SSOAR

Open Access Repository

www.ssoar.info

Social Mobility Springboard: Occupational Prestige of Thai Labour Brokers

Chamaratana, Thanapauge; Ayuwat, Dusadee; Chinnasri, Oranutda

gesis
Leibniz-Institut
für Sozialwissenschaften

Mitglied der
Leibniz-Gemeinschaft

Thanapauge Chamaratana, Dusadee Ayuwat
& Oranutda Chinnasri:

Social Mobility Springboard:
Occupational Prestige of Thai Labour Brokers.

All articles published in this Forum:

Social Mobility Springboard: Occupational Prestige of Thai Labour Brokers

Thanapauge Chamaratana, Dusadee Ayuwat & Oranutda Chinnasri [*]

Abstract: *»Sprungbrett der sozialen Mobilität: Berufsprestige thailändischer Arbeitsvermittler«.* International labour migration is one of the major issues of our time. Records at present total around 200 million people working outside their country of birth. This rapidly increasing phenomenon is examined in a large number of studies on migration, most of which, however, focus on experiences and practicalities of migrants at the place of destination. In this study, we provide insight into another issue of migration study by presenting occupational prestige as an indicator of social mobility of Thai labour brokers who were return migrants from overseas employment. The data was collected via structured interview with 321 samples obtained by systematic sampling from all provinces in the Northeast of Thailand during the years 2010-2011. Data analysis for social mobility was performed based on occupational prestige. The results indicated that occupational prestige of labour brokers (0.1934) was higher than their former occupational prestige for agricultural occupations (-0.3100) and industrial/service occupations (0.1800). Moreover, social mobility of labour brokers could be classified in the upper vertical mobility category of the "Occupational Mobility."

Keywords: Occupational prestige, social mobility, return migrants, Thai labour brokers, migration, Thailand.

1.   Introduction [1]

Migration of Thai labourers to work overseas, despite being an over-three-decade phenomenon, still continues at present. This is reflected by the number

of labourers migrating to overseas employment and the number of job seekers registered for permission to work abroad under the Ministry of Labour, which amounts to hundreds of thousands each year. When considering which methods were resorted to, it was found that from 1999 to 2009, most labourers (75.34%) relied on labour agencies, compared to only 3.35% who went through official regulations of the Department of Employment (Office of Overseas Thai Labour Administration 2014). The reason for this could possibly be seen in the limitations of official regulations in coordination with overseas job sources. This may be due to international operational conventions and difficulty in in-depth information access, resulting in unsuccessful contact and hence few job positions to meet the needs of Thai labourers. The government therefore relies on private organizations by authorizing them to find overseas jobs for Thai labourers. These organizations are called 'labour agencies,' and their most important employees, liaising between job seekers and the agencies, are the 'labour brokers.' Labour brokers contact job seekers, prepare documents, and manage other required activities to send labourers to work abroad.

Figure 1: Map of the Northeastern Thailand (Isan)
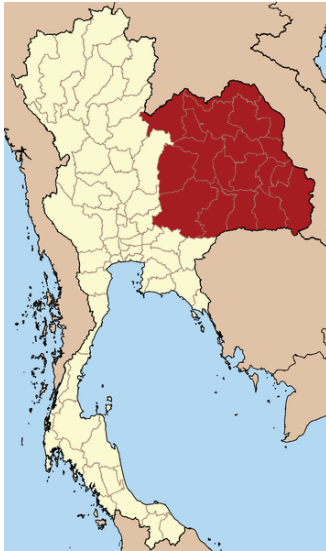
Source: <https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Thailand_Isan.png>.

