



**Determinants and Impacts of International Labour Migration in
Rural Thailand**

by

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DECLARATION

I hereby declare that none of the material contained in this thesis has been accepted for the award of any other degree or diploma in an institution and that, to the best of my knowledge and belief, the thesis contains no material previously published or written by other person, except where due reference has been made in the text of the thesis. I consent to this thesis being made available for photocopying and loan, if applicable, and if it is accepted for the award of the degree.

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ABSTRACT

The main objective of the present study is to examine the social and economic impacts of international labour migration on villages in Northeast Thailand. Based on Hugo's migration impact framework, the study assesses the effects of overseas labour migration on the social and economic wellbeing of migrants, families and communities at the origin. The examination is made across three categories of migrants - single move migrants, repeat move migrants and premature return migrants. It is argued in this study that the socio-cultural context of migration at the origin has an important influence on the impact of migration in Thailand. The study uses information from a field survey conducted in 1994 to examine these impacts. The respondents were return migrants, heads of villages, spouses and relatives of migrants. The survey data were analysed along with a range of existing studies and information obtained from organisations involved in international migration.

The study begins with a historical review of patterns and impacts of international migration in various social and economic contexts in Thailand. It then shifts to an examination of impacts on the welfare of migrants, family structure and functioning and the village economy in rural Thailand. This study was not only able to underline the extent to which the livelihood of rural people is dependent upon international migration but was also able to examine social and economic changes occurring in villages as a result of movement. A temporary absence of a family member means an increased workload for those left behind, most notably women. However this absence also results in social and economic improvements for the family members in terms of remittances received from migrants. The economy of villages is also affected by the use of remittances by migrants and their families. Thus, in situations where international migration is important to the improved welfare of rural people, policy makers should attempt to stabilise, rather than to stop it.

GLOSSARY

<i>amphoe</i>	District
<i>baht</i>	Thai currency (20 baht = 1 A \$)
<i>changwat</i>	Province
<i>chanood</i>	Full freehold land title
<i>chao</i>	Princes or royal blood
<i>chav</i>	Buy
<i>cheiyu</i>	Out of date, conservative
<i>dip</i>	Immature
<i>ea tan</i>	Farming truck
<i>kamnan</i>	Head of sub district
<i>khunnang</i>	Noble
<i>kong fhawk</i>	Souvenirs
<i>kroum</i>	Group affiliation
<i>kum</i>	Square block on which houses are located
<i>kwany</i>	Buffalo
<i>kwany lek (iron buffalo)</i>	Power tiller
<i>moo</i>	Sub-village
<i>mooban</i>	Village
<i>na</i>	Rice field
<i>nai</i>	Master
<i>nam jai</i>	Hospitality
<i>nong</i>	Younger sibling
<i>ns 3</i>	Exploitation of testimonial title deed
<i>pak</i>	Region
<i>pee</i>	Elder sibling
<i>pa lai kit</i>	The cloth for which Udon Thani is famous
<i>pinto</i>	Catering services
<i>pra</i>	Buddhist charm
<i>phrai</i>	Free man, commoner
<i>pu yai ban</i>	Head of village
<i>rai</i>	Thai measurement (1 rai = 0.4 acres)
<i>Rajakitjanubeksa</i>	Royal Decree
<i>reing haw</i>	Wedding house
<i>sakdina</i>	Dignity marks
<i>sieha</i>	Bamboo mat
<i>somtum</i>	Thai salad
<i>tai na</i>	Ploughing
<i>tambon</i>	Sub-district
<i>tham jai</i>	A kind of pain relief tablets
<i>that</i>	Slavery
<i>vow</i>	Cow
<i>wai</i>	Respectable manner
<i>wat</i>	Temple

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION



1.1 Introduction

One of the most striking changes in Southeast Asia in the last two decades has been an increase in the scale and complexity of international migration. In this movement the most significant in its impact and scale has been international labour migration. Although the level of understanding of the scale, causes and consequences of this movement remains limited, several governments in the Southeast Asian region have encouraged the expansion of international labour migration as part of their strategy to enhance economic and social development. This is in spite of the fact that there is a considerable degree of uncertainty about the precise implications of international labour migration for development. The present study seeks to contribute toward such an understanding through an examination of the social and economic impacts of international labour migration upon village communities in Northeastern Thailand. It is hoped that by focusing in some detail upon a few communities that a deeper understanding of these impacts will be obtained.

Thailand is a particularly interesting country in which to undertake such a study since it has been sending out significant numbers of international labour migrants since the 1970s. The numbers have increased from a few thousand in the early 1970s to more than half a million at present. Over time the destinations have become more varied, illegal migration has assumed greater significance and the profile of migrants has diversified. The significant role of international migration in the development process in Thailand has been widely debated. In confronting a substantial balance of

payments deficit during the 1970s, Thailand encouraged international migration as one of a number of strategies to relieve that situation. In 1983 money remitted by migrants represented 11.3 per cent of Thailand's total foreign exchange earnings (Roongshivin 1985:149). In 1985, they amounted to more than 10 per cent of the value of commodity exports, and about equal to the value of the total balance of payments deficit in 1985 (Tingsabadh 1989:303). Hence it could be argued that in Thailand international labour migration was one of the elements in assisting the country in its transition from an overwhelmingly agricultural country to a rapidly industrialising and developing economy (Martin and Widgren 1996).

At the micro level, there are debates about whether migrants and their families received benefits from migration through remittances, new ideas, positive attitudes and values that are transferred by migrants based on ties between them and their families left behind. It is evident in studies such as those by Singhanetra-Renard (1992), and Roongshivin (1986) that a successful Thai migrant can upgrade his/her status and that of their families from being a farmer to a landlord within a couple of years of being abroad. However, little is known about the impacts of the international movement on migrants, their families and their community of origin. This study seeks to make a contribution in this area and also, on a more general level, to extend the limited body of theory which exists with respect to the consequences of international migration. It is also anticipated that the analysis of consequences of these flows in the Thai context can assist in the development of policies beneficial to migrants and their families.

1.2 Objectives of the Study

The main objective of the present study is to examine the impacts of international labour migration upon migrants, their families and communities of origin in the rural Thai context. In order to achieve these objectives, quantitative and qualitative information are collected at the individual, family and community levels. This study endeavours to understand the dynamic interactions between the macro and micro levels within the context in which international labour migration takes place. Using secondary data and from a survey of villages in Udon Thani province, this study attempts to extend our knowledge about international labour migration in the following areas:

- To establish the extent to which socio-economic and political pressures operate in a community to cause migration.
- To examine the operation of networks at the individual level and establish the extent to which they operate to sustain migration once it is initiated.
- To elucidate the role of recruiters in international labour migration and how migrants finance their movement.
- To investigate the extent of sending of remittances by migrants, the way they are sent and the patterns of use of those remittances.
- To examine the changes in the role and status of migrants before migration and after returning home.
- To assess the extent to which social changes in the origin areas are associated with migration, in particular changes in the role and status of women and in the structure and functioning of the family.

1.3 Defining International Labour Migration

This study follows the definition of international labour migrants of *Bilborrow et al* (1997:p.20):

'overseas contract migrants] are persons working in a country other than their own, under contractual arrangements that set limits on a period of employment and on the specific job held by the migrant. Once admitted, contract migrant workers are not allowed to change jobs and are expected to leave the country of employment upon completion of their contract...Depending on the circumstances, renewal of contracts may be possible, but migrants may have to return to their countries of origin before such renewal takes place, thus ensuring that long and uninterrupted stays in the country of employment do not materialize.'

Labour contract migrants work not only for income, but also the accumulation of social status (*Massey et al* 1993:441). Most migrants begin as target earners, seeking to earn money that will improve their status or well being at home (*Massey et al* 1993:442). The development of modern transport technology has allowed international migration to become more complex and more difficult to define accurately (*Stern* 1988:31). *Hugo* (1996:95) states that, 'the last two decades have witnessed economic and social change in Asia which is unprecedented in its pace and impact. An important element of this change, and both cause and consequence of it, has been the parametric increase in levels of population mobility, the complexity of their spatial patterning, and the diversity of the groups involved. This applies to the full spectrum of population movements-short and long distance, permanent and temporary, and movements to and between urban areas.'

Given the fact that international migration involves dealing frequently with bureaucracies in both sending and receiving countries (*Bilborrow et al* 1997:Chapter 2), most migrants are recruited by private recruiters who arrange the contract at the

destination and arrange the details at both origin and destination in return for their services (Lim 1994; Abella 1994; Martin 1996). They act as 'merchants of labor' who, for a fee, recruit, transport and supervise the workers desired by employers (Martin 1996:203). 'Both historically and today, middlemen, recruiters and transporters have been involved in the migration process. Today, these understudied middlemen - who might be considered as arbitrageurs of differences between international labor markets - play a role in much of the illegal labor migration that occurs, usually extracting a fee from migrant workers or their employers equivalent to 25 to 100 per cent of what the migrant will earn in his first year abroad' (Martin 1994:4). These recruiters emerge when they can recruit and organise migration more efficiently than employers themselves, no-fee employment service, or other labour-matching institutions (Martin 1996:203).

In Thailand, the government aims to export labour with the expectation of the large amounts of money being remitted back. They have encouraged the establishment of private recruiters to facilitate this. In the Fifth National Five-Year Plan on Thai overseas employment, the aim is 'to promote private, licensed recruitment agencies to carry out the business of labor export more effectively' (Roongshivin 1986:145).

1.4 International Labour Migration in Asia

In recent years, the world has witnessed a sharp increase in the number of international labour migrants, and this has especially been the case in Asia. This massive movement partly reflects the revolution of transportation and communication systems and changes in the immigration regulations of countries. According to Massey *et al* (1993:431-2), 'most of the world's developing countries have become diverse,

multi-ethnic societies, and those that have reached this state are moving decisively in that direction. The emergence of international migration as a basic structural feature of nearly all industrialised countries testifies to the strength and coherence of the underlying forces.' Bilsborrow *et al* (1997:1) state that international migration is a major feature of the late twentieth century. Similarly, Martin (1994:1) notes that, 'the world appears to be on the move. According to the United Nations (Bilsborrow *et al* 1997:Chapter 1), the number of international migrants, defined as persons living in countries other than those in which they were born was 120 million by 1990. However this is only an estimate, as Bilsborrow *et al* (1997:Chapter 1) state, 'we do not know how many international migrants there are, nor how many more there are each year. The (above) figures are only very rough estimates, derived from very different --and usually highly deficient--systems of estimation in different countries, and based on quite different and non-comparable definitions of what constitutes an "international migrant".

The processes of globalisation and rapid economic development promote international migration so that more countries are being influenced by international migration, both less developed and more developed. One of the most dramatic numerical increases however has been among Asians leaving for temporary employment in other countries (Hugo 1996:96; Lim 1994:128). According to the ILO (Lim 1994:127), the rapid changes in global social and economic structure have resulted in more than 11 million Asian workers moving as labourers in countries other than their own countries between the 1970s and 1980s. Table 1.1 shows official numbers of migrants deployed in the major Asian labour exporting countries to work overseas between 1971-1993. The Philippines and India are the major exporting

countries, sending nearly five and two million abroad respectively. Initially, the major destinations of Asian labour migrants were countries within the Middle East but recently the flow has changed direction more toward Asian countries such as Japan, Taiwan and Singapore (Lim 1994:128; Abella 1994:169). It is expected that this upward trend will continue well into the next century, challenging policy makers to examine the extent to which it affects social and economic conditions in the countries involved (Hugo 1996).

Table 1.1 Asia: Official Deployment of Workers, 1971-1993

Country	Year	Deployed overseas	Period	Total deployed
Bangladesh	1992	188,124	1976-92	1,163,496
Burma	1992	4,469	1989-92	35,248
India	NA	NA	1976-88	1,852,600
Indonesia	1992-93	172,157	1969-93	1,011,021
South Korea	1992	34,632	1963-92	1,884,606
Nepal	1992	1,720	NA	NA
Pakistan	NA	NA	1971-88	1,473,382
Philippines	1993	689,168	1984-93	4,917,660
Sri Lanka	1992	55,652	1979-92	420,201
Thailand	1992	81,759	1973-88	685,793
Vietnam	1992	60,067	NA	NA

Source: Hugo (1996:98)

1.5 Theoretical Background

1.5.1 Neoclassical Theory

According to Shackle (1957:XV), the concept of equilibrium arises from a belief that mutual balance is a necessary foundation for the understanding of all phenomenon. It exists as a result of the simple observation that individuals take care to adjust the scarce means at their disposal in order to obtain the maximum achievement (Fossati 1957:7). To achieve the maximum satisfaction from migration, an individual has to make a decision based on a balanced assessment of advantages and

disadvantages of mobility. Such an approach has been fundamental to many theories in the social sciences. Economics, for example, employs such a concept to explain the balance of demand and supply. This axiom of economic theory is used as a part of a great deal of migration theory.

Neo-classical economic theory suggests that international migration occurs due to inequalities in economic development. In other words, migration is working towards a situation of equilibrium (Hugo 1997). Surplus labour from less developed countries seek work in more developed countries where higher wages are offered due to labour shortages. Thus these movements are seen to reduce economic development inequalities between countries in several respects. Firstly, it helps to ease unemployment in the origin countries and fill labour shortages in the receiving countries. Secondly, the real wage in origin countries then rises while the wage in the destination countries drops and thus improves income distribution. Thirdly, it facilitates the development process in origin countries because of the influx of remittances which enhance national foreign exchange earnings. On the other hand, the economy of the destination country benefits because immigrants create some increase in demand which stimulates economic productivity in the process (Hugo 1997).

Of course a perfect equilibrium situation rarely, if ever, exists. Even in a completely free trade situation, not all people in less developed countries (LDCs) are allowed to move freely since the more developed countries (MDCs) tend to preserve specific jobs for their nationals. Hence it is the 3D jobs - difficult, dangerous and dirty jobs- which are often occupied by immigrants. Once immigrants have been recruited into particular occupations in significant numbers, those jobs become culturally

labelled as 'immigrant jobs' and native workers are reluctant to fill them, reinforcing the structural demand for immigrants (Massey *et al* 1993:453).

With respect to a micro approach Todaro (1989:279), Fawcett and Arnold (1987:468) explain migration within an investment framework. The benefit side of the equation considers variations between opportunities at alternative places and economic rewards in those places (Shaw 1975:56). Labour migration thus involves decision making of an individual migrant. A potential migrant is thought to weigh the costs and benefits of migration in terms of economic and non-economic factors such as transportation, wages, language, dietary practice and environment (Sjaastad 1962:83). In this manner, migration is a consequence of a rational and economically-based decision in which economic factors predominate. Labour movement according to this approach is influenced by the wage differences between countries. People are viewed as income earners, moving to where they expect to earn a better income than at their present residence (Todaro 1969, 1989). However, the probability of obtaining a job at the place of destination is as important as a high wage, according to Todaro's important modification of the theory.

The migration literature for developing countries (Hugo 1981; Wood 1982; Haberkorn 1981) maintains that much migration decision making is made by the family rather than individuals. The expected earnings at the destination thus refer to the collective expectations of each person within the family, rather than of the individual. Indeed, the family and community to which the migrant feels commitment are included in migration decision making (Hugo 1997). From this perspective, migrants will improve the social well-being of the family through the remittances sent to those left behind. Migrants will also bring back skills which are in some way useful to the local

community. Migration affects community development through 'the investment of migrant earnings in farmland and agricultural production. As households migrate abroad they gain access to high incomes that cannot be earned locally. These incomes are invested in such a way as to restrict local opportunities for production and employment, leading others to migrate, thereby giving them access to high earnings, which in turn are similarly invested, only to exacerbate further the pressures for migration from the community'(Massey 1990:12).

1.5.2 Historical Structuralist Perspective

As opposed to the neoclassical perspective, the historical structuralist perspective argues that migration can only be examined in the context of wider structural forces of politics, economics and history (Hugo 1991, 1997; Massey *et al* 1993; Wood 1982). The central idea is that of 'capital accumulation and expansion, a process rendered concrete through the analysis of specific classes and groups, and of the political and ideological movements that form the content of history' (Wood 1982:302). The explanation of population movements from this perspective must probe deeply into the pressures and counterpressures both internal and external to the national economy that lead to changes in the organisation of production. The social structure influences migration through its impact on the degree, and spatial distribution, of the demand for labour, and on the associated forms of labour recruitment and remuneration (Wood 1982).

From the perspective of the impact of migration, international migration is viewed as 'exacerbating international inequalities between countries even as it contributes to higher overall world production'(Hugo 1997:Chapter 8). The origin

countries are affected negatively since they lose educated and skilled labour while the receiving countries benefit from the immigrants. The development of the former is then 'hampered by the loss of young talented workers, which the nation has made a significant investment in, reducing innovation, development and growth. At the same time, it helps destination nations maintain their dominance of the world economy by utilising cheap labour which they have not had to educate or provide support for their families, and also by attracting the "brightest and best" of the skilled and talented workers for the country of origin' (Hugo 1997:Chapter 8).

1.5.3 Network Theory

In a field study, Festinger *et al* (1950) found that when residents were asked to list their best friends, next-door neighbours were mentioned 41 per cent of the time, those living two doors away were mentioned 22 per cent and people three doors away were mentioned as friends by only 10 per cent. These findings imply that the smaller the physical distance between two houses, the greater the probability that the residents would develop a friendly relationship.

While economic and political constraints are at the root of international migration, a significant factor in the continuation of the movement is the social networks. Massey (1988:396) defined networks as 'sets of interpersonal ties that link migrants, former migrants and non-migrants in origin and destination areas through the bonds of kinship, friendship and shared community origin'. Once established, networks operate independently of formal institutions and irrespective of policy interventions, either negative or positive. Hence it is argued that networks must be given full

consideration for a greater understanding of not only how people move but also for effective policy intervention (Hugo 1994:42).

The central idea of migration networks (Massey 1987, 1988, 1990; Massey *et al* 1993) is that migrants tend to move to areas where they have close kin, relatives and friends. As Massey (1988:396) has pointed out, 'networks increase the likelihood of movement because they lower the cost of relocation'. Social networks facilitate further international migration due to the fact that most migrants nowadays are not pioneers but follow in the footsteps of previous migrants. Migrants are linked to new ones in a complex net of interpersonal ties that channel migration (Massey 1987:734). Given the long distance involved in international migration, together with the often different languages and cultures at the destination, networks are extremely important in international movement as it helps migrants to reduce migration costs by providing assistance with transportation, accommodation, and increasing the opportunity to get a job at the destination.

In an explanation of the rapid increase in the migration of Mexicans to the United States, Massey (1987) found that experienced migrants guided friends or relatives across the border, lowering border-crossing fees and food and accommodation expenses by staying with a friend who had settled there earlier. The significance of this assistance is that these basic costs are higher than potential migrants can afford if they are travelling on their own. Since Mexican migration is highly circular, a new migrant often rides with those who are returning to the United States. In the United States, experienced migrants also provide new migrants with references for possible employers and accommodation. The special significance of pioneering migrants is therefore widely acknowledged. The first migrants who leave

for a new destination have no social ties to draw upon and for them migration is costly. Because of the nature of kinship and friendship structures, each migrant creates a set of contacts with people at the destination area. Once the number of migrants in a community reaches a critical level, migration becomes self-perpetuating because every new migrant reduces the cost of subsequent migration for a set of friends and relatives; with the lower costs, more people are induced to migrate, which further expands the set of people with ties abroad, causing some of them to migrate and so on (Massey 1990:8).

Goss and Lindquist (1995) employ a social accumulation approach to elucidate the migration phenomena in Philippines, as the migration process is a major concern. They (1995:335) propose that ‘...what has previously been identified as migrant networks may be conceived as migrant institutions that articulate, in a nonfunctionalist way, the individual migrant and the global economy, “stretching” social relations across time and space to bring together the potential migrant and the overseas employers’. ‘An international migrant institution is a relatively permanent feature of social life that results from the regularisation of social interaction for the purposes of overseas employment and which in turn regulates interaction and structures access to overseas employment through the operation of institutional rules and resources.’ (Goss and Lindquist 1995:336)

According to Goss and Lindquist (1995:335), central to this concept is the manner in which potential migrants employ their understanding of rules and conditions and exploit their access to allocative and authoritative resources within the migrant institution in order to obtain overseas employment. This migrant institution acts as a middleman who has responsibility for providing information and arranging the journey

for potential migrants and receiving a commission from the employers. This concept is applied successfully in the case of the Philippines and to some extent may also be applicable to the present study.

1.5.4 The Culture of Migration

According to Massey *et al* (1993:452; 1990:15), the culture of migration should be inserted in cumulative causation explanations of migration. This suggests that the growth of migrant numbers sustains itself and makes additional movement progressively more likely over time. A causation is cumulative in that each act of migration alters the social context within which subsequent migration decisions are made, typically in ways that make additional movement more likely (Massey *et al* 1993:451).

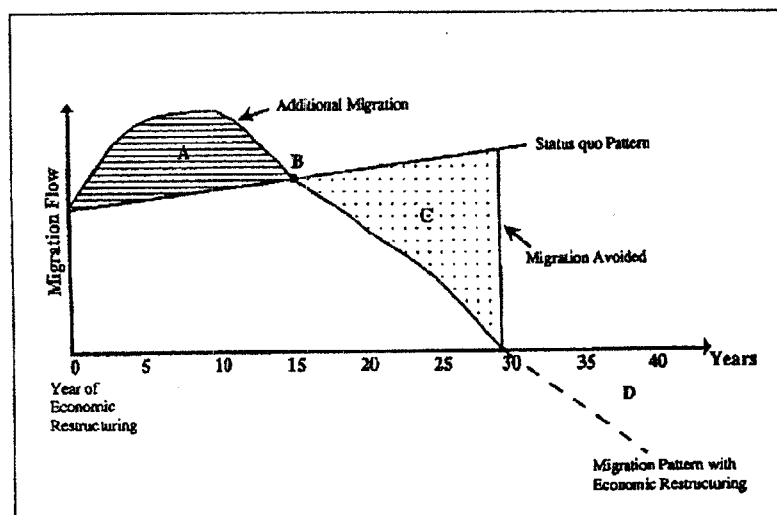
Most migrants are followers in the footsteps of kin who formed a migration path, fuelling migration over a period of time (Fawcett and Arnold 1987; Massey 1990). Thus 'as migration grows in prevalence within a community, it changes values and cultural perceptions in ways that increase the probability of future migration.' (Massey *et al* 1993:452). Migration then becomes 'deeply ingrained into the repertoire of people's behaviour and values' (Massey *et al* 1993:452) and is more likely to transmit from fathers to sons (Massey *et al* 1987).

1.5.5 The Migration Hump

A recent analysis of economic integration of North America and Mexico (Martin 1993a, 1993b, 1994, 1995) has put forward the idea of a migration hump which is the result of a hypothesised short-run relationship between migration and

economic adjustment to free trade (Figure 1.1). The migration hump is created in a situation whereby 'developing countries in the early stages of economic restructuring (and of the demographic transition) have a surplus of workers compared to their needs' (Hugo 1997:Chapter 8). This hump reflects 'the fact that economic reconstructing often displaces workers and promotes rural-urban migration. A country on the move economically is also awash with internal migrants, some of whom spill over its borders if there is already an established international migration pattern' (Martin 1994:11).

Figure 1.1 The Migration Hump



Source: Martin (1995: Figure 3)

It is shown in Figure 1.1 that once economic reconstructing begins, surplus labour tends to move to more developed countries (MDCs) where labour is short and wages are high. In simple terms, trade liberalisation permits the MDCs and developing countries 'to specialise in producing the goods in which they have a comparative advantage, and to satisfy their demand for other goods through trade' (Martin

1995:17). As trade proceeds, wages in the origin country will decrease, discouraging emigration and bringing migrants back home. The economic development becomes 'stay-at-home development' (Martin 1994:12). The country then changes its role from exporting to importing labour. This model can be applied in explaining the migration turnaround in many countries such as Germany, Italy, Spain and the United Kingdom (Hugo 1996, 1997; Martin 1993a:28).

1.6 The Context of the Study

According to Lim (1994:134), the recent scale, complexity and diversity of international labour migration are shaped significantly by demographic, economic, institutional, social and political processes. Migration is related to the developmental process through transfer of remittances, technology, knowledge, attitudes and values to the home area. These transfers are accumulated and reduce gaps between nations (Lim 1992). Stern (1988:28) notes that international migrations can be seen as social processes occurring within a social structure. Hugo (1990:26) states that 'there will be a continued rapid expansion in the number of Asian residents who see immigration of one kind or another as a real option to improve their life chances. Migration will become more institutionalised and reinforced by government policies and organisations and proliferation of private sector agencies facilitating migration for profit. The forces of globalisation of information culture and business will inexorably increase and will impinge on Asia as much as anywhere else in the world'.

From this perspective, migration should not be thought of only as a response to a certain cause but as to the full range of social, economic and political contexts in which migration emerges and these should be taken into account in any analysis

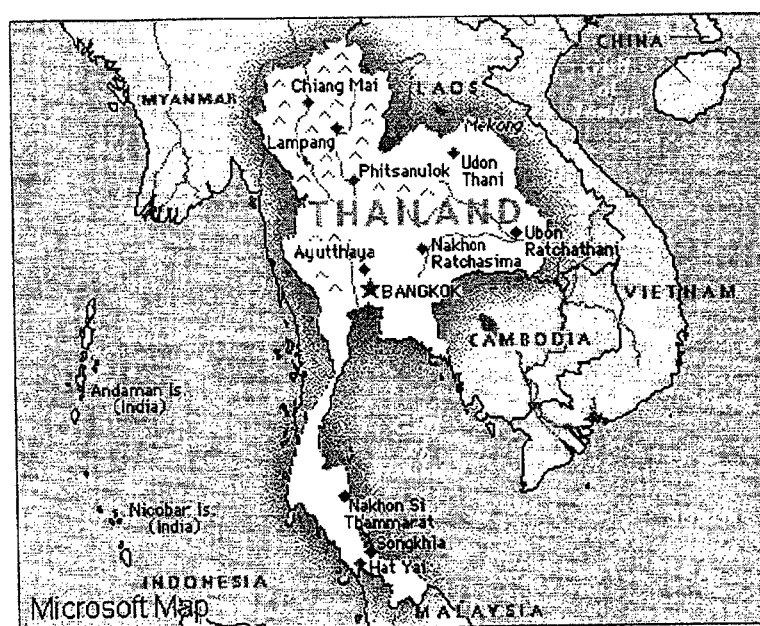
(Bedford 1992:44; Hugo 1981:190, 1996). In Thailand, the changes in production and export structure have had significant effects on international migration. As the country industrialises, the demand pattern for labour has changed while the supply structure changes more slowly. This leads to 'human resource imbalances at various levels, and also directly influences migration movements' (Sussangkarn 1995:239). Thus it is important to examine the social and economic context of Thailand that relate to international labour migration.

Thailand is located within mainland South-East Asia, except for the southern boundary, which occupies a portion of the Malay Peninsula (Figure 1.2). The country dimensions are about 1,770 km from north to south and about 805 km from east to west. The physiography is highly diverse, but mountain systems are the predominant feature of the terrain. A series of parallel ranges, with a north-south trend, occupy the northern and western portions of the country. Extreme elevations occur in the western ranges, which extend along the Burmese frontier and rise to 2,595 metres at Doi Inthanon (in Chiang Mai province), the highest point in Thailand. The country is surrounded by Burma to the north and west, by Laos to the north-east, by Cambodia and the Gulf of Thailand to the south-east, by Malaysia to the south, and by the Andaman Sea to the south-west. The total area of Thailand is 513,115 sq km.

The largest group of inhabitants of Thailand are Thai, a people who are thought to have originated in south-western China and migrated to South-East Asia at the beginning of the 1st millennium AD. A distinction exists between the Thai who occupy the central regions, and the Lao people of the north-western and eastern regions, who are related more closely to the people of neighbouring Laos. The Thai constitute about 53 per cent of the population; the Lao people make up about 27 per

cent of the population. The next largest group is the Chinese, making up about 12 per cent of the total population. Almost all of them are Thai nationals. Other minority groups include the Malay-speaking Muslims in the south, the hill tribes in the north, and Cambodian and Vietnamese refugees in the east. The population of Thailand is about 82 per cent rural.

Figure 1.2 Map of Thailand

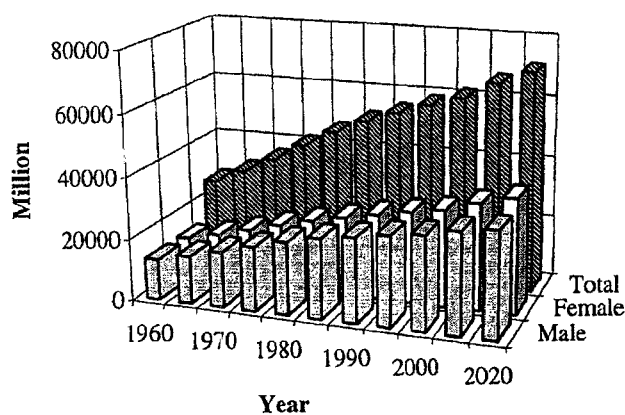


Source: Encyclopedia Encarta 1997

Figure 1.3 shows that in 1995 Thailand had a population of nearly 59 million, with a population density of about 115 persons per sq km. Compared to 1985, the population has increased at an annual growth rate of 1.4 per cent. It is estimated that the population will be seventy two million in 2020. Females slightly outnumber males. The Thai population is unevenly distributed with the greatest concentration of people

in the central region. Life expectancy at birth in 1995 averaged 68 years for men and 72 years for women (Institute for Population and Social Research 1997).

Figure 1.3 Growth of Population in Thailand



Source: Report of National Statistics Office (various issues)

During 1980s Thailand has been one of the world's fastest growing economies, with the growth of gross domestic product (GDP) averaging 9.4 per cent per year (Table 1.2). Although Thailand has long been among the more agriculturally rich of the Asian nations, there was a decrease in the share of the total economy made up of agricultural production from 26.9 per cent in 1975 to 16.8 per cent in 1985 and 10.8 per cent in 1995. The cultivation, processing, and export of agricultural products, especially rice, has traditionally been the mainstay of the Thai economy (Sussangkarn 1995:238). The government attempted to diminish its vulnerability by instituting a number of development programmes aimed at diversifying the economy and by promoting scientific methods of farming, particularly controlled flooding of the rice fields, so that the rice harvest can occur even in years of scanty rainfall. Stimulated by foreign investment, Thailand industrialised rapidly during the 1980s and early 1990s,

with high rates of economic growth rising to 7.5 per cent in 1993. Between 1985 and 1995 the value of Thai exports increased from 193 to 1,320 billion baht with an annual growth rate of 21.2 per cent (Sussangkarn 1995:239). Principal exports were textiles and clothing, electronic components, rice, rubber, tin, cassava, sugar, and prawns. The structural change in the economy has meant that labour which traditionally had agricultural jobs increasingly were displaced and many moved into the industrial sectors.

Table 1.2 Selected Economic Indicators of Thailand

Indicators	1985	1995	% Annual growth
Population (million)	52	60	1.4
GDP (1988 prices)	1,191	2,912	9.4
GNP per head (1988 prices)	22,731	48,000	7.8
Manufacturing share of GDP	22	31	
Gross Capital Formation (1988 Prices)	346	1,215	13.4
as % of GDP	29	42	
Exports (billion baht)	193	1,320	21.2
Manufactured exports	96	1,103	27.8
as % of Total	49	84	
Manufacturing employment (million)	2.0	4.2	7.7
as % of Total	8.2	12.6	

Source: Phongpaichit and Baker (1996:3)

In Thailand, education is free and compulsory for all children between schooling years 1 and 6, but the school facilities available, both public and private are insufficient to provide primary education for all eligible children. In the early 1990s primary schools numbered about 34,000, with 340,900 teachers and about 7 million pupils. More than 1,400 secondary schools with 103,000 teachers had about 2.2 million pupils, and at least 216 vocational and teacher-training schools were attended

by more than 38,500 students. An additional 424,000 students were enrolled in higher education institutions (Encyclopedia Encarta 1997).

