NATIONAL MIGRATION SURVEY OF THAILAND

IPSR Publication No. 188

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Foreward

Internal migration is a key influence on the development process, as it is the mechanism of redistributing population and resources within a nation. Industrialization has been universally accompanied by the movement of people from rural areas to cities, and the largest or capital city is most often the recipient of the largest migration flow. Yet, often urban population growth occurs in the absence of real opportunity, but rather in response to the perceived disparity between rural and urban incomes. Besides the strain on resources that occurs with rapid urban growth, the fact that migrants tend to be younger and better educated than non-migrants causes an imbalance in the distribution of skills throughout the nation.

In response to the problems resulting from Bangkok's rapid expansion, the Thai government has acknowledged the need for redistribution policies, including rural development plans and the creation of regional economic centers. But planning for population redistribution must be based on an understanding of migration flows within the country and the circumstances and motivations that precipitate a move, as well as knowledge about migrant satisfaction and ability to survive in the new environment.

For these reasons the Institute for Population and Social Research implemented a nationwide household migration survey, by collecting information on a representative sample of 7,537 households throughout Thailand.

This report presents the results of the survey. the report documents the high levels of movement within Thailand and the complexity of that movement. The results will serve as a valuable resource of policy makers changing geographical distribution of the Thai population.

Prof. Dr. Pradit Charoenthaitawee
President
Mahidol University

Preface

The intention to conduct a national migration survey for Thailand, and for several Asian countries was first proposed in the late 1960s. Because of funding difficulties, the aims of the project were not realized. Only a report based on analysis of census data was produced for Thailand and several other countries. IPSR decided to pursue a national migration study in early 1990, as internal migration was seen as a key factor interacting between industrialization and the development process. An understanding levels of migration is crucial to the formulation of effective strategies to affect population mobility. Our Institute realizes that the need for comprehensive migration data has become more pressing under current situations of rapid changes in technology, communication, and the strain on national resources.

Before starting the NMS project, IPSR initiated a dialogue with policy makers and scholars concerned with migration issues by holding a one-day seminar on "Migration Policy in Thailand: Needed Data" in August 1990. This meeting allowed policy makers and researchers to identify needed information on migration and to formulate a framework to plan for the national survey. In January 1992, the research methods and the draft questionnaires of both household and individual schedules were presented in the first Regional conference in Phuket. In April 1993, IPSR organized a seminar on "Sources of Data on Migration and Urbanization in Thailand: Reflections on Data Collection Techniques, Definitions and Results to discuss research methods and preliminary results of the NMS. And in November 1993, IPSR released key findings of NMS by organizing a national seminar on "New Findings from National Migration Study of Thailand: Policy Implications". Many suggestions and recommendations were received for revision of the preliminary report that was presented at the Conference in Nongkhai province in January 1994. Many helpful comments came from discussions and plans for further study and analysis of the data were recommended.

This report is the outcome of the long series of planning and meeting described above. It is a milestone in Thai migration studies as it presents results of the first ever National Study focussed a migration. We hope that the results are useful and that they stimulate further study in this important area.

Aphichat Chamratrithirong, PhD

Director

Institute for Population and Social Research

Acknowledgements

The National Migration Survey (NMS) conducted in Thailand from May to September 1992 was funded by the International Development Research Centre (IDRC). This project was administered by the IDRC regional office in Singapore. Special thanks go to two IDRC project officers Drs. Somsak Boonyawiroj and Jingjai Hanchanlash, who were instrumental in the project execution.

At the beginning of the project, it was decided to involve as many persons as possible in each stage of the research. This was carried out through workshops and seminars as well as through informal contacts. The idea was to create a network of researchers and policy makers who were involved in migration. Some of the key individuals whose ongoing advice was important in shaping the research and analysis included Sidney Goldstein and Alice Goldstein from Brown University, Ron Skeldon from The University of Hong Kong, Gordon DeJong from the Pennsylvania State University, Ted Fuller from Virginia Tech and Franklin Goza from Bowling Green University. Migration experts from several other Southeast Asian countries also participated in the seminars. Among those who provided their ideas and shared their experiences were Jamilah Ariffin from Malaysia, Secha Alatas from Indonesia and Josie Cabigon from The Philippines.

We also wish to thank all the Thai researchers and policy makers who made invaluable contributions to this project. Many of the colleagues participated in the numerous project-related seminars that were organized. Participant contributions ranged from writing background papers, serving as moderators or discussants, and through submitting helpful comments. However, we wish to express our special gratitude to two special contributors. Chintana Pejaranonda of the National Statistics Office was consulted at every stage of the research because of her broad experience in the field. She freely gave her time and advice for the project. Professor Pradit Charoenthaitawee, the President of Mahidol University, provided administrative and intellectual support for the project from it's inception. Without his support, the project would not have been as successful.

Finally, we wish to thank those who were involved in the fieldwork and data preparation. To all the supervisors, interviewers, data input personnel and assistants, we wish to express our sincere thanks for their diligence and efforts. We also wish to express our gratitude to the thousands of Thais who took part in the study: the respondents and the local officials. We hope that the research results truthfully reveal their conditions so that migration researchers and policy makers could be guided to an appropriate migration agenda for Thailand.

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INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background and Justification

Mobility is one of the most important demographic processes affecting population size and composition, particularly in countries where fertility and mortality has successfully declined. Specifically, internal migration influences the development process. It redistributes population and resources within a nation. The onset of industrialization is accompanied by the movement of people from rural areas to cities with the largest or capital city as the usual recipient of the largest migration flow. Urban population growth, however, occurs in the absence of any real opportunity or other pull factors. The increasing inability of rural people to make a living from agriculture and the perceived large wage differential between rural areas and cities constitute the strong rural push factors. The strain on resources due to rapid urban growth and the increasing selection of younger and more educated migrants create an imbalance in the national distribution of skills. In addition, when rural-urban migrants are unable to find employment or can only make a living from marginal jobs, urban poverty grows and rural poverty is not alleviated. The decision-making process of migrants could also be based on inaccurate information, which may lead to negative consequences if expected urban opportunities are not in place.

Planning for population redistribution must be based on an understanding of the circumstances and motivations that precipitate a move, knowledge about migrant satisfaction and the ability to survive in new environments. The most commonly used source of information on internal migration is the census. Censuses often collect information on migration during the past five years. However, census data do not provide detailed information on

individual migration histories. Hence, short-term, seasonal and circular types of migration over the course of an individual's lifetime cannot be derived from census information.

Another major census limitation is the restricted information on migrant characteristics. While census data allows comparison of migrants and non-migrants on a few individual characteristics (e.g., educational attainment), the identification and characterization of various types of migrants such as circular migrants, seasonal migrants, temporary migrants and return migrants is not possible. Moreover, census data often fail to provide information on the welfare and personal satisfaction of migrants before and after a move, the economic links between migrants and their families, or the impact of remittances on the household economy. More importantly, census data provide very limited information on motivations for migration and the household socio-economic conditions that may lead to or result from migration (Praditwong 1990). While some small-scale surveys have attempted to address these issues, they cannot provide a complete description of the migration process. Therefore, generalizations on how individuals are affected by urbanization and development are of limited value to policy makers.

Problems attendant to Bangkok's rapid economic expansion led to the realization among Thai government planners of the urgent need for national redistribution policies and development plans. The current migration policies are designed to reduce both push and pull factors that often lead to population mobility (Phayomyount 1990). Policies designed to lessen push factors from rural areas include (1) the promotion of new types of agricultural production to increase rural incomes, which includes crop diversification, animal husbandry and fishery; (2) improvement in the quality of life in rural areas through the improvement and expansion of public services in health and education; and (3) the emphasis on community participation and self-determination to increase cohesion and bind rural residents to their home communities. Policies designed to reduce migration to Bangkok include (1) the development of Bangkok's periphery, which reduces pressure on the city's core; (2) the development of regional growth poles to discourage intraregional migration; and (3) development of the Eastern Seaboard as an industrial zone. These policies were instrumental in achieving high growth rates in Bangkok's suburbs. However, various implementation problems observed included the unstable world agricultural market, budget shortfalls in the development of provincial growth poles and the Eastern Seaboard, and the difficulty of equalizing income distribution throughout the nation.

Future policies include further development of Bangkok's periphery, especially regarding investments in infrastructure and relocating industries outside of the city

center; continued development of the Eastern Seaboard area; development of the Southern Seaboard area, including a deep-sea port and pipelines for natural gas and crude oil; and development of the Upper Central region as a meeting point for agriculture and industry, including processing of rice and other agricultural products. The Board of Investment (BOI) incentives have been reformulated to provide maximun incentives for investment in those provinces located away from Bangkok and it's periphery. Dry Season work provision schemes in rural areas designed to reduce the levels of seasonal migration into Bangkok were implemented on a large scale in 1994 and further expansion of the scheme is planned.

The impact of these policies on internal migration and population redistribution throughout the country needs to be assessed. A clear and detailed understanding of the migration process on the individual level is crucial to the formulation of effective strategies to affect population mobility. The National Migration Survey is intended to aid in assessing these policies by collecting migration histories from individuals throughout Thailand. The survey examined push factors from rural areas and pull factors to Bangkok and other regional centers. In addition, specific government policies that affect migration such as the promotion of growth in Bangkok's periphery were also investigated. Information on household-level economic dynamics, the economic structure of the sending and receiving communities, and the factors that affect the ability of migrants to adapt to new environments will aid policy makers and planners in gaining a fuller understanding of the migration process.

1.2 Objectives of the Study

A national migration survey for Thailand and for several other Asian countries was first proposed in the late 1960s. In the 1970s, ESCAP commenced a large scale regional study aimed at obtaining national survey results in selected countries in the region. However, most of the aims of the project were not realized because of limited funding support from the United Nations. Sub-national surveys were fielded in Thailand but other countries based their analysis on census data.

A decade after these attempts at a national survey, the need for comprehensive migration data became more pressing. In response to this need, the Institute for Population and Social Research (IPSR) implemented a nationwide household migration survey known as the National Migration Survey of Thailand (NMS). The NMS has five major objectives:

(1) to identify micro-level migration patterns within Thailand, through the estimation of migration patterns by socio-demographic group (e.g., age, sex, education and occupation), and by type of migration;

(2) to examine the determinants of migration at the community, household

and individual level by focusing on community development factors, household socio-economic conditions and the individual decision-making process that precipitate a move or a potential move;

(3) to examine the consequences of migration at the individual level by investigating migrant satisfaction and migrantûs own individual assessment of changes in quality of life;

(4) to identify patterns in the different types of migration by regional areas within Thailand that are major origin and destination points; and

(5) to develop a model national migration survey to serve as framework for other countries in the Southeast Asian region.

1.3 Thai Migration Studies

Although detailed information on the migration process in Thailand is not available, estimates of migration patterns and differentials based on the census, which is administered decennially since 1960, are available. There were also migration surveys conducted by National Statistics Office (NSO) in large cities of Thailand, and rural community studies carried out in the North, Northeast and Central regions. This section provides a brief overview of the existing migration literature in Thailand.

1.3.1 Migration Patterns

The historically low level of mobility among the Thai population (Caldwell 1967, Thomlinson 1971) evolved into relatively regular flows of rural-to-rural migration as the agricultural frontier expanded. International migration flows, especially from China, were also significant during the latter half of the nineteenth century and into the twentieth century (Skinner 1957). These movements supplied the required labor for the first stages of urban-based industrialization. When the Chinese labor migration abated, in part because of the growing nationalist sentiments at that time, urban-based opportunities for the Thai people expanded. This resulted in increased geographical mobility.

The 1960 census provided the first available source of national migration data. The Central and the Northeast regions had the highest net migration (Prachuabmoh and Tirasawat 1974). Over the last four decades, the regions that went through the greatest number of population exchanges with other regions are the North and the Central regions. The North gained over 30,000 migrants for the period 1955-1960 and 6,000 migrants for the period 1965-1970. However, it suffered a net loss of almost 18,000 people during the five years before the 1980 census, and 85,000 people for the period 1985-1990. On the other hand, the Central region experienced large net losses but the periods 1975-1980 and 1985-1990 recorded a gain of almost

50,000 and 295,000 inhabitants, respectively. The Central region has benefifted from the economic dynamism of Bangkok and now absorbs some of the migration streams that otherwise would have been directed to Bangkok. The Northeast region continues to be the main supplier of inter-regional migrants. Compared to other regions, a higher proportion of intraregional migration occurred in the Southern region (Goldstein and Goldstein 1986, NSO 1993).

Previous research has shown that the most dominant stream over the last three decades has been rural-rural migration (Pejaranonda et al. 1984, NSO 1993). This stream made up nearly two-thirds of all moves in the 1965-1970 period. Twenty years later, about four out of ten moves were rural-rural migration streams. Many of the rural moves involved relocation of a spouse at the time of marriage, but economic factors were also found to be important in rural-rural migration (NSO 1993). A major reason for decreases in this type of migration is the decline in the availability of land (Goldstein and Goldstein 1986, Goldstein 1987), which is an important factor stimulating Thai migration (Cochrane 1979). Part of the flow to rural areas had been spurred by a Government resettlement scheme. Since its inception in 1940 until the 1970s, a total of 516,000 individuals have been resettled under this scheme (Institute of Population Studies 1981).

The share of migration contributed by rural-to-urban and urban-to-rural migrations increased since the 1960s. The 1990 census found that over 18 percent of all recent migrants in 1985-1990 moved from rural to urban areas while 12.6 percent moved from urban to rural areas. Bangkok is the urban center that has gained the most from the rural-to-urban population transfers. In the period 1985-1990, Bangkok had 638,000 in-migrants aged 5 years and over. This represents an increase from the 366,000 recorded during the previous 10 years. The latest intercensal data shows that Bangkok had a net population gain of 365,900 among migrants aged 5 years and over (NSO 1993). But it should be remembered that census data often underestimate the impact of migration on urban growth since a large proportion of temporary migrants circulate between rural and urban areas on a seasonal basis. There were also indications that circular migrants contribute a large proportion of the migrant-labor pool, particularly in Bangkok (Goldstein and Goldstein 1986, Limanonda and Tirasawat 1987, Manusphaibool 1991).

1.3.2 Determinants of Migration

Most explanations for migration in Thailand are macro-based. Regional differences in Thai migration patterns, however, must account for Bangkok's dominance in the economic, demographic, and political fronts (Porpora and Lim 1987, Guest and Praditwong 1989). The urban bias in government policies has historically increased the attraction of Bangkok as a

migrant destination (Tonguthai 1987). The high rates of out-migration from provinces in the Central region and the relatively low migration rates from the Southern and Northern provinces may result from differential accessibility to Bangkok. Migration from the Northeast, however, may be partly due to a combination of access to information, poverty and rising aspirations (Porpora and Lim 1987). Inequities in income and access to land have been associated with regional migration differentials (Goldstein and Goldstein 1986). Fuller et al. (1985), on the other hand, stressed the influence of information flows in determining migration patterns.

Recent attempts have been made to link the macro-economic policies of the government to rural-urban migration flows. Manusphaibool (1991) and Phongpaichit (1991 and 1992) argued that government policies that promote export-led growth and the development of the service sector, especially the tourism industry, is associated with increased rural-to-urban migration, particularly to Bangkok. They noted that several features of these migration streams (e.g., the large numbers of young females involved and the high incidence of temporary migration) can be related to labor demands from those economic sectors being promoted.

Some individual-level determinants of Thai rural-urban migration have also been identified. Studies in Northern Thailand show the need for migration because of the lack of opportunities available in rural areas (Singhanetra-Renard 1981 and 1987). Since most of the migrants wish to remain in rural areas, high levels of temporary migration persist. Fuller et al. (1983) noted that Northeastern households have depended on remittances from migrant

family members living in Bangkok. The demographic and educational selectivity of rural-to-urban migrants has also been examined (Taneeranon 1992, Guest 1993).

1.4 Conclusion

Migration data in Thailand has been collected through censuses since 1960. Analyses of the data contributed greatly to the understanding of the composition and direction of migration streams. However, census-based data provide cross-sectional illustrations of population movements, which are inherently dynamic. The increasing evidence from small-scale surveys of the temporary nature of Thai migrations further underscore the demand for research in short-term, seasonal and circular forms of migration. While there remains large knowledge gaps on the determinants and consequences of more permanent forms of migration, more dynamic micro-level migration studies are needed to better understand the migration process. The NMS was designed to provide data that will help fill these knowledge gaps.

Chapter 2
RESEARCH METHODS

The Institute for Population and Social Research (IPSR) initiated a dialogue with policy makers concerned with migration issues by holding a one-day meeting in Bangkok in August 1990. This meeting allowed policy makers and researchers to identify needed migration information and to formulate working hypotheses to develop a framework for the national survey. It also set the stage for establishing a network of individuals who are familiar with IPSR's research to facilitate the use of survey results for policy and planning.

The National Migration Study of Thailand (NMS) consists of three main research activities. First, a household-level survey was administered to a nationally representative sample of 7,537 households. Second, individuals from half of the selected households were interviewed in detail. Finally, a village-level profile of the rural sample areas were obtained through interviews of key informants in each sample village. Hence, three interview schedules were used: the household schedule, the individual schedule, and the community schedule.

2.1 Development of the Questionnaires

The household questionnaire was based on the survey instrument developed for the ESCAP-funded project on "The Comparative Study of the Relationships of Migration and Urbanization to Development" (ESCAP 1979 and 1980). Appropriate modifications were made on the household questionnaire for field-survey feasibility in Thailand. A senior staff member of the Division of Population and Social Survey, NSO assisted the IPSR staff in refining and further developing the household questionnaire during the first two months of the project. In January 1992, the research methods and the draft questionnaires of both household and individual

schedules were presented at the First Conference on National Migration Survey Consortium in Southeast Asia Countries in Phuket, which was organized by IPSR. The sample design and questionnaires were modified based on the various suggestions and recommendations submitted at the conference.

The revised household and individual questionnaires were pretested in Bangkok, Ubon Rachathani (a province in the Northeast), Prachinburi (a province in the Central region) and Lampang (a province in the North). The pretest results aided the researchers in finalizing the household and individual questionnaires. The mean duration of a household interview was 30 minutes and 25 minutes, on average, for the individual interview. Another schedule was used to obtain the village profile by interviewing key informants in rural areas such as village leaders, teachers and local government officials. This schedule was adapted from the community-level questionnaire developed for the project entitled "Old Age Security Motive and Fertility in Thailand," which was conducted by IPSR. This schedule was modified and pretested in Supanburi. Interviews using the community schedule took 30 minutes, on average.

The household schedule consisted of four parts. The most important section collected detailed information on the presence of household members during the household interview (see Table 1). Information was collected on three types of household residents: usual residents, non-usual residents and former residents. Usual residents are defined as persons who ate and slept as members of the household for more than one month. Non-usual residents are defined as persons who were household residents for less than one month. Former residents, on the other hand, are defined as persons who previously were usual residents but had been absent for more than one month. Migration is defined as an absence of more than one month that involved movement across a sub-district (*tambon*) boundary. Information was also obtained on whether the household members had ever migrated. If a household member migrated within the two years prior to the survey, more detailed information on the most recent move was obtained.

Information recorded on the second part of the household questionnaire pertained to personal characteristics of any former usual resident of the household who had migrated elsewhere during the last two years (see Table 2). Questions on both sending and receiving of remittances to and from household members were recorded in the third part of the schedule (see Tables 3 and 4). The last part of the household questionnaire collected information about the socio-economic position of the household (i.e., main occupation, income, home ownership, land ownership and possession of household durable goods).

The individual questionnaire collected

information on migration and other life course events (e.g., changes in occupation, education and family structure). Also collected are data surrounding the first and last move, and intentions for future moves. The community-level schedule gathered data on the village's history in relation to the population and movement of inhabitants, transportation and communication, labor market of the non-agricultural sector, and number of schools and health services.

The data from the household survey are used to develop national-level estimates of migration rates for various migration streams, while the individual-level data is used to understand the processes involved in migration decisions. The migration definition employed in the study is designed to be flexible in providing a range of migration estimates. Moreover, the geographical and time dimensions of the basic definition of migration are related to the main aims of the survey. A move within a tambon is called residential mobility since such a move, in most cases, does not require a reorientation of social and economic roles. To assess the extent of these moves, however, information on the period when household members had lived in their current residence were collected.

A minimum absence of one month was selected for defining migration. This definition allowas the study to focus on movements that can significantly impact on origin and destination households and communities. The use of a function-based definition (e.g., moves made for the purpose of work or study) rather than a time-based definition was discussed but was later rejected considering that even social visits could influence the use of social services and economic resources if these visits were of long duration. The main activity carried out in the place of destination was also obtained.

Compared to the other main source of migration data (i.e., the census), the migration definition employed in the NMS is more restrictive in geographical terms but less restrictive in terms of time. The census employs a smaller unit (village) for defining migration from rural areas but a larger unit (municipality) for migration in urban areas. The census relies on a person's usual residence to determine his or her place of residence. Persons living in their usual place of residence for less than a stipulated period (normally five years) are defined as migrants. In contrast, the NMS consistently used tambon boundaries as basis for both migration from urban and rural areas. The NMS migration definition is based on a minimum of one month spent in a place. If a person spent a month or more in various tambons during a stipulated time, he or she is defined as a migrant.

2.2 Sample Design

The NMS involved a sample of 7,537 households. The multi-stage sampling procedure was designed to yield a nation-

TABLE 2.1
Distribution of Target and Actual Samples, by Rigion

A. TARGET SAMPLES

1) Bangkok Target Sample: 70 Census Blocks x 30 Households = 2,100

2) Urban Target Sample:

Region	Urban Areas		
	Province	Sample Places	Households
Central	4	16	320
North	5	20	400
Northeast	5	20	400
South	3	10	240
Total			1,360

3) Rural Target Sample:

Region	Rural Areas			
	Province	District	Village	Household
Central	4	8	32	960
North	5	10	40	1,200
Northeast	5	10	40	1,200
South	3	6	24	720
Total				4,080

Total Target Sample = 2,100 + 1,360 + 4,080 = 7,540 Households

B. ACTUAL SAMPLES

Type of Schedule	Region					Total
	Bangkok	Central	North	Northeast	South	
Household	2,094	1,282	1,601	1,600	960	7,537
Individual	1,051	640	800	800	480	3,771
Community	-	32	40	40	24	136

ally and regionally representative sample. Table 2.1 describes the target sampling units at each stage and the actual number of respondents interviewed. Bangkok was included in the sample as a separate strata. The sample selection process was undertaken separately for Bangkok, urban areas and rural areas. For the Bangkok sample, 70 census blocks were randomly selected from the total number of census blocks in the capital city provided by the NSO. An urban area in this study refers to a municipal area or a sanitary district with 5,000 or more population. The same sampling procedure was used in both urban and rural cases.