Labour brokers are elites who lead the process of migration and Thai community transformation, especially in northeastern Thailand. Isan is a peripheral region in the northeast of Thailand. It is the largest region, which comprises 20 provinces. This region is separated from Bangkok and the rest of the Khorat plateau heartland (Talbot and Janthed 2001). The region of Isan is flanked by

the Mekong River, separating it from Laos to the north, and by the Petchabun mountains in the west and Cambodia to the east (Rivett 1999). The northeast population, over 22 million, belongs to the Lao linguistic family (McCargo and Hongladrom 2004). In general, Isan peoples are called Thai-Isan as well as Northeasterners. "Thai-Isan" are the majority population in Laos, and they similarly experience troubles in language, history, and identity (Keyes 2000). In spite of representing a third of the country's surface, the Isan region can contribute only 10% of the Gross Domestic Product (GDP). That is, agricultural production is equivalent to a 22% share of the total gross regional product. In this region, approximately 66% of the land is for agricultural production (Department of Agriculture 2016). The Isan peoples are characteristically farmers in paddy fields of lowland. This leads to an important role of cash crop such as rice, cassava, rubber, sugarcane, and so on. Also, Isan farmers have changed their life to be workers in other places than that of their birth, whether domestic or abroad.

Labour brokers establish the link between Thai labourers and overseas job sources under the policy of the labour agencies they are affiliated with. They rely on their social network as the major "aid" in sending labourers overseas. In 2009, there were 206 authorized labour agencies with 1,221 labour brokers licensed to send labourers abroad. The northeastern labour brokers having experience working abroad totaled 763 people or 62.49% of all licensed labour brokers (Registration Section, Office of Overseas Job Provision for Job Seekers 2014). Additionally, a number of research studies confirm that sending Thai labourers to work abroad necessitates the assistance of labour brokers and labour agencies (Chantawanit 2002; Em-imtham 2005; Chamaratana et al. 2010; Choi 2004; Hewison 2003; Young 2004).

Most of these brokers are return migrants with overseas working experience themselves (Chamaratana et al. 2010). However, labour brokers are usually thought of negatively by general public, even though they are important as far as sending labourers abroad is concerned. As said previously, most labour brokers have had experiences of migration to work overseas. They know their own employers and job opportunities abroad. They are well informed of problems and obstacles in working overseas. Thus, if a labour broker is honest, provision of labourers will be decent and no deception should occur. Labourers and job seekers appreciate good brokers they can truly rely on.

As discussed above, researchers believe that if we have true understanding of these labour brokers, especially in the use of the broker occupation as a "springboard" for promotion to a higher status or upward social mobility due to becoming labour broker, we will be able to expand social perspectives towards this group of people who are involved in sending workers to work abroad. The perspectives will be from within the system, and hence will contribute to develop an efficient system of overseas labourer provision. Great benefits will be brought to the "labour warriors" who are only a small proportion of the Thai

society and who leave their mother country for their family's survival and for the strengthening of Thailand.

This research has as its objective to study the scores of occupational prestige that reflect the social mobility of labour brokers compared to other return migrants.

2.   Social Mobility

Social mobility is defined as a change or promotion of the level or social position of an individual from a certain social level to another, which can be horizontal as well as vertical, and upward or downward (Schaefer 2003; Giddens, Duneier and Appelbaum 2005; Marger 2005; Turner 2006). Schaefer (2003) suggested as an example the social mobility of the former President Ronald Reagan, whose father was a barber, and the case of former President Jimmy Carter who before his office grew groundnuts. The two examples of Schaefer are classified as upward mobility.

Other patterns of social mobility are found and can be broadly classified into two types, i.e., according to the measurement dimensions and according to mobility directions (Schaefer 2003). First, the Intragenerational Mobility, which measures an individual's status mobility from one position to another, especially from one occupation to another which is very different. For instance, a woman begins her career as a teacher and later becomes an administrator of the institute. This is referred to as the Upward Intragenerational Mobility. Another example of a man who becomes a taxi driver after being bankrupted from his business will be referred to as the Downward Intragenerational Mobility. The other social mobility in this subcategory is the Intergenerational Mobility, which measures the difference between an individual's household and the parents' status, or the difference from the parents' line of occupation, for instance, an actress or actor whose parents are factory workers. This is called the Upward Intergenerational Mobility. Another example is a plumber whose father is a physicist, which belongs to the Downward Intergenerational Mobility type (Elman and O'Rand 1998; Palmisano 2001; Schaefer 2003; Giddens, Duneier and Appelbaum 2005; Marger 2005; Turner 2006).

