

Department of Social and Economic Geography
Umeå University, SE-901 87 Umeå, Sweden

Patterns of Migration and Socio-Economic Change in Lao PDR

Kabmanivanh Phouxay

Akademisk avhandling

som med vederbörligt tillstånd av Rektor vid Umeå universitet för
avläggande av filosofie doktorsexamen framläggs till offentligt försvar i
hörsal C i Samhällsvetarhuset fredagen den 19 november, kl. 10.15.
Avhandlingen kommer att försvaras på engelska.

Fakultetsopponent: Associate Professor Jytte Agergaard Larsen
Department of Geography and Geology, University of Copenhagen,
Denmark.



Department of Social and Economic Geography
Umeå University
Umeå 2010

Phouxay Kabmanivanh: *Patterns of Migration and Socio-Economic Change in Lao PDR*.
Doctoral Dissertation in Social and Economic Geography at the Faculty of Social
Sciences, Umeå University, Sweden, 2010.

ABSTRACT

The aim of the thesis is to investigate patterns and consequences of internal and international migration in Laos during the period 1985-2005 on both a macro-and a micro-level. The thesis focuses on the influences of socio-economic change and government policies on inter-regional and rural-urban migration as well as on cross-border migration from Laos to Thailand. The study also examines the effects of migration and industrial factory work on gender relations during economic transition and consequences of undocumented migration to Thailand. The background consists of a discussion on socio-economic change within the country and on government policies influencing migration patterns, as well as on how socio-economic change, urbanization and industrialization in the region affect internal and international migration in Laos.

The thesis consists of three empirical studies which derive from different sources of data; the first is based on Population Censuses in 1995 and 2005 and the second and the third draw from empirical surveys in 2004-2005 and 2006. Paper I focuses on how socio-economic factors and government policies influence migration patterns in Laos. The paper found that the interregional migration rate decreased in the later census period. This was due to significantly higher rural-rural migration in the earlier period, which in turn was influenced by various types of government policies. Papers II and III are based on micro surveys; paper II focuses on an urban industrial area in Vientiane Capital and explores the current feminization of rural-urban migrations during economic transition with specific focus on the effects of industrial work on gender roles and status of women as industrial workers. Industrial work was seen by the women as temporary jobs for saving money, for sending remittances, and for either returning home or moving to other jobs in Vientiane or Thailand. Paper III is based on surveys in three provinces, and deals with undocumented migration from Laos to Thailand and its consequences. Different income levels, existing social networks, similar language and socio-cultural backgrounds were determinants of cross-border migrations. The study found that migrants who had contacts with informal brokers were highly exposed to risks of human trafficking and violence.

Key words: Migration, socio-economic change, feminization, urban industrial work, migrant workers, Vientiane, Lao PDR.

Language: English

ISSN: 1402-5205

ISBN: 978-91-978344-4-5

Number of Pages: 161

Patterns of Migration and Socio-Economic Change in Lao PDR

Kabmanivanh Phouxay



Department of Social and Economic Geography
Umeå 2010

GERUM - Kulturgeografi 2010:3

Department of Social and Economic Geography
Umeå University
SE-901 87 UMEÅ
Sweden

Tel: +46 90 786 7152
Fax: +46 90 786 63 59
<http://www.geo.umu.se>

E-mail:
Kabmanivanh.phouxay@geography.umu.se
K_phouxay59@yahoo.com

Copyright©Kabmanivanh Phouxay

ISBN: 978-91-978344-4-5
ISSN: 1402-5205

<http://umu.diva-portal.org/>
Print & Media, Umeå, Sweden 2010

Acknowledgements

The time has passed very quickly during my six years in Sweden as a PhD student at Umeå University. I have learned a lot from my research project, from academic courses and also from Swedish culture and livelihoods in the natural environment of a northern country. Even though I have been living in a cold weather with snow during the winters, my feelings are as warm as my home country, particularly because of the warm atmosphere of working and learning at the Department of Social and Economic Geography. The kind Swedish professors, good friends and staff have always supported my study. I especially appreciate the warmth of my two supervisors who have advised and encouraged me to have patience through all difficulties, and who always have motivated me to accomplish my study. I will never forget all these persons, the good times and the nice places in Sweden. I would like to acknowledge some very important persons and important support without which the completion of my study would not have been possible.

Firstly, I am grateful to Sida/SAREC, to the Swedish Institute and to Umeå University, especially the Department of Social and Economic Geography for accepting me to study and for providing me a scholarship and academic support during six years in Sweden.

Most importantly for my study, I would like to extend my heartfelt gratefulness to Professor Gunnar Malmberg who has been my main supervisor during these years. I thank you for your patience in helping me, your constant guidance and advice, your valuable comments and suggestions and your encouragements during my study. I am really very happy to have had a dedicated supervisor like you, and I appreciate your openness, trustworthiness, and that you never give up in front of obstacles. You have always helped me to solve all possible problems with your nice and friendly supervising. I also would like to express gratitude to Dr. Aina Tollefsen, who has been not only my co-supervisor but also coordinator for this project, for your considerations, inspiration and support to my study in Sweden. I appreciate your patience in advising me, your valuable comments and suggestions, and thanks for organizing everything for my study, and guiding me to know Umeå University. I will never forget the two of you for your kind assistance. Without the two of you, I could not have completed my study. "May God bless you and keep you forever".

I would also like to thank Dr. Charlotta Hedberg who was the opponent on my pre-dissertation seminar. You have been an invaluable reader and I am thankful for your advice, comments, suggestions and discussions during the seminar.

A word of sincere thanks to the head and vice-head of the department Prof. Ulf Wiberg and Prof. Dieter Muller, and former heads of department

Prof. Einar Holm and Prof. Kerstin Westin for your support and for providing all facilities for my study. And also thanks to all professors at the Department of Social and Economic Geography, especially Magnus Strömgren, Olof Stjernström-Haugen, Örjan Pettersson and others for your kindness, your knowledge, your assistance, and for having a very good relationship with us Lao students. And I sincerely thank and will always remember Lotta Brännlund, Margit Söderberg and Erik Bäckström for your thoughtfulness and support, and for always helping me to solve all possible problems.

Enjoying working and living with sympathetic friends has been part of my experiences in Sweden; I will never forget my Swedish friends who always have been close to me and helped me. Thank you Linda Sandberg, Jenny Olofsson, Erika Sandow, Katarina Haugen, Cecilia Gustafsson and other doctoral students at the department for your kindness, friendliness and helpfulness. And thanks to my friend from Kenya Anne Ouma for your kindness. You always provide enjoyment and happiness. And also thanks to all Lao PhD students in Umeå, for your help and for enjoying shopping and talking together during the weekends.

My thanks also go to the National University of Laos (NUOL), to Prof. Dr. Soukongseng Xayaleuth the president of NUOL, Assoc. Prof. Dr. Khamphong Nammavongmixay Sida/SAREC coordinator at NUOL and Assoc. Prof. Dr. Phouth Simmalavong, the Dean of the Faculty of Social Sciences for your consideration and encouraging me to further my PhD study. Thanks to the National Statistic Department of Laos (NSD) for providing the data bases of the Population Census and statistics for my research project, especially Mr. Ya Vang Vice-Director of NSD and Mr Thipsavanh, Soukanh and Kingphet. Also thanks to my research assistants and students at the NUOL for helping me to interview during the fieldwork.

Finally, I also would like to express gratitude to my father Khambang Phouxay for encouragement of my study, and to all my siblings for your attitude of believing in me more than I believe myself. Many special thanks to my husband Kenchanh Sinsamphanh and my two daughters Oulavanh and Chandaly for giving me an opportunity to study abroad. Although we live far away, you are always close to me; thank you for your patience and for constantly encouraging my study, and for supporting me in collecting data during fieldwork.

Umeå, September 2010

Kabmanivanh Phouxay

Contents

Acknowledgements	i
Contents	iii
1. Introduction	1
<i>The motivation of the research</i>	3
1.1. Aims and Research Questions	4
1.2. Outline of Thesis	5
1.3. Background	8
<i>Lao PDR; population and regions</i>	8
<i>Socio-economic change in Laos</i>	14
<i>Transportation and communication</i>	20
<i>Education and public health</i>	20
<i>Rural development and poverty reduction</i>	23
1.4. Patterns of Migration in Lao PDR	24
<i>Rural migration and resettlement</i>	24
<i>Migration to Vientiane and other urban areas</i>	28
<i>Migration to other countries</i>	32
2. Theoretical Framework and Previous Studies	34
2.1. Development, Socio-economic Change and Migration	34
2.2. Migration Networks, Remittances and Undocumented Migrants	36
2.3. Feminization of Migration	39
3. Methods and Data	41
4. Limitations	46
5. Paper Summaries	47
5.1. Paper I: Internal Migration and Socio-economic Change in Laos	47
5.2. Paper II: Rural-Urban Migration, Economic Transition and Status of Female Industrial Workers in Lao PDR	48
5.3. Paper III: Patterns and Consequences of Undocumented Migration from Lao PDR to Thailand	50
6. Discussion and Conclusions	52
7. Summary in Lao Language	59
8. References	72

PAPERS

Paper I: Phouxay K. Malmberg G. Tollefsen A. (2010). Internal Migration and Socio-economic Change in Laos. *Migration Letters*, Volume: 7, No: 1, pp. 194-204.

<http://www.metapress.com/content/yg7v6g32uh1x7x46/fulltext.pdf>

Paper II: Phouxay K. and Tollefsen A. (2010). Rural-Urban Migration, Economic Transition, and Status of Female Industrial Workers in Lao PDR. *Population, Space and Place* **16**. DOI: 10.1002/psp.620.

Paper III: Phouxay K. (2010). Patterns and Consequences of Undocumented Migrants from Lao PDR to Thailand. Manuscript paper.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX I: Internal migration characteristics in Lao PDR.

1. Introduction

In 2004 when Nang was nineteen years old, she moved for the first time to Vientiane (the capital city of Laos) and lived with relatives. She started work at a garment factory, but as she was very unfamiliar with working in that industry she quit and found a job in a beauty salon in the city. Though Nang comes from a family of eight, they are not one of the poorest families in their village of Luangprabang. Her father is a trader, buying and selling animals in local communities, and her mother works as a gardener and sells agricultural products at home.

Previously, her parents were farmers in another village and had a small income from agricultural products. After the socio-economic transition in Laos and the increasing importance of market-oriented production in the rural villages, her family has shifted from farming to trade and service work. Since then the monetary income plays an important role for the family, with both positive and negative consequences. Her mother gets some income from her small shop at home, and her father earns money transferring animals from the countryside to the market in the city with his motorbike.

Although their living conditions seem to have improved because of these new incomes, the family has also faced some rather severe problems. Nang's father was previously in debt and could not manage his finances, due to his lack of experience in trade activities. Even though his wife complained and gave him more money to invest, nothing changed. Due to the increasing tension between Nang's parents, they eventually separated and her father left home to work in the North (Luangnamtha) but was not successful and returned home. Two years later, Nang's family moved to Luangprabang to make a living from a handicraft shop for tourists. Their major goal was to improve the family's living conditions and relationships, and to have opportunities for the children's education in the city.

Because her family had severe problems Nang only completed third grade in primary school, and then decided to quit school to help her mother sell products at home. At that time, two of her older brothers had already moved to work in Vientiane province and Thailand. After the family separation the father left the mother to take care of the children at home alone, and no one helped the mother support the family. It was then that Nang decided to move away from her family, to the city of Vientiane. She needed her freedom, but also employment and income in order to help her mother. When she arrived in Vientiane, her aunt suggested that she work at a garment factory with her friends, but she did not like working on an assembly line non-stop or working overtime at night. So she finally chose a

beauty salon as her place of work. She worked there for six months, and then moved on to find work in Thailand with her friends. Her expectation was to earn a higher income than in Laos.

In Thailand she also found a job at a beauty salon in Ubon (north-east Thailand), but since she had limited experience and was an illegal immigrant her income was rather low at only 3,000 THB (80 USD) per month. The salary was just enough for Nang to make a living but did not allow for saving, so she stayed there only six months and then changed to a job in a cloth shop. In this shop, however, working conditions were unfortunately even worse and Nang did not earn anything for her work for two months, except for three meals per day. Finally, she escaped and decided to return home. She felt very homesick, the work was hard and the pay was low - but she had at least managed to save enough for the trip back.

After returning, Nang lived with her friends at a rental house in Vientiane, and worked a few months at the morning market as a sales assistant, then moved and worked at the International Trade Exhibition Centre (ITEC) in Sisattanak. Now she has a boyfriend, who is studying at the Polytechnic Institute. Her plans are to save money from her own work and get married when her boyfriend has completed his education. Now she wants to stay in Vientiane – returning is not an option, even though her parents have moved and now live in Luangprabang city, running their own business. For Nang, Vientiane is now a better place to live.

The narrative above, about the girl Nang from the northern highland of Luangprabang and her family's situation, illustrates how the socio-economic change in the local communities as well as the new opportunities for employment in urban areas may affect patterns of internal and international migration in Laos.

Economic growth in the cities and socio-economic transition in rural areas have changed the opportunities for monetary incomes, and it happens more often that people try to find a new job in the cities, abroad or in other parts of rural Laos. As in the narrative of Nang and her relatives, it was the aspirations of the family to earn more money and facilitate their children's education that triggered the migration decision. Vital to the decision was also the previous migration of Nang's two brothers, who had left the family to move to Vientiane province and Thailand, but also her ambition to find employment and high income and, moreover, her wish to have new experiences in the city and abroad. However, Nang's decision to move was also related to her parents' separation and by the contact she had with family members who already moved out. She also searched for new experiences abroad and decided to leave for Thailand in order to work with her friends.

Unfortunately, the work in Thailand was not what she expected and she finally decided to return to her home country.

The case of Nang is similar to that of many of female Lao migrant workers in Thailand; they have a personal contact with informal brokers or with friends and relatives who have worked in Thailand before (Paper III). And, as found in many previous studies, Lao migrants in Thailand often face severe problems such as labour exploitation, oppression and violence, and some fall victim to trafficking brokers (Punpuing et al., 2005; Archavanikul, 1998 and 2005; Phetsiriseng, 2007; MMN, 2006 and 2008).

This thesis is about the patterns and consequences of internal and international migration in Laos. It discusses various aspects of migration: how it is shaped and how it affects the lives of migrants and non-migrants. The background is the current socio-economic change and the introduction of the so-called New Economic Mechanism (NEM) reform in 1986, which has triggered economic transition not only in the industrial, trade and service sectors in the cities but also in the rural areas through increasing market orientation and the introduction of new production techniques (NAFRI, 2004). Improvements to the road network and transportation conditions have opened remote areas and encouraged market-oriented economics in local communities, as well as the transfer of goods and products from and to rural and urban areas (Ireson, C. 1994). Through the NEM, industries have grown in the large cities, especially in Vientiane, creating a regional imbalance between rural and urban areas. In addition, the industrial factories have also created new opportunities for rural female migration and have led to changes in gender relations in rural areas. Obviously, the preconditions for earning a living have changed in both urban and rural areas. At the same time Laos has become more open to international economic cooperation, especially with ASEAN countries, and the rapid economic growth in and improved links to the neighbouring countries in Southeast Asia have made international migration an opportunity for many.

The motivation of the research

Reading about trafficking of Lao migrants in Thailand awoke my interest for migration issues in Laos. And also the increasing number of young rural women moving to Vientiane made me aware of the importance of migration in the country. The new mobility patterns seemed to be part not only of an economic transition but also of a major change in social life and forms of livelihood. And I asked myself: Why do so many Lao women cross the border and work illegally in Thailand? How do they go? And who encouraged them to move? And how do the patterns of internal migration in Laos look like? What are the consequences for the migrants? I wanted to understand the mechanisms of migration within and from my home country. Since then I

have dreamed about conducting research on migration in Laos. I was also encouraged by the fact that research on migration in and from Laos has so far been rather limited, and mostly focused on labour migration to Thailand.

In 2000, when I was supported to study in Thailand by UNFPA I immediately decided to select migration in Laos as my research topic. Unfortunately, I had a limited time; only one year for the MA study and I lacked support for field work, thus, I used secondary data (Population Census 1995) for thesis analysis. Since my first research on 'The effect of socio-economic development on in-migration at district level in Laos', the migration subject became my research field, and I have worked at the Population Studies Centre at NUOL, and in a joint research with Mekong Migration Network project (MMN) in Hong Kong and an ILO project in Bangkok. In late 2004, I was supported to study at Umea University by Sida/SAREC, and finally, the topic on 'The patterns of migration and socio-economic change in Laos' became my PhD research project. Important contributions to the research of migration in Laos have been made by for instance Evrard and Goudineau (2004), Baird and Shoemaker (2007), Rigg (2007) and Petit (2008), and there are a few Lao researchers who have studied migration to Thailand, for instance Chanthavysouk (2006), Phetsiriseng (2007), and Sisenglath (2009). Furthermore, Sisouphanthong and Taillard (2000) have contributed with important migration data in the Atlas of Laos. So far, most qualitative research on Laos has been carried out by foreign researchers from Europe, North America or Thailand and the quantitative analysis of the census data has been rather limited and carried out mainly by government agencies.

Since migration in Laos has been rather under-researched, I decided to include both a broad analysis of the overall migration patterns and to use more intensive analyses to understand mechanisms behind migration and the consequences for individuals, families and local communities. From my background as native Lao-speaking scholar my objective has been to add to the understanding of migration in Laos by using intensive methods based on data from interviews and surveys, some previously and some more recently collected. And moreover, to carry out a broader analysis of migration patterns based on the rather unexplored new census data from 2005.

1.1. Aims and Research Questions

This thesis explores the influences of socio-economic changes in rural and urban areas on migration patterns in Laos, and investigates the migration process from the macro-level (at national, provincial, and district levels) through the micro-level (at village, household and individual levels) in two decades. One empirical micro-study focuses on the migration to Vientiane of

young female migrants who have found employment at garment factories, and another concerns cross-border migration to Thailand. In these micro-studies, the consequences of migration on individuals and families in the communities of origin are also in focus.

The aim of the thesis is to analyse patterns and consequences of internal and international migration in Laos on both a macro- and a micro-level, focusing on the influences of socio-economic change and government policies on interregional migration, analysing the migration to Vientiane from a gender perspective and exploring patterns and consequences of cross-border migration in a local context. The aim is also to specifically address the following research questions:

1. What are the influences of socio-economic changes in the rural and urban areas on migration patterns in Lao PDR? And how is the interregional migration influenced by regionally differentiated modernization, development policies and opportunities for international migration?
2. How do the current socio-economic changes affect the feminization of rural-urban migration in Lao PDR? And what are the effects of industrial factories on gender structures and the status of female migrant workers both inside and outside factories?
3. What are the patterns and consequences of migration from Lao PDR to Thailand and the impacts of undocumented migration on individual migrants and the families and communities left behind in Laos?

1.2. Outline of Thesis

This thesis consists of an introductory section, summaries of the papers, conclusions and an attachment with the three papers presenting the empirical research (see Table 1.). The introductory section starts with a presentation of socio-economic change in Laos, and the subsequent section includes a brief background of the country and its modern history. Also included are discussions about socio-economic change and the government policies related to rural development and poverty reduction, which have substantially influenced migration in recent decades. The next section contains an overview of migration patterns in Lao PDR focusing on migration history in the post-war years, rural population resettlement, mobility to the urban areas and international migration. Various theoretical aspects of internal and international migration are discussed. After a brief discussion of data and methods comes a summary of the three papers and

conclusions. After this section, the three papers included in the thesis are presented. The main findings of the thesis, based on the empirical studies, are presented in the following three articles:

Paper I: *Internal Migration and Socio-Economic Change in Laos.*

The paper examines the relationship between migration patterns and socio-economic change in Laos on a regional level. It compares characteristics of migration on province and district levels during the two periods 1985-1995 and 1995-2005, and further investigates the influence on migration of government policies concerned with resettlement and rural development. It also investigates the migration to the city of Vientiane and to other countries. This study is based on Population census surveys in 1995 and 2005 from the National Statistics Department of Lao PDR.

Paper II: *Rural-Urban Migration, Economic Transition and Status of Female Industrial Workers in Lao PDR.*

This paper explores the current feminization of rural-urban migration during economic transition with a specific focus on how migration to urban-based factories affects gender roles and women's status both inside and outside the factory gates, and the consequences for families and communities in both origin and destination areas. This study is based on a household survey in a small industrial area of Sisattanak in Vientiane, focus group discussions and in-depth interviews among young female workers in the garment factory in the area in 2005 and 2006.

Paper III: *Patterns and Consequences of Undocumented Migrants from Lao PDR to Thailand.*

In focus in this paper are the patterns of undocumented migration from Laos to Thailand, the impact of migration and remittances on household income disparities between migrants' and non-migrants' households in communities, and the consequences for migrant workers and left-behind families in Laos. The paper is based on empirical data from household surveys, focus group discussions among migrant parents in five villages in three provinces in 2004, and in-depth interviews among female migrant workers who have returned and who were repatriated from Thailand in 2006.

Table 1: Materials and themes of the thesis

Title	Materials	Basic themes
<p>Paper I:</p> <p>Internal Migration and Socio-Economic Change in Laos.</p>	<p>National surveys</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Population Census 1995 and 2005 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> o The patterns of migration in Laos in two decades (1985-1995 -2005), interregional migration on province and district level o Comparison of internal and international migration in 2005 o Relation between socio-economic factors and migration in two decades
<p>Paper II:</p> <p>Rural-Urban Migration, Economic Transition and Status of Female Industrial Workers in Lao PDR</p> <p><i>Research site:</i> Phonpapao, Sisattanak in Vientiane</p>	<p>Field survey (2005 and 2006)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Key informant interviews - Semi-structured interviews - Village survey: Interviewed 30 head-of-household groups (sample size selection) - Household interviews: 210 (54%) of migrant households - FGDs: 3 groups of female industrial migrant workers - In-depth interviews: 10 female migrant workers 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> o Migration inflow to Vientiane and to Phonpapao, Sisattanak district o Feminisation of migration and status of female industrial. o Migrant workers inside the factory, daily life in the dormitories and outside the factory. o Reflection of migration on female migrant workers in the factory, families and communities in both original and destination areas.
<p>Paper III:</p> <p>Patterns and Consequences of Undocumented Migration from Lao PDR to Thailand</p> <p><i>Research sites:</i> Vientiane, Khammuane and Savannakhet</p>	<p>Field survey (2004 and 2006)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Key informant interviews: province and district officers (site selection and statistics) - Semi-structured interviews: local authorities (background/ case selection) - Household interviews: 30 head of migrant households - FGDs: 5 groups of migrants' parents in 5 villages - In-depth interviews: 10 migrant returnees in 2006 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> o Patterns of undocumented migration to Thailand and household characteristics o Network contacts with Thailand o Remittance impacts on household income and non-migrants o Consequences of migration on individuals, families and communities in Laos

1.3. Background

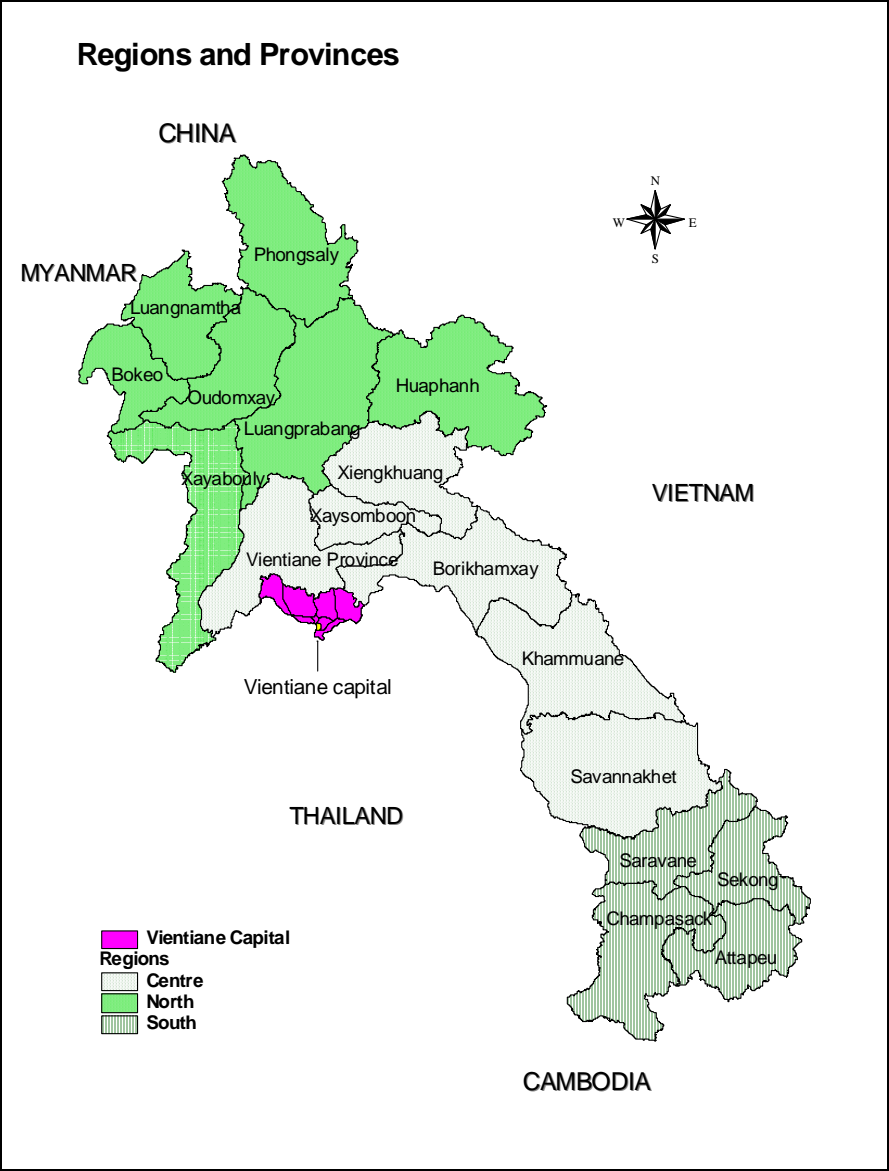
Lao PDR; population and regions

The Lao People's Democratic Republic (Lao PDR or Laos) is a small, landlocked country in the middle of Southeast Asia, divided into three regions, 18 provinces and 142 districts (Map 1). The territory of Laos covers approximately 236,800 square km, and two-thirds of the country is composed of mountainous and highland areas that stretch from the North to the Southeast (Map 2). Lao PDR borders five countries with different political, social and economic conditions in the Mekong Sub-region. The length of the Mekong River within Lao territory from north to south is approximately 1,865 km.