The samples were drawn in four stages. First, seventeen provinces (5 from the North and the Northeast, 4 from Central and 3 from the South) were randomly selected from Thailand's 72 provinces (excluding Bangkok). Second, two districts from each selected province were randomly selected for the rural sample while 4 urban areas were selected with probability proportional to size in each province for the urban sample. Third, four villages were randomly drawn from each district for the rural sample. For the provincial urban sample, one census block was selected randomly by the NSO, if the selected urban areas were municipal areas. If the selected urban areas were sanitary districts, no selection procedure was done at this stage. Finally, 30 households were randomly selected for the rural sample from a listing of households provided by the NSO. In the selected sanitary districts, 20 households were drawn from the total number of households.

2.2.1 Sample Weights

The NMS sample is not self-weighting. Urban and rural areas within the four regions plus Bangkok are treated as separate strata with a fixed number of households targeted from each. To obtain nationally representative estimates, the data has to be weighted to reflect the distribution of households among the various strata.

Because of the large difference in sizes of provincial populations, the weights are based on the number of rural and urban households for each province. When applied to the data, the weights adjust the sample distribution of households to the distributions of households among the nine strata as obtained from the 1990 population census. Within each strata, weights vary among provinces based on the number of households within each province. The weighted and unweighted distribution of households are shown in Table 2.2 for the sample provinces.

2.2.2 Selection of the Households to be Interviewed

A list of enumerated households in the 1990 census for sample areas was used as a sampling frame for the selection of households. In most cases, the household

TABLE 2.2
Unweighted and Weighted Household Distributions, by Province

Province	Unweighted		Weighted	
	Number of Households	Percent	Number of Households	Percent
Bangkok	2,094	27.8	843	11.2
Pathum Thani	320	4.2	246	3.3
Chonburi	320	4.2	534	7.1
Prachinburi	320	4.2	498	6.6
Surin	320	4.2	582	7.7
Yasathon	320	4.2	258	3.4
Khon Kaen	320	4.2	811	10.8
Roi et	320	4.2	531	7.0
Mukdaharn	320	4.2	118	1.6
Lampang	320	4.2	381	5.1
Chiang Rai	320	4.2	532	7.1
Mae Hong Son	321	4.3	73	1.0
Phicit	320	4.2	278	3.7
Petchabun	320	4.2	392	5.2
Suphanburi	322	4.3	497	6.6
Krabi	320	4.2	167	2.2
Surat Thani	320	4.2	468	6.2
Narithwat	320	4.2	327	4.3
Total	7,537	100.0	7,537	100.0

sample frame provided by the NSO was not up-to-date or was incomplete. Since accurate information was vital to the research, the supervisor and the team had to meet with a village leader or the staff of the health centre to complete the list. Special efforts were made during the sampling phase to identify possible structures that house temporary residents (e.g., temporary residence in a construction site), by surveying the sample census blocks and villages. Households which had been in the sample areas for one month or more before the time of the survey were added to the sample frame, while migrant households at the time of the survey were deleted from the list.

Based on the updated number of households listed and the targeted number of households to be interviewed, an appropriate sampling fraction was determined. This provided a sampling interval to be used in the selection of households from the sample frame. The initial household was randomly selected based on a table of random numbers and then the remainder of the households were systematically sampled from the list using the predeter-

mined sampling interval. The same methods were applied to select replacement households. The substitute sample included ten reserves that were only used if a respondent was not contacted within three days.

Once a household had been chosen, the supervisor and the assistant located the house and the respondent, often with help from the village head. Although the respondents were sometimes out (e.g., working in the field), enough time was allowed to contact the initially chosen sample household respondents. If the respondent was not interviewed after two visits, the first respondent on the reserve list was contacted. The substitution rates for the NMS samples are shown in Table 2.3.

Respondents interviewed for the household questionnaire were principally the household head, the spouse of the head or both, and/or other key members of the households. The number of completed household schedules is 7,537, with a total of 32,227 individuals living in such households.

2.2.3 Selection of Individual Respondents

After all sample households were interviewed in each village and urban block, individual respondents were chosen. First, household members aged 15 to 44 were categorized as a migrant int the previous two years or otherwise. Second, the appropriate number of target respondents and their replacements were systematially selected from each list. In cases where there is insufficient nuber of migrants or non-migrants in the list, extra respondents

TABLE 2.3
Percent Using Substituted Sample for Household and Individual Schedules by Region and Urban/Rural Residence

Region	Household Schedule		Individual Schedule	
	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural
Bangkok	33	NA	32	NA
Central	39	17	33	23
North	38	14	41	17
Northeast	29	13	24	23
South	25	15	18	27
Total	33	14	30	22

from the other lists were selected. The proportions used for the selection of eligible respondents for detailed interviews using the individual questionnaire are 8 migrants per 7 non-migrants in rural areas, and 5 migrants per 5 non-migrants in urban areas. While sample respondents were approximately half the number of sample households, more than one respondent may be drawn from a household. Sample respondents in the reserve list were selected using the same procedure for substitute households. There were 3,771 randomly selected and interviewed respondents in the sample households. In the selection of both the households and the individuals to be interviewed, the non-contact rate was generally higher in urban areas than in rural areas (see Table 2.3).

2.3 Fieldwork and Data Quality Control

Interviewers employed in this study had completed at least a bachelor's degree in the social sciences or related fields. Supervisors of the field-survey teams had experience in interviewing, editing and coding structured questionnaires. Most supervisors had worked on other projects conducted by IPSR. Recruitment of the field-survey teams was done in April 1992. Each team consisted of one supervisor, one assistant supervisor and five interviewers. In early May 1992, the supervisors were trained at IPSR and they were given actual field practice. Eight interview teams were hired: three teams for the North and Northeast, one for the Central region, one for the South, and the other three for Bangkok. The interviewers were trained in mid-May with assistance from the supervisors. The survey was conducted between late-May and mid-September 1992.

The timing of the survey had a large impact on the location of migrants. Much of the migration that occurs in Thailand is seasonal. Highest levels of seasonal migration occur during the dry season months of February through May when many farmers start looking for temporary work to tide them over until the next planting season. The survey was conducted during the wet season when many of the seasonal migrants were expected to be at their usual place of residence. This potentially improves the precision of our estimates for temporary migration considering that it is often difficult to identify places of residence of temporary workers.

For efficiency in data collection at the field, each research team was designed to be independent and self-sufficient. Each team was provided with a van and a driver. Sufficient time was allowed for completing the fieldwork in each province. Households and individuals to be interviewed were selected by the supervisor and the respective assistant. Interviewers were sent to each chosen house to ensure that they interviewed the correct household. Questionnaires were edited daily in the field. If something was suspect, the questionnaires were incomplete, or some

information were inconsistent, interviewers were sent back to correct and/or complete the survey questionnaires. If problems arose in the field and the supervisors have difficulty solving them, the team contacted the central office for direction and other assistance.

At the time of the survey, researchers visited the field-survey teams outside Bangkok every two or three weeks to monitor the interviews and to help address any difficulties associated with the fieldwork. The visits also enabled further discussion and examination of the questionnaires with the supervisors and interviewers. The researchers not only gave moral support and ensured that everything was going as planned; they also monitored the data quality and boosted the solidarity of each team. For the Bangkok-based teams, field-survey meetings with the researchers were held every two weeks.

After completion of the field work, some of the field-survey teams were employed as data encoders. Data entry, consistency and range checks, and data cleaning were performed by the IPSR staff.

Chapter 3
LEVELS AND SPATIAL PATTERNS OF MIGRATION

In this chapter, levels and geographical patterns of migration are described. In the first section, several definitions of migration are used. The main task of this section is to compare the NMS results with the 1990 census data. For the remainder of the chapter, migration is defined as a movement across a sub-district (*tambon*) that occurred within the 24 months prior to the survey. Apart from examining regional differentials in migration, the emphasis is placed on interregional flows, migration flows between urban and rural areas, and streams of different types of migrants. Migration involving Bangkok is examined in more detail.

3.1 Comparison of Census and NMS Estimates of Migration

The main source of information about migration levels and patterns in Thailand has been the decennial population censuses. The 1990 census definition of a migrant is a person who moved across a municipal or village boundary within the 5 years preceding the census date (1 April 1990). However, a change of residence within municipal areas was not considered as migration in the census definition (NSO 1993). The census was carried out on the *de jure* population (i.e., persons were enumerated in their place of usual residence).

To achieve some level of comparability of the census and NMS results, two five-year definitions of migration are constructed from the NMS. In the first, migration is defined as living in the current place of residence from six months to 5 years. Current residence is defined as the tambon of current residence. However, movement within municipal areas is not counted as a migration. The second definition varies from the first in that the time period used for moving to the current tambon of resi-

dence is 1 month to 5 years. Movement based on three levels of geographical aggregation are compared: all movement, interprovincial migration and interregional migration. The results of the comparisons are shown in Table 3.1.

The census records that 8 percent of the population aged 5 and above changed their usual place of residence (village or municipality) in the five years preceding the 1990 census. Results from the NMS indicate a higher level of mobility. If a six month time interval is employed, almost 15 percent of the population can be classified as migrants. If the one-month definition is used, the percent classified as migrants increases to 22 percent. Therefore, the NMS estimates indicate a much higher level of mobility than the census

TABLE 3.1
Percent of Population Aged 5 Years and Above who Migrated in the Previous Five Years by Current Region of Residence: Census and NMS Definitions

Definition	REGION OF CURRENT RESIDENCE					Total
	Bangkok	Central	North	Northeast	South	
Total[4]						
Census[1]	13.3	11.7	6.6	5.0	7.5	8.0
NMS[2]	15.5	15.3	12.4	14.2	16.3	14.6
NMS[3]	22.3	20.9	19.4	23.9	23.3	22.0
Interprovincial						
Census[1]	11.6	7.9	3.6	2.4	4.0	5.1
NMS[2]	15.2	10.4	8.5	10.8	7.7	10.3
NMS[3]	21.8	14.2	14.1	19.4	11.2	16.2
Interregional						
Census[1]	11.6	5.0	1.3	0.6	1.3	3.0
NMS[2]	15.2	6.7	5.3	7.9	2.6	7.2
NMS[3]	21.8	9.2	9.8	15.3	4.7	12.0

Sources: National Migration Survey and National Statistical Office (1993)

Notes:
[1] Based on census definition of living in current *usual* place of residence less than 5 years.
[2] Based on living in current place of residence 6 months to 5 years.
[3] Based on living in current place of residence 1 month to 5 years.
[4] Does not include movement within urban areas. For census includes movement between villages in rural areas and for NMS includes movements between sub-districts.

estimates, with the difference increasing the shorter the duration used to define migration.

The main reason for the large gap between the estimates based on the census and those on the one-month NMS definition is that the census is not designed to enumerate temporary migrants. These migrants, many of whom are seasonal, do not change their usual place of residence when they migrate. Therefore, they are not treated as migrants in the census. It appears that the census also does not capture some longer-term migrants and this may also be a result of the way the data is collected.

As the distance involved in migration increases, the divergences between the census and NMS migration estimates also increase. Furthermore, the increases in the estimates are much greater for the comparison between the census estimate and the NMS estimate based on the one-month definition than they are for the census figure and the estimate using the six-month NMS definition. For example, the ratios between the six-month NMS migration estimate and the census estimate are 1.8, 2.0 and 2.4 for total migration, interprovincial migration and interregional migration, respectively. The ratios of the estimates using the one-month NMS definition and the census definition are 2.8, 3.2 and 4.0, respectively. This suggests that much of the temporary migration that is not captured by the census occurs over a relatively long distance.

A comparison of regional levels of migration estimated from the census and NMS shows that as the length of time used to define migration decreases, the regional differences in levels of migration also diminish. The census estimates provide the largest levels of variation among regions, with the percentage of migrants of persons living in Bangkok and the Central region approximately double that of the other three regions for all migration, and even higher for interprovincial and interregional migration. If the NMS one-month definition is employed, the highest level of migration is observed for the Northeast (23.9 percent) while the lowest level is seen in the North (19.4 percent). It should be noted that Bangkok, with a level of 22.3, is intermediate to the other regions because in order to conform with the census the NMS definition does not include moves made within the city. As the distance of migration increases, the regional differences based on the NMS definitions also increase, although levels of migration for the Northeast remain very high.

The regional comparisons between the census and NMS estimates suggest that much of regional differences in reported levels of migration from the census are a result of the failure of the census to capture temporary migrants. There are differences in the migratory behavior of residents of different regions, but these differences appear to relate more to the type of mobility undertaken rather than the levels of mobility.

3.2 Levels of Two-Year Migration

The two-year migration definition used in the remainder of this chapter differs from the migration definitions used in the previous section not only in the length of the reference interval (two years rather than five years), but also in that movement between tambons within municipal areas is also treated as migration. The main effect of this change in definition is to dramatically increase the level of migration in Bangkok.

Two-year migration rates are highest for the population living in Bangkok at the time of the survey. Almost 25 percent (24.7) of the population of Bangkok aged two years and above migrated in the two years prior to the survey (see top panel of Figure 3.1). All four other regions have over 10 percent of their populations moving. Rates for the Northeast are several percentage points higher than those of the other three regions outside of Bangkok. The percentage of the total sample aged 2 years and above who are migrants is 15.0.

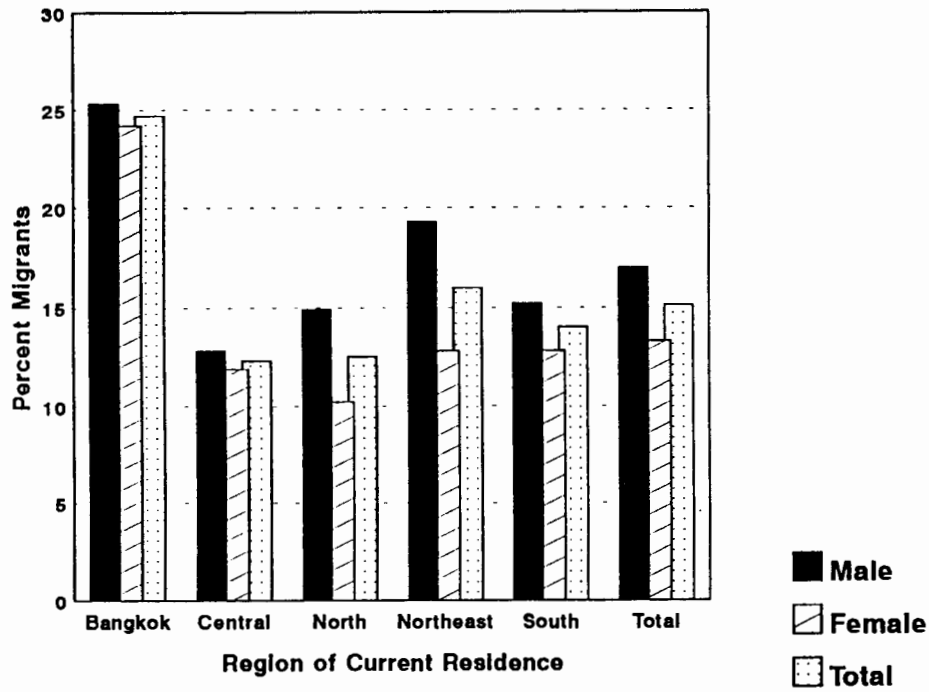
The relatively high levels of movement of Northeastern residents is attributed mainly to male migration. Almost 20 percent of men living in the Northeast moved within the last two years, compared to 15 percent in the North, 17 percent in the South and 12 percent in the Central region. There is much less variation in levels of migration among females compared to males. For the four regions outside of Bangkok, there is only a three percentage point difference between the North and the South. These are the regions with the lowest and highest levels of female migration, respectively.

The greater regional variation in male levels of migration relative to female levels is related to the substantial gender differences in migration levels within regions. These differences range from approximately seven percentage points for the Northeast and four percentage points for the North to between one and two percentage point differences between the sexes for Bangkok, the South and the Central region.

The bottom panel of Figure 3.1 also shows regional levels of two-year migration, but is based on the region of previous residence and hence uses the origin population as the reference, rather than the destination population used in the top panel. The percentages shown are not rates in the normal sense as the population at risk is not measured at a specific time point. The migrants could have lived at the place of origin at any time during the previous two years, and indeed may have lived in more than one region, but only information on the last move is available in the household schedule of the NMS.

The ordering of regions, and the relative differences among regions by level of migration, is very similar for the census data based on current residence and the NMS data based on previous residence. Rates of migration are highest for Bangkok followed by the Central Region and

FIGURE 3.1
Percent Aged 2 Years and Over who Migrated in Previous Two Years: By Place of Current Residence, Previous Residence and Sex



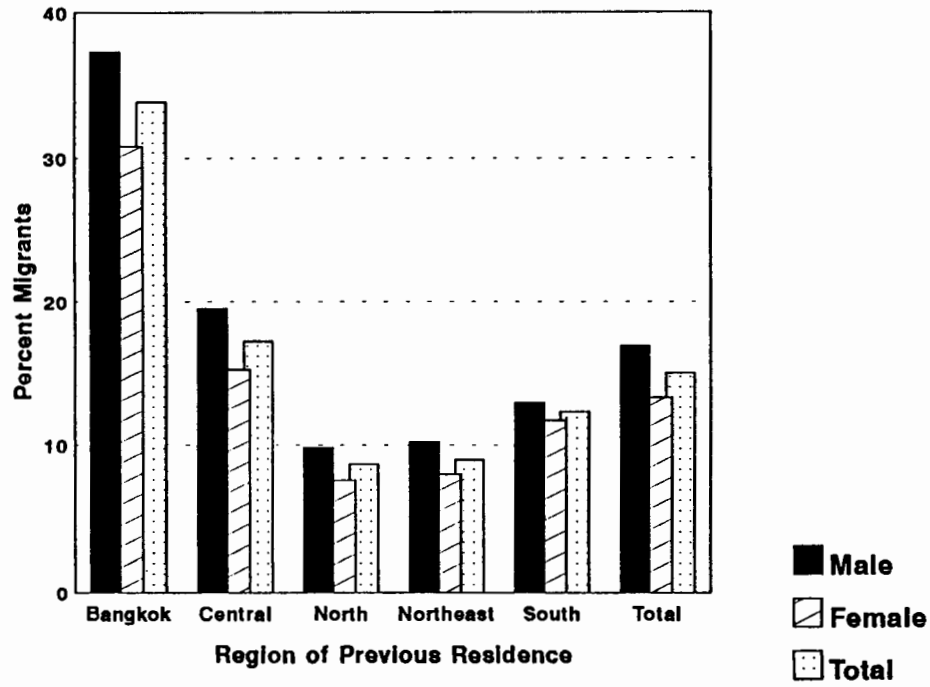


TABLE 3.2
Percentage Distribution of Migration Type by Region of Current Residence and Sex

Migration Type	REGION OF CURRENT RESIDENCE						
	Bangkok	Central	North	Northeast	South	Total	Unweighted N
All Migrants							
Single Move	82.4	76.6	54.7	45.9	79.9	64.1	3,482
Seasonal	1.9	6.3	20.4	39.3	5.0	18.8	589
Repeat	15.6	17.1	24.9	14.8	15.1	17.1	830
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
N	2,014	602	669	1,051	565	4,901	
Male Migrants							
Single Move	80.8	73.6	51.9	42.1	79.9	60.1	1,713
Seasonal	2.2	7.8	23.9	43.6	7.0	22.8	384
Repeat	17.0	18.6	24.2	14.3	13.1	17.0	440
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
N	959	294	383	609	292	2,537	
Female Migrants							
Single Move	83.9	79.5	58.4	51.3	79.9	68.7	1,769
Seasonal	1.7	5.0	15.6	33.1	2.7	14.1	205
Repeat	14.4	15.6	26.0	15.7	17.3	17.2	390
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
N	1,055	308	286	442	273	2,364	

Notes: Foreign Origin Migrants excluded from Region of Last Residence.
Percentages may not total to 100 because of rounding error.

TABLE 3.3
Percent of Seasonal Migrants Aged 2 Years and Above who migrated to Current Region of Origin to Begin Seasonal Employment by Region of Last Residence

Region of Previous Residence	REGION OF CURRENT RESIDENCE						
	Bangkok	Central	North	Northeast	South	Total	Unweighted N
Bangkok	---	---	79.7	91.2	---	84.4	208
Central	---	---	58.3	84.4	---	77.3	165
North	---	---	---	---	---	79.6	29
Northeast	---	---	---	64.4	---	62.8	41
South	---	---	---	---	---	69.2	15
Foreign	---	---	---	---	---	---	2
Total	56.3	40	72.7	85.3	48.3	79.0	
N	22	14	92	322	10	460	460

Note: --- Cells with less than 25 observations.

are lowest for the North and the Northeast. This is indirect evidence that the NMS and the census are obtaining migration data from different stages of the migration process. Much of the difference between these two sources can be related to seasonal changes in migration. During the dry season months, migrants flow into Bangkok and the Central region and during the wet season months they flow out. The NMS was conducted during the wet season and hence captured many of these migrants at their origins. If the survey had been carried out during the dry season, the time when the census is conducted, the migration rates by current residence would have been similar to those displayed in the bottom panel.

3.3 Types of Migration

To investigate in more detail the types of migration that take place, migrants are categorized into three groups: single move, seasonal and repeat migrants. The criteria for classification is based on the frequency of moves and the reasons for moving. If a person moved only once in the previous two years, they are classified as a "single mover". If they moved two or more times, and at least one of those moves was described as being for seasonal employment reasons, they are classified as a "seasonal" migrant. A person who has moved two or more times, with no move for seasonal employment reasons, is treated as a "repeat" migrant.