The second type of social mobility is based on direction and can also be classified into two subcategories. The first is the Horizontal Mobility, or an individual's change of social status in a horizontal direction that does not heighten or lower his or her social status, in the case of a change from one occupation to another which is at the same level. An example is a government officer of a ministry who is transferred to another ministry and remains at the same position. The second type is the Vertical Mobility, which means an individual's social position is higher or lower, especially when a person changes from one occupation to another which is totally different. An example is a government officer of a ministry who

resigns to do business until he becomes very rich. This case is classified as Upward Mobility. On the contrary, if this official is fired from the ministry and becomes a waterworks mechanic, he would be classified in the Downward Mobility type (Nohria and Eccles 1992; Palmisano 2001; Schaefer 2003; Giddens, Duneier and Appelbaum 2005; Marger 2005; Turner 2006).

In general, social mobility is often considered in cases of change of occupation or so-called Occupational Mobility, since it can indicate alteration of social level and is one of the four major instruments affecting higher social mobility apart from education, marriage, and race, according to Schaefer (2003). Bogue (1969), on the contrary, defined occupational mobility as the change from one occupation to another of an individual worker. Social scientists are interested in this in order to measure social changes and intra- as well as intergenerational mobility and hence study individuals' aspirations. A study by Parrado (2005) shows that intergenerational mobility in Mexico contributes to social mobility besides work experience, education, marriage, and migration. Batnitzky, McDowell and Dyer (2008) found that Indian migrants working in London's hotel business benefited both economically and socially. They have been socially promoted by important factors, i.e., education, and work experience.

Additionally, as far as occupational mobility is concerned, Sorensen and Fuerst (1982, cited in Elman and O'Rand 1998) divided occupational mobility into two types. The first is the Intragenerational Occupational Mobility based on individual levels. The second is the Intergeneration Occupational Mobility which is based on household levels. However, we focused on intragenerational mobility of individuals in this study.

To summarise, social mobility is the change of status or roles in society of an individual or a group of people from one social level to another. It can be at the same level or different, higher or lower. Social mobility can be classified from the viewpoint of measurement into two subcategories of intragenerational mobility and intergenerational mobility. It can also be classified based on directions into two types, horizontal mobility and vertical mobility. This research emphasized intragenerational mobility, which involved vertical mobility of labour brokers who were return migrant labourers. Scores of occupational prestige of each labour broker were compared with regards to two important variables, i.e., education and income, as suggested by Schaefer (2003) mentioned above.

3.   Research Methodology

By means of Elias's process-oriented methodology with three steps of Reconstructing the macro-level, Reconstructing the micro-level, and Reconstructing the Sociogenesis of the Figuration (Baur and Ernst 2011), we focused on the second step with the labour brokers as individuals to analyse the individuals'

placement within the perception of any ability to change the figuration (Onaka 2013). We studied the occupational prestige of Thai labour brokers from the viewpoint of social mobility based on a structural survey applied using systematic sampling and concluded that their prestige is greater than their previous occupation and that education was the major tool in their upgrading.

The unit of analysis for this quantitative research included 823 labour brokers registered with labour agencies authorized to send labourers to work abroad and listed in the database of the Ministry of Labour from 2008 to 2010. These ex-labourers are people from the Northeast who had overseas working experience (Registration Section, Office of Thai Overseas Labour Administration 2011). The sample size was derived from the F Test of Variance Proportion in Multiple Regression/Correlation Analysis (MCA) (Cohen 1988). The sample number of 321 was derived. Systematic sampling was performed using the labour brokers' registration numbers as they appeared in the Ministry of Labour's database of the 19 Northeast provinces, running from 1 to 823. The sampling interval was then set based on Neuman's equation (Neuman 2004), which was a 3-person interval. Next, simple sampling was done starting randomly, followed by the 3-person interval until 321 persons were obtained as determined, which also covered all the areas in the Northeast. The researchers and 10 trained research assistants prepared for the interviews with the labour brokers based on the structured interview, our research instrument, before data was collected.