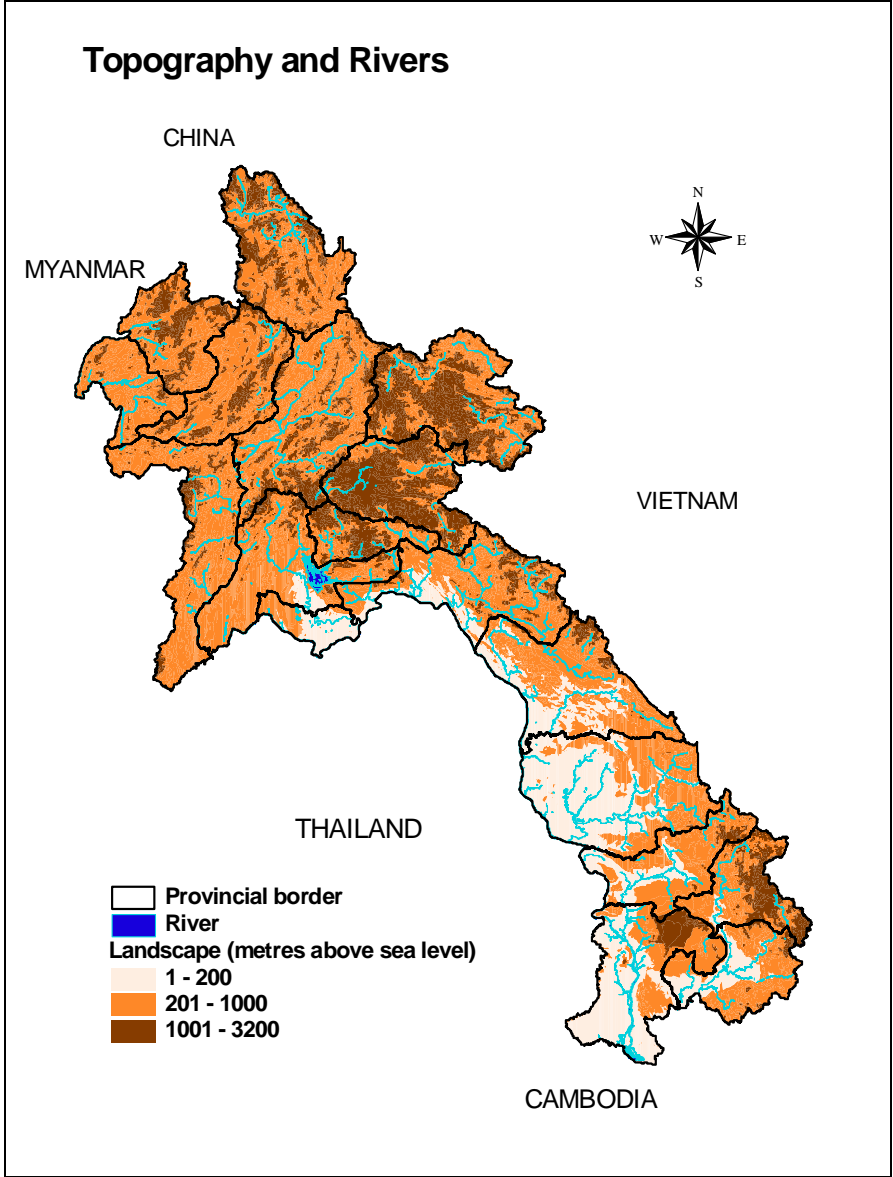
In recent decades, Laos has experienced quite dramatic population change in terms of growth and regional redistribution. After the war, the country's population increased from 3,584,000 in 1985 to 5,622,000 in 2005. Population density is very low, between 24 persons per square km, relative to the population density of neighbouring countries in Southeast Asia: about 250 persons per square km in Thailand and 1,000 persons per square km in Vietnam (UNESCO, 2003). In the decade from 1995 to 2005, the urban proportion of the population in Laos increased from 17% to 27%, and growth was most rapid in the city of Vientiane (Map 3, 4). Comparing the demographic change for the periods 1985–1995 and 1995–2005 the annual population growth has declined from 2.5% to 2.1%, and the crude birth rate from 5.6 to 4.5 (NSC, 2006).

Lao PDR is one of the most ethnically diverse nations in Southeast Asia; it is commonly called a multiethnic country, with 49 ethnic minorities living predominately in the mountains or highlands, whereas the ethnic Lao comprising 55% of the population live predominately in the lowlands along the Mekong River and its branches. People's main economic activity is within the agricultural sector (NSC, 2006). The highland areas of Laos have more poverty, worse health indicators, and fewer services available for a variety of reasons, including remoteness and less productive agricultural land. Lao government programmes and policies have therefore focused on three main areas: education development, forest land-use allocation, and resettlement into developing areas (Ireson C. and Ireson W., 1991). The poorest districts in Laos are characterized by very sloped land, relatively low population density, and particularly in the North and the South by the many ethnic minorities. Many of the districts are heavily contaminated by unexploded ordnance (UXO) from the Indochina War. Villages in highly contaminated areas are less likely to have ongoing development projects, and some of these villages are experiencing a higher rate of out-migration (World Bank, 2006). Moreover, the highland communities are small and remote, with limited

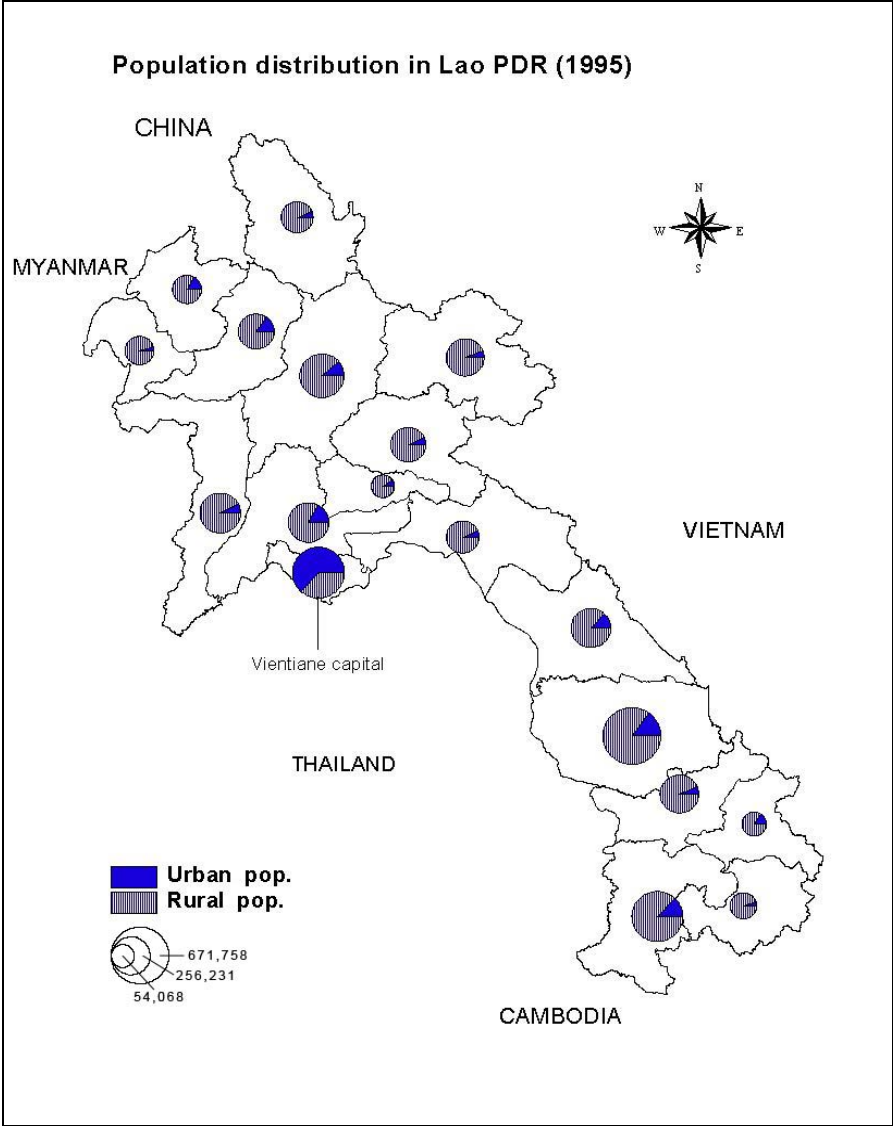
access to roads and markets and to improved water supply and sanitation. The inhabitants earn a living from natural forest products and slash-and-burn agriculture with shifting cultivation. Deforestation is highest among the provinces in the North, which have some of the highest poverty incidence and at the same time the lowest forest cover. For instance, in the South, forested land accounts for 65% of the total area, while only 48% of the surface is covered by forest in the central parts, and only 21% in the northern (World Bank, 2006). The poverty among ethnic minorities in the highlands is characterized by an insufficiency of rice, vulnerability and ill health (ADB, 2001). In order to improve their livelihoods and integrate them into the regional development plan, certain villages in the poor districts have been moved down to the plains through a resettlement programme. The general goal is to bring poor ethnic minority villages closer to rural towns or urban cities and communication links (NAFRI, 2004).



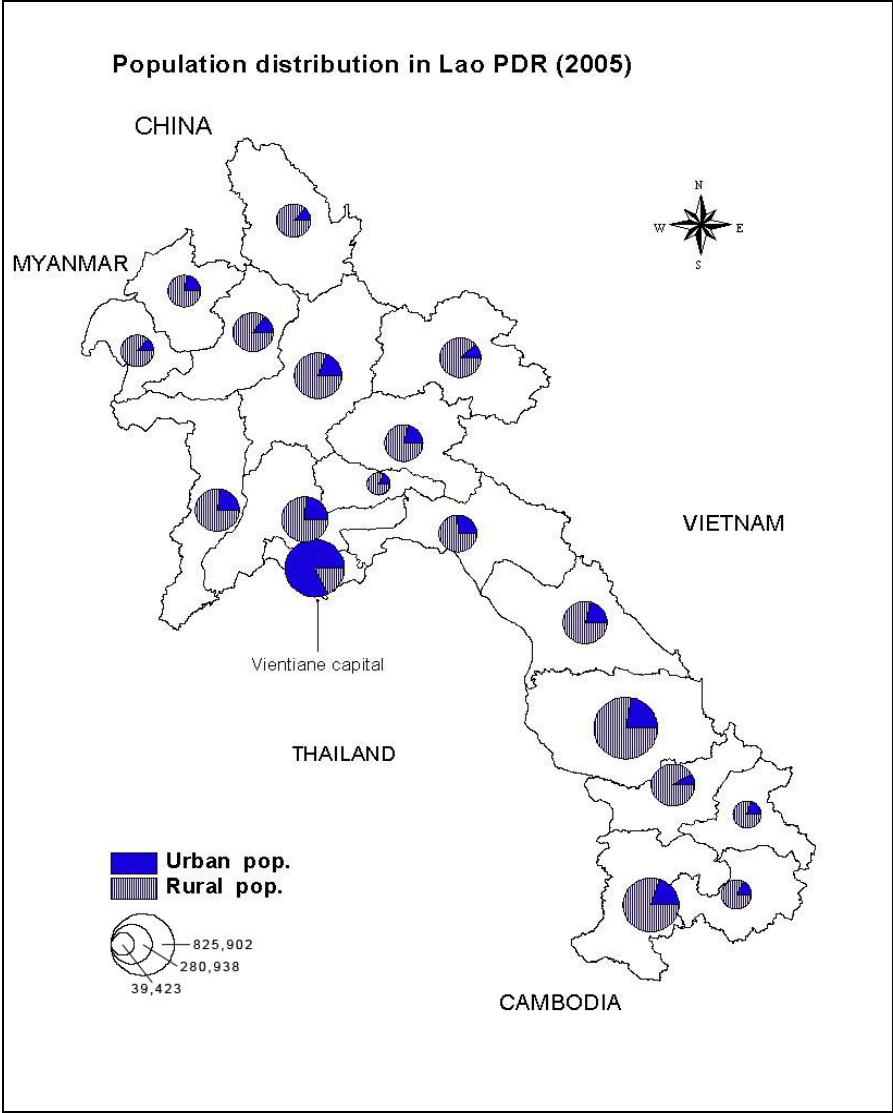
Map 1: Lao PDR, regions and provinces.
Source: Data base from National Geography Department, Vientiane, Lao PDR.



Map 2: Lao PDR, topography and rivers
Source: Data base from National Geography Department, Vientiane, Lao PDR.



Map 3: Population distribution by urban and rural areas in provinces in 1995 (Elaborated from Population Census 1995).



Map 4: Population distribution by urban and rural areas in provinces in 2005 (Elaborated from Population Census 2005).

Socio-economic change in Laos

Migration in Laos is influenced by a variety of factors, including the economic growth in urban sectors and the transformation of social and economic conditions in the rural areas. One outcome of this process is the regional diversification of the economy, including increasing regional income differentials. Studies on migration in Laos (Phouxay, 2001; Rigg, 2007) reveal similar mechanisms also found in other developing countries. With the promises of labour and monetary incomes in the urban areas, young daughters and sons of growing families living on scarce resources in rural villages leave their home area in search of jobs in the urban industries and service sectors, either in the urban centres or abroad. In the case of Laos, the background to migration increase is similar to that found elsewhere: population growth in rural areas, increasing dependency on monetary incomes, social stratification, more intense contact with urban areas and previous movers, as well as the actual growth of job opportunities in the major cities (McCatty, 2004).

In 1986, the Lao government introduced the “New Economic Mechanism” (NEM), to begin the transition from a centrally planned economy to a market-oriented economy. Gradually, farmers were encouraged to produce for the market and the state monopoly on trade was removed. And as the number of state-enterprises was reduced, private firms were also allowed to operate. The government also promoted foreign investments, and foreign assistance increased. According to the World Bank (2007), donor-funded programmes accounted for as much as 7% of the country’s GDP in 2003. Economic growth in Laos is driven mainly by investments in hydropower and mining; construction and garments are key industrial activities, and tourism is gradually becoming a source of income in the service sector. Economic activity is concentrated around Vientiane. Hence, the central provinces have become more dynamic than those in the South or the North, and have attracted the greatest share of foreign investment, in transport infrastructure and other services.

Since the introduction of the NEM, structural change within the Lao economy has been significant. And, although economic growth in Lao PDR has not been as spectacular as in some of the other economies in Southeast Asia, Laos experienced strong growth in the 1990s until the onset of the economic crisis, and also after the recession. From 1991 to 2007 the annual GDP growth rate was an average of 6.5%. New hydropower and mining projects are expected to contribute around 2.5% to this growth. The agricultural sector has been growing at an annual rate of 2.5%, while industry and service sectors have grown at rates of 9.1% and 5.4%, respectively, according to the Lao Expenditure and Consumption Surveys (LECS-1 and LECS-2) (Kakwani et al., 2002).

Table 2: Lao PDR Macroeconomic Indicators, 1992-2004

Source: Anderson, M. et al. (2006:4)

Years	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004
GDP Growth (%)	7.0	5.9	7.7	7.5	6.9	6.9	4.0	7.3	5.8	5.7	5.7	5.3	6.0
Economic Structure													
Agriculture (% of GDP)	58.0	56.3	56.6	54.3	52.2	52.2	51.8	52.2	51.8	50.6	49.9	48.0	47.2
Industry (% of GDP)	16.7	17.4	17.8	18.8	20.6	20.8	21.9	22.0	22.6	23.4	24.5	26.0	26.6
Services (% of GDP)	25.3	26.3	25.6	26.9	27.2	27.0	26.3	25.8	25.5	25.8	25.0	25.0	26.2

However, the regional differences in growth rates are substantial, with Vientiane as the quickest growing region in the country in terms of per capita real consumption. The annual growth rate of real consumption per capita has increased by 10.8% in Vientiane, 4.9% in the north, 4.7% in the central parts of the country and 4.4% in the south (Kakwani et al., 2001). Moreover, rural and urban areas have different levels of consumption, with an increase in the rural areas of 2.3% per year from 1992 to 1998 while urban consumption rose by 5.1% per year during the same period (Kakwani et al., 2002).

At the national level, the poverty incidence declined from 46% in 1993 to 33.5% in 2003 and to 27.6% in 2008 (Table 3) but the regional differences are great and the percentage living below the poverty line is higher in rural and remote highland areas and declined from 51.8% in 1993 to 37.6% in 2003 and 31.7% in 2008 (Engvall, 2006; Engvall et al., 2010)¹. Obviously, the development of regional disparities in Laos is changing the preconditions for interregional migration in Laos (Bourdet, 1998).

Table 3: Poverty incidence in Lao PDR by regions, 1993-2008 (percentages)
Source: Andersson M. et al., (2009) and Engvall et al., (2010)

Regions	1992/1993	1997/1998	2002/2003	2007/2008
Vientiane	33.6	13.5	16.7	15.2
Northern	51.6	47.3	37.9	32.5
Central	45.0	39.4	35.4	29.8
Southern	45.7	39.8	32.6	22.8
Lao PDR	46.0	39.1	33.5	27.6

In Lao PDR, there has been dramatic change in the relative importance of the major economic sectors. For industry, the percentage of GDP has increased from 30% to 34% from 2005 to 2007, and in contrast, for agriculture there was a decrease from 43% to 40% (World Bank, 2008). Further, a significant part of the economic growth comes from the expanding resource-based sector, especially the expansion of copper extraction and the construction of large hydropower projects (World Bank, 2007). During 1996-1998 the industry and service sector components of the GDP increased at average annual rates of 11.5% and 7.2%, respectively, compared with 4.3% for agriculture (ADB, 2001). Obviously, Laos is moving away from an

¹ Kakwani et al. (2002) estimated the average poverty line for Lao PDR in 1997 to be around 20,597 Lao Kip per person per month in urban areas and 19,718 Kip per person per month in rural areas. At the average market exchange rate, the poverty line is only USD 0.41 per day in urban areas and USD 0.39 per day in rural areas (Fane 2006).

economy dominated by agriculture. Although cash crops have been introduced in recent years through direct investment projects based on large land concessions, agriculture remains a small part of formal export, the main exception being coffee in the southern and central regions of the country. The country's gradual move towards economic liberalization, with small private businesses or small industrial sectors such as manufacturing and tourism service activities has encouraged many rural labourers to move away from agricultural work to the cities for new activities. A trade liberalization process and international trade cooperation have also contributed to substantial increases in export, import and the inflow of foreign investment during the past decade (Andersson, M. et al., 2009).

Since the government has promoted foreign investment in Laos, foreign specialists, tourists, business people and traders have entered the country and investment in these sectors has increased consistently. Tourism and service sectors have expanded in the cities and, for instance, the number of hotels and guesthouses has increased substantially, especially in Vientiane and the northern provinces (Luangnamtha, Huaphanh and Xiengkhoung) (NSC 2005). Further, related service activities such as restaurants and food or drink shops have experienced a similar development.

Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) has played an important role in the socio-economic development of Lao PDR since the introduction of the economic transition and business liberalization programme in the late 1980s. The FDI started to increase in the early 1990s (Gunawadana, 2008), and the peak years for foreign investment were 1995 and 1996. One of the major recipients of FDI was the manufacturing sector, especially the garment industry: Laos exported 80% of its garment products to the EU nations. Since the crisis in the late 1990s, ASEAN investors have become the largest sources of FDI in Laos, and European investments have decreased (see Freeman, 2001; Gunawadana, 2008). In 2007, the FDI inflow was estimated at about USD 950 million. Growth was driven mainly by new, large investment projects such as mining, non-resource industries, agriculture and services, and three large hydropower projects are now under construction (World Bank, 2008). The Nam Theun 2 is the largest of the hydroelectric projects in Lao PDR, with construction initiated in 2005 and completed in 2009. Currently, there are many new hydropower projects still under construction and these projects are also directly related to resettlement and migration in Laos. According to the Ministry of Planning and Investment (MPC), FDI in Lao PDR has been increasing remarkably for several years including investments from Thailand, China, Vietnam, France, Japan and Korea, and Australia (World Bank, 2007).

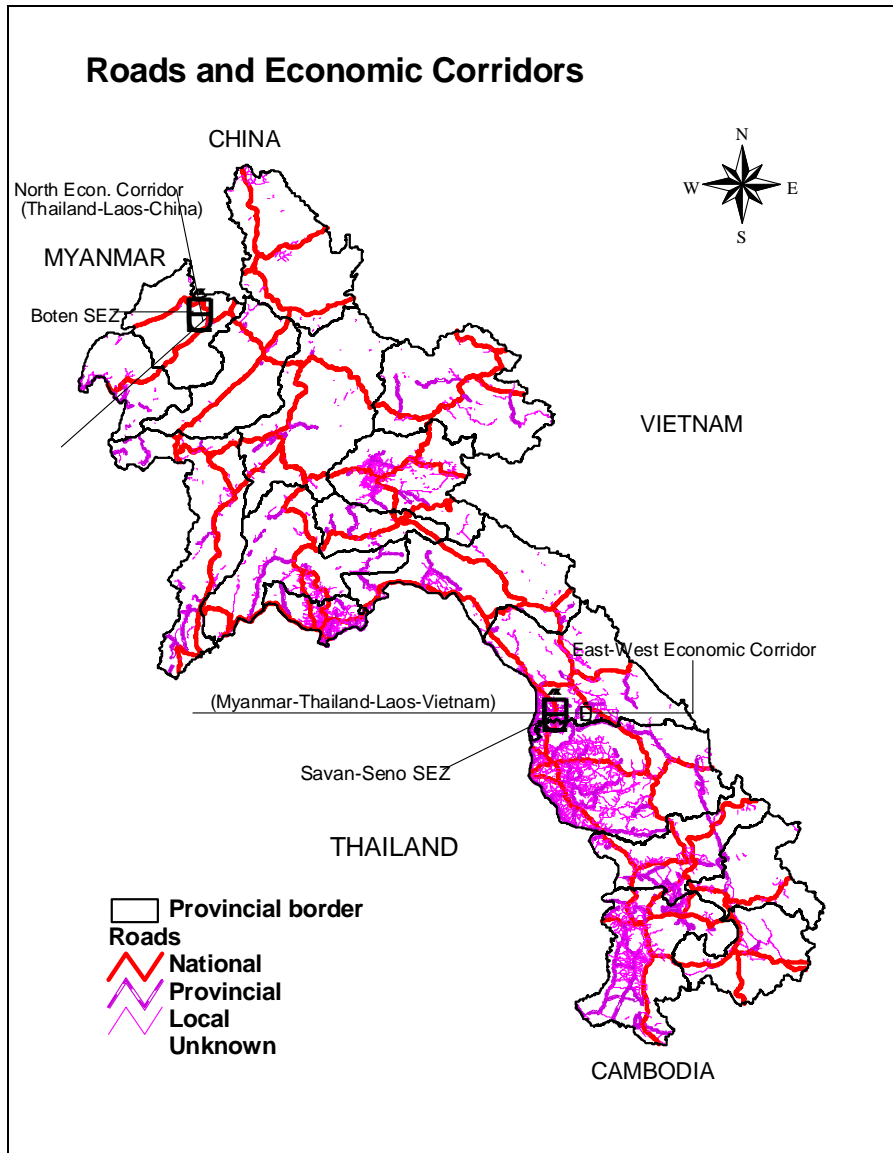
In addition, since the early 1990s Lao PDR has increased its engagement within the Southeast Asia region. Laos joined the ASEAN in 1997 and is

committed to tariff reduction under the ASEAN Free Trade Area (AFTA), and is included in the sub-regional co-operation such as the GMS Economic Cooperation, the Mekong River Commission (MRC) and the Mekong Economic Cooperation Strategy. Due to its location in the centre of a dynamic and prosperous region, Lao PDR has the potential to provide a strategic resource base and links to its neighbours Vietnam, Thailand, Cambodia, Myanmar and China.

The large Nam Theun 2 hydropower project received around 83% of FDI in 2005. FDI also contributed more than 313 million USD to gold mining, with the largest investment taking place in 2005 in Savannakhet (Sepon gold mining), at around 300 million USD (Khouangvichit, 2010). However, FDI has also helped to develop the private sector and has contributed to economic growth and to the restructuring of the country's economy (Lao PDR, 2006). One further outcome is the increasing demand for labour in urban areas, providing new opportunities for migration to the cities. However, the effects on migration from foreign investments can be many, and some projects have brought with them skilled labour to Laos; for instance, from Thailand, Vietnam and China. In contrast, some low skilled foreign migrant workers from China and Vietnam have also moved on their own to look for work in Laos.

In order to attract more foreign investments, two Special Economic Zones (SEZ) have been established. One objective of encouraging investments is to improve the knowledge about business management and new technology (Lao PDR, 2003). In addition, these zones have been created to develop future cross-border economic cooperation with Burma, China, Thailand and Vietnam (see Map 5). These new SEZs may well have an influence on migration in the country and across its borders. While many Lao workers migrate to work in other countries as migrant workers, many Chinese and other foreign migrants come to Laos to work or to conduct business and trade. But the foreign business investment will not only need migrant specialists from neighbouring countries in the GMS; it also demands a great number of young migrant labourers from the countryside in Laos. One expectation is that these new opportunities may decrease cross-border migration from Laos to Thailand and affect the return of migrants in the future.

However, the impact of the SEZ projects may relate to not only the labour migration process but also to the resettlement of population from large project areas. Due to the projects located in both rural and urban areas, the resettlement related to these projects may have both positive and negative effects on the local people in the areas (see e.g. Khouangvichit, 2010).



Map 5: Roads, Special Economic Zones (SEZ) and Economic Corridors (EC)
Source: Data base from National Geography Department, Vientiane, Lao PDR.

Transportation and communication

Since the 1990s, government programmes and foreign assistance have concentrated on investment in the national roads, especially the north-south route, some east-west linkages to Thailand and Vietnam, and connections to provincial capitals. These constructions affect the regional development and facilitate contacts between the regions as well as migration and mobility between different parts of the country. During the first part of the 1990s, construction and maintenance of the national roads absorbed no less than 85% of the total transport investment (Bourdet, 1998). In relative terms, Laos has invested more in transportation than the average for developing countries (Bruzelius and Wallin, 1995). The huge investments started in the mid-1980s and have resulted in a lower average transport cost within the country (Bourdet, 1998). These improvements to infrastructure have provided good facilities and accessibility for both internal and international migration in Laos. Currently, the country's road and infrastructure development are also extending more and more: For instance, in the northern region, an ASEAN road from Thailand through two provinces (Bokeo, Louangnamtha) to China was completed in 2007. A previous study found that about 13% of the decline in rural poverty in Laos can be attributed to improved road access (Warr, 2005). Overall, 72% of villages in Lao PDR already have at least seasonal road access. In addition, the cost of transportation has been reduced, and the inhabitants of remote areas are able to buy goods from the town more cheaply and charge higher prices for the agricultural and manufactured goods they sell in exchange (Fane, 2006).

Moreover, a significant investment to provide telecommunication has been made in recent years. The availability of telecommunications service is increasing in Laos, with mobile services now found in most districts in the country. According to information from the Ministry of Communication, Transportation, Post and Construction, the ratio of mobile phone users (per 1,000 people) has risen from 156 in mid-2006 to 210 in 2007 (World Bank, 2007). This is available to and important for not only internal but also external migration networks: migrants use mobile phones to contact friends or relatives in order to get information about work and accommodation in the cities or abroad.

Education and public health

The development of the education system has also changed the preconditions for migration in Laos. During the past decade, four universities were established in Laos: The National University of Laos (NUOL) located in Vientiane (1996), Souphanouvong University (SU) in Louangphabang (2003) in the northern region, Champasack University (CU) in the South (2002), and Savannakhet University (SKU), recently established in 2009 in the central region. Yet, almost all higher institutes, vocational

colleges and technical schools, including both private and state schools, are located in Vientiane and the large cities. Therefore, most students move to the cities or Vientiane to access higher education. At the time of the tenth anniversary of the National University, the number of students had increased sharply from 8,053 in 1996 to 26,673 in 2006. However, the proportion of women is still very low and it just slightly increased from 27% (2,170) in 1996 to 35.3% (9,415) in 2006 (NUOL, 2006).

Currently, there are five public universities (including the University of Public Health), five teacher training colleges (TTCs), and 86 private higher education institutes. In the past, the number of students at NUOL, SU and CU increased by about 10,000 in a single year from 35,403 in 2007 to 45,677 in 2008 (NUOL with 36,706; CU with 4,755; and SU with 4,216), and the number of students at private institutes also increased from 4,000 in 2000 to almost 20,000 in 2007. Even though the higher education levels have grown gradually every year, in 2007 only 24,754 of 43,653 students (57%) who completed upper secondary school gained access to public and private higher education institutes (ADB, 2009). This phenomenon is also related to the demographic change, due to the high fertility rates (6.8 in 1985; 5.6 in 1995 and 4.5 in 2005) in the past decades (NSC, 1996 and 2006) and the high young population under ten years at 32% (1995) and 26% (2005) (see Appendix 1). Thus, young labour forces have also grown; this highlights young people's need for higher education and employment. Therefore, some of the students who have not had the opportunity to study at a higher education level have had to move and find work in the large cities and the capital city, where jobs are available in the private and public sectors. Also, some who have social network contacts abroad have preferred to move and find a job in other countries.