The three migrant types have very different migration patterns. The source of the regional differences seen in Figure 3.1 can be discerned from the results presented in Table 3.2 where the percentage distribution of migrant types is shown for the region of current residence. Between 76 and 83 percent of migrants living in Bangkok, the Central Region and the South are single-move migrants. In the North, slightly over one-half of migrants are single-move migrants, with 20 percent seasonal migrants and 25 percent repeat migrants. Only 46 percent of migrants in the Northeast are single-move migrants. Seasonal and repeat movers in the Northeast are 39 percent and 15 percent, respectively.

Regional differences in migration are much larger than gender differences. The major gender difference is that women migrating to Bangkok and the Central region are more likely than men to be single-move migrants and women migrating to the Northeast and North are less likely than men to be seasonal migrants. For example, almost 44 percent of male migrants to the Northeast are seasonal compared to only 33 percent of females.

The results indicate that seasonal migration is an important component of the migration strategies of persons who at the time of the survey were living in the North and Northeast. The timing of agricultural seasons suggests that seasonal migrants in these regions had returned home to take part in the planting of rice during the wet season when the survey was carried out.

Several questions were asked in the NMS about seasonal factors in migration. One question was used in the definition of a seasonal migrant while another question asked if the move to their current place of residence was a result of "seasonal work finishing at their place of origin" or "seasonal work starting at their current place". If seasonal migrants were returning home to participate in planting, then this should be observed by large percentages responding that they migrated as seasonal work was starting in their current place. The results of this analysis, displayed by region of last residence and current region of residence, is shown in Table 3.3. The results are as expected. Most seasonal migrants in the North and Northeast moved from Bangkok and the Central region. Between 85 and 91 percent of seasonal migrants in the Northeast who came from Bangkok and the Central region returned because of the start of the work season, while a slightly smaller percentage who moved to the North gave this reason. There are very few seasonal migrants from the North, Northeast and South.

3.4 Migration Rates

The timing of the NMS in relation to agricultural seasons combined with the high levels of temporary migration affect the interpretation of the consequences of migration for population growth. If all two-year interregional migration is used to calculate migration rates, the results indicate that the out-migration rate of Bangkok exceeds the in-migration rate. Therefore, there was a net loss of population through migration. Based on the same definition, a net loss is also observed for the Central region, although smaller than that of Bangkok. Net gains of population through migration are experienced by the other three regions.

As noted in the previous section, however, these regional levels of migration differ by the type of migration stream examined. While longer-term migration (identified here as single-move migration) will lead to sustained population change, temporary migration leads to fluctuations in population size with the peaks and valleys of population size being determined by the timing of in- and out-movement.

In Table 3.4, interregional migration rates are disaggregated by the type of migration flow. All regions experienced net in-migration for single-move migration with the exception of the Central region. However, the levels of net migration are relatively small, with gains ranging from 4.1 per thousand for Bangkok to 12.8 per 1000 for the South. It is possible that the single-move migration category may also include some temporary movers. Because of the direction of temporary moves that occur in Thailand this would tend to deflate the net migration gains of Bangkok and inflate those of the North and Northeast. Despite this definitional problem, it can be concluded that migration has only a limited affect on long-term changes in population distribution.

TABLE 3.4
Two-Year Interregional Migration Rates per 1000 Population by Region of Current Residence and Type of Migration

	REGION OF CURRENT RESIDENCE				
Migration Type	Bangkok	Central	North	Northeast	South
Single Move					
In-Migration Rate	118.5	39.7	34.8	35.9	35.1
Out-Migration Rate	114.4	54.7	28.5	26.5	22.3
Net Migration Rate	4.1	-15.0	6.3	9.4	12.8
Gross Migration Rate	232.8	94.4	63.3	62.4	57.3
Seasonal					
In-Migration Rate	3.2	4.4	21.2	55.1	3.8
Out-Migration Rate	102.9	42.2	5.5	0.5	3.1
Net Migration Rate	-99.6	-37.8	15.8	54.5	0.7
Gross Migration Rate	106.1	46.6	26.7	55.6	6.9
Repeat					
In-Migration Rate	18.3	10.4	21.6	17.1	9.2
Out-Migration Rate	66.3	20.8	3.8	3.2	2.6
Net Migration Rate	-48.0	-10.5	17.7	13.9	6.6
Gross Migration Rate	84.6	31.2	25.4	20.3	11.8

However, short-term population fluctuations are strongly affected by migration. Net losses as a result of seasonal migration are almost 100 per 1000 for Bangkok and 37.8 per 1000 for the Central region. Net gains of 16 and 54 per 1000 are recorded for the North and Northeast, respectively. A similar pattern, although with lower levels, is also recorded for repeat migration, with Bangkok and the Central regions losing population and the North and Northeast gaining population.

The negative net-migration rates for Bangkok could not be sustained if it reflected permanent movement. Migration rates of this level would lead to a rapid depopulation of the city, a situation that is the reverse to what all reliable data sources indicate. The differences in interregional streams must be understood in the context of the type of migration process that is occurring in Thailand. Thai mobility occurs along a continuum. For many migrants, movement is only temporary. The seasonality of agricultural work fuels a complex pattern of oscillating movements between areas. These movements predominantly involve two sets of regions, both of which can be sending and receiv-

ing regions. One group consists of Bangkok and the Central region. The North and the Northeast regions comprise the other group.

One measure of the extent that an area is involved in migration is the gross migration rate, which expresses the combined levels of in- and out-migration. Expressed per 1000 population, the gross migration rates are 423, 172, 115, 138 and 76 for Bangkok, Central, North, Northeast and Southern regions, respectively. For all three types of movement, gross migration rates are higher for Bangkok than for any other region. These and the preceding results clearly indicate the fluidity of the population of Bangkok. Population movements involve relatively few persons in other regions. The Central region has the highest level of gross movement, which is probably influenced by its proximity to Bangkok. Levels are lowest in the North and the South. These two areas are farthest from Bangkok.

3.5 Distance of Movement

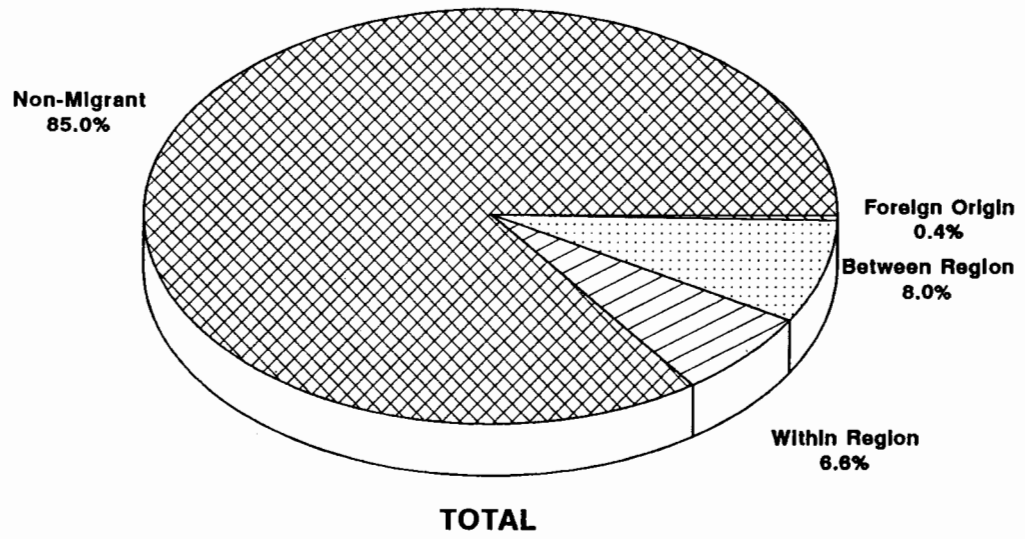
Movement in Thailand is primarily over long distances. Approximately 6.6 percent of the population aged 2 and above moved within regions. A further 8 percent moved between regions while a small percentage (0.4) moved from a foreign destination (see Figure 3.2). The higher levels of interregional migration over intraregional migration as recorded by the NMS contrasts with the 1990 Census data, which indicate similar proportions of intra- and interregional migrants (NSO, 1993).

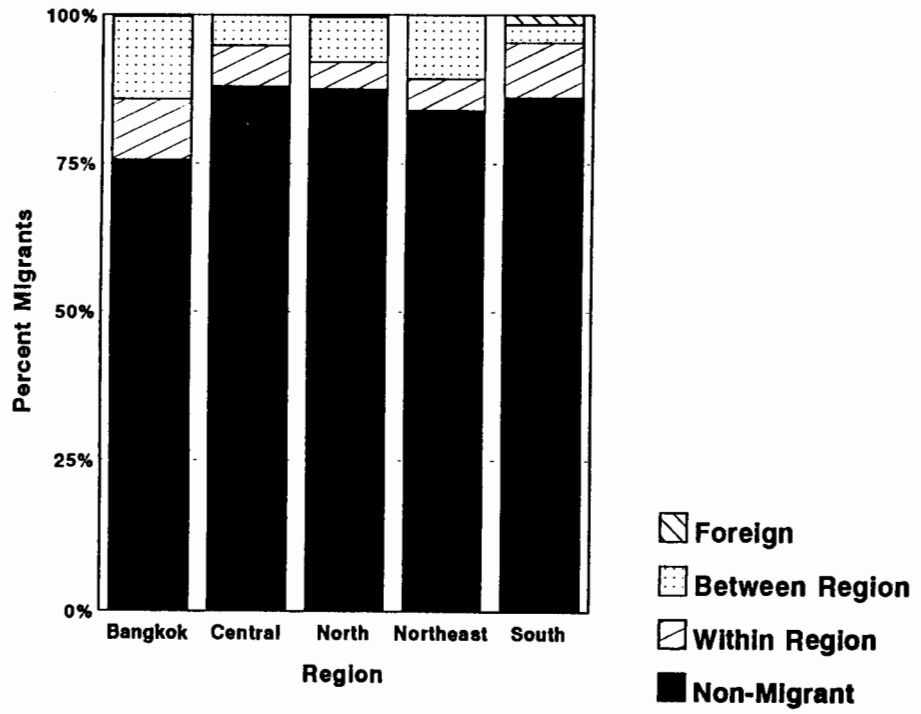
Goldstein and Goldstein, (1986) noted a trend for long-distance moves which comprise a larger proportion of all moves in Thailand. They suggested that both economic and social changes may be operating to reduce the share of permanent migration, that is more likely to be short-distance, and increase the share of temporary migration. The NMS is better than the census at measuring temporary migration (see Archavanitkul et al. 1993, which contrasts the two data sources). The high levels of long-distance migration is important both in terms of the effects of migration and the costs involved.

There is a relatively small gender difference in the ratio of migration within and between regions. Most theoretical treatments of gender and migration suggest that women will move shorter distances than men because of lower risks involved in short-distance migration. In Thailand, however, where migration is oriented towards Bangkok, a long-distance move to Bangkok can involve lower levels of economic and social risk than a move to a relatively close, but unknown, destination.

However, there are large regional differences in the balance of within- and between-region migrations (see bottom panel of Figure 3.2). Within-region moves dominate in the Central and Southern regions. In the Northeast and the North, the opposite pattern is observed, with between-region migration almost twice as likely as within-region migration.

FIGURE 3.2
Percent Aged 2 Years and Over by Type of Migration in Previous 2 Years: Total and Regional Distribution





Bangkok is intermediate between these two patterns. Many of these differences are explicable in terms of the regional distribution of economic opportunities.

The North and the Northeast are the poorest regions of Thailand. In these regions, out-migration is often considered necessary to obtain employment. On the other hand, the richest regions are the Central and Bangkok regions. They attract migrants from other regions but there is also considerable residential mobility within these regions. The Southern region is to some extent cut off from the rest of Thailand. A significant portion of its population is Muslim. The Southern region has been economically and politically neglected for long periods but it is a region of considerable economic dynamism, which stimulates internal and international migration. About half the volume of migration in the South involves Malaysia.

The relative share of between- and within-region migration streams is similar for males in the different regions. In the North and the Northeast, females have a greater share of within-region migration than males, while in Bangkok females have a greater share of between-region migration (see Table 3.5). In Bangkok, the proportion of interregional migrants is higher for females than for males. This difference is related to the concentration of economic opportunities for women in Bangkok.

Over 80 percent of seasonal moves for both men and women take place between regions (see Figure 3.3). At the other extreme, slightly less than 50 percent of single moves occur between regions. The relative balance of between- and within-region moves for repeat migration is intermediate to the other two types. Therefore, a higher proportion of temporary forms of migration are undertaken over long distances than are the more permanent migration captured in single moves. This may result from a combination of the reasons for moving and the distribution of economic opportunities. A higher proportion of temporary moves than single moves are made for employment reasons while a lower proportion are made for family or education reasons (see Chapter 4). Employment opportunities, especially seasonal, are more likely to be located in Bangkok and the Central region, which draws large numbers of migrants from the North and Northeast during the slack agricultural season.

3.6 Direction of Interregional Migration

Most major interregional migration streams involve Bangkok, either as the receiving area or as the sending area. The cross classification of current residence by previous residence displayed in Table 3.6, shows that Bangkok is the preferred regional destination for migrants from all regions except the South. It is also the major supplier of migrants to each of the other four regions. Bangkok is involved as either an origin or a destination in 56

TABLE 3.5
Percentage Distribution of Migration Distance by Region of Current Residence and Sex

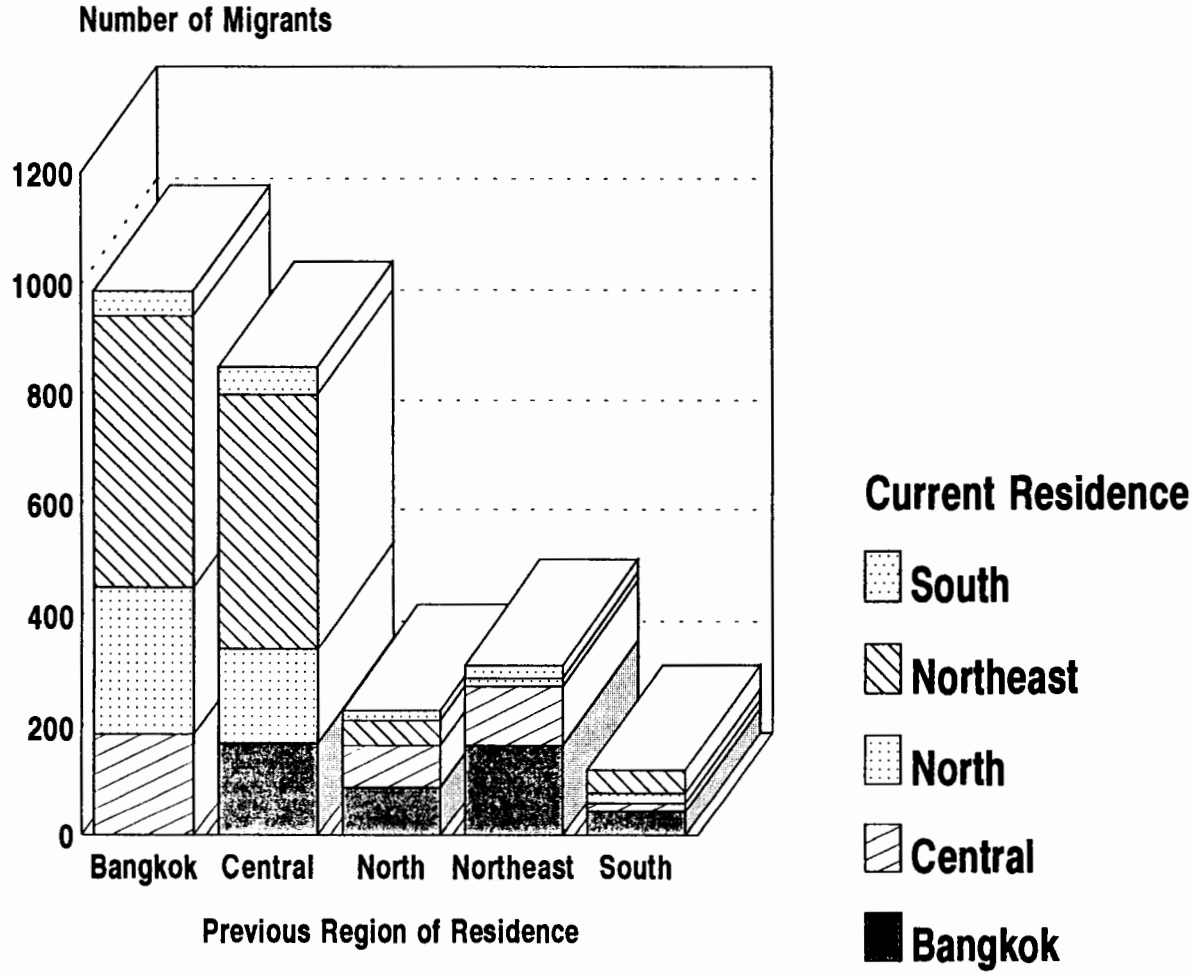
Migration Distance	REGION OF CURRENT RESIDENCE					Total
	Bangkok	Central	North	Northeast	South	
All Migrants						
Non Migrant	75.5	87.9	87.5	84.0	86.0	85.0
Within Region	10.2	6.9	4.5	5.2	9.2	6.6
Between Region	13.9	5.1	7.6	10.7	3.1	8.0
Foreign Origin	0.3	0.1	0.4	0.1	1.6	0.4
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
N (Unweighted)	8,419	5,543	5,872	6,842	4,319	30,995
Male Migrants						
Non Migrant	75.0	87.5	85.1	80.7	84.9	83.1
Within Region	11.2	7.2	5.2	6.0	9.2	7.2
Between Region	13.6	5.1	9.0	13.1	3.6	9.1
Foreign Origin	0.3	0.2	0.7	0.2	2.2	0.6
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
N (Unweighted)	3,938	2,602	2,857	3,293	2,112	14,802
Female Migrants						
Non Migrant	76.1	88.2	89.8	87.2	87.2	86.7
Within Region	9.4	6.6	3.8	4.4	9.1	6.0
Between Region	14.2	5.1	6.2	8.4	2.7	7.0
Foreign Origin	0.3	0.1	0.1	0.0	1.1	0.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
N (Unweighted)	4,481	2,941	3,015	3,549	2,207	16,193

Notes: Percentages may not total to 100 because of rounding error.

percent of the interregional moves that take place.

During the season that the survey was carried out (i.e., the wet season), Bangkok was primarily a sending region. Almost 1,000 interregional migrants originated in Bangkok. The Central region rivalled Bangkok in the number of interregional out-migrants, but the numbers of migrants from the other three regions are much smaller. Most migrants from Bangkok and the Central regions went to the Northeast and the North, although Bangkok is also an important destination for migrants from the Central region. Migrants from the North and the Northeast are more likely to move to Bangkok or the Central region.

FIGURE 3.3
Number of Inter-Regional Migrants by Migration Stream



Note: Other origin (foreign) excluded

TABLE 3.6

Percentage Distribution of Migration Status of Population Aged 2 Years and Above for Region of Current Residence by Region of Previous Residence and Sex

Region of Previous Residence	REGION OF CURRENT RESIDENCE						
	Bangkok	Central	North	Northeast	South	Total	Unweighted N
Total							
Bangkok	85.7	2.5	4.3	5.1	1.0	12.6	7,958
Central	5.1	94.6	2.8	4.7	1.2	25.7	6,158
North	2.7	1.0	91.9	0.5	0.4	18.8	5,774
Northeast	4.9	1.4	0.2	89.2	0.5	28.9	6,692
South	1.4	0.2	0.3	0.4	95.2	13.6	4,311
Foreign	0.3	0.2	0.3	0.1	1.6	0.4	137
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	31,030
Number	8,426	5,551	5,883	6,846	4,324		
Males							
Bangkok	86.1	2.4	5.0	6.0	1.3	12.9	3,794
Central	5.4	94.6	3.4	5.8	1.1	25.4	2,956
North	2.5	1.0	90.1	0.7	0.6	18.7	2,764
Northeast	4.4	1.5	0.4	86.6	0.6	28.5	3,127
South	1.3	0.3	0.4	0.6	94.1	13.9	2,091
Foreign	0.3	0.2	0.7	0.2	2.2	0.6	91
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	14,823
Number	3,940	2,606	2,866	3,296	2,115		
Females							
Bangkok	85.4	2.6	3.7	4.2	0.8	12.4	4,164
Central	4.8	94.6	2.2	3.7	1.2	25.9	3,202
North	2.8	1.0	93.6	0.3	0.3	18.8	3,010
Northeast	5.3	1.3	0.1	91.6	0.4	29.3	3,565
South	1.4	0.2	0.2	0.3	96.3	13.3	2,220
Foreign	0.3	0.2	0.1	0.0	1.1	0.2	46
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	16,207
Number	4,486	2,945	3,017	3,550	2,209		

Notes: Percentages may not total to 100 because of rounding error.
48 cases of 'unknown' region of last residence excluded from Table.

There are no major gender differences in the distributions of interregional migrants by their region of current residence. However, the gender differences in levels of migration noted in the previous section (i.e., females relative to males have lower levels of interregional migration than do males in the Northeast and the North, but have similar levels in Bangkok an the Central regions) is associated with specific interregional flows. Bangkok primarily gains through female migration while it loses males to the North and the Northeast regions.

These patterns, however, change over the course of a year. Previous analyses of national migration patterns in Thailand have been undertaken on the basis of usual place of residence. The results of such analyses, apart from tending to underestimate levels of migration, indicate large inflows of migrants to Bangkok and the Central region and outflows from the Northeast. This is opposite to the patterns described in the above analysis of NMS data. It appears that at least two patterns are operating. One pattern measured by the census is of long-term migration that originates in the poor regions of the North and Northeast and ends in the richer regions of Bangkok and Central region. The other pattern also involves migrants from the Northeast and North to Bangkok, but they come for relatively short periods (i.e., when work is available in their area of origin, they return home).