Data analysis involved computing the scores of occupational prestige. Two variables considered, correlated with social mobility, i.e., education and income (Schaefer 2003), were used as the basis of the occupational prestige scores. An interval scale was relied upon in building the scores of occupational prestige. Z (Z-Score) was derived from Equation 1 (see below) (Prasithrathasin 2005). Next, the residuals from uncorrelated samples according to the analytical approach were tested by means of the simple regression analysis. If the residuals were not within a normal curve, the Z-score of income was adjusted into a natural log in order to check the distribution of the residuals of uncorrelated samples. The residuals were then rechecked. If the distribution improved, the natural log would be used to calculate the scores. Finally, validity was checked by comparing with the occupational prestige scores suggested by Ayuwat (1997).

$$Z \quad = \quad \frac{X_i - \overline{X}}{SD} \qquad \text{(Equation 1)}$$

When Z = Z (Z-Score)
  X_i = Raw score
  $\overline{X}$ = Mean score
  SD = Standard deviation

4.   Results

4.1   Processual Nature of Occupational Prestige

The study of social mobility of labour brokers discussed in this article generated scores of occupational prestige (OCCP), the analytical results of which are presented below:

1) The two variables believed to correlate with social mobility and the Z score of income, namely education and income (Schaefer 2003) with its own ratio scale, were the basis for the occupational prestige scores. Z (Z-Score) was primarily calculated to balance the two variables, making a common curve with a mean of 0 and standard deviation (SD) of 1. Two new variables were obtained: the Z score of education (ZEDU) and the Z score of income (ZINC).

2) The occupational prestige score was computed by summing up standard educational score (ZEDU) and standard income score (ZINC).

3) The correlation of the three variables was determined. The correlation coefficient of the occupational prestige (OCCP) variable between education and income was found. The standard education (ZEDU) and standard income score (ZINC) was rather high, i.e., both 0.738. It was also a positive correlation, or briefly speaking, when a person has higher education or higher income, his or her occupational prestige becomes high (Table 1).

Table 1:   Correlation Coefficient between OCCP, ZEDU, and ZINC

Variables	OCCP	ZEDU	ZINC
OCCP	1.000		
ZEDU	0.738**	1.000	
ZINC	0.738**	0.089	1.000

** Level of statistical significance at.001.

4) The residuals of samples not correlated to the analytical pattern were checked by simple regression analysis. ZEDU was set as the independent variable and ZINC was the dependent variable. We found that the residuals were not distributed in a normal curve.

5) The standard income score (ZINC) was adjusted into a natural log named LZINC in order to check the distribution of the remaining residuals of the samples not compatible with the analytical pattern.

6) The correlation of the occupational prestige (OCCP) score with the standard educational score (ZEDU) and the natural log of the standard income score (LZINC) was calculated. It was found that the correlation coefficient between the occupational prestige score and the standard educational score (ZEDU) was relatively high, i.e., 0.872. The natural log of the standard income score was 0.549 and the correlation was positive (Table 2).

Table 2: Correlation Coefficients of Occupational Prestige Score (OCCP) with Education Standard Score (ZEDU) and Natural Log of Standard Income Score (LZINC)

Variables	OCCP	ZEDU	LZINC
OCCP	1.000		
ZEDU	0.549**	1.000	
LZINC	0.872**	0.070	1.000

** Level of statistical significance at .001.

7) The residuals of the sample not compatible with the analytical pattern were rechecked by simple regression analysis, giving the standard education score (ZEDU) as the independent variable and the natural log of the standard income score (LZINC) as the dependent variable. It was found that the residuals were in a normal curve, better than the analytical result in step 4. We therefore decided to use the natural log of the standard income score (LZINC) to construct the occupational prestige score.

As for the occupational prestige score of the labour brokers, which were considered from the mean of the occupational prestige, we found that most labour brokers had occupational prestige scores from (-1.53) to 0.17, or 77.64%, with a mean of 0.1934 ($\overline{X} = 0.1934$, SD = 0.878) (see Table 3).

Table 3: Percentages of Mean Scores of Labour Broker Occupational Prestige

Percentages of mean scores of occupational prestige	Percentages
Mean lower than 0.18	77.64
Mean between 0.18 and 1.87	20.24
Mean higher than 1.87	2.12
Total	100.00 (321)
($\overline{X}$ = 0.1934, SD = 0.878, Min = –1.53 , Max = 3.57)	

The mean occupational prestige score of labour brokers at 0.1934 was compared with the occupational prestige score suggested by Dusadee Ayuwat (1997). It was found to be higher than that of the former occupation of most labour brokers who used to be farmers. The former occupational prestige scores of farming occupation were between -0.87 and -0.3, whereas the scores of industrial/service occupation were between -0.66 and 0.18. The details of the occupational prestige scores of the two occupation groups are shown in the Appendix. The finding reflects that labour brokers' social mobility via occupational mobility was obvious; the difference is shown in the comparison chart in Figure 2.