While higher education is geographically concentrated, basic education is well dispersed throughout the country. Almost all villages in Laos have primary school available to children, including a total of around 8,573 primary schools in 2004 (15 schools per 10,000 children). Eighty-four per cent of the population lives in a village with a primary school. In addition, the number of lower secondary schools has increased significantly (UNESCO, 2003). However, the secondary schools are located only in district centres or in the province capitals. So, after completing primary school, all children have to stay in the cities (at school or with relatives) for their education. Unfortunately, in poor and large families in the rural and remote areas the children have no opportunities to continue studying at a secondary level or in high school, due to a lack of financial or social capital. Particularly girls who live far away from the school drop out to help their parents work in the rice fields or to help with the upkeep of the home. Consequently, the percentage of girls in secondary or high schools is lower than that of boys (ibid). The Lao Expenditure Consumption Surveys (LECS-2

and LECS-3) also show that among both lowland Lao and other ethnic minorities, boys are more likely to have attended school than girls, and the non-poor are more likely to have attended than the poor, especially in the rural areas (King, E. and Van de Walle, 2005). Overall, rural children have less opportunity to study than urban children do. A previous study also found that the children living in the highlands or remote areas have the lowest living standards and the worst schooling outcomes. In fact, there are great differences in education opportunities between the various provinces. For instance, in Vientiane about 90% of both girls and boys between the ages of 6 and 14 are enrolled in primary schools, whereas in the northern region the corresponding enrolment rate for boys is between 45% and 50%, and for girls below 40%. However, the Lao government has established a strategy to increase spending on health, education and sanitation, and to create policies aimed directly at helping the poorest groups in 47 very poor districts and at reducing the barriers separating the most isolated provinces from the rest of the country (Fane 2006). After the introduction of the Lao government's policy of "focal sites" in rural areas in the late 1980s, residents of highland villages have been resettled to lowland focal areas, where basic public services already existed or could be provided more efficiently (Evrard and Goudineau, 2004). One outcome of this has been improved access to schooling opportunities for rural children.

The health care sector has also developed over recent decades, although the regional differences are still great. The district hospitals are also located in the district centres, as are the secondary schools. However, some communities have a health centre available for primary health care. Approximately 91% of the villages near urban areas are reported to have access to a hospital within a distance of less than three kilometres (Lao PDR, 1998). Overall, the health centres in some remote areas still lack health care facilities as well as a doctor or nurse, and there are usually only volunteer health employees in the village. Therefore, mortality and morbidity rates are still high in the rural remote areas, particularly among ethnic groups in the mountainous areas where poverty is severe (Kakwani et al., 2002). However, in the decade, the crude death rate has fallen from 15% for the period 1985-1995 to 9.6% for 1995-2005 and the total fertility rate also declined from 5.6 to 4.5 at the national level, due to the development program has provided basic infrastructure and brought the health care and family planning methods to the local people in the rural and remote areas. Meanwhile, life expectancy at birth rose from 50 to 59 years for men from 1995 to 2005 and from 59 to 63 years for women (NSC, 1996 and 2006). These trends may be associated to not only the health care accessibility and facility in the local communities but also the mobility process of people to higher education and modernization in the cities.

Rural development and poverty reduction

Regional economic differences in Laos are still huge, with a higher share of poor people in the rural than the urban areas and with the highest incidence of poverty in the North (Andersson, M. et al., 2009). Poverty is particularly severe among ethnic groups inhabiting remote or highland areas and among female-headed households. Women from highland ethnic groups compose 70% of the country's illiterate population. Consequently, in 2003 the Lao government identified especially the ethnic groups in the highland areas as target groups for poverty eradication in its National Poverty Eradication Programme (Engvall, 2006).

Overall, some 830,000 people in the North are living below the poverty line, accounting for about 46% of the country's poor. Over 15 year period, the socio-economic development in Laos has lifted over 500,000 people out of poverty. However, the goal of the government is to "graduate" from its status of least developed country (LDC) by the year 2020, through two broad strategies: high economic growth and social development with equity, and universal access to social services and markets particularly in rural areas (ADB, 2008 ; 2009; Lao PDR, 2006).

Rural development has been one of the key national priorities for the government (NAFRI, 2004), and since the beginning of the 1990s this has been implemented in a regional development plan. The plan focuses on the construction and improvement of roads in order to open up the remote and poor highland areas (Ireson, C. 1994). As about 80% of the country's surface is covered by mountains many villages remain very isolated, and the resettlement programme has been implemented to integrate them into the regional development plan. This action has been summarized by saying '*if development cannot be brought to the people, bring the people to the development*' (NAFRI, 2004). At the Fourth Party Congress, the eradication of shifting cultivation or reduction of slash-and-burn forest agriculture was officially highlighted as a key policy (Rigg, 2005), and by 1985 most of the focus had switched to bringing highlanders to the lowlands (Evrard and Goudineau, 2004). This resettlement was organized by the Lao government with the expressed goals of 'poverty alleviation', 'rural development' and 'nation building' (Phomvihane, 1986; NAFRI, 2004; Baird and Shoemaker, 2007). The purpose of the new resettlement relates to five main motivations of the Lao government: 1) Elimination of shifting agricultural cultivation; 2) Eradication of opium cultivation; 3) Security concerns; 4) Access and service delivery; 5) Cultural/economic integration and nation building (Baird and Shoemaker, 2005). Through these five justifications, there are three important government initiatives that have a strong direct relationship to internal resettlement in Lao PDR; firstly, *Focal Sites* (FS), which are designated zones to which large numbers of ethnic minority people are resettled. One of the stated motives was to provide access to service and

infrastructure investment; secondly, *Village Consolidation* (VC), which includes the merging of small and scattered settlements into larger villages that are more easily administrated and permanently settled; thirdly, *Land and Forest Allocation* (LFA), which includes a land management programme initiated by the government to promote natural resource conservation (ibid). All these initiatives have been justified in one way or another, by the government's goals of 'poverty alleviation'; and 'rural development'. According to the LECS surveys, the poverty rate in rural areas decreased (Engvall et al., 2010), especially in the poorest parts in the North (Andersson, M. et al., 2009). In contrast, poverty increased in some rural areas which had had lower poverty rates five years earlier (Engvall, 2006). So, even though the regional economic differences remain, the changes in rural areas provide new opportunities for migration; the urban areas are more available but also in the rural areas income opportunities have improved.

1.4. Patterns of Migration in Lao PDR

Rural migration and resettlement

Looking back at history, it is evident that the American War (or Second Indochina War), ending in 1975, had a strong impact on the population distribution in Laos. Large resettlements took place, particularly during the 1958 civil war when 27,000 people were displaced, in 1960 when 90,000 people were resettled, and in 1962 when as many as 125,000 people moved (Taillard, 1989: 95). In 1973 up to 730,000 people were resettled, related to the war and the US bombing the country (Taillard, 1989; Sisouphanthong and Taillard, 2000; Evrard and Goudineau 2004; Baird and Shoemaker 2007). After Lao PDR was established in 1975, a huge internal resettlement appeared in all parts of the country, whereby mostly indigenous people from remote, isolated mountainous areas hit by the war were resettled for various reasons and refugees returned to their original places whereas some fled to other countries as refugees. However, there were many different kinds of mobility during the post-war years, and in order to understand the context of resettlement and migration in Laos, a brief review of the migration history in the post war years, including the government's development policies, is necessary.

After 30 years of war, the new government relocated a great number of people to ensure border security and to avoid settlement in the most heavily bombed areas² (Goudineau, 1997). Included in the resettlement were mainly indigenous people from the mountains, caves, dense forest, hills and remote

² Over two million tons of bombs were dropped on Laos by the United States from 1964 to 1973 (Sisouphanthong and Taillar 2000).

isolated areas, who moved to the lowland and areas with better access to roads or towns and without unexploded ordnance. Laos is one of the world's most heavily Unexploded Ordnance (UXO) contaminated nations³. The area in question covers 2,861 villages, a quarter of the country, 42 of 133 districts and ten of 18 provinces. And in 83% of these villages, the affected area includes tracks and roads near the villages (Sisouphanthong and Taillar, 2000). Other reasons for the relocation, apart from the problems of the unexploded ordnance, were local rebel activities (Goudineau, 1997; Ireson C. and Ireson W., 1991; Baird and Shoemaker, 2007). Even though the revolution was victorious in 1975, paramilitary troops of Americans in Thailand continued to attack Lao territory and rebels searched for support from ethnic minorities. In order to manage the villages and cut off supplies to the rebels, the government decided to remove all villages from unsecured areas to sites along the main roads (Evrard and Goudineau, 2004).

Another important kind of migration by the end of the war was the return of refugees from neighbouring countries (Vietnam and China). Also, refugees from different parts of country returned to their original places at this time. In some areas, the rate of people displaced after relocation was over 50% (Goudineau, 1997; Evrard and Goudineau, 2004). However, some ethnic refugees who had a permanent house, agricultural land or a good job in the city did not return home. In some cases these resettled people were important in triggering further migration from remote areas to the cities; especially refugees from Huaphan and Xiengkhoung have moved to and stayed in Vientiane province and the city of Vientiane (Paper II). Moreover, the reconstruction of new local administrations and institutions resulted in the relocation of employees, soldiers, police and politicians to develop the local administration on the province and district levels, and not least in the city of Vientiane.

Furthermore, some fled to other countries as refugees. After 1975 more than 300,000 people, including sympathizers of the royalist regime and many professionals, left the country. Major destinations for these migrants were Thailand, the US, France, Canada, New Zealand and Australia (Stuart-Fox, 1986; Goudineau, 1997; Evrard and Goudineau, 2004; Sisouphanthong and Taillard, 2000). Some also moved for economic reasons. Approximately 75,000 ethnic Lao and 27,000 members of ethnic minorities were included among the refugees. Important pull factors were relatives or friends who had moved earlier and now encouraged others to follow. Moreover, American Voice broadcasts also encouraged people to leave the new socialist country (Stuart-Fox, 2002). However, when the Lao government stated in 1977 that it would welcome back all Lao refugees, some refugees returned. Three years

³ A third of this ordnance remains unexploded and has caused long-term contamination of the territory. More than 450 UXO-related accidents occurred annually between 1974 and 1996, and 110 accidents annually from 1999 to 2004; this data covers only 59 of 142 districts (Sisouphanthong and Taillar 2000, World Bank 2006).

later, more than 27,000 refugees had returned from other countries. By the end of 1993, UNHCR supported nearly 19,000 refugees in returning to Laos from Thailand and estimated that more than 30,000 had returned without official involvement, and there remained about 1,300 people to be repatriated later due to the Thai government planning to close refugee camps and UNHCR stopping their support for Lao refugees who moved after 1985 for economic reasons (ibid).

The poorest districts in Laos are remote mountainous areas, particularly in the northern and eastern highlands, with relatively low population density, and are mainly inhabited by ethnic minorities. Many communities in the highlands are small and remote, and the indigenous people's livelihood relies on slash-and-burn agriculture and shifting cultivation, which causes deforestation and has other impacts on the natural environment (NAFRI, 2004). In order to protect and conserve natural environment, reduce the poverty in the ethnic highland communities and provide an initial infrastructure, government policy has focused on development through education, forest land use allocation, and resettlement to development areas (Ireson C. and Ireson W., 1991; Rigg, 2009). From 1985 onwards, resettlement programmes became more organized and closely linked to rural development (Goudineau, 1997; Evrard and Goudineau, 2004). The new resettlement projects were planned for ethnic minority groups from mountainous or remote areas, with the lowland areas as the major destination. One stated objective was to facilitate the implementation of rural development and cultural integration policies. This situation differs from neighbouring Vietnam, where the government promoted the resettlement of people from the lowlands to the highlands in order to reduce the high population density in the lowland and to encourage cultivation in the northern highland (see e.g. Agergaard et al., 2009). Other motives for resettlement stated by the government were the elimination of opium cultivation, security, and improvement of rural livelihood (Baird and Shomaker, 2005 and 2007; Evrard and Goudineau, 2004).

By the 1990s, with the expansion of infrastructure development, the policy was focusing on the integration of highland and lowland populations (NAFRI, 2004). One objective was to encourage highland people to engage in paddy rice cultivation and change their livelihoods from shifting cultivation and nature forest exploitation into sedentary agricultural production. Another purpose of the resettlement was to open up remote areas to development and create new villages with access to roads, shops, schools, clinics and government services. Since then, the new resettlement areas have grown in districts and provinces throughout the country. As shown in Figure 1, the share of migrants from non-majority ethnic groups was quite high during the period 1985-1995 as compared to the following

ten-year period. This decrease in the migration of non-majority groups is the outcome of a slow-down of the resettlement policy.

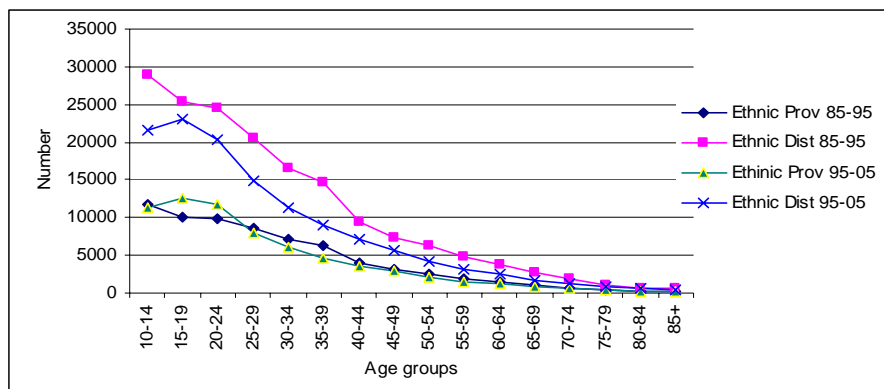


Figure 1: Migrants among ethnic minorities at province and district levels in 1995 and 2005. (Elaborated from Population Census 1995 and 2005).

Obviously, the resettlement had a strong impact on the national migration patterns during the period from 1985 to the 1990s. One outcome was the development of interregional networks and, as a consequence, many residents in the remote areas developed contacts with other parts of the country, which in turn triggered more moves (Evrard and Goudineau, 2004, NAFRI, 2004). In addition, in some cases the resettlement was the first phase of a stepwise migration pattern (Petit, 2008). Due to high population density in some resettlement areas, agricultural land was not available to the newcomers, and they had to continue to new resettlement areas in other districts or provinces. In addition, some refugees who returned to their original highland homes later moved back to Vientiane province and the city of Vientiane due to the fact that the highlands are poorer than rural areas near the cities. Moreover, as a consequence of previous migration patterns, people in remote areas also had social contacts with relatives in the cities, which triggered further migration to the cities or the peripheral areas of Vientiane. An example of this is the Hmong village (Nong Song Hong) in Xathany district in Vientiane.

In their study, Evrard and Goudineau (2004) found that during the period after 1995, the resettlement strongly influenced migration patterns, for instance in the northern highland of Luang Namtha province. Most ethnic minority groups were likely to move to or resettle in the same places as their friends, relatives or people from the same ethnic group (Petit 2008). Old economic or political ties also influenced migration patterns (Evrard and Goudineau, 2004).

Another kind of resettlement was related to different development project areas such as the hydropower dam, mining and national road or the international roads. Sometimes these projects also provided housing, access to agricultural land and infrastructure for resettled villagers. However, the results of these resettlement projects had both positive and negative impacts on the net migration (Goudineau, 1997; Evrard and Goudineau, 2004). This kind of resettlement mostly affected short-distance migration within districts or provinces. However, from the mid-1990s there seems to have been a decrease in the rural-rural migration since resettlement has become less frequent (Paper I).

Migration to Vientiane and other urban areas

The migration pattern in Lao PDR has obviously been affected by the New Economic Mechanism (NEM), initiated in 1986. According to the urban labour force survey in 1994, rural-urban migration in Laos was not yet a significant phenomenon as only 13% of the urban employed labour force were migrants, and the majority had moved from other urban areas in provinces (NEI, 1994). Since 1995, the socio-economic development policy encouraged a shift from the natural-based economy to market orientation, promoted more foreign investment in Lao PDR and emphasized the development of large projects such as electricity hydropower, mining, transportation, communication and construction. Since then the large cities, particularly Vientiane, have experienced economic growth due to foreign investment in many sectors, especially industrial garment factories as well as commercial, tourism and other services. These types of factories and sectors need more labour force, and therefore, some families and many young people have migrated from the countryside to the large cities to get a better job and earn a higher income.

As shown in Figure 2, the highest positive net migration rate is found in Vientiane and the net migration to the capital increased sharply from 39,939 for the period 1985 to 1995 to 58,278 for the period 1995 to 2005⁴. In contrast, high negative net migration rates were found in the northern highland provinces such as in Huaphanh, Xiengkhuang, Luanprabang and Phonsaly; remote rural areas dominated by ethnic minorities and suffering from high contamination from the war (World Bank, 2006). Hence, highland people moved to live close to the major roads and rivers in the lowland in order to find better living conditions or looking for agriculture land for paddy rice. But the migration was also the result of the government's resettlement program, focusing on the elimination of shifting cultivation and eradication of opium plantation (NAFRI, 2004, Evrard and Goudineau 2004, Baird and Shoemaker, 2007).

⁴ Aggregate Census data 1995 and 2005 on province level (net migration = in-migration – out-migration)

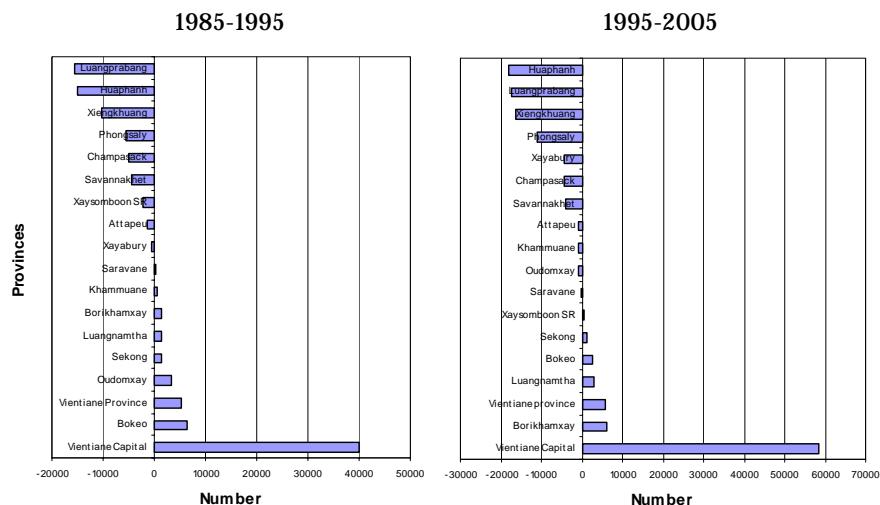


Figure 2: Net migration in provinces in Laos. (Elaborated from Population Census 1995 and 2005).

Since the mid-1980s the expanded marketing and commercial opportunities following economic liberalization have stimulated urban growth in Laos, especially in the capital city. Vientiane is doubtless the dominating urban area with its large share of the government sector as well as commerce and trade. And in the future, Vientiane is expected to become an important centre for distribution and logistics in the Greater Mekong Sub-region; an important node in the network linking Thailand with China and Vietnam. Although the urban population is growing not only in the capital but also in other provinces, industrial factories, commerce centres, universities and vocational colleges are all highly concentrated to Vientiane, and a variety of different income opportunities are available to young labour there. And, obviously, the industrialization and economic growth in the capital is an important factor shaping the patterns of rural-urban migration.

Similarly, migration is also related to the lack of development in the more remote areas. For instance, in the highlands where a vast majority belong to poor and small ethnic groups, poverty is estimated to be as high as 44%, compared to 28% in lowland areas (LECS 3). This economic gap is obviously decisive for migration to the lowlands, major urban areas, small towns or rural areas in the vicinity of the large cities. Due to the changing socio-economic conditions in rural and urban areas, especially non-farmer families move to find new jobs in the city and for their children's education, and similarly young people move for employment and higher education (Phouxay, 2001).

When comparing the census data for 1995 with that for 2005, the number of people who lived in a different province than they did ten years earlier was actually lower (108,663) in the latter census as compared to the former one (119,077) despite the population growth, which indicates a general decrease in migration over time. In contrast, the number of migrants (living in different province than ten years earlier) in Vientiane had increased significantly from 59,039 (33%) to 72,788 (40%); a sharp increase is registered especially among the young age group of 15-29 years (see Figure 3). While the migration towards the metropolises is increasing, migration to other destinations is now obviously declining.

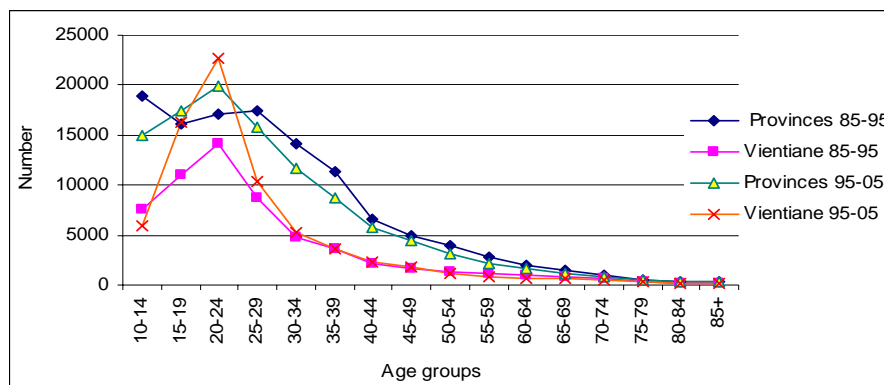


Figure 3: Age groups of migrants between provinces and to Vientiane (Elaborated from Population Census 1995 and 2005).

Looking at the selectivity in migration, the censuses reveal a somewhat changing gender pattern for migrants to Vientiane, and the number of female migrants has increased. In the young age group of 15-19 years, the percentage of women is higher than that of men for both periods, while the same percentage is found for the most mobile age group of 20-24 years (see Figure 4).

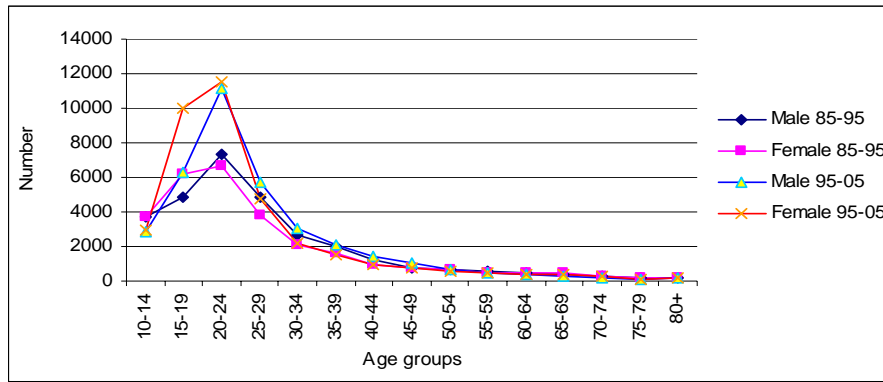


Figure 4: Age group of migrants to Vientiane by gender (Elaborated from Population Census 1995 and 2005).

The majority of young migrants who have moved to Vientiane are from the northern highland provinces (Luangphabang, Huaphanh, Xiengkhouang) and Vientiane province, these number are significantly changed higher than other provinces. In contrast, young migrants from the southern provinces are quite low because those are likely to move and work rather in Thailand than to Vientiane, and those numbers almost was not changed. And high number are only from two provinces (Savannakhet and Champasack). Overall, number of the young people to Vientiane has been increased from 33848 to 49322 people in the decade (see Figure 5).

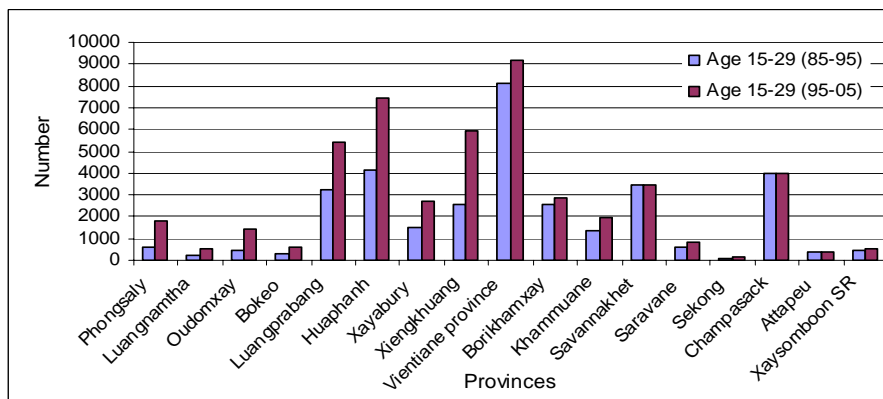


Figure 5: The original provinces of young migrants into Vientiane (Elaborated from Population Census 1995 and 2005).

Migration to other countries

The interrelation between internal and international migration has become an important topic in contemporary migration literature (King, R. et al., 2008; Skeldon, 2006; Malmberg, 1997; Hammar, 1993; Boyle, et al., 1998). Several studies show that internal migration may trigger international migration since the move abroad is often preceded by migration to, for instance, urban centres. But internal migration may also impede international migration if an internal location is the most attractive destination for potential migrants; similarly, the availability of attractive destinations abroad may have a constraining effect on internal migration. It is often assumed that, in countries with a small population and low income, international migration becomes a common alternative to internal migration. A possible outcome may be less migration to urban centres and possibly large-scale emigration and brain-drain. Since Laos is country with few and relatively small urban centres and is located close to countries with dynamic economies, international migration is certainly a major alternative for many young Lao men and women. According to the ILO survey (2003) in three southern provinces in Lao PDR, 21% of international migrants were under 18 years of age and a majority were women. There was a high international migration rate: 5.2% of the total sample population had moved abroad, with a higher proportion of women (59.4%) than of men (40.6%). The majority (82%) of international migrants move to Thailand, 8% to other countries bordering Laos, 9% to the US and 1% to European countries. The internal migration rate was 1.2%, of whom men were the majority (59.1%) and women the minority (40.9%). However, this survey found that migration from the southern provinces to other parts of the country was rather limited (Phetsiriseng, 2007). This indicates that the opportunity to go abroad has an indirect impact on internal migration in the country. According to Punpuing (2006), in 2004 the registration of Lao migrant workers in Thailand counted 181,641 people, with women accounting for 100,633 (55%) and men 80,981 (45%). Overall, the proportion of female migrants had increased in 2001 (57%) and rose to 60% in 2003. And since only 35% have document to move and work legally the risk of human trafficking and labour exploitation has increased.

Over the past decades, Lao PDR has experienced changes in its political, social and economic conditions and demographic situation, as mentioned above. The structural changes have influenced economic transition and socio-cultural change, including population mobility, at national level, the process of resettlement and migration have appeared in both rural and urban areas, due to the government development policies and socio-economic change play a role in the patterns of migration in Lao PDR, as summarized in Table 4 below.