Unfortunately, the household schedule of the NMS does not have a question on usual place of residence that would allow a comparison of migration rates based on usual residence and current residence. However, a question on location of household registration was asked. Although changing household registration is a legal requirement when one moves to another place of residence, this is rarely done unless the move is permanent. In Table 3.7, two figures are shown for moves between regions. The number in parentheses is the percent of migrants who have household registration in their region of destination while the first number is the percent of migrants with household registration in their region of origin. For example, 5 percent of all the movers from Bangkok to the Central region are registered in Bangkok and 86 percent are registered in the Central region. The remaining 9 percent are registered in other regions.

The pattern shown in Table 3.7 parallels the regional interpretation of migration patterns described above. Almost all migrants to the North and the Northeast from Bangkok and the Central regions held household registration in the North or Northeast, while the majority of migrants from the North and Northeast to Bangkok remain registered in their region of origin. The contrast is most pronounced for the Northeast where no male or female migration stream to this region has more than 7 percent of migrants registered in the origin area. Migrants coming into Bangkok, the Central region and the South typically have their household registration in their region of origin.

TABLE 3.7

Percent of Inter-Regional Migrants Aged 2 Years and Above with Household Registration in Region of Origin and Region of Destination by Interregional Stream and Sex

Region of Previous Residence	REGION OF CURRENT RESIDENCE				
	Bangkok	Central	North	Northeast	South
All Migrants					
Bangkok		5 (86)	1 (96)	0 (99)	13 (76)
Central	58 (21)		3 (95)	5 (95)	25 (63)
North	89 (6)	65 (35)		1 (99)	66 (25)
Northeast	86 (11)	62 (38)	39 (61)		68 (25)
South	65 (30)	32 (68)	0 (100)	1 (99)	
Male					
Bangkok		5 (90)	0 (98)	0 (100)	9 (86)
Central	55 (23)		1 (96)	6 (94)	18 (63)
North	87 (5)	63 (37)		0 (100)	55 (31)
Northeast	86 (10)	63 (37)	31 (69)		64 (24)
South	51 (36)	7 (93)	0 (100)	0 (100)	
Female					
Bangkok		5 (84)	2 (93)	1 (99)	19 (61)
Central	61 (19)		6 (90)	4 (96)	32 (62)
North	90 (6)	67 (33)		5 (95)	87 (13)
Northeast	86 (12)	38 (62)	100 (0)		74 (26)
South	76 (24)	69 (31)	0 (100)	3 (97)	

Notes: Percentages in parentheses are the percent of migrants with household registration in the region of destination. Foreign Origin migrants excluded.

In summary, although during certain times of the year there are large inflows of migrants into the Northeast and the North, these migrants are mostly seasonal or repeat migrants who consider their destination as their permanent place of residence. Meanwhile, flows of migration into Bangkok and the Central region during the wet season mainly consist of new residents, some of whom come for short periods and others who may settle permanently.

3.7. Migration and the Urban Hierarchy

As in many other developing countries where the bulk of the population live in rural areas, the largest migration streams in Thailand involve movements between rural areas (NSO, 1993). Although the NMS recorded large numbers of movers who are returning to their rural homes after working in urban areas, there are still 2,292 migrants from rural areas compared to 2,133 from urban areas (see Table 3.8).

TABLE 3.8

Percentage Distribution of Migration Flows of Population Aged 2 Years and Above by Urban Status of Current Residence and Previous Residence by Sex

Urban Status of Previous Residence	URBAN STATUS OF CURRENT RESIDENCE			
	Urban	Rural	Total	Unweighted N
Total				
Non Migrant	81.5	86.1	84.8	25,958
Migrant:				
Urban	8.1	6.4	6.9	2,423
Rural	8.9	6.8	7.4	2,373
Unknown	1.5	0.8	1.0	339
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	31,093
Number (Unweighted)	13,987	17,106		
Males				
Non Migrant	81.0	83.5	82.8	12,194
Migrant:				
Urban	8.8	7.8	8.1	1,315
Rural	8.6	7.7	7.9	1,157
Unknown	1.6	1.0	1.2	190
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	14,856
Number (Unweighted)	6,521	8,335		
Females				
Non Migrant	81.9	88.4	86.5	13,764
Migrant:				
Urban	7.6	5.1	5.8	1,108
Rural	9.2	6.0	6.9	1,216
Unknown	1.4	0.5	0.7	149
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	16,237
Number (Unweighted)	7,466	8,771		

Note: Percentages may not total to 100 because of rounding error.

Of the migrants to urban areas, almost equal proportions came from urban and rural origins. Much of the movement defined as urban-urban involves residential mobility within a migrant's current urban place of residence. Although the percent of current urban residents that migrated is the same for males and females (21 percent), migrants from rural areas to urban areas are more likely to be female than male.

A higher percentage of males than females migrate to rural areas. Around 16 percent of men aged 2 and above living in rural areas at the time of the survey migrated in the previous two years while the corresponding percentage of women is lower

(12 percent). Almost equal proportions of men came to their current rural place of residence from urban and rural areas. Women are slightly more likely to have migrated to a rural area from another rural area than from an urban area. In general, men are more likely than women to be involved in temporary forms of movement and to circulate between urban and rural areas. On the other hand, women are more likely than men to take up relatively permanent employment in urban areas because of the spatial distribution of employment opportunities.

The data in Table 3.8 show the distribution of migrants within migration streams defined in terms of place of current residence. It is difficult to gauge the relative size of all streams from this table, therefore, the percentage distribution for each of the possible migration streams is shown in Figure 3.4. Each bar in the figure represents the contribution of a specific migration stream to the total migration. The top figure is for all migrants while the bottom figure is for interregional migrants only. Almost 50 percent of migrants move from rural areas to other areas, with about two-thirds of this movement being to other rural areas. These movements can encompass a wide range of reasons for movement ranging from migration that takes place after marriage, much of which is over relatively short distances, to seasonal work in agriculture. The second largest stream, involving over 30 percent of all migrants is from urban to rural areas. Similar percentages of migrants move from rural areas to urban areas and urban to urban.

The distribution of interregional migrants (see bottom panel of Figure 3.4) illustrates the magnitude of the urban-to-rural movements captured by the NMS. Over 40 percent of all interregional migrants moved from an urban area (usually Bangkok) to a rural area. The counter-stream (rural-to-urban migration) is the third largest stream, approaching almost 20 percent of all migrants. Rural-rural interregional migration constitutes around 23 percent of all interregional migration. Interregional migration occurring between rural areas, is also a significant component of Thai migration. However, a comparison of the two panels of Figure 3.4 indicates that most rural-rural movement occurs within regions, while interregional movements mainly involve migration to and from urban areas.

There are regional differences in the distribution of migrants among the various urban/rural migration flows (see Table 3.9). Migrants living in Bangkok at the time of the survey mainly engaged in urban-urban moves. Most of these moves are within Bangkok. This reflects high levels of residential mobility of Bangkok residents (Guest, 1992). A further 39 percent of migrants come from rural areas. In the North and the Northeast, between 45 and 50 percent of migrants come from urban areas, usually Bangkok, while most of the remaining migrants moved between rural areas, mainly within the region. In the South, almost one-half of the migration is rural-to-rural. Exchanges between

FIGURE 3.4
Percentage Distribution of All Migrants and Interregional Migrants Aged 2 Years and Over: By Migration Stream

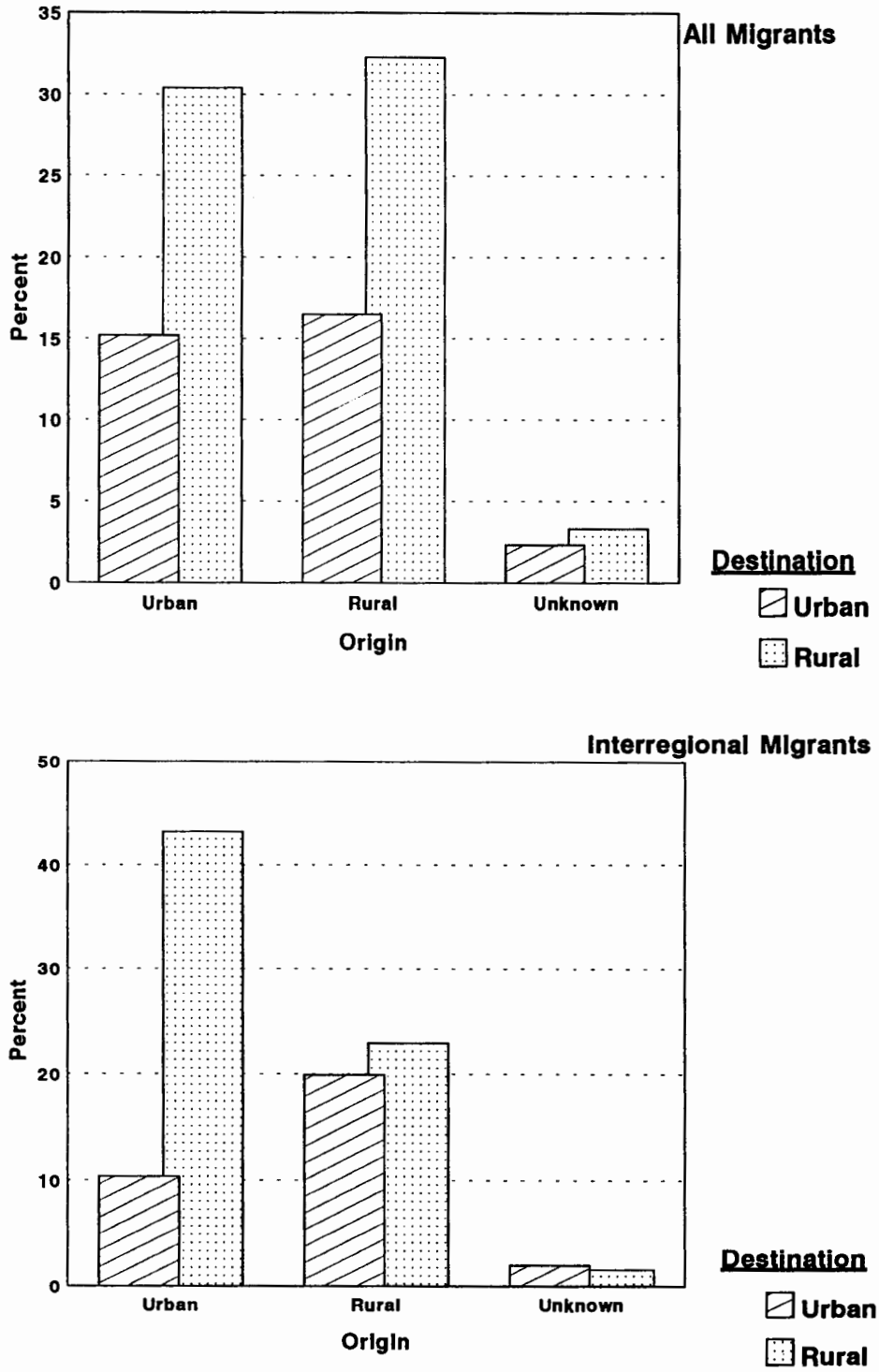


TABLE 3.9
Percentage Distribution of Migration Flows by Region of Current Residence

Migration Flow	REGION OF CURRENT RESIDENCE					Total
	Bangkok	Central	North	Northeast	South	
Urban-Urban	54.7	11.4	7.6	4.1	4.3	15.2
Urban-Rural	---	29.0	46.6	43.3	20.1	30.3
Rural-Urban	38.6	20.8	6.8	7.5	15.5	16.6
Rural-Rural	---	32.5	33.6	42.6	48.0	32.2
Unknown-Urban	6.7	3.2	1.0	0.2	2.9	2.4
Unknown-Rural	---	3.1	4.3	2.3	9.3	3.3
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
N (Unweighted)	2,087	656	688	1,057	586	5,074

Notes: --- Not Applicable
Percentages may not total to 100 because of rounding error.

urban and rural areas accounted for another 36 percent of migration, with 20 percent of migrants moving from urban to rural areas and a further 16 percent moving in the opposite direction.

Because much of the within-regional moves is urban-urban or rural-urban, it is not surprising that single moves dominate this type of migration flow. Almost 80 percent of urban-urban migrants and 88 percent of rural-urban migrants are categorized as single movers (see Table 3.10). The two largest streams (rural-rural and urban-rural migration streams) have lower proportions of single move migrants. Almost one-third of the urban-to-rural migrants are seasonal migrants and another one-fifth are repeat migrants. For rural-rural migrants, almost 60 percent and 23 percent are single-move and seasonal migrants, respectively. In all major streams, women are more likely than men to be single-move migrants and less likely to be seasonal migrants.

3.8 Migration Involving Bangkok

Bangkok is the origin or destination of 47 percent of all the moves and 56 percent of interregional moves made within the Kingdom. However, much of the movement involving Bangkok is temporary. The NMS provides an estimate of the mean time spent in the last place of residence. Seasonal migrants remain for a short period of time in Bangkok, with men staying an average of 3.1 months and 3.7 months for women. This period of stay occurs within the dry season of February to May. As men are mainly involved in the ground preparation for agricultural

TABLE 3.10
Percentage Distribution of Migration Flows by Migration Type and Sex

Migration Flow	MIGRATION TYPE				Unweighted N
	Single Move	Seasonal	Repeat	Total	
All Migrants					
Urban-Urban	78.6	2.5	18.8	100.0	1,381
Urban-Rural	46.6	32.6	20.9	100.0	954
Rural-Urban	87.8	2.3	9.9	100.0	1,216
Rural-Rural	60.7	23.4	15.9	100.0	1,064
Unknown-Urban	84.7	0.7	14.6	100.0	169
Unknown-Rural	58.2	18.8	23.0	100.0	117
Total	64.1	18.9	17.1	100.0	4,901
N (Unweighted)	3,482	589	830	4,561	
Male Migrants					
Urban-Urban	76.6	3.3	20.1	100.0	701
Urban-Rural	42.1	37.5	20.4	100.0	561
Rural-Urban	87.6	1.9	10.5	100.0	538
Rural-Rural	57.9	27.0	15.1	100.0	573
Unknown-Urban	88.0	1.3	10.7	100.0	83
Unknown-Rural	59.8	20.6	19.6	100.0	81
Total	60.1	22.9	17.0	100.0	2,537
N (Unweighted)	1,713	384	440	2,460	
Female Migrants					
Urban-Urban	80.7	1.7	17.6	100.0	680
Urban-Rural	53.0	25.6	21.4	100.0	393
Rural-Urban	87.9	2.7	9.4	100.0	678
Rural-Rural	64.0	19.0	16.9	100.0	491
Unknown-Urban	81.1	0.0	18.9	100.0	86
Unknown-Rural	54.7	14.9	30.5	100.0	36
Total	68.7	14.2	17.1	100.0	2,364
N (Unweighted)	1,769	205	390	2,100	

Note: Percentages may not total to 100 because of rounding error.

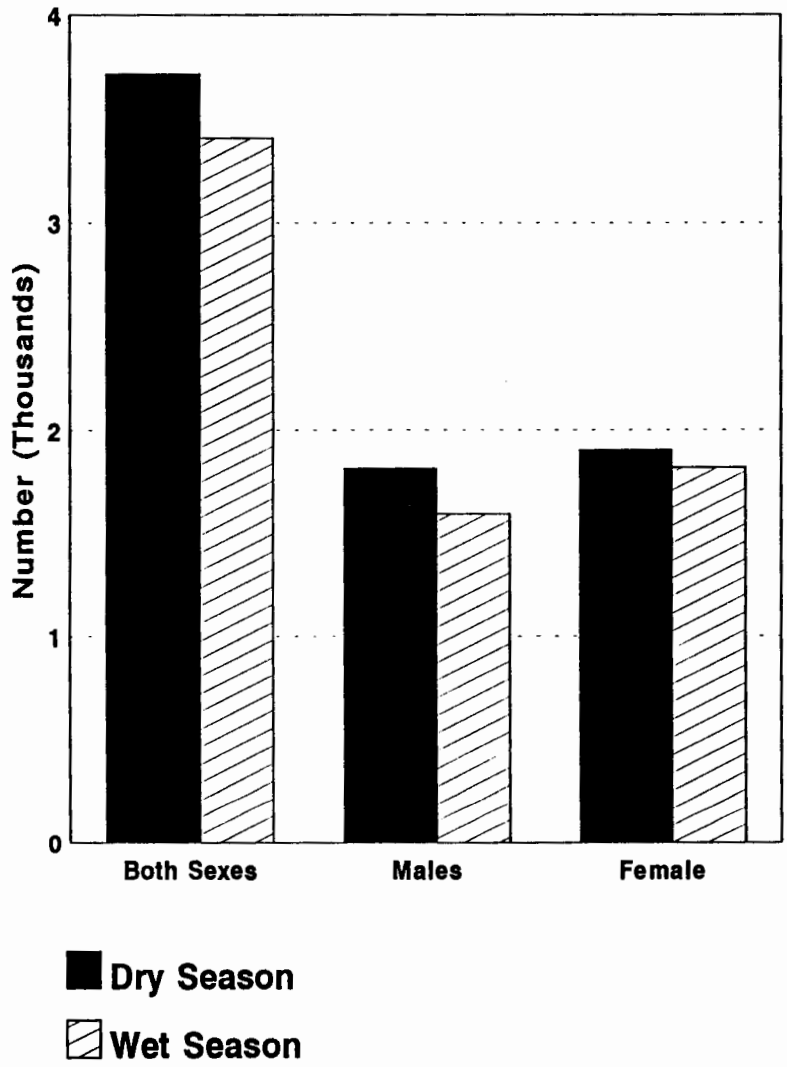
cultivation while women have higher levels of involvement later during the agricultural season, it is possible that male seasonal migrants need to return to the fields earlier than women. Even for repeat migrants, men have shorter durations in Bangkok (4.9 months) compared to women (5.3 months), although the difference is not great. It appears that in the Thai context, higher mobility of men compared to women is realized, in part through a greater frequency of movement resulting in shorter periods of residence at each destination.

The volume of migration to and from Bangkok together with the migration patterns described above provide large seasonal variation in the population of Bangkok. The official number of residents of the Bangkok Metropolitan Area (BMA) is usually given at close to 6 million persons. This number is either based on household registration data or on *de jure* population counts provided by the census. Using the information about place of household registration available in the NMS, Archavanitkul et al. (1993) calculated that the population was close to 8 million. However, this estimate was based on current residence information (i.e., residence during the wet season months). Earlier results indicate that Bangkok loses population towards the start of the wet season and gains population during the dry season months.

A rough estimate of the seasonal differential in population size may be obtained by identifying dry-season and wet-season residents of Bangkok. The three types of dry-season residents of Bangkok are (1) persons whose last region of residence was Bangkok (i.e., they left Bangkok during the previous six months had lived in Bangkok for at least one month during the dry season), (2) persons whose current place of residence was Bangkok (i.e., they arrived in Bangkok during the previous six months but had not lived in Bangkok during the dry season), and (3) current residents of Bangkok who had not migrated in the last two years, or who had migrated only within Bangkok during the previous two years. The dry-season population of Bangkok can be estimated and compared to the population in Bangkok at the time of the survey or the wet-season population. Migrants who moved during or after the dry season from Bangkok to an intermediate location before moving to their current residence are not categorized as dry-season residents of Bangkok. Hence, the dry-season population of Bangkok is likely to be underestimated through the procedure outlined above.

The comparisons of the wet-season and dry-season populations of Bangkok, based on the sample, are shown in Figure 3.5 The dry-season population is approximately 9 percent larger than the wet-season population. Most of this difference is a result of the large discrepancy between the number of men living in Bangkok during the dry season compared with the wet-season male population in Bangkok. There are almost 14 percent more men in Bangkok during the dry season compared

FIGURE 3.5
Estimates of Number from Sample Living in Bangkok During the Dry Season and During the Wet Season by Sex



to the wet season. The differential for women is only 5 percent. The seasonal fluctuations in population size of Bangkok has important implications on the use of services. For example, the shortages of water during the dry season months that have plagued Bangkok during the last few years is exacerbated by the larger population of Bangkok during this period. When planning for the use of services, the seasonal variations in population size of Bangkok must be considered.

Bangkok stands at the center of the migration process in Thailand, especially for seasonal migrants. Inflows of seasonal migrants during the dry season swell the population by 10 percent while outflows during the wet season bring back the size of the population to lower levels. On average, the seasonal migrants move from the agricultural sectors to transportation and production services while in Bangkok, and then return to agriculture after leaving Bangkok. The large numbers of seasonal workers in Bangkok during the dry season has significant impacts on some occupation sectors. For example, they make up almost 40 percent of the transportation/ production sector (results not shown). They work in construction, in small factories, and as day laborers in a variety of areas. Just as migrants depend on their 3 or 4 months in Bangkok to earn cash for survival, much of the building of Bangkok's infrastructure requires the services of this labor force.

3.9 Conclusion

The NMS results provide evidence of the complexity of migration patterns in Thailand. Levels of migration are high with men slightly more likely than women to migrate. Migration in Thailand consists of a number of large flows. The flow that usually comes to mind when people discuss migration is the movement of individuals on a permanent or semi-permanent basis. This type of movement goes on throughout the year and it has a large rural-to-rural and rural-to-urban components. These streams also are likely to contain more or less equal numbers of women and men, although rural-to-urban migration contains more women then men.

The second major migration flow is male-dominated. It is tied to seasonal fluctuations in work availability and, depending on the season, primarily flows from urban to rural areas or in the reverse direction. The regions most involved during the dry season are Bangkok and the Central Region (mainly the urban component) as receiving areas and the Northeast and the North, to a lesser extent, as sending areas. During the wet season the flows are reversed. In light of these findings, there is a need to reconsider the following previously held "facts" of migration in Thailand: (1) rural-rural movements dominate migration, (2) females dominate migration to urban areas, and (3) the population of Bangkok grows mainly through migration rather than natural fertility.

