residential and service centres built by the companies near to the place of extraction or production which companies operated not only as employers but also as landlords, as de facto enforces of security and social harmony, and often as providers of services and goods for workers*”. Similarly, the empirical analysis, of Employers’ housing in Khon Kaen, divulges that the towns developed by the industries were quasi towns, predominantly due to the scale of the housing. There are no standard guidelines for the provision of Employers’ housing, through which the housing conditions of the migrants can be ameliorated. Here, the criticism is about the correlation between the literature and the empirical data. The existing literature describes Employers’ housing from industrialisation era. However, this understanding is not endured in the Thai context.

It is observed that, there are two distinct Employers’ housing developed in Khon Kaen; inner-city and outer city housing. The ad hoc planning of the housing is subject to this locational factor. Owing to the space scarcity, the inner-city housing, first, were inadequately planned and second, is subject to densification. In the outer-city housing, although, space paucity is not a concern, still there is clear absence of planning. Both the developments lacked public health facilities, extempore roads, urban greens, and recreational spaces. In Khon Kaen, the industries carry out housing development with perspective that they are temporary means of accommodation for the migrant workers. Thus, only certain Employers’ housing is equipped with basic minimum services. Hence, there is no emphasis given of planning in both the developments.

The housing provided within these Employers’ housing towns of Khon Kaen, are of varied typologies: ‘row housing’, ‘hut housing’, and ‘building housing’ Referring to the literature, the mass production of these typologies made them susceptible to uniformity. They are only constructed with least minimum facilities to address the migrant workers fundamental needs of

shelter. Also, the architecture of these housing typologies has emerged with respect to the location of these Employers' housing. Further, the literature on Employers' housing emphasised upon the hierarchical segregation through architecture. However, the housing, within the industries of the Khon Kaen, is uniform without emphasising the structural hierarchy of the industries. Thus, the Employers' housing provided by the employers were more spontaneous in nature, insufficient and inefficient for the migrant workers.

5.3. What are the factors of the social and economic exclusion of the low-skilled migrants?

The theoretical understating emphasised that *"exclusion consists of dynamic, multi-dimensional processes driven by unequal power relationships interacting across four main dimensions—economic, political, social and cultural—and at different levels including individual, household, group, community, country and global levels."* In this research, the focus is aimed at the social and economic exclusion of migrant workers from Thai society. From the empirical study, there are certain significant institutional and structural factors which lead to the social and economic exclusion of the migrant workers. For the institutional factors, the study analysed the Thai policy arrangements on migration and labour. Likewise, for the structural factors, the study focused on the prejudice of the Thai society which has influenced by the governance of migration. In the institutional factors, after overlapping the analysis of the policies, it is understood that there is a certain degree of ambiguity. Although the Thai labour policies addressed the workers' rights, they excluded non-Thai citizens from labour unions. Correspondingly, the migration policies restricted full participation of the migrant workers into the labour markets of Thailand. Also, the policies addressed the demand of employers for foreign labour and not otherwise, which lead to full control of the employers over the migrant workers. Further, the migration policies restricted migrants' rights to free mobility within Thailand owing to the clauses of work permits. Moreover, the policies explicitly excluded the low-skilled migrants by imposing hiring charges on the employers. Hence, the clauses of work permits, limited access to the labour markets and deliberate positioning in obscure conditions moulded the employer and migrant workers relationship, resulting into direct as well as indirect economic exclusion of these migrant workers.

Further, the provision of total power to the employers culminated into the structural system of social exclusion. Owing to the Thai government's perception of temporary migrant workers, there were no consolidated schemes developed to provide the basic facilities to the migrant workers. There was a purposeful intervention of the employer granted by the government in order to provide these facilities. However, the misuse of power, vested on the employers, is evident in the facilities provided by them to the migrant workers. Firstly, migrant workers could only register to the available healthcare service through their employers. They, at the time of medical emergencies, had to contact their employers in order to get access to healthcare services. Secondly, these services are linked to the social security system which the Thai Government has adopted. Through the employer, the migrant workers are insured under this social security system. Nevertheless, the system lacked accountability to ensure all the migrants working for Thai employers are insured. Hence, despite the inefficiency of the employers, both the social welfare and healthcare systems are only accessible to the migrant workers through their employers. Moving forward, the migrant workers accessed supposedly formal housing only if they are registered with an employer. They could participate in Thai housing programs due to their citizenship. Again, the employers are considered to provide housing for their migrant workers and the government lacked ways to monitor the basic quality of these houses. Further, as the government created an atmosphere of dependency, the security, of the migrant workers, is also managed by the employers. Despite the legal document holders, the migrants