Table 4: Structure of socio-economic change and patterns of migration in Lao PDR

Period	Socio-economic Change	Patterns of Migration
1975-1980s	Lao PDR established in 1975 <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - political regime change - social structure change - economic transition 	Resettlement post-war years <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - return of refugees to original areas - resettlement for security - movement to cities or capital city - refugees flee to other countries
1985-1990s	Government development policies <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - resettlement programmes - upland development - rural development programmes - infrastructure improvement Economic transformation NEM,1986 <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - market-oriented economy approaches to rural areas - economic liberalization - inflow of foreign investments 	Migration transition <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - resettlement from war areas - resettlement for better conditions - remote-rural migrations - rural-rural migration increases - refugees move back to their old places, rural towns or urban cities - rural-urban migration appears - toward migration to capital city
1995-2000s	Rural development and poverty reduction programmes <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - focal sites, village consolidation, land allocation Foreign investment increases <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - hydropower, mining, road construction, trade, tourism Infrastructure development <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - transportation link (rural-urban) - economic links (rural-urban) Socio-economic change at national, province and district level <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - economic growth in the cities - increased urban development - urbanization, industrialization Road transportation/communication links (GMS region) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - international economic, trade cooperation (ASEAN) 	Migration patterns change <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - rural-rural migration slows down - rural-urban migration increases - resettlement from project areas Social networks for migration <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - increased young migration - inflow to Vientiane (rural-urban female migration) New opportunities for migration <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - migration to Thailand increases - migration to other countries
2005->	Regional development policies <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - inflow of capital and new technologies Special Economic Zones (SEZ) (2006) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Boten SEZ. North Economic Corridor (Thailand-Laos-China) - Savan-Zeno SEZ. East-west Economic corridor (Myanmar-Thailand-Laos-Vietnam) 	Migration patterns <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - a link with economic corridor countries - original and destination areas for migration - internal migration - international migration

2. Theoretical Framework and Previous Studies

Since this thesis analyses migration in Laos by use of aggregated quantitative data as well as qualitative information from interviews with individual actors, the theoretical points of departure take both macro- and micro-oriented approaches to migration. The purpose has been to scrutinize how individual actors shape the migration processes observed at the macro-level and also to see how the lives and actions of individuals, families and groups are constrained and formed by the structural conditions. Thus, the theoretical framework combines strands of thoughts from the literature on migration, economic disparities and development process as well as from the literature on migration networks, remittances, the feminization of migration and undocumented migrants.

2.1. Development, Socio-economic Change and Migration

A huge body of migration literature reveals how processes of population mobility are influenced by the political, social and economic context and point to the impact of regional differences for interregional as well as international migration (De Haas, 2008; Boyle et al., 1998; Malmberg, 1997). Socio-economic change is generally associated with regional development, and the resulting imbalances between regions are seen as the main causes behind population movements (De Haas, 2005a; 2008). In both macro and micro traditions, the impacts of regional differences in employment and income opportunities have been emphasized (Massey et al., 1993). While the macro traditions focus on the influence of regional variations in supply of and demand for labour, micro perspectives have, in a neo-classical tradition, the rational choices of individual actors as the theoretical point of departure for explaining, for instance, migration to the expanding urban regions in developing countries. But in other traditions, micro approaches take a broader perspective on migration and on how individual migration decisions are shaped, for instance by the structural conditions and constraints and by conditions at the meso-level such as family networks. Other perspectives have focused on how migrants as well as non-movers have experienced migration. Boyle et al. (1998) claim that in developing countries, micro studies reveal multiple reasons for migration, but also claim that they are often related to urban employment and wage earnings.

Since Laos is usually regarded as one of the developing countries, one point of departure here is the literature and theoretical debate on migration in relation to economic development; how migration is triggered by the regional economic differences and how the preconditions for migration are changed by the process of economic growth. Already in the mid-1950s, Lewis (1954) pointed out how rural-urban migrations were part of larger development processes and how rural labour supplied a workforce to urban industries. This thesis is also inspired by the development and migration theories (de Haas 2005a; 2008), which relate to how development policies, urbanization and modernization influence the migration process and decision. The current debate on migration and development applies a broad perspective to migration and its relations with development, how migration is affected by economic development at various levels, and how economic growth in the cities has influenced rural-urban migration (de Haas, 2008; Raghuram, 2008). As de Haas (2005a) indicates, in the early stages of a socio-economic development process an increase in incomes tends to induce more migration. For instance, Shrestha (1988) regards migration in developing countries as an outcome of a structural change when market-oriented production enters a rural area and the rural population becomes dependent on monetary incomes, and major income opportunities emerge in the major urban areas. Socio-economic development may transform rural livelihoods and urban economies, generate wealth, improve living conditions and change people's livelihoods in local communities, which may influence a country's interregional migration rates. Changes in infrastructure and economic and social structure may increase information and knowledge about the outside world, and induce rural-urban migration with the motive of getting access to education, employment or health care (Parnwell, 1993). Some young people are attracted to cities because of the 'bright lights syndrome', the idea that cities have new and modern facilities compared with what are often perceived as being backward and traditional rural areas (United Nations, 1992). In many parts of the world, moving from rural areas to cities is seen by young people as an opportunity to earn an income but is also often regarded as an initiation into adulthood and Western culture and/or a possibility to become a 'modern woman' through economic independence and access to urban consumer products (Mills, 1997). However, in many cases these aspirations are constrained by persistently low wages and harsh working conditions in gendered urban labour markets (ibid.; Fan, 2003).

Guest (2003) discusses how the process of urbanization is a dominant feature of the demographic transition of most countries. In East and Southeast Asia, urbanization has been the most rapid during recent decades, mainly as a result of rapid economic growth in urban centres (Jones and Kittisuksathit, 2003), and the levels of absolute poverty are estimated to be

significantly higher in rural areas than in urban areas. In Thailand and Malaysia, the percentage of the population in absolute poverty is between 2.5 and 3 times higher in rural areas than urban areas. In Lao PDR, rural poverty was 33%, as compared to 23% urban poverty in 2002 (Warr, 2005).

Though increasing rural-urban migration and urbanization is usually seen as an almost inherent feature of the process towards economic development, research from various settings has contested the linear relationship between migration features and socio-economic change in developing countries (Moomaw and Shatter, 1996). Cross-national comparisons indicate quite large differences in the speed and characteristics of rural-urban migration and urban growth (Van der Ploeg and Poelhekke, 2008). And the preconditions for entering into a phase of transition and economic growth are different in today's globalized world as compared to some decades ago. For instance, new opportunities for international migration may influence internal migration patterns.

Migration may also be influenced by policies attempting to reduce poverty in certain areas and affect migration rates at national level, for instance if development programmes contribute to basic infrastructure and new agricultural activities, which improve household incomes in rural areas (Andersson, M. et al., 2007). Rigg (2007) mentions the needs behind local people's mobility in Laos in terms of agricultural land, access to services and employment opportunities. When local people have permanent land, houses and good jobs in local communities, they may prefer to stay rather than move to other places. But socio-economic development may have other influences and thus change patterns of migration from remote areas to other rural areas, and then from rural areas to urban centres. Increased accessibility in rural areas creates opportunities for local people (farmers) to move and seek temporary jobs in cities, and for young age groups to move for employment and higher education in the capital city, for instance.

As the narrative of Nang at the beginning of this thesis illustrated, her individual decision-making was influenced not only by socio-economic change in rural and urban areas but also by differentials in economic condition and modernization between countries, including social networks of migration in both Laos and Thailand. Moreover, non-economic reasons such as the size of her family, her parents' separation and personal preferences also influenced her migration decisions.

2.2. Migration Networks, Remittances and Undocumented Migrants

Migration network theory stresses the role of social networks and migrants' personal contacts for the migration process and for integration in the place

of destination (De Haas, 2008; Boyd, 1989; Fawcett, 1989; Guilmoto and Sandron, 2001). Migration networks are interpersonal links that connect people at origin and destination through kinship, friendship or shared community of origin. They may trigger migration and also reduce the cost and risk of moving (Massey et al., 1993). Significantly, through a long period of contacts between villages and cities, an important network of village relatives and friends can be established in the city, and this can play a key role in finding jobs and shelter for newcomers (Dandekar, 1997). Normally, migrants have contacts with relatives, friends or someone known in the city before moving, which can reduce the cost of migration (King R. et al., 2008; Chamrathirong et al., 1979; Fuller et al., 1990) and facilitate the process of chain migration (Hugo, 1981; Boyd, 1989).

Rural-urban migration flows are positively related to the number of previous migrants in the cities. Social networks may provide migrants with start-up capital and serve as communication links with families back home (Putzel, 1997). Social networks and social capital generate preconditions for rural-urban migration as well as cross-border migration to other countries. According to the network theory, social networks can not only increase the migration process but also lead to repeated migration over time (Massey et al., 1993). Faist (2000) argues that the development of a transnational (or transregional) social space with intensive contact between origin and destination has both a bridging function, triggering more migration, and an adaptive function, helping newly arrived movers adapt to their new residential setting.

In recent years, the role of migrants' remittances has become a major topic in the migration literature. Remittances often play a key role in improving the living conditions for family members left behind, since it increases household income and allows for new household activities such as small businesses, but it can also be used for the improvement of housing, siblings' education or health care (De Haas, 2005a). Remittances can have a positive impact not only on individual migrants and their families at home but also in terms of economic development in the local communities and in foreign exchange earnings on the national level as well (De Haas, 2005b; Dannecker, 2009; Sisenglath, 2009). It has also been shown that remittances influence migration decisions of potential migrants in the place of origin (Massey et al., 1998). Lall et al. (2006) point to the positive effects of rural-urban migration on rural development, as a consequence of remittances sent to the rural areas playing a key role in improving incomes and allowing new activities in the local communities.

However, the impacts of migration are not only caused by monetary remittances but also through "social remittances" such as the ideas, practices, identities and social capital that flow from receiving to sending country communities (King R. et al., 2006). Social remittances are trans-

ferred by migrants of both sexes or exchanged by letter or other forms of communication including phone, fax, the Internet or video. They may affect family relations, gender roles, class and ethnic identity as well as have an impact on political, social, cultural and economic or religious aspects in the original communities (Sorensen, 2005). Boyle et al., (1998) point to gender differences, as research has found that women send remittances more frequently than men do (Boyle et al., 1998).

Research on migration and human capital has highlighted the problem of brain-drain, and studies have shown how emigration of the highly skilled causes problems for sending countries, though brain-drain can be accompanied by a significant brain-gain (Lowell and Findlay, 2002; De Haas, 2008). Brain-drain migration appeared in Laos in the post-1975 period of political, social and economic transition, as a number of students and skilled professionals fled to other countries as refugees (Sisouphanthong and Taillard, 2000, Evrard and Goudineau, 2004, Baird and Shoemaker, 2007). Many moved for not only political but also economic reasons, and were encouraged by their existing social networks abroad.

A further key issue related to the emergence of migrant networks is the interrelation between different kinds of mobility: international, internal and circular (Skeldon, 1988; Faist, 2000). In times of globalization and increasing cross-border contact, international migration has become increasingly important in many developing countries and also influences internal migration in various ways. Internal and international migration can supplement or substitute each other, due to changing political and economic circumstances (King R. et al., 2008). For instance, research has found that internal migration may lead to international migration in the form of stepwise migration (King R. et al., 2008; Skeldon, 2006). In other cases, migrants start directly by going abroad, facilitated by their social networks or taking the risk of moving with informal brokers. The relationship between internal and international migration in the Mekong Region is complicated, as Chanthavanich (2000) points out. And, since the level of economic development varies substantially between adjacent countries in the region, international migration becomes a major alternative to internal destinations in transitional countries.

For many people worldwide, illegal immigration to another country is seen as the best way to improve their economic situation, and though moving to another country without legal documents is a great risk for many migrants, illegal migration is an increasingly important phenomenon in both developed and developing countries. Illegal migration can be organized in different ways, for instance by previous migrants or brokers (Heckmann, 2008; IOM, 2004). Previous studies have also found that many migrants cross the border legally and then overstay and work illegally, and that some migrate with informal brokers or someone known in their area of origin and

destination (Phouxay, 2008). Also, as King R. (2002) pointed out, legal migrants may sometimes work within the illegal economy and illegal migrants may work within the legal economy. Hence, the boundaries between the legal and illegal economy are sometimes blurred.

As in the case of Thailand, many migrants are unskilled and low educated labourers, and the push factors for undocumented migration may be caused by acute poverty and unemployment, high costs of legal migration and restrictive immigration policies, and many become victims of private recruitment agencies and criminal gangs and trafficking (Huguet and Punpuing, 2005; Pheisiriseng, 2007; Phouxay, 2008). When migrants do not have relative or friend networks available to them, they take the risk and contact informal brokers who provide jobs and travel in advance. However, the regulation law or government policies may transform illegal migrants into legal ones (King, R. 2002).

2.3. Feminization of Migration

According to McDowell (1999), feminist theory developed through the process of social and economic activities which affected men and women in different ways in society, and gender relation differences have either been ignored or explained in naturalistic terms. The feminization of migration has played an important role in economic development and the increase of female workers in labour market participation lies in the coincidence of changes to both the supply of and demand for labour. One factor influencing the growth of urbanization is the increasing feminization of migration in manufacturing as well as the other service sectors. Female economic activity rates have increased substantially, but the female labour is heavily concentrated in low-paid, semiskilled and unskilled work in factories (Roberts, 1989).

Government policies at the national and international levels and socio-economic and cultural factors affect gender migration, and can also affect access to labour markets in places of origin and destination (Tacoli, 1999). Over the past decades, for instance, all EU countries have demonstrated a feminization of their labour force, and women's participation in the labour market has increased while men's participation remains stable or has declined (Anderson, B. 2001). Also, in recent decades women's participation in wage labour has increased throughout the world (McDowell, 1999). The number of migrant women in Asia has also increased significantly since the late 1970s. And as a consequence of rapid economic growth, many Asian countries have been accepting a large number of female migrants from other parts of the region. Therefore, Asia is now both a major destination for female migrant labour and a source of labour to the world.

According to Guest (2003), migration may reduce disparities between areas of unequal economic conditions and remittances may affect gender relations in terms of reducing income inequality within and between households in local communities. However, other research shows how remittances induce household income disparities in rural villages as most out-migrants are not from the poorest households but rather from those that are relatively better off (De Haas, 2005a; 2008). In his research, Rigg (2007) shows how the poorest households in Laos are less likely to move and are thus less likely to receive remittances. Unequal impacts of remittances and household income disparities in Laos may also lead to decisions to cross the border to Thailand illegally. Socio-economic change further presents new opportunities, especially for young women, by providing access to employment outside the home. Gender segregation on labour markets is widely observed in the Asian region as well as in other parts of the world. Migration processes and labour markets in Southeast Asia are gendered and marked by a wide diversity of socio-economic circumstances and experiences. The number of migrating women in the Mekong Sub-region is increasing rapidly, and women are moving into occupations in predominantly urban industrial, trade, service and tourism sectors (Chantavanich, 2000).

Economic development plays an important role in migrant households and influences gender relations, as women start working outside the family through labour market participation (Dannecker, 2009). The gendered labour market and migration patterns must be understood in the context of socio-cultural change during economic transition and a history of female migrant workers (Fan, 2003). South-east and East Asian countries have a high level of female migration, especially from rural to urban areas, and the level of female migration has also increased over recent decades (Hugo, 1993). In rural-urban migration streams the majority of female migrants are young and unmarried, which is also reflected in the gender ratio in urban areas (Guest et al., 1994). Increases in female migration have been associated with expanded employment opportunities in urban industrial, commercial and service sectors, and without the participation of rural-urban labour female migrants, industrial factory development in urban areas would not be possible. A feminization of migration is occurring in East and Southeast Asia, which have been pointed out in recent works on globalization, migration and gender (Bain, 1998; Chow, 2002; Erel et al., 2003).

3. Methods and Data

In order to understand the patterns and consequences of internal and international migration in Laos, this thesis uses multiple data sources and multiple analytical techniques including quantitative and qualitative methods. Macro-level data, such as the 1995 and 2005 National Population Census Surveys, facilitate quantitative documentation and the description of general patterns of migration in Laos over two decades and the relationships between migration and other socio-economic processes observed on an aggregate level. The micro-level data gathered during empirical field surveys in 2004-2005 and 2006 focuses on the individual, household and village levels and include both quantitative and qualitative data, collected to identify some of the processes underlying the patterns of internal and international migration.

In line with the perspective of Faist (1997), for instance, this study strives to investigate migration dynamics at different levels: at the micro-level with a focus on individual migrants; at the meso-level in terms of how social networks affect migration processes and contacts between original and destination areas; and at the macro-level in terms of national statistics and political and economic factors. Hence, the analyses in the thesis are based on information derived from individual-, household-, community- and national-level data, and these levels are also related to both internal and international migration.

The thesis starts from the macro-level and looks at interregional migrations in Laos in order to investigate general patterns of internal migration in provinces and districts during two decades (1985-1995 and 1995-2005) (Paper I). The paper considers migration to Vientiane, international migration, the relationship between socio-economic and infrastructure indicators, and the new patterns of migration during economic transition. In order to investigate these migration processes more in depth, two studies focusing on micro- and meso-levels (Papers II and III) were undertaken with data collection from villages, households and individuals. The field surveys focused on migration perspectives in local communities and the characteristics of migrant households as well as individual perspectives on migration. Overall, the intention has thus been to combine qualitative and quantitative methods of analysis.

Quantitative analysis: The first study uses quantitative methods of analysis and focuses on individual data from the 1995 and 2005 population censuses. The main migration questions analysed were '*Where did you live at the time of the last census?*' And '*Where did you live twelve months ago?*' Persons who lived in the same district (or in the same province) as they did

ten years earlier were defined as non-migrants (on the district or on province levels). Inter-district and inter-province migrants were defined as those living in another district or province than they did ten years ago. In the study, individual and household data on province level (18 provinces) and district level (133 districts) have been aggregated to allow the exploration of annual in- and out-migration rates and as well as of socio-economic and infrastructure indicators. This permitted the comparison of the patterns of internal migration rates between the two periods and analysis of migration to Vientiane and to other countries for the year period 2004-2005. The patterns were mapped to highlight differentials of migration rates between districts in Laos and changes in migration patterns between two decades. Logistic regressions were used in order to examine the relationship between being a mover (as compared to a non-mover) and various individual characteristics. Further linear regressions analyses (OLS) were used to analyse the relationships between migration rates and aggregated regional data. The analyses included independent variables such as demographic characteristics (young age 15-19, sex, ethnic group and marital status); education indicators (literacy, education level, school attendance); economic indicators (state employee, private employee); and infrastructure indicators (road; electricity, primary school, health hospital/hospital) (Paper I).

Since population census data do not provide detailed information on individual experiences of the migrants, two empirical surveys were carried out at the local community level: The questionnaires and guides for village field surveys were designed in order to further scrutinize patterns of, preconditions for and outcomes of migration in local contexts. The first field survey (Paper II) was conducted in 2005 and 2006 in Phonpapao village, in the Sisattanak district of Vientiane, an area with high in-migration that is dominated by an industrial factory, and the second survey (Paper III) was also carried out in 2004 and 2006 in three provinces with high migration rate to other countries, especially to Thailand.

The first household survey was carried out in two steps: First, semi-structured interviews were conducted with the village authority (the head and deputy head of the village, the leader of the Lao Women's Union, the Lao Youth Union of the village and other key persons) in order to obtain general information about the village and the number of migrant households for a sampling design. Unfortunately, the village office did not have statistics on migrant households that had moved into the village during the past three decades. Thus, the village survey was completed later, after interviewing 30 heads of households and checking and listing the number of migrant households in the village. From this it was found that 387 (57%) of the 683 households in the village were migrant households, defined as having moved in during the past 30 years (1975-2005). The second step involved 54% of

migrant households in the village (210 households), and a standard questionnaire was used to collect household and individual data. The questionnaire was divided into two parts, the first concerning household characteristics and the second focusing on individual migrants. The field survey took approximately two weeks to complete⁵. The heads of households were the key respondents, providing detailed information about each household. The leader of the Lao Women's Union of the village served as a guide for the research team during the survey, and the head-of-household groups were guide assistants, contacting and making appointments with the migrant households before the interviews.

A second field survey (Paper III) was conducted with migrant households in five villages in the central region of Laos with high rates of out-migration to Thailand in 2004 and 2006. Firstly, semi-structured interviews were conducted with local authorities in order to get background data, statistics and information on the migration situation in the villages. Then, 30 heads of household with at least one family member working in Thailand were sampled for interviews using questionnaires containing open-ended questions.

Qualitative analysis: In order to understand the individual situation of migrants, including their motives, feelings about and experiences from migration, various qualitative data were collected through in-depth interviews with individual migrants, focus group discussions among migrants and their parents, and key informant interviews for Papers II and III (see Table 5).

In two micro studies qualitative methods were used and a field survey was designed with thematic interview guides for focus group discussions and in-depth interviews. All in-depth interviews were conducted in the Lao language, and were transcribed into English. Thematic and narrative analyses were used as methods of analysis of the interview materials. One of the benefits of thematic analysis is its flexibility (Braun and Clarke, 2006). Thematic analysis is used to identify and analyse patterns (themes) within data, in order to organize and describe the data and facilitate its interpretation (Boyatzis, 1998).

The qualitative data for Paper II derive from ten in-depth interviews and three focus group discussions with female migrant workers (19-28 years) employed in the garment factory in Phonpapao village in March 2006. The cases for the in-depth interviews were selected through a snow-ball sampling procedure, and three focus groups discussions were conducted with both experienced and inexperienced female workers in the factory's dormitory. In

⁵ The head of the household or his wife was interviewed by the research team in the evening after work and during the weekend. Assistants in the interviews were two research assistants and five students from the National University of Laos.

analysing the interviews and focus group discussions, thematic analysis was used to search for repeated patterns of meaning across the whole data set. Significant themes emerged related to meanings of rural-urban migration and factory work, status and identity, and the importance of collective organisations and community relations at home and in the city.

Using narrative analysis was also important in order to get an understanding of the migrant's whole story, including the meanings and experiences as they were constructed in the narratives of interview persons. Through the thematic analysis of migrants' narratives, this research found a variety of different themes and sub-themes after transcribing, reading and interpreting the interview texts. The story of a young woman (Nang) at the beginning of the thesis is a brief example of how a narrative can capture both how individual and contextual factors influence migration decisions and how meanings of migration change over time. In field surveys (Papers II and III), both focus group discussions as well as key informant interviews were conducted. A question guide containing open questions was used, and most interviews lasted one to two hours. In some cases, in order to get additional information, people were interviewed two or three times using both formal and informal interviews.

Table 5: Summary of data and methods of Papers I-III

Articles	Data and Method
<p>Paper I</p> <p>Internal Migration and Socio-economic Change in Laos.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - 1995 and 2005 population census data - Secondary data on migration, government policies, resettlement and development in Laos o Geographic Information System maps of Laos o Descriptive migration characteristics in Laos o Logistic Regression Analysis: socio-economic factors and migration rate on province and district levels, and migration to Vientiane o Relationship between infrastructure and out-migration rate in Laos
<p>Paper II</p> <p>Rural-Urban Migration, Economic Transition, and Status of Female Industrial Workers in Lao PDR.</p> <p>Case of Phonpapao, Sisattanak, Vientiane Capital, Lao PDR.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Key informant interviews: 5 district officers - Semi-structured interviews: local authorities and leaders of Lao Women's Union and Lao Youth Union, and 30 head-of-household groups in the village (to check the list of migrant households, sampling site selection) in 2005 - Household interviews with 210 migrant households - Focus group discussions with 3 groups of female migrant workers in the garment factory - In-depth interviews with 10 female migrant workers in the garment factories in 2006 o Descriptive statistic analysis as quantitative method (household characteristics and migrants' livelihood change) o Thematic analysis of interviews as qualitative method (status of female workers inside and outside industrial factory)
<p>Paper III</p> <p>Patterns and Consequences of Undocumented Migrants from Lao PDR to Thailand.</p> <p>Case of Vientiane capital, Khammouane and Savannakhet province</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Key informant interviews: MOLSW, MOFA, MOPS, Department of Labour on provinces and districts - Semi-structured interviews with 5 local authorities - Focus group discussions with 5 groups of migrants' parents in five villages, three districts, three provinces - Household interviews: 30 parents of migrants - In-depth interviews: 10 returnees from Thailand (2006) o Descriptive statistics of households and migrant characteristics and the consequences of migration o Thematic and narrative analysis of interviews

4. Limitations

Generally, the intention of this thesis was to investigate the patterns of migration in Laos since 1975, in order to explore the migration transition during the transition during the political and social structure change and demographical and economic transition from 1980s to 2005. Unfortunately, the first population census survey data in 1985 was not available for research analysis. Therefore, this study has been designed to draw the picture of migration patterns in two decades (1985-2005).

During the recent decades of social, political and economic changes in Laos, its administrative structure has changed, especially on district level and village level. The number of districts and provinces changed between the two census periods examined, and the structure of the questionnaire of the population census was updated in 2005. Therefore, source data on some variables from the two census surveys are quite different. In addition, the information on migration during the preceding 12 months is not available for the 1995 census. Hence, the analysis of migration in the preceding 12 months was performed only for the 2005 census survey.

The 1995 population census covered 17 provinces and two special zones (Xienghon Hongsa and Xaysomboon Special Region). During the period 1995-2005, the Xienghon Hongsa special zone moved to Xayabury province and some district administrative codes changed, while new districts were established in some provinces and special regions. Therefore, the number of districts had increased from 133 to 142 districts in the 2005 population census. In order to compare migration patterns between the two census periods, the new districts in 2005 were redefined as the old districts of 1995. Also, the district codes in Xaysomboon and the Xienghon Hongsa special zone were changed into the same code in 2005. Finally, the analysis of the study was based on 133 districts and 18 provinces included Xaysomboon S.R. to allow a comparison of interregional migration on district level.

Further, the field survey on migration to Thailand may offer limited information on the positive consequences of migration, since the majority of migrants who have been successful perhaps continue working in Thailand.

5. Paper Summaries

5.1. Paper I: Internal Migration and Socio-economic Change in Laos

This paper analyses the migration patterns in Laos from 1985 until 2005, i.e. a period of dramatic political and socio-economic change. The study examines the relationship between migration and socio-economic change over two decades. The focus is on how the migration pattern is influenced by the regionally differentiated modernization process, socio-economic change, international migration and resettlement, as well as how internal migration is influenced by the opportunities for international migration and by rural development initiated by the government.

The paper is based on data from the two population census surveys in 1995 and 2005, provided by the National Statistics Department of Laos, and used individual records from the census as well as aggregated data on province and district levels. The study explores annual in- and out-migration rate for the periods 1985-1995 and 1995-2005. Further, logistic regressions were used to examine the relationship between socio-economic factors and individual characteristics of migrants on province and district levels as well as those of migrants to Vientiane.

The empirical findings show a decrease in migration on district level from 12.6% for the period 1985-1995 to 7.8% for the period 1995-2005. The findings also indicate that rural-rural migration was significantly higher in the earlier period of the study (1985-1995) due to the influence of various kinds of internal resettlements. During the later period (1995-2005) rural-rural migration slowed down, partly because of a curtailment of the resettlement programme. At the same time the urban population increased from 17% to 27%, due to the continuous increase in urban growth rates in all provinces.

Similar to results from many other studies on migration in developing countries, this study found an over-representation of young migrants moving to urban areas where the income level is higher and education opportunities are available, as well as a higher immigration rate to the capital city. Obviously, socio-economic changes in rural and urban areas have encouraged young people to move to cities for employment and higher education. The study indicates that state and private employees, people aged 15-29 years and women were overrepresented. And, while the more isolated ethnic minorities have a higher propensity to move short distances between districts, they are more likely to stay outside metropolitan areas.