Chapter 4
MIGRATION DIFFERENTIALS

This chapter examines differentials in the migration process using gender, age, educational level, marital status and occupation as key variables. It compares migrants and non-migrants as to these characteristics in four ways. First, it examines how migrants are differentiated by type of migration (as defined in Chapter 3), i.e., the characteristics which are most closely associated with single, seasonal and repeat migration. Second, it examines differentials by migration stream as defined by the urban status of the origin and the destination. Third, it examines who is most likely to migrate by examining characteristics at the community of origin. Finally, it examines how migrants differ from non-migrants at the community of destination (i.e., the current residence), both by region and by urban status.

4.1 Differentials by type of migration

This section examines the different types of migrants. Since the reasons for short-term and long-term migration may differ greatly, it is expected that migrants would exhibit different characteristics. The percent of men and women who migrated in the past two years by age and migration type is shown in Figure 4.1 and Table 4.1. As discussed in the previous chapter, men tend to migrate at higher rates than women except at the young age groups, i.e., ages 10-14 and 15-19. This likely reflects higher educational attainment for boys, but may also mean that girls are more likely to migrate for wage labor at these ages while boys remain on the family farm. Migration peaks at ages 20-24 for both men and

TABLE 4.1
Migration Type by Gender and Various Characteristics

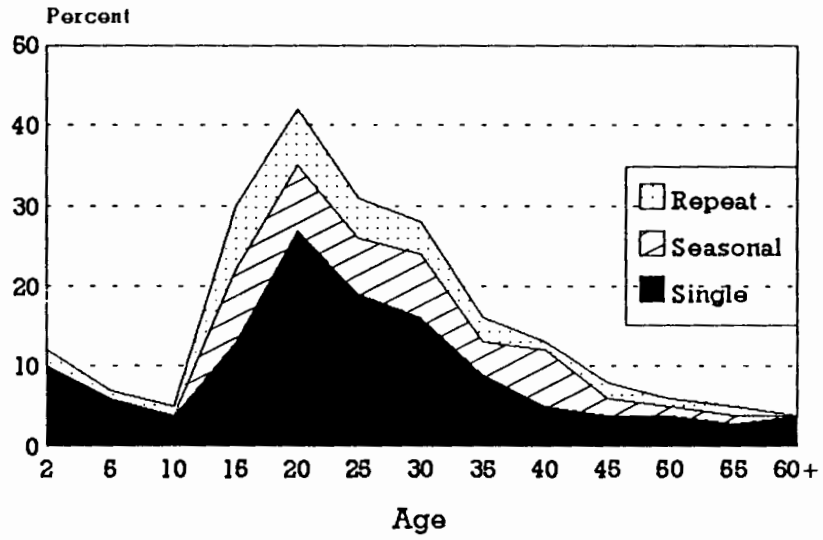
	Non-migr	Single	Seasonal	Repeat	Unweighted N
AGE					
Male					
2-9	92	7	0	1	2511
10-14	95	4	0	1	1786
15-19	71	13	9	8	1336
20-24	59	27	8	7	1254
25-29	69	19	7	5	1401
30-34	71	16	8	4	1216
35-39	83	9	4	3	1136
40-49	89	5	5	2	1715
50-59	95	4	1	1	1311
60+	96	4	0	0	1291
Mean age	29.9	26.2	28.8	24.8	
Female					
2-9	92	6	0	2	2409
10-14	92	7	0	1	1724
15-19	73	17	4	6	1595
20-24	69	20	5	6	1447
25-29	79	16	3	3	1503
30-34	86	10	2	1	1427
35-39	89	7	3	1	1250
40-49	93	5	2	1	1814
50-59	96	3	1	0	1519
60+	96	3	0	1	1546
Mean age	31.3	24.8	27.5	22.8	
MARITAL STATUS					
Male					
Never married	71	16	7	7	2974
Married, spouse pres.	83	10	5	2	7022
Married, spouse abst.	74	15	3	9	191
Widow	93	6	1	0	300
Divorced/separated	78	12	7	3	135
Female					
Never married	79	14	3	4	2831
Married, spouse pres.	88	8	3	2	7089
Married, spouse abst.	72	19	3	7	559
Widow	94	4	1	1	1227
Divorced/separated	82	13	2	3	367

TABLE 4.1
Continued

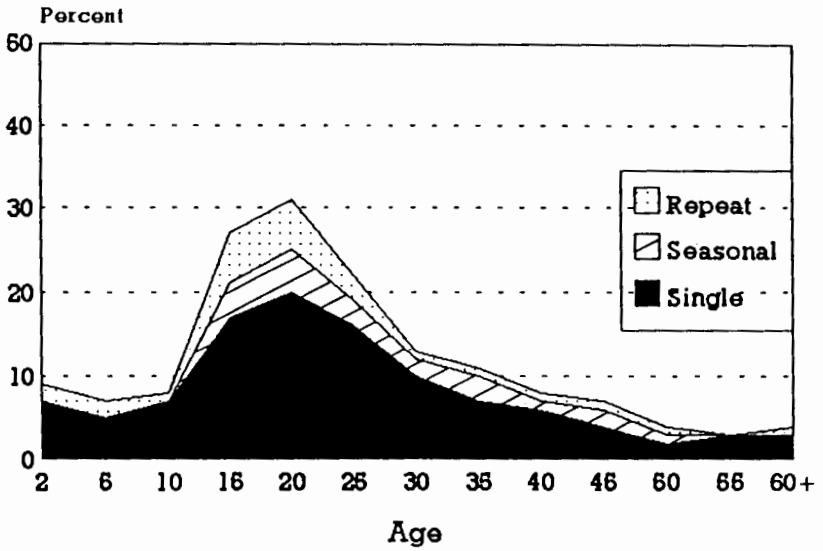
	Non-migr	Single	Seasonal	Repeat	Unweighted N
EDUCATION					
Male					
None	94	4	1	2	677
Some primary	87	7	4	3	509
Primary grad	78	11	8	4	6584
Secondary	79	15	2	4	2066
College/university	77	20	0	2	755
Female					
None	95	4	0	0	1422
Some Primary	89	7	2	2	692
Primary grad	84	10	4	3	7491
Secondary	81	15	1	3	1666
College/univ	81	17	0	2	738
CURRENT OCCUPATION (PAST 7 DAYS)					
Male					
Agricluture	79	9	9	4	4269
Labor/production	72	18	5	5	1836
Transport	81	15	1	3	543
Sales	84	13	2	2	872
Service	79	18	0	3	413
Prof./admin./cler.	84	13	1	2	503
Looking for work	73	17	3	7	387
Unclassified	77	12	9	3	458
Student	82	13	0	5	586
Household	84	6	9	2	105
Not in labor force	94	5	1	1	671
Female					
Agriculture	87	6	5	2	3860
Labor/production	80	14	2	4	1428
Transport	88	12	0	0	45
Sales	88	10	1	1	1398
Service	75	22	0	3	369
Prof./admin./cler.	84	15	0	2	581
Looking for work	81	14	0	4	324
Unclassified	87	9	3	1	353
Student	87	10	0	3	658
Household	80	13	2	5	1981
Not in labor force	96	3	0	1	1081

FIGURE 4.1
Migration Type by Age

Male



Female



women, but this peak largely reflect the single-move migration pattern. Aside from the extremely high proportion of men aged 20-24 who are single-move migrants, single-move migration rates are only slightly lower for women across the life course. This sharp peak for men at ages 20-24 may be due to military conscription. Seasonal migration is fairly constant for men at ages 15-34, while repeat migration is highest for men at ages 15-29. For women, the pattern is slightly different as both seasonal and repeat migration are highest for those at ages 15-24 and fairly minimal after these ages. The mean age for migrant women is thus lower than that for men in each category: 24.7 vs. 26.0 for single migrants, 27.5 vs. 28.9 for seasonal migrants, and 22.8 vs. 25.0 for repeat migrants. These patterns indicate that men are both more likely to migrate than women, especially in terms of short-term moves and at older ages. This may be due to childbearing and increased family responsibilities among women aged 25 and older.

Differentials associated with the family life course are shown in Figure 4.2, which shows differences in migration type by marital status. Never-married men and women are nearly equally likely to be single-move migrants, but men were much more likely to have made seasonal or repeat moves. A slightly similar pattern is seen for divorced/separated men and women. Although the presence or absence of the spouse at the time of the interview is indicated here, it is not known from the household survey whether the respondent moved to their current location without their spouse, whether the spouse has migrated elsewhere, or whether the couple migrated together to the current location. Those married and living with their spouse at the time of the interview were less likely to have migrated, especially for women, although men had fairly high rates of seasonal migration. Both women and men (whose spouses were not current residents) had high migration rates, with women particularly likely to have made a single move. Widows and widowers have low migration rates reflecting, in part, their relatively older ages.

Figure 4.3 shows differences in type of migration by educational level. For both men and women, single-move migration increases with education, although the increase accelerates faster for men. However, short-term moves, especially seasonal moves, are very common among those who completed primary school only (i.e., the compulsory level of schooling in Thailand) and constitutes 58% of the sample. Those at the secondary and college/university level have high rates of repeat moves. These may be associated with the completion of schooling or with returning home for the semester break for those currently in school. Patterns by education are similar for men and women, except that college/university women are only slightly more likely to make a single move than secondary level women, while for men the difference is more pronounced.

FIGURE 4.2
Migration Type by Marital Status

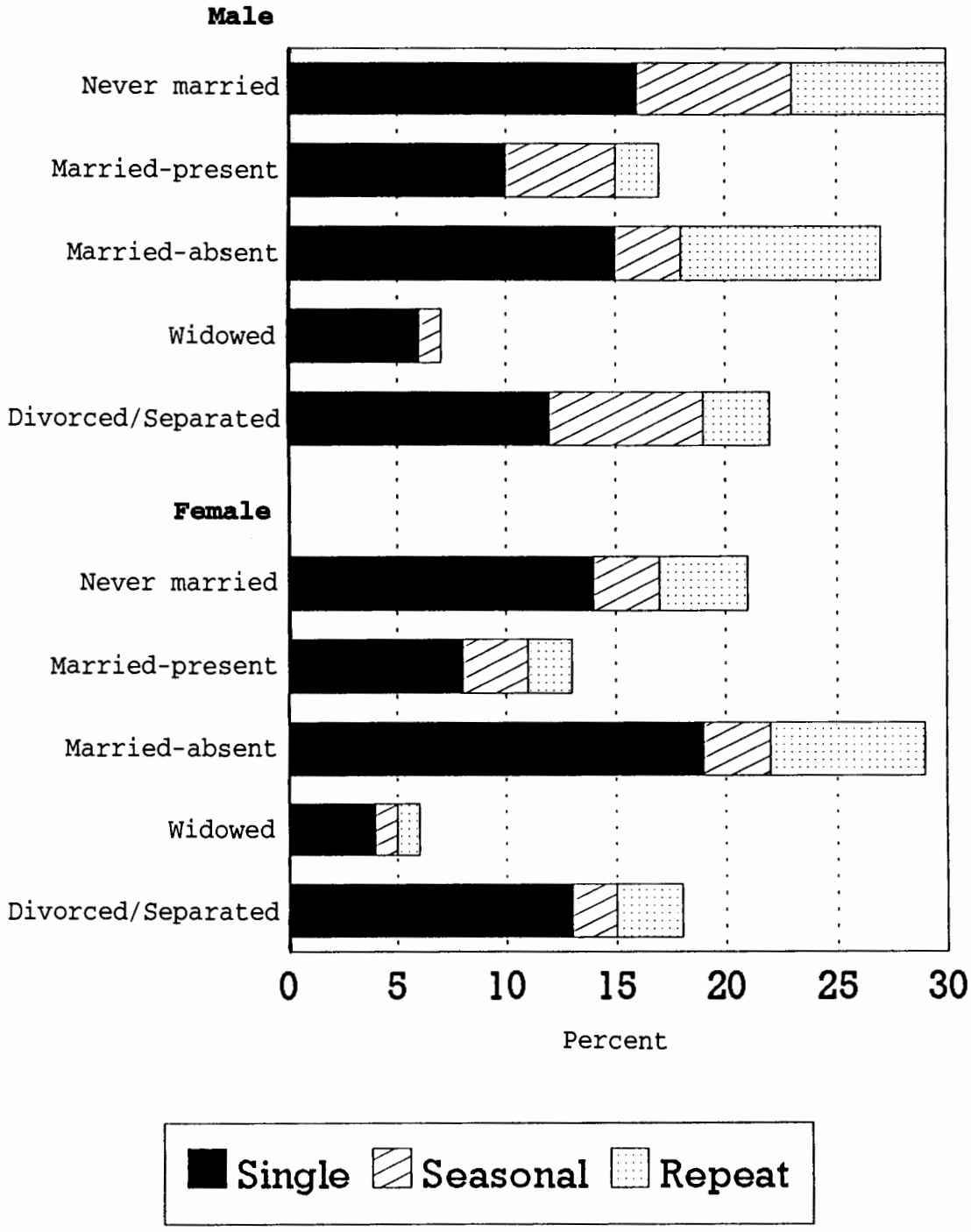
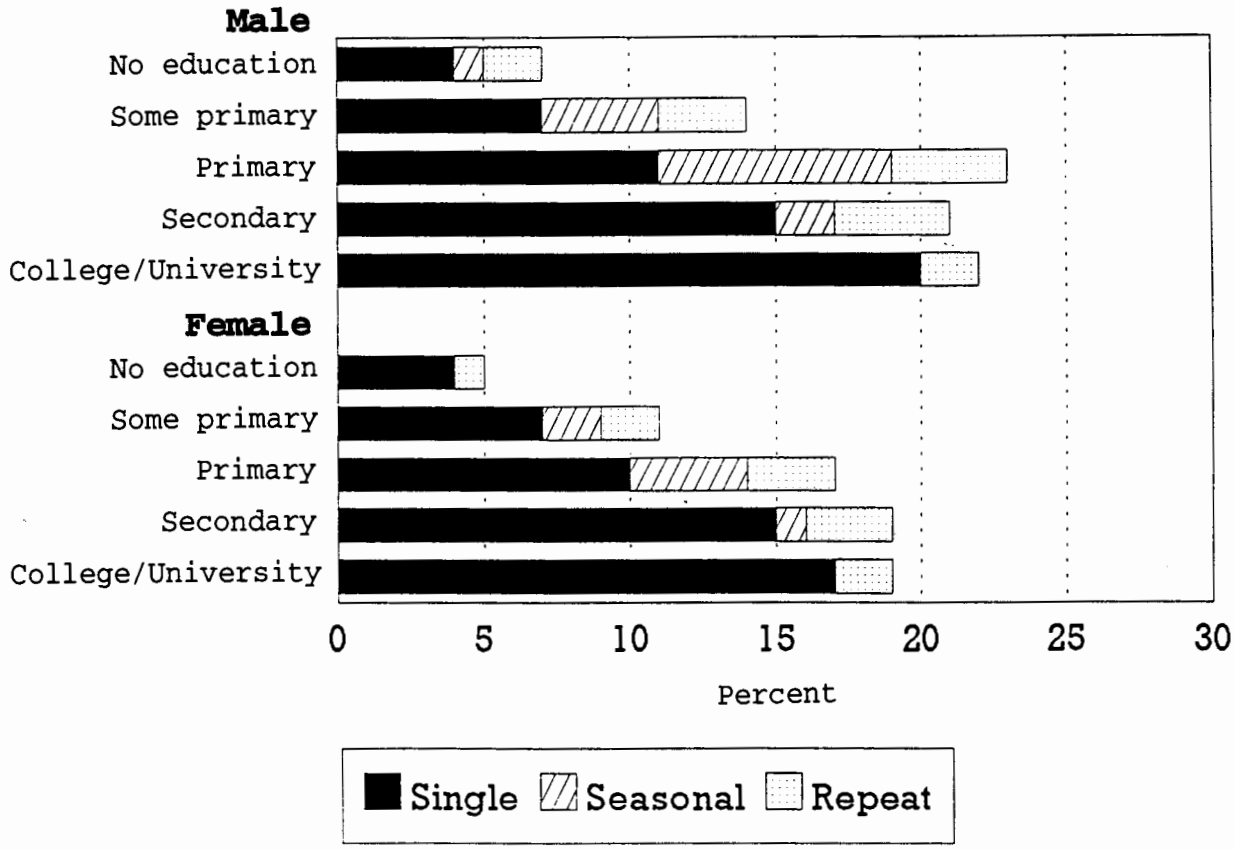
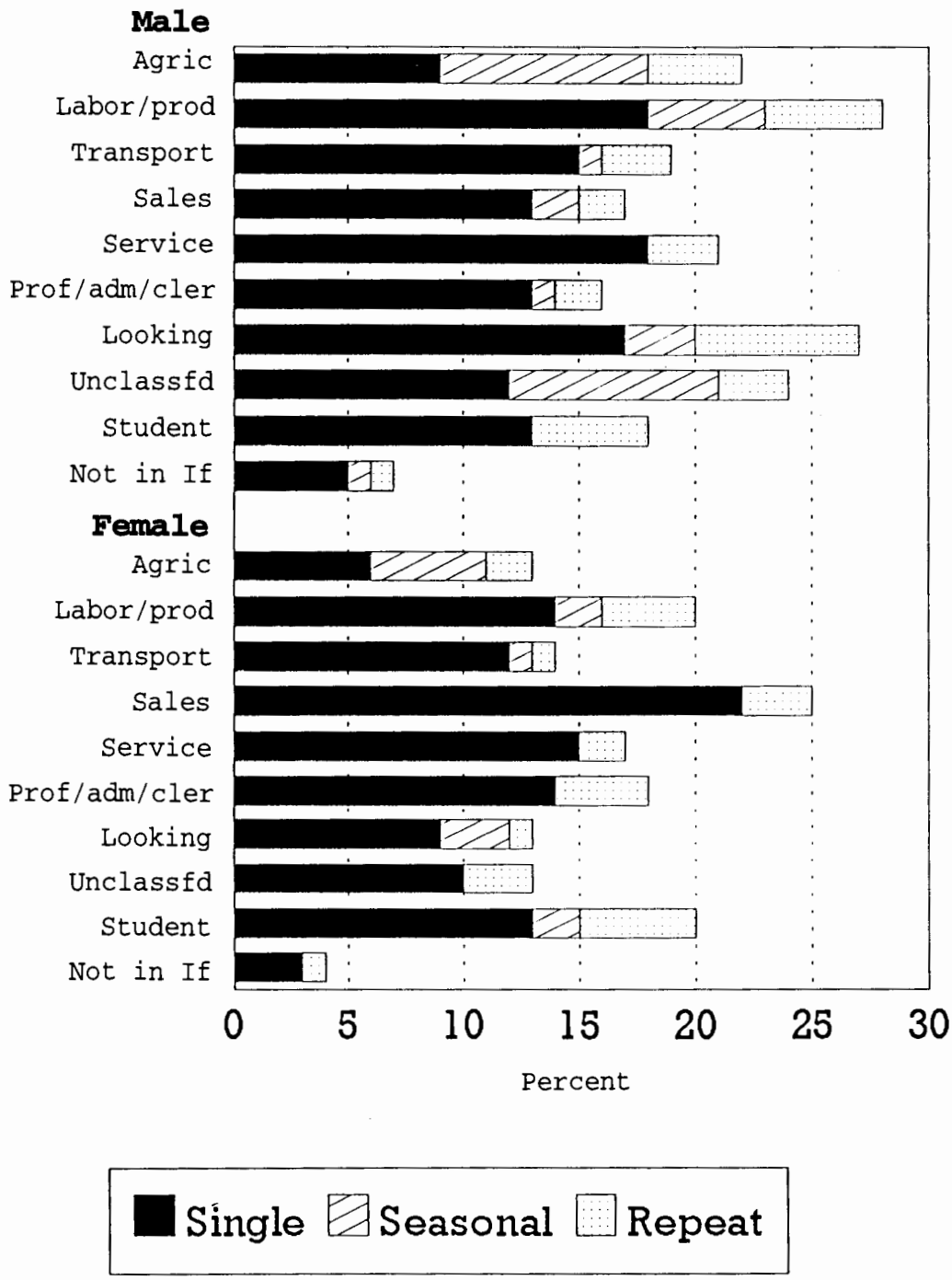


FIGURE 4.3
Migration Type by Education Level



Looking at migration type by current occupation (see Figure 4.4), those working in labor/production, transport (for men) and service jobs and those looking for work had a high proportion who had moved once in the past two years. Seasonal moves were common among those in agriculture, labor/production and unclassified (mainly daily wage employees) for men, while for women the rate of seasonal moves was high only among agricultural employees. For repeat moves, a high proportion were labor/production workers, students or looking for work among both men and women.

FIGURE 4.4
Migration Type by Current Occupation



4.2 Differentials by migration stream

Table 4.2 examines migrant differentials by urban status of the origin and the destination. As discussed above, rural-rural and urban-rural moves are predominant at the time of the survey, largely because many migrants return home for the agricultural season. Men aged 15-39 and women aged 15-24 were particularly likely to be in these two streams, with men being represented in higher proportions. But women were nearly as likely as men in these age groups to have moved to an urban area. The mean age for migrant women moving to an urban destination was the same as that for men, while women migrating to a rural area tended to be younger than men by more than two years, on average.

By marital status, men who were in the category married-spouse-absent had the highest proportions in the rural-rural, rural-urban and urban-urban streams. This group of men left their families behind in their community of origin. Never-married men, on the other hand, were more likely to be urban-rural migrants. Many of the men in this group returned home after migrating to an urban area during the slack agricultural season. The same is true of never-married women, but a high proportion of married-spouse-absent women were also in the urban-rural stream. Further analysis is required to see whether this group contains many women who returned home while their husbands remained to work in an urban area. Divorced/separated men had a high proportion in the rural-rural and urban-rural streams. The proportions for women in this category were not as high as the men's but they were equally likely to have made an urban-urban move.

For both men and women, a clear selection process by educational status is seen by migration stream. A higher proportion of well educated respondents made moves to urban areas, while primary school graduates were likely to have made rural-rural and urban-rural moves. This reflects the urban nature of highly skilled jobs sought by well-educated respondents, and the predominance of primary school graduation as the tertiary educational level among rural people.