The gross secondary enrolment ratio in 1990 was 29 per cent which was the lowest of all Asian countries (Sussangkarn 1995:224). In 1990, almost half of the children who finished primary education (Year 6) did not continue to secondary education (Sussangkarn 1995:244). In 1995, the government launched a cheap loans scheme for private investors to build more schools. The scheme also includes students who want to stay at school longer (Phongpaichit and Baker 1996:107). As there is a primary school in almost every village in the country, the government also has developed secondary education in primary schools in order to make access to secondary education easier. It is estimated (Sussangkarn 1995) that if the transition rate from primary to secondary education was 100 per cent, the gross secondary enrolment ratio would be 78.5 per cent in the year 2000 (Table 1.3).

Table 1.3 Projected Gross Enrolment Ratio (per cent), 1990-2000

	1990	1995	2000
Primary	94.6	98.3	99.5
Lower Secondary	36.3	73.0	95.4
Upper Secondary	22.0	29.5	62.4
Tertiary	10.3	11.8	19.9
Middle	29.2	51.1	78.5

Source: Sussangkarn (1995:224)

According to Sussangkarn (1995), Thai people currently view education as an investment in their future. They realise that people who continue their education after primary level have greater opportunities to get better jobs. Table 1.4 shows that the proportion of the Thai workforce who have secondary education and over has

increased dramatically from a low base. In contrast, those who have only primary education will decrease from 83 per cent in 1990 to 73 per cent in year 2000.

With respect to health services, the Department of Public Welfare is charged with disaster relief, child welfare, and protection of the disabled and destitute. Special programmes were initiated in the 1980s to assist the hill tribes of the north and the refugees from Vietnam and Cambodia in the east. In 1994 there were 12,520 doctors and 90,740 hospital beds.

Table 1.4 Projected Workforce Share by Education (per cent), 1990 - 2000

Education	1990	1995	2000
Primary	83.0	79.5	72.8
Lower Secondary	6.4	7.8	11.4
Upper Secondary	2.4	3.2	4.1
Vocational	2.7	3.1	3.8
Technical Vocational	1.2	1.6	2.2
University	4.0	4.6	5.4
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Sussangkarn (1995:225)

1.7 International Labour Migration Studies in Thailand

Although international migration in Thailand is not a new phenomena, literature in this area is limited. International migration is found in historical studies (Woods 1933; Skinner 1957, 1958; Terwiel 1983; Mucat 1994; Nathabaja 1924; Lysa 1984; Landon 1939; Ingram 1955). These studies provide statistics of international migration flows between Thailand and European countries and offer insights into changes in migration patterns over time. Among them, Skinner (1957, 1958) explains the coming and going of foreigners, notably Chinese in the context of international trade. He provides details of the settlement of Europeans and especially Chinese.

Other studies (Wyatt 1984; Koombirochana 1972; Nathabaja 1924) analyse international migration flows to Thailand in terms of economic development.

Several studies of international migration in Thailand were undertaken during 1970s. Although it was not until 1982 when the Overseas Employment Administration Office (OEAO) was set up to monitor labour migration from Thailand (Pongsapich 1991) that comprehensive data were maintained. The quality of data however still remains a major problem and several studies (Krajanyav 1982; Chiengkul 1986; Boonprokrob 1984; Sussangkarn 1995; Sussangkarn and Chalamwong 1996) note the poor quality of data as a major limitation in research in this area.

Given the limitation of official statistics, most of the body of knowledge in international labour migration is based upon data from surveys. Studies that use data from surveys (Pitayanon 1981, 1983, 1984; Pitayanon and Suwanasaeng 1982; Singhanetra-Renard 1992; Singhanetra-Renard and Prabhudhanitisarn 1990; Pongsapich 1991; Social Research Institute, Chulalongkorn University 1992; Tingsabadh 1989; Thosanguan 1985; Poapongsakorn 1983) provide details and insights regarding patterns, processes and consequences of the international movements. For example, Pitayanon (1981, 1983), Singhanetra-Renard (1992) and Singhanetra-Renard and Prabhudhanitisarn (1990), found that international labour migration contributed significant social and economic effects upon migrants and their families in terms of the use of remittances, ideas and skills acquired abroad. Overall it is found that migrant families are better off than stayers since remittances make up a major part of household income. The use of remittances stimulates community development when they are used productively such as in farming investment and to establish local business.

Among survey-based studies, one study conducted by authorities at the National Economic and Social Development Board (NESDB) (Roongshivin 1982) provides comprehensive details regarding consequences of international labour migration at both macro and micro levels. The results were published in subsequent papers (Roongshivin 1985, 1986; Roongshivin and Piyaphan 1983) in both Thai and English. These studies are referred to in many studies focusing on migration impacts (Tingsabhad 1989; Pongsapich 1991; Chiengkul 1986). The data from the survey were also analysed in the theses of Sawangdee (1983) and Saiyasopon (1988). Apart from these studies, the data were analysed in many unpublished papers (mainly in Thai). Some data were presented in a series of handbooks, monographs and pamphlets (such as A Handbook of Labour Statistics, August 1982).

During the 1990s, international labour migration in Thailand has attracted the attention of newspaper columnists in Bangkok Post (8 October 1995, 19 May 1996) and Far East Economic Review (17 October 1985, 16 September 1993, 27 January 1994, 24 March 1994, 14 April 1994, 16 June 1994, 28 July 1994, 1 September 1994, 29 September 1994, 6 October 1994, 30 March 1995, 23 May 1996, August 15 1996, 1 August 1996). Their comments and criticisms have been made based on existing studies, interviews with authorities and case studies. These articles often include the personal opinions and biases of both authorities and columnists.

1.8 Organisation of Thesis

This thesis is divided into nine chapters. This chapter has introduced the objectives of the study and provided some theoretical background to the study of international migration. The chapter presents the context of Thailand where migration

is occurring on a substantial scale. The studies of international migration in Thailand are also summarised.

The second chapter reviews the history of international migration in Thailand with particular focus on the patterns and impacts of the movement on the economy of the country. The social, economic and cultural contexts of movement are also reviewed briefly. Chapter Three introduces the methodology employed in this study. It discusses the sources of quantitative data available in Thailand in relation to international migration. The chapter also addresses the research design whereby data were collected to provide a comprehensive survey of international labour migration from rural areas. The limitations of the data sources and the accuracy of them are discussed.

Chapter Four presents a profile of the study villages and explores the livelihood of rural people for whom migration is a significant part of their lives. Chapter Five examines the occurrence of migration from the study villages and discusses the processes of migration based on data from the survey. The roles of private recruiters in international movement are investigated in association with migration fees and its determinants. The role of social networks in migration processes are also analysed.

Chapters Six, Seven and Eight examine the consequences of international labour migration for migrants, their families and communities. The examination is guided by a particular migration impact framework, while also focusing attention on social, economic and cultural factors. It examines impacts through adjustment of migrants and their families to the temporary absence of one (or more) persons and the effects they have upon their return. Chapter Six analyses remittances in terms of their forms, channels of sending and pattern of use. Chapter Seven investigates the impacts

upon the migrants themselves while abroad and upon their return. Chapter Eight pays attention to the impacts of remittances on families and community development. The major focus of this chapter is on the impacts on the family structure and functioning. The analysis in these three chapters addresses three categories of migrants - single move migrants, repeat move migrants and return migrants. In Chapter Nine, these findings are summarised and discussed. Implications for future research and migration policy are discussed.

1.9 Conclusion

This chapter has introduced the main objectives of the study in the context of migration theory. It explains the recent international labour migration situation within Asia, with a particular focus on Thailand. As an important country in Southeast Asia, Thailand has experienced international movements on a substantial scale for over two decades. The increasing scale has accompanied the change in social and economic development in the country. The chapter also reviews empirical theories from different viewpoints which are relevant to explaining international labour migration in Thailand. The international migration flows are quite complex so it is not possible to explain them by using a single simple concept. As Massey (1990: 17) stated 'A complete account of migration requires theories and data link larger social structures with individual and household decisions, connect micro-and macro level of analysis, and relate causes to consequences over space and time.' This suggests that migration analysis needs multilevel and longitudinal approach (Massey 1990:19) in order to bring together fragmented theories, data and understanding. It is hoped that this study will advance knowledge in relation to migration impacts in Thailand.

CHAPTER 2

THE HISTORY OF INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION IN THAILAND

2.1 Introduction

The historical dimension in the study of Asian international migration has been neglected in the literature. It is shown in this chapter that the historical perspective provides many helpful insights into contemporary international migration in Thailand. Kritz and Zlotnik (1992:4) state that '...a historical perspective on migration allows one to identify the pattern of interactions between migration and on the one hand, structural conditions in the countries of origin and destination within a system and, on the other, economic and political linkages between these countries.' This chapter presents an overview history of patterns of international migration in Thailand from around the seventh century. The evidence reviewed is mainly obtained from diaries written by foreign visitors, which are collected by the National Library and scholars dating back to the establishment of the country. The evidence is scattered and only limited statistical material can be presented. The chapter also discusses the context in which the historical migration occurred.

2.2 The Establishment of the Country

Although the history of Thailand before the fourteenth century is obscure, there is general agreement on the broad outlines of a lengthy migration of Thai-speaking peoples from South China to Southeast Asia almost three thousand years ago¹ (Muscat

¹ This topic is still in debate. Evidence found in Ban Chieng, Udonthani in the 1980s shows that there were people living in this area more than five thousand years ago. Indeed, there were many groups of people speaking the Thai language scattered around who could be the ancestors of people speaking Thai (see Wyatt 1984). Most importantly, the dinosaur fossil discovery in Sahakan district of

1994:1) (Figure 2.1). Wood (1933) states that in the year 585 B.C. the Chinese Empire did not extend further south than the River Yang-tse. The region, south of that river was occupied by barbarians who were Tai (the ancestors of Thais). They settled in the provinces of Kwangtung, Kwangsi and Kweichow, where many of their descendants are still alive (Griswold and Nanagara 1975:30).

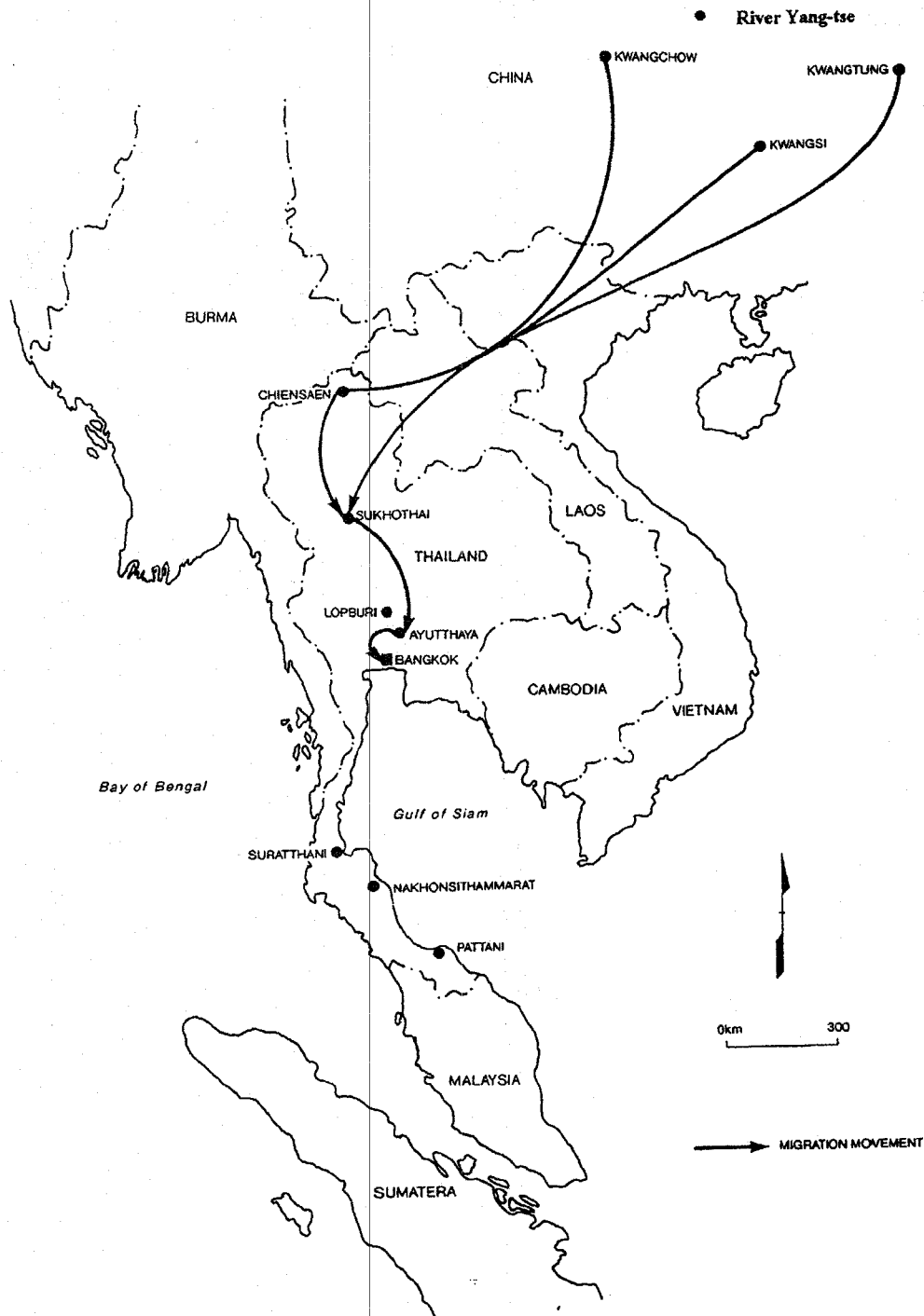
After being defeated by the Chinese in A.D.78, 553,711 Thais migrated southward to the Shan States (in Burma). They spread out and migrated to Siam (the former name of Thailand) in two major groups - Tai yai, settled in Chiangsaen within the Shan States and Tai noi, settled in the North of Thailand (Wood 1933). The former were independent in A.D. 650 and formed themselves into a powerful kingdom known as Nanchao (see Wyatt 1984). The Tai noi on the other hand, settled in the province called Sukhothai which then was a part of the Khmer Empire (Figure 2.1). For a long period Siamese were ruled by their own lords as vassals of the Khmer Empire. It seems likely that Siamese far outnumbered the Khmer in the region (Griswold and Nanagara 1975:31).

About 1238, two Thai chiefs conquered the Khmer and entered the town of Sukhothai. According to Griswold and Nanagara (1975:42), Thais at first lived in small, tightly knit communities, extending less than sixty miles in any direction from Sukhothai. As their power and wealth increased the communities expanded to become a city, a province, a principality and finally a kingdom which was bigger than France. By the end of the thirteenth century the kingdom included the greater part of Malay Peninsular, lower Burma and a large part of Laos. (This excludes Chiang Mai, part of the northeast, and Lopburi.) This great expansion was partly the result of receiving

Kanlasin, Northeast Thailand in 1994, as well as the discovery of fossils of jaws and teeth of monkeys aged 40 million years ago in Southern Thailand may soon extend our knowledges in this topic

Thais from Nanchao after they were defeated by Kublai Khan in 1253 (Wood 1933:52).

Figure 2.1 Historical Movement of Thais



(Bangkok Post 30 January 1997).

2.3 The Development of International Migration in Thailand

Thais are historically international migrants from south China. Since then, Thailand has continued to experience international migration and developed a relationship with foreign countries both European and Asian. This section reviews the history of international migration in Thailand which has occurred since the seventh century and in doing so, it is important to divide the history into three major periods according to the movement associated with its capitals - Sukhothai (1238-1350), Ayutthaya (1350-1782) and Bangkok² (1782-1960). Social and economic contexts during each period are also briefly reviewed.

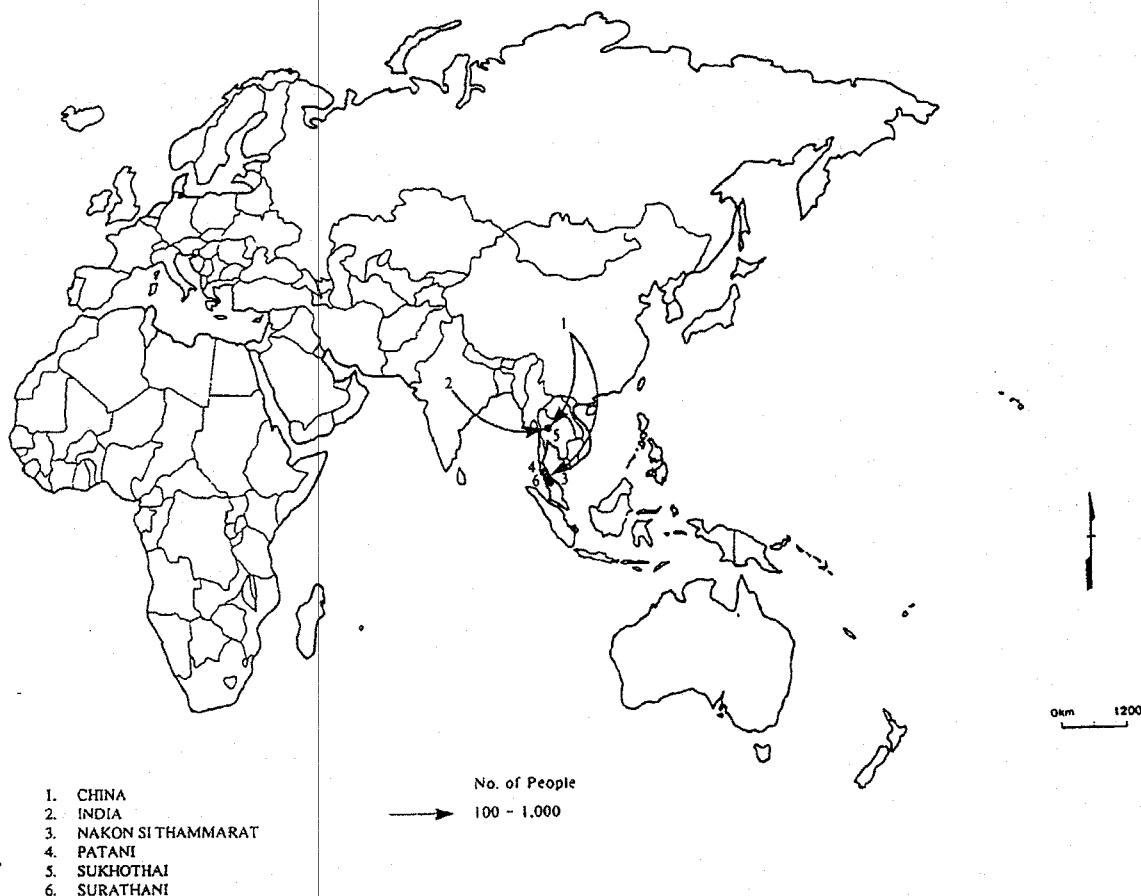
2.3.1 Sukhothai (1238 - 1350)

International migration in Thailand occurred during the seventh century when Thailand sent an ambassador to conclude a treaty of friendship with Kaotsong, the third Emperor of the Tang Dynasty (Griswold and Nanagara 1975:31). There was no evidence to indicate whether or not the Chinese sent persons back in response to that visit. The discovery of Chinese tableware in Cambodia (Skinner 1957: Chapter 1) however, suggests that such mobility did occur.

International movements between Thailand and China were clearly evident by 1282 when a Chinese Mandarin arrived in Thailand to negotiate a treaty (Figure 2.2). In response to the visit, Thailand sent tributary missions to Peking in 1296, 1297 and 1299 (Skinner 1957:6). Wood (1933:53) reports that in 1289 one Thai independent state, namely Lavo (Loburi province) had also sent an embassy to China. Further tributary missions followed in 1314, 1319 and 1323.

² The era still continues to the present.

Figure 2.2 International Migration Flows to Thailand, 1238-1350



As engraved in a stone inscription, Thailand advertised inducing foreigners to settle within the kingdom (Akin 1975:94). As a result, a group of skilled Chinese potters were imported by the King to make the famous painted stoneware, called *Sawankalok*. Another Chinese group also came in after the death of the King. Both groups were imported in order to take advantage of the demand for ceramics in export markets in Indonesia and the Philippines (Griswold and Nanagara 1975:55).

Thailand also had relationships with the neighbouring countries of Burma, Laos and Cambodia. The mobility of people between Thailand and these countries was largely due to trade. The numbers involved however were not recorded. One significant consequence of the opening up of relations with Cambodia was that Thailand adopted some of the Khmer alphabet and rendered them suitable for writing

Thai words in 1283. This alphabet is essentially the same as that in use to the present day (Table 2.1).

Table 2.1 Experience of International Migration in Thailand³

Causes	Consequences	Countries involved	Year	Reference
War	-Acceptance alphabets	Cambodia	1283	Wood (1933), Skinner (1957:3)
Maintain relationship	- Famous Stoneware, 'Sawankalok'	China	1294	Skinner (1957:2), Wood (1933: 55)
Maintain relationship	- Hindu religion	India	14 th century	Griswold and Nanagara (1975:49), Wales (1965:3), Wood (1933:59)
War	-Sakdina (dignity marks)	Neighbouring countries such as Cambodia, Laos	1454	Akin(1969:178,1975:95), Skinner(1957:Ch1), Wood(1933),Wales (1965), Ingram (1955:62)
Trade	- Treaty	Portugal	1511	Wood (1933:97)
Trade	- Treaty	Netherlands	1664	Wood (1933:97)
Politics	- Rebel	Japan	1610	Skinner (1957:8)
Trade	- Found British East India	Great Britain	1620s	Skinner (1957:8)
Trade	- Treaty	French	1685	Skinner (1957:13), Wales (1965:66), Wood (1933:187)
Trade	- Strong economy, rice export	China	Late 17th century	Skinner (1957), Ingram (1955), Wood (1933)
Low population (Immigration campaign)	- 300,000 Chinese - 42,000 Peguers - 50,000 Khmers - 15,000 Malays	Chinese Cambodia Malaysia	1825	Skinner (1957), National Library (1915:102)
Immigration Campaign	- Opium problem	Chinese	1830s	Skinner (1957:Ch 2)
Trade	- Bowring Treaty	Great Britain	1855	Skinner (1957:Ch2), Muscat (1994:4)
Trade	- Glass factories	China	1860s	Bowring (1857:237)
Trade/ Development	- Reforming administration	Britain French	1889	Terwiel (1983), Ingram (1955:70), Skinner (1957:213)
Viet Nam War/ oil shock	- Sanction of Chinese in rice trade - Substantial numbers of contract labour migration - Remittances	China Middle East	1970s*	Singhanetra-Renard (1992), Roongshivin (1986)

Note: * denotes the beginning of the period of emigration from Thailand

A carved inscription indicates that during the fourteenth century Thailand had relations with countries to the west. Wales (1965:3) mentions that Thailand during the early fourteenth century had contacted India, causing the penetration of Indian cultural influences to Thailand. Some people (especially the king and nobles) were patrons of

Hindu cults which were strengthened during this time (Griswold and Nanagara 1975:49; Wales 1965:3; Wood 1933:59).

2.3.2 Ayutthaya (1350 - 1782)

During the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, Thailand had little contact with the west (Ingram 1955:6) because it fought many battles such as in 1352 with Cambodia and in 1593 with Burma. Each lasted, off and on, for more than a decade. According to Wood (1933:97-9), Portugal established slight contact with Thailand in the sixteenth century. In 1511, Portuguese representatives arrived in Thailand and were accompanied by a Thai ambassador when they returned home. A second and third visit in 1512 and 1516 resulted in the endorsement of a treaty which allowed them to reside and carry on trade in Thailand. In addition, the first Portuguese missionary arrived in Thailand in 1609 and in the same year, a Thai ambassador was sent to the Portuguese Viceroy at Goa.

Other Europeans did not overlook Thailand. In the early seventeenth century, Dutch merchants began moving to Thailand. In response, Thai ambassadors were sent to Holland and were received in audience by Prince Maurice of the Netherlands in 1608. A treaty was signed in 1664, allowing the Dutch to obtain a sole monopoly of trade. At this time friendly relations were still maintained with Portugal.

Thailand also had a relationship with Japan through the exchange of several ambassadors. Consequently, a large number of Japanese settled in Thailand and some were appointed to be the King's⁴ bodyguard (Skinner 1957:8). These Japanese later

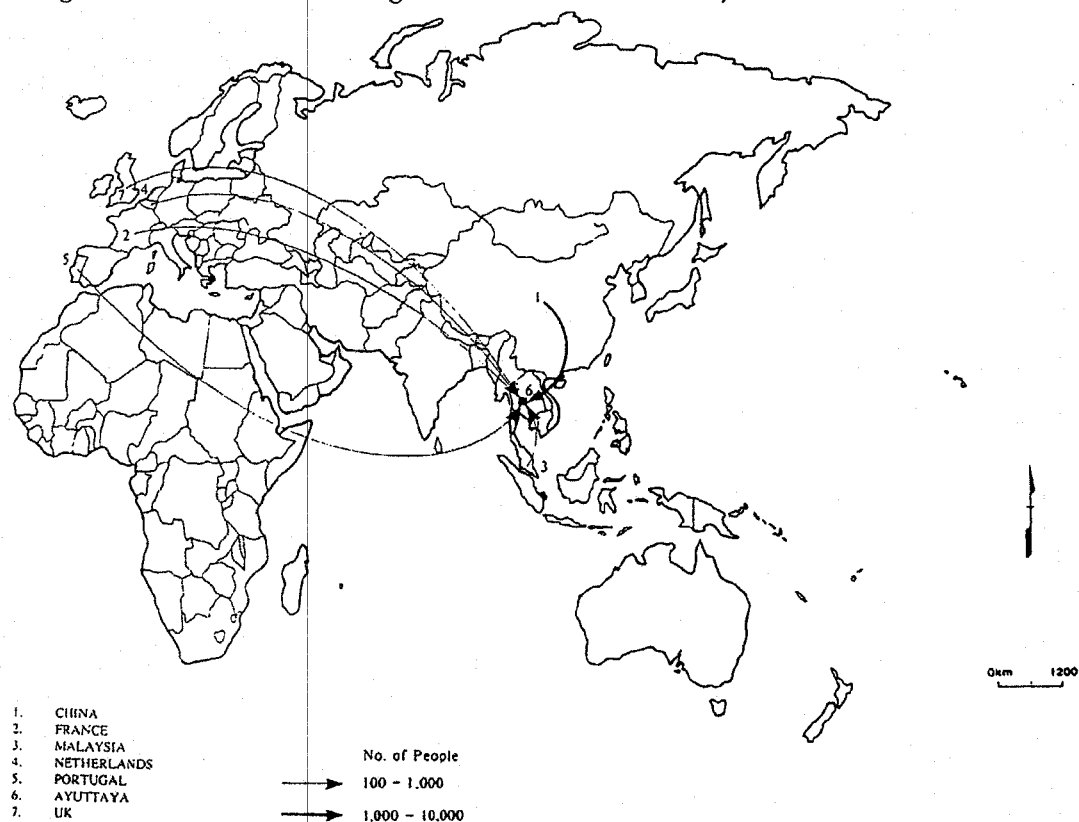
³ Causes and consequences of international migration presented here are summarised from the literature of Thai history and are only small parts of it. Indeed, there are many other causes and consequences of international migration in Thailand which are not mentioned.

⁴ King Ekathotsarot (1605-1620 see also Appendix I)

rebelled under the leadership of some corrupt Thai chiefs and were expelled from the kingdom thereafter.

In the 1620s, foreigners - British, Dutch, Portuguese and Japanese - were very active in Thailand. The British for example founded the East India Company in the capital (Ayutthaya) and Patani during this decade (Figure 2.3).

Figure 2.3 International Migration Flows to Thailand, 1350-1782



The number of foreigners who settled in Thailand (apart from natives of neighbouring countries) was estimated by La Loubere (1693 cited in Wales 1965:65; Skinner 1957:13) to include three or four thousand Arabs, Portuguese, Chinese and Malays. In 1662, the first French Bishop arrived in Thailand, resulting in the first treaty being signed on December 19, 1685. The treaty resulted in 600 French soldiers and 300 officers moving to Thailand. Most of them remained in Thailand but many died of fever.

Foreign contact with Thailand carried on until the mid-eighteenth century. Compared to the large number of Chinese who were domiciled in the royal city, the number of European contractors was relatively small. Skinner (1958:4) estimates that the Chinese population in Thailand was about 10,000 in the 1660s, but increased sevenfold during the late seventeenth century (1767). International mobility of Thais and Chinese occurred along trade routes (Wood 1933; Ingram 1955; Skinner 1958). Several missions were sent to the Emperor of China and were well received by the Emperor and Empress. In addition, several ambassadors were sent to China, and several Chinese envoys also visited Thailand (Table 2.2).

Table 2.2 Number of Tributes Sent Overseas, 1368 - 1709

Period	Years	Number of tributes	Average per decade
1368-1404	37	14	3.9
1405-1433	29	8	2.8
1434-1499	66	12	1.8
1500-1579	80	9	1.1
1580-1619	40	3	0.8
1620-1655	36	7	1.9
1656-1688	33	5	1.5
1689-1709	21	1	0.5
Total	342	59	1.6

Source: Skinner (1957: 6, 12)

Chinese political prisoners were among the earliest immigrants to Thailand. They escaped from China and fled to Patani, a southern province of Thailand and by attacking the inhabitants claimed land of their own. Skinner (1957) reported that around two thousand Chinese moved to Patani and settled down (Gerini 1905 cited in Skinner 1957:3). In the 1610s, these Chinese immigrants while serving as officials in the Patani government, recruited a large number of Chinese to settle in Patani. It is argued however that the Chinese discovered the South of Thailand when Chinese

trades were included in trans-peninsular trade destined for India and further west. They may have visited Surathani, or Nakhon sithammarat where their cargoes were unloaded for trans-shipment overland in time for the Northeast monsoon and back with the opening of the Southwest monsoon (Nunn 1922:80) (Figure 2.2).