The findings also show high out-migration rates in the northern and central regions while from the South, where international migration to Thailand is high, the out-migration to other regions in the country is quite limited. A negative correlation between improved infrastructure and out-migration was found. This could be an effect of resettlement and higher out-migration rates from the more remote areas, but improved infrastructure may also influence the likelihood of staying or of moving short distances within districts or provinces rather than long distances. On the other hand, areas with more educated people tended to have higher out-migration rates, indicating a positive relationship between modernization and out-migration.

In conclusion, socio-economic change and modernization are determinants of migration patterns in Laos, triggering urban growth. But resettlement, rural development and poverty reduction programmes also affect interregional migration at national level, and in the first period migration was also directed towards rural areas. The study concludes that socio-economic change in urban and rural areas has reshaped the preconditions for migration in Laos, but also that government development policies play an important role in population movements and the volume of migration in the country. Furthermore, it is obvious that the opportunities for cross-border migration and rural-urban migration also influence migration rates at national level.

5.2. Paper II: Rural-Urban Migration, Economic Transition and Status of Female Industrial Workers in Lao PDR

This paper examines the current feminization of rural-urban migration during economic transition in Laos, with a specific focus on how migration to urban centre-based industrial factories affects gender roles and women's status in the industrial garment factories. The study also looks at the characteristics of this process in Laos, against a background of similar processes in other Southeast Asian countries, and seeks to highlight some consequences of economic transition in terms of gendered migration and the labour market.

The paper is based on a household survey, focus group discussions and in-depth interviews with migrant workers in a fast-growing small industrial area (Phonpapao) in Vientiane. The household survey showed that most migrant households had moved to the village between 1996 and 2005. The majority of migrants were of a young age (15-29), and within this age group there were significantly more female than male migrants. Young women had moved especially from the northern and central provinces, while more men had moved from the southern provinces. In the garment factories the great majority of workers were women, mostly from the Northern provinces.

Overall, young rural women in Laos bear a strong responsibility for their families, and strive to provide support to their parents and siblings. If parents cannot finance all their children's education, the eldest sister often drops out of school and helps the family with their farm work. When she grows up or has an opportunity, she is likely to move to the city to earn an income and send back remittances to her family. Dutiful daughters work hard and save money, not only for themselves but also for their families and their parents at home. Some felt very sad about leaving; some moved involuntarily due to family problems, while others wanted to leave to escape farm work 'under sunshine' for industrial factory work 'under electricity', while striving for more independence in the city. Social networks and remittances were important in the decision-making of rural-urban female migrants.

Work in garment factories in Vientiane is shown to be similar to work situations in other Southeast Asian urban factories, for instance in Vietnam, Cambodia and Thailand; long work hours, low salaries, strict rules and overtime work at night. Female migrant workers see industrial work as a temporary job, to try to save money for themselves and for remittances as well as for investment in land or a small business at home or in the city. Due to very low salaries, female migrants try to escape overtime work at night and work part-time outside the factory in restaurants, karaoke entertainment clubs or gift shops. Some find better jobs and leave the factory work, while others move back to the factory. Women have adapted to this temporary situation in different ways, by 'being patient' and working hard.

In terms of the status of female migrant workers, there was an underlying contradiction between women's own descriptions of their responsibilities, restricted lives and hard work and the negative images projected on them by employers, the surrounding urban society and their villages of origin. The workers had to struggle against negative images of female migrant workers being associated with sex work and/or 'bad behaviour'. The experiences and feelings related to transitions in this context expressed by young women demonstrated their assumption of great responsibilities within the multiple, yet restricted, options available to them.

In the specific context of Laos, the mass organizations as political organizations play important roles in both state and private sectors, and within the factories (Lao Women's Union and Lao Youth's Union). This role includes the responsibility for protecting (or controlling) young single migrant workers who live far from their parents, and for protecting the labour force and workers' rights in the factories. In the factory dormitories, young female workers live and share food and experiences with each other, and help and support each other in their demanding work situation. Women talked warmly about their lives in the dormitories, where they saw each other

as sisters and where the head of the dormitory (Lao Women's Union representative) was regarded as their 'older sister'.

5.3. Paper III: Patterns and Consequences of Undocumented Migration from Lao PDR to Thailand

This paper analyses the patterns and consequences of undocumented labour migration from Laos to Thailand. It also considers the process of moving and the impacts and consequences of remittances for migrant workers and their families at home, using quantitative and qualitative data from field surveys. The study focuses on the social situation and working conditions of undocumented migrants in Thailand as well as the living conditions of their families they have left behind, including the importance of remittances, household income and livelihood. Further, the study also examines conditions influencing migration decisions and return migration: the role of information, networks, brokers and economic incentives. Yet another focus is on the consequences of the illegal status of undocumented Lao migrants in Thailand.

The study is based on field surveys in 2004 in five villages in three districts in three provinces (Vientiane, Khammuane and Savannakhet). The survey focused on migrant household interviews and focus group discussions among migrants' parents who have family members working in Thailand. In order to understand the reasons for moving and returning home and the circumstances of migrants' working and living conditions, including the problems they face in Thailand, in-depth interviews among returnees were conducted in 2006 in Vientiane and Savannakhet.

Currently, Laos has become a link between countries in the Greater Mekong Sub-region (GMS) and a transfer area for labour migration in the region. Hence, Laos is both an origin and a destination for migrant workers in the GMS. Especially since 1997, when Laos became an ASEAN member, investments in roads, transportation and communication networks have increased; for instance, three Lao-Thai friendship bridges and international roads for the north and east-west economic corridors have been built. Since then, migration from Laos to Thailand has increased substantially. The different economic opportunities in the two countries are main factors affecting Lao migrant workers who move to Thailand.

Socio-economic condition disparities between countries, social networks (friends, relatives and brokers), information from media and returnees, and remittances may encourage young people to migrate to and work in Thailand. The impact of remittances can not only reduce poverty in migrant households but can also induce income disparities among households of migrants and non-migrants in the village. Undocumented migrants cross the

border in small boats, others use a border pass for visit a few days or a tourism visa for a few months, and then stay longer to work. Due to migrants' lack of money for registration, visa and passport fees, they decide to move illegally with friends, relatives or informal brokers. Therefore, some migrants face obstructions or problems such as being arrested while moving or returning, or at their workplace; being fined by police at the checkpoint or charged all their money before returning home; or being exploited, oppressed and violated by employers, some even becoming victims of human trafficking. Some migrants have escaped their workplace and gone to the police and reported themselves, with the expectation of having a chance to return home.

The consequences of undocumented migrations included both positive and negative impacts on individuals and their families at home. The benefits of remittances can improve living conditions, household income and agricultural activities. Migrants gain labour skills and new experiences from working in Thailand which they can apply to jobs in their local villages. Some experienced success, saving money to start a small business at home, to build a new house or buy land, while others fell victim to trafficking and received only bodily trauma, mental and physical violence, and disease. Their families also spent considerable amounts of money for their health care and for the loss of labour at home, and in some cases families have split up. Undocumented migrants with social networks in Thailand were not as vulnerable as were those who contacted informal broker networks.

6. Discussion and Conclusions

In the literature on migration and development, the importance of contextual conditions in the national and local settings is increasingly highlighted. Although migration, in shifting contexts, may be formed by similar processes such as globalization and expansion of market-oriented production, it is largely also shaped by the specific geographical, cultural, social and political features of countries and regions. And one crucial topic for contemporary migration research is to understand how global processes and socio-economic transition are shaping migration in different national and local contexts. To date, research in Southeast Asia has produced a quite extensive body of literature on migration in various contexts, but the literature on migration in Laos is still rather limited both when it comes to more intensive qualitative micro studies and the broader quantitative analysis of migration patterns. However, important contributions to the research on migration in Laos have been made by, for instance, Rigg (2007), Petit, (2008), Evard and Goudineau (2004), Baird and Shoemaker (2007); and Lao researchers, including Phetsiriseng (2007), Sisenglath (2009) and Chanthavysouk (2006), have examined migration to Thailand; and the Atlas of Laos has been created by Sisouphanthong and Taillard (2000). Thus far some of the qualitative research has been carried out by non-Lao researchers from Europe and North America, and the quantitative analysis of the census data has been rather limited and carried out mainly by government agencies. Since internal migration in Laos has been rather under-researched, the intention of this research was both to present a broad picture of migration patterns and to use more intensive analysis to understand mechanisms behind migration and the consequences for individuals, families and local communities. With my background as a Lao scholar, my objective has been to add to the understanding of migration in Laos using intensive methods based on data from interviews and surveys, some collected previously and some more recently, moreover, to carry out a broader analysis of migration patterns based on the rather unexplored new census data from 2005.

The aims of this study were to analyse patterns and consequences of both internal and international migration in Laos on both a macro and a micro level. One focus was on the influences of socio-economic change and government policies on the patterns of interregional migration by use of macro data from population censuses. Another theme has been the analysis of migration to Vientiane from a gender perspective, based on interviews and surveys with female migrants working in factories. Furthermore, the empirical analysis has explored patterns and consequences of cross-border migration to Thailand by use of intensive studies in local contexts.

An important background of this study is the socio-economic change in Laos, influenced by the New Economic Mechanism (NEM), the transition from a centrally planned economy to a market-oriented one. The strategic goals of the development policies have mainly focused on rural development to reduce poverty. Further road construction, and the development of communication links between rural and urban areas, have contributed to the development of the market-oriented economy in the local communities, and have also created new opportunities for migration.

By use of macro data from the censuses, the aim of the first empirical study was to analyse how migration patterns were influenced by the socio-economic transition following the NEM, initiated in Laos in 1986. Migration theory usually assumes that modernization, an expansion of the market economy into rural areas and the growth of industries and services in urban areas would result in rapid urbanization processes involving large-scale mobility from rural to urban areas. However, this linear relationship between migration patterns and socio-economic change has also been contested. Against this background, the aim of the first empirical study was to investigate how migration patterns have been influenced by socio-economic change in rural and urban areas but also by other factors including international migration and policy. This investigation draws a broad picture of migration in Lao PDR over two decades, comparing the patterns of interregional migration rate at national level, in order to observe migration trends during socio-economic transition and socio-cultural change.

The empirical analysis indicates a relationship between the socio-economic transition and an increase in rural-urban migration, resulting in population growth in urban areas. In the new economic landscape developing after 1986 when Laos became more open to international contacts and investments, many people from rural areas have moved to the cities to search for a better life, find a new job and earn an income for themselves and their families. Many migrants have moved on a temporary basis and some have circulated between rural and urban areas or between districts in urban places, but many also become permanent urban residents. More surprisingly, however, the 2005 census data also revealed a decrease in general interregional migration rate in Laos when the period 1995-2005 was compared to the previous decade, despite the socio-economic transition. This drop in migration rate was mainly the result of a decrease in rural to rural migration. Obviously, the high migration rates in the period 1985-1995 were largely related to the government's policy to resettle people, to influence population mobility and develop rural areas; a policy that was partly abandoned in the later period.

According to the findings of this thesis, outmigration rates for intra-national migration were significantly higher in the northern and central regions than in the southern parts. While the northern and central regions

are close to the capital region, which is a major destination alternative, migrants in the southern parts to a much greater extent moved abroad in search for higher income, employment and better living conditions. In this way, internal migration patterns were strongly influenced by the international migration alternative. The findings from the investigation of migration in Laos show the importance of analysing the interrelations between internal and international migration; a conclusion frequently found in recent migration literature. While migration from some countries in the South is oriented towards countries in the North, Laos, like many other countries, is today strongly influenced by the mechanisms and consequences of South to South migration; in this case mainly the permanent and temporary migration to Thailand. Migration in Laos has certainly been affected by global socio-economic transitions during the past decades in ways similar to other countries in the South and to other transitional economies. Obviously, the introduction of more market-orientated production in the countryside and the development of infrastructure and economic growth in urban areas have affected migration patterns and triggered urban growth. But migration patterns are certainly also shaped by other internal forces: Government policy has obviously influenced them, as have the opportunities to move to cross-border destinations.

Based on the findings from the analyses of census data, the next step in the research was to conduct more in-depth analyses of the experiences of the two dominating kinds of migration, migration to the capital, Vientiane, and the cross-border migration to Thailand.

Due to economic growth in the capital city, the inflow to Vientiane of young people from the countryside has sharply increased. Most of these young men and women have moved for employment and higher education. Socio-economic changes in Laos have affected gender relations in both rural and urban areas and the opportunities for women to move out of the family to work have increased. In some areas, more women than men work outside the family in order to help and support other family members. What has been called the feminization of migration is an apparent phenomenon in Laos as well, and the experiences and living conditions of young female migrants form a key issue for migration research there.

Based on household surveys, focus group discussions and in-depth interviews with migrant workers in a fast growing urban industrial area (Phonpapao) in Vientiane, the second empirical study of this thesis examined the consequences of economic transition in terms of gendered migration and labour markets. From the interviews and survey data, a rather ambiguous picture of migrant experiences emerged.

Looking on the positive side, moving to work in an industrial factory included the improvement of the relative economic position of young

women; having a job and an income created the possibility for them to save some money and send remittances to their family. Hence, this form of migration could in many cases improve the economic standard of living in local communities and reduce poverty in the households. Negative impacts, however, included the vulnerability of young rural females moving far from home as well as the loss of labour in local agriculture. Moreover, in many cases it implied their leaving school.

Generally, the analysis of the status of female migrant industrial workers in Laos uncovered similarities with the conditions of female factory workers in other countries in Southeast Asia: Women work hard, long hours, with overtime work at night and on holidays. They have low wages, and work under strict rules with only short breaks for lunch and dinner. These young migrants assume strong responsibilities: Many save their money and support other family members, and their remittances were an important contribution to the household economy. In fact, the interviews showed that remittances were central in the decision-making of rural-urban female migrants. 'Dutiful daughters' pay attention to work and save money not only for themselves but also for their families, and see themselves as responsible for their parents at home.

Women described how they patiently tried to adjust to the industrial factory work and to urban life. Despite the difficulties they could see positive sides of the move, and as one of the interviewees said: "*Working hard at the factory with a low wage is better than working hard under sunshine with no income*". Still, many female migrants had to pay a high price for moving. Some felt very sad about leaving; Some moved involuntarily due to family problems, while others wanted to leave to escape farm work 'under sunshine' for industrial factory work 'under electricity', while striving for more independence in the city. Some female migrant workers saw industrial work as a temporary job and tried to save money for themselves and for remittances, as well as to invest in land or a small business at home or in the city. But due to very low salaries, some young women also tried to escape overtime work at night and work part-time outside the factory in restaurants, karaoke entertainment clubs or gift shops.

The specific institutional context of Lao PDR was shown to be important, for instance, in the ways collective mass organizations intervened in the lives of young women and the specific roles they had in shaping women's work and social relations. Various agencies of the state at the village level and within the factory were concerned with young, single migrant women living far from their parents. Collective organizations were present at the factory, in the local community and at the factory dormitories. Despite regulations about going out after work, and in contrast to how women described working conditions at the factory, they talked warmly about their lives at the dormitories. There the women shared food, had meetings, organized a

remittance system and supported each other in various ways. Women workers spoke about each other as 'sisters' and saw the head of the dormitory, usually from the Lao Women's Union, as their 'older sister'.

Regarding the work experiences at the industrial factories, unskilled rural women received on-the-job training for a few weeks and then started working on the assembly line; or, some learned to be workers' assistants. Through their work experiences at the factory, some women were promoted to head of the assembly line or sample designer. However, even though workers increased their skills over time, they did not see this translated into higher wages, better work conditions or prospects for professional advancement. Industrial work in this context was regarded as a temporary hardship from which workers planned to move on as soon as they could. No interviewee intended to work at the factory for a longer period of time. The workers adapted to the temporary situation in different ways, by 'being patient', working hard and seeking a future change of some form.

The interviews showed that the low wages and strict rules made female migrant workers move out and on from factory work, but some also had to return to the factories. Women tried to find better jobs with higher wages, or worked part-time at night for additional income. Some migrants did find a good job with a higher income and could save money for a new house or a business investment. But some failed to do so and had to return to the factory, particularly those who had negative experiences from working at beer shops or bars with karaoke or other entertainment. Among the workers there were also those who tried to contact friends or relatives who had worked in Thailand in order to keep moving for higher income and new experiences abroad.

Finally, the thesis also focused on the increasing cross-border labour migration to Thailand. Migration from Laos to Thailand is an example of an internationally growing phenomenon: South to South migration. In this case as in many other parts, the economic differential between two neighbouring counties is the major determinant behind the cross-border migration. The dynamic Thai economy, media and entertainment from Thai TV provide a sharp contrast to the countryside of Laos, where most Lao people live. Socio-economic changes in the rural areas have partly led to new consumption patterns and local people are more able to buy domestic appliances for their families. Labour migration has increased, and there are many opportunities but also many risks related to the undocumented migration of mainly young people from Laos to Thailand. As was shown in the quantitative analysis of migration patterns, Thailand is a major destination for mainly young people living in the southern part of Laos, presenting a more important alternative than the cities within Laos. The majority of migrants are young low skilled labourers; for instance, men who volunteer to work at the agriculture,

construction and industrial factories, or women who work in private homes as domestic workers. In addition, the development of transportation and communication links between the countries creates new opportunities for international migration. Also, the subsequent development of social networks and remittances influence the migration process and the young people's decision to move to get a higher income and access to modernity abroad.

According to the findings, the consequences of the cross-border migration were both positive and negative for individuals, families and communities of origin. Some migrants who have social networks may benefit from migration, because their remittances often play an important role in local social and economic development, improving the housing and living conditions as well as household income. Due to the international remittances, many families can build a new house, invest in business activities and buy materials for agriculture work. Their household income seems to be higher than among the non-migrant households in the village. Hence, the international remittances also influence income disparities in the local communities and the emigrants are seldom from the poorest of the poor households. Consequently, remittances may reduce household and village poverty and promote economic development in the local communities. In addition, migrants gain labour skills and new experiences from working in Thailand which they can apply to jobs in their local villages. But lacking kinship networks, and thus depending on informal brokers, many migrants from Laos to Thailand find themselves in a very vulnerable position and have to pay a high price for earning money for remittances and support to their family back home. Many illegal migrants have no contact with the outside when they arrive in Thailand and some are kept at their workplace the entire time, in order to avoid being arrested by police. Some are arrested and deported home while travelling or working at the factories, and some are exploited, treated with violence and oppressed by employers, or become victims of trafficking.

Migration from Laos to Thailand is also different from the migration from Vietnam, Cambodia and Myanmar, because Laos and northeast Thailand have similar cultures and languages (Rigg, 2007 and Mills, 1997). Moreover, the social networks in Thailand have very strongly influenced migration from Laos. Together with the proximity and the differences in income opportunities, this makes Thailand an increasingly important destination when the rural population in Laos search for additional income and sources for monetary remittances. Migration is a major alternative but also a risk for the population in Laos, and it influences the economic situation of many families and villages as well as the patterns of internal migration within the country.

Comparing migration to Vientiane with the migration to Thailand, the consequences of internal migration are in many ways more positive compared to those of undocumented international migration, even though the internal remittances of female industrial workers are lower than those from cross-border migrants in Thailand. But the minor remittances can also improve migrants' family conditions to reduce the poverty of the households. Moreover, internal migration is cheaper and safer than illegal cross-border migration. One exception to this could be when migrants have relative or friend networks in Thailand, or have moved with registered work permits. The international agreement between the Lao and Thai governments to improve the conditions for migrant workers could therefore be of great importance.

Hopefully, this thesis may contribute to further research on internal migration in Laos as well as on the international migration from the country. My attempts have been to make a contribution to the research on migration in Laos; to give a notion and understanding of the conditions influencing migration decisions and their outcomes; and to give an overview of the broader patterns of migration, by use of both quantitative and qualitative data. This research has broadened my knowledge of migration in Laos and, learning from it, I have thought of several other topics for further research. One is to investigate the impact of resettlement and development programmes on local livelihood and migration in Laos (with case studies of resettlement areas, focal sites or special regions); another is to examine the influences of foreign direct investment on internal and international migration in Laos (with a focus on small businesses of Chinese investors in the Special Economic Zone). One further topic for future research is rural-urban migration, with a gender analysis of different economic sectors in Vientiane (focusing on migrants in private and state sectors).

Finally, it is my hope that this thesis may also provide information and data to policymakers, to improve the working conditions, incomes and social welfare of migrant workers in the industrial factories and other economic sectors. Also, I hope this research has highlighted the importance of protecting migrant labourers' and women's rights in Lao PDR, and of working for improvements to the vulnerable conditions the many young Lao migrants in Thailand are working under.

7. Summary in Lao Language

ໃນຍຸກປັດຈຸບັນ ການສຶກສາຄົ້ນຄ້ວາກ່ຽວກັບການເຄື່ອນຍ້າຍ ແລະການພັດທະນາ ແມ່ນໄດ້ເປັນເຫດການທີ່ກຳລັງພົ້ນເດັ່ນຢູ່ໃນບັນດາປະເທດດ້ວຍພັດທະນາ ແລະກຳລັງພັດທະນາຢູ່ໃນໂລກ ຊຶ່ງມັນໄດ້ສົ່ງຜົນສະທ້ອນຕໍ່ການປ່ຽນແປງໂຄງສ້າງເສດຖະກິດ-ສັງຄົມວັດທະນະທຳ ແລະສະພາບສິ່ງແວດລ້ອມຂອງປະເທດ. ມີຫລາຍເອກະສານທີ່ຄົ້ນຄ້ວາມາແລ້ວໄດ້ຍັງຢືນວ່າ ຍ້ອນເງື່ອນໄຂສະພາບແວດລ້ອມຂອງການພັດທະນາຢູ່ໃນແຕ່ລະປະເທດ ແຕ່ລະເຂດແຂວງ ແລະແຕ່ລະທ້ອງຖິ່ນມີຄວາມແຕກຕ່າງກັນ ຈຶ່ງເຮັດໃຫ້ການເຄື່ອນຍ້າຍຂອງປະຊາກອນເກີດຂຶ້ນມີຫລາຍຮູບແບບແຕກຕ່າງກັນ. ເຖິງແມ່ນວ່າ, ເງື່ອນໄຂສະພາບແວດລ້ອມຂອງການເຄື່ອນຍ້າຍແຕ່ລະປະເທດ ແຕກຕ່າງກັນ ແຕ່ສະພາບລວມແລ້ວມັນອາດຈະເກີດຂຶ້ນຍ້ອນສາເຫດໃຫຍ່ທີ່ຄ້າຍຄືກັນ ເຊັ່ນ ເກີດຈາກຜົນສະທ້ອນຂອງຂະບວນໂລກາພິວັດ, ການຂະຫຍາຍຕົວທາງດ້ານການຈັດຕັ້ງການຜະຫລິດຄື ການປ່ຽນແປງ ລະບົບເສດຖະກິດຈາກລວມສູນໄປສູ່ເສດຖະກິດການຕະຫລາດ, ການເປີດກ້ວາງການຄ້າຂາຍເສລີ ຫລື ການເປີດກ້ວາງການຮ່ວມມືທາງດ້ານເສດຖະກິດກັບສາກົນ ເພີ່ມຂຶ້ນ. ແຕ່ອັນພິເສດແລ້ວ, ແມ່ນຍ້ອນມີຄວາມແຕກຕ່າງທາງດ້ານເປົ້າໝາຍຍຸດທະສາດ ແລະນະໂຍບາຍການພັດທະນາຂອງແຕ່ລະປະເທດ ແລະສະພາບຄວາມເປັນຈິງຂອງສິ່ງແວດລ້ອມສັງຄົມໃນປະເທດ. ແຕ່ເຖິງຢ່າງໃດກໍຕາມ ການເຄື່ອນຍ້າຍຂອງປະຊາກອນມັນໄດ້ເປັນປັດໄຈເຮັດໃຫ້ສັງຄົມມີການຂະຫຍາຍຕົວ ແລະມີການປ່ຽນແປງທາງດ້ານຮູບຮ່າງພູມິສາດເສດຖະກິດ, ພູມສາດປະຊາກອນ, ສັງຄົມວັດທະນະທຳ ແລະຄຸນລັກສະນະທາງດ້ານການເມືອງຂອງປະເທດອີກດ້ວຍ.

ນອກຈາກນັ້ນ, ໃນຫົວຂໍ້ສຶກສາກ່ຽວກັບການຍ້າຍຖິ່ນຖານເພື່ອຢູ່ຮ່ວມກັນໃນໂລກກໍໄດ້ກາຍເປັນເຫດການໜຶ່ງທີ່ກຳລັງເດັ່ນຢູ່ໃນຍຸກປັດຈຸບັນຄືກັນ ເພື່ອໃຫ້ຄົນໃນສັງຄົມເຂົ້າໃຈວ່າ ຂະບວນວິວັດທະນາການຂອງໂລກໄດ້ປ່ຽນແປງຕະຫລອດເວລາ, ການປ່ຽນແປງໃໝ່ ທາງດ້ານເສດຖະກິດສັງຄົມມັນໄດ້ເອື້ອອຳນວຍຄວາມສະດວກ ແລະສ້າງເງື່ອນໄຂໃຫ້ຄົນມີການເຄື່ອນຍ້າຍຈາກຫລາຍໆຊາດມາຢູ່ຮ່ວມກັນ ໂດຍມາຈາກພື້ນຖານສະພາບແວດລ້ອມທີ່ແຕກຕ່າງກັນ. ເຖິງຢ່າງໃດກໍຕາມ, ຢູ່ໃນຂົງເຂດອາຊີຕາເວັນອອກສຽງເຕັກໄດ້ມີການຄົ້ນຄ້ວາກ່ຽວກັບເລື່ອງນີ້ຢ່າງກ້ວາງຂວາງ ການຍ້າຍຖິ່ນແມ່ນມີຫລາຍຮູບຫລາຍແບບທີ່ເກີດມາຈາກຫລາຍປັດໄຈ ແລະໃນເງື່ອນໄຂ

ທີ່ແຕກຕ່າງກັນ. ແຕ່ສໍາຫລັບການຄົ້ນຄວ້າກ່ຽວກັບການຍ້າຍຖິ່ນຢູ່ໃນ ສປປລາວ ແລ້ວຍັງຂ້ອນຂ້າງມີຈຳກັດ ໂດຍສະເພາະແມ່ນການສຶກສາລະດັບມະຫາພາກເພື່ອ ເບິ່ງຮູບແບບ ແລະທ່າອ່ຽງຂອງການເຄື່ອນຍ້າຍຢູ່ພາຍໃນປະເທດ ແລະອອກໄປ ຕ່າງປະເທດໃນໄລຍະທົດສະວັດຜ່ານມາ. ເຖິງວ່າໃນໄລຍະທີ່ຜ່ານມາໄດ້ມີການສຶກ ສາຈຳນວນໜຶ່ງ ເຊັ່ນ: Evrard and Goudinau (2004), Bard and Shoemaker (2007), Rigg (2007), Petit (2008) ແລະນັກຄົ້ນຄວ້າຂອງລາວເຊັ່ນ: Khamsavath Chanthavysouk (2006), Inthasone Phetsiriseng (2007) ແລະ Somphone Sisenglath (2009), ແລະແຜນທີ່ການເຄື່ອນຍ້າຍຂອງ ປະຊາກອນລາວ ທີ່ສ້າງຂຶ້ນໂດຍ Sisouphanthong and Taillard (2000) ແລະ ບົດລາຍງານການສໍາຫລວດອື່ນໆຂອງອົງການສາກົນ ແລະຂອງລັດ. ແຕ່ການຄົ້ນ ຄວ້າດັ່ງກ່າວ ຍັງບໍ່ທັນເຫັນໄດ້ຢ່າງຈະແຈ້ງເຖິງ ອັດຕາການປ່ຽນແປງຮູບແບບການ ເຄື່ອນຍ້າຍຢູ່ພາຍໃນປະເທດ ແຕ່ລະດັບມະຫາພາກຈົນເຖິງຈຸລະພາກໃນໄລຍະສອງ ທົດສະວັດທີ່ຜ່ານມາ. ດັ່ງນັ້ນຈຸດປະສົງຫລັກຂອງການສຶກສາຄັ້ງນີ້ຈຶ່ງແນໃສ່ວິໄຈເບິ່ງ ຮູບແບບ ແລະອັດຕາການເຄື່ອນຍ້າຍຂອງປະຊາກອນລາວ ທີ່ໄດ້ຮັບອິດທິພົນຈາກ ການປ່ຽນແປງໂຄງສ້າງເສດຖະກິດສັງຄົມຢູ່ໃນ ສປປລາວ, ແຕ່ລະດັບເຂດ, ແຂວງ ແລະເມືອງຈົນເຖິງລະດັບທ້ອງຖິ່ນ. ໂດຍສະເພາະແມ່ນການປ່ຽນແປງຢູ່ໃນຕົວເມືອງ ແລະຊົນນະບົດ ພາຍຫລັງທີ່ໄດ້ດຳເນີນນະໂຍບາຍກົນໄກເສດຖະກິດໃໝ່ ແລະນະ ໂຍບາຍການພັດທະນາຕົວເມືອງແລະຊົນນະບົດໃນລະດັບທົ່ວປະເທດ.