By occupation, a high proportion of men who worked in agriculture, in unclassified jobs or were looking for work were urban-rural migrants. Many of the latter were likely waiting for the busy agricultural season to begin. A relatively high proportion of men working in labor/production were migrants, with the proportion evenly distributed by migration stream. The same pattern is true for women, but women differed from men in having a high proportion of service workers in the rural-urban and urban-urban stream. For women, a fairly high proportion of those doing household work, including housemaids, were migrants and they were evenly distributed by migration stream. Further analysis is needed to determine whether these were mainly women who moved with their families.

TABLE 4.2
Percent who Migrated in the Past Two Years by Migration Stream, Gender and Various Characteristics.

	Non-migrant	Rural-rural	Rural-urban	Urban-rural	Urban-urban	Unweighted N
AGE						
Male						
2-9	92	3	2	2	1	2511
10-14	95	2	1	1	1	1786
15-19	71	9	4	12	4	1336
20-24	60	12	6	16	8	1254
25-29	70	10	4	12	4	1401
30-34	72	11	4	10	4	1216
35-39	85	6	2	6	2	1136
40-49	90	4	1	4	1	1715
50-59	95	2	0	1	1	1311
60+	96	2	1	1	1	1291
Mean age	29.9	27.2	23.7	26.6	25.9	
Female						
2-9	92	4	2	2	1	2409
10-14	91	3	3	2	1	1724
15-19	73	7	6	10	3	1595
20-24	69	10	5	10	6	1447
25-29	80	5	4	6	5	1503
30-34	86	5	2	4	3	1427
35-39	90	4	2	3	2	1250
40-49	93	3	1	2	2	1814
50-59	96	2	1	1	1	1519
60+	97	1	1	1	1	1546
Mean age	31.4	24.9	23.7	24.0	26.2	
MARITAL STATUS						
Male						
Never married	72	7	4	12	5	2974
Married-spouse present	84	7	2	6	2	7022
Married-spouse absent	74	9	7	4	6	191
Widow	94	3	1	2	1	300
Divorced/Separated	78	8	2	9	3	135
Female						
Never married	80	4	5	7	4	2831
Married-spouse present	88	5	2	3	2	7089
Married-spouse absent	73	10	4	10	4	559
Widow	94	2	2	1	1	1227
Divorced/separated	82	6	2	5	4	367

TABLE 4.2
Continued

EDUCATION	Non-migrant	Rural-rural	Rural-urban	Urban-rural	Urban-urban	Unweighted N
Male						
None	95	2	1	2	1	677
Some primary	88	4	2	6	1	509
Primary grad	79	8	2	9	2	6584
Secondary	80	5	4	5	6	2066
College/university	78	4	5	6	8	755
Female						
None	95	2	1	1	0	1422
Some primary	90	4	4	2	1	692
Primary grad	85	5	2	6	2	7491
Secondary	81	4	5	4	6	1666
College/university	82	3	4	3	8	738
CURRENT OCCUPATION (PAST 7 DAYS)						
Male						
Agriculture	80	9	0	10	0	4269
Labor/production	73	7	7	8	6	1836
Transport	82	5	4	3	6	543
Sales	84	3	5	4	5	872
Service	79	5	4	4	7	413
Prof./admin./cler.	85	4	3	4	4	503
Looking for work	75	5	2	13	6	387
Unclassified	77	6	2	11	3	458
Student	82	5	4	4	6	586
Household	84	9	0	6	1	105
Not in labor force	94	3	1	2	1	671
Female						
Agriculture	87	6	0	6	0	3860
Labor/production	80	5	7	5	3	1428
Transport	86	3	4	2	6	45
Sales	88	2	4	2	4	1398
Service	74	6	8	3	9	369
Prof./admin./cler.	85	2	3	3	6	581
Looking for work	82	5	3	4	5	324
Unclassified	87	1	1	7	4	353
Student	87	3	3	2	4	658
Household	81	6	4	5	4	1981
Not in labor force	96	1	1	1	1	1081

4.3 Characteristics at the region of origin

This section differentiates the characteristics of two-year migrants at the area of origin by region or urban status. Table 4.3 combines both intra- and inter-regional moves. For example, the percent who migrated in the past two years in Bangkok combines those who moved within Bangkok with those who moved from Bangkok to another region. As described above, the proportion migrating from or within Bangkok was extremely high (i.e., more than 50% were migrants), especially among men aged 15-29 and women aged 15-24. This pattern by age is similar across the other regions, with relatively high proportions migrating in the Central and Northeastern regions for both men and women. Men migrated at a consistently higher rate, on average, than women. Although the age pattern is similar by gender, the gender differential is greatest in the South relative to the other regions. An exception to the predominant age and sex migration pattern is that in every region the proportion of girls aged 10-14 who migrated is slightly higher than that of boys, and in the North the proportion aged 15-19 is higher for girls as well.

In terms of marital status, migrants from Bangkok show a different pattern than other regions. Never-married and divorced/separated men from Bangkok have the highest proportion migrating, while married-spouse-absent is a more important category in other regions. For women, the latter category is the highest in every region except the North, where never-married women have the highest proportion. Patterns by education are similar for men and women, but they differ by region. For Bangkok and the Central region, primary school graduates have the highest proportion migrating. In other regions, migration increases with level of education. An exception to this are Central and Northern women, who got the highest proportion migrating when secondary education is completed.

Both men and women who worked in labor/production jobs in Bangkok had an extremely high proportion of migrants (67-74%). Women in service occupations also had a high proportion of migrants (61%). In other regions, those in unclassified (mainly daily wage employees) and labor/production jobs, and those who said they were previously unemployed (looking for work) had a high proportion of migrants. The proportion of migrants among women doing household work is particularly high in Bangkok and the Central region.

4.4 Comparison of migrants and non-migrants at region of destination

The high levels of migration found by the National Migration Survey indicate that most Thais migrate at some point in their lives. Nevertheless, within a community there may be important differentials between recent migrants and non-migrants,

TABLE 4.3
Percent who Migrated in the Past Two Years by Region of Origin, Gender and Various Characteristics.

	Previous Region of Residence									
	Bangkok		Central		North		Northeast		South	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
AGE										
2-9	20	26	13	9	4	3	6	7	7	8
10-14	14	16	5	10	4	6	2	8	6	7
15-19	50	50	32	27	20	26	19	15	22	24
20-24	58	50	43	36	30	19	34	22	29	25
25-29	53	39	27	22	22	13	25	16	25	15
30-34	43	29	33	17	21	6	18	8	26	15
35-39	35	23	21	16	8	5	10	5	9	9
40-49	28	16	17	11	6	5	2	3	6	6
50-59	15	11	7	4	1	1	3	2	5	7
60+	8	9	5	4	1	2	4	1	6	5
MARITAL STATUS										
Never married	48	34	28	18	21	18	20	14	23	18
Married-spouse present	38	32	21	16	10	7	11	7	13	12
Married-spouse absent	23	46	25	36	15	12	42	19	19	31
Widow	27	15	12	10	1	4	4	2	4	4
Divorced/separated	39	40	22	22	7	6	21	8	30	14
EDUCATION										
None	18	13	7	7	5	3	4	2	3	5
Some primary	54	28	14	15	5	4	4	7	8	13
Primary grad	62	48	26	18	12	8	11	8	14	13
Secondary	23	20	20	20	17	21	23	15	21	19
College/university	21	19	22	18	19	17	24	17	35	25
PREVIOUS OCCUPATION										
Agriculture	13	7	18	13	9	5	10	7	11	9
Labor/production	74	67	42	29	21	13	14	10	24	18
Transport	39	35	20	46	24	22	13	7	15	0
Sales	35	29	17	13	10	7	22	11	5	10
Service	37	61	23	24	17	19	17	13	21	26
Prof./admin./cler.	22	17	15	22	18	13	18	18	35	18
Looking for work	14	17	9	25	25	37	44	36	17	19
Unclassified	26	37	33	54	19	19	11	10	38	25
Student	15	12	11	13	14	19	19	9	22	18
Household	28	26	21	18	12	15	17	11	11	16
Not in labor force	8	15	3	4	2	1	2	0	6	5

whether they are single, seasonal or repeat movers. Differences between migrants and non-migrants by region are shown in Table 4.4 and by urban status in Table 4.5. Population pyramids by migration status for each urban category are shown in Figure 4.5.

For Bangkok, the non-migrant population shows a mature age distribution and reflects declining fertility for the past 20 years. The migrant population is predominantly composed of young adults aged 15-34, with women outnumbering men in the 15-24 age groups. For provincial urban non-migrants, the fertility decline is not as apparent, and there is a pronounced deficit in the number of young men age 15-24. While there is also a correspondingly high number of migrant males of the same age, the number of female migrants in these age groups is also high. In contrast to Bangkok, the number of male and female migrants is roughly equal in provincial urban areas. In rural areas, the high number of children in the non-migrant population is striking. While this is partly due to relatively higher fertility in rural areas, it also reflects the large number of children left behind in rural areas when their parents migrate. Women non-migrants again out-number men in the same age groups, but the fact that the number of migrants is roughly equal by gender yields the higher migration rates for men observed above.

By region, the concentration in the working ages is most pronounced among migrants in the Northeastern and Central regions. Both men and women migrants are much more likely to be never married while non-migrants are more likely to be in the married-spouse-present category. For women, this migrant/non-migrant differential by marital status is less pronounced in Bangkok. In addition, migrant women are considerably more likely to be married-spouse-absent and they are less likely to be widows. In Bangkok, non-migrants are generally better educated than migrants, while in other regions migrants are more educated, especially in the South. However, since this difference is mainly due to a smaller proportion of migrants having no education, and the proportions having university education is similar between migrants and non-migrants except in the South, much of this difference may be due to the younger age of migrants. Women migrants are considerably more likely to have a secondary education than non-migrants outside of Bangkok.

Contrasting the occupational distribution of migrants and non-migrants, male migrants in Bangkok and the Central region are highly concentrated in labor/production jobs, with migrants less likely to hold professional, sales or service jobs than non-migrants. In the North and the Northeast, male migrants are more likely to be in agricultural or in labor/production jobs than non-migrants, who hold a wider variety of jobs. But in the South, migrants are more likely to hold professional jobs or to be students than non-migrants. For women in Bangkok, migrants are more

TABLE 4.4

Comparison Between Non-Migrants and Migrants in the Past Two Years by Region of Residence, Gender and Various Characteristics.

	Bangkok		Central		North		Northeast		South	
	NM	M	NM	M	NM	M	NM	M	NM	M
AGE										
Male										
2-9	13	9	17	15	16	5	22	7	22	9
10-14	9	4	13	4	13	3	16	2	13	5
15-19	10	18	8	9	6	16	6	17	9	17
20-24	9	22	6	18	6	20	5	22	5	18
25-29	11	18	8	17	7	16	7	18	7	17
30-34	11	12	7	14	7	15	6	15	7	12
35-39	8	6	8	8	9	12	7	7	7	6
40-49	14	5	11	9	12	10	13	8	12	8
50-59	8	3	10	2	12	3	10	3	8	4
60+	7	2	12	4	12	1	8	1	10	3
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Mean Age	29.9	25.1	31.0	26.3	32.2	27.8	28.3	26.4	28.1	26.7
Number (Unweighted)	(1190)	(403)	(3058)	(448)	(2534)	(441)	(3825)	(917)	(1818)	(323)
Female										
2-9	11	8	15	8	14	8	17	10	20	15
10-14	9	7	11	10	12	9	11	4	13	8
15-19	10	21	9	17	7	18	8	25	9	16
20-24	11	23	7	23	5	20	7	22	7	17
25-29	12	17	8	13	8	16	8	15	8	14
30-34	10	8	9	10	10	12	8	8	9	10
35-39	9	5	8	6	10	7	7	6	7	6
40-49	13	6	11	7	12	6	13	6	10	6
50-59	7	3	12	2	11	2	11	2	9	5
60+	8	2	11	5	12	3	11	1	9	3
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Mean age	30.7	24.4	31.9	25.7	32.8	25.3	31.4	23.8	28.6	24.4
Number (Unweighted)	(1377)	(437)	(3579)	(481)	(2826)	(320)	(4377)	(641)	(1915)	(282)
MARITAL STATUS										
Male										
Never married	37	49	27	32	19	39	20	37	29	46
Married spouse present	57	42	67	62	72	58	75	59	65	48
Married spouse absent	3	5	2	4	2	1	1	1	1	4
Widow	2	1	3	2	5	1	3	0	4	1
Divorced/separated	2	2	1	1	1	1	1	2	1	2
Female										
Never married	38	42	26	34	15	29	16	30	23	32
Married spouse present	47	45	56	48	66	50	64	53	61	54
Married spouse absent	4	6	4	6	5	13	4	11	3	7
Widow	8	3	11	7	12	4	13	3	10	3
Divorced/separated	4	4	3	5	3	4	3	3	3	3
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Number (Unweighted)	(927)	(352)	(2154)	(363)	(1798)	(406)	(2383)	(831)	(1167)	(277)

TABLE 4.4
Continued

	Bangkok		Central		North		Northeast		South	
	NM	M	NM	M	NM	M	NM	M	NM	M
EDUCATION										
Male										
None	4	2	8	3	12	2	3	1	13	5
Some primary	2	3	5	4	6	4	5	2	6	4
Primary grad	32	46	62	65	65	75	71	78	54	48
Secondary	40	35	19	20	13	15	15	14	21	28
Coll/univ	22	14	6	8	4	5	5	5	6	15
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Number (Unweighted)	(899)	(339)	(2149)	(363)	(1792)	(404)	(2378)	(831)	(1162)	(276)
Female										
None	8	3	14	6	20	5	7	2	20	7
Some primary	3	3	7	6	8	3	6	4	5	4
Primary grad	39	52	61	61	61	72	75	80	52	53
Secondary	31	29	13	19	8	13	9	11	17	21
Coll/univ	19	13	6	9	3	6	3	3	6	15
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Number (Unweighted)	(1068)	(367)	(2643)	(394)	(2096)	(265)	(3131)	(552)	(1280)	(215)
CURRENT OCCUPATION (PAST 7 DAYS)										
Agriculture	2	1	32	28	54	62	48	55	48	30
Labor/production	21	46	17	32	12	17	15	15	13	21
Transport	11	10	7	7	2	1	4	2	6	7
Sales	15	11	11	9	7	4	6	4	9	9
Service	10	8	5	3	2	3	3	3	3	5
Prof/admin/cler	12	5	5	3	4	2	4	2	5	11
Looking for work	5	3	4	7	2	5	3	5	2	4
Unclassified	6	5	4	3	2	2	6	9	1	1
Student	12	9	6	5	4	3	4	3	5	8
Household	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	2	2
Not in labor force	5	1	9	3	10	1	6	2	7	4
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Number (Unweighted)	(926)	(351)	(2153)	(363)	(1795)	(406)	(2374)	(831)	(1166)	(278)
Agriculture	1	1	29	20	48	46	38	50	31	12
Labor/production	13	29	14	20	7	12	12	9	10	12
Transport	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Sales	16	10	15	14	11	8	8	5	14	12
Service	7	10	3	5	1	2	2	4	3	6
Prof/admin/cler	14	8	3	7	3	4	3	2	6	9
Looking for work	4	3	3	4	2	6	3	2	1	4
Unclassified	4	3	4	0	1	3	4	5	1	1
Student	12	10	6	6	3	2	5	2	6	7
Household	23	25	14	17	10	17	16	20	20	36
Not in labor force	6	1	11	6	13	2	10	1	8	3
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Number (Unweighted)	(1100)	(374)	(2668)	(396)	(2099)	(266)	(3128)	(547)	(1287)	215

TABLE 4.5

Comparison Between Non-Migrants and Migrants in the Past Two Years by Urban Status, Gender and Various Characteristics.

	Bangkok		MunicUrb		Rural	
	NM	M	NM	M	NM	M
AGE						
Male						
2-9	13	9	16	16	20	7
10-14	9	4	12	5	15	3
15-19	10	18	8	13	7	15
20-24	9	22	6	22	6	20
25-29	11	18	8	14	7	18
30-34	11	12	9	12	6	15
35-39	8	6	9	6	7	9
40-49	14	5	13	8	12	8
50-59	8	3	11	2	10	3
60+	7	2	9	3	11	2
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100
Mean age	29.9	25.1	31.0	24.5	29.6	27.2
Number (Unweighted)	(1190)	(403)	(2119)	(363)	(9116)	(1767)
Female						
2-9	11	8	13	8	17	10
10-14	9	7	9	12	12	6
15-19	10	21	8	16	8	21
20-24	11	23	9	19	6	22
25-29	12	17	9	16	8	14
30-34	10	8	11	8	8	10
35-39	9	5	8	6	8	7
40-49	13	6	13	8	12	6
50-59	7	3	11	2	11	3
60+	8	2	10	5	11	2
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100
Mean age	30.7	24.4	32.1	25.5	31.3	24.5
Number (Unweighted)	(1377)	(437)	(2500)	(404)	(10140)	(1314)
MARITAL STATUS						
Male						
Never married	37	49	27	45	22	37
Married spouse present	57	42	67	50	71	59
Married spouse absent	3	5	2	3	2	2
Widow	2	1	3	1	4	1
Divorced/separated	2	2	1	0	1	2
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100
Number (Unweighted)	(927)	(352)	(1532)	(290)	(5970)	(1586)
Female						
Never married	38	42	28	36	17	30
Married spouse present	47	45	53	47	64	52
Married spouse absent	4	6	5	7	4	10
Widow	8	3	11	7	12	4
Divorced/separated	4	4	3	3	3	4
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100
Number (Unweighted)	(1102)	(375)	(1946)	(321)	(7248)	(1108)

TABLE 4.5
Continued

	Bangkok		MunicUrb		Rural	
EDUCATION	NM	M	NM	M	NM	M
Male						
None	4	2	6	2	9	2
Some primary	2	3	5	2	6	3
Primary grad	32	46	46	44	69	75
Secondary	40	35	31	33	13	15
College/university	22	14	13	20	3	5
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100
Number (Unweighted)	(899)	(339)	(1517)	(289)	(5963)	(1585)
Female						
None	8	3	11	4	15	5
Some primary	3	3	6	7	7	4
Primary grad	39	52	50	46	68	76
Secondary	31	29	22	27	8	12
College/university	19	13	11	17	2	4
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100
Number (Unweighted)	(1068)	(367)	(1919)	(321)	7230)	(1105)
CURRENT OCCUPATION PAST 7 DAYS)						
Male						
Agriculture	2	1	11	11	54	54
Labor/production	21	46	19	30	14	18
Transport	11	10	8	8	4	3
Sales	15	11	23	15	4	4
Service	10	8	7	7	2	3
Prof/amin/cler	12	5	9	8	3	3
Looking for work	5	3	3	8	3	5
Unclassified	6	5	4	3	4	5
Student	12	9	8	9	4	3
Household	1	1	1	0	1	1
Not in labor force	5	1	8	2	8	2
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100
Number (Unweighted)	(926)	(351)	(1532)	(290)	(5956)	(1588)
Female						
Agriculture	1	1	10	5	44	44
Labor/production	13	29	9	11	11	13
Transport	2	1	1	0	0	0
Sales	16	10	30	24	7	5
Service	7	10	5	9	1	3
Prof/admin/cler	14	8	8	10	3	3
Looking for work	4	3	2	5	2	3
Unclassified	4	3	1	2	3	3
Student	12	10	8	5	4	3
Household	23	25	16	24	14	20
Not in labor force	6	1	10	4	11	2
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100
Number (Unweighted)	(1100)	(374)	(1945)	(321)	(7236)	(1104)

FIGURE 4.5
Population Pyramid

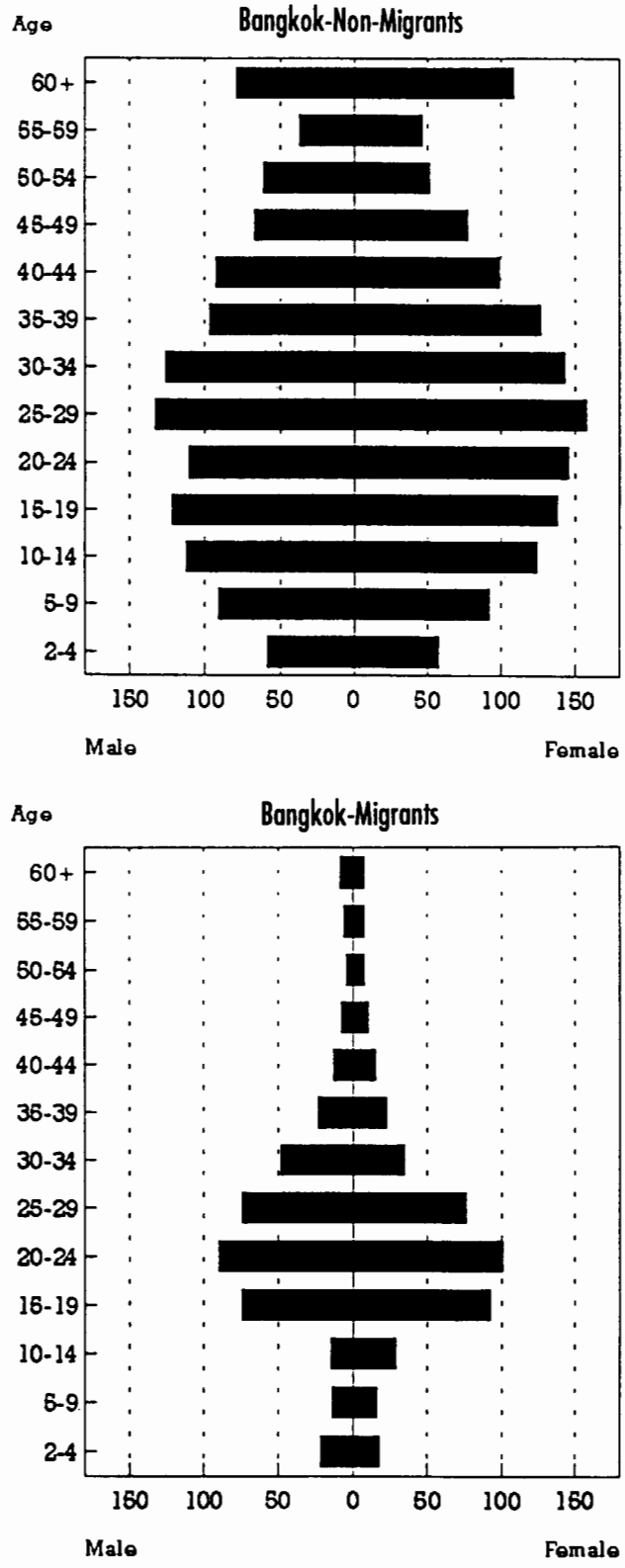
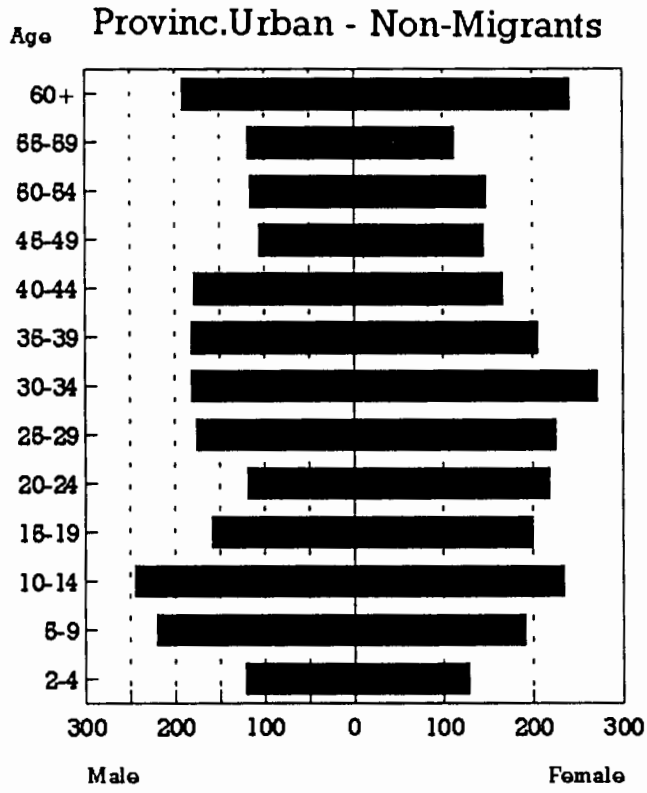