Figure 2: Comparison of Occupational Prestige Scores of Labour Brokers and their Former Occupations
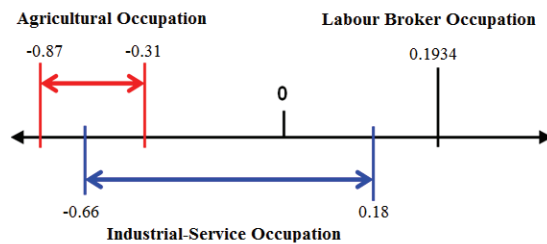
4.2   Processual Nature of Broker Mobility

With reference to social mobility of labour brokers, we found that 47.04% was both unintentional and accidental. Social mobility was achieved through their working networks which could comprise the former employer abroad, their former labour broker, and labour agency (56.70%). The main reason for social mobility was given as economic, that is, this job brings better income than their former occupation, and it is also a desk job (65.73%) (see Table 4).

Table 4:   Percentages of Labour Brokers Classified by Characteristics of Social Mobility

Social mobility characteristics	Percentages
Processual Nature of Broker Mobility	
Gradual mobility	46.73
Sudden mobility	6.23
Unintentional mobility	47.04
Total	100.00 (321)
Channels of social mobility	
Working network (Former employer, labour broker, and labour agency)	56.70
Networks of friends and relatives	43.30
Total	100.00 (321)
Reasons for social mobility	
Economic reason (higher income than former occupation, easy job)	65.73
Family reason (upgrading status, encouragement by family)	16.20
Social and political reason (will to be accepted by community, assist others, be an important person, build a social network, or prepare oneself for politics)	18.07
Total	100.00 (321)

5.   Conclusion and Recommendations

From the discussion above, it can be concluded that labour brokers' social status is derived from their social mobility through occupational mobility, from former occupations for most of them in farming and industrial/service sectors.

This reflects obvious social mobility with indicators of differences in occupational prestige scores. Occupational prestige is used as a springboard for status promotion of return migrants, originally labourers in the agricultural sector and in the industrial/service sector. Although the score is not much higher than the score of the former occupation, it is still considered a major leapt for a "nobody" upgrading his or her social status. In this case, we can say that it seems to be the major cause of community change in Northeast Thailand, Isan, because more and more Thai-Isan youngsters have been sent to work abroad by labour brokers.

Upon considering the processual nature of social mobility – which may be gradual mobility, sudden mobility, or unintentional mobility – nearly all groups rely on self-development by means of education. This can be seen in the high correlation coefficient between the occupational prestige score and standard education score, i.e., 0.872, indicating self-development of labour brokers, especially in continuing education. They do so to build respectability and reliability in the eyes of job seekers, as Thai society highly values education. Also, university education has been extended and opened to be more accessible to the people. This means labour brokers have greater chances to improve their reliability, which is in line with Elman and O'Rand (1998), who found that self-development especially in occupational skills contributes to job mobility in a person's occupational level and greater access to better occupations. There is, in addition, a suggestion by Guild (2009), pointing out that chances to receive higher education makes a person eminently respectable, and hence his or her social status is heightened.

When considering reasons behind social mobility of labour brokers, we found that economy is the most important reason for their attempt at social upgrade. People with a hard-working background strive to become brokers because the revenue is good, while the work is not as heavy as that of labour or farming. The quantitative research shows that the majority of Isan labour brokers (65.73%) reported this reason for their social mobility, and our finding is in accordance with studies of many academics who found that social mobility has its main ground in economy (Elman and O'Rand 1998; Parrado 2005; Guild 2009). However, there are also social reasons, which reflect the need to upgrade their social status. Working as labour brokers can also help relatives, friends, and neighbours in their community to get a chance to work abroad. Labour brokers are respected and seen as important people. Hence, the social status of labour brokers becomes higher.