ເພື່ອປະຕິບັດຕາມຈຸດປະສົງລະດັບຄາດໝາຍລວມຂອງການຄົ້ນຄວ້າ ກ່ຽວກັບ ຮູບແບບການເຄື່ອນຍ້າຍຂອງປະຊາກອນ ແລະການປ່ຽນແປງເສດຖະກິດ-ສັງຄົມຢູ່ ໃນ ສປປລາວ ທີ່ໄດ້ກຳນົດໄວ້, ການສຶກສາແມ່ນໄດ້ອີງໃສ່ຂໍ້ມູນພື້ນຖານຈາກການສໍາ ຫລວດພົນລະເມືອງທົ່ວປະເທດ, ແລະການລົງສໍາຫລວດຕົວຈິງໃນພາກສະໜາມຢູ່ ລະດັບທ້ອງຖິ່ນ. ເພື່ອສຶກສາເບິ່ງທ່າອ່ຽງ ແລະອັດຕາການປ່ຽນແປງການຍ້າຍຖິ່ນ ຖານຂອງປະຊາກອນລາວແຕ່ລະເຂດ, ແຂວງ, ເມືອງ ຈົນເຖິງລະດັບບ້ານ, ຄອບຄົວ ແລະບຸກຄົນທີ່ຍ້າຍ ແລະສຶກສາລົງເລິກເບິ່ງຜົນສະທ້ອນທີ່ຕາມມາຂອງການຍ້າຍຄື: ການປ່ຽນແປງວິຖີຊີວິດ, ການປະກອບອາຊີບ ແລະການດຳລົງຊີວິດຢູ່ພາຍໃນຕົວ ເມືອງພາຍຫລັງຍ້າຍ ລວມທັງສະພາບການເຄື່ອນຍ້າຍຂອງແຮງງານເຂົ້າສູ່ນະຄອນ ຫລວງວຽງຈັນແລະການຍ້າຍຖິ່ນຂ້າມຊາຍແດນອອກໄປເຮັດວຽກຢູ່ປະເທດໄທ.

ການຄົ້ນຄ້ວາຍັງໄດ້ສຶກສາເບິ່ງ ບົດບາດຂອງການປະຕິຮູບກົນໄກເສດຖະກິດໃໝ່ ແລະການປະຕິບັດນະໂຍບາຍການພັດທະນາຂອງລັດຖະບານໃນຊ່ວງໄລຍະທີ່ຜ່ານມາ ໄດ້ສົ່ງຜົນສະທ້ອນຕໍ່ການປ່ຽນແປງຮູບແບບ ແລະອັດຕາການເຄື່ອນຍ້າຍຂອງປະຊາກອນລາວ ລະຫວ່າງເຂດ, ແຂວງ, ເມືອງໃນທົ່ວປະເທດ, ລວມທັງການຍ້າຍຖິ່ນຖານຂອງບັນດາຊົນເຜົ່າຊາວພູດອຍລົງສູ່ທົ່ງພຽງ, ການຍ້າຍຈາກຊົນນະບົດເຂົ້າສູ່ຕົວເມືອງ. ອີກປະການໜຶ່ງ, ການສຶກສາຍັງໄດ້ທົບທວນເບິ່ງການເຕີບໃຫຍ່ຂະຫຍາຍຕົວທາງດ້ານເສດຖະກິດ-ສັງຄົມ ເປັນຕົ້ນແມ່ນວຽກງານອຸດສະຫະກຳ, ການຄ້າ, ການທ່ອງທ່ຽວແລະການບໍລິການ ອື່ນໆ ຕະຫລອດເຖິງການລົງທຶນຂອງຕ່າງປະເທດ, ການພັດທະນາການສຶກສາ, ສາທາລະນະສຸກ ແລະການກໍ່ສ້າງໂຄງລ່າງຖະໜົນທຶນທາງ, ການຄົມມະນາຄົມຂົນສົ່ງ, ການຕິດຕໍ່ສື່ສານແລະອື່ນໆ ທີ່ເປັນເງື່ອນໄຂເອື້ອອຳນວຍຄວາມສະດວກໃຫ້ແກ່ ການເຄື່ອນຍ້າຍຂອງປະຊາກອນ ຢູ່ທັງໃນຕົວເມືອງ ແລະຊົນນະບົດ ແລະຍ້າຍຈາກຊົນນະບົດເຂົ້າສູ່ຕົວເມືອງ. ນອກຈາກນັ້ນ, ການປ່ຽນແປງທາງດ້ານເສດຖະກິດ-ສັງຄົມຢູ່ໃນ ສປປລາວ ຍັງໄດ້ມີອິດທິພົນຕໍ່ການປ່ຽນແປງບົດບາດຍິງຊາຍຢູ່ໃນສັງຄົມ ຄືການຊຸກຍູ້ ແລະສົ່ງເສີມບົດບາດຂອງແມ່ຍິງລາວໃຫ້ມີສ່ວນຮ່ວມເຂົ້າໃນການພັດທະນາເສດຖະກິດຢູ່ໃນສັງຄົມ, ກໍ່ຄືເສດຖະກິດຢູ່ໃນຄອບຄົວ ແລະຍັງເປັນໂອກາດໃຫ້ແມ່ຍິງໄດ້ພັດທະນາຕົນເອງຢູ່ໃນສັງຄົມຫລາຍຂຶ້ນ.

ນອກຈາກນັ້ນ, ການສຶກສາຍັງໄດ້ທົບທວນເບິ່ງການປະຕິບັດນະໂຍບາຍຂອງລັດຖະບານລາວ ກ່ຽວກັບການພັດທະນາຊົນນະບົດເພື່ອຫລຸດຜ່ອນຄວາມທຸກຍາກທີ່ມີຜົນສະທ້ອນຕໍ່ການເຄື່ອນຍ້າຍຢູ່ເຂດຊົນນະບົດ. ແລະການນຳເນີນນະໂຍບາຍຂອງລັດຖະບານກ່ຽວກັບການຮ່ວມມືທາງດ້ານເສດຖະກິດ, ການຄ້າ ແລະການບໍລິການພາຍໃນຂົງເຂດປະເທດລຸ່ມແມ່ນ້ຳຂອງ, ອາຊີຕາເວັນອອກສຽງໃຕ້ ແລະລະຫວ່າງກຸ່ມປະເທດອາຊຽນ. ການປ່ຽນແປງນະໂຍບາຍດັ່ງກ່າວໄດ້ກາຍເປັນສັງກາດໃໝ່ໃຫ້ແກ່ການພັດທະນາເສດຖະກິດ-ສັງຄົມໃນ ສປປລາວ ແລະຍັງສ້າງເງື່ອນໄຂໃຫ້ແກ່ຂະບວນການເຄື່ອນຍ້າຍແຮງງານຕ່າງຊາດເຂົ້າມາໃນລາວ ແລະແຮງງານລາວອອກໄປເຮັດວຽກຢູ່ຕ່າງປະເທດເພີ່ມຂຶ້ນໂດຍສະເພາະຂ້າມແດນໄປປະເທດໄທ.

ຜົນຂອງການສຶກສາຄັ້ງນີ້ ແມ່ນໄດ້ຍົກໃຫ້ເຫັນຮູບພາບລວມຂອງການເຄື່ອນຍ້າຍປະຊາກອນລາວທົ່ວປະເທດ ໃນສອງທົດສະວັດທີ່ຜ່ານມາ (1985-2005) ຈາກລະດັບເຂດ, ແຂວງ, ເມືອງ ຈົນເຖິງລະດັບທ້ອງຖິ່ນບ້ານ, ຄອບຄົວ ແລະບຸກຄົນຜູ້ຍ້າຍ ໂດຍອີງໃສ່ການສຶກສາສົມທຽບຂໍ້ມູນພື້ນຖານຈາກການສຳຫລວດພົນລະເມືອງ

ທົ່ວປະເທດສອງຄັ້ງ ໃນປີ 1995 ແລະ 2005, ຊຶ່ງເປັນໄລຍະເລີ່ມຕົ້ນຂອງການ
ປະຕິບັດແຜນການຫ້າປີຄັ້ງທີສອງ (1985-1990), ແລະການປະຕິຮູບກົນໄກເສດ
ຖະກິດໃໝ່ໃນປີ 1986 ກໍຄືການຫັນປ່ຽນແນວທາງນະໂຍບາຍໃໝ່ຂອງລັດຖະບານ
ສປປລາວ ການຫັນໄປສູ່ການພັດທະນາຊຸມນະບົດ, ເຂດພູດອຍແລະເຂດທ່າງໄກ
ສອກຫລີກ ການຍ້າຍຖິ່ນຖານຂອງບັນດາຊົນເຜົ່າຊາວພູດອຍລົງສູ່ທົ່ງພຽງ ເພື່ອການ
ພັດທະນາແບບຍືນຍົງ, ເຄື່ອນຍ້າຍອອກຈາກເຂດສົງຄາມທຳລາຍ ບ່ອນລະເບີດທີ່ບໍ່
ທັນແຕກ, ເຂດທຸລະກັນດານ, ເພື່ອສົ່ງເສີມບົດບາດຂອງບັນດາຊົນເຜົ່າ, ແມ່ຍິງ ແລະ
ເດັກນ້ອຍໃຫ້ມີໂອກາດໃນການສຶກສາ, ຮັກສາສຸຂະພາບ ແລະມີສ່ວນຮ່ວມເຂົ້າໃນ
ການສ້າງສາພັດທະນາເສດຖະກິດສັງຄົມຂອງປະເທດຊາດ. ໃນຊ່ວງໄລຍະນີ້, ການ
ເຄື່ອນຍ້າຍເພື່ອຕັ້ງຖິ່ນຖານໃໝ່ຢູ່ໃນເຂດຊຸມນະບົດຂອງຊາວພູດອຍໄດ້ກາຍເປັນຂະ
ບວນການໃຫຍ່ ເຊັ່ນ ການຊອກຫາດິນເພື່ອເຮັດການກະສິກຳ, ການແລກປ່ຽນສິນຄ້າ
ແລະຜົນຜະລິດໃນທ້ອງຖິ່ນ ແລະການເຄື່ອນຍ້າຍອອກມາສູ່ເສັ້ນທາງບ່ອນທີ່ມີເງື່ອນ
ໄຂສະດວກໃນການດຳລົງຊີວິດ ການເຄື່ອນຍ້າຍດັ່ງກ່າວຍັງໄດ້ກາຍເປັນການຍ້າຍ
ຕິດຕໍ່ໜ້ອຍໜຶ່ງໃນທົ່ວທຸກເຂດແຂວງທົ່ວປະເທດ ແລະໄດ້ສົ່ງຜົນຕໍ່ການປ່ຽນແປງຮູບ
ແບບການຍ້າຍຖິ່ນໃນລະດັບປະເທດ.

ການສຶກສາຍັງໄດ້ຄົ້ນພົບວ່າ ນັບແຕ່ມີການປະຕິຮູບກົນໄກເສດຖະກິດໃໝ່ ຄື
ການປ່ຽນແປງຮູບແບບການຜະລິດຈາກເສດຖະກິດວາງແຜນລວມສູນຂອງລັດ ໄປສູ່
ເສດຖະກິດການຕະຫລາດໃນລະດັບທ້ອງຖິ່ນ ແລະການຂະຫຍາຍເສດຖະກິດເປີດ
ກ້ວາງການຄ້າເສລີຖືກກົດໝາຍ, ການພັດທະນາເສດຖະກິດຂອງ ສປປລາວ ແມ່ນ
ໄດ້ມີການຂະຫຍາຍຕົວຢ່າງວ່ອງໄວໃນລະດັບມະຫາພາກ ອັນເນື່ອງມາຈາກການ
ປະຕິບັດນະໂຍບາຍການເປີດກ້ວາງການຮ່ວມມືເສດຖະກິດກັບສາກົນເພີ່ມຂຶ້ນ ແລະ
ການສົ່ງເສີມການລົງທຶນຂອງຕ່າງປະເທດ ໃນຂະແໜງການອຸດສະຫະກຳ ການຄ້າ
ແລະການບໍລິການອື່ນໆ. ການເຕີບໃຫຍ່ຂະຍາຍຕົວຂອງຂະແໜງເສດຖະກິດດັ່ງກ່າວ
ໄດ້ສ້າງເງື່ອນໄຂ ແລະຕອບສະໜອງວຽກເຮັດງານທຳໃຫ້ແກ່ປະຊາຊົນທີ່ຂາດລາຍ
ຮັບ ທັງຢູ່ໃນຕົວເມືອງແລະຊຸມນະບົດ ແລະໄດ້ເປັນປັດໃຈຕົ້ນຕໍຂອງການປ່ຽນແປງ
ຮູບແບບການຍ້າຍຖິ່ນຢູ່ພາຍໃນປະເທດ ແລະອອກໄປຕ່າງປະເທດເພີ່ມຂຶ້ນ.

ນອກຈາກນີ້, ການສຶກສາຍັງໄດ້ສົມທົບເບິ່ງຄວາມແຕກຕ່າງຂອງຮູບແບບ ແລະ
ຜົນທີ່ຕາມມາຂອງການເຄື່ອນຍ້າຍຢູ່ພາຍໃນ ແລະອອກໄປຕ່າງປະເທດ. ການປ່ຽນ
ແປງສະພາບເສດຖະກິດ-ສັງຄົມ ລະຫວ່າງຕົວເມືອງ ແລະຊຸມນະບົດມີຄວາມແຕກ

ຕ່າງກັນ, ການກາຍເປັນຕົວເມືອງ, ການຂະຫຍາຍວຽກງານອຸດສະກຳ, ໂຮງຈັກ ໂຮງງານ ແລະຄວາມທັນສະໄໝຂອງຕົວເມືອງເພີ່ມຂຶ້ນ ໄດ້ສົ່ງຜົນສະທ້ອນຕໍ່ຂະ ບວນການຍ້າຍຂອງໄວໜຸ່ມ ໂດຍສະເພາະແມ່ນຍິງໜຸ່ມຊາວຊົນນະບົດຍ້າຍເຂົ້າ ສູ່ຕົວເມືອງຂອງເທດສະບານແຂວງ ຫລືນະຄອນຫລວງວຽງຈັນເພື່ອຕອບສະໜອງ ແຮງງານໃຫ້ແກ່ວຽກງານໃນໂຮງງານອຸດສະຫະກຳຕ່າງໆ, ລວມທັງໃນຂະແໜງ ການ ຄ້າ ແລະການບໍລິການອື່ນໆ.

ສະຫລຸບຜົນການສຶກສາຕົ້ນຕໍທີ່ໄດ້ຄົ້ນພົບຄັ້ງນີ້ມີ:

ກ) ການຍ້າຍຖິ່ນຂອງປະຊາກອນລາວລະຫວ່າງເຂດ, ແຂວງ ແລະເມືອງແມ່ນມີອັດ ຕາສ່ວນສູງໃນຊ່ວງໄລຍະຕົ້ນ (1985-1995), ໂດຍສະເພາະຢູ່ທັງແຂວງພາກເໜືອ ເຂດພູດອຍຫ່າງໄກສອກຫລີກມີການຍ້າຍອອກຫລາຍ, ສ່ວນພາກກາງມີທັງຍ້າຍ ອອກ ແລະຍ້າຍເຂົ້າຫລາຍ ໂດຍສະເພາະເຂດພິເສດໄຊສົມບູນ, ແຂວງວຽງຈັນ ແລະ ແຂວງບໍລິຄຳໄຊ ການຍ້າຍຂອງປະຊາກອນດັ່ງກ່າວແມ່ນ ໄດ້ຮັບຜົນສະທ້ອນຈາກ ຫລາຍປັດໄຈເຊັ່ນ ການເລີ່ມຕົ້ນປະຕິບັດນະໂຍບາຍການຍ້າຍຖິ່ນຖານຂອງຊາວພູດ ອຍລົງສູ່ທັງ ພຽງເພື່ອຢຸດຕິການຖາງປ່າເຮັດໄຮ່ແບບເລື້ອນລອຍ, ຢຸດຕິການບູກ ຝັນຂອງຊາວພູດອຍ, ຍ້າຍຈາກເຂດສົງຄາມທຳລາຍ ເພື່ອຄວາມປອດໄພຈາກລະ ເບີດທີ່ບໍ່ທັນແຕກ ຫລືຍ້າຍຈາກການເຄື່ອນໄຫວຂອງພວກບໍ່ດີທີ່ຍັງລີ້ຊ່ອນຢູ່ໃນເຂດ ພູດອຍແລະປ່າດົງຕີບ, ຍ້າຍຈາກຄວາມທຸກຍາກຂອງບັນດາຊົນເຜົ່າໃນເຂດຊົນນະ ບົດ ຫ່າງໄກສອກຫລີກອອກມາສູ່ເສັ້ນທາງ ແລະແຄມແມ່ນ້ຳທີ່ມີເງື່ອນໄຂສະດວກ ດີກວ່າ, ການຍ້າຍກັບຄືນບ້ານເກີດ ແລະຄືນສູ່ຕົວເມືອງຂອງຊາວອົບພະຍົບໃນເຂດ ພາກເໜືອ ແລະພາກກາງ, ການຍ້າຍຂອງພະນັກງານລັດແລະເອກະຊົນເຂົ້າສູ່ຕົວ ເມືອງໃຫຍ່ຢູ່ໃນແຕ່ ລະເຂດແຂວງ, ການປັບປຸງໂຄງລ່າງຢູ່ໃນຂັ້ນພື້ນຖານ ຕະຫລອດ ເຖິງການຍ້າຍຂອງພໍ່ຄ້າຊາວຄ້າຂາຍ, ນັກທຸລະກິດ ແລະຊົນຊັ້ນຮັ່ງມີຈາກແຂວງ ຕ່າງໆເຂົ້າສູ່ຕົວເມືອງໃຫຍ່ ແລະນະຄອນຫລວງວຽງຈັນ, ໂດຍສະເພາະແມ່ນໄລຍະ ເລີ່ມຕົ້ນການປະຕິບັດນະໂຍບາຍການປ່ຽນແປງໃໝ່, ການສົ່ງເສີມເສດຖະກິດການ ຕະຫລາດ, ການເປີດກ້ວາງການຄ້າເສລີຖືກກົດໝາຍ. ແຕ່ໃນທົດສະວັດຕໍ່ມາ (1995 -2005) ອັດຕາການເຄື່ອນຍ້າຍດັ່ງກ່າວໄດ້ຫລຸດລົງຈາກ 12,6% (1995) ເຖິງ 7,8% (2005), ເນື່ອງຈາກວ່າ ການຍ້າຍຢູ່ພາຍໃນເຂດຊົນນະບົດໄດ້ຫລຸດຜ່ອນ ລົງຊຶ່ງໄດ້ຮັບຜົນສະທ້ອນຈາກໄລຍະສຸດທ້າຍ ຂອງການປະຕິບັດໂຄງການຍ້າຍຖິ່ນ

ຖານຂອງ ບັນດາຊົນເຜົ່າຈາກພູດອຍລົງສູ່ທົ່ງພຽງ, ແລະເປັນໄລຍະເລີ່ມຕົ້ນປະຕິບັດ
ນະໂຍບາຍ ການພັດທະນາຊົນນະບົດເພື່ອຫຼຸດຜ່ອນຄວາມທຸກຍາກ ການສ້າງເຂດ
ຈຸດສູງຢູ່ໃນ 47 ແຂວງທີ່ທຸກຍາກຂອງປະເທດລາວ ໃນປີ 1998, ການແບ່ງດິນແບ່ງ
ປ່າໃນເຂດຊົນນະບົດ ແລະການເຕົ້າໂຮມບ້ານນ້ອຍທີ່ກະແຈກກະຈາຍຢູ່ເຂດພູດອຍ
ເຂົ້າສູ່ຊຸມຊົນເພື່ອສ້າງໂອກາດໃຫ້ໂຄງການພັດທະນາເຂົ້າໄປເຖິງໄດ້.

ໃນຊຸມປີ 1990 ການຫັນໄປສູ່ເສດຖະກິດການຕະຫຼາດໄດ້ຖືກປະຕິບັດໃນລະ
ດັບທ້ອງຖິ່ນ ແລະການເປີດກ້ວາງການຄ້າຂາຍເສລີທີ່ຖືກກົດໝາຍ, ແລະການສົ່ງ
ເສີມການລົງທຶນຂອງຕ່າງ ປະເທດໃນລະດັບເຂດເທດສະບານແຂວງ ໄດ້ສົ່ງຜົນສະ
ທ້ອນຕໍ່ການປ່ຽນແປງເສດຖະກິດ-ສັງຄົມໃນລະດັບເຂດແຂວງ ແລະລະດັບທ້ອງຖິ່ນ
ຊຶ່ງໄດ້ເຮັດໃຫ້ຕົວເມືອງພາຍໃນແຕ່ລະແຂວງມີການຂະຫຍາຍຕົວເພີ່ມຂຶ້ນ. ການພັດ
ທະນາໂຄງລ່າງຢູ່ພາຍໃນແຕ່ລະເຂດແຂວງ ກໍໄດ້ເອື້ອອຳນວຍຄວາມສະດວກ ແລະ
ສ້າງເງື່ອນໄຂເຮັດໃຫ້ຕົວເມືອງ ແລະຊົນນະບົດມີການຕິດຕໍ່ພົວພັນກັນຫຼາຍຂຶ້ນ ຄື
ການແລກປ່ຽນສິນຄ້າແລະຜົນຜະລິດລະຫວ່າງຊົນນະບົດແລະຕົວເມືອງ, ສິ່ງດັ່ງກ່າວ
ແມ່ນໄດ້ສົ່ງເສີມການຍ້າຍຈາກຊົນນະບົດເຂົ້າສູ່ຕົວເມືອງພາຍໃນແຂວງ ແລະເມືອງ
ເພີ່ມຂຶ້ນ, ອີກປະການໜຶ່ງ ຄວາມຕ້ອງການຂອງຊາວຊົນນະບົດແມ່ນເພື່ອຊອກຫາ
ປະສົບການໃໝ່ໃນການດຳເນີນຊີວິດປະຈຳວັນ, ຕົ້ນຕໍແມ່ນການສ້າງລາຍຮັບແລະມີ
ວຽກງານອັນໃໝ່ເຮັດເພື່ອຮັບປະກັນເຮັດໃຫ້ຊີວິດການເປັນຢູ່ຂອງຄອບຄົວແລະສ່ວນ
ຕົວດີຂຶ້ນ. ດັ່ງນັ້ນ, ປະຊາຊົນສ່ວນໃຫຍ່ຈຶ່ງເລີ່ມຕົ້ນຈາກການຍ້າຍເພື່ອເຮັດວຽກຊົ່ວ
ຄາວ, ຍ້າຍໝູນວຽນໄປມາລະຫວ່າງຕົວເມືອງ ແລະຊົນນະບົດ, ລະຫວ່າງເມືອງພາຍ
ໃນແຂວງ ແລະບ່ອນອື່ນໆ ບາງຈຳນວນກໍໄດ້ກາຍເປັນຜູ້ຍ້າຍຖາວອນເຂົ້າໄປຕັ້ງຖິ່ນ
ຖານໃໝ່ຢູ່ໃນຕົວເມືອງເລີຍ.

ຂ) ການຍ້າຍຖິ່ນຈາກຊົນນະບົດເຂົ້າສູ່ຕົວເມືອງນັບມື້ນັບເພີ່ມຂຶ້ນໃນແຕ່ລະແຂວງຊຶ່ງ
ໄດ້ສົ່ງຜົນສະທ້ອນ ເຮັດໃຫ້ອັດຕາການເພີ່ມຂຶ້ນຂອງປະຊາກອນໃນຕົວເມືອງທົ່ວປະ
ເທດສູງຂຶ້ນ ຈາກ 17% (1995) ຫາ 27% (2005) (ແຜນທີ່:3 ແລະ 4). ການສຶກສາ
ຍັງໄດ້ພົບວ່າ ບໍ່ພຽງແຕ່ຄວາມແຕກຕ່າງທາງດ້ານເສດຖະກິດ-ສັງຄົມຂອງຕົວເມືອງ
ແລະຊົນນະບົດເທົ່ານັ້ນ ທີ່ເປັນປັດໃຈເຮັດໃຫ້ມີການຍ້າຍເຂົ້າສູ່ຕົວເມືອງຫຼາຍຂຶ້ນ,
ຍ້ອນເງື່ອນໄຂຄວາມສະດວກສະບາຍທາງດ້ານໂຄງລ່າງ ເຊັ່ນ ເສັ້ນທາງ, ການຄົມ
ມະນາຄົມຈາກຊົນນະບົດເຂົ້າສູ່ຕົວເມືອງມີການພັດທະນາແລະປັບປຸງເພີ່ມຂຶ້ນ, ການ

ເຂົ້າເຖິງຕົວເມືອງຍັງໄດ້ເປັນເງື່ອນໄຂທີ່ເຮັດໃຫ້ ຊາວຊົນນະບົດມີຄວາມຮັບຮູ້ໃໝ່ຕໍ່ ໂລກພາຍນອກ ຄືຄວາມທັນສະໄໝຂອງຕົວເມືອງຊຶ່ງໄດ້ເປັນປັດໃຈດຶງດູດເຮັດໃຫ້ ເກີດມີການຕັດສິນໃຈຍ້າຍຂອງໄວໜຸ່ມເພີ່ມຂຶ້ນ. ນອກຈາກນັ້ນ, ເຫດຜົນຂອງການ ຍ້າຍຍັງຂຶ້ນກັບຫລາຍປັດໃຈທີ່ແຕກຕ່າງກັນເຊັ່ນ ຄວາມຂາດເຂີນເກີດຈາກຄວາມທຸກ ຍາກຂອງຄອບຄົວ, ການຫລຸດລົງຂອງຊັບພະຍາກອນທຳມະຊາດ, ຜົນຜະລິດຈາກ ທຳມະຊາດໄດ້ຮັບປະລິມານນັບມື້ໜ້ອຍລົງ ໂດຍສະເພາະເຂດດ້ອຍພັດທະນາ. ອີກ ປະການໜຶ່ງ, ການພັດທະນາໂຄງລ່າງລະຫວ່າງຕົວເມືອງແລະເຂດຊົນນະບົດຍັງໄດ້ ເປີດສ້າງກາດອັນໃໝ່ໃຫ້ແກ່ຊາວຊົນນະບົດມີການເຄື່ອນຍ້າຍໄປມາຫາສູ່ ແລະພົວພັນ ກັນຫລາຍຂຶ້ນຈົນໄດ້ກາຍເປັນຂະບວນການເຄື່ອນຍ້າຍແຮງງານ ຈາກຊົນນະບົດເຂົ້າ ສູ່ຕົວເມືອງເພື່ອຊອກຫາວຽກເຮັດງານທຳຢູ່ພາຍໃນ ແລະພາຍນອກເຂດແຂວງແລະ ເມືອງຕ່າງໆລວມທັງການຍ້າຍເຂົ້າສູ່ນະຄອນຫລວງວຽງຈັນ.