FIGURE 4.5
Continued



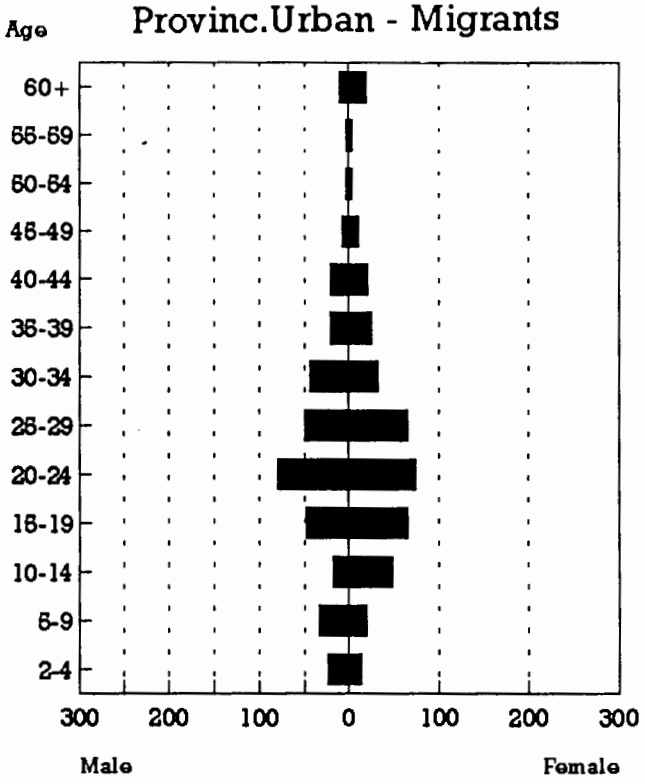
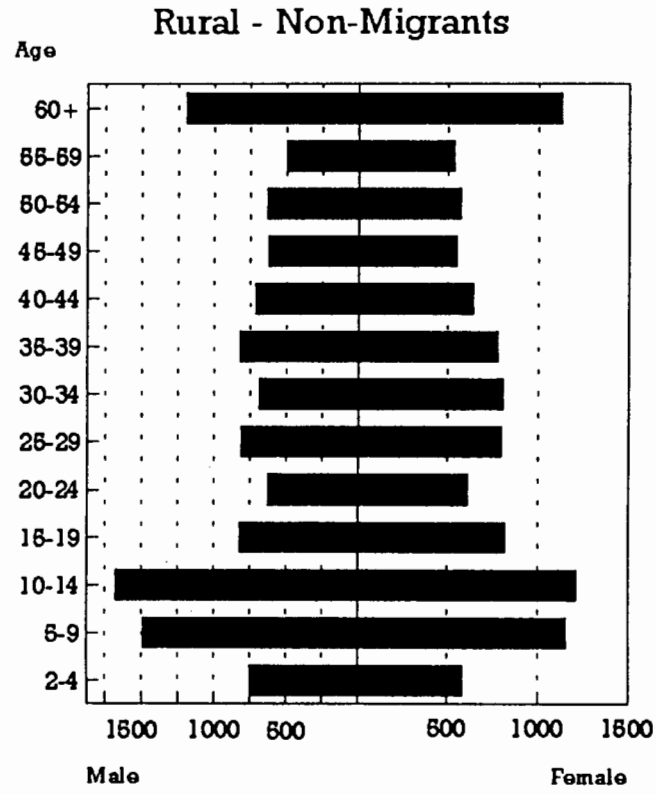
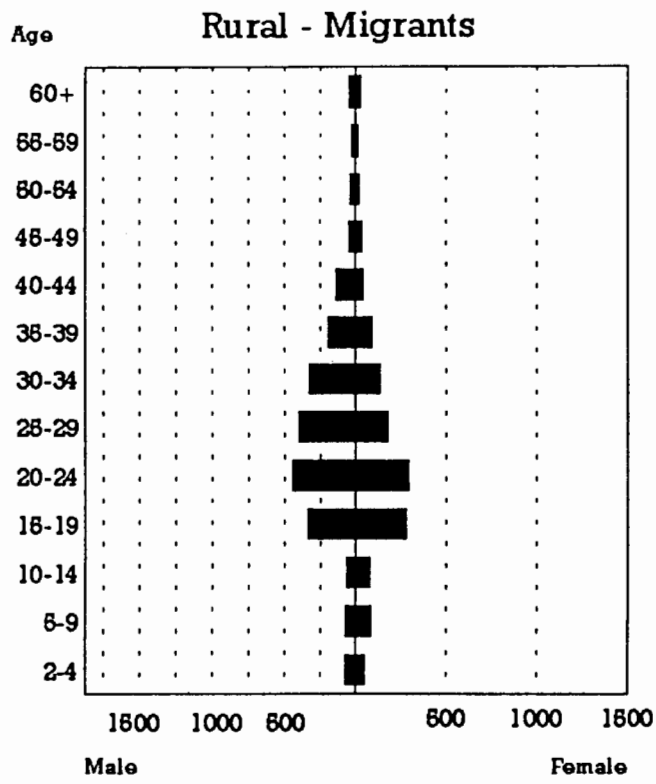


FIGURE 4.5
Continued





likely to be in labor/production or service jobs and less likely to be in sales or professional jobs than non-migrants. In the Central region, the major difference is that women migrants are less likely to work in agriculture and more likely to work in labor/production. Women migrants in the North, in contrast to men, are not more likely to work in agriculture than non-migrants. They are more likely to work in labor/production, to be looking for work or to be housewives. In the Northeast, women migrants are more likely to work in agriculture or to be housewives. In the South, women migrants are much more likely to be housewives than non-migrants (36 vs. 20%).

4.5 Discussion

This chapter provided greater insight into the migration patterns discussed in Chapter 3 by providing details on the characteristics of migrants by the type and the direction of their migration. Men are more likely to migrate than women at most ages but this is not true for the youngest age groups. The decline in women's migration rates after age 25 appears to be related to their marital status. Migrants are differentiated by their educational status in that those with higher education are more likely to have moved only once in the past two years, while seasonal and repeated moves were more likely among those with a primary education. Agricultural and labor/production workers had a high proportion of migrants, as did service workers especially for single migrants. By urban status, a high proportion of young women and working-age men made urban-rural moves, many of which were made on a seasonal basis. A higher proportion of well-educated respondents made moves to urban areas, while those with primary education were more likely to make rural-rural and urban-rural (often circular) moves. Regional differences in migrant characteristics include lower migration rates for women in the South; higher migration for girls age 10-19 in the South; and a high proportion of migrants in certain occupational groups in Bangkok, namely labor/production and the service sector. Finally, a comparison of migrants with non-migrants by region and urban status reveals strong differentials in age distribution, educational attainment and occupational sector. These differentials point to possible polarization of migrants from the resident population, especially in Bangkok. The policy implications of this are discussed further in Chapter 6.

Chapter 5
DETERMINANTS AND CONSEQUENCES OF MIGRATION

This chapter reports on results from the individual in-depth interviews about the migration experiences of the respondents. It gives an overview on reasons for moving, sources of information about the destination, social networks in the destination, the job search, satisfaction with current residence, and others. Specific socioeconomic measures of well-being, which were also investigated, are not reported here since the information is too detailed for this report. These will be explored further in follow-up studies.

5.1 Reasons for migration

Responses on reasons for moving refer to the last move to the current place of residence. If the migrants are classified as repeat movers, their responses refer to the last move only. Those who returned to their home community after being away for less than six months were not asked this series of questions. Otherwise, respondents were asked an open-ended question about their main reason for moving from their last place of residence as well as their main reason for moving to their current residence. Their responses are grouped into five categories: work, family, education, a problem at the previous residence, and other reasons. As shown in Table 5.1.1, reasons for moving from the last place of residence varied both by gender and by the region of destination. In Bangkok, males were more likely to report that they had multiple moves than single moves (69 vs. 50 percent). Both single and repeat movers had a high percentage reporting a problem with their previous residence (17-18 percent). Women were more likely than men to move for family reasons. Female migrants to Bangkok were about equally likely to say that they moved for family or for work reasons (34-40 percent). In provincial urban areas, single movers were nearly twice as likely to move for work reasons than for family reasons (52 vs. 28

percent). The opposite trend is observed for female single movers in rural areas: 26 percent reported work reasons while 58 percent reported family reasons. Repeat movers in rural areas were slightly more likely to have moved for work reasons than family reasons (48 vs. 40 percent).

When asked why they moved to their current residence, the majority of both men and women said that they moved for family reasons in nearly all locations. The only exception to this trend are men in Bangkok who moved more than once in the past two years. Slightly more men in

TABLE 5.1.1
Main Reason for Migration From Last Place of Residence and to Current Place of Residence by Type and Stream of Migration and Gender

	Place of Current Residence					
	Bangkok		Provincial Urban		Rural	
	Single Move	Repeat Move	Single Move	Repeat Move	Single Move	Repeat Move
REASON FOR MIGRATION FROM LAST PLACE OF RESIDENCE:						
Male						
Work	50	69	48	53	51	57
Family	22	9	28	28	37	29
Education	10	3	6	4	1	3
Problem in previous place	17	18	13	11	11	8
Other	0	0	4	5	1	3
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100
(N)	(135)	(88)	(63)	(30)	(144)	(158)
Female						
Work	40	39	52	42	26	48
Family	34	40	28	40	58	40
Education	5	4	4	2	3	1
Problem in previous place	21	16	15	14	11	11
Other	0	0	1	2	1	0
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100
(N)	(202)	(94)	(87)	(50)	(164)	(97)
REASON FOR MIGRATION TO CURRENT PLACE OF RESIDENCE						
Male						
Work	35	55	33	44	16	17
Family	60	44	54	55	83	81
Education	5	1	6	1	1	2
Problem in previous place	0	0	2	0	1	0
Other	0	0	4	0	0	0
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100
(N)	(136)	(88)	(63)	(30)	(145)	(159)
Female						
Work	36	43	37	29	14	17
Family	64	56	61	60	86	82
Education	1	1	1	7	1	1
Problem in previous place	0	0	0	2	0	0
Other	0	0	1	2	0	0
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100
(N)	(202)	(95)	(87)	(50)	(165)	(96)

Bangkok moved for work reasons (55 percent) compared to family reasons (44 percent). This indicates that even though economic factors are the main reasons for moving to a particular location, familial networks remain important. While rural migrants were particularly likely to have chosen their location for family reasons (81-86 percent), there was little difference by gender in reasons for moving to the current destination.

After asking the main reason for moving, respondents were read a list of possible

TABLE 5.1.2
Percent Responding to Prompted Reasons for Migration by Type and Stream of Migration and Gender

	Place of Current Residence					
	Bangkok		Provincial Urban		Rural	
	Single Move	Repeat Move	Single Move	Repeat Move	Single Move	Repeat Move
Male						
Not own land there	8	7	28	35	30	38
Own land here	2	3	25	24	52	57
Fertile soil here	0	0	7	11	26	35
Poor soil there	9	7	1	3	10	4
Change job	33	37	37	42	33	29
Difficult find job	21	24	14	6	18	18
End seasonal job	11	15	5	12	14	17
Job transfer	12	25	20	30	13	17
Job progress	43	47	31	32	24	20
Poor education there	13	12	15	26	6	4
Good education here	19	11	16	17	6	6
Move with parents	11	2	1	11	2	1
Move to live with parents	6	7	1	14	12	9
Move with spouse	35	43	35	47	36	27
Move to live with spouse	8	7	22	9	19	22
Move with relative/friend	27	22	0	13	4	10
Move to live with friend	40	30	8	21	9	5
Female						
Not own land there	12	12	18	27	34	42
Own land here	4	4	8	13	41	55
Fertile soil here	1	1	4	5	20	26
Poor soil there	6	10	2	0	7	5
Change job	30	26	45	34	29	21
Difficult find job	21	25	21	26	13	13
End seasonal job	9	11	7	0	4	08
Job transfer	5	10	11	13	8	11
Job progress	36	31	41	22	20	15
Poor education there	11	4	7	9	4	2
Good education here	13	6	9	4	6	0
Move with parents	8	4	7	9	4	2
Move to live with parents	5	4	5	6	11	6
Move with spouse	37	41	34	21	45	45
Move to live with spouse	23	20	9	18	16	8
Move with relative/friend	23	20	9	3	8	10
Move to live with friend	31	26	7	5	5	2

N's vary due to missing cases

reasons for moving and asked if these were important in their decision to move. As shown in Table 5.1.2, having better chances to work and/or to change jobs were important reasons for moving in nearly all categories (ranging from 21-42 percent). Men and women in Bangkok were also likely to say that they moved because it was difficult to find work in their previous location. Men in provincial urban and rural areas often cited the fact that they did not own land in their previous location, or that they did own land in their current one. Fertility of the soil in their current location was also an important factor. Gender differences in moving with one's spouse varied by location. Bangkok men and women were about equally likely to say they moved with their spouse (35-43 percent) as were provincial urban single movers (34-35 percent). Male repeat movers in provincial urban areas were more than twice as likely to say they moved with their spouse than women (47 vs. 21 percent). Although the number of cases is small, this corresponds with a high percentage of women in this category who said they moved for work-related reasons.

In rural areas, women were more likely to say they moved with their spouse than men (45 percent vs. 27-36 percent), while a high percentage of men said they moved to live with (join) their spouse (19-22 percent). Women in Bangkok also had the highest percentage who moved to join their spouse. This indicates that men are more likely to initially move without their families. Men and women in Bangkok also are likely to move with friends or relatives, or to live with them. The importance of these social networks are further discussed in the next section.

In sum, both economic and social reasons are important for migration. Although women are more likely than men to cite family reasons in some categories, the differences were not great. Repeat movers are likely to be economic migrants in Bangkok and rural areas, alluding to the circular labor migration patterns discussed above.

5.2 Social networks

The migrant respondents were asked how they knew about their destination and about the networks of friends and/or relatives they have there. Migrants were also asked if they had a job awaiting them before they moved, how long they had to look for a job, and how long it took them to find a job in their new location. Results show that even migrants who moved for economic reasons chose destinations where they already have friends or relatives in those areas. Return migrants who had been away for less than six months were not asked this series of questions.

As seen in Table 5.2.1, the most frequent source of information for Bangkok migrants was close relatives and friends (23-30 percent). Very few obtained information from job agencies, mass media or

government agencies (0-6 percent). Repeat migrants to Bangkok, especially women, were more likely to have stayed in the city before. Also, a large proportion of repeat migrants in provincial urban and rural areas had prior experience of staying at their destination. Single movers to rural or provincial urban areas were more likely to cite personal contacts than a previous stay at the destination. As seen in Table 5.2.2, a high proportion of the migrants had friends or relatives at their destination. In Bangkok, about two-thirds of the respondents knew someone in the city. Nearly 20 percent of the male migrants had a sibling already living there, and nearly half had other relatives or friends in their destination. About 10-16 percent of the female migrants in Bangkok joined their spouses in the city. The same pattern is observed for provincial urban and rural areas. A high proportion of the migrants

TABLE 5.2.1
Source of Knowledge About Current Place of Residence Among Migrants by Type and Stream of Migration and Gender

	Place of Current Residence					
	Bangkok		Provincial Urban		Rural	
	Single Move	Repeat Move	Single Move	Repeat Move	Single Move	Repeat Move
Male						
Ever stayed here	11	17	38	61	58	81
Ever visited here	15	8	29	1	12	8
Knew from close relative	30	24	31	7	11	4
Knew from distant relative	5	5	5	7	1	1
Knew from friend	20	15	10	19	12	5
Knew from job agency	1	6	0	3	2	1
Knew from mass media	2	0	7	0	2	0
Knew from government agency	2	0	5	0	0	1
(N)	(136)	(88)	(64)	(29)	(145)	(159)
Female						
Ever stayed here	8	28	18	38	46	79
Ever visited here	9	10	11	16	13	3
Knew from close relative	29	23	40	15	16	5
Knew from distant relative	5	8	2	9	5	0
Knew from friend	18	16	19	21	13	2
Knew from job agency	2	2	3	1	1	0
Knew from mass media	1	1	0	0	0	0
Knew from government agency	0	1	3	0	0	2
(N)	(202)	(95)	(87)	(50)	(167)	(97)

had relatives and/or friends in their destination. Repeat movers were more likely to return their parents in their hometown. Single female movers in provincial urban or rural areas were less likely to have relatives or friends than their male counterparts.

Given the strong networks of relatives and friends reported by migrants, it is not surprising that a high proportion of migrants reported receipt of assistance after a move (Table 5.2.3). In Bangkok, this proportion was close to 90 percent for both men and women. The proportion was

TABLE 5.2.2
Percent of Migrants Having Relative or Friend Staying at Current Place of Residence Before Move by Type and Stream of Migration and Gender

	Place of Current Residence					
	Bangkok		Provincial Urban		Rural	
	Single Move	Repeat Move	Single Move	Repeat Move	Single Move	Repeat Move
Male						
Spouse	1	6	10	6	28	32
Children	0	1	1	19	9	29
Parents	8	10	32	47	41	46
Sibling	19	18	34	28	35	35
In-laws	7	3	8	5	21	20
Other relatives/friends	47	42	41	30	42	35
Others	2	1	0	4	02	1
None	30	39	20	20	8	11
(N)	(136)	(88)	(64)	(29)	(145)	(159)
Female						
Spouse	10	16	6	11	13	10
Children	1	3	1	6	6	14
Parents	6	5	16	25	41	50
Sibling	12	17	24	15	33	41
In-laws	5	6	6	10	15	23
Other relative/friend	42	36	42	43	37	31
Others	1	1	0	0	0	0
None	32	35	28	24	21	10
(N)	(202)	(95)	(87)	(50)	(167)	(97)

lower in provincial urban and rural areas probably due to the high rate of return among migrants. Women were slightly more likely than men to have lived with friends or relatives, while men were more likely than women in all locations to have received help in getting a job. Moreover, Bangkok repeat movers were more likely to get various types of assistance than single movers, while the opposite was the case for provincial urban migrants. In rural areas, male repeat movers were more likely than single movers to receive financial assistance or a job placement assist-

TABLE 5.2.3
Immediate Assistance to Migrants from Relatives and Friend Who Were Already Resident at Current Place by Type and Stream of Migration and Gender

	Place of Current Residence					
	Bangkok		Provincial Urban		Rural	
	Single Move	Repeat Move	Single Move	Repeat Move	Single Move	Repeat Move
Male						
Percent who received assistance	87	91	69	70	68	56
(N)	(98)	(54)	(51)	(23)	(133)	(147)
Type of Assistance:						
Live with	64	51	57	67	61	65
Free rent	7	12	12	15	3	1
Financial assistance	40	47	58	64	34	41
Getting a job	37	41	27	29	21	27
Getting land	2	4	12	18	21	9
Other	15	25	10	21	12	5
(N)	(85)	(49)	(36)	(15)	(89)	(84)
Female						
Percent who received assistance	89	86	59	62	64	49
(N)	(141)	(63)	(69)	(39)	(137)	(91)
Type of Assistance:						
Live with	65	65	58	77	64	61
Free rent	10	9	12	4	4	0
Financial assistance	45	46	34	32	41	34
Getting a job	31	30	27	27	18	15
Getting land	5	4	7	7	5	10
Other	18	13	23	6	16	17
(N)	(126)	(54)	(45)	(30)	(88)	(46)

ance, while the opposite pattern is observed for women.