2.3.3 Bangkok (1782 - 1960)⁵

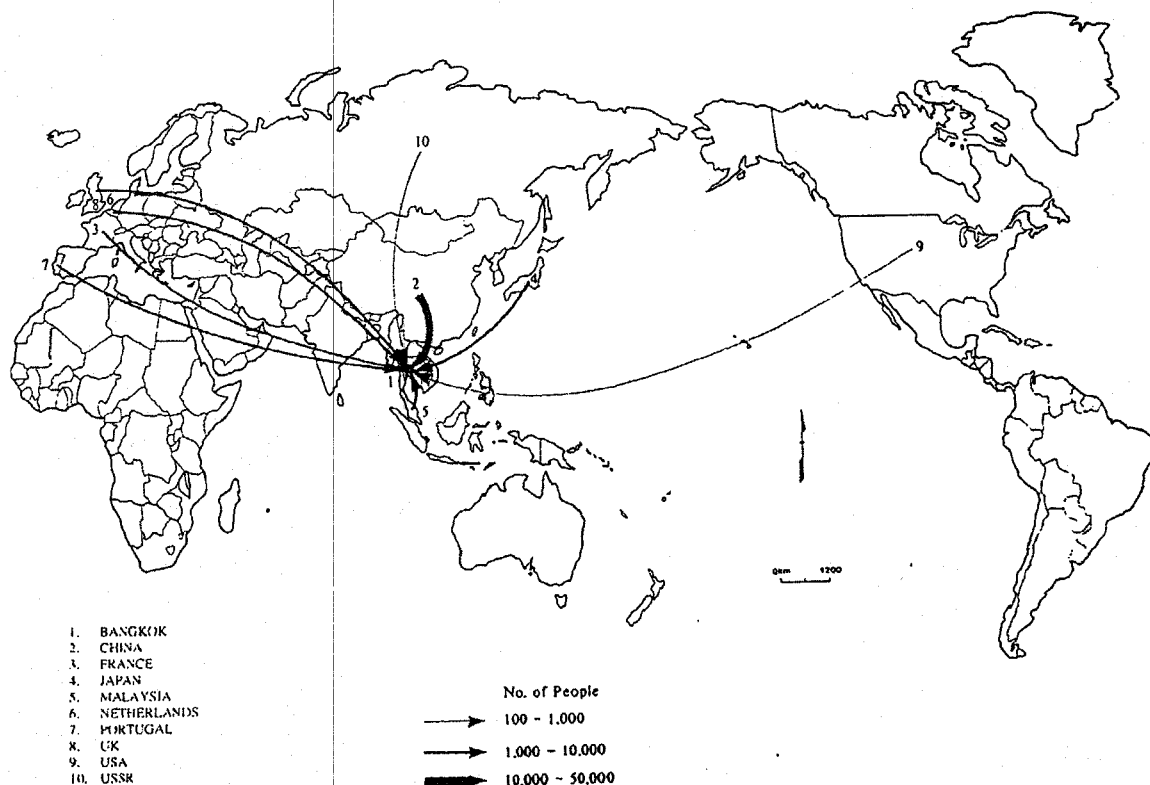
In 1782, the capital of Thailand was moved to its present location, making the country more accessible to foreigners. The British seemed to have more contact than others, and they introduced the Burney Treaty in 1826 (Wood 1933:277) aimed at dominating the internal trade of Thailand (Figure 2.4). Guided by this treaty, Thailand concluded the Bowring Treaty⁶ with Great Britain in 1855 (Skinner 1958:33-4). It is believed that Thailand had to sign this treaty since the King and his associates realised that the traditional Thai polity and economy would have to fundamentally change to avoid losing its independence to European colonialism (Ingram 1955:33; Riggs 1966:58). However, Muscat (1994:4) notes that the provisions of the Bowring Treaty were negotiated within the general context of the European colonial advance in Asia, not under direct pressure.

Under the Bowring and subsequent treaties, Thailand lost most areas of present day Laos to the French, and the Malay sultanates to the British. In relation to migration, Thailand being surrounded by the French and British had to accept foreign immigrants for the purpose of trade and some were employed as the King's advisers. The British were given the right to trade freely in all seaports, and to reside permanently in Bangkok. They were allowed to buy and rent property and they were

⁵ See Singhanetra-Renard (1981, 1982) for international mobility between Thailand and neighbouring countries.

free to move around in an area not more than four miles from city walls or less than twenty four hours' journey from the city (calculated at the speed of native boats). The British were also allowed to travel freely in the interior with passes provided by the consul (Skinner 1958:34).

Figure 2.4 International Migration Flows to Thailand, 1782-1960



The treaty had a dramatic impact upon life in Thailand. In early 1857, Bradley (1863 cited in Terwiel 1983:180) counted thirty three vessels in port and about as many in the mouth of the Chao Praya River. By 1860, Guehler (1949:151) states that 'the river offered a picture of lively activities with many boats, sailing vessels, steamships plying thereon, at all times, from sunrise to sunset'. In 1856 there were 141 vessels; in 1857 there were 204, and in the following year these numbers gradually rose

⁶ The treaty was named after the British negotiator who became a close friend of the King (see Koopirochana 1972).

to three or four hundred vessels (see Lysa 1984:52; Wilson 1970 cited in Terwiel 1983:180).

The King encouraged international movements and had an extensive knowledge of foreign languages and western science (Riggs 1966:104). He imported Mrs. Anna Leonowens to teach his children⁷ (Ingram 1955:2; Terwiel 1983:190-1; Siffin 1966:44). Some wealthy Thais began sending children abroad for education.

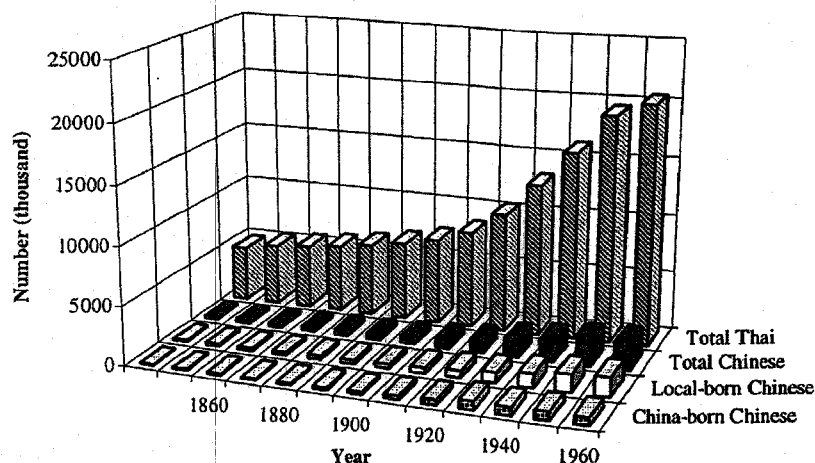
Bowring (1857:237- 40) observes that 600 foreign goldsmiths were hired in glass factories. Although he did not directly mention what nationality they were, the number of Chinese immigrants associated with the scarcity of craftsmen in Thailand in the 1850s suggest that they were most likely to be Chinese.

Thailand during the 1868-1910 period was still very sparsely inhabited (the population density was 25-30 per square mile.) The population of Thailand in 1850 was 5-6 million with no population growth having occurred for some time (Bowring 1857:56; Pallegoix 1854 cited in Ingram 1955:7). To meet the shortage of labour, the government encouraged Chinese immigration on a greater scale than ever before (Figure 2.5 and Table 2.3). The Chinese had an advantage over other nationals because: (1) they had been more successful in trading rice with Thais than other western traders and (2) the Chinese had progressed farther in assimilating with Thai society (Muscat 1994:25).

Accordingly, the Chinese far outnumbered other foreigners. Crawford (1823 cited in National Library 1915:10) when he visited Bangkok in 1823, observed that the principal foreigners in Thailand consisted of Peguers (42,000), Khmers (50,000), Chinese 7000,000 and Malays (15,000).

⁷ Mrs. Anna Leonowens after leaving the country, wrote of her experiences in Thailand, which was later produced into a film, called *The King and I*.

Figure 2.5 Increase in Number of Chinese Immigrants



Source: Compiled from Skinner (1957:79, 183)

Table 2.3 Growth of the Chinese Population in Thailand (thousands)

Year	Total Chinese	Total Siamese	Per cent of all Chinese
1825	230	4,750	4.8
1850	300	5,200	5.8
1860	337	5,450	6.2
1870	383	5,775	6.6
1880	435	6,200	7.0
1890	497	6,670	7.5
1900	608	7,320	8.3
1910	792	8,305	9.5
1917	906	9,232	9.8
1922	1,079	10,202	10.5
1927	1,333	11,419	11.7
1932	1,592	13,087	12.2
1937	1,734	14,721	11.8
1942	1,876	16,066	11.7
1947	2,124	17,643	12.0
1952	2,251	19,384	11.5
1955	2,315	20,480	11.3

Source: Skinner (1957:79, 183)

The Chinese population had probably reached 230,000 in 1825 and 300,000 at the time of the Bowring Treaty, or 5-6 per cent of the total population of 5.8 million (Skinner 1958:4). According to Skinner (1958:10), between 1882 and 1910 roughly a million

Chinese migrated to Thailand, of which 370,000 stayed permanently. The Chinese population in Bangkok alone was between 200,000 and 300,000. Skinner (1958) reports that approximately 1.5 million Chinese left China for other Southeast Asian countries between 1918-1931 and 55 per cent emigrated to Thailand.

A significant impact of Chinese immigration on the Thai economy was an increase in rice exporting. Crawford (1823 cited in National Library 1915) states that 'outside Bengal, Siam unquestionably exported more rice than any other country in Asia'. There was a rapid increase in rice production after the Bowring Treaty (Table 2.4 and Figure 2.6).

Table 2.4 Volume and Value of Rice Export ^a, 1857-1951

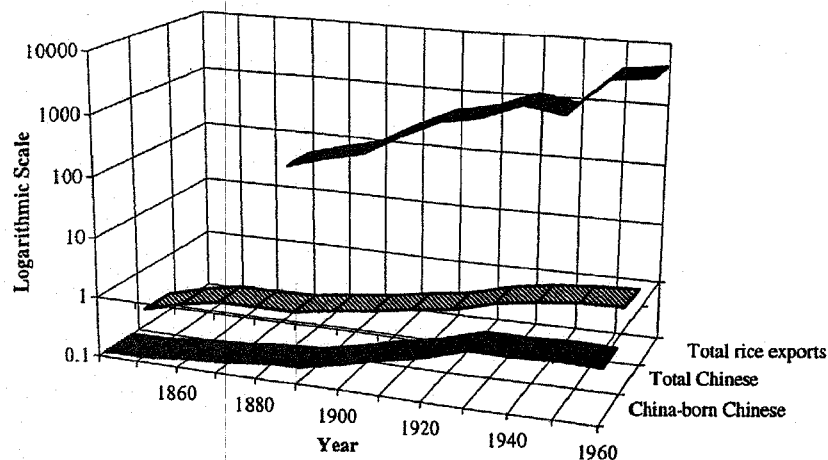
Period	Volume (thousand Piculs ^b)	Value (million baht ^c)	Total Exports (million baht)
1857-59	990	na.	na.
1860-64	1,840	na.	na.
1865-69	1,630	na.	na.
1870-74	1,870	5.11	49.62
1875-79	3,530	10.11	75.95
1880-84	3,580	9.61	82.78
1885-89	5,320	15.08	109.12
1890-94	7,250	23.78	165.51
1895-99	8,000	36.41	251.93
1900-1904	11,130	61.28	390.79
1905-09	14,760	81.02	515.89
1910-14	15,220	81.23	492.67
1915-19	15,790	108.14	690.59
1920-24	17,680	115.35	849.20
1925-29	23,390	169.60	1,232.52
1930-34	25,720	91.24	764.93
1935-39	25,370	94.57	933.04
1940-44	13,250	99.32	823.61
1945	na.	na.	na.
1946	7,580	267.34	449.86
1947	6,535	384.60	1,091.34
1948	13,540	1,255.35	2,484.35
1949	20,260	1,869.41	2,981.01
1950	24,820	1,996.19	3,922.00
1951	26,290	2,223.61	4,652.00

Note:(a)All figures represent the total rice and paddy. Paddy comprises a very small per centage of the total. (b)1 Picul = 60 kilograms or 132 pounds. (1 metric ton = 16.67 piculs)

(c)The exchange rate during that time was obscure. (20 baht = 1 A \$)

Source: Ingram (1955: 38); Total exports are summed up from pp. 240-242

Figure 2.6 Relationship Between Rice Export and Number of Chinese (million)



Note: Approximate Value

Source: Compiled from Table 2.3 and 2.4

Total exports rose from 5 per cent of the total crop in 1850 to 50 per cent in 1907

(Ingram 1955:41). Ingram (1955:55) explains that...

'the extension of riceland has been the major entrepreneurial achievement of the Thais. They left most other entrepreneurial functions to foreigners. The cultivation of rice is an ancient and honourable occupation to the Thais, however, and they seem to have preferred it to all others.... The Thai has preferred the communal life of the village, and it is not easy to break the ties of culture and tradition which have induced him to become a rice farmer..'

Almost all processing (as distinct from production) of rice was under the control of the Chinese. For example, of the 23 rice mills located in Bangkok in 1889 (Ingram 1955:70), 17 were owned by Chinese; of the 66 in 1919, 56 were also owned by Chinese. Some rice mills which had been operated by Europeans were eventually sold to Chinese (MacNair 1926 cited in Skinner 1957:213). During the following decade the number of rice mills in Bangkok rose to seventy one. By 1950, the number stood at 925 and reached 960 in 1957. Although some were not Chinese owned the general managers were Chinese.

An unwanted effect of Chinese immigrants on Thailand was that they brought in opium. It appears that opium almost exclusively was consumed by Chinese immigrants. According to Terwiel (1983:143-4), in 1838 Thai soldiers were able to catch one Chinese smuggler. Through him, most opium traders were arrested, leading to the promulgation of laws against the sale and use of the drug.

During the 1930s, Chinese immigrants stopped coming to Thailand because of the Depression and restrictions imposed by the Thai government (Ingram 1955:211). Western-trained Thai intellectuals returned home after a policy of nationalism was promulgated. A significant indicator of this appeared in 1939, when the elite changed the name of the country from Siam to Thailand so as to emphasise the ethnic basis of the national state (Muscat 1994:39). They also promulgated a policy of economic discrimination against the Chinese⁸. Special taxes were introduced for the Chinese only. In the early 1940s, regulations were issued that had the effect of preventing Chinese from owning land and producing rice, forestry and a number of professional occupations (Muscat 1994:40; Landon 1939). De Young (1958:107) gives an example of the anti-Chinese feeling in Thailand:

'...the Thai peasant calls all Chinese peddlers *chek*, a somewhat derogatory Thai word for Chinese, and the villagers describe the peddler, when he is not present, as a sharp dealer who will try to cheat the village buyer whenever possible. In larger villages where Chinese shop keepers or mill owners live, they are likely to have to marry local Thai women, and children are considered Thais by the villagers.....The Chinese moneylender has been presented as an 'unconscionable usurer', bleeding the Thai peasant.'

Economic policies in the postwar era have been strongly affected by economic differentiation between the overseas Chinese minority and the indigenous majority. These differentials have been adopted from time to time to reduce the relatively strong

economic position of the Chinese (Muscat 1966, 1994:25). The major components of the policy, according to Skinner (1957:354-82) were: (1) economic assistance to, and vocational education for, ethnic Thais; (2) economic restrictions on aliens; (3) an expansion of the state's role in industry; and (4) encouragement of semi-governmental 'Thai enterprises' in commerce and finance.

2.4 International Labour Migration in Thailand

This section examines patterns and economic impacts of international labour migration on domestic labour and the economy of Thailand after the middle of the twentieth century. It presents the general migration situation in Thailand based on data obtained from the Ministry of Labour and Social Welfare (MLSW) and the National Statistics Office (NSO). Existing studies relating to international labour migration are also referred to.

2.4.1 Pattern of International Labour Migration

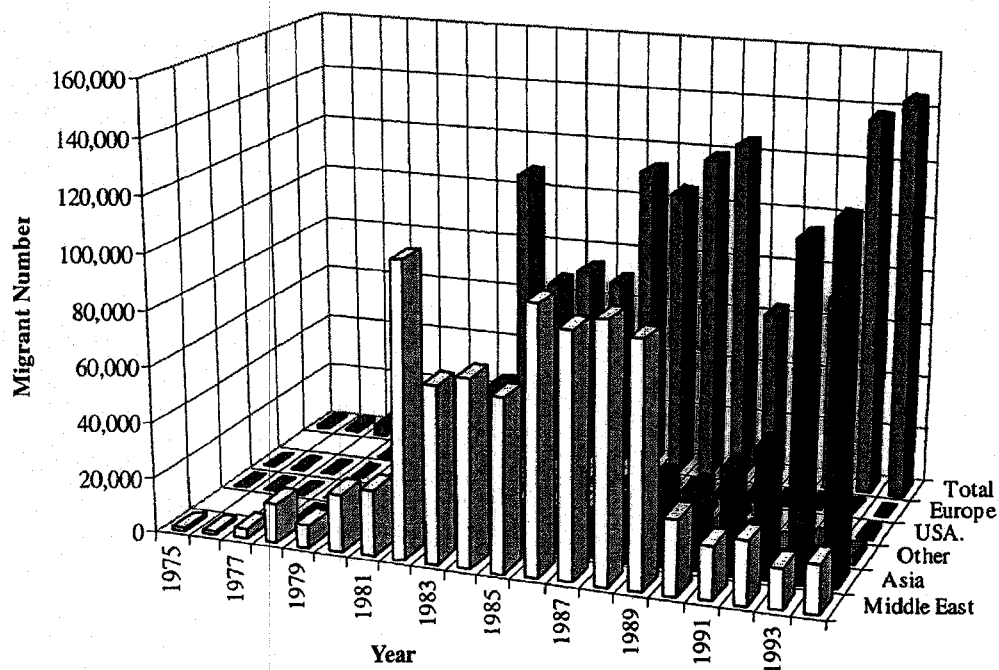
In the 1960s, highly skilled labour such as engineers and medical persons began migrating to the United Kingdom, Western Europe and particularly America. More than 23,000 immigrant visas were issued by the U.S. embassy in Thailand between 1966 and 1977 (Chiengkul 1986:310). Pongsapich (1991:4) reports that while the annual number of emigrants to the US was nearly 3,400 between 1966 and 1971, the number moving to the United Kingdom was about 1,700 a year. These numbers are small and less likely to affect the labour force and economy of the country.

During the early 1970s, Thailand experienced a rapid increase in the number of Thai workers moving overseas, notably to the Middle East. Figure 2.7 shows that in

⁸ For regulations on discrimination against the Chinese see Landon (1941).

1975, there were 968 and 16 workers migrating to work in Bahrain and Saudi Arabia respectively. The number increased to nearly 13,000 in the following year and to 40,000 in 1977. Among the Middle Eastern countries, Saudi Arabia had been the prominent country receiving sizeable numbers of workers from Thailand. The number reached 9,420 in 1981 and jumped to 88,178 in 1982. Migrant workers moving to Saudi Arabia made up 83.5 per cent of those moving to the Middle East and 81.7 per cent of all migrant workers leaving the country.

Figure 2.7 Outflows of International Labour Migration From Thailand



Source: Report of Ministry of Labour and Social Welfare (various issues)

A significant decrease occurred in the late 1980s when the number of migrants moving to Saudi Arabia decreased from 61,442 in 1989 to 9,970 in 1990. This decline is

partly the result of the invasion of Iraq over Kuwait in January 1990. In spite of this situation, more than 20,000 Thai workers were recorded migrating to the Middle Eastern countries, including 39 per cent to Libya and 28.5 per cent to Saudi Arabia.

During the Sixth National Economic and Social Development Plan (1986-1991), the number of migrants moving to Asian countries gradually began to increase. The plan considered international labour migration as a part of human resource policy that aims to develop the quality of life for workers by: (1) promoting the role of private recruitment agencies in employment creation, (2) improving the efficiency of the domestic labour market and (3) expanding the foreign labour market (Tingsabath 1989:322-33).

During the 1990s, the pattern of international labour migration in Thailand occurred in three major streams: (1) to the Middle East, (2) to Asian countries (notably Newly Industrial Countries (NICs) - Hong Kong, Taiwan, Singapore and South Korea) and (3) to America and Europe. With respect to the first stream, attention is focused on three major countries - Saudi Arabia, Libya and Israel. The number of migrants moving to Saudi Arabia dramatically decreased over time from 60,000 in 1989 to less than 10,000 in 1990 and continued on a downward trend. This decrease is partly related to the assassination of three Saudi Arabia diplomats in Bangkok in 1991⁹. The Saudi Arabian Embassy then reduced issuing new visas for Thai workers.

The number of Thai workers migrating to Libya also dropped from more than 10,000 in 1990 to 4,579 in 1993. To a greater extent, this is a result of the pressure from America that forced three Thai recruitment companies to withdraw Thai workers employed by a factory in Libya allegedly producing chemical weapons. According to Tasker (1993a:27), under an international agreement drawn up in Paris in January 1993,

⁹ This is presumably the result of the loss of diamonds which Saudi Arabia claims were stolen by one Thai worker while working there in 1989 (Far Eastern Economic Review).

Thai workers are restricted by the Chemical Weapons Convention which banned the production, acquisition and stock piling of chemical weapons - and prohibited any country from assisting another to obtain or make chemical weapons.

While the above countries experienced a decline in the number of Thai intake, Israel showed signs of becoming another option for Thai migrants. It was reported that the Israel government authorized 18,200 work permits for foreign workers in 1992 of which around 5,000 were Thai migrants (Trofimov 1994:79). This is predominantly due to the view in Israel that Thai migrants are a twin insurance policy. They relieve Israel's labour shortage and reduce the risks of violence arising from Palestinians who used to work for them. Most Thai migrants work in farming and the only real problem is the language barrier. The Thai's complaint is that they are not permitted to work seven days a week to make more money (Trofimov 1994:79).

The second major stream is concerned with international migration within Asia, especially the NICs. Among these countries, Taiwan has been the main destination of Thai migrants, accounting for 2,237 in 1991 and increasing to 66,891 in 1993. This is partly the result of the economic development of Taiwan which manages an average annual growth of per capita income of about 14 per cent with an official unemployment rate below 2 per cent over the last few years (Lim 1994:131). The second country receiving substantial numbers of Thai migrants in the 1990s is Singapore. This country accepted 6,464 Thai workers in 1990, which increased to 14,171 in 1993. The immigration policy in Singapore allows highly skilled people to migrate into the country for the purpose of stimulating economic growth. Lim (1994:132) states that Singapore attracts foreign skilled workers with special offers that allow migrants to bring their families with them and allow them to apply for permanent residence after six months (and for citizenship after two years of permanent residence). The Singapore government has

lowered the eligibility criteria for foreign workers seeking permanent resident. The policy also allows Singapore employers to hire foreign workers to a proportion of 40 per cent of their workers (Lim 1994:132).

Apart from the NICs, Malaysia is another country receiving Thai migrants. The number of Thai migrants working in Malaysia during the early 1990s, although small, is expected to rapidly increase since Thailand is the first nation to set up a labour office in Malaysia. The office located in Kuala Lumpur is expected to stimulate the migration of Thais to some extent (Far Eastern Economic Review, 16 September 1993:79), as the number of Thai workers increased from 2,000 in 1992 to 11,358 in 1993.

The third stream of Thai labour migrants is moving to Europe, America and Australia. Among European countries, Denmark and Germany are the most attractive destinations, receiving approximately five hundred migrants from Thailand a year during the 1990s. America and Australia have also received some Thai workers since 1987, however the numbers are small. The largest flow is those moving to America, accounting for 30,000 a year on average.

Indeed, Thailand is also a destination for foreigners from Asia and Europe and reflects economic development of the country. The number of foreigners is however controversial, with different views especially in regard to illegal emigrants. The Bangkok Post (22 January 1995) estimates that in 1995 the number was approximately half a million. Sussangkarn (1995) and Sussangkarn and Chalamwong (1996) estimate that in 1994 the stock of illegal foreigners should be between two to three hundred thousand. Silverman (1996:61) reports that in 1996 Thailand hosted six hundred thousand migrants. Bangkok Post (9 May 1996) reports that the number would be nearly one million, of which seven hundred thousand are Burmese (5 January 1997). Although the government allows illegal immigrants in Thailand to be registered and

receive work permits, during June to November 1966 only 370,000 illegal migrants appear to be registered (9 May 1995).

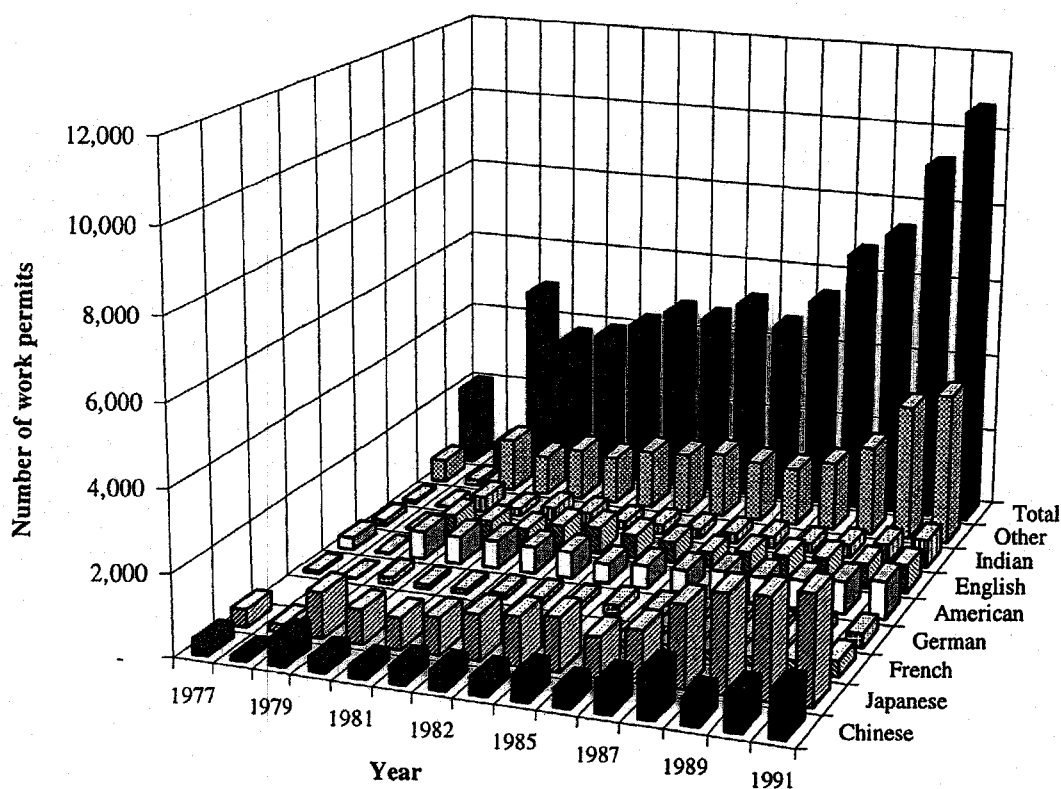
Some illegal migrants are political refugees (Sussangkarn 1995:250), particularly from neighbouring countries, notably Cambodia, Burma and Laos who come to work. These migrants cross the long border and work in sectors of many provinces. In June 1990, there were 10,000 Myanmar illegal immigrants who regularised their status in Tak province. Two months later, it is reported that 10,710 illegal Myanmar immigrants were living and serving as cheap labour in Ranong province. The number in Ranong province increased to 20,000 by July 1991 (Huguet 1992:261) with some of them working in Marine Fishery factories (Sussangkarn 1995:251; Sussangkarn and Chalamwong 1996:118).

Indeed illegal migrants who overstay include visitors who come under tourist visa. Indians, for example, seem to be the largest group overstaying in Thailand, accounting for 100,000 in 1994. They usually hold the jobs that Thais are less likely to do such as mosquito net or bean salesmen. Some of these overstayers often travel to nearby countries such as Laos or Malaysia every few months to renew their tourist visa (Satyanarayan 1994: 55). Some enter the country illegally along the border. Although there is no direct evidence, it was reported that ten Burmese are arrested every few days in Mae Hong Son province, north of Thailand. These aliens were sentenced and deported after serving time in jail. However the process starts again once they are released (Bangkok Post 5 January 1997). It was also reported on the Thai television news (Channel 7, 8.30 pm, 20 January 1997) that more than twenty Burmese disguised as monks were arrested at Yananva temple charged with illegal immigration.

With respect to foreigners who received official permission to work in Thailand, Ponpuasakorn and Taethiengtam (1992) and Pitakmahaket (1997) report

that the data are available from 1977. Figure 2.8 shows that the number of foreigners who receive work permits in Thailand dramatically increased from 2,000 in 1977 to almost 11,000 in 1991. Over this period, the number of Japanese is the highest, increasing from 442 in 1977 to 2,649 in 1991. The numbers of Chinese and Americans are also remarkable, accounting for an average of 600 per year. The numbers of other nationals such as French, English and Indians varies considerably over time. From 1992 onward, the data are not available in terms of nationality. It was however recorded that there were 11,651 work permits issues in 1992, 22,101 in 1993 and 36,623 in 1994 (Pitakmahaket 1997).

Figure 2.8 Number of Foreigners Permitted to Work in Thailand



Source: Based on Data in Pitakmahaket (1997)

Note: These numbers exclude foreigners who illegal emigrate to Thailand

The Thai economy is gradually changing from being largely agricultural to industrial and technology based, resulting in the need for more skilled labour. While approximately 75 per cent of Thai labour are less educated (attaining only primary education) and face difficulties in finding jobs in the modern sectors, Thailand issues work permits to highly skilled foreigners to compensate for the shortage. It was reported that almost 20 per cent of work permit issued in 1991 were to foreign engineers and technical specialists (Sussangkarn and Chalamwong 1996:117). In addition, it was often found that these migrants are most likely to overstay after their work permits expire. Those who failed to extend their permits often overstay and work in informal sectors (Sussangkarn 1995:250), however it is difficult to estimate the number of overstayers.

2.4.2 International Labour Migration and Economic Development

2.4.2.1 Economic Growth and Labour Market

Over two decades, Thailand experienced growth of the economy in term of Gross Domestic Product (GDP) at a rate of 7.5 per cent per annum (Sussangkarn 1995). Table 2.5 shows that the growth rates change considerably from 7 per cent in the 1960s to more than 8 per cent in the 1990s. The rates however declined to 5 per cent during the oil shock and remained low until the late 1980s.

Table 2.5 The Growth of GDP and Population (%)

	1960-65	1965-70	1970-75	1975-80	1980-85	1985-90	1990-95	Average
GDP Growth	7.2	8.6	5.6	7.9	5.6	9.9	8.2	7.5
Real per Capita GDP	4.2	5.6	3.0	5.5	3.6	8.2	76.9	5.2
Population	3.0	3.0	2.6	2.4	2.0	1.7	1.2	2.2

Source: Sussangkarn (1995, Table 1:241)

Promotion of 'visit Thailand year' in 1987 and the stable political situation resulted in the average growth rate of GDP to reach almost 10 per cent between 1985-1990 (Sussangkarn 1995). Indeed, the growth was over 10 per cent per annum in 1988 and 1990. This growth is partly the result of many internal and external factors such as the success of the family planning program, political stability, the changing world economic environment and good basic education of the population (Sussangkarn 1995; Krongkaew 1993, 1995; Muscat 1994; Sussangkarn and Chalamwong 1996).

The achievements in the national family planning program for example, resulted in the dramatic decline in population growth rates, from more than 3 per cent in the 1960s to 1.2 per cent in 1995. This decrease led to the growth of real GDP per capita from 3 per cent per annum in the 1970s to 5 per cent in the 1980s (Sussangkarn and Chalamwong 1996).

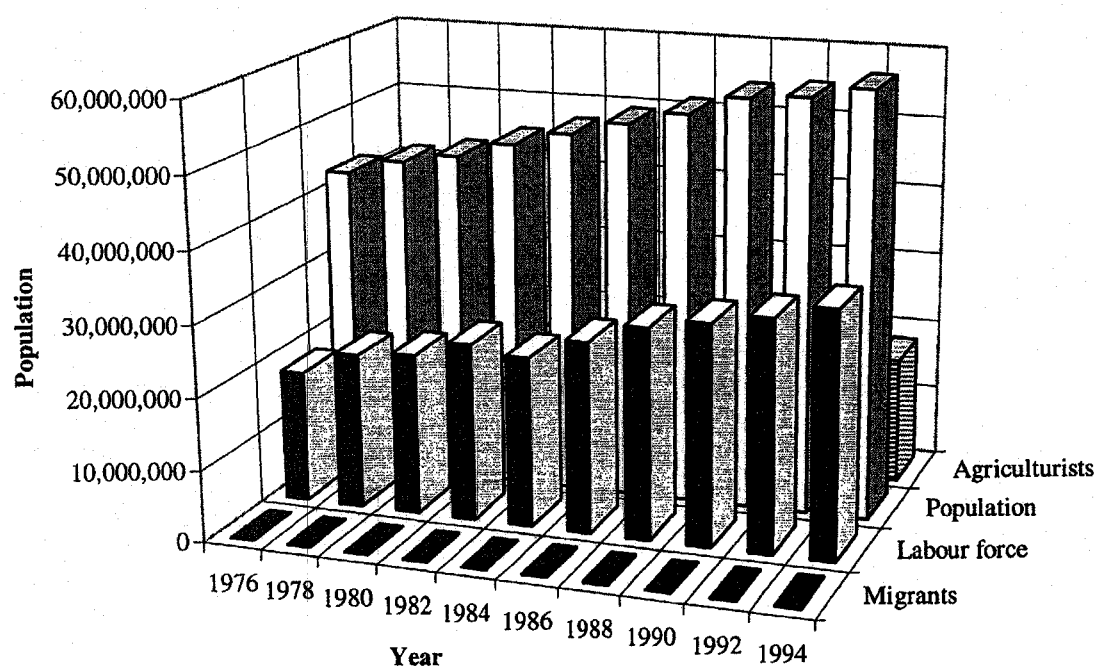
The growth in Thailand's economy in terms of GDP has undergone major structural changes - in terms of agriculture, industry and services (Sussangkarn 1995). As shown in Table 2.6, the growth of GDP in the agricultural sector is slower than for industry and services. This was seen in 1980 when the value of industrial exports exceeded agricultural exports. The traditional manufactured exports which consisted of agricultural products, textile and clothing have been replaced with electrical circuits and computer parts. The change in this economic structure means that labour which was traditionally confined to agricultural jobs, has now turned to industrial sectors. Figure 2.9 shows that the labour force (see Appendix II) participating in agriculture has dramatically declined over the years from 80 per cent in 1988 to 64 per cent in 1992.