in the Thai society feel insecure due to constant crackdowns for deportation by the government. The employers ensured protection from the Thai police but in a tremendously inhibitory manner, impeding their access to the quotidian needs. Hence, the structural systems developed by the employers for the employees the significant factor for social exclusion of the migrant workers. Nevertheless, the lack of information about the rights, among the migrant workers, is also understood to be a catalyst for structural and institutional factors causing social and economic exclusion.

5.4. What factors of the company housing/town lead to the social exclusion of the low-skilled migrants?

The management systems of the Employers' housing, developed/adopted by the industrial owners (employers), are also identified to be one of the fundamental causes of social exclusion of the migrant workers. This understanding is drawn from the analysis of the empirical study and the aforementioned section. As mentioned earlier, the employers are intended to support the migrant workers with housing needs. Focusing on the industrial employers, the housing development for the migrant workers is carried out within the limits of the industries. However, for the management, the industrial owners developed a code of conduct for the migrants which minimised their accessibility to the social life out of the industrial parameters. These management systems, through security provisions, controlled the migrant workers' ability to move within the city.

Although these housing developments are serviced with just basic minimum facilities, the migrants are imposed with time limitations to access their quotidian needs. The system curtailed the migrant works free movement, by allowing few weekly hours, considering that the migrants will visit the city in the permitted time. Hence, the time restrictions curbed the access to their daily needs. Moreover, accessing health care on regular basis is difficult, as the migrants needed to inform the actors involved in the management systems of these housing developments. Further, there are series of permissions required to conduct any social activity within the limits of these housing developments. Similar to the controlled environment for the migrants, non-employers are also prohibited from accessing the industrial towns. They are only permitted entry through rounds of interrogations with the employers and other actors involved in the management structure. Hence, prohibition of the civil society, working for the rights and needs of the migrant workers, resulted into lack of awareness and information among the migrant groups. These housing developments obstructed transformation of knowledge and information between the outside and inside world. Hence, limitations over the social life within the industries, restraining free movement, and prohibition on outsiders, curbed migrants' workers access to their daily material resources.

Consequently, referring to the theoretically understanding of social exclusion, although, the migrant workers in Thailand access housing through their employers, these housing developments obstructs migrants' participation in the quotidian social sphere of Thai community. Due to the governance of migration adopted by Thailand, the migrants are already excluded politically and economically. The causality of the exclusionary governance is then transformed into the social lives of the migrants, owing to the structural systems formed to maintain the power relationships within the industries. Hence, it is convenient to consider that the causal effect of the institutional factors and the structural factors resulted into the scepticism between the Thai community, resulting into the social exclusion of the migrants.

5.5. Recommendations

The research unravels the factors, of housing provided by the employers, intensifying social exclusion of the migrant workers. In regards, with those factors, the following are the recommendations:

- A distinct structural framework should be developed for the management of the migrants, which facilitates more integration.
- Guidelines, should be created by the lawmakers, on the housing provisions, done by the employers.
- Housing standards should be disseminated within the employers of the industries.
- The government should create better policy structures.
- Governments from both the origin and host nation, to encourage programmes for both the employers and migrant workers.
- The subject needs to be studied at an extent and concerned organisations to focus more on the housing conditions of the migrants living inside the Thai industries.

Further, the research just develops a rudimentary understanding on the housing provided by the industrial employers. The research has tried to bring out the unconventional correlation between housing and social exclusion. It has highlighted on the attention which the topic needs and has created an opportunity for future research.

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