ຄ) ນອກຈາກນີ້, ການສຶກສາແມ່ນໄດ້ສະແດງໃຫ້ເຫັນຢ່າງຈະແຈ້ງເຖິງການຫລັ່ງໄຫລ ຂອງຍິງໜຸ່ມໃນກຸ່ມອາຍຸ 15 ຫາ 29 ປີ (ຮູບ 4, 5) ຈາກແຂວງພາກເໜືອເຂົ້າສູ່ນະ ຄອນຫລວງວຽງຈັນແມ່ນໄດ້ເພີ່ມ ຈຳນວນຫລາຍຂຶ້ນ, ເນື່ອງຈາກວ່າ, ການຂະຫຍາຍ ຕົວທາງດ້ານເສດຖະກິດ-ສັງຄົມຢູ່ນະຄອນຫລວງວຽງຈັນໄດ້ມີການຂະຫຍາຍຕົວຢ່າງ ວ່ອງໄວ ເປັນຕົ້ນແມ່ນວຽກງານອຸດສະຫະກຳ, ການຄ້າ, ທ່ອງທ່ຽວ, ແລະການບໍລິ ການອື່ນໆ, ຕະຫລອດເຖິງການພັດທະນາສະຖາບັນການສຶກສາຊັ້ນສູງ, ໂຮງຮຽນ, ໂຮງໝໍ ລວມທັງພາກລັດແລະເອກະຊົນ, ດັ່ງນັ້ນ, ຈຶ່ງໄດ້ກາຍເປັນປັດໃຈໜຶ່ງທີ່ດຶງດູດ ຊາວໜຸ່ມຍິງຊາຍໃຫ້ຍ້າຍເຂົ້ານະຄອນຫລວງວຽງຈັນ ເພື່ອຊອກຫາວຽກເຮັດງານທຳ ແລະເພື່ອການສຶກສາ ຫລາຍກ່ວາຈຸດປະສົງອື່ນ. ອີກປະການໜຶ່ງ, ການປ່ຽນແປງ ເສດຖະກິດ-ສັງຄົມຢູ່ໃນຕົວເມືອງ ຍັງໄດ້ລົງຜົນສະທ້ອນຕໍ່ການປ່ຽນແປງບົດບາດຍິງ ຊາຍຢູ່ໃນສັງຄົມ, ເປັນຕົ້ນການເພີ່ມຂຶ້ນຂອງວຽກງານໃນໂຮງງານອຸດສະຫະກຳຕັດ ຫຍິບແມ່ນມີຄວາມຕ້ອງການແຮງງານເພດຍິງຫລາຍກວ່າເພດຊາຍ. ດັ່ງນັ້ນ, ຈຶ່ງເປັນ ການສົ່ງເສີມໃຫ້ແມ່ຍິງມີໂອກາດຍ້າຍເຂົ້າໄປເຮັດວຽກ ຢູ່ໃນຕົວເມືອງເພື່ອສ້າງລາຍ ຮັບໃຫ້ແກ່ຄອບຄົວດ້ວຍການສົ່ງເງິນເມື່ອບ້ານ. ການສຶກສານີ້ຍັງໄດ້ພົບວ່າ ກຳມະ ກອນຍິງໃນໂຮງງານຕັດຫຍິບສ່ວນໃຫຍ່ແມ່ນໄວໜຸ່ມກຸ່ມອາຍຸ 15-24, ຍັງບໍ່ໄດ້ແຕ່ງ ງານ, ແລະບໍ່ເຄີຍມີປະສົບການເຮັດວຽກງານໃນໂຮງງານອຸດສະຫະກຳມາກ່ອນ. ການ ປ່ຽນແປງອາຊີບຈາກຊາວໄຮ່ນາ ທີ່ຜະລິດແບບທຳມະຊາດມາຢູ່ໃນໂຮງງານຈຶ່ງເປັນ

ປະສົບການອັນໃໝ່ ສຳຫລັບແມ່ຍິງໝູ່ມຸມຊາວຊົນນະບົດທີ່ຕ້ອງໄດ້ປັບຕົວໃຫ້ເຂົ້າກັບສະພາບຂອງວຽກງານໃໝ່ໃນໂຮງງານອຸດສະຫະກຳທີ່ໃຊ້ກົນຈັກທີ່ທັນສະໄໝ, ແລະຍິງໝູ່ມຸມດັ່ງກ່າວແມ່ນໄດ້ຕໍ່ສູ້ກັບຊີວິດໃໝ່ໃນຕົວເມືອງ, ເພື່ອທ້ອນເງິນໄວ້ສຳຫລັບຕົນເອງ ແລະສິ່ງກັບບ້ານ ເພື່ອແບ່ງເບົາຄວາມທຸກຍາກຂອງຄອບຄົວ ແລະເພື່ອຕອບບຸນແທນຄຸນຂອງພໍ່ແມ່ ບາງຈຳນວນທີ່ມີປະສົບການແລ້ວກໍອອກໄປຊອກວຽກງານໃໝ່ທີ່ມີລາຍຮັບດີກວ່າເກົ່າຢູ່ພາຍໃນຕົວເມືອງ. ບາງຄົນໂຊກບໍ່ດີກໍໄດ້ກັບຄືນມາເຮັດວຽກຢູ່ໂຮງງານເກົ່າ ໂດຍນຳເອົາປະສົບການທາງດ້ານລົບມາສູ່ໂຮງງານ ຊຶ່ງມັນໄດ້ກາຍເປັນຜົນສະທ້ອນບໍ່ດີມາໃຫ້ແມ່ຍິງກຳມະກອນໃນໂຮງງານດັ່ງຄຳສຸພາສິດບູຮານຂອງລາວທີ່ແມ່ຍິງກຳມະກອນໂຮງງານເຄີຍຈົມກັນວ່າ “ປາຕົວດຽວເໝົ່າໝົດຂ້ອງ ຄ້ອງໜ່ວຍດຽວດັ່ງໝົດເມືອງ” ຫລືບາງຈຳນວນກໍຕິດຕໍ່ພົວພັນກັບໝູ່ເພື່ອນ ຫລືພັນ້ອງທີ່ຢູ່ປະເທດໄທ ແລ້ວກໍສ່ຽງໄພກາຍເປັນແຮງງານຍ້າຍຖິ່ນຂ້າມຊາດໄປເຮັດວຽກຜິດກົດໝາຍຢູ່ປະເທດໄທ.

ງ) ການເພີ່ມຂຶ້ນຂອງແຮງງານຍ້າຍຖິ່ນຂ້າມຊາຍແດນ ໄປເຮັດວຽກຢູ່ຕ່າງປະເທດ ໂດຍສະເພາະປະເທດໄທ, ແມ່ນໄດ້ຮັບຜົນສະທ້ອນຈາກຄວາມແຕກຕ່າງທາງດ້ານເງື່ອນໄຂເສດຖະກິດ-ສັງຄົມລະຫວ່າງປະເທດເຊັ່ນລາຍຮັບ ແລະຄວາມທັນສະໄໝຂອງສັງຄົມຕ່າງປະເທດ ກໍໄດ້ເປັນປັດໃຈໜຶ່ງທີ່ດຶງດູດຊາວໝູ່ມຸມລາວໃຫ້ຕັດໃຈຍ້າຍໂດຍຄາດຫວັງທີ່ຈະມີລາຍຮັບສູງກວ່າເກົ່າ ແລະມີຊີວິດຢູ່ໃນສັງຄົມທີ່ທັນສະໄໝຂອງຕ່າງປະເທດ. ອີກປະການໜຶ່ງ, ຄວາມຕ້ອງການຂອງນາຍຈ້າງໄທຄື ແຮງງານລາຄາຖືກຈາກຜູ້ຍ້າຍຜິດກົດໝາຍ ແລະເປັນການຕອບສະໜອງຄວາມຕ້ອງການຂອງແຮງງານລາວຈຳນວນໜຶ່ງທີ່ບໍ່ມີລາຍຮັບ ແລະມີລະດັບສື່ມືແຮງງານຕ່ຳ ແລະສິ່ງທີ່ອຳນວຍຄວາມສະດວກໃນການຍ້າຍແມ່ນ ພາສາປາກເວົ້າ ແລະວັດທະນະທຳຂອງສອງປະເທດຄ້າຍຄືກັນ, ການເຊື່ອມຕໍ່ຂອງການຄົມມະນາຄົມຂົນສົ່ງ ແລະການສື່ສານລະຫວ່າງປະເທດສະດວກຂຶ້ນ ທັງໝົດແມ່ນສ້າງເງື່ອນໄຂໃຫ້ຄົນລາວມີໂອກາດຂ້າມຊາຍແດນໄປເຮັດວຽກຢູ່ປະເທດໄທຫລາຍຂຶ້ນ. ອີກປັດໃຈໜຶ່ງ, ຜົນກະທົບຈາກການສົ່ງເງິນກັບບ້ານຂອງຜູ້ຍ້າຍກ່ອນ ແລະການມີເຄືອຄ່າຍລະຫວ່າງພັນ້ອງ ແລະໝູ່ເພື່ອນຢູ່ປະເທດໄທ ກໍໄດ້ເປັນແຮງຈູງໃຈໃຫ້ຜູ້ຢູ່ເບື້ອງຫລັງມີການຕັດສິນໃຈຍ້າຍ. ບາງຈຳນວນທີ່ບໍ່ມີຍາດພັນ້ອງ ກໍລັກລອບໄປແບບຜິດກົດໝາຍໂດຍສະເພາະແມ່ນຜູ້ທີ່ຂາດເຂີນ ຄອບຄົວທີ່ທຸກຍາກບໍ່ມີເງິນພຽງພໍໃນການເສັງຄ່າລົງທະບຽນຫລືປະກອບ

ເອກະສານທີ່ຖືກຕ້ອງຕາມກົດໝາຍ ເນື່ອງຈາກວ່າການໄປແບບຜິດກົດໝາຍແມ່ນ ງ່າຍ, ໄວ ແລະຖືກກ່ວາ. ຜົນທີ່ຕາມມາແມ່ນໄດ້ສົ່ງຜົນສະທ້ອນດ້ານລົບໃຫ້ແກ່ຜູ້ ຍ້າຍຄືຕົກເປັນເຫຍື່ອຂອງການຄ້າມະນຸດຂອງພວກນາຍໜ້າ ແລະຖືກກົດຂີ່ຂູດຮີດ ແຮງງານ, ຖືກທຳຮ້າຍຮ່າງກາຍຈາກນາຍຈ້າງຢ່າງໜັກໜ່ວງ, ບາງກໍລະນີກໍບໍ່ໄດ້ຫຍັງ ກັບບ້ານເລີຍ ນອກຈາກຮອຍບາດແຜ, ຄວາມບອບຊຸ້ທາງດ້ານຮ່າງກາຍແລະຈິດ ໃຈ, ແລະຍັງໄດ້ເປັນພາລະໃຫ້ແກ່ຄອບຄົວແລະສັງຄົມຕື່ມອີກ.

ການສົນທະນາກ່ຽວກັບບາງບັນຫາທີ່ໄດ້ຄົ້ນພົບ

ອີງຕາມຜົນຂອງການວິໄຈຂໍ້ມູນລະດັບມະຫາພາກແລ້ວ ເມື່ອສົມທຽບເບິ່ງການເຄື່ອນ ຍ້າຍພາຍໃນປະເທດ ແລະລະຫວ່າງປະເທດແລ້ວ ເຫັນວ່າອັດຕາການເຄື່ອນຍ້າຍ ພາຍໃນປະເທດຂອງປະຊາກອນຢູ່ໃນພາກເໜືອ ແລະພາກກາງແມ່ນມີສູງກ່ວາພາກ ໄຕ້. ເນື່ອງຈາກວ່າພາກເໜືອແລະພາກກາງແມ່ນຢູ່ໄກກັບນະຄອນຫລວງວຽງຈັນ. ດັ່ງ ນັ້ນ, ຈຶ່ງເປັນຈຸດມຸ່ງໝາຍປາຍທາງຂອງຜູ້ຍ້າຍຢູ່ໃນເຂດພາກເໜືອ, ສ່ວນບ່ອນເລືອກ ປາຍທາງຂອງຜູ້ຍ້າຍຢູ່ໃນເຂດພາກໄຕ້ ແມ່ນຍ້ອນທີ່ຕັ້ງພູມສັນຖານຂອງເຂດໄຕ້ຢູ່ໄກ ກັບປະເທດໄທຫລາຍກວ່າເສັ້ນທາງໄປວຽງຈັນ. ດັ່ງນັ້ນ, ການເຄື່ອນຍ້າຍລະຫວ່າງ ປະເທດຈຶ່ງມີອັດຕາສູງຢູ່ໃນເຂດພາກໄຕ້. ຈາກການວິໄຈຂໍ້ມູນລະດັບຈຸລະພາກແລ້ວ ເຫັນວ່າ ຜູ້ຍ້າຍທັງໝົດຈາກພາກເໜືອ ແລະພາກກາງມາສູ່ນະຄອນຫລວງວຽງຈັນ ແມ່ນຍ້ອນເຫດຜົນມີສາຍພົວພັນພີ່ນ້ອງ ແລະໝູ່ເພື່ອນຢູ່ທາງວຽງຈັນຫລາຍກ່ວາ, ດັ່ງນັ້ນ, ຈຶ່ງເປັນເງື່ອນໄຂສະດວກໃນການຕິດຕໍ່ຊອກຫາວຽກງານ ແລະມີບ່ອນ ພັກ ເຊົາຫລາຍກ່ວາຈະສ່ຽງໄພໄປປະເທດໄທ ໂດຍບໍ່ມີຜູ້ຮັບປະກັນການເຄື່ອນຍ້າຍ. ກົງ ກັນຂ້າມ, ຢູ່ທາງພາກໄຕ້ເຖິງວ່າຈະມີຍາດພີ່ນ້ອງໝູ່ເພື່ອນຢູ່ວຽງຈັນກໍຕາມ ແຕ່ທາງ ເລືອກຂອງເຂົາເຈົ້າແມ່ນໄປປະເທດໄທ ບ່ອນທີ່ມີລາຍຮັບສູງກວ່າຢູ່ວຽງຈັນ, ສ່ວນ ຫລາຍຜູ້ຍ້າຍດັ່ງກ່າວແມ່ນໄດ້ຮັບຂໍ້ມູນຂ່າວສານ ຈາກການໂຄສະນາຂອງນາຍຈ້າງທີ່ ຕ້ອງການແຮງງານເຖື່ອນ, ຄ່າແຮງງານຖືກຈາກປະເທດໄກ້ຄຽງ ເຊັ່ນ ຈາກ ສປປ ລາວ, ກຳພູເຈັງ ແລະພະມ້າ. ບາງຈຳນວນທີ່ບໍ່ມີຍາດພີ່ນ້ອງ ຫລືໝູ່ເພື່ອນຢູ່ປະເທດ ໄທ ກໍສ່ຽງໄພໄປກັບນາຍໜ້າຫລືຄົນແປກໜ້າໂດຍບໍ່ມີເອກະສານເດີນທາງເລີຍ.

ສາເຫດສ່ວນໃຫຍ່ໃນການຍ້າຍຖິ່ນຢູ່ພາຍໃນ ແລະອອກໄປຕ່າງປະເທດແມ່ນ ຄ້າຍຄືກັນ ຍ້ອນຄອບຄົວທຸກຍາກ, ຂາດເຂີນ, ຄອບຄົວຫຍ່າຮ້າງ ຫລື ໝ້າຍ. ບາງຄົນ ກໍໄດ້ອອກໂຮງຮຽນ ແລ້ວເຂົ້າໄປຊອກຫາວຽກງານຢູ່ໃນຕົວເມືອງ ຫລື ຕ່າງປະເທດ

ເພື່ອຫາເງິນສົ່ງໃຫ້ຄອບຄົວ ແລະຊ່ວຍເຫລືອພໍ່ແມ່ໃຊ້ຈ່າຍໃນເວລາມີຄວາມຈຳເປັນ. ບາງຄົນກໍຕັ້ງໃຈຢາກຍ້າຍຈາກວຽກງານກະສິກຳຢູ່ທີ່ໄຮ່ທົ່ງນາພາຍໄຕ້ແສງແດດ ທີ່ບໍ່ເຫັນລາຍຮັບ ຫລືລາຍຮັບໜ້ອຍ ໄປເຮັດວຽກໃນໂຮງງານພາຍໄຕ້ແສງໄຟຟ້າທີ່ມີລາຍຮັບ ຫລືຢາກມີອິດສະລະພາບເປັນຕົວຂອງຕົນເອງ ແລະຈຳນວນໜຶ່ງກໍຢາກເຫັນຄວາມສິວິໄລຂອງຕົວເມືອງຫລືຕ່າງປະເທດ. ອີກປະການໜຶ່ງ, ຍ້ອນການສົ່ງເງິນກັບບ້ານຂອງຜູ້ຍ້າຍກ່ອນ ຍັງເປັນຜົນສະທ້ອນເຮັດໃຫ້ຜູ້ຢູ່ມີການຕັດສິນໃຈຍ້າຍຕາມໄປເນື່ອງຈາກວ່າ ເສດຖະກິດຄອບຄົວຂອງຜູ້ຍ້າຍໄດ້ຮັບການປັບປຸງດີຂຶ້ນທາງດ້ານຊີວິດການເປັນຢູ່, ວັດຖຸຮັບໃຊ້ໃນຄອບຄົວ, ຮັບໃຊ້ການຜະລິດ, ຫລືມີທຶນຮອນໃນການເຮັດທຸລະກິດຄອບຄົວອື່ນໆອີກ. ການສົ່ງເງິນກັບບ້ານນອກຈາກຈະເປັນການຊ່ວຍເຫລືອຄອບຄົວຫລຸດຜ່ອນຄວາມທຸກຍາກແລ້ວ ມັນຍັງເປັນຜົນສະທ້ອນຕໍ່ສະພາບເສດຖະກິດພາຍໃນບ້ານຫລືຊຸມຊົນມີຄວາມແຕກຕ່າງກັນ ຄືເຮັດໃຫ້ເກີດມີຄວາມບໍ່ກ້າເກີ້ກັນ ລະຫວ່າງລາຍຮັບຄອບຄົວຂອງຜູ້ຢູ່ ແລະຜູ້ຍ້າຍ ເນື່ອງຈາກວ່າຜູ້ຍ້າຍສ່ວນຫລາຍບໍ່ແມ່ນສະມາຊິກຂອງຄອບຄົວຜູ້ທຸກຍາກທີ່ສຸດພາຍໃນບ້ານ.

ໃນໄລຍະທີ່ຜ່ານມາ, ການປ່ຽນແປງຂອງເສດກິດໃນ ສປປລາວ ຍັງໄດ້ສົ່ງເສີມຕໍ່ບົດບາດຍິງຊາຍຢູ່ໃນສັງຄົມ ເຊັ່ນການຂະຫຍາຍຕົວຂອງວຽກງານການຄ້າຂາຍ, ການບໍລິການ ແລະວຽກງານໃນໂຮງງານອຸດສະຫະກຳຕ່າງໆໃນຕົວເມືອງ ໄດ້ສ້າງເງື່ອນໄຂໃຫ້ແມ່ຍິງຢູ່ໃນຕົວເມືອງມີວຽກເຮັດງານທຳ ແລະແມ່ຍິງຊາວຊົນນະບົດກໍມີໂອກາດເຄື່ອນຍ້າຍເຂົ້າໃນຕົວເມືອງເພື່ອປະກອບສ່ວນວຽກງານໃນໂຮງຈັກໂຮງງານເພື່ອສ້າງລາຍຮັບແລະຊ່ວຍເຫລືອຄອບຄົວ. ເມື່ອສົມທຽບເບິ່ງສະພາບຂອງກຳມະກອນແມ່ຍິງໂຮງງານອຸດສະຫະກຳໃນ ສປປລາວ ແລະໃນບັນດາປະເທດກຳລັງພັດທະນາຫລືດ້ອຍພັດທະນາອື່ນໆແລ້ວ ເຫັນວ່າດ້ານລະບຽບຫລັກການຫລືເງື່ອນໄຂໃນການເຮັດວຽກແມ່ນຖືກກົດດັນຄ້າຍຄືກັນເຊັ່ນ ເຮັດວຽກໜັກ, ດົນນານຫລາຍຊົ່ວໂມງ, ເຮັດວຽກເກີນເວລາ (ກາງຄືນ ຫລື ວັນພັກ) ລະບຽບເຄັ່ງຄັດ, ເວລາພັກຜ່ອນສັ້ນ, ຄ່າແຮງງານຕໍ່ຊົ່ວໂມງກັບວຽກຕົວຈິງແລະອື່ນໆ. ຍ້ອນເຫດຜົນດັ່ງກ່າວ ຈຶ່ງເປັນການກົດດັນເຮັດໃຫ້ກຳມະກອນແມ່ຍິງໃນໂຮງງານ ຫາວິທີຫລືບຫລີກຈາກການເຮັດວຽກເພີ່ມໃນເວລາກາງຄືນ ໄປຊອກເຮັດວຽກທາງນອກຕື່ມຢູ່ຕາມໂຮງແຮມ, ຮ້ານອາຫານ ຫລືຮ້ານບັນເທີງ ແລະບ່ອນອື່ນໆ ເພື່ອເປັນການຫາລາຍຮັບເພີ່ມເຕີມ. ບາງຄົນກໍລັກອອກໄປເຮັດວຽກນອກບາງເວລາ, ເມື່ອສັງເກດເຫັນວ່າວຽກດັ່ງກ່າວມີລາຍຮັບດີກ່ວາ

ກໍໄດ້ອອກຈາກໂຮງງານໄປ. ຍິ່ງໄປກ່ວານັ້ນ, ຍັງມີບາງຄົນກໍໄດ້ກາຍເປັນຄົນຫາເງິນທີ່ ຜິດກົດໝາຍໂດຍບໍ່ໄດ້ຄຳໜັງເຖິງກຽດສັກສີຂອງແມ່ຍິງເລີຍ, ບາງຄົນໂຊກດີກໍໄດ້ ວຽກໃໝ່ທີ່ມີເງື່ອນໄຂສະດວກ ແລະມີລາຍໄດ້ສູງກ່ວາ ຈົນສາມາດສະສົມທຶນຮອນພໍ ເຮັດທຸລະກິດຂະໜາດນ້ອຍສ່ວນຕົວໄດ້, ຊື້ດິນປູກສ້າງແລະມີເຮືອນຢູ່ເປັນຂອງຕົນ ເອງ. ເວົ້າລວມແລ້ວ, ການເຮັດວຽກເປັນກຳມະກອນໃນໂຮງງານຕັດຫຍິບ ແມ່ນເປັນ ວຽກຊົ່ວຄາວ ສຳຫລັບແມ່ຍິງຊາວຊົນນະບົດທີ່ຂາດປ່ອນພັກພາອາໃສເວລາເຂົ້າມາຢູ່ ໃນຕົວເມືອງ ເພື່ອສະສົມກ້ອນທຶນໄວ້ສ້າງເງື່ອນໄຂຢູ່ຕົວເມືອງຕໍ່ໄປ ຫລືກັບຄືນບ້ານ ໄປລົງທຶນຢູ່ໃນທ້ອງຖິ່ນເດີມ, ຈຳນວນໜຶ່ງເມື່ອມີປະສົບການແລ້ວ ຫລືເບື້ອງກາງ ໃນໂຮງງານກໍຈະມັກອອກໄປຊອກຫາວຽກງານໃໝ່ ຫລືບາງຄົນກໍພະຍາຍາມຕິດຕໍ່ ພົວພັນກັບໝູ່ເພື່ອນ ຫລືພັນຮອງທີ່ເຮັດວຽກຢູ່ປະເທດໄທແລ້ວກໍຫາວິທີອອກຈາກໂຮງ ງານເພື່ອເຄື່ອນຍ້າຍຕໍ່ໄປ ໂດຍຄາດຫວັງຈະມີລາຍໄດ້ສູງກ່ວາເກົ່າ. ດັ່ງນັ້ນ, ໃນໂຮງ ງານຈຶ່ງມີກຳມະກອນໃໝ່ມາຕື່ມເລື້ອຍໆ.

ສະລຸບລວມແລ້ວ, ຜົນການສຶກສາຂອງບົດນິພົນເລັ່ມນີ້ ມັນໄດ້ກາຍເປັນຫລັກຖານ ອັນໜຶ່ງ ທີ່ໄດ້ສະແດງໃຫ້ເຫັນເຖິງຮູບພາບຂອງການປ່ຽນແປງການຍ້າຍຖິ່ນຂອງປະ ຊາກອນໃນປະເທດດ້ອຍພັດທະນາຢູ່ໃນອາຊີຕາເວັນອອກສຽງໃຕ້ ທີ່ໄດ້ຮັບຜົນສະ ທ້ອນຈາກຂະບວນໂລກາພິວັດ, ການປ່ຽນແປງລະບົບເສດຖະກິດຂອງໂລກ, ການຂະ ຫຍາຍຕົວທາງດ້ານວິທະຍາສາດ ເຕັກໂນໂລຊີທີ່ທັນສະໄໝ. ໃນທົດສະວັດທີ່ຜ່ານມາ ສປປລາວ ກໍເປັນປະເທດໜຶ່ງ ທີ່ກຳລັງມີການພັດທະນາສ້າງສາເສດຖະກິດ-ສັງຄົມ ທັງໃນຕົວເມືອງແລະຊົນນະບົດ ການກໍ່ສ້າງພື້ນຖານໂຄງລ່າງຖະນົນທຶນທາງ ເພື່ອ ອຳນວຍຄວາມສະດວກໃຫ້ແກ່ເສດຖະກິດການຕະຫລາດ, ການພັດທະນາການສຶກ ສາ, ສາທາລະນະສຸກ ແລະການຂະຫຍາຍຕາມຖານຄ້າຂາຍ ການບໍລິການ ເພື່ອ ເຮັດໃຫ້ເຂດຊົນນະບົດມີການເຊື່ອມຕໍ່ເຂົ້າເຖິງຄວາມທັນສະໄໝຂອງຕົວເມືອງ ຄືກັບ ບັນດາປະເທດກຳລັງພັດທະນາອື່ນໆຢູ່ໃນຂົງເຂດອາຊີກໍຄືໃນໂລກ.

ສະພາບການປ່ຽນທາງດ້ານການເມືອງ, ເສດຖະກິດ, ສັງຄົມ, ວັດທະນາທຳ ແລະ ສະພາບທາງດ້ານປະຊາກອນ ໄດ້ກາຍເປັນສັງກາດອັນໃໝ່ສຳຫລັບ ສປປລາວ ຢູ່ ໃນຍຸກປະຫວັດສາດປັດຈຸບັນ ໂດຍສະເພາະແມ່ນ ການປ່ຽນແປງທາງດ້ານເສດ ຖະກິດສັງຄົມໄດ້ລົງຜົນສະທ້ອນໂດຍກົງຕໍ່ການປ່ຽນແປງໂຄງສ້າງຂອງສັງຄົມວັດທະ ນາທຳຮີດຄອງປະເພນີ ແລະບົດບາດຍິງຊາຍ ແລະວິຖີຊີວິດຂອງປະຊາຊົນທັງໃນຕົວ

ເມືອງແລະຊົນນະບົດ ການຂະຫຍາຍຕົວຂອງເສດຖະກິດສັງຄົມແມ່ນໄດ້ເປັນເງື່ອນໄຂເຮັດໃຫ້ປະຊາກອນມີການເໜັງຕີງໃນທົ່ວປະເທດ.