Table 2.6 Shares of GDP by Sector

	1960	1965	1970	1975	1980	1985	1990	1995
Agriculture	38.9	32.1	25.8	26.8	23.2	16.7	12.4	10.7
Industry	15.9	20.7	25.3	25.7	30.8	34.0	39.1	39.2
Services	45.2	47.2	48.7	47.3	45.9	49.2	48.4	49.9

Source: Sussangkarn (1995, Table 3:241)

Figure 2.9 Migrants and the Labour Force



Source: Report of Ministry of Labour and Social Welfare (various issues)

In relation to migration, studies (Roongshivin 1985; Chiengkul 1986) show that international labour migration is less likely to contribute to the unemployment situation in Thailand. Roongshivin (1985) reveals that while seasonal unemployment was 5.5 million

workers in 1982, some 230,000 overseas workers did not relieve the unemployment problem. Roongshivin (1985:73) states that...

'...it may be seen that Thai overseas employment does not contribute significantly to unemployment relief. However, in terms of effectiveness, this portion of employment is crucial in the sense that it provided full time, plus overtime employment opportunity for 230,000 Thai workers. If they were in Thailand, they might not have worked at all (open unemployment) or only partially worked (seasonal unemployment or underemployment)...'.

It is noted that data used for analysing the labour market in Thailand are from labour force survey which is conducted by NSO three rounds a year¹⁰. Data used here are from the survey undertaken during the peak period of agricultural activity (July to September) when open unemployment rates are low. Unemployment rates may be higher during the off peak period (February to April) and will be lower again in the next year according to the nature of the agricultural cycle (Sussangkarn 1995).

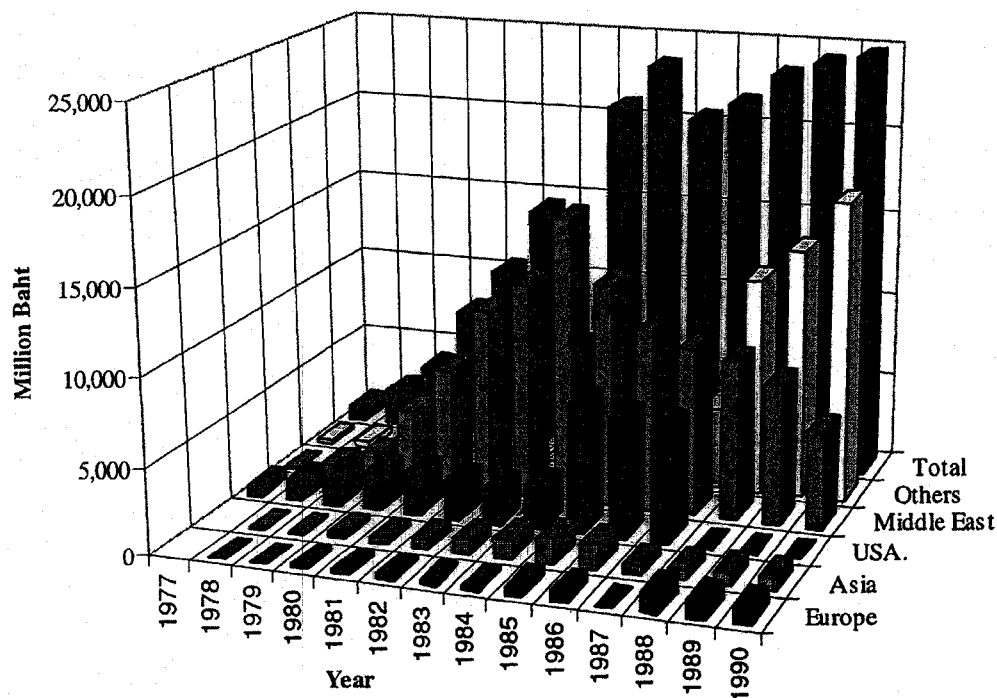
2.4.2.2 Remittances

The rapid increase in the volume of international labour migrants in Thailand has been accompanied by an increase in remittance flows from 8 billion baht per year in 1980 to nearly 30 billion in 1992. Most of these remittances were contributed by the Middle Eastern migrants (Figure 2.10). It was found that the amount increased from less than 1 billion baht in 1977 to 16 billion baht in 1984. Of these remittances, those from Asian and European countries were small compared to the Middle East.

Like other labour exporting countries, Thailand gains considerable benefits from the remittance flow in terms of foreign exchange. In 1983 money remitted by migrants represented 11.3 per cent of Thailand's total foreign exchange earnings (Roongshivin

1986:149). In terms of exports, remittances amounted to 9 per cent of merchandise exports in 1983 and increased to 13.5 per cent in 1984 (Figure 2.11). With the increase in merchandise exports over time however, the contribution of remittances is getting smaller. Despite this, remittances are still significant to the Thai economy in terms of the country account deficit.

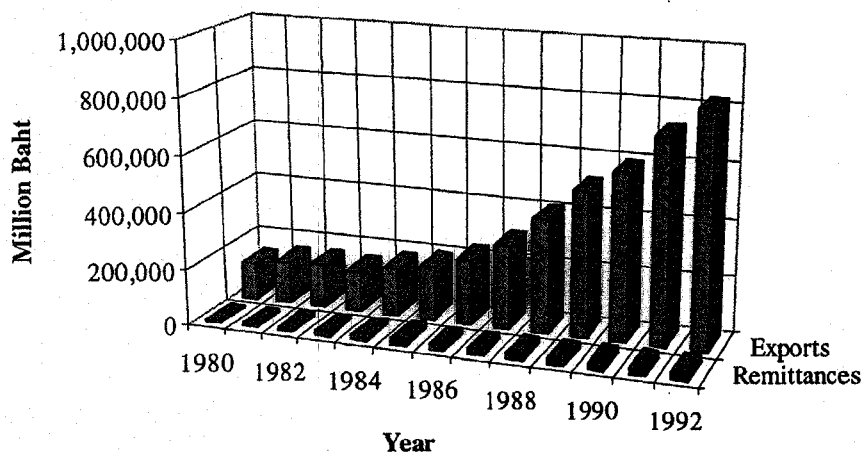
Figure 2.10 Remittances to Thailand



Source: Report of Ministry of Labour and Social Welfare (Various Issues)

¹⁰ The survey was conducted in three rounds - round one (January-March), round two (April-June) and round three (July-September). The time period however, varies in some years (Ministry of Labour and Social Welfare) when the survey was conducted.

Figure 2.11 Remittances and Merchandise Exports



Source: Report of Bank of Thailand (various issues)

The significant role of international migration in the development process in Thailand has been widely recognised for more than a decade (Sussangkarn 1995; Sussangkarn and Chalamwong 1996; Roongshivin 1982, 1985, 1986; Thosanguan 1985; Krajanyav 1982; Boonprakrob 1984; Varasirisunthorn 1984; Chiengkul 1986). In order to compensate the deficit of the country, migrant remittances have become one of the principal foreign exchange earners. These foreign exchange earnings are urgently needed to sustain the economic policies of the government by improving the balance of payments. It was estimated that during the 1980s Thailand earned about 26 billion baht in remittances each year, particularly in 1985 when they amounted to almost equal the value of the total balance of payments deficit (Tingsabadh 1989:303). In 1992 remittances amounted to nearly 18 per cent of the current account deficit (Sussangkarn and Chalamwong 1996). Roongshivin (1985:73) stated that...

'foreign exchange earning from this (remittances) and other sources is of major importance to Thailand, which incurred a balance of trade deficit...One can see that Thai overseas employment has an important impact on the country's international balance of employment. It has been said that in exporting rice we gain money but we lose rice, but in

exporting labour we lose nothing (our labour will come back) while we gain money.'

It is important to note that data obtained for this analysis are from the Bank of Thailand which reports the amount of remittances on a quarterly basis. However it is estimated that the total amount of remittances is greater if money remitted through other channels, apart from the banking system are included (Roongshivin 1985; Sussangkarn and Chalamwong 1996). Bilsborrow *et al* (1997:Chapter 10) remark that only remittances which are cash transfers through the banking system are recorded in the current account balance. Remittances in kind (such as goods and cash carried back) are not included and thus there is no way of determining net remittances into the country. Roongshivin (1985:72) found that the amounts are double if the money brought back upon return is included, and reports that...

'..based on the official banking records of the Bank of Thailand, the total amount of remittances was 1,296 million baht in 1979, 4,243 million baht in 1980, 6,753.4 million baht in 1981, 10,326.8 million baht in 1982 and 15,667.6 million baht in 1983. These figures do not include the part of their earning that workers had brought back with them on their return. If this part was included, it was estimated that the total amount of foreign exchange earned by Thai workers was 12,514 million baht in 1981, 17,066 million baht in 1982 and 24,000 million baht in 1983'.

Krajanyav (1982:62) in an analysis of the flows of remittances through the Bank of Thailand and Bangkok Bank between 1978 and 1981 found that the amount was different in any given year. He explains that the collection of data of remittances between the two banks is not the same. While the Bank of Thailand collects data according to the country of sending, Bangkok Bank collects data based on the country where migrants are actually working. Clearly, if migrants who are working in Saudi Arabia for example, give authority to their companies which have the head office in Italy to transfer their money, the Bank of Thailand will record these remittances as being sent from Italy. This is

opposed to Bangkok Bank which records that this money has been sent from Saudi Arabia.

2.5 Conclusion

Thailand is a rare example of an Asian country that resisted European colonialism, but has a long history of immigration. This chapter has reviewed the historical migration experience and identified the main patterns of movement. As a powerful kingdom in Asia during the early years, foreigners such as the British, French, Chinese and Portuguese migrated to Thailand for trade purposes. The success of trade was associated with the encouragement of the elite and attracted more foreigners, especially the Chinese who in turn stimulated the country's economy. One of the impacts of these movements was on rice exports, which increased parallel to the growing number of foreigners. Hence for most of its history Thailand has been a country of substantial immigration; much of it on a temporary basis but also involving permanent settlement. The pattern has been different however during the second half of this century with substantial international labour migration out of Thailand which has had considerable social and economic impacts on the country, but also on the migrants, their families and the community of origin. It is to this movement that most of this study is devoted. However in doing this, it is important to realise that international migration has played an important and strong role in Thailand's history.

CHAPTER 3

DATA AND METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

Hugo (1988:391) concludes in an explanation of the significance of using the micro approach to analyse population movement that, 'in sum the micro approach to studying population mobility as described here allows the complex two-way interactions between movement and economic and social change to be more readily tackled than is possible in large scale surveys or census data. This is largely because the approach allows individuals, households and communities to be studied in 'context', where it is possible to examine in some detail the complex economic and social forces which impinge upon them.'

Thailand has experienced a substantial growth in international labour migration and it is important to consider the effect on development and the extent to which such movements affect the social and economic welfare of migrants and their families. Little is currently known about which groups are affected most by the movements and how people adjust to changes brought about by migration. The macro picture of impacts examined through secondary data can give only partial answers. In fact, the approach adopted here is one of mixed methodologies. The small scale is used to provide insights in conjunction with available larger scale secondary-data-based. As Hugo (1988:393) has stated, 'it is also important to consider the possibility of supplementing this [structural-institutional factors that influence migration] with more detailed community level micro-studies'.

This chapter discusses the methodology applied here in examining the impacts of international labour migration on migrants, their families and communities of origin in Thailand. It begins with an examination of the sources of secondary information related to international migration in Thailand with particular focus on those collected by the Overseas Employment Administration Office (OEAO). The chapter then turns to a consideration of the collection of primary data by discussing the methods employed by the researcher and his experience of eight months in the field. In many cases, the expectations of the researcher based upon the existing literature were not found to apply in the context of the village selected. This points to the importance of living and working in communities influenced by migration to obtain a true understanding of the impacts.

3.2 Sources of International Migration Data

Hugo (1996:102-103) notes that one of the major reasons for the dearth of research on international migration in Asia is the lack of adequate data collection systems in the bulk of nations in the region. Bilsborrow *et al* (1997:Chapter 4) state that 'a major limitation of data derived from the control of contract labour migration by countries of origin is often in their completeness, since they do not cover all workers who leave the country under a contract to work abroad'. Unfortunately very few countries in the Asian region have census questions relating to international migration of and kind (Skeldon 1987). However, in addition to the arrival and departure cards, most sending and receiving countries set complex regulations to control the volume of international labour migration and activities of migrants before they leave their countries and after they arrive at their destinations. This means potential migrants must obtain official permission and documentation from relevant

government labour agencies 'before the move, during the move and after the move' (Fawcett and Arnold 1987:1533). Records exist relating to processes such as obtaining a passport, visa, medical and/or police clearances and work permits. These procedures generate lists and information concerning migrants that can be used for international migration studies. Analysis of information from these sources is often not possible in Asian countries such as Thailand, Bangladesh, Indonesia and Sri Lanka because the data are not computerised (Hugo 1996; Bilsborrow *et al* 1997; Fawcett and Arnold 1987). The significance of secondary data for international labour migration surveys is not only to measure the overall scale and composition of that movement but also to serve a sampling frame, so a 'sample can be drawn that is statistically representative of an important segment of the international migrant community, if not representative of the whole community.' (Fawcett and Arnold 1987:1533).

Hugo (1996:102, 1997) suggests that in many LDC contexts, the lack of comprehensive secondary data relating to international migration necessitates the collection of primary and secondary data. 'It is necessary to gather fragments of information from a number of sources, and through *triangulation* and intelligent and careful extrapolation arrive at an estimate of the scale and nature of movement...which involves: collection of all available relevant secondary data (e.g. remittance information from banks, regularisations, amnesties, detection data); intensive field-based survey work; careful intensive observation and participant observation; qualitative techniques such as use of focus groups, key informant interviews, etc.' (Hugo 1996:103).

According to Fawcett and Arnold (1987:1533), international labour migrants need official permissions from many organisations in both sending and destination countries. This generates a list of personal information of potential migrants which can be used in migration studies. Table 3.1 shows major organisations, both private and

public in Thailand where information concerning international migration are collected. However in most cases these data are part of an administrative process and are not compiled into a form useable in research. In order to establish broad patterns of labour migration flows and to identify appropriate study areas, this study used information of potential migrants obtained from the OEAO and the Division of Passport of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Table 3.1 Possible Sources of Data of International Labour Migration

Process	Sources of data	Organisations
1. Attitudes towards the possibility of future migration	- Survey of community of origin	- Universities - National Statistics Office - National Economic and Social Development Board
2. Applying for emigration employment	- List of Applicants	- OEAO - Private Recruiters - Domestic Employers
3. Testing skills	- Lists of Applicants	- OEAO
4. Applying for Passport	- Lists of Applicants	- Division of Pass Port
5. Applying for Police Clearance Certificate	- Police Clearance Certificate	- Department of Police
6. Applying for Health Clearance Certificate	- Disease Clearance Certificate	- Hospitals
7. Applying for Visa	- Visa Issued	- Embassies
8. Opening account	- Transferring Account	- Bank of Thailand - Commercial Banks
9. Sending goods	- Lists of Invoice	- Department of Customs - Post Office - Cargo Section of Airlines
10. Departing home country	- Departure Cards	- Division of Immigration
11. Arriving in destination country	- Arrival Cards	- Division of Immigration
12. Residing in destination country	- Arrival /Departure Cards - List of Employees -Affiliation of ethnic/ association - Work Permit	- Foreign Employers - Community Services - Division of Immigration - Ministry of Foreign Affairs
13. Returning to home country (Thailand)	- Arrival Cards - Application Forms for Domestic Job - Survey of community of origin	- Division of Immigration - Department of Employment - Community Services

Source: Modified from a concept in Fawcett and Arnold (1987:1534)

The Overseas Employment Administration Office (OEAO) which is under direct control of the Ministry of Labour and Social Welfare (MLSW) has overseen and regulated the sending of migrants abroad since 1985. The establishment of the OEAO had the following objectives...

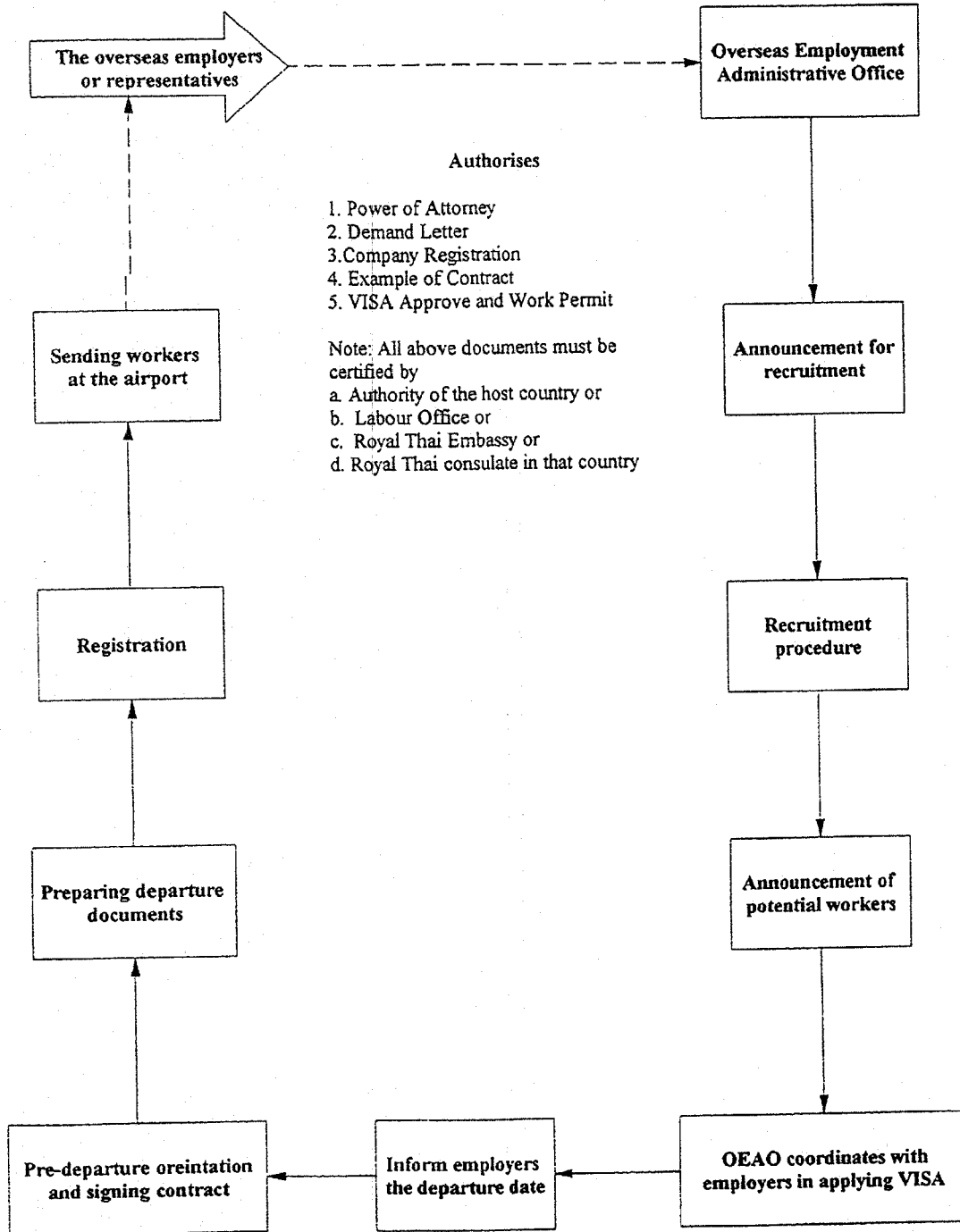
- encourage more Thai workers to go overseas for employment.
- promote recruitment for overseas employment both by private agencies and by government organisations.
- find solutions to the problems relating to the overseas employment of Thai workers and to ensure fairness and benefits for all parties concerned and for the country as a whole.
- find measures to prevent any shortage of certain skilled manpower which may affect the investment and operation of business enterprises within Thailand.

In order to work overseas, potential migrants need to apply for a job through the OEAO to which they have to provide relevant personal information. Information recorded on each potential worker includes age, sex, marital status, number of children, education, occupation, destination country, length of stay abroad, expected departure date, expected occupation abroad, type of employer and reason for migration. (The OEAO advertises vacancies abroad through radio, newspaper and notice boards. Potential migrants need to match their qualifications to those vacancies and apply for them (Figure 3.1 and Appendix III)). The OEAO recommends that this process shown in Figure 3.1 will take two months. However it may be longer if potential migrants cannot provide the OEAO completed documents.

The analysis of data from the OEAO is difficult in that the detailed information is not computerised or published. All that is available are the numbers of migrants and country of destination which are reported annually. The remaining information however,

is not yet analysed. Moreover it is difficult for researchers obtain permission from the authorities to gain to this information.

Figure 3.1 Stage Overseas Recruitment by the OEAO



Source: Overseas Employment Administration Office

The other possible source of data that can be used in the study of international migration are the arrival and departure statistics collected by the Division of Immigration of Thailand. The cards completed by those leaving and arriving in the country consist of information such as name, date of birth, country of residence and purpose of arriving in the destination country (Figure 3.2 and 3.3). However this information is difficult for researchers to obtain from the Department of Foreign Affairs.

Figure 3.2 Thailand: Arrival Card

รายละเอียดบุคคลซึ่งเดินทางเข้ามาในหรือออกไปนอกราชอาณาจักร DETAILS OF PERSON ENTERING OR LEAVING THE KINGDOM			ท.ม. 6 TM. 6
ลำดับที่ No. TM.WV 93057		บัตรเข้า ARRIVAL CARD	
๔ ชื่อสกุล Family name	๕ ชื่อตัว First name	๖ ชื่อกลาง Middle name	<input type="checkbox"/> ชาย Male <input type="checkbox"/> หญิง Female
วัน เดือน ปีเกิด Date of birth		สถานที่เกิด Place of birth	
สัญชาติ Nationality		อาชีพ Occupation	
หนังสือเดินทางไทย No. Passport No.		ออกที่ Place of issue	เมื่อวัน Date of issue
วีซ่าไทย No. Visa No.		ออกที่ Place of issue	เมื่อวัน Date of issue
เดินทางมาจาก From	<input type="checkbox"/> โดยรถไฟ By rail <input type="checkbox"/> โดยทางรถยนต์ By road <input type="checkbox"/> โดยทางเรือ By ship	<input type="checkbox"/> โดยทางอากาศ By air เที่ยวบินที่ Flight No.	
เดินทางมาประเทศไทยครั้งแรก First trip to Thailand <input type="checkbox"/> ใช่ Yes <input type="checkbox"/> ไม่ใช่ No.	เดินทางมาเป็นคณะท่องเที่ยว Traveling on group tour <input type="checkbox"/> ใช่ Yes <input type="checkbox"/> ไม่ใช่ No.	ระยะเวลาพำนัก Length of stay วัน Day (s)	
ความประสงค์ในการมา Purpose of visit			
<input type="checkbox"/> ท่องเที่ยว Tourist	<input type="checkbox"/> การประชุม Convention	<input type="checkbox"/> ธุรกิจ Business	
<input type="checkbox"/> ราชการ Official	<input type="checkbox"/> จุดประสงค์อื่น ๆ Others	(โปรดระบุ) (Please specify)	
ผ่านไปยัง Transit to			
ที่อยู่ปัจจุบัน Country of residence		ที่อยู่ในประเทศไทย Address in Thailand.	
City/State		Country	
ลายมือชื่อ Signature		บุคคลซึ่งเดินทางเข้ามาในราชอาณาจักร Person entering the Kingdom	

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FOR OFFICIAL USE

อนุญาตให้ดูตามสิทธิเดิม

Figure 3.3 Thailand: Departure Card

เลขที่บัตร 2534		เที่ยวบินที่ FLIGHT NO.	
ลำดับที่ No.	TM. WV 93057	บัตรขาออก DEPARTURE CARD	ค.บ. 6 TM. 6
ชื่อสกุล Family name	ชื่อตัว First name	ชื่อกลาง Middle name	<input type="checkbox"/> ชาย Male <input type="checkbox"/> หญิง Female
หนังสือเดินทางเลขที่ Passport No.	ออกที่ Place of issue	ออกวันที่ Date of issue	
สัญชาติ Nationality			
ลายมือชื่อ Signature		บุคคลซึ่งเดินทางออกไปนอกราชอาณาจักร Person Leaving the Kingdom	

คำเตือน
NOTICE

- โปรดเขียนตัวบรรจงและขีดเส้นใต้ชื่อสกุล
PLEASE WRITE IN BLOCK LETTERS AND UNDERLINE FAMILY NAME.
- ผู้โดยสารทุกคนจะต้องกรอกบัตรขาเข้า/ออก คนละหนึ่งฉบับ
ONE ARRIVAL CARD/DEPARTURE CARD MUST BE COMPLETED BY EVERY PASSENGER.
- กรุณาเก็บบัตรส่วนนี้ไว้ในเอกสารเดินทางของท่านและมอบให้เจ้าหน้าที่ตรวจคนเข้าเมือง
เมื่อท่านเดินทางออก
PLEASE KEEP THIS PORTION OF THE FORM IN YOUR PASSPORT/TRAVELLING DOCUMENT
AND PRESENT IT TO THE IMMIGRATION OFFICER ON YOUR DEPARTURE.
- กรณีเปลี่ยนแปลงที่พักจากที่กรอกข้อความในบัตรนี้ ต้องแจ้งต่อนักตรวจคนเข้าเมืองภายใน
ยี่สิบสี่ชั่วโมง
IN CASE OF CHANGE OF ADDRESS FROM WHAT IS STATED IN THIS FORM MUST NOTIFY
THE IMMIGRATION OFFICE WITHIN TWENTY-FOUR HOURS.
- ต้องแจ้งที่พักอาศัยต่อนักตรวจคนเข้าเมืองเมื่ออยู่เกินเก้าสิบวัน และต้องไปตม.แจ้งทุก ๆ
เก้าสิบวัน
MUST NOTIFY YOUR PLACE OF RESIDENCE TO THE IMMIGRATION OFFICE IF YOU STAY
LONGER THAN NINETY DAYS AND ARE REQUIRED TO DO SO EVERY NINETY DAYS.
- บุคคลต่างด้าวที่เข้ามาในประเทศไทย และมีเงินได้ หรือบุคคลต่างด้าวที่เข้ามาในประเทศไทย
โดยเกินเก้าสิบวัน ไม่ว่าจะมิเงินได้หรือไม่ก็ตาม ต้องมีใบผ่านภาษีอากรจากกรมสรรพ
ากรเมื่อจะเดินทางออกจากระเทศไทย ถ้าไม่มีจะโดนอายัดให้เดินทางออก
ALIEN ENTERING THAILAND AND HAVING INCOME OR ALIEN STAYING OVER NINETY DAYS
IN THAILAND WITHOUT INCOME MUST POSSESS A TAX CLEARANCE CERTIFICATE FROM
THE REVENUE DEPARTMENT BEFORE LEAVING THAILAND. IF NOT, WILL NOT BE PERMITTED
TO LEAVE.

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FOR OFFICIAL USE

- ออกวันที่ _____ เดือน _____ พ.ศ. _____ ถึงวันที่ _____ เดือน _____ พ.ศ. _____
- ใบผ่านภาษีหมวดที่ _____ เลขที่ _____ เลขที่ _____
ออกที่ _____ วันที่ _____ เดือน _____ พ.ศ. _____

3.3 Primary Data Collection

A number of researchers (Hugo 1988; Fawcett and Arnold 1987; Goldstein *et al* 1981; Findley 1982) acknowledge the role of surveys in seeking to understand migration processes, both internal and international. This approach can economise resources of both money and time and allows the researcher to look closely at migration processes and their consequences (Fawcett and Arnold 1987). According to Bilsborrow *et al* (1997: IX-2):

'A household survey allows [information on different types of international migrants] to be much more detailed and reliable than is ever possible with population censuses, population registers or border/frontier statistics because of the greater length and flexibility possible in the questionnaire.'

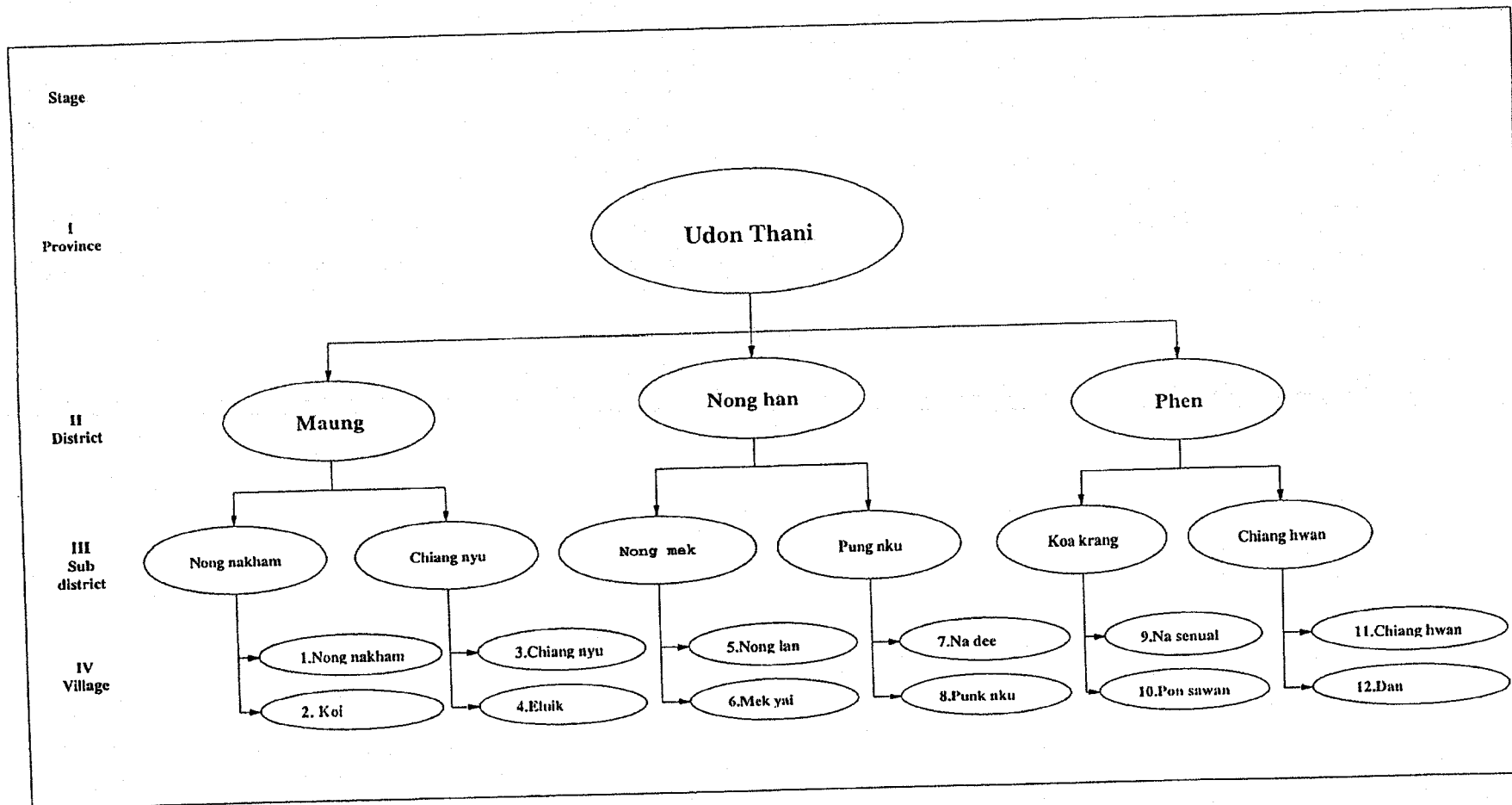
Primary data collection is essential in the study of international labour migration in developing countries like Thailand where secondary data concerning migration is incomplete. While being of poor quality, the secondary data also do not tell us about many important aspects of the migration process. The advantage of conducting a survey is that it allows the researcher to be a part of a community influenced by migration, to absorb considerable local knowledge, to feel as villagers and to take the local context into consideration in the analysis of migration (Hugo 1988:383). As Hugo (1988:383) notes, 'the simple fact of living in the village was an unexpected rich source of information and understanding not only through direct observation of day-to-day village life, but through informal (though focused) discussion with community members from a wide range of backgrounds.'