These high levels of personal contacts are extremely important in aiding migrants in finding employment in their new location. As seen in Table 5.2.4, a high proportion of the migrants either had a job before moving or found work within one month of arrival at the destination. For Bangkok men, 68 percent of repeat movers had a job before moving and another 14 percent

TABLE 5.2.4
Percent of Migrants by Work Status in the First Month, Stream of Migration and Gender

	Place of Current Residence					
	Bangkok		Provincial Urban		Rural	
	Single Move	Repeat Move	Single Move	Repeat Move	Single Move	Repeat Move
Male						
Working:						
Had job before coming	46	68	48	37	46	26
Found job in < 1 month	29	14	17	2	19	7
Not working:						
Looking for work	3	6	7	10	3	2
Don't plan to work	2	6	11	40	25	57
Student	15	5	6	5	2	2
Housewife	2	0	0	0	0	0
Other	5	2	10	8	6	6
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100
(N)	(136)	(88)	(64)	(29)	(145)	(158)
Female						
Working:						
Had job before coming	42	43	52	38	33	20
Found job in < one month	19	14	7	5	17	5
Not working:						
Looking for work	4	1	4	2	4	2
Don't plan to work	4	5	10	33	20	60
Student	10	5	3	2	3	1
Housewife	19	31	20	19	16	9
Other	4	1	5	2	8	4
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100
(N)	(202)	(95)	(87)	(50)	(167)	(97)

found work within a month. A higher proportion of male single movers to Bangkok found work after they arrived (29 percent) and a relatively large group is composed of students (15 percent). Only a few male single and repeat migrants were still searching for work within one month of arrival (3-6 percent). Provincial urban and rural male migrants had a markedly high proportion that did not plan to work after moving, perhaps because they were waiting for the agricultural season to begin. Among women, 19-31 percent of single and repeat migrants to Bangkok, respectively, were housewives. However, 42-43 percent of the female migrants had a job before moving to Bangkok. For both men and women, a high proportion of single movers to rural areas (17-19 percent) said that they found a job after moving. This indicates that a high proportion of migrant agricultural workers did not have a definite job before migrating.

These findings suggest that one's social network is important in determining migration in Thailand. Few migrants moved to a place where they did not have personal contacts. The majority of the migrants who were working had a job before moving. Single movers to rural areas, on the other hand, found jobs within a month of arrival. The high level of mobility in Thailand has contributed to the development of social networks, particularly through repeat movers. Migrants also reported a high level of assistance from relatives and friends, which help reduce obstacles to labor mobility.

5.3 Satisfaction with current residence and comparison with previous residence

Both migrants and non-migrants were asked about their satisfaction with various aspects of their life, given the following response options: "satisfied", "okay" or "not satisfied." Table 5.3.1 gives the percentage distribution of the respondents satisfaction with current conditions by sex, location and migrant status. Satisfaction with the current job and income did not vary much by migrant status, location or gender. About two-thirds of the respondents were satisfied with their job. A slightly lower percentage (48-64 percent) indicated satisfaction with their income in Bangkok and provincial urban areas. In rural areas, around 40 percent was satisfied with their income, ranging from a low of 33 percent for male repeat movers to a high of 49 percent for male non-migrants. Only about half of respondents said they were satisfied with their current knowledge/ability, with non-migrants in provincial urban and rural areas slightly more satisfied than Bangkok non-migrants.

Surprisingly, migrants tended to be equally satisfied as non-migrants with their housing (greater than 60 percent), with rural women and Bangkok men being the most satisfied. Rural residents tended to be more satisfied with their health care than urban residents, with male migrants to Bangkok being particularly unsatisfied (29-49 percent). Less than half reported that they were satisfied with their recrea-

tional opportunities in any location, except for rural women and male provincial urban migrants (55-56 percent). Dissatisfaction with Bangkok is reflected in the low percentage satisfied with the communication/travel facilities there. Provincial urban residents were most satisfied in this regard. Satisfaction with neighbor relationships decreased with size of place, with over 90 percent in rural areas satisfied, more than three-quarters in provincial urban centers and only about two-thirds of those in Bangkok. The same finding is seen for community leaders and commu-

TABLE 5.3.1
Satisfaction with Current Life Among Migrants and Non-Migrants by Type and Stream of Migration and Gender

	Place of Current Residence								
	Bangkok			Provincial Urban			Rural		
	Non-Migr	Single Move	Repeat Move	Non-Migr	Single Move	Repeat Move	Non-Migr	Single Move	Repeat Move
Male									
Current job	68	69	59	67	57	50	68	61	65
Current income	59	61	48	57	64	49	49	40	33
Current knowledge/ability	48	42	55	55	46	34	51	47	45
Current housing	65	68	68	57	57	62	63	63	60
Medical/health service	49	29	41	45	56	35	61	60	66
Recreation	43	35	48	44	46	51	46	47	50
Communication/travel	46	43	44	88	77	66	62	60	64
Relation with neighbor	72	64	74	77	85	71	94	92	94
Community leader	27	17	25	57	46	42	82	80	75
Community cooperation	43	32	46	63	52	76	84	81	83
Female									
Current job	67	67	63	74	67	69	70	62	67
Current income	56	61	58	60	50	53	41	38	39
Current knowledge/ability	46	41	42	57	42	46	48	48	41
Current housing	67	64	62	64	56	64	69	70	67
Medical/health service	58	54	48	56	62	52	72	63	65
Recreation	42	41	40	43	44	43	49	55	50
Communication/travel	51	45	52	76	75	77	68	65	63
Relation with neighbor	65	68	66	87	79	88	92	88	91
Community leader	28	19	26	55	50	48	84	73	79
Community cooperation	40	40	38	71	55	58	87	83	83

nity cooperation, with Bangkok residents particularly dissatisfied with their community leaders (17-28 percent satisfied).

Table 5.3.2 shows how migrants compared their previous and current place of residence according to various aspects. For economic factors such as chance for work, job security and income, results varied by gender, location and number of moves. In Bangkok, migrants were about evenly split on whether Bangkok or their previous residence was better in regards to chance for work and income. The majority of Bangkok migrants rated their job security lower at the current than at their previous residence. In provincial urban areas, men and women again had opposite responses based on whether they were single or repeat movers: female single movers and male repeat movers were more likely to rate their current location as better, with the opposite true for female repeat movers and male single movers. Two-thirds of the latter group gave a negative evaluation of their previous location. Finally, rural residents rated their current location as less advantageous in regard to economic variables, with the exception that both male and female repeat migrants were more likely to say their current location had better job security.

In assessing quality of life factors such as quality of residence, drinking water, air and noise, rural residents clearly preferred their current residence to their previous one. The percentages were considerably higher for repeat than single-move migrants. Provincial urban residents were about evenly split on which location was better. Again, a higher proportion of repeat migrants preferred their current location. In Bangkok, the majority preferred their previous location. In questions about facilities such as education, health and recreation, both men and women in rural areas tended to think they had better facilities for their childrenûs education, while only about one third of those in Bangkok and provincial areas preferred their current location. The exception was single migrants to provincial urban areas who were more evenly split. In evaluating their social networks such as family relationships and friendships, few Bangkok residents rated Bangkok highly (13-31 percent). The majority of rural migrants, especially if they were repeat migrants, preferred their current location.

Clearly migrants rated the quality of life and social networks to be preferable in rural areas, with urban residents also dissatisfied with their health and educational facilities, especially in Bangkok. Regarding economic factors, the picture is less clear as migrants were generally split about whether their situation had improved since their move. Also, non-migrants and migrants alike expressed dissatisfaction about their income, especially in rural areas. These levels of dissatisfaction raise important policy issues, especially regarding levels of inflation and rapid urban growth.

TABLE 5.3.2

Percent of Migrants Reporting A Better Situation at Current Place of Residence Compared to Last Place of Residence by Type and Stream of Migration and Gender

	Place of Current Residence					
	Bangkok		Provincial Urban		Rural	
	Single Move	Repeat Move	Single Move	Repeat Move	Single Move	Repeat Move
Male						
Chance for work	53	57	30	39	37	38
Job security	34	52	37	46	44	58
Income	55	58	37	40	33	26
Experience/knowledge	62	48	35	23	22	22
Children's education	46	25	51	27	54	63
Finding residence	29	30	40	60	65	80
Quality of residence	32	41	50	69	67	86
Price of residence	23	17	47	68	62	82
Quality-drinking water	23	29	43	64	57	76
Quality-river/canal	12	13	36	54	55	81
Quality of air	19	23	40	53	65	78
Noise	22	34	38	53	69	81
Recreation	27	32	40	44	47	51
Communication/transportation	36	39	36	32	39	45
Health facilities	25	36	48	26	35	45
Family relationships	19	23	36	67	65	86
Friendships	19	30	36	63	48	81
Free from stress	18	32	37	55	59	74
Female						
Chance of work	53	49	57	52	33	30
Job security	43	37	53	33	48	59
Income	56	52	49	44	36	29
Experience/knowledge	54	60	36	28	29	23
Children's education	33	42	56	35	34	56
Finding residence	26	23	59	57	58	82
Quality of residence	46	39	61	66	69	85
Price of residence	29	29	44	64	57	79
Quality-drinking water	23	36	52	69	55	86
Quality-river/canal	12	5	52	56	55	79
Quality of air	28	23	51	55	59	82
Noise	23	17	40	66	60	84
Recreation	31	30	49	50	46	62
Communication/transportation	31	39	67	62	40	48
Health facilities	33	46	46	38	36	45
Family relationships	20	25	45	51	52	86
Friendships	16	14	43	47	51	82
Free from stress	25	28	48	49	53	79

5.4 Remittances

A prime motivation for migration is to provide support for family members left behind in the migrantûs home community. Table 5.4.1 shows responses on remittances sent in the past year to family members who lived in another place. Since many of the migrants were returnees to their usual residence for the planting season, remittances sent during earlier temporary migrations may have been omitted in these responses. For example, temporary migrants who brought their earnings home with them when they returned may have responded in the negative. Female repeat migrants to Bangkok and other urban areas were more likely to

TABLE 5.4.1
Percentage of Recent Migrants Sending Money or Goods to Family Members Living in Another Place in the Past Year by Gender

	Bangkok		Provincial Urban		Rural	
	Single Move	Repeat Move	Single Move	Repeat Move	Single Move	Repeat Move
Male						
Percent sending	57	58	43	23	28	30
Percent sending to:						
Parents	38	36	28	19	20	19
Spouse	1	1	0	2	0	0
Children	2	6	4	0	0	1
Grandparents	2	4	0	0	2	1
Siblings	4	7	4	0	1	4
Others	10	7	8	4	2	6
(N)	(136)	(91)	(66)	(44)	(155)	(297)
Average amount for those sending (in baht):						
Money	8489	4650	6347	4966	5252	3896
Goods	2671	1259	1627	1157	1693	1049
(N)	(77)	(53)	(29)	(11)	(41)	(84)
Female						
Percent sending	56	66	43	48	31	30
Percent sending to:						
Parents	40	42	29	36	24	15
Spouse	1	1	0	0	0	0
Children	4	4	3	0	0	3
Grandparents	3	10	1	3	1	2
Siblings	5	3	3	4	4	4
Others	7	8	5	9	5	7
(N)	(203)	(96)	(89)	(69)	(177)	(215)
Average amount for those sending (in baht):						
Money	7242	6590	3496	5605	4622	2623
Goods	2836	1905	2149	742	1412	1118
(N)	(114)	(63)	(38)	(29)	(54)	(58)

* More than one recipient could be listed.

have remitted than male migrants (66 vs. 58 percent and 48 vs. 23 percent). But in other areas, the percentages were about the same. Parents were, by far, the most frequent recipients in both rural and urban areas. Only a very small percentage sent money to a spouse. This may be due to a large percentage of migrants who were single or had moved with a spouse and respondents remitting directly to their children. Siblings were another frequent recipient of remittances, especially for urban migrants (4-7 percent for men and 3-5 percent for women). This reflects a traditional pattern of older siblings putting younger siblings through school. Women who were repeat migrants to urban areas were not only more likely to send remittances to family members. They also sent higher amounts, on average. Since women earn less than men across occupational categories, this may indicate that women remitted a higher portion of their earnings than men. It is likely that levels of remittance pattern require more detailed attention than was possible in the NMS, particularly in regard to patterns in earnings transmission and in the degree of reliance on this source of support.

5.5 Conclusion

This chapter confirms the strong social and economic networks that reinforce the migration process in Thai society. Reasons for moving are found to be both economic and social. Not surprisingly, women cited slightly more family reasons than men. Repeat movers in Bangkok and rural areas were especially likely to be economic migrants. The majority of migrants moved to a place where they had personal contacts, and they often had a job before moving. Few were still searching for a job after one month. Assistance from relatives and friends is very common. However, migrants still rated the quality of life to be better in the rural areas. Urban residents complained about health and educational facilities in Bangkok. Economic improvement after migration was not consistently cited by migrants. This may be due to the high cost of living and inflation in urban areas. Finally, the survey found that female repeat migrants to Bangkok and other urban areas were more likely to remit than male migrants. They also remitted higher amounts, on average. Since the survey may have underestimated the amount of remittances by return migrants, further research in this area is needed particularly in regards to the importance of female migration and the degree of dependency on remittances among rural residents.

Chapter 6
CONCLUSIONS AND POLICY IMPLICATIONS

The NMS findings identified important internal migration patterns, which differ from those reported from previous migration studies in Thailand. The most notable result is the high levels of migration both within the last five years and within the last two years before the survey. These levels are much higher than estimates derived from other sources. This is mainly due to the definitions used in this study and the timing of the survey, both of which have a significant impact on the survey results.

Migration in this study is defined as a movement across a tambon (sub-district) boundary resulting in more than one month of absence at a person's usual place of residence. This definition enables the study to more accurately measure short-term migration in the country. The survey was carried out in early May to mid-September 1992. Internal migration in Thailand is seasonal by nature. The highest levels of seasonal migration are reported for the dry season months of February through May when many farmers seek temporary jobs in big cities but most of them return home when the planting season begins with the onset of the rainy season. The survey was conducted during the wet season, hence, many of the seasonal migrants were interviewed at their usual place of residence. This improves the precision of our estimates of temporary migration as it is generally difficult to identify places of residence of temporary workers when they were away from home. Special efforts were also made during the sampling to identify structures that house temporary residents. In this chapter, key findings from the previous chapters will be summarized, then relevant policy implications will be discussed.

6.1 Summary of Key Findings

6.1.1. Levels and Patterns of Migration

Five-year Migration: Approximately one-fourth of the population, or 14.5 million people, were migrants within the last five years. In comparison, the 1990 census records that 8.2 percent of the population aged 5 years and over had changed their place of residence in the five years before the census (NSO 1993). The differences between the census and the NMS estimates of mobility are not because of measurement error in one or both of the data collection methods used, but due to differences in definitions used in both surveys (see discussion in Chapter 3).

Two-year Migration: About 15 percent of the population, or 8.7 million people, had moved within the last two years before the survey. Of all migrants, 64 percent were one-time migrants; 19 percent and 17 percent were seasonal migrants and repeat migrants respectively. This shows a high level of change in population distribution in Thailand.

Seasonal migrants came mainly from the Northeast and the North. Of the migrants living in the Northeast during the wet season, 39 percent were seasonal while the corresponding percentage for the North was 20. Men are more likely than women to be seasonal or repeat migrants. Seasonal migrants have lower levels of education and are more likely to be working in agriculture than other migrants.

One-quarter of persons living in Bangkok migrated within the last two years before the survey. This figure was almost twice the proportion of persons living in other regions. There is more movement between regions than within regions (8.4 percent vs 6.6 percent). Bangkok was involved in 56 percent of all migration that took place within the past two years, underscoring the importance of the city in the migration process.

The most interesting finding is that during the wet season (June to September), the flow of migrants is primarily out of Bangkok but during the dry season (February to May) the flow of migrants is primarily to Bangkok. The results suggest that the dry season population of Bangkok is approximately 10 percent larger than the wet season population. In this study, the estimated Bangkok population during the wet season is around 8 million (Archavanitkul et al. 1993: 20). Therefore, the population in Bangkok is expected to increase to approximately 9 million during the dry season.

The difference between the wet season and dry season populations of Bangkok is mainly due to high levels of male seasonal migration. Previous studies, which generally did not count seasonal migrants, have overestimated the dominance of female migration to Bangkok. In this study, the proportion of male repeat and seasonal migrants is higher than for women (40 vs. 31 percent).

6.1.2. Determinants and Consequences of Migration

As has been found in other studies, this study confirms the selectivity by sex, age, marital status and level of education using the two-year migration definition. Males are more likely to have migrated than females. However, differences are not large, with 27 percent of males and 22 percent of females migrating. Compared to other countries, this demonstrates high levels of mobility of females. Migration rates are highest at ages 20-24. Approximately 41 percent of males and 38 percent of females at these ages changed their place of residence within the past two years of the survey. Single persons are more likely than married persons to have migrated. As education increases, the likelihood of migration also increases.

Economic reasons for migration predominate over family-related reasons in decisions to migrate. However, family factors are important in deciding where people migrate. For both men and women, migration to Bangkok was often motivated by non- availability of work at the migrants' area of origin. For other destinations, changing jobs was an important reason for moving. Generally, migrants were satisfied with their move, although they questioned their quality of life after migration.

Male migrants are likely to work in the manufacturing sector (28 percent) while female migrants are likely to engage in service sector occupations (25 percent). A high proportion of migrants remitted money to their areas of origin. Migrants to Bangkok were more likely than migrants to other areas to remit. Female migrants to Bangkok and to other urban areas were more likely than male migrants to remit money to their families in the area of origin.

6.1.3 Migration Networks

Findings in this study indicate that the migration network is a very important factor in determining the decision to move and in selecting the destination among two-year migrants. Most migrants obtained information about their place of destination from friends or relatives. Approximately two-thirds of migrants to Bangkok had friends or relatives living in Bangkok, and almost 90 percent received assistance from friends or relatives after their move. Most migrants had arranged a job before the actual move, while fewer than 5 percent of migrants were still looking for a job after more than one month of arrival.

6.2 Policy Implications

6.2.1. Promotion of Rural Sustainability

The rate of migration revealed in this study, especially the migration into and out of Bangkok, is much higher than in

past estimates. This high rate of migration reflects changing social processes which should concern policy makers involved in development planning.

Generally, urban and rural development determine the population density in both areas. To reduce or to slow down migration streams to Bangkok and its periphery areas and to increase the attraction of alternative destination towns or cities, the previous and the current National Plans have focused on "spatial aspects" rather than "human aspects" of development. This has led to the urbanization of Bangkok and large provincial towns, while widening the range of destination places for migrants. Note that equitable development for all entails population distributions that center on the people.

Development which centers on people suggests the promotion of rural sustainability. It also implies a fair share of national resources and the generation of awareness among rural people so they can live with dignity. People in rural communities should be provided with equal access to knowledge and information necessary for the improvement of their living standard. Fair distribution of educational opportunities, self-governance authority and equitable share of government budgets for rural people, and respect for local wisdom are important factors for sustainable development.

In most cases, people move because they want to seek better opportunities in life. As long as the people are free to move from one place to another, the search for better life through migration will continue. Apart from absolute dictatorship, there is no migration policy or development plan that can completely halt migration.

6.2.2. Public Information Centre for Migrants

Findings from this study strongly suggest that the government's news and information services especially for rural-to-urban migrants should be improved. A public information centre for potential migrants should be set up, particularly for temporary labor migrants in Bangkok and other popular destinations such as Chiengmai, Phuket, and Cholburi. More serious attention should be paid to prevent rural migrants from being lured, oppressed or taken advantage of. The government should be able to guarantee sufficient welfare for rural migrants while they are at the place of destination.

6.2.3. Nationwide Information on Available Jobs for Seasonal Migrants

Migration should be supported as one of the mechanisms through which people can take advantage of better opportunities in life. Seasonal migration is an excellent example. If seasonal rural-to-urban migration continues and low-educated people tend to seasonally migrate, how can disadvantaged people attain the highest benefit

from their migration? For instance, information support to temporary migrants on how to effectively manage their time and work, both in rural communities and in urban areas, is critically needed. Some of the funds being directed towards temporary employment creation schemes in rural areas could be used to make migration a more effective way of attaining migrants' goals.

Apart from their current effort to create job opportunities in rural villages during the dry season (which is limited in terms of the number of jobs created and the areas covered), the government should try to gather nationwide information on job opportunities for seasonal migrants. Active government steps in the dissemination of this information to people throughout the country especially in rural villages as well as in destination towns and cities are highly recommended. This need is more pressing in places with high levels of temporary migration, such as in the Northeastern and Northern provinces. The newly established "Labor and Social Welfare Ministry" is deemed appropriate to carry out these tasks. Initiatives undertaken in preparation for seasonal migration will assist migrants and the society as a whole in gaining greater benefit from the rapidly increasing levels of migration.

6.2.4. Welfare for Female and Young Migrants

Since the migration rates of male and female migrants are almost equal, various problems concerning the female labor force should be seriously addressed. Priority areas of concern regarding the female labor force are equal wages and welfare, the right to take maternity leave, and protection from being lured into prostitution.

The majority of migrants are young people, so the government should allocate more money for the provision of facilities such as informal education and vocational training for these migrants. The increased human resources of young migrants will eventually rebound to the benefit of the country.

6.2.5. Promotion of Local Migration Networks

Local networks based on successful migration should be also promoted in addition to formal information services for job opportunities (see section 6.2.2 in this report). The findings from this study are consistent with previous migration studies, which showed the importance of migration information through local networks. News and information are passed on from previous migrants to the people in their rural villages. Relevant information passed on within these networks include experiences in migration, eventual success or failure, sources of employment, prospective incomes, and ways of living in destination places. The information passed on through these local networks is found to be most influential in decisions regarding whether to move and where to migrate.

We strongly recommend that local state offices make use of the local networks in promoting successful migration. Steps should be taken to facilitate people from the same areas living together at the destination places. Communication systems such as the telephone can also help prevent rural migrants' failure due to a lack of migration information.

6.2.6. Constructive Use of Remittances

How can the powerful government administration network encourage rural people to spend migrants' remittances towards the promotion of their quality of life? Migrants' incomes should be spent in a way that would strengthen the family institution, rural communities, and benefit the migrants themselves. Money should be directed towards human resource investments rather than just spent for consumption goods. Such income could also encourage rural people to retain possession of their lands. With the strong linkages between migrants and their families as well as their places of origin, migrants need never abandon their origins.

In conclusion, temporary migration will help promote the sustainability of both rural and urban communities of the nation through these recommended policies. Policies aimed at halting rural-urban migration, especially seasonal migration, are likely to place rural communities at a disadvantage.

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