ທັງໝົດທີ່ກ່າວມາຂ້າງເທິງນັ້ນ, ສາມາດສະຫລຸບໄດ້ວ່າ ການປ່ຽນແປງຮູບແບບແລະອັດຕາການເຄື່ອນຍ້າຍຂອງປະຊາກອນລາວ ນອກຈາກຈະໄດ້ຮັບອິດທິພົນຈາກການປ່ຽນແປງເສດຖະກິດສັງຄົມ ແລະການປະຕິບັດນະໂຍບາຍການພັດທະນາຂອງລັດຖະບານແລ້ວ ຍັງມີ ອີກຫລາຍປັດໃຈດ້ານສະພາບແວດລ້ອມຄວາມເປັນຈິງຂອງສັງຄົມເຊັ່ນ ເຫດການທາງດ້ານປະຫວັດສາດຂອງປະເທດ, ການປ່ຽນແປງລະບອບການເມືອງ, ວັດທະນະທຳຮີດຄອງປະເພນີຂອງຊົນເຜົ່າ ແລະສະພາບການປ່ຽນແປງທາງດ້ານປະຊາກອນ ພາຍຫລັງສົງຄາມ. ການປ່ຽນແປງໂຄງສ້າງເສດຖະກິດສັງຄົມພາຍໃນປະເທດໃນແຕ່ເຂດ ແລະແຂວງມີການຂະຫຍາຍ ຕົວຢ່າງວ່ອງໄວ. ຜົນສຳເລັດຂອງການປະຕິບັດນະໂຍບາຍການພັດທະນາຂອງລັດຖະບານ ສປປ ລາວ ບໍ່ພຽງແຕ່ເປັນການຫລຸດຄວາມທຸກຍາກຂອງບັນດາຊົນເຜົ່າເທົ່ານັ້ນ ມັນຍັງເປັນການຫລຸດຜ່ອນອັດຕາການຍ້າຍລະຫວ່າງເຂດແຂວງອີກດ້ວຍ.

ການເປີດກ້ວາງການພົວພັນກັບສາກົນເພີ່ມຂຶ້ນ ໄດ້ສ້າງເງື່ອນໄຂໃຫ້ຄົນລາວມີໂອກາດເຄື່ອນຍ້າຍ ໄປອອກແຮງງານຢູ່ຕ່າງປະເທດ ແລະແຮງງານຕ່າງປະເທດກໍຫລັ່ງໄຫລເຂົ້າເຊັ່ນດຽວກັນ ການຍ້າຍດັ່ງກ່າວຍັງໄດ້ເປັນປັດໃຈໜຶ່ງທີ່ມີສ່ວນພົວພັນເຮັດໃຫ້ອັດຕາການເຄື່ອນຍ້າຍຢູ່ພາຍໃນລະຫວ່າງເຂດ, ແຂວງ ແລະເມືອງ ມີການຫລຸດລົງໃນລະດັບທົ່ວປະເທດ (ບົດຄັດຫຍໍ້ ຕາຕະລາງ:1).

ເຖິງຢ່າງໃດກໍຕາມ ຂ້າພະເຈົ້າເຊື່ອແລະຫວັງວ່າບົດນິພົນເລີ້ມນີ້ ຄົງຈະເປັນປະໂຫຍດຮັບໃຊ້ການສຶກສາວິໄຈກ່ຽວກັບການເຄື່ອນຍ້າຍໃນ ສປປລາວ ໃນອະນາຄົດຕໍ່ໄປ ເນື່ອງຈາກວ່າມັນໄດ້ສະແດງໃຫ້ເຫັນຮູບພາບລວມຂອງການເຄື່ອນຍ້າຍທັງພາຍໃນ ແລະລະຫວ່າງປະເທດ ແຕ່ລະດັບມະຫາພາກເຖິງຈຸລະພາກ ແລະໄດ້ປະສົມປະສານທັງສອງຮູບແບບການວິໄຈດ້ານປະລິມານ ແລະດ້ານຄຸນນະພາບຄຽງຄູ່ກັນ ໂດຍອີງໃສ່ພື້ນຖານຂໍ້ມູນການສຳຫລວດລະດັບຊາດ ແລະການລົງສຳຫລວດຕົວຈິງໃນພາກສະໜາມ. ການສຶກສານີ້ ແມ່ນໄດ້ພະຍາຍາມຊອກຫາຄຳຕອບ ເພື່ອຕອບສະໜອງຊ່ອງຫວ່າງຄວາມຮັບຮູ້ຂອງນັກຄົ້ນຄ້ວາທັງຫລາຍ ທີ່ຍັງບໍ່ມີຄຳຕອບກ່ຽວກັບລະດັບການຍ້າຍຖິ່ນຢູ່ໃນ ສປປລາວ ແລະຂາດຂໍ້ມູນກ່ຽວກັບອັດຕາການຍ້າຍວ່າມັນໄດ້ເພີ່ມຂຶ້ນຫລືຫລຸດລົງ ໃນຊ່ວງທົດສະວັດທີ່ຜ່ານມາ. ເຊື່ອແລະຫວັງວ່າ, ຜົນຂອງການຄົ້ນ

ຄ້ວາທັງໝົດທີ່ໄດ້ຈາກການວິໄຈຄັ້ງນີ້ ແລະແຜນທີ່ຖືກສ້າງຂຶ້ນ ຄົງຈະເປັນຜົນປະໂຫຍດໃຫ້ແກ່ນັກຄົ້ນຄ້ວາຂອງລາວ ແລະຕ່າງປະເທດບໍ່ຫລາຍກໍໜ້ອຍ, ຕະຫລອດເຖິງນັກວາງແຜນພັດທະນາເສດຖະກິດສັງຄົມ ແລະນັກວາງແຜນນະໂຍບາຍດ້ານປະຊາກອນ, ກະຊວງກົມກອງທີ່ກ່ຽວຂ້ອງກັບການຄຸ້ມຄອງແຮງງານ, ການຄຸ້ມຄອງພົນລະເມືອງ, ການຍ້າຍເຂົ້າອອກປະເທດ, ຕະຫລອດເຖິງອົງການຈັດຕັ້ງມະຫາຊົນ ແລະອົງການຈັດຕັ້ງສາກົນ ທີ່ມີສ່ວນຮ່ວມກ່ຽວກັບ ການປົກປ້ອງສິດທິຂອງແຮງງານ ແລະສິດທິຂອງແມ່ຍິງຢູ່ໃນ ສປປລາວ ກໍຄືຢູ່ໃນຂົງເຂດແລະໃນໂລກ.

8. References

- ADB, (2001). *Lao PDR for the Vientiane urban infrastructure and services project*, Asian Development Bank (ADB), July 2001.
- ADB, (2008). *Proposed Grant Assistance Lao People's Democratic Republic: Alternative Livelihood for Upland Ethnic Groups in Houaphanh Province*. Asian Development Bank, Project number 41096, by Janpan Fund for poverty reduction, January 2008.
- ADB, (2009). *Lao PDR: Strengthening Higher Education Project*. Final report-Volume 1, project No 7124-LAO, prepared by Polytechnics International New Zealand (PINZ) for the Ministry of Education, Lao PDR and Asian Development Bank (ADB), August 2009.
- Agergaard, J., Fold, N., and Gough K. (2009). Global-local interaction: socio-economic and spatial dynamics in Vietnam's coffee frontier. *The Geographical Journal* Vol. 175, No. 2, pp. 133-145.
- Anderson, B. (2001). Why madam has so many bathrobes: demand for migrant domestic workers in the EU. *Tijdschrift voor Economishe en Sociale Geografie* 2001, Vol. 92, No. 1, pp 18-26.
- Anderson, M., Engvall, A. and Kokko, A. (2006). *Determinants of poverty in Lao PDR*. Working Paper 223 March 2006. Stockholm School of Asian Studies, Stockholm School of Economics, Sweden.
- Andersson, M., Engwell, A. and Kokiko, A. (2007). *Regional Development in Lao PDR: Growth patterns and market integration*. Stockholm School of Economics, Sweden.
- Andersson, M., Engvall, A. and Kokko A. (2009). *In the Shadow of China: Trade and Growth in Lao PDR*. Stockholm School of Economics, Sweden.
- Archavanitkul, K. (1998). Combating the Trafficking in Children and their Exploitation in Prostitution and Other Intolerable Forms of Child Labour in Mekong Basin Countries. A sub-regional report submitted to international Programme of the Elimination of Child Labour (IPEC). Bangkok: *International Labour Organization (ILO)*.

- Archavanitkul, K. (2005). *International Labour Migration from neighbouring countries management during 1996-2005*, in Archavanitkul and Prasartkul, eds., *Population of Thailand in 2005*. Publication No.300. Institute for Population and Social Research, Mahidol University in Thailand.
- Bain, I. (1998). Southeast Asia. *International Migration* **36** (4): 560-74.
- Baird, I. and Shoemaker, B. (2005). *Aiding or Abetting? Internal Resettlement and International Aid Agencies in the Lao PDR*. Probe International, Toronto, Canada.
- Baird, I. and Shoemaker, B. (2007). Unsettling Experiences: Internal Resettlement and International Aid Agencies in Laos. *Development and change* **38** (5): 865-888.
- Bourdet, Y. (1998). The Dynamics of Regional Disparities in Laos: The Poor and the Rich. *Asian Survey*, Vol. 38, No. 7, pp. 629-652.
- Boyatzis, R. (1998). *Transforming qualitative information: thematic analysis and code development*. Thousand Oaks, California: Sage
- Boyd, M. (1989). Family and Personal Networks in International Migration: Recent Developments and New Agendas. *International Migration Review*, Vol. 23, No. 3, pp. 638-670.
- Boyle, P., Halfacree, K. and Robinson, V. (1998). *Exploring Contemporary Migration* London, Longman.
- Braun, V. and Clarke, V. (2006). Using thematic analysis in psychology *Qualitative Research in Psychology* **3**: 2, 77-101.
- Bruzelius, N. and Wallin, U. (1995). *The Lao Road Sector: Plans, Policies, and Challenge, mimeograph*. Stockholm: Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency.
- Chanthavysouk, K. (2006). *Labour export. A contribution to Lao Development*. Technical Background Paper for the third National Human Development Report Lao PDR. International Trade and Human Development. UNDP, Vientiane, Lao PDR.
- Chamrathirong, A., Archavanitkul, K. and Kanungsukkasem, U. (1979). *Recent Migrants in Bangkok Metropolis: A Follow up Study of*

Migrant's Adjustment Assimilation and integration. Institute for Population and Social Research Publication No 40. Bangkok: Mahidol University, Thailand.

Chantavanich, S. (2000). *Mobility and HIV/AIDS in the Greater Mekong Sub-region.* Asian Research Center for Migration and Asian Development and UNDP, Bangkok.

Chow, E. (2002). Globalization, East Asian Development, and Gender: A Historical Overview, in Chow, E.N. (ed.), *Transforming Gender and Development in East Asia*, Routledge, Taylor & Francis, New York and London, pp. 9-24.

Dandekar, H. (1997). Changing migration strategies in Deccan Maharashtra, India, 1885-1990 in Gugler, J. (ed.) *Cities in the Developing World.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 48-61.

Dannecker, P. (2009). Migration Visions of Development: A Gender Approach. *Population Space and Place* **15**, pp. 119-132.

De Haas, H. (2005a). International migration, remittances and development: myths and facts. *Third World Quarterly* Vol 26 No 8 pp 1269-1284.

De Haas, H. (2005b). *Global Migration Perspectives, 'Morocco' migration transition: trends, determinants and future scenarios.* Global commission on international migration (GCIM) No 28 April 2005.

De Haas, H. (2008). *Migration and Development 'A theoretical perspective'* Oxford International Migration Institute 2008: Working paper No 9.

Engvall, A. (2006). *Ethnic Minorities and Rural Poverty in Lao PDR.* Stockholm School of Economics, April 2006.

Engvall, A., Fenton, N., Lindelow, M., Souksavath, P. (2010). *Poverty in Lao PDR 2008.* Lao Expenditure and Consumption Survey 1992/2003 - 2007/2008. Ministry of Planning and Investment, Department of Statistics, supported by the World Bank Office, Lao PDR.

Erel, Umut, Morokvasic, Mirijana and Shinozaki, Kyoko. (2003). Introduction: Bringing Gender into Migration. in Erel, U, Morokvasic, M. and Shinozaki, K. (eds.), *Crossing Border and Shifting Boundaries,*

Vol. 1-Gender on the Move, International Women's University, Opladen, Germany, pp. 9-24.

Evrard, O. and Goudineau, Y. (2004). Planned Resettlement, Unexpected Migration and Culture Trauma in Laos. *Development and Change* **35**(5): 937-962.

Fane, G. (2006). Trade Liberalization, Economic Reform and Poverty Reduction in Lao PDR. The Australian National University, Canberra, Australia. *Journal of the Asia Pacific Economy*, 11:2, 213-226.

Fan, C. (2003). Rural-Urban Migration and Gender Division of Labour in Transitional China. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* **27**: 24-47.

Faist, T. (1997). The crucial meso-level. In Thomas Hammar et al. (eds.), *International Migration Immobility and Development: multidisciplinary perspectives*. Oxford, New York: Berg Press, pp 187-218.

Faist, T. (2000). The Volume and Dynamics of International Migration and Transnational Social Spaces. Oxford University Press Inc., New York.

Fawcett, J. (1989). Networks, Linkages, and Migration Systems. *International Migration Review*, Vol. 23, No. 3, Special Silver Anniversary Issue: International Migration an Assessment for the 90's, pp. 671-680.

Freeman, N. (2001). The Rise and Fall of Foreign Direct Investment in Laos, 1988-2000. *Centre for Research into Post-Communist Economies*, Vol. 13, No. 1, pp.101-119.

Fuller, T., Lightfoot, P. and Kaltnuansilpa, P. (1990). Urban ties and rural Thais, *International Migration Review* **24**: 534-562.

Guilmoto, C. and Sandron, F. (2001). The Internal Dynamics of Migration Networks in Developing Countries. *Population: An English Selection*, Vol. 13, No. 2. (2001), pp. 135-164.

Gunawardana, P. (2008). Trends and Patterns of Foreign Direct Investment in Lao PDR. *International Journal of Business and Management*. Vol. 3, No. 1, 2008, pp. 41-57.

- Guest, P. (2003). Bridging the Gap: Internal Migration in Asia." Paper presented of Conference on *African Migration in Comparative Perspective*, Johannesburg, South Africa, 4-7 June 2003.
- Guest, P., Richter, K., Chamrathirong A., Archavanikul K. and Piriathamwong N. (1994). Internal migration in Thailand. *Asian and Pacific Migration Journal*, Vol. 3, No. 4, pp.531-545.
- Goudineau, Y. (1997). Main report in Yves Goudineau (ed.) *Resettlement and Social Characteristics of New Village: Basic Needs for Resettled Communities in the Lao PDR*. vol. 1, pp. 5-42. Vientiane: UNESCO-UNDP.
- Hammar, T. (1993). The 'Sweden-wide strategy' of refugee dispersal, in Black, R. and Robinson, V. (eds.) *Geography and Refugees*. London: Belhaven, 105-17.
- Heckmann, F. (2008). *Illegal migration* (eds) A Portes; J Dewind 2007. Migration: New Theoretical and Empirical Perspective.
- Heckmann, F. (2006). *Illegal migration: What can we know and what can we explain?*The case of Germany p 1103-1125.
- Huguet, J. and Pumpuing, S. (2005). *International Migration in Thailand*, International Organization for Migration, Regional Office Bangkok, Thailand.
- Hugo, G. (1981). Village-community ties, village norms, and ethnic and social networks: a review of evidence from the Third world. In De Jong, G. and Gardner R. eds. *Migraiotn decision making. Multidisciplinary approaches to microlevel studies in developed and developing countries*. New York Pergamom Press.
- Hugo, G. (1993). *Migrant women in developing countries*, in Expert Meeting on the Feminization Migrant workers in Beijing, PROP Report No 29.
- ILO, (2003). *Labour Migration Survey in Khammuane, Savannakhet and Champasack province in Lao PDR*. By Ministry of Labour and Social Welfare and National Statistic Centre, and supported by ILO/IPEC/TICW, Vientiane, Lao PDR.

- IOM, (2004). *From Lao PDR to Thailand and Home Again. The Repatriation of Trafficking Victims and Other Exploited Women and Girl Workers. A study of 124 cases.* IOM, Bangkok, Thailand, August, 2004.
- Ireson, C. and Ireson, W. (1991). Ethnicity and Development in Laos. *Asian Survey*, Vol. 31, No. 10, pp 920-937. Published by University of California Press.
- Ireson, C. (1994). Reviewed works: On the Road in Laos: An Anthropological Study of Road Construction and Rural Communities. By Ing-Britt Trankell; Anthropological Reconnaissance in Central Laos: A survey of Local Communities in a Hydropower Area. By Jan Oversen; Road 13: A Socio-Economic Study of villages, Transport and Use of Road 13 S, Lao PDR. *The Journal of Asian Studies*, Vol. 53, No. 4, pp 1334-1337.
- Jones, H. and Kittisuksathit, S. (2003). International labour migration and quality of life: findings from rural Thailand. *International Journal of Population Geography* **9**: 517-530.
- Kakwani N., Sisouphanthong B., Souksavath, P. and Dark B. (2001). *Poverty in Lao PDR.* Asian and Pacific Forum on Poverty, Asian Development Bank, Manila, February 2001.
- Kakwani, N. Datt, G, Sisouphanthong, B. Souksavath, P. and Wang, L. (2002). *Poverty in Lao PDR during the 1990's.* World Bank 2002, National Statistic Center, Lao PDR.
- Khouangvichit, D. (2010). *Socio-Economic Transformation and Gender Relations in Lao PDR.* PhD dissertation, Department of Social and Economic Geography, Umea University, Sweden.
- King, R., Skeldon, R. and Vullnetari, J. (2008). *Internal and International Migration: Bridging the theoretical Divide.* Paper for the IMISCOE 'Theories of Migration and Social Change Conference', St. Anne's College, Oxford, 1-3 July 2008.
- King, R. (2002). Towards a New Map of European Migration. *International Journal of Population Geography*. **8**, 89-106.

- King, R., Dalipaj, M. and Mai, N. (2006). Gendering Migration and Remittances: Evidence from London and Northern Albania. *Population Space and Place* **12**, 409-434.
- King, E., and D. van de Walle. (2005). *Girls in Lao PDR: Ethnic affiliation, poverty, and location*. Based on background paper to the World Bank 2005, Poverty Assessment for Lao PDR.
- Lall, S., Selod, H. and Shalizi, Z. (2006). *Rural-Urban Migration in Developing Countries: A Survey of Theoretical Predictions and Empirical Findings*. Development Research Group, The World Bank, 1818 H St. N. W. Washington DC 20433, USA.
- Lao PDR, (2003). *Decree of the Prime Minister on the Savan-Seno Special Economic Zone*. Ref. No 148/ PM, dated 29th September, 2003.
- Lao PDR, (1998). *National Human Development Report 1998*, Vientiane Lao PDR.
- Lao PDR, (2006). National Socio-Economic Development Plan (2006-2010). Committee for Plannign and Investment. Vientiane, October 2006.
- Lewis, W. (1954). Economic Development with Unlimited Supplies of Labour. *Manchester School of Economic and Social Studies* **22**:139-91.
- Lowell, L. and Findlay, A. (2002). *Migration and Highly Skilled Persons from Developing Countries: Impact and Policy Response*, Project Report for ILO and DFID.
- MMN, (2006). *Migration in the Greater Mekong Sub-Region*. Resource book: Quality of life of Migrants in the Greater Mekong Sub-region. Asian Migration Centre, Mekong Migration Network (MMN) in Hong Kong, May 2006.
- MMN, (2008). *Migration in the Greater Mekong Sub-Region*. Resource book: In-depth study: Arrest, Detention and Deportation. Asian Migration Centre, Mekong Migration Network (MMN) in Hong Kong February 2008.
- Malmberg, G. (1997). Time and Space in International Migration in Thomas Hammar et al. (eds.), in *International Migration Immobility and Development: multidisciplinary perspectives*. Oxford, New York: Berg Press, pp 21-48.

- Massey, D., Arango, J., Hugo, G., Kouaouci, A., Pellegrino, A. and Taylor, J. (1993). Theories of International Migration: A Review and Appraisal'. *Population and Development Review*, Vol. 19, No 3, pp 431-446.
- Massey, D., Arango, J., Hogo, G., Kouaouci, A., Pellegrino, A. and Taylor, J. (1998). *Worlds in motion: Understanding international migration at the end of the millennium*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- McCatty, M. (2004). *The process of Rural-Urban Migration in Developing Countries*. Department of Economics Carleton University, May 2004.
- McDowell, L. (1999). *Gender, Identity and Place: Understanding Feminist Geographies*. The University of Minnesota Press. Blackwell Publishers.
- Mills, M. (1997). Contesting the margins of modernity: women, migration, and consumption in Thailand. *American Ethnologist* **24**(1): 37-61.
- Moomaw, R. Shatter, (1996). Urbanization and Economic Development: A Bais Toward Large Cities? *Journal of Urban Economics*, **40**, 1337.
- NAFRI, (2004). *Poverty Reduction and Shifting Cultivation Stabilisation in the Uplands of Lao PDR: Technologies, approaches and methods for improving upland livelihoods*. National Agriculture and Forestry Research Institute (NAFRI), proceeding of a workshop Held in Luangphabang, January 27-30.
- NEI, (1994). *The 1994 Urban Labour Force Survey in Laos*. Reported by Department of Labour, Ministry of Labour and Social Welfare of Laos and Netherland Economic Institute (NEI), Vientiane, Lao PDR.
- NSC, (1996). *Results from the Population and Housing Census 1995*. National Statistic Centre, Vientiane, Lao PDR.
- NSC, (2005). *Statistics 1975-2005*. National Statistic Centre, Vientiane, Lao PDR.
- NSC, (2006). *Results from the Population and Housing Census 2005*. National Statistic Centre, Vientiane, Lao PDR.
- NUOL, (2006). *The 10th Anniversary of The National University of Laos 1996-2006*. Ministry of Education, National University of Laos (NUOL), Vientiane, Lao PDR.

- Parnwell, M. (1993). *Population movements and the third world*. In Routledge Introductions to Development (eds. Bale & Drakakis-Smith). London & New York.
- Petit, P. (2008). Rethinking Internal Migration in Lao PDR: The Resettlement Process under Micro-Analysis. *Anthropological Forum* Vol. 18, No. 2, July 2008, 117-138.
- Phomvihane, K. (1986). *Political report of Central Committee of Lao People's Revolution Party on the Fourth Party Congress*. Vientiane, Lao PDR.
- Phouxay, K. (2001). *The effects of Socioeconomic Development on immigration rate on district level in Lao PDR 1995*. MA thesis, Institute for Population and Social Research (IPSR), Mahidol University in Thailand.
- Phouxay, K. (2008). The consequences of migration for Lao migrant workers in Thailand and their families left behind in Lao PDR. In Suchada Thaveesit, Peter Vail, Rosalia Sciortino (eds.) *Transborder Issues in the Greater Mekong Sub-region*. Mekong Sub-region Social Research Center (MSSRC), Faculty of Liberal Arts, Ubon Ratchathani University.
- Phetsiriseng, I. (2007). *Gender Concerns in Migration in Lao PDR*. Migration Mapping Study: A review of Trends, Policy and Programme Initiatives, A study conducted for UNIFEM, Vientiane, Lao PDR.
- Punpuing, S., Caouette, A., Panam, Khaing Mar Kyaw Zaw and S. Suksinchai, (2005). *Migrant Domestic Workers: From Burma to Thailand*. Publication No. 286, Institute for Population and Social Research, Mahidol University in Thailand.
- Punpuing, S. (2006). *Female Migration in Thailand: A study of migration domestic workers*, Institute for Population and Social Research, Mahidol University, Thailand.
- Putzel, J. (1997). Accounting for the Downside of Social Capital: Reading Robert Putnam on Democracy. *Journal of International Development* **9** (7): 939-49

- Raghuram, P. (2008). Migrant women in male dominated sectors of the labour market: a research agenda, *Population Space and Place*, Vol.14, No. 1, pp. 43-57.
- Rigg, J. (2005). *Living with transition in Laos: Market integration in Southeast Asia*. Routledge, Taylor & Francis group. London and New York.
- Rigg, J. (2007). Moving lives: migration and livelihoods in the Lao PDR. *Population, Space and Place*. Volume 13, No. 3, pp. 163-178.
- Rigg, J. (2009). A particular place? Laos and its incorporation into the development mainstream. *Environment and Planning A 2009*, volume 41, pages 703-721.
- Roberts, B. (1989). Urbanisation, Migration, and Development. *Sociological forum*, Vol. 4, No. 4, Special Issue: Comparative National Development: Theory and facts for the 1990s (December 1989), pp. 665-691.
- Shrestha, N. (1988). A structural perspective on labour migration in underdeveloped countries. *Progress in Human Geography* **12** (2): 179-207.
- Sisouphanthong, B. and Taillard, C. (2000). *Atlas of Laos, the Spatial Structures of Economic and Social Development of the Lao PDR*. NIAS Silkworm books.
- Sisenglath, S. (2009). *Migrant worker remittances and their impact on local economic development*. ILO Asia-Pacific Working Paper Series. ILO Regional Office for Asia and the Pacific. ILO/Japan Project on Managing Cross-border Movement of Labour in Southeast Asia.
- Skeldon, R. (2006). Interlinkages between internal and international migration and development in the Asian region, *Population, Space and Place*, **12**(1): 15-30.
- Sorensen, N. (2005). *Migrant Remittances, Development and Gender*. DANSK Institut for Internationale Studier. Department of Globalisation and Governance, DIIS.
- Stuart-Fox, M. (ed.) (1986). *Laos: Politics, Economics and Society*. London: Pinter.

- Stuart-Fox, M. (2.ed.) (2002). *Buddhist kingdom, Marxist state: the making of Modern Laos*. Bangkok, Thailand: white Lotus, 2002.
- Taillard, C. (1989). *Le Laos-Strategies d'un Etat-Tampon*. Recluse, Montpellier.
- Tacoli, C. (1999). International Migration and the Restructuring of Gender Asymmetries: Continuity and Change among Filipino Labor Migrants in Rome. *International Migration Review*, Vol. 33, No. 3, pp. 658-682.
- UNESCO, (2003). *Land to some tillers: development-induced displacement in Laos*. By Peter Vandergeest. Asian Research at York University in Canada.
- United Nations, (1992). Migration and Urbanisation in Asia and the Pacific: Interrelationships with Socio-economic Development and Evolving Policy Issues. Economic and Social commission for *Asia and the Pacific Asian Population Studies* series No 111. Seoul, 21-25 January 1992. United Nations, New York, 1992.
- Van der Ploeg, F. and Poelhekke, S. (2008). *Globalization and the rise of megacities in the developing world*. Cambridge Journal of Regions, Economy and Society 2008, 1-25.
- Warr, P. (2005). *Road Development and Poverty Reduction: The Case of Lao PDR*, ADB Institute Discussion paper No 25, February 2005.
- World Bank, (2006). *Poverty Environment Nexus*. Sustainable approaches to poverty reduction in Cambodia, Lao PDR and Vietnam. June 2006.
- World Bank, (2007). *Lao PDR, Economic Monitor*, the World Bank Office, Vientiane, Lao PDR, November 2007.
- World Bank, (2008). *Lao PDR, Economic Monitor*, the World Bank Office, Vientiane, Lao PDR, April 2008.