The present study follows the example of using a mixed method approach to primary data collection involving a detailed migration survey, participant observation and in-depth discussion with key informants and focus group techniques adopted by Hugo (1975, 1978) in his survey in West Java, Indonesia. Using this approach, he was able to examine a range of types of population mobility and the extent to which they were having social and economic effects on individuals, families and communities in West Java.

3.4 Selection of Survey Areas

In order to select areas to undertake primary data collection for the present study, a multi-stage selection approach was adopted (Figure 3.4).

Figure 3.2 Stages of Sampling Procedure



First of all, the region which had the largest number of international labour migrants was identified based on current data obtained from the OEAO. The next stage was to select the *changwat* (province) within that region, which had the largest number of migrants. The third stage was to select the *amphoe* (district) of the province, which had the largest number of migrants. The fourth stage was to select the *tambon* (sub-district) with the largest number of migrants. At the fifth stage, the *mooban* (village) having the largest number of international contract migrants was selected as the study area. Finally, households were randomly selected based on lists of households obtained from the head of the village.

According to data from the OEAO, Figure 3.5 shows that the northeast region had the largest number of international labour migrants, accounting for nearly three quarters of the total number leaving Thailand during the third quarter of 1993. After the northeast region was selected, a *changwat* was then selected. To do this, all provinces within the northeast region were ranked based on the number of international labour migrants they sent overseas in 1993. It was obvious that Udon Thani province held the top position among them, providing nearly a quarter of the region's total (Figure 3.6). Udon Thani has been the province having the largest number of international labour migrants since the 1980s and has been selected to be the study area of other studies (Pitayanon 1981, 1982, 1983; Tingsabadh 1989). Table 3.2 shows the top ten provinces for supplying labour migrants over the 1977-1993 period.

The next stage was to select the *amphoe* in which to conduct the survey. It is important to note here that since primary data obtained from the OEAO were not yet fully computerised, data at this level had to be analysed by hand. Firstly, the addresses of migrants from Udon Thani were grouped by district. Secondly, districts were ranked according to the number of migrants they sent overseas in 1993.

Figure 3.5 Number of International Labour Migrants by Regions

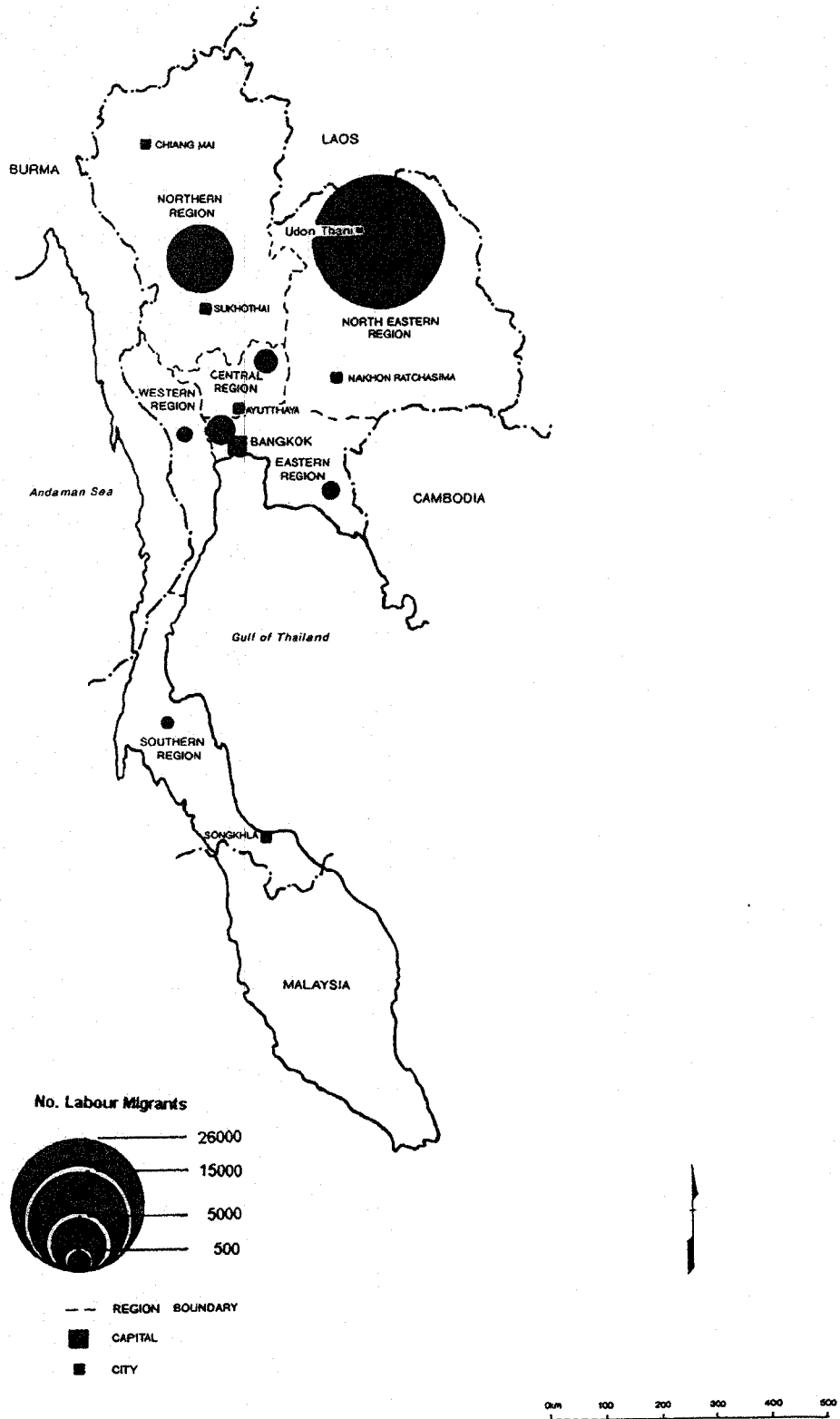


Figure 3.6 Number of International Labour Migrants by North East Provinces

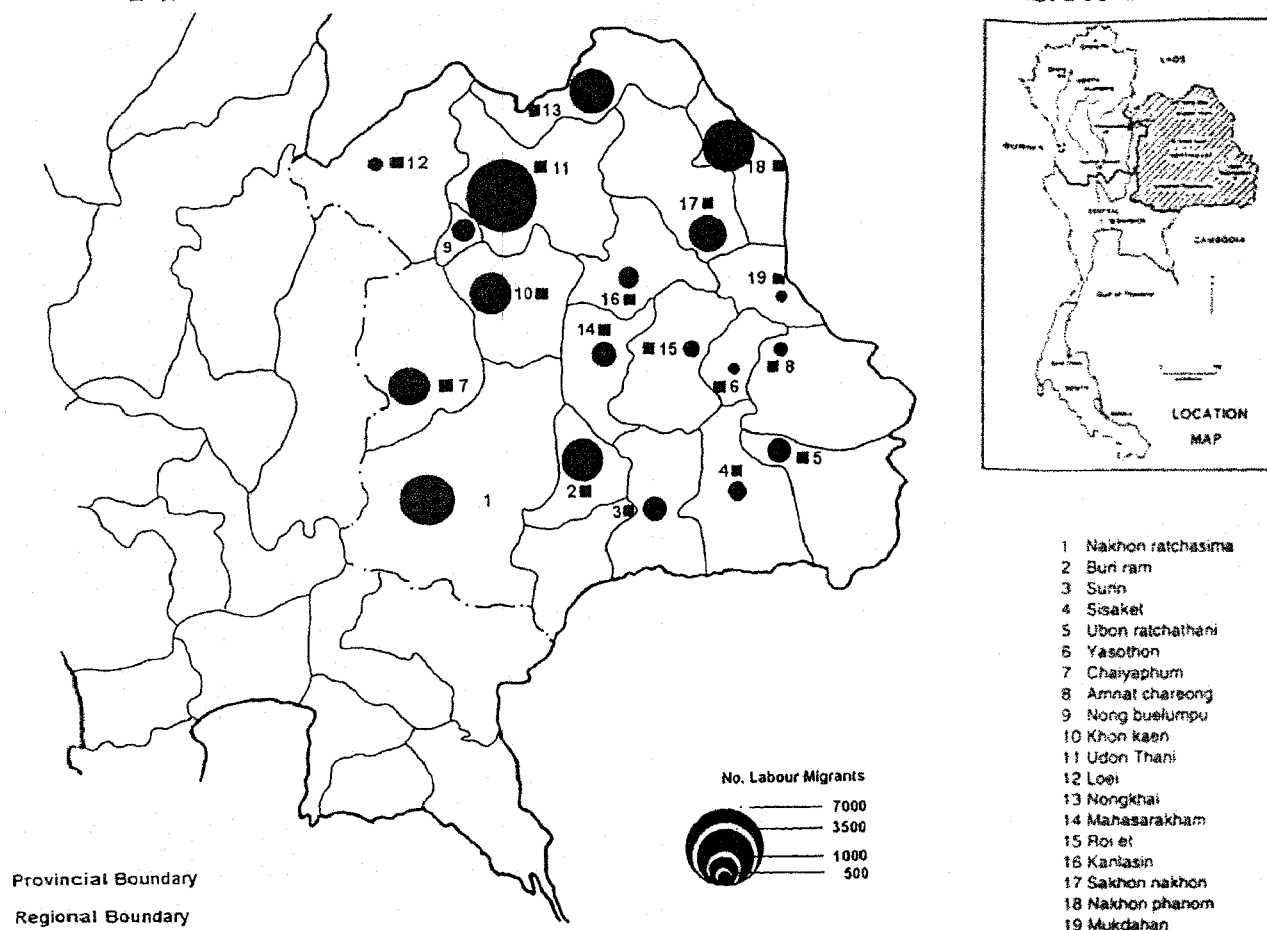


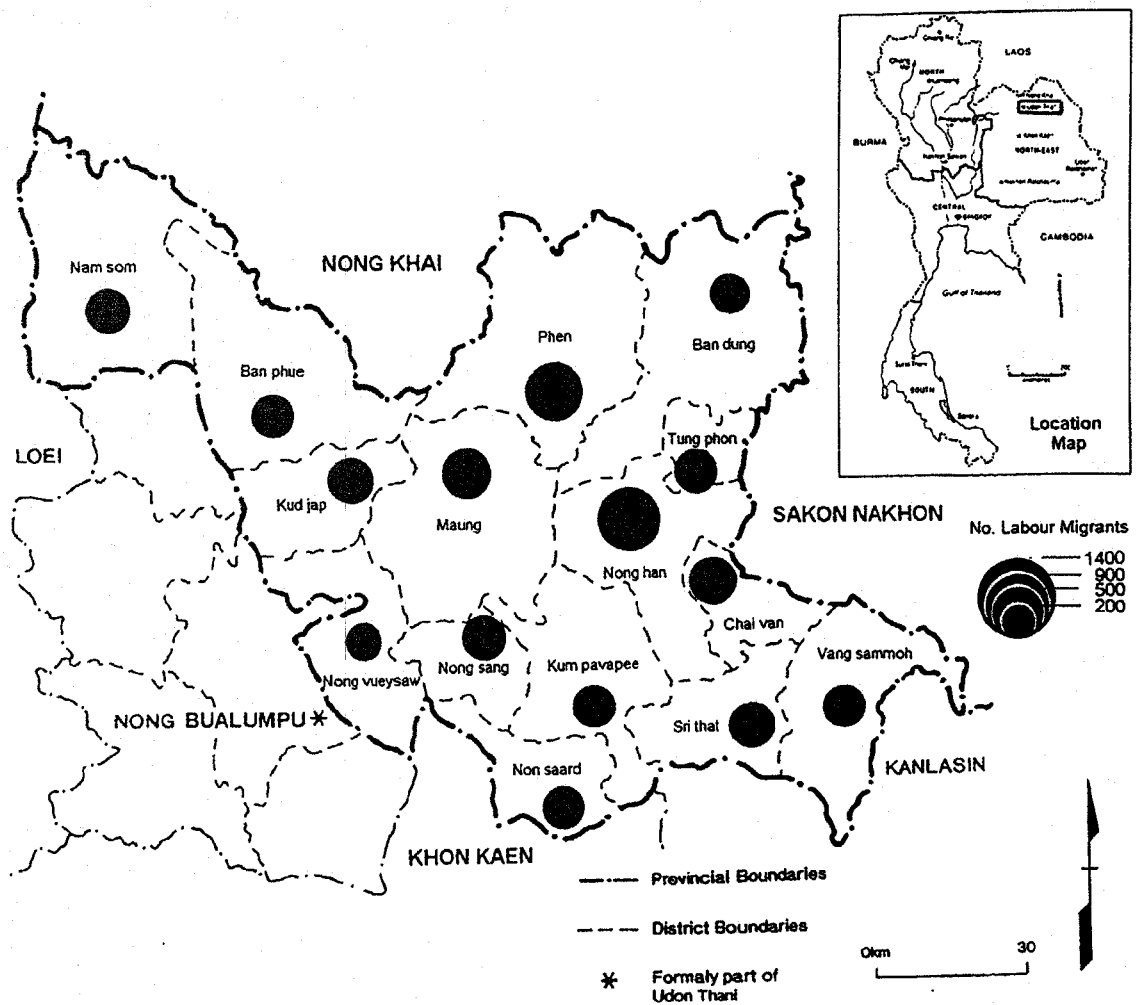
Table 3.2 Top Ten Provinces Experiencing Highest Number of International Labour Migrants, 1977 to 1993

Year	1977	1981	1983	1993
1	Bangkok	Udon Thani	Udon Thani	Udon Thani
2	Udon Thani	Bangkok	Khon Kaen	Nakhon Phanom
3	Chonburi	Lampang	Nakhon Sawan	Nakhon Ratchasima
4	Lampang	Nakhon atchasi	Lampang	Nongkhai
5	Ubon Ratchathani	Chonburi	Nakhon Ratchasima	Buri Ram
6	Rayong	Tak	Buri Ram	Khon Kaen
7	Nakhon Ratchasima	Khon Kaen	Chiangrai	Sakhon Nakhon
8	Samutprakarn	Nongkhai	Sakhon Nakhon	Chaiyaphum
9	Nakhon Phanom	Samutprakarn	Pichit	Lampang
10	Nongkhai	Nakhon Sawan	Mahasarakham	Chiangrai

Sources: Pitayanon 1981; Tingsabadh, 1989; Survey 1994.

It is apparent from Figure 3.7 that Nong han, Phen and Maung districts were selected because of the large number of migrants, accounting for 13, 10 and 7.5 per cent of the province respectively. However other districts also had a significant number of labour migrants during this period.

Figure 3.7 Number of International Labour Migrants by Districts of Udon Thani



Due to budgetary and time limitations, similar procedures were not able to be used to identify sub-districts and villages for study. Instead, the selection was made by consulting with officials in districts and heads of sub-districts and villages and asking their advice as to the areas most effected by migration. Bilsborrow *et al* (1997) point

out that selecting study areas by judgment is often appropriate when comprehensive sampling frames are not available for areas where international migrants and their households are thought to be concentrated. Particularly, in the case of the selection of a small number of study areas, judgment by knowledgeable local people is likely to be better than a random selection. Kish (1965:29) states that...

'If a research project must be confined to a single city...I would rather use my judgment to choose...than select one at random. Even for a sample of ten cities...I would rather trust my knowledge. But I would raise the question of enlarging the sample to 30 or 100 cities. For a sample of that size a probability selection should be designed and controlled with stratification.'

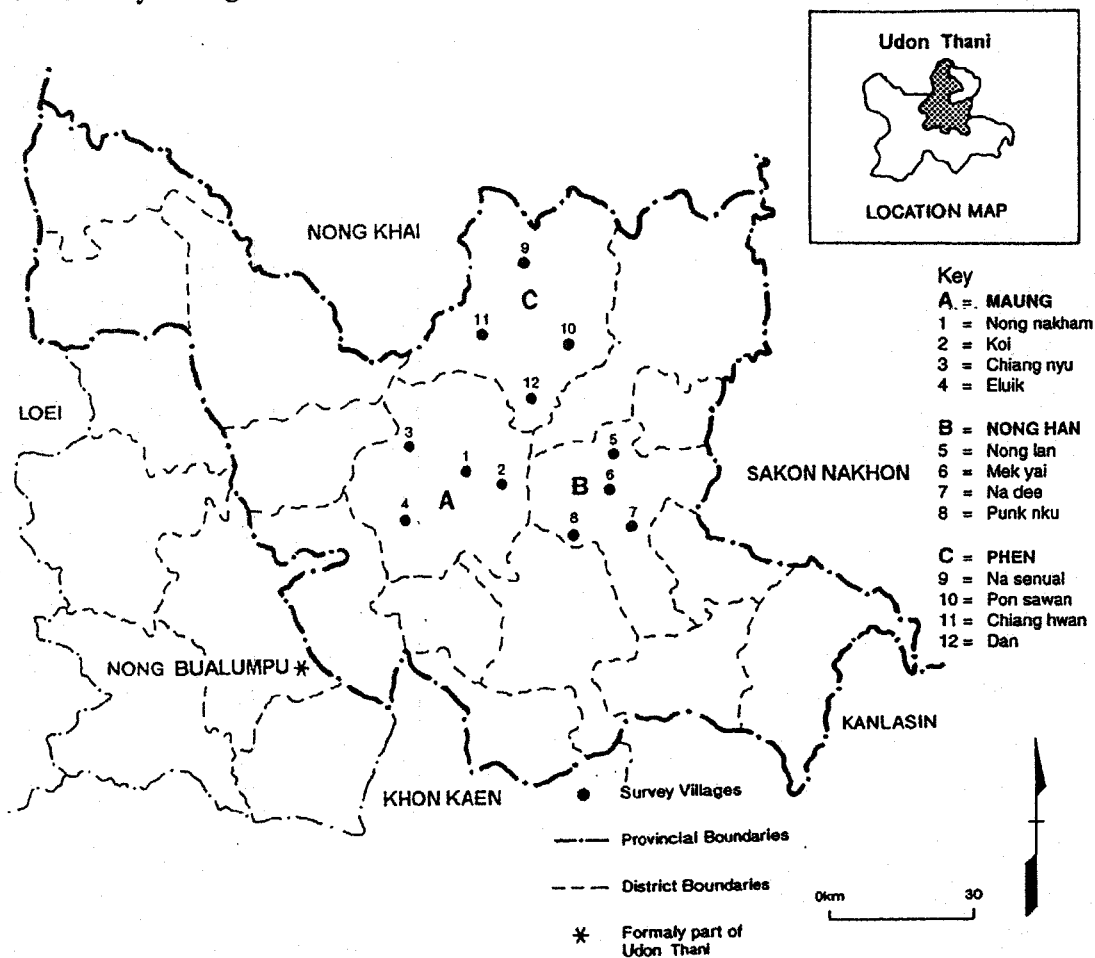
Hugo (1975) adopted a similar approach in his selection of fourteen study villages in West Java on a purposive basis. Hugo (1987: 381-2) argues that...

'...the task of carrying out surveys of a random sample of [3,709 non-urban desa (village)] within acceptable levels of sampling error was well beyond the resources of the project...Accordingly, a purposive selection of fourteen villages was made...based on four months intensive field reconnaissance, analysis of local population change statistics and discussion with local informants'.

In applying this approach in the present study, the heads of districts Nong han, Maung and Phen were asked to recommend sub-districts where a large number of people were leaving to become labour migrants. Two sub-districts of Nong han district namely Nong mek and Pung nku had the largest number of migrants at that time. Similarly, two sub-districts of Phen district, namely Koa krang and Chiang hwan and two sub-districts of Maung district, namely Nong nakham and Chiang nyu were also recommended as study areas. The field team spent many days visiting these sub-districts and talking to villagers before the final selection of communities to be surveyed was made. The next stage was to select villages for study within these sub-districts. Twelve villages from where most migrants were drawn were selected based

upon the judgment of knowledgeable, local informants such as heads of villages, village teachers and monks (Figure 3.8).

Figure 3.8 Survey Villages



In the villages, the researcher asked the head of every village to divide all households into three strata:

- households containing a current migrant still away,
- households containing returnees
- household containing neither current migrants nor returnees.

In practice, the village head marked these categories upon lists of all households in the area. Three lists were made separately and used as a sample frame to select the

households. In most cases the existing lists were incomplete and meetings with the village head, monk or teacher in the area were necessary in order to update them.

The sampling fraction was calculated by dividing total household numbers by the total expected household sample in each village as set out in Table 3.3.

Table 3.3 Total Households and Sampling Fraction in Survey Villages

Village (<i>mooban</i>)	Household	Sampling Fraction
1.Nong nakham	342	8:1
2.Koi	179	4:1
3.Chiang nyu	276	7:1
4.Eluik	152	4:1
5.Nong lan	172	4:1
6.Mek yai	90	2:1
7.Na dee	136	3:1
8.Punk nku	121	3:1
9.Na senual	194	5:1
10.Pon sawan	96	2:1
11.Chaing hwan	147	4:1
12.Dan	250	6:1
Total	2,155	

Source: Field Srvey 1994

For comparison purposes, the number of current migrant households and return migrant households to be visited in each village was 10. Similarly the number of non-migrant households expected to be interviewed was 20. This allowed a sampling interval to be used in the selection of survey households from the sampling frame lists. By applying the fraction to each strata, one out of every eight current migrant households in Nong nakham (1) for example, was visited; one out of every eight return migrant households was visited; and one out of every eight non-migrant households was visited (Table 3.4). The households were selected, located and an appointment made for an interview. The same method was applied to select replacement

households. The substitute households included five reserves in each strata which were only used if a respondent was not able to be contacted within two days.

Table 3.4 Household Sampling Frame (N) and Actual Household Sample (n)

Villages	Migrants				Total migrants		Stayers		Total Households	
	Returnees		Current migrants		N	n	N	n	N	n
	N	n	N	n						
1.Nong nakham	89	10	102	11	191	21	151	22	342	43
2.Koi	45	12	58	12	103	24	76	21	179	45
3.Chiang nyu	74	12	50	13	124	25	152	23	276	48
4.Eluik	40	12	37	11	77	23	75	27	152	50
5.Nong lan	38	10	61	15	99	25	73	16	172	41
6.Mek yai	23	12	26	13	49	25	41	20	90	45
7.Na dee	29	10	32	10	61	20	75	28	136	48
8.Punk nku	28	8	38	15	66	23	55	15	121	38
9.Na senual	43	6	49	7	92	13	102	16	194	29
10.Pon sawan	19	10	12	9	31	19	65	52	96	71
11.Chaing hwan	24	13	34	12	58	25	89	26	147	51
12.Dan	80	23	79	18	159	41	91	23	250	64
Total	532	138	578	146	1,110	284	1,045	289	2,155	573

Source: Field Survey 1994

These procedures were carried out during a second field visit (2-14 November 1993). Respondents interviewed for the household questionnaire were primarily the heads of the household in each strata, ie. households containing one member currently working abroad, households containing return migrants and households containing neither current migrants nor return migrants. They were selected as the respondents because the head of rural households in developing countries are often the most authoritative source of information regarding the household's overall situation (Haberhorn 1981).

Appointments were made village by village, beginning with the first village Nong nakham (1) through to Dan (12). It was expected that the team would spend at

least ten days in each village, commencing from the 21 of December, 1993 onward. Although appointments were made with respondents it did not mean that they could be expected to be home at that time, although they could be expected to stay within the village during the period of the survey. Hence many interviews were made at night after respondents came back from work, although some were also conducted in the rice fields.

As mentioned earlier, living in the villages meant that we could learn more about the livelihood of the rural people and establish definitively how migration is a part of their lives. It became apparent once the survey began that the accuracy of the sampling frame was not as great as had been expected. It was found that many households randomly selected (including substitute households) were empty or were occupied by elderly people. This is due to the fact that many people tend to migrate seasonally during February to April when there is little or no demand for agricultural work (Chamrathirong *et al* 1994; 1995; Goldstein and Goldstein 1986; Sussangkarn 1987). In this situation the closest household to the sampled household which was vacant was selected instead. We asked the head of each village together with his/her assistants to underline households in which people were actually living at the time of the survey. Hence the approach adopted means that the study is not statistically representative of all villages in Udon Thani province.

3.5 Questionnaires

Three types of questionnaires were constructed for the survey - individual, household and community- and they are shown in Appendix IV. The individual questionnaire aimed to collect data concerning the experiences of migrants while abroad including residence, salary, adjustment, activity and the return process. The

household questionnaire is divided into three modules - return migrant households, current migrant households and stayer households. The community questionnaire was the basis for interviews of key informants in the village and collecting material to allow the context of migration to be built up by the researcher.

An effective research design to examine migration impacts involves seeking information on the livelihood of migrants and their families before migration and comparing it to the situation after the migrant returns home. Such information would include attitudes, skills, occupation and health of migrants themselves and their families. As Da Vanzo (1982:) states, 'a more appropriate comparison for assessing the individual level consequences of migration is to compare the migrant's post-migration situation with his own pre-migration situation'. In this study the household questionnaires serve specifically to collect information on the consequences of international labour migration. Questions cover a broad range of dimensions of the economic and social situations of household members before the migration of a household member and after he/she has returned.

The household questionnaire consists of eight sections. The first seeks basic information regarding the characteristics of family members. A *de jure* concept is adopted so that currently absent migrants are included as members of the household. The second section seeks information about the migration process such as its causes, the sources of money to finance it and interaction with recruiters. The third includes questions about social and economic characteristics of households. In sections four to eight, information was sought about the detailed activities of households, problems facing them, health, relationship with migrants, attitudes towards social life and contraception (Table 3.5). A community questionnaire was used to obtain general information about the villages by interviewing key informants on many aspects such as

the social and economic condition of migrant families and non-migrant families and general levels of social and economic development in the study villages.

Table 3.5 Household Questionnaire and Information Sought

Sections	Current migrant household	Return migrant household	Non-migrant household
1.Characteristics of members	*	*	*
2.Migration process	*	*	
3.Socio-economic modernisation	*	*	*
4.Activities	*	*	*
5.Problems faced	*	*	*
6.Health	*	*	*
7.Relationship with migrant abroad	*	*	
8.Attitudes toward social life	*	*	*
9.Contraception		*	

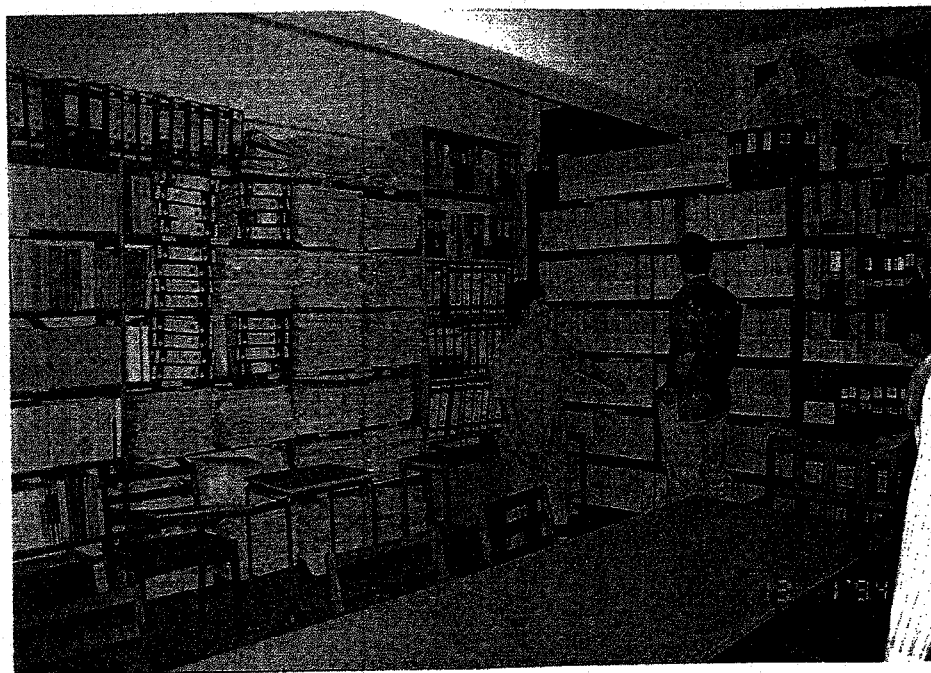
3.6 Collection of Data

Permission to conduct the survey was sought from the provincial governor, heads of districts, heads of sub-districts and heads of villages. The district officials were very co-operative and introduced us to heads of sub-districts and heads of villages. From this introduction, heads of villages also introduced us to their assistants and announced our arrival throughout the village. This led to a good response from respondents, with only one respondent on average refusing the interview in each village.

Before the actual survey began and during the second field visit, a pilot survey was carried out for several purposes (Plate 3.1). Firstly, it was to evaluate the level of response and cooperation that could be received from local people. Secondly, it was used to pre-test questions to see if they were understood by respondents and effective

in obtaining the required information. This was also a good opportunity to spend a short period of time in reconnaissance of each village before the survey began. It was also a chance to discuss the actual migratory situation with inhabitants in the villages.

Plate 3.1 Collecting Data from Government Organisations



The household and individual questionnaires were pre-tested in three villages - Nong nakham (1), Nong lan (5) and Dan (12), interviewing a total of 24 households. Eight households were visited in each village, including two current migrant households, two return migrant households and four non-migrant households. The pre-test was carried out by the researcher and two colleagues from the Institute for Population and Social Search (IPSR). The questionnaires pre-tested at the first village were modified during the day and re-pretested in the second and the third village.

The researcher then recruited five assistants who had graduated with at least a bachelors' degree and had experience in interviewing, editing and coding questionnaires. They included three males and two females who assisted on a full time

basis. Although all of them had experience in interviewing and were trained before the survey commenced. The training began with an explanation of the objectives of the survey, and also included a practice interview with respondents in an actual survey village. Actual situations were set up and each interviewer alternatively became a respondent.