The research finding indicating social mobility of labour brokers based on education as the major tool to upgrade their social status, necessitated investigation of the quality of education especially of the labour brokers themselves. This is to be able to say that they are suitable for this job since it is related to the service of labour agencies both pragmatically and symbolically. Direct stakeholders are job seekers who rely on them. Thus, organizations related to licensing employment, especially the Department of Employment (Ministry of

Labour), should take measures to control the competences of labour brokers. They should be tested in terms of relevant knowledge to be a broker. There should be a regular and individual inspection of the working authorisations individually. Licenses should be given for a certain period, and subject to inspection every six months or every year. Each time the license expires, the labour brokers should report for extension. This would enable the governmental organization to be informed of the status of labour brokers individually and the work of these brokers can be legally controlled. Additionally, the Ministry of Education should process the collected knowledge of Thai migrants returning from overseas for teaching in the curriculum of vocational education or training to protect young Thai workers.

References

Ayuwat, Dusadee. 1997. Factors Affecting Social Mobility of Migrants. PhD diss., Mahidol University.

Baur, Nina, and Stephanie Ernst. 2011. Towards a process-oriented methodology: modern social science research methods and Norbert Elias's figurational sociology. In *Norbert Elias and Figurational Research: Processual Thinking in Sociology*, ed. Norman Gabriel and Stephen Mennell, 117-39. Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell.

Batnitzky, Adina, Linda McDowell, and Sarah Dyer. 2008. A Middle-Class Global Mobility? The Working Lives of Indian Men in a West London Hotel. *Global Network* 8 (1): 51-70.

Bogue, Donald J. 1969. *Principle of Demography*. New York: John Wiley and Sons.

Chamaratana, Thanapauge, Dusadee Ayuwat, Luuk Knippenberg, and Edwin De Jong. 2010. Connecting the Disconnected: Background, practices and motives of labour brokers in Isan, Thailand – an explorative study. T*he International Journal of Interdisciplinary Social Sciences* 5 (5): 359-72.

Chantawanit, Suphang. 2002. *Thai Market Labour in Asia and Southeast Asia: Impact from Economics Regression at the End of 1990s*, Research Report. Bangkok: Center for Asian Migration Research, Institute of Asia Study, Chulalongkorn University.

Choi, Keung Hang. 2004. *Migrants Worker in Macao: Labour and Globalization*. Southeast Asia Research Centre (SEARC) Working Papers, 66 (July). <http://www.asia-studies.com/asia/SEARC/2004/WP66_04_Choi.pdf> (Accessed September 19, 2017, subscription required).

Cohen, Jacob. 1988. *Statistical power analysis for the behavioral sciences*, 2nd ed. New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Department of Agriculture. 2016. Thailand Agricultural Statistics. <http://www.doa. go.th/> (Accessed November 12, 2016).

Draper, John, and Paweena Prasertsri. 2013. The Isan Culture Maintenance and Revitalisation Programme's multilingual signage attitude survey. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development* 34 (7): 618.

Elman, Cheryl, and Angela O'Rand. 1998. Midlife Entry into Vocational Training: A Mobility Model. *Social Science Research* 27: 128-58.

Em-imtham, Sukanya. 2005. Thai Women's Route to Japan: Human Trafficking. *Academic Service Journal* 13 (4): 4-10.

Giddens, Anthony, Mitchell Duneier, and Richard Appelbaum. 2005. *Introduction to Sociology*, 5th ed. New York: W. W. Norton.

Gulid, Elspeth. 2009. *Security and Migration in the 21st Century*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Hewison, Kevin. 2003. *A Preliminary Analysis of Thai Workers in Hong Kong: Survey Result*. Southeast Asia Research Centre (SEARC) Working Papers, 44 (April). <http://www.asia-studies.com/asia/SEARC/2003/WP44_03_Hewison.pdf> (Accessed September 19, 2017, subscription required).

Keyes, Charles. F. 2000. *Civility and Savagery: Social Identity in Tai state*, ed. Andrew Turton. Richmond, Surrey: Curzon.