Once the survey began in late December 1993, each interviewer was initially assigned to interview up to four respondents a day. During the day-to-day interviews, the researcher participated in at least one household of each interviewer each day. While one was interviewing, the researcher asked others (who had already finished theirs) to observe nearby. During lunch time, the advantages and disadvantages of each interviewer's manners were raised and discussed frankly. Every one was happy and accepted each other's comments. At the end of a day, the researcher asked interviewers to check their own questionnaires before submitting them. Some abbreviations and personal handwriting were therefore corrected. If there were unclear issues, the interviewer had to go back to complete the questionnaire. All of us behaved, dressed and ate as the local people did during the field work.

We lived in the villages for the whole period of the interviews. We were allowed to live at the house of the village head and had an opportunity to follow him to the village meeting organised every month at the village hall. This allowed us some familiarity with the villagers and helped us to better understand their way of life, as well as to view the impacts of migration in a clearer context.

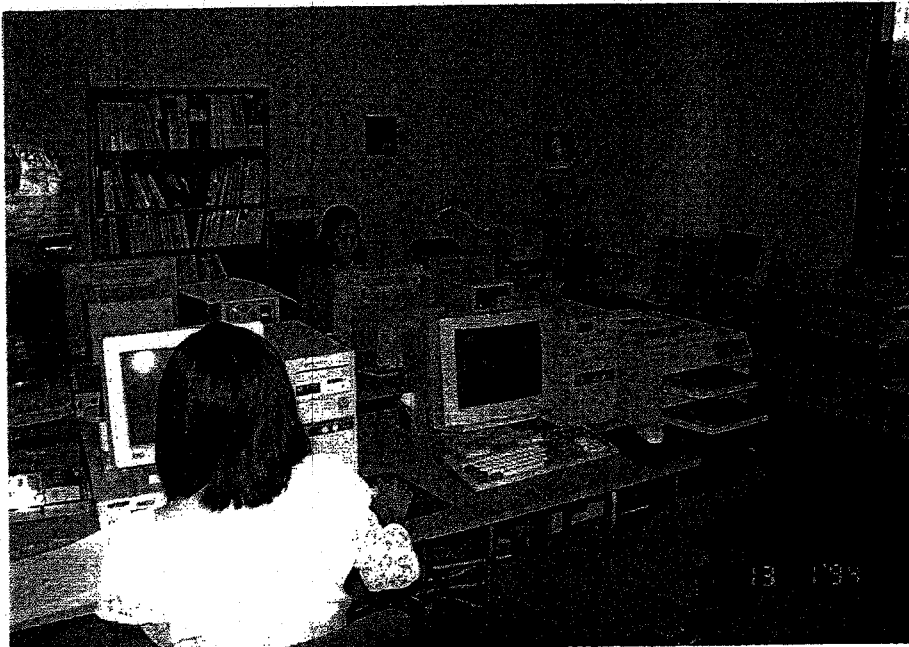
3.7 Coding and Editing

Once the interviews were completed, a code book was constructed. This was to guide the coding of information from the questionnaires before entering them into

the computer. This task was done at the house of an assistant head of village of Chiang hwan (11) where we spent the last two weeks of field work. The five interviewers were assigned to code their own questionnaires to prevent any misunderstanding from handwriting.

We did the coding together question by question. All codes were checked by the researcher and his colleagues (Plate 3.2).

Plate 3.2 Data Processing



With facilities provided by the Director of the IPSR, all data were entered into microcomputers using a data entry package which had been programmed with consistency and range checks. A range of descriptive statistics were used to analyse the data. These included frequency distributions, crosstabulations, chi-square and path analysis. The analysis was undertaken by using the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS) Program.

3.8 Qualitative Data

In this study migration information was also obtained from in-depth interviews with key informants and by carrying out focus groups with villagers. This was to collect more detailed information on particular issues from key informants such as village heads or local leaders to support the quantitative information obtained in the survey (Boonchalaksi 1988:95). The key informant interviews began with identification of respondents who were most highly respected and knowledgeable in the village. They could be village heads, elderly villagers, local teachers or monks. In this survey, all village heads (twelve) were interviewed as well as some elderly villagers who had lived in the community for more than ten years. The interviews were taped and analysed by the researcher. In addition, one focus group was also organised in every village. Participants included villagers who had significant experience of migration and its effects (Boonchalaksi 1988:97) such as being international labour migrants themselves.

3.9 Conclusion

The survey is a very important methodology in the study of migration at the micro level. While secondary data analysis of international migration in Thailand can only indicate the broad impacts of international labour migration, data from a survey provide more detailed insights into migration impacts. This is important especially in the areas where migration has been occurring for several decades. It is important however, to back up the survey data with material obtained using qualitative methods and from the available secondary data sources. This chapter has presented the research design adopted for examining impacts of international labour migration in Udon Thani. A multistage selection procedure was used to select the twelve villages of Udon Thani as the study areas. Both quantitative and qualitative information were collected and

analysed together with existing studies. The information collected and analysed is presented in the following chapters.

CHAPTER 4

THE VILLAGE CONTEXT OF INTERNATIONAL LABOUR MIGRATION

4.1 Introduction

According to Hugo (1975, 1978, 1981), a problem in migration studies in Third World countries is the lack of concepts and theories formulated within the context in which migration is occurring. Most studies take definitions and concepts developed from surveys in developed countries and presume that they are universal. Such approaches do not always reveal the significant impacts of migration which need to be examined in the social, economic and cultural context of areas being affected. Hugo (1987:163) notes that, 'the heterogeneity of migration itself and of communities of origin and destination must be recognized in any attempt to generalize about migration effects.' Findley (1987) also points out the significance of the social and economic context of migration in her analysis in the Philippines where she attempts to establish linkages between individual and community variables.

It is argued in this study that examination of the social, economic and cultural context of the sample emigration villages provides meaningful insights into the impacts of international labour migration on family and community. Udon Thani was selected as the study province because it had experienced international labour emigration for three decades. The occurrence of this movement has been attributed to the presence of U.S. Military Base during the 1970s when the companies associated with the development of the massive base employed local workers. After the removal of this military base in 1975, these companies moved to Middle Eastern countries, where the 1973 oil boom had led to massive construction projects and continued to

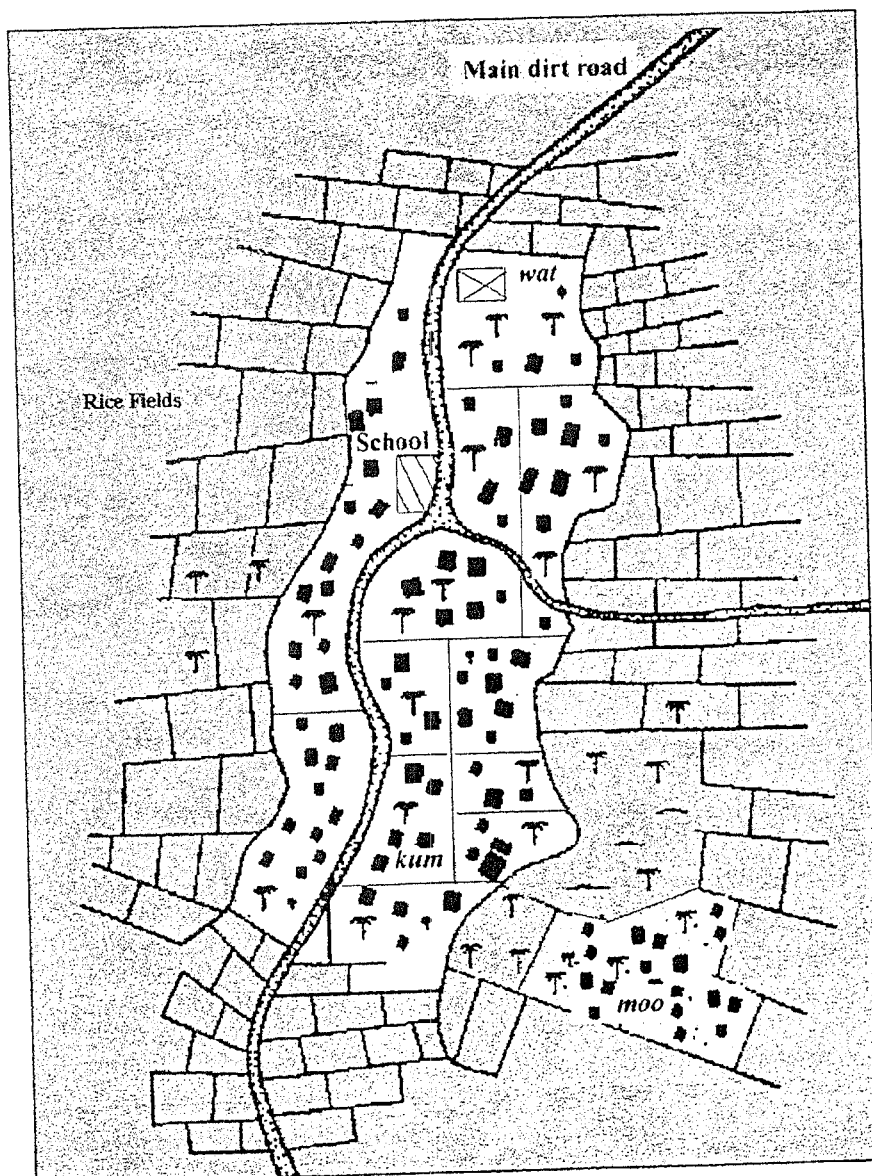
employ workers from Udon Thani (Roongshivin 1982; Chiengkul 1986; Tingsabadh 1989; Singhanetra- Renard 1992; Pitayanon 1982; Paopongsakorn and Sangthanapurk 1987). The social and economic context of Udon Thani is a rapidly changing one. While the province has a comparative advantage in agricultural products, the opening of the Friendship Bridge across the Mekong River linking Thailand and Laos in 1994 has created a new channel for economic growth. However, international migration of people is still a significant factor and is expected to be so into the near future. International labour migration has resulted in social and economic changes in the villages from where migrants are drawn. This chapter provides some background about the livelihood of people in rural Udon Thani with a particular focus on the twelve villages surveyed. The chapter is based on information obtained from village records, observation and discussions carried out in the close daily contact with village people during field work in 1994.

4.2 The Village Setting

De Young (1958:Chapter 1) pointed out the geographical perspective of villages in rural Thailand, whereby houses are likely to locate along established roads. In some areas such as the North and the Central Regions, villages are located along the banks of rivers. This reflects the significance of accessibility in shaping the settlement patterns of Thai people.

Throughout the study areas, it was found that each village was located on a long dirt road. Houses were built on both sides of the road, except on the wider roads (over 6 metres), where houses may be located on one side only. Hence, a village may extend in linear fashion from a few hundred metres to several kilometres (Figure 4.1).

Figure 4.1 Generalised Map of Settlement Pattern of Survey Villages



Note: Location of *wat* and school varies from village to village
 Source: After De Young (1958:11)

In villages such as Nong nakham (1) and Pung nku (8), an isolated group of households, separated from the main part of the village, are often found. Such a group of households are identified as *moo* (sub village) and are generally located not far from the main village (around 200 metres). These sub villages are linked to the main village

by a dirt road. The number of *moo* in a village varies from one to four and they are numbered for purposes of administration.

Villages are often separated from each other by large expanses of open rice fields, but if they adjoin each other along the same road, the boundary of a village is identified by a traffic sign. Indeed in many cases there is uncertainty regarding village boundaries (De Young 1958; Hirsch 1990). Rural people usually use natural boundaries such as rice fields, a line of trees, roads or canals to indicate the boundary of a village.

The areas of the villages surveyed varied from less than 2,000 *rai* (1 *rai* = 0.4 acre) to 7,000 *rai* (Table 4.1). Most of the area in a village is covered by rice fields of which the ownership rights are not yet clear (Plate 4.1). This problem arises from the fact that villagers do not have clear title to the land¹ (Appendix V). Hundreds of villagers are found working on land that the government claims is national forest reserve. A number of complex factors mean that rural people are not able to obtain clear title of land. It is reported that some 45.5 per cent of the total area in the northeast region is reserved forest, whereas the rest is under farm holding. The Land Department however is unable to give a precise estimate of land covered by all the titles that have ever been issued (Feder *et al* 1988). Ammar *et al* (1993:100) explains that...

- The government finds it difficult to construct a clear set of policies on forest and conservation. Even though there is an active market in land without titles.
- Under the old land law of 1897, the Department of Forest could lay claim to half of the total land area of the kingdom.

¹ There are many types of land title in Thailand. Each type has a specific definition and is valued differently (see Feder *et al* 1988).

- The Department of Forest is unable to protect land from powerful invaders even when the land is environmentally fragile, while farmers are prevented from acquiring title to these lands.

Table 4.1 Areas of Survey Villages

Villages	Area (rai)	Per cent of province
1.Nong nakham	7,469	.08
2.Koi	4,000	.04
3.Chiang nyu	3,916	.04
4.Eluik	2,350	.02
5.Nong lan	3,469	.04
6.Mek yai	2,450	.03
7.Na dee	3,944	.04
8.Pung nku	1,900	.02
9.Na senua	5,725	.06
10.Pon sawan	5,765	.06
11.Chiang hwan	2,300	.02
12.Dan	4,219	.04

Note: 1 rai= 0.4 acres

Source: Village Records 1994

Plate 4.1 Land in Villages



In the villages surveyed, landless people make their livings by working for others as day labourers. People owning small pieces of land prefer them to be leased

because they receive the rent (around 150 baht per *rai*) and earn additional income from working for others at the same time. While people earn 30,000 baht a year from their land (20 *rai*) at the most, they can earn up to 150 baht per day if they work for others during the peak period.

4.3 Transportation

In rural Udon Thani, construction of roads has had a considerable impact on agricultural development and overall economic growth of villages. Not only do roads provide communication between villages but they also provide farmers with direct access to external markets, which significantly increases their crop prices by cutting out the middleman (Fuhs 1979; Hirsch 1990). New roads are constructed every year by provincial councils. Some are upgraded from dirt to concrete ones. The local villagers have the responsibility of maintaining them, except for some important roads which are so muddy during the rainy season that the provincial council provides money for repairing them. Most new roads are constructed following cart tracks which were initially created by villagers (De Young 1958:12). The new roads are planned to join the highway heading directly to the district and the provincial centre (Hirsch 1990; Muscat 1994).

People usually use motor cycles to communicate with other communities. Table 4.2 shows that bicycles and motor cycles are the most popular vehicles for travelling in every village surveyed. These vehicles have become part of the livelihood of rural people to such an extent, that one can see seven years old children driving a motor cycle around the village. Some people also drive *ea tan* (farming truck) (Plate 4.2) if they want to travel a short distance. This vehicle is driven by the engine of

power tillers² and is used to transport products within farming areas. In addition, rural people prefer to use *sky lab* services (Plate 4.3) for travelling to the district or provincial centre. The fare is negotiable but the standard fare is ten baht for a one way trip to or from the district centre (Table 4.3).

Table 4.2 Types of Vehicles Owned by Villagers

Villages	Light truck	Motor cycle	Bicycle	<i>ea tan</i>	Car
1.Nong nakham	16	195	389	4	2
2.Koi	9	61	170	3	2
3.Chiang nyu	11	128	310	6	3
4.Eluik	3	67	166	3	0
5.Nong lan	3	112	95	4	1
6.Mek yai	2	12	18	0	0
7.Na dee	2	23	75	8	0
8.Pung nku	3	30	31	8	0
9.Na sensual	4	55	120	8	1
10.Pon sawan	2	37	66	4	0
11.Chiang hwan	6	45	130	2	1
12.Dan	5	57	110	0	2

Source: Village Records 1994

Plate 4.2 *Ea tan*



² Power tillers are applied and used as water pumps, vehicle's engines and electrical generators (see Beek 1995; Hirsch 1990).

Plate 4.3 *Sky Lab*

In villages located closed to the highway, such as Nong nakham (1) and Koi (2), people can travel by inter-district and inter-province bus. An inter-district bus (Plate 4.4) is usually available every thirty minutes or until the seats are full (around 50) but the villagers can ask the bus driver to depart earlier and pay a little extra. Using the bus services however is less popular than *sky lab* which is available on request at any time.

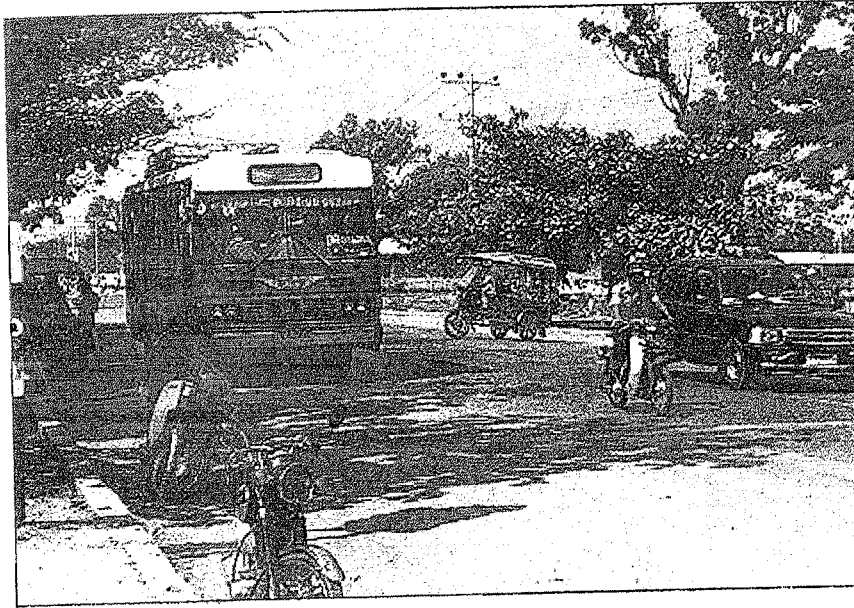
Table 4.3 Distance from Villages to Provincial Centre

Villages	Type of road	Transportation cost (<i>sky lab</i>)(Baht)	Distance from pro- -vincial centre (km)
1.Nong nakham	Dirt	5	18
2.Koi	Dirt	7	24
3.Chiang nyu	Concrete	5	16
4.Eluik	Concrete	5	12
5.Nong lan	Concrete	10	35
6.Mek yai	Dirt	12	42
7.Na dee	Dirt/Concrete	20	53
8.Pung nku	Concrete	15	42
9.Na sensual	Dirt	20	51
10.Pon sawan	Dirt/Concrete	20	58
11.Chiang hwan	Concrete	10	36
12.Dan	Concrete	15	48

Note: Type of road refers to the main road in villages only.

Source: Field Survey 1994

Plate 4.4 An Interdistrict Bus



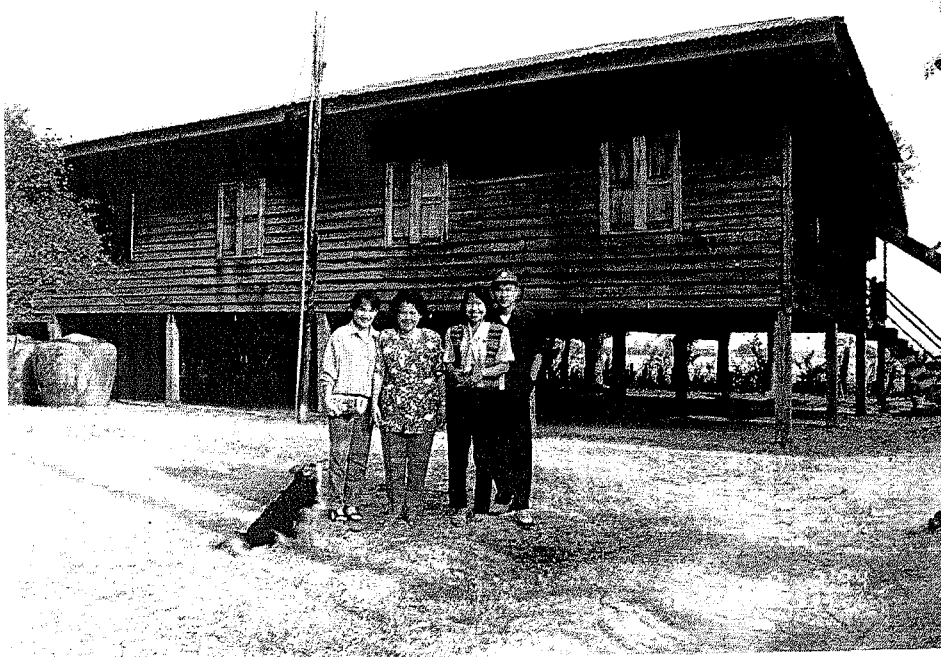
4.4 Household Characteristics

Houses in villages of Thailand are normally built on posts, some five to six feet off the ground (De Young 1958) (Plate 4.5). In areas near rivers, houses are built on taller posts for flood protection. In the survey villages however, building houses on posts is done for other reasons. Firstly, the open area under the house is used for stabling pigs and buffaloes. Secondly, it is used for storing farm equipment. Thirdly, the area is used as a playground for children, or hanging a swing for a baby. The area is also used for entertaining guests or for craft work, such as weaving clothes and bamboo mats (see also De Young 1958).

The building materials of houses vary from hardwood to concrete and tiles. Given the fact that houses of rural people reflect the social and economic status of the owners, the houses of better off people normally have two floors. The first floor is built with concrete and decorated with colourful ceramics. The second floor is built

with hardwood and the roof is zinc or tiles. On the other hand, the houses of poor people are built on wood posts, leaving a lower open area, while the upper floor is a living area for family members. The roof and wall is normally made of zinc. There is one room in the living area available for the head of the household. Other family members sleep in a large hall which is sectioned by wardrobes to provide private space for individuals. The cooking section of poor farmers' houses is located at the rear of the house and is sectioned by pieces of wood. The door is unsecured and made from softwood.

Plate 4.5 A House Built on Posts



The compounds of houses in the rural Northeast are generally the same, occupying areas of around 20 metres by 15 metres. The house is normally located in the middle of the area. The fence is made of natural materials such as bamboo or trunks of trees to specify the boundary of a house rather than to provide protection from thieves. Most houses are built next to each other so people can walk through

from one house to another and keep watch on each others house and warn if there is a stranger coming. In most villages, houses are built within a square block so the rear of a house is facing another within a block. Each block is separated by a dirt road. Many blocks are grouped together as a unit called a *kum*. Each *kum* has a head to manage general matters and to raise issues with the village head in a meeting (Figure 4.1).

4.5 Population and Division of Labour

The villages surveyed vary in size. In a big village such as Nong nakam (1) the number of households is over three hundred, while a small village such as Mek yai (6) contains only ninety households (Table 4.4). However the size of villages is not correlated to household size. While a household in a small village such as Koi (2) for example, contains more than six persons, a household in a bigger village such as Nong nakham (1) contains only three persons. One important characteristic of the surveyed villages is that the sex ratio (male:100 females) of the eight villages is relatively low.

Table 4.4 Population and Households

Villages	Households	Population	Sex ratio (m:100f)	Average Household size
1.Nong nakham	342	1,245	79.3	3.6
2.Koi	179	1,090	62.7	6.0
3.Chiang nyu	276	1,393	81.6	5.0
4.Eluik	152	569	109.2	3.7
5.Nong lan	172	1,030	82.9	5.9
6.Mek yai	90	405	89.3	4.5
7.Na dee	136	725	104.2	5.3
8.Pung nku	121	375	102.7	3.0
9.Na sensual	194	1,181	105.4	6.0
10.Pon sawan	96	619	78.9	6.4
11.Chiang hwan	147	802	80.6	5.4
12.Dan	250	1,482	86.6	5.9

Source: Field Survey 1994

The strong role of women in rural Thai society is widely recognised (De Young 1958; Fitzsimmons 1957; Singhanetra-Renard and Prabhudhanitisarn 1992; Yoddumner-Attig 1992; Soonthorntdhada 1992; Phongpaichit 1992). Their roles range from cleaning houses and buying and selling goods at the market to being a representative of the household at village meetings. The woman's primary duty is to maintain the house in good order and to provide the family with food and decent clothing, as well as to take care of ageing members. In many households, women act as the treasurer, controlling family finances and making decisions concerning its use (Plate 4.6).

Plate 4.6 Role of Women as Breadwinners



As Singhanetra-Renard and Prabhudhanitisarn (1992:161) state, 'in the traditional subsistence economy, rural women worked side by side with the men in family farming and food production. Women also played a major role in trading. In almost all Thai

markets, past and present, women vendors have dominated virtually every branch of commerce.' In the survey villages, women work side by side with men in agricultural jobs and are often elected to be assistant village heads. Their social positions are relatively powerful.

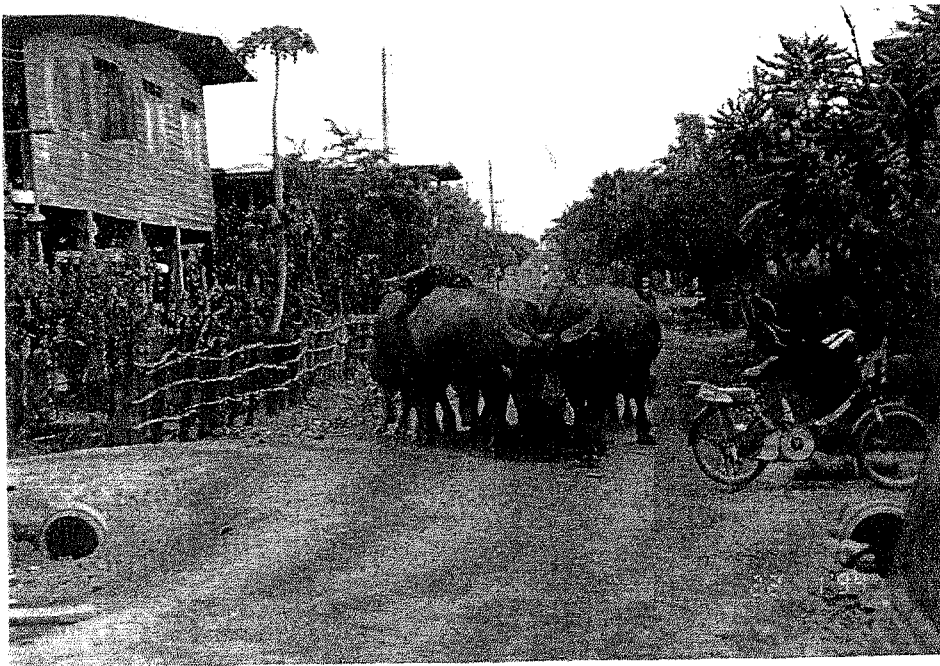
It is normal that children are productively engaged in agricultural jobs. According to Podhisita (1994:259), the family household in rural areas is both a work place and a residence where all members of the family, including children, share the family work. Children are regarded as family labour and often participate in agricultural jobs during the peak period (July to October). Thus the operation of village schools is co-ordinated with planting and harvest seasons.

Children can indeed bring money into the family by working for other farmers. If they are from poor families, their earnings either as cash or rice (cash in kind), will go to support the family although they are allowed to keep a certain proportion for their own use (De Young 1958:25). Children are usually assigned to take care of buffaloes, taking them out to the field early in the morning and taking them back in the late afternoon (Plate 4.7). In the field the children often sit or sleep in a shelter (or under a tree) while the buffaloes are grazing or wading in a mud. If a family does not have buffaloes, children usually help their parents with the cooking and cleaning of the house. If the family has a small business such as a grocery shop, children always help their parents sell and pack goods.

Administratively, the village head is at the top of the village, attaining higher social status over others. He/she comes to the position through an open election of villagers and remains in the position until they are sixty five years old. This is opposed to the old days when he/she remains in the position as long as he/she retained the

confidence and respect of villagers (De Young 1958; Zimmerman 1931; Embree 1950). The village head is expected to be well off and respectable. He/she has the authority to appoint four assistants and is responsible for forming a village committee for administrative purposes (Ministry of Interior 1993). These people are in charge of collecting vital statistics (births, deaths, disease occurrences) and governing (such as giving a household number and arresting thieves). These responsibilities enhance the high status of the village head and the assistants so that they are regarded as the elite among the villagers (Hirsch 1990).

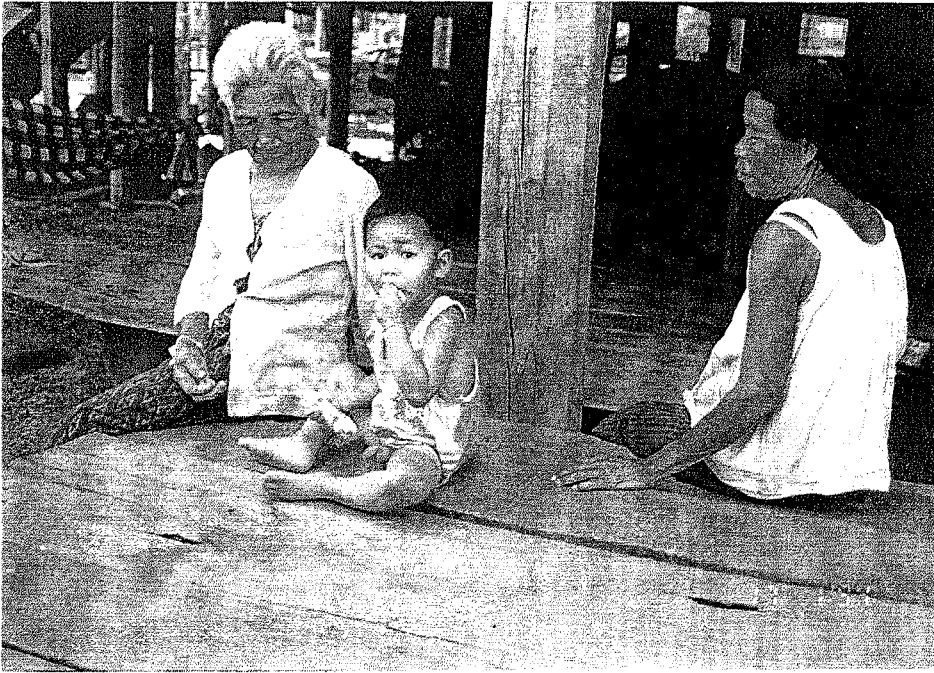
Plate 4.7 Children Taking Buffaloes to the Field



Ageing people are highly respected by younger people. They are referred to by kinship terms such as grandfather or grandmother, although they are not blood relations. People at the age of sixty are not idle. Although most of them retire from agricultural jobs, they usually participate in raising their grandchildren (Plate 4.8). The activities of these people also include crafts such as weaving mats or bamboo baskets.

More importantly, younger people who need advice on a range of matters will call upon them and show them high respect due to their age. In many circumstances, elderly people are invited to be advisers of village committees and are regarded as the village elite.

Plate 4.8 Ageing People and Children



Some elderly people turn to the *wat* (temple) and devote their time to maintaining chapels or cleaning the compound. It is then common to see older people (especially males) spend their last span of life as *pra* monks. Indeed the social life of rural people and the village *wat* are strongly integrated together. Theoretically men are expected to enter the monkhood at least once during their life. They can enter the monkhood above the age of seven years old and attain the status of novice. If he remains in the *wat* until he is twenty years of age, he will turn his status to a monk and will be widely respected by all people. Traditionally, novices can learn reading and writing as if they are in school (De Young 1958). However few people nowadays send

their children to the *wat* for schooling since a village school provides children with a better education in terms of materials and socialising.

4.6 Family Household and Kinship

The primary social unit in the rural Thai village is the family household (Podhisita 1994; Brummelhuis and Kemp 1982). Conventionally, the term 'family' refers to a group of people who are related to each other through kinship ties (especially blood ties). A survey conducted in the Northeast and the South of Thailand in 1989 reported that respondents who are often mentioned as members of the family included parents and children, grandparents of both husband and wife, uncles and aunts, grandchildren, sons in law and daughters in law. People often think that the family begins when a man and a woman marry regardless of whether or not they have children or have a residence of their own (Podhisita 1994; Wongsith 1994). Theoretically, a nuclear family³ becomes a three generation family when the children marry and join the group.

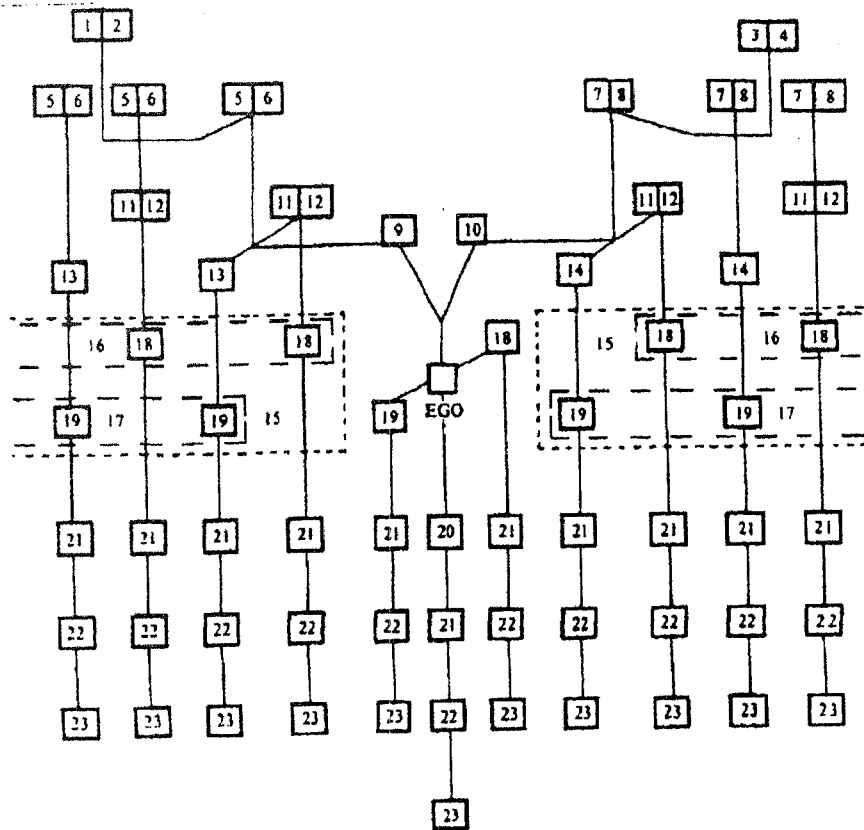
The common practice of postnuptial residence requires that husbands leave their parents to live with their wives' families. The couple stay at the wife's parental home for a certain period of time before moving out to establish their own independent household. The youngest grown child of the family (mainly a daughter) stays permanently with the parents to look after them in their old age and to inherit the house. If she marries, the couple are supposed to stay in the house (Figure 4.2).

³ The nuclear family is composed of a married couple and their children.

Figure 4.2 Formal Genealogical Structure of Thai Kinship Terms

Patrilineal

Matrilineal



- 1. puu thuad (great grand father)
- 2. jaa thuad (great grand mother)
- 3. taa thuad (great grand father)
- 4. jaa thuad (great grand mother)
- 5. puu (grand father)
- 6. jaa (grand mother)
- 7. taa (grand father)
- 8. jaa (grand mother)
- 9. phqq (father)
- 10. mae (mother)
- 11. lung (uncle)

- 12. paa (aunt)
- 13. aa (father's younger brother)
- 14. naa (mother's younger sister)
- 15. luug phii luug nqqng (relative)
- 16. luug phii (older relative)
- 17. luug nqqng (younger relative)
- 18. pee {
 - saaw (older sister)
 - chaaj (younger brother)
- 19. nong {
 - saaw (younger sister)

- chaaj (son)
- 20. luug saaw (daughter)
- 21. laan (nephew)
- 22. leen (grand child)
- 23. loon (great grand child)

Source: After Brummelhuis and Kemp (1984: 13)

This pattern produces a simple family cycle, reverting again to a nuclear family when the parents die (Foster 1975:37 cited in Podhisita 1994; Phongpaichit 1992;

Richter and Podhisita 1992; Yoddumner-Attig 1992). The family household thus consists of two to three generations. Family life is guided by a strict domain hierarchy, in which the senior is the ultimate source of authority. This family structure binds members together as a single unit. Thus when referring to a particular house, villagers always call it by the name of the head of household who normally is the father (De Young 1958).

In a family, the father is regarded as the head of the household and other family members are expected to obey him. The children are brought up to show respect to the head but his orders are not regarded as absolute commands. Mothers teach children the proper family roles but these are taught as the way to behave, rather than as absolute rules. Breaking these family rules is common but children are readily forgiven (De Young 1958). This pattern of bringing-up children means that an individual personality is generally characterised and dictated by family rules (Brummelhuis 1984:48). An important rule is the respect given to superiors. It is inappropriate to confront a superior in an unexpected and unpleasant manner. Instead an individual tends to develop strategies for indirectly influencing and manipulating superiors within the limits of correct form.

Within a family, children address relatives according to their position - brother, sister, uncle, aunt, grandfather/mother, son/daughter, nephew/niece and so on. Thai kinship distinguishes age differences in terms of younger and older brother/sister. In speaking to older siblings, people use the more general term *pee* (elder sibling); in speaking to younger ones, they use *nong* (younger sibling). This term is applied to a husband and wife. The husband calls his wife *nong*, while a wife calls her husband *pee* (Brummelhuis and Kemp 1984:15; De Young 1958; Podhisita 1994).

These kinship terms are applied to people outside the family and village. In speaking to other people, they use words expressing the degree of relationship. If one wants to speak to elder persons living in other villages for example, he/she calls them by a term of respect such as father, mother or grandfather and grandmother. These words are used although the speaker is not related to the older persons. This manner narrows the social distinction between 'insiders' and 'outsiders' to the family (Podhisita 1994). Accordingly, a village becomes a big family, in which non-blood-related villagers address each other in kinship terms. The pattern of kinship is strengthened and expanded to villages nearby if a person marries outside his/her own village (Podhisita 1994; De Young 1958).

4.7 Social and Economic Patterns of the Survey Villages

4.7.1 Business

Normally a large village such as Nong nakham (1) tends to be self-sustaining having grocery stores and areas for organising a morning market. The weekly market operates every Friday at the village *wat*. Vendors from outside the village are allowed to open their stores, providing goods to both local inhabitants and people coming from neighbouring villages. This market can double the population of the village within hours. The market operates from early in the morning until noon. Vendors come to the market at 5.00 am, while the villagers begin coming an hour later. The peak period is between 8.00 am to 9.00 am when people shop before they go to work. The vendors begin packing up after 10.00 am and leave the village by noon. The weekly market attracts more people than the morning market because it provides a wider range of goods including those from provincial centres and Bangkok.

Some villagers combine a grocery store and a house in the same unit. Normally, grocery stores are concentrated in the big villages, but are also found in villages located close to the district centre (Table 4.5). These stores sell consumer goods such as tooth brushes, combs, cigarettes and matches but some also sell a wider range of goods, such as food and cloth. Many stores are connected with a telephone line, serving people at 5 baht a call. These stores have become the main socialising places in the village. There are no business hours and people can knock at the door and buy goods at any time.

Table 4.5 Grocery and Motor Cycle Repair Shops in the Survey Villages

Villages	Grocery	Motor cycle repair shop
1.Nong nakham	13	2
2.Koi	3	-
3.Chiang nyu	14	1
4.Eluik	5	3
5.Nong lan	6	1
6.Mek yai	3	-
7.Na dee	5	-
8.Pung nku	5	1
9.Na sensual	5	-
10.Pon sawan	3	1
11.Chiang hwan	3	1
12.Dan	5	2

Source: Field Survey 1994

4.7.2 Rice Cultivation

The rhythm of life of people in the study villages is determined by a relatively fixed cycle of productive activities (Table 4.6). People generally spend six months in rice cultivation and another six months working in urban areas. Agricultural tasks begin in early June when the first rains soften the soil. Farmers begin preparing the paddy field by ploughing it several times. Many farmers use buffaloes for ploughing, although some prefer using 'iron buffaloes' (power tiller) (Plate 4.9). The field is

scraped by iron teeth to pull out large weeds and break up the mud. The field is then left under water for several days.

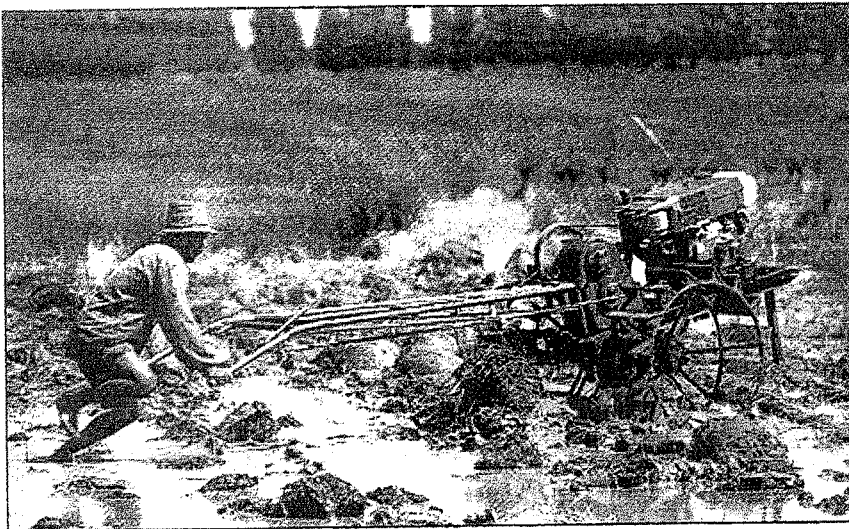
Table 4.6 The Seasonal Schedule of Rice Cultivating

Activities	June	July	August	September	October	November	December
Preparing the field							
- Ploughing	x	x					
- Screening	x	x					
- Left under water	x	x					
Preparing seedbed	x	x					
Transplanting			x				
Regulating field							
- Fertilising			x	x	x		
- Pulling weeds			x	x	x		
- Repairing dike			x	x	x		
- Keeping water level			x	x	x		
Harvesting							
- Reaping						x	x
- Drying						x	x
- Threshing						x	x
- Winnowing						x	x
- Storing						x	x

Note: Schedule varies according to type of cultivation, weather, labour and equipment
 Source: Summarised from De Young (1958); Beek (1995); Tavato and Arvakul (1992)

About four to six weeks later the seedlings are transplanted into the paddy field (The seeds were grown in a nursery bed beforehand). This task is usually finished by hand. Farmers walk backward in a line and push the seeds into the mud (Plate 4.10). After the field has been planted, farmers will take care of the field and seeds by pulling weeds and repairing dikes. These tasks are finished by family members and hired labour (the pay rate for hiring labour is 80-150 baht a day). In many villages where the traditional *ko raeng* (reciprocal labour) is still active, labourers are neighbours who expect to receive the same kind of labour in return for their tasks (Hirsch 1990; De Young 1958; Tomosugi 1995; Fuhs 1979).

Plate 4.9 *Iron Buffalo*



Source:Beek (1995:32)

Plate 4.10 *Transplanting Rice*



After the transplanting period, the rice field needs less labour. The nature of agricultural work is such that each task needs to be finished in sequence, which allows rural people to specialise in other jobs apart from farming. People can do handicrafts such as paper making, broom-making and artificial flower-making at home. Some

villagers work as day-labourers in the district or provincial centre. Sussangkarn (1987) and Fuhs (1979) found that farmers normally spend less than half of their labour⁴ in agricultural activities, while the rest is spent in non-agricultural activities. These part-time jobs make more cash than agricultural jobs, and comprise 46 per cent of total income (Sussangkarn 1987).

Around ten days before the harvesting season (late November), the water is drained from the field to allow it to dry. The grain is then reaped and left to dry in the sun for several days (Plate 4.11). The grain is threshed using a number of methods - striking the earth by hand, driving around by buffaloe and using machines (Plate 4.12). Rice is winnowed by hand using a woven bamboo tray. Finally, the threshed rice is transported to the granary by *ea tan*.

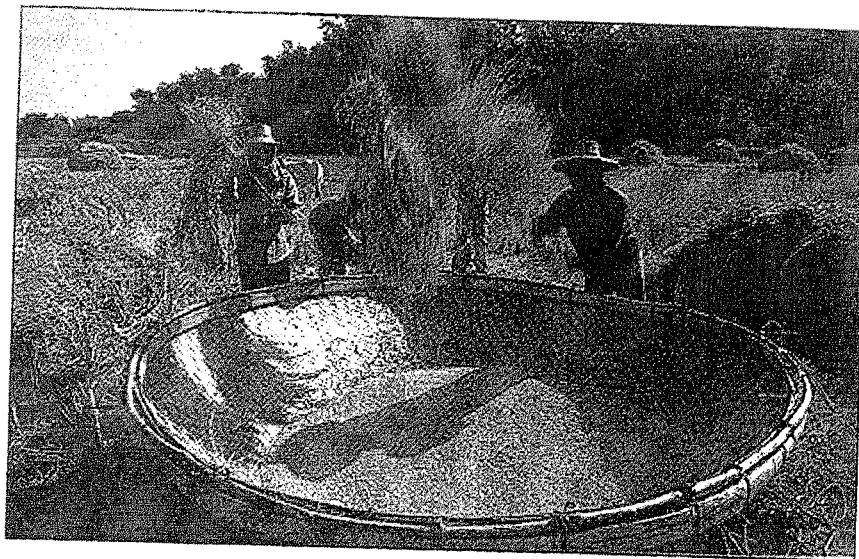
Plate 4.11 Harvesting Rice



Source:Beek (1995:24)

⁴ Fuhs (1979:5) calculated labour time in man-year equivalents. On average, a person works 8 hours a day, 25 days per month and thus total labour time will be 2,400 hours a year.

Plate 4.12 An Example of Threshing Rice



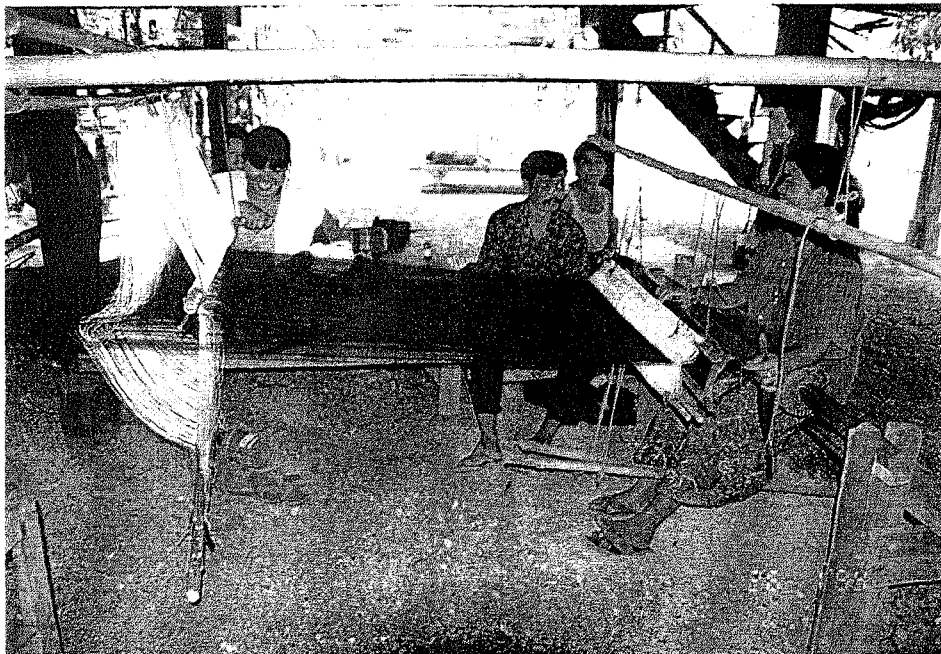
Source: Beek (1995:32)

In the dry season (February to May), land is unirrigated, unfertilised and unable to be cultivated. Most young villagers migrate to urban areas and work as day labourers. This is a part of the rhythm of life which rural villagers repeat year after year (see Chamratrithirong *et al* 1994, 1995; Goldstein and Goldstein 1986; Sussangkarn 1987). In one survey village (Mek yai (6)), people move to Bangkok in a group, ranging from 10 to 20 persons at a time. They hire light trucks to take them to Bangkok during the dry season. Most of them return home in early April to celebrate *song krang* (Thai new year on the 13th). Some remain in the village and wait until the new cultivation season; while some go back to work in Bangkok and return home late in May.

4.7.3 Non-Agricultural Activities

As mentioned earlier, rural people usually combine non-agricultural activities with farming jobs during the dry season. While most young villagers migrate to urban centres, notably Bangkok, elderly people and children left behind usually spend most of the time doing local handicrafts such as weaving mats and textiles and selling them to middlemen. People in Chiang hwan (11) for example, weave *pa lai kit*, a typical cloth for which the province is famous and is sold to middlemen and visitors (Plate 4.13). In other villages, it is normal to see older people weaving bamboo baskets at the rear of the house. Some older women are found spinning cotton thread by a simple handmade wheel.

Plate 4.13 Using Open Areas for Weaving *pa lai kit*



Some villagers earn income from feeding animals such as pigs and buffaloes. Villagers sell them to dealers who come to the village every month. They raise

chickens and hens for family consumption. Eggs excess to consumption are sold at the market. These animals are raised in the compounds of houses. Chickens are left to wander around the compounds, while buffaloes are tethered to the house's poles. If they escape from the house, villagers can identify the owners and bring them back. An increase in the use of power tillers by villagers means that buffaloes are raised increasingly for selling rather than for use in agricultural jobs. In 1991 the number of buffaloes and cows in the province made up 5.8 and 1.9 per cent of total livestock respectively. In contrast, in the previous decade these working animals made up more than 50 per cent of livestock (Provincial Statistics Office 1993).

4.7.4 Drought

On average, the annual rainfall within Udon Thani is 1,200 millimetres. This is not enough to serve the needs of farmers, while most farmers require double the rainfall (Provincial Statistics Office 1993). Since most areas of the province are undulating, the construction of waterways from dams and reservoirs to the fields is important.

Throughout the survey villages, cultivation depends on rain water which is stored in reservoirs⁵ (Plate 4.14). However, the expected functions of these reservoirs were not completely achieved because of the poor quality of sandy soil. Most of them are left useless during the dry season. Since the amount of rainfall is unpredictable, villagers have to find water in other ways. Firstly, they buy water from local investors (10 baht per 100 litres). Secondly, they walk under the hot sun for around a kilometre

⁵ During 1986 to 1988, the government through the Royal Thai Army promoted the construction of storage reservoirs in northeastern provinces. Consequently, pocket-sized water village reservoirs were bored in almost all villages.

to get water from a public deep well. Thirdly, they spend 10,000 baht to dig their own deep well or install a hand pump extracting water from the ground (Plate 4.15).

Plate 4.14 A Village Reservoir

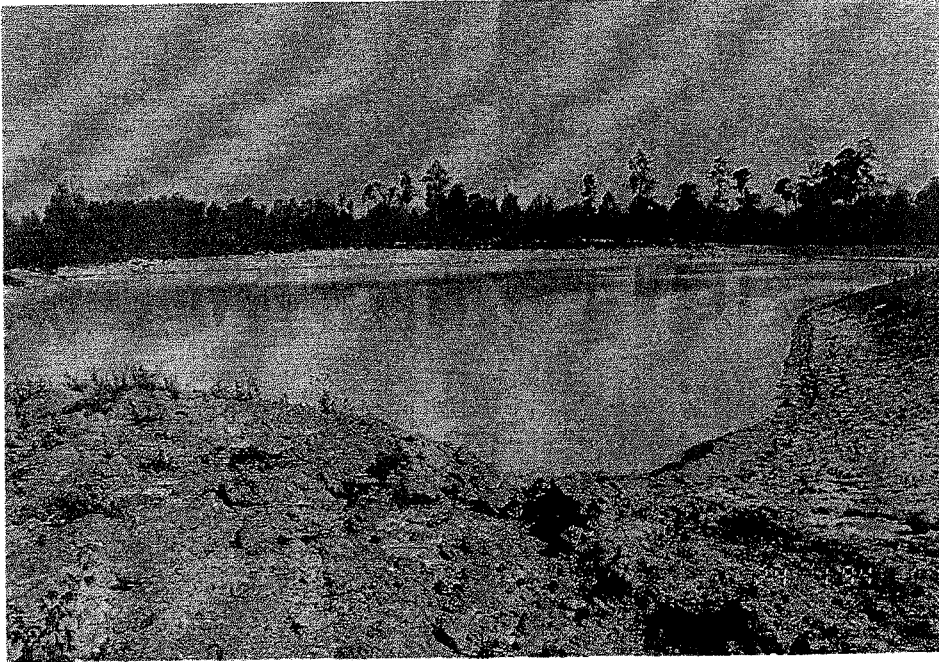


Plate 4.15 Hand Water Pump

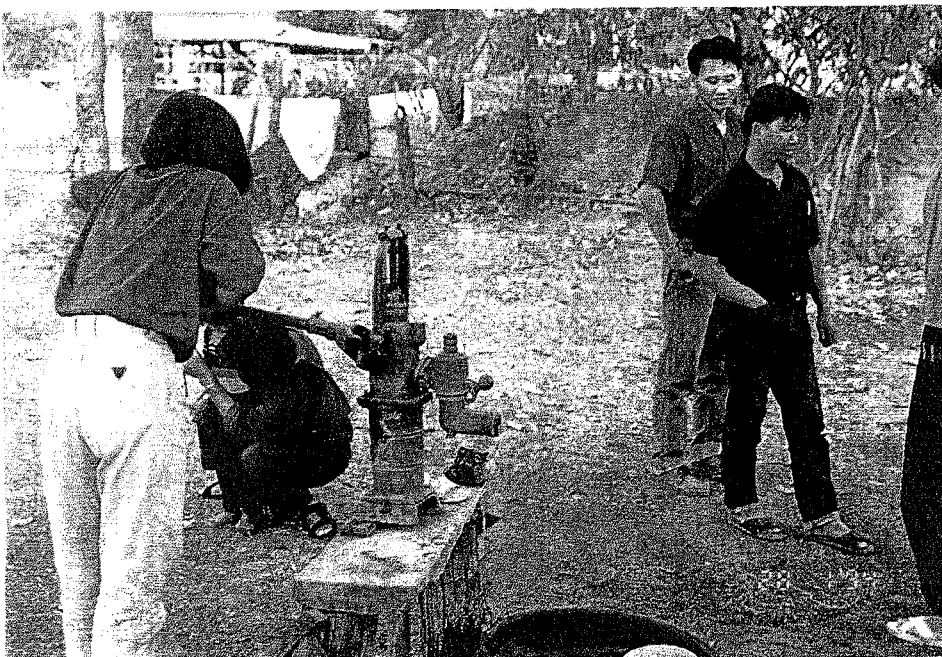


Table 4.7 shows that several households in the eight sample villages have private deep wells, while households in the other four villages mainly use public ones. Villagers have to be at the public deep well early in the morning when it is full or otherwise they have to wait for hours until the underground water comes up again (most deep wells in the villages are located near *wat*). Thus it is not surprising to see many women with plastic containers in both hands joining a long line to get the water every morning.

Table 4.7 Public and Private Deep Wells in Villages

Villages/Variables	Public deep well	Private deep well
1.Nong nakham	1	0
2.Koi	1	0
3.Chiang nyu	1	11
4.Eluik	2	12
5.Nong lan	3	38
6.Mek yai	1	0
7.Na dee	2	21
8.Pung nku	1	0
9.Na sensual	3	45
10.Pon sawan	2	11
11.Chiang hwan	1	11
12.Dan	6	20

Source: Village record 1994

Table 4.8 shows that only 13 per cent of rural villages in Udon Thani are supplied with piped water from three water supply stations in the province (one in the city centre and another two in Nong bualumphu and Kumpavapee districts). However these stations can produce only 1,270 millilitres per hour and are not enough to supply all rural areas (Provincial Statistics Office 1993). In Punk nku (8), the village committee with the support of the governor, supplies the village with a piped water system. They have built a tower (around 20 metres in height) and four tanks (20,000 litres each) to produce piped water. In this manner villagers simply install plastic pipe

to the main pipeline to use the water. The problem of water in this village is a major area of concern.

Table 4.8 Housing Characteristics and Equipment

Housing appliances	Total	Municipal area	Non- municipal area
- Tap water	17.2	92.5	13.0
- Electricity	93.5	99.2	93.2
- Charcoal for cooking	72.4	39.2	74.1
- Gas for cooking	8.5	54.3	6.1
- Flush and moulded bucket latrine	83.4	99.9	82.4

Source: Thailand Census 1990.

4.7.5 Health Services

Public Health in Thailand is under the control of the Government. Locally, the Ministry of Public Health (MPH) provides health services through the provincial hospitals, district hospitals and sub-district health centres. At the village level, the MPH employs health officers to provide primary health care to the people. Theoretically, there is one health centre located in each sub-district (Plate 4.16). However, there is no full-time doctor working in these health centres; only nurses take care of the patients. In a serious case, these officers refer the patients to sub-district health centres where nurses look after the patients or send them to the district hospital where a doctor will take care of them. The doctors can also send very seriously ill patients to the provincial hospital, regional hospital and a specialist hospital in Bangkok according to the health referral system. In many circumstances, rural people use the services of private clinics located in each district, where they consult a medical doctor and a nurse directly. However the cost is more expensive than in a public health centre where they can receive free medical treatment (Entwisle *et al* 1996).

Plate 4.16 A Health Centre Under Construction



4.7.6 Education

Generally, there is one primary school located in a village, providing compulsory education from year one to year six⁶ (Plate 4.17). In some villages such as Nong lan (5), there is also a secondary school where children can continue studying to year 12. This school provides education to children from Nong lan (5) and other nearby villages.

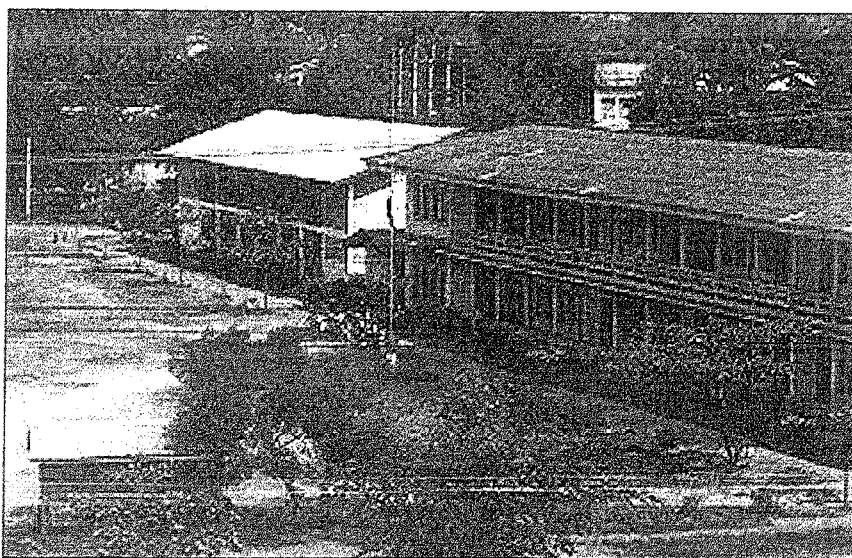
Normally classes begin at 8.30am and go through until a lunch break at 11.30am. The classes begin again at 12.30pm until 3.00pm. During the lunch time, children from Nong lan (5) normally walk home to have lunch. Students whose houses are far away usually bring their lunch with them, which is sticky rice with dry beef or

⁶ Compulsory education officially began in 1921 but did not become widespread in rural areas until 1932 (see De Young 1958:55).

fermented fish. Like schools in other provinces, schools in the survey villages operate all year round on a three term basis. Given the fact that children in rural villages are engaged in agricultural jobs, school breaks are co-ordinated with the planting and harvesting seasons. The first school break is in the rainy season, normally from July to August. In some areas however, the school break is scheduled according to when water is released from the dams (see Beek 1995).

Teachers have the responsibility of arranging the break which varies from one to four weeks. The second school break is scheduled for the harvest time in late November to December. The third school break is in April of the following year.

Plate 4.17 A Village School



Although the children are expected to complete compulsory education (Table 4.9), most quit school before achieving this level. This is largely because of the poverty of their parents. Thus some children have to work for others to support the family income (Hirsch 1990). It is reported that only 10 per cent of children in rural areas of Udon Thani have the opportunity to continue to secondary school (Table

4.10) (see also Sussangkarn 1995). Boys usually receive a greater opportunity to continue their secondary education than girls (De Jong *et al* 1994, 1995; Singhanetra-Renard and Prabhudhanitisarn 1992).

Table 4.9 Organisation of Thai Educational System

Years	Pre-Primary Education	Primary Education		Secondary Education		Higher Education	
		Lower	Upper	Lower	Upper (Vocational)	Under-graduation	Graduation
Years	flexible	4	2	3	3	4-6	flexible
Age	under 6	7-10	11-12	13-15	16-18	19-24	25 +

Source: Summarised from pamphlets of the Ministry of Education (1994)

Table 4.10 Educational Characteristics of Population in Udon Thani

Educational characteristics	Total	Municipal area	Non-municipal area
Per cent of literate persons aged 6 +yrs			
- Total	94.9	95.8	94.9
- Male	96.0	96.6	95.9
- Female	93.9	95.0	93.9
Per cent of school attendance of the population aged 6-29yrs			
- Total	33.7	48.5	33.1
- Male	34.2	51.5	33.5
- Female	33.2	45.7	32.6
Per cent of persons aged 6 +yrs who attained more than primary school			
- Total	11.6	41.9	10.1
- Male	13.6	45.7	12.1
- Female	9.6	38.5	8.1

Source: Thailand Census 1990.

4.8 Conclusion

The significance of social and economic context in migration study is often neglected from migration literature. This chapter has presented the social, economic, environment and cultural contexts of the survey villages in Udon Thani, as they are the backdrop against which the international labour migration of people is studied in later chapters occurs. The chapter has explained the significance of kinship and social

organisation of the family and community in the rural Thai context. Having presented the background of the patterns of life of people in the survey villages, the main focus of the study shifts toward the process and consequences of international labour migration for the family and community. Information is derived again from discussions and observations made while living with people during field work in 1994. This begins with an explanation of the processes of international labour migration in the survey villages is addressed in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 5

INTERNATIONAL LABOUR MIGRATION FROM RURAL UDON THANI

5.1 Introduction

The major theme of this chapter is to elucidate the international labour migration process based on the quantitative and qualitative information collected at individual and community levels in the survey villages. The chapter begins with an investigation of the characteristics of migrants, followed by their reasons for migration. The examination then shifts to the migration process and the role of recruiters in channelling the movement. This investigation is made through examining patron-client relations, a traditional basis of organisation in many South East Asian societies. Sources of migration information and how migrants obtain them are also examined.

5.2 Characteristics of Migrants

According to Bilsborrow *et al* (1997), data on aggregate flows of international migrants should be classified by their major demographic and social characteristics for analysing the determinants of migration. The age composition, for example, is usually an important determinant of migration. As with findings in many countries such as India (Oberia and Singh 1983), Thai migrants were predominantly drawn from the labour force, aged between 20 and 40 years (Tingsabhad 1989:308). Migrants tended to be married, employed in agricultural work and had little formal education (Roongshivin 1982; Pitayanon and Chanchareon 1982). Findings in this survey are similar to the many studies from all over the world and are listed in Tables 5.1 and 5.2.

Among the 281 migrants, 90 per cent were male and more than 50 per cent were aged less than 30 years at the time of their migration.