Marger, Martin N. 2005. *Social Inequality: Patterns and Process*. New York: McGraw-Hill.

McCargo, Duncan, and Krisdawan Hongladrom. 2004. Contesting Isan-ness: Discourses of Politics and Identity in Northeast Thailand. *Asian Ethnicity* 5(2): 219-34.

Neuman, William L. 2004. *Basic of Social Research: Qualitative and Quantitative Approaches*. Boston: Pearson Education.

Nohria, Nitin, and Robert G. Eccles. 1992. *Networks and Organizations: Structure, Form and Action*. Boston: Harvard Business School Press.

Office of Overseas Thai Labour Administration. 2014. *Labour Statistics*. <http://www.overseas.doe.go.th> (Accessed April 25, 2014).

Onaka, Fumiya. 2013. Aspects of Process Theories and Process-Oriented Methodologies in Historical and Comparative Sociology: An Introduction. *Historical Social Research* 38 (2): 161-71. doi: 10.12759/hsr.38.2013.2.161-171.

Palmisano, Joseph M. 2001. *World of Sociology*. Detroit: Gale Group.

Parrado, Emilio A. 2005. Economic Restructuring and Intra-generational Class Mobility in Mexico. *Social Forces* 84 (2): 733-57.

Prasithrattasin, Suchart. 2005. *Statistics for Social Science Research*, 10th edition. Bangkok: Thai Wattanapanit Printing Press.

Premsrirat, Suwilai. 2007. Endangered languages of Thailand. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 186: 76.

Registration Section, Office of Overseas Thai Labour Administration. 2014. *The Ministry of Labour's 2013 Annual Report*. Bangkok: Ministry of Labour.

Revett, Paul. 1999. *Community Landscapes in Northeast Thailand*. M.A. thesis, University of Otago, New Zealand.

Schaefer, Richard T. 2003. *Sociology*, 8th ed. New York: McGraw-Hill.

Talbot, Sarah, and Janthed Chutima. 2001. Northeast Thailand before Ankor: Evidence from an Archaeological Excavation at the Prasat Hin Phimai. *Asian Perspectives* 40 (2): 179-94.

Turner, Bryan T. 2006. *The Cambridge Dictionary of Sociology*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Young, Ken. 2004. *Southeast Asian Migrant Workers in East Asian Households: Globalization, social change and the double burden of market and patriarchal disciplines*. Southeast Asia Research Centre (SEARC) Working Papers, 58 (January). <http://www.asia-studies.com/asia/SEARC/2004/WP58_04_Young.pdf> (Accessed September 19, 2017, subscription required).

Appendix

Occupational Prestige Scores of the Agricultural and Industrial/Service Sectors

Occupations	Occupational prestige scores
Agricultural occupations	
Farming labourers not classified in other categories	−0.87
Wood cutters, log hauling labourers, and other forestry workers	−0.56
Fishermen and related occupations	−0.31
Industrial/service occupations	
Brick layers, mortar casting workers, and construction workers not classified in other categories	−0.66
Block cutting workers, printing workers, block engravers, book binding and covering workers, and other related jobs	−0.61
Labourers not classified in other categories	−0.60
Carpenters, wood workers, cabinet builders, barrel makers and other related jobs not classified as furniture builders	−0.58
Mill workers, stone mill workers, bakers, bakery workers, liquor and beer brewers, and food and beverage workers	−0.47
Tobacco preparers and tobacco product workers	−0.40
Laundry workers, dry cleaning workers	−0.39
Mining workers and stone crushing workers	−0.29
Potters, furnace makers, glass blowers, earthenware makers and related jobs	−0.28
Labourers working on goods loading at waterfronts and related goods conveying labourers	−0.28
Ore preparers for direct use or for later processes	−0.09
Seamstresses, material cutters, fur workers and related jobs	−0.09
Workers and those making products not classified in other categories	−0.02
Packagers, labelers and related jobs	0.01
Workers in chemical processes and related jobs	0.04
Restaurant servers, bartenders and related jobs	0.15
Workers and janitors in buildings, cleaners and related jobs	0.16
Workers on precision machines, watch mechanics, jewelers and related jobs	0.18

Source: Ayuwat 1997.