Table 5.1 Characteristics of International Labour Migrants

Variables	Categories	Migrants ¹	
		Male	Female
Sex	1. Male	90.3	9.7
	2. Female	-	-
Age	1. Under 20 yrs	5.5	-
	2. 21 to 24 yrs	19.3	25.9
	3. 25 to 29 yrs	23.6	25.9
	4. 30 to 34 yrs	24.8	29.6
	5. 35 to 39 yrs	22.4	14.8
	6. Over 40 yrs	4.3	3.7
Education	1. Primary (4 yrs)	66.5	59.3
	2. Higher primary (6 yrs)	24.0	33.3
	3. Secondary (12 yrs)	7.5	7.4
	4. Higher (13+ yrs)	2.0	-
Place of Birth	1. Udon Thani	98.8	100.0
	2. Other provinces	1.2	-
Relationship with Head of Household	1. Head of household	57.5	14.8
	2. Spouse	1.6	14.8
	3. Child	24.0	59.3
	4. In-law	12.6	7.4
	5. Other (relatives/friends)	4.3	3.7
Occupation before Migration	1. Unemployed ²	4.7	14.8
	2. Enterprise employment ³	11.8	7.4
	3. Agriculture ⁴	80.3	70.4
	4. Other	3.1	7.4
Marital Status	1. Married	81.1	48.1
	2. Single	17.7	29.6
	3. Other (widowed, divorced)	1.2	22.2
	N	254	27

Source: Field Survey 1994

Note: ¹ includes emigrants and return migrants

² includes those studying

³ includes private companies, government and public enterprises

⁴ includes handcrafts, day labour or any work that is done in the home

This selectivity means that migrants are physically suited to undertake hard work and are able to endure the climate at the destination countries (Chiengkul 1986:312).

The requirements of host countries have a direct influence on the age of migrants, since migrants need to state their age when applying for a visa. Saudi Arabia for example, has set a minimum age limit of 30 years for women and 25 years for men, in order to obtain a work visa. For Qatar, Oman and Yemen, the minimum age limit is 25 years, and for Kuwait and Bahrain the minimum age is 18 years. The maximum age limit of these countries is generally 35 to 40 years for women and 40 years for men (Eelens and Speckmann 1992:50).

With regard to marital status, it was found that the vast majority of workers (80 per cent of men and 48 per cent of women) were married before moving. Among male migrants, more than 50 per cent were heads of household. In terms of educational achievement, more than half of respondents had not completed more than 6 years of compulsory education. Only 2 per cent of male migrants held a higher certificate and some were studying at the bachelor level at the time of migration. This finding is similar to those of other studies in Thailand (Roongshivin 1986; Pitayanon and Chancharoen 1982) which reported that most migrants had completed only year 4.

Table 5.2 Average Age of Migrants

Villages	Male	Female	N
1. Middle East	29.8	27.8	116
2. Asia	29.0	29.5	163
3. Europe & America	35.0	-	2

Source: Field Survey 1994

Indeed, the educational levels of migrants depends upon the type of occupation pursued by the migrants. Migrants tend to obtain skills through work experience rather

than in years of schooling. Most rural people leave school in the early teenage years because they are poor. Once they leave school, these people accumulate skills through work experience. Labour force statistics show that in 1994, only 30 per cent of children from rural areas entered secondary schools after completing the compulsory attendance levels, usually at the age of 11 years old. It was found that some migrants applied for unskilled jobs despite the fact that they hold a year 12 certificate or an even higher level. A staff member at the OEAO told us that while the unemployment rate of Thailand during the 1980s was up to 12 per cent, many migrants were graduates from universities in fields which had an excess supply of graduates, such as in humanities and education.

With respect to occupation, the data show that 80 per cent of migrants were agriculturists prior to migration. Nearly 10 per cent of migrants were previously working in companies and government organisations. Some 5 per cent of male and 15 per cent of female respondents were overseas migrants.

5.3 Explaining Migration Out of Rural Areas

5.3.1 Introduction

Many migration studies (eg. Greenwood 1975; Stark 1991; Todaro 1989) place economic reasons at the root of factors influencing the decision to migrate. However some scholars (Hugo 1975, 1978, 1981; Massey 1986, 1987, 1990; Findley 1987) argue that analysis of causes of migration should not only consider economic factors but also the interaction between social and economic contexts that influence the migration decision making of individuals and groups. Massey (1990:9) notes that studies of determinants of migration need a comprehensive understanding of factors at both micro and macro levels. Decisions are often made by an individual who weighs

the costs and benefits of migration and if simultaneously the importance of community context is considered, it will reflect conditions shaped by the national political economy. Hugo (1981:213) in an analysis of village norms that influence migration decision making concludes that 'population movements involve individuals making decisions in specific cultural, economic and social environments and hence is profoundly influenced not only by the constraints imposed by those environments but also by the perceptions, attitudes, opinions, and values of those individuals.'

The interaction between individual variables (e.g. employment, marital status) and aggregate conditions such as land ownership render the factors influencing migration decisions highly variable from place to place and is highly structured by context (Hugo 1981; Massey 1990). In an analysis of community level variables influencing migration decisions in the Philippines, Findley (1987:178) found that families in high migration communities own less farmland than those in low migration communities.

5.3.2 Articulated Reasons for Migration

Hugo (1978:170) notes that, 'frequently only the circumstance which 'triggered' the move is reported and the complex set of factors which was really involved in the process is ignored'. Table 5.3 sets out the answers given to the question of 'why did you migrate?'.¹ In response to this question, the phrase 'want to be rich like other migrants' was repeatedly stated by both male and female migrants. When age, status, education and occupation of migrants are cross-tabulated with reasons for migration (Table 5.4), the response of wanting to be rich like other

¹ For migrants currently abroad, their spouse or household head answered this question on their behalf.

migrants was the dominant reason mentioned by all sub-groups, except for the unemployed.

Table 5.3 Reasons for Migration

Reasons for migration	Per cent
Insufficient income	18.1
Cannot find job here	5.0
Want to be rich like other migrants	23.5
Dislike job here	16.7
Follow other migrants	13.9
Unfair pay in present job	22.8
Total (N)	100.0(281)

Source: Field Survey 1994

Table 5.4 shows that there is a significant relationship between the occupation of migrants and reasons for migration. The main difference is between the unemployed and employed, although not as great as that between those employed in agricultural and non-agricultural occupations. The relationship remains significant when tested separately for men and women.

The significance of the answer 'to be rich like other migrants' is twofold. Firstly, it reflects the relevance of neoclassical economic theories (Massey 1990; Massey *et al* 1993; Wood 1982; Shaw 1975; Todaro 1969, 1989) which see migration as being a response to wage differentials; and secondly the importance of the effect of earlier successful migrants in encouraging further migration from the area. It is a fact that migrants move because they receive higher wages at the destination areas. While they can earn up to 15,000 baht in an electronics factory, they only receive 3,000 baht a month selling their labour in their villages of origin. Stahl and Arnold (1986) estimated that overseas Thai labourers can earn incomes four times higher than in their rural homes.

Table 5.4 Reasons for Migration by Characteristics of Migrants

Variables/ Reasons	Insufficient income	Cannot find job	Want to be rich as migrant	Dislike job	Follow other migrant	Unfairly paid	N
Age							
17 thru 29 yrs	18.1	8.5	26.6	11.7	17.0	18.1	94
30 thru 39 yrs	20.0	2.0	20.0	20.0	13.0	25.0	100
Over 40 yrs	16.1	4.6	24.1	18.4	11.5	25.3	87
Chi-Square = 10.12, df = 8							
Status							
Single	17.0	9.4	24.5	13.2	15.1	20.8	53
Married	18.4	3.9	23.2	17.5	13.6	23.2	228
Chi-Square = 3.34, df = 4							
Education							
Less than yrs 4	16.7	0.0	33.3	0.0	33.3	16.7	6
Year 4	19.6	3.9	21.2	18.4	14.5	22.3	179
Higher than yrs 4	15.6	7.3	27.1	14.6	11.5	14.0	96
Chi-Square = 7.28, df = 8							
Occupation							
Unemployed	0.0	100.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	14
Agriculture	18.8	0.0	22.5	18.1	15.0	25.6	160
Non-agriculture	19.6	0.0	28.0	16.8	14.0	21.5	107
Chi-Square = 282.45***, df = 8							

* P<.1, ** P<.05, *** P<.01, **** P<.001

Source: Field Survey 1994

With respect to the second issue, it was frequently observed that villagers who come to the village grocery store² frequently indicate that they wish to work abroad like others whom they know. During the several months in the field it was repeatedly observed that a common topic of conversation on a day-to-day basis was migration. Indeed it was considered normal behaviour for young people to seek work overseas. Those who neglect to do so or even do not talk about working abroad are likely to be considered *cheiyu* (out of date, old fashioned, or very conservative). In addition,

returning migrants and the families of migrants still abroad are quite ostensive in displaying jewellery, clothes, etc. acquired overseas or bought with remittances. The purpose of this behaviour is to show off how wealthy they are to others. This behaviour also includes the display of larger things bought with remittances such as land, motorcycles and cars. This display of wealth is evident to both other migrants' family members and stayers and undoubtedly creates envy, encouraging people to migrate. As discussed below this behaviour and the constant discussion about migration on a day-to-day basis also assists in future migration since return migrants advise about agents or in some cases, organises the journey for the new migrants. This arrangement may or may not be charged for, depending on how close the return and new migrants are to each other.

Experience in the field suggests that there is another significant element causing villagers to move. Details obtained from the surveys and group discussions showed (Table 5.3) that unfair pay is the second reason most given for migration (22.8 per cent of migrants) among reasons for leaving the village. According to Thai Law³, the minimum labour wage in Udon Thani is set at 128 baht per day. This suggests that villagers can work as day labourers in one of the many factories around provincial centres and receive a wage of 128 baht per day during the off peak period in the agricultural cycle (December to May). However, the reality is that they do not receive wages at the full rate.

² Normally this is regarded as a place for social interaction among rural villagers in Thailand. Pensioners, children and women who do not work usually come there and talk to each other during the day while at other times others in the community also congregate there.

³ In Thailand minimum wages are set for particular regions as follows: Group 1: Bangkok, Samutprakarn, Samutsakorn, Pathumthani, Nakornpathom, Nontaburi and Puket = 157 baht per day. Group 2: Chonburi, Chiang Mai, Nakornrachasima, Pungka, Ranong and Saraburi = 137 baht per day. Group 3: Other provinces = 128 baht per day (Bangkok Post 13 September 1996). In practice these tend only to apply to formal sector activities.

In many group discussions, villagers frequently said that 'if we received the full minimum wage we would not migrate or even think about it'. An amount of 128 baht a day or around 3,000 baht a month is sufficient for living in rural areas where they cultivate their own rice, where they catch fish in the ponds behind their houses, where they feed chickens around the farm and where they plant vegetables in backyards.'

The truth is that factory owners generally push villagers to accept a salary at rates 30 per cent lower than the official level. Based on the knowledge that many rural workers need money to clear their debts, the owners usually propose a condition to the workers that 'if you want to work here you must accept this wage or otherwise you are fired. There are many persons wanting to work here and I will not spend any more time on this matter'.

Villagers on the other hand, have two choices, one is to accept this wage and the other is to leave the village to find another job. The weakness of the bureaucracy together with a range of complex factors makes it virtually impossible for workers to claim their rights in regard to salary (see Muscat 1994; Hirsch 1990). This reflects a worsening of social relations between employers and employees which has occurred in the area and migration is one of consequences of the inability to secure a reasonable livelihood locally (Hirsch 1990: 226).

Encouragement to work abroad by the *pu yai ban* (village head) partly influences the movement of villagers. This is particularly evident in two of the survey villages, Chiang nyu (3) and Pung nku (8) which have been recognised by the governor as excellent developing villages⁴ in 1990 and 1992 respectively. The advantage of being well recognised is that the provincial committee, of which the governor is the

⁴ Some of the criteria used are the number of toilets, household income, accessibility and tap water system.

chairperson, will increase the annual development budget to the selected villages. This money although small (approximately 30,000 baht) is nonetheless significant. Since migration is an effective way for people to become financially independent and improve their living standards to help meet the award criteria, it is not surprising that more than half of households in both villages have at least one member who is an international migrant.

It was apparent from the survey that poor people are increasingly losing control over land, labour and production in their communities (Hirsch 1990). Since land is regarded as being of basic importance for household production, loss of control over land results in the loss of control over other basic elements of production, water and labour. Table 5.5 shows that some migrant households in Nong nakham (1), Nong lan (5) and Chiang hwan (11) are landless households, accounting for 10 per cent, 8.3 per cent and 6.7 per cent respectively. Family members have to rent land to grow rice at the rate of 150 baht per *rai* (1 *rai* = 0.4 acre) or accept the obligation of providing part of their crop to the owners of the land. The data also show that the annual rice production of migrant households is two times lower than stayer households particularly in Eluik (4). Similar findings are found in other villages such as Nong nakham (1) and Koi (2). The difference in annual production between migrant and stayer households however is less.

Land in Thailand is valued according to its title. Historically rights to claim land ownership were through either being given it by the king under the social system called *Sakdina* (Appendix VI), by usurpation or by staked claim (Hirsch 1990:70). Later these rights have changed from unwritten form to various forms of state control such

as NS-3 (exploitation testimonial title deed) and *chanood*⁵ (full freehold land title deed). While people holding land under NS-3 have less rights in selling, people holding *chanood* have full rights to sell their land. This difference causes land in rural Thailand to be valued differentially.

In the survey villages, almost all land is valued under the *chanood* principle excluding some remote villages such as Mek yai (6), Na dee (7) and Na senual (9) where land is valued under NS-3. These titles are given up by villagers facing financial problems when they pawned their land to bankers or local money lenders. Villagers lose their land to moneylenders when they cannot repay the money including interest to them. Monthly repayment is required, otherwise interest will be added to the amount of the total debt. Situations of indebtedness and lack of land for planting may lead to inadequate levels of food consumption so that surplus labour have to leave.

The loss of control over labour occurs through indebtedness that can be transferred from generation to generation. This is found in Na senual (9) in which family members of one household have to work as housemaids for the creditor of their father. The obligation that their father incurred five years ago resulted in the young girls having to leave school in order to work for the creditor, since the accumulated debt was more than the value of their father's land. When asked if they wish to work abroad, they said 'yes' in order to earn big money to repay the loan.

⁵ Both titles leave the individual owner with the freedom to use and dispose of land as they wish (see Feder *et al* 1988).

Table 5.5 Land Ownership in the Survey Villages

Village	Percent agricultural households		Percent landless households		Average land per household (rai)		Percent of land with access to water		Percent of land used for cultivation		Annual production (tons)	
	Migrants	Stayers	Migrants	Stayers	Migrants	Stayers	Migrants	Stayers	Migrants	Stayers	Migrants	Stayers
1.Nong nakham	52.4	47.8	10.0	9.1	37.2	24.5	82.3	40.8	78.2	76.3	8.3	8.5
2.Koi	50.0	40.9	-	-	36.1	24.6	73.7	85.4	92.8	95.5	6.8	7.5
3.Chiang nyu	39.1	47.6	-	-	15.3	23.5	96.1	77.9	86.3	93.2	7.5	6.0
4.Eluik	38.1	60.9	-	-	17.1	38.4	100.0	82.8	100.0	95.1	5.7	12.6
5.Nong lan	56.5	59.3	8.3	28.6	29.0	17.1	85.9	100.0	85.5	99.4	5.5	5.3
6.Mek yai	64.0	80.0	-	-	26.6	24.9	97.4	100.0	77.8	90.8	6.8	4.9
7.Na dee	63.6	75.0	-	8.3	30.4	21.0	100.0	76.2	99.7	89.0	10.1	5.9
8.Punk nku	78.9	35.7	-	-	16.4	21.6	86.6	91.7	81.7	87.0	5.2	5.4
9.Na sensual	83.3	78.6	-	-	32.2	32.1	96.9	88.8	75.2	93.5	6.2	7.8
10.Pon sawan	68.4	75.0	-	8.3	26.6	25.2	77.4	100.0	100.0	79.4	5.7	3.5
11.Chiang hwan	62.5	55.8	6.7	3.4	25.9	17.7	90.7	81.4	100.0	84.7	6.0	6.2
12.Dan	52.5	44.0	-	-	25.8	17.0	69.4	100.0	83.3	100.0	5.9	5.7

Source: Field Survey 1994

5.3.2 The Decision to Migrate

Hugo (1975, 1978, 1981), De Jong and Fawcett (1981), Harbison (1981) and Wood (1982) have reviewed the involvement of the family in the migration decision making of individuals and conclude that migration behaviour is often not just the result of individual decision making but is shaped by family and community ties and influences. The decision to move is often influenced by others within the family and the community.

There are two possible elements relating to migration decision making. The first is the decision maker who has a definite right to control his/her decision and the second is other persons who give the potential migrant advice on migration. If migration decision making is viewed according to the first perspective, all migrants must be decision makers. The migrant usually consults at least one person to confirm his/her personal opinion about migration. This behaviour is regarded as a consequence of explicit behaviour intentions determined by the beliefs of the socialised migrant when he/she needs social approval for his/her decision (Fishbein 1977).

Evidence from the survey villages reveals that some 85.8 per cent of migrants consulted at least one person before leaving (Table 5.6). Nearly 15 per cent stated that they made the decision to migrate based totally on their own considerations. Among the consultants, parents and spouses dominate, accounting for some 33.2 per cent and 23.2 per cent respectively.

The data tabulated by age, marital status, education and occupation of migrants (Table 5.7) show that there is a significant relationship between the marital status of migrants and persons consulted. Clearly, more married migrants consult their spouses, parents and persons outside the family than do single migrants. Results were also consistent when controlled for age and sex of respondent.

Table 5.6 Migrants' Pattern of Consultation Concerning the Decision to Migrate

Consultants	Per cent
No consultant	14.2
Spouse	19.9
Parents	28.5
Seniors	14.9
Brothers & sisters	8.9
Others outside family	13.5

(n=281)

Sources: Field Survey 1994

Table 5.7 Persons Consulted Regarding the Decision to Migrate by Characteristics of Migrants

Variables/ Consultants	Spouse	Parents	Seniors	Brother & sister	Others outside family	N
Age						
17 thru 29 yrs	18.8	40.0	16.5	12.9	11.8	85
30 thru 39 yrs	31.0	28.6	16.7	3.6	20.2	84
Over 40 yrs	19.4	30.6	19.4	15.3	15.3	72
Chi-Square = 13.32, df = 8						
Marital status						
Single	4.3	48.9	21.3	10.6	14.9	47
Married	27.8	29.4	16.5	10.3	16.0	194
Chi-Square = 13.97***, df = 4						
Education						
Less than yrs 4	0.0	60.0	20.0	0.0	20.0	5
Year 4	22.9	30.7	20.3	11.1	15.0	153
Higher than yrs 4	25.3	36.1	12.0	9.6	16.9	83
Chi-Square = 5.82, df = 8						
Occupation						
Unemployed	27.3	54.5	9.1	9.1	0.0	11
Agriculture	23.9	30.4	21.7	9.4	14.5	138
Non-agriculture	21.7	34.8	12.0	12.0	19.6	92
Chi-Square = 8.65, df = 8						

* P<.1, ** P<.05, *** P<.01, **** P<.001

Source: Field Survey 1994

Although other statistical relationships tested were found not to be significant, some interesting results are noted. For example, there is a clear pattern evident with age of migrants in relation to persons consulted. The older the migrants, the more they are likely to consult senior people in the village. These seniors could be grandfathers or grandmothers of migrants, who in the Thai context are highly respected (Podhisita 1994). When sex of migrants was considered, the result was significant only for males (at 0.5 significance level).

Nevertheless, the data obtained from the questionnaires, gives only a partial picture of the decision making process in which there are many factors involved. Results from group discussions revealed that villagers usually conferred about migration frequently with those they know before finally making the decision. In group discussions, many villagers indicated that they wanted their children to move overseas and this was a common topic of day-to-day discussion within families. The content of such discussions included relative advantages and disadvantages of moving.

In a group discussion, conversation shifted between 'migrating or staying' and 'how to cope with the situation when a child leaves'. My impression from intensive observation in the village is that migration has already become part of the culture, and is considered to be normal, relatively easy and available to most people. The outcome of the group discussions almost always is to advise people to move and there certainly are no sanctions imposed on those who do move. Thus there is an interesting pattern of consultation involving the community rather than the family. This tends to be neglected in the literature concerned with migration decision making.

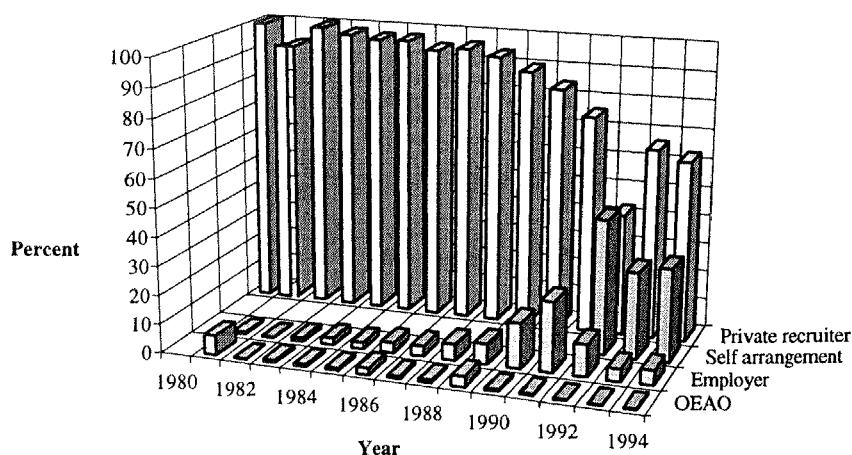
5.4 Channels of Migration

Under the Thai Recruitment and Job Seekers Protection Act B.E. (1985), there are three methods through which any Thai worker can seek work overseas:

- Through private recruitment
- Through the Overseas Administration Employment Office (OEAO) of the Ministry of Labour and Social Welfare (MLSW)
- Through Thai employers
- Through self arrangement

In 1977 labour export from Thailand began to be mainly handled by private recruiters (Roongshivin 1986:147) and virtually all overseas migrants in 1980 were taken overseas by such recruiters. In 1981, 223 licensed recruiters (Roongshivin 1986:308) were recorded by the OEAO as working under the control of the government and arranged for 92.5 per cent of migrant workers travelling overseas (Figure 5.1).

Figure 5.1 Channels of International Migration



Source: Annual report of the OEAO (various issues)

The number of licensed private recruiters operating overseas employment increased gradually to about 350 in 1985 (Appleyard 1988b: 102) and 445 in May 1994. Of the number recorded in 1994, 70 per cent were located within the northeast region; of these 82 per cent were located within Udon Thani.

Table 5.8 shows that four fifths of migrants left the village through recruiters, followed by friends and relatives (17 per cent) and the OEAO (3 per cent). Table 5.9 shows that more than sixty per cent of migrants in each village moved through private recruiters. The number was highest in Punk nku (8) (95 per cent) and lowest in Eluik (4) (64 per cent).

Table 5.8 Migrants Sent Overseas by Channels, Management Period and Fees

Senders	Per cent of Migrants sent	Management period	Average Fees(baht)
The OEAO	3.2	4.0	38,000
Recruiters	80.1	4.5	52,000
Friend & relatives	16.7	3.9	41,000

Source: Field Survey 1994

Table 5.9 Migrants Moving through Recruiters by Management Period and Fees

Villages	Per cent Sent by recruiter	Average Management period (months)	Average Fees (baht)	N
1.Nong nakham	66.7	2.7	42,700	14
2.Koi	66.7	2.2	49,800	16
3.Chiang nyu	64.0	2.4	8,100	16
4.Eluik	73.3	3.0	71,500	18
5.Nong lan	87.0	6.4	47,600	20
6.Mek yai	88.0	4.9	49,900	22
7.Na dee	69.6	3.7	36,000	16
8.Pung nku	95.0	6.4	46,000	19
9.Na sensual	92.3	3.8	59,500	12
10.Pon sawan	84.2	3.7	42,800	16
11.Chiang hwan	80.0	6.7	48,200	20
12.Dan	90.0	5.4	52,000	36
X			46,000	

Source: Field Survey 1994

As shown in Table 5.9, the average period of time it takes to gain a placement varies from village to village. This is partly dependent upon how difficult it is to access the village. In Chiang hwan (11), Pung nku (8) and Nong lan (5), it takes more than half a year as opposed to Koi (2) in which it takes only two months. Villagers complained about the out of date nature of information made available, which according to officials interviewed at the district office is updated monthly⁶. Hence family members who visit Bangkok are requested to seek more up to date information from the OEAO in the capital.

Table 5.10 shows that when channels of migration were tabulated by age, marital status, education and occupation, the relationship between occupation and channels was significant at the 0.001 level. Clearly, migrants holding different kinds of jobs move through different channels. Most non-agriculturalists such as teachers, enterprise employees, technicians moved through the assistance of friends or relatives, whereas those unemployed or agriculturalists tended to move through the agency of recruiters. Although not statistically significant, married migrants were more likely to move through the OEAO than single migrants. This suggests that marital status of migrants does not influence selection of channels for migration.

The data also reveal that the proportion of single and married migrants who moved through recruiters were almost equal. With respect to age, the younger the migrants, the more likely that they are to move through recruiters. In addition, those who had completed their education at years 4 and over preferred leaving with the assistance of recruiters.

⁶ Computer networks linking the OEAO in Bangkok and its branch at Udon Thani were not operating during the period of field work. The OEAO officially installed a computer system in 1995.

Table 5.10 Channels of Migration by Characteristics of Migrants

Variables/ Consultants	The OEAO	Recruiters	Friends & relatives	N
Age				
17 thru 29 yrs	2.1	84.0	13.8	94
30 thru 39 yrs	5.0	75.0	20.0	100
Over 40 yrs	2.3	81.6	16.1	87
Chi-Square = 3.23, df = 4				
Status				
Single	1.9	81.1	17.0	53
Married	3.5	79.8	16.7	228
Chi-Square = .36, df = 2				
Education				
Less than yrs 4	0.0	100.0	0.0	6
Year 4	3.9	79.9	16.2	179
Higher than yrs 4	2.1	79.2	18.8	96
Chi-Square = 2.42, df = 4				
Occupation				
Unemployed	0.0	92.9	7.1	14
Agriculture	3.8	88.1	8.1	160
Non-agriculture	2.8	66.4	30.8	107
Chi-Square = 25.33****, df = 4				

* P<.1, ** P<.05, *** P<.01, **** P<.001

Source: Field Survey 1994

Choosing channels of migration is not solely dependent upon the variables considered above, but also depends upon the convenience offered by recruiters. Villagers pay money and provide required documents to the agents and wait until the departure date. The advantage of these services is that it allows villagers to spend their time doing their regular job, is more economical and ensures a degree of safety. For instance, the average cost of transportation from the village to the provincial centre is 10 baht; the minimum return fare from Udon Thani to Bangkok is 240 baht; the cost of living at the destination on average is 100 baht per day, excluding accommodation which costs at least 200 baht (these costs are excluded from reported expenditure).

This is important in the case of potential migrants who have never visited Bangkok where all of the permissions to leave the country must be obtained.

In the current competitive atmosphere, there will be opportunities for recruiters to take advantage of unwary job applicants (Arnold and Shah 1986:13), and this means some risk is involved in migrating through any of the channels. Workers who do not move through official channels are most vulnerable to abuse. Frequently, contracts are not honoured by employers.

Although these events are reported repeatedly, a large number of workers still prefer private recruitment over the government for the following reasons:

- Lack of updated information about for example, job vacancies in government offices
- There is no need to go to Bangkok to get all of the permissions necessary

5.5 Migration Fees

The government bureaucracy itself has in fact created a market for private recruiters. Officials at the OEAO told us that whereas the number of people seeking assistance from the OEAO increases every year, the number of officials in the Office⁷ rarely increases. Despite the fact that the fees demanded by recruiters in the survey areas are 26 per cent on average higher than those charged by the OEAO, almost all villagers prefer to use the services of a private recruiter (Table 5.8). Villagers are happy to pay these costs to guarantee no further expenditure until they move as opposed to that demanded by the OEAO. Although the costs of the OEAO are much

⁷ The Department of Overseas Employment Services is under the Ministry of Social Affairs and Social Welfare (MLSW). The number of officials at the department was 75 at the time of fieldwork (Bangkok only).

lower, potential workers have to reserve some money for the cost of finding information and processing all the necessary procedures involved by themselves.

In 1994, the OEAO set the cost for overseas migration at approximately 38,000 baht. This cost is determined by the real expenditure required by the recruiting organisations involved (Table 5.11). Measures to limit and reduce the size of recruitment fees have been notoriously ineffective since workers are willing to pay more money than the legal maximum rates to ensure that they can go abroad (Abella 1992:274).

Table 5.11 Recruitment Costs of Going Abroad of Thai Workers, 1975 to 1994

Cost/year	1975	1980	1981	1982	1984	1986	1994
Payment to agent	8,357	18,391	20,498	24,671	31,005	33,700	52,062
Passport and visa	1,978	2,147	1,628	na.	3,299	na.	2,500
Skill testing	383	478	na.	na.	433	na.	500
Medical checkup	na.	na.	na.	na.	310	na.	352
Total	10,718	21,016	22,126	24,671	35,047	33,700	55,414

Source: Tingsabadh (1989) and Field Survey (1994)

Table 5.12 shows the average fees paid by migrants working in various countries, with the highest being for Japan and the lowest for America. The pattern is somewhat clearer when the countries are grouped. On average, workers have to pay higher fees for placement in Asian countries, followed by the Middle East, Europe and America.

Migration fees are inconsistent between villages and even among villagers who move to the same country in the same year from the same village. For instance for

Taiwan, which is the second most important destination for workers from the survey villages, the fees vary between 29,100 to 72,000 baht. This reflects a number of factors relating to fees charged by recruiters. Theoretically, many elements are presumably related to the level of fees, such as the type of job, management period, country of destination, salary earned, working period and the profit margin of different recruiters. The relevance of these variables arises from the fact that when the government cannot provide sufficient services to the population, there will always exist private services to compensate. The fees charged are most likely to depend upon demand and supply in job vacancies.

Table 5.12 Average Fees Paid by Migrants by Country of Destination

Countries/Fees	Average	N
Middle East		
Bahrain	25,000	1
Dubai	33,500	4
Iraq	29,300	10
Israel	45,000	10
Kuwait	34,000	11
Libya	45,000	13
Qatar	40,000	1
Saudi Arabia	37,150	66
Asia		
Burma	43,500	31
Hong Kong	50,000	1
Japan	167,000	15
Korea	49,000	3
Singapore	40,800	53
Taiwan	79,500	60
Europe		
Belgium	30,000	1
America		
United States	18,000	1

Source: Field Survey 1994

To test these relationships, path analysis⁸ is employed to examine the extent to which each influences the level of fees. Testing is divided into two major regions according to the main destinations to which the largest numbers of migrants are assigned - the Middle East and Asian countries. Tables 5.13 to 5.16 show some basic characteristics of the variables being tested and their correlation matrices. This is to pre-test whether these variables should be analysed further. More importantly, correlation between each pair of variables is investigated to prevent multicollinearity - a problem which makes multivariate analysis unreliable when independent variables have a strong relationship to each other. Theoretically, if each pair of variables appears to have a high relationship (a correlation coefficient of more than 0.8), one must be excluded⁹ (Bryman and Cramer 1990:248). Testing of the correlations clearly shows that relationships between independent variables were not high, meaning that all can be further tested.

In order to provide estimates of each of the postulated paths, path coefficients or so called standardised regression coefficients (BETA) are computed by setting up three structural equations that stipulate the structure of conceptualised relationships in a model. Three structural equations are required - one for salary, one for working period, and one for fees. The three equations are:

$$(1) \text{ working period} = X_1 \text{ type of job} + e_1$$

$$(2) \text{ salary} = X_1 \text{ type of job} + X_2 \text{ working period} + e_2$$

$$(3) \text{ fees} = X_1 \text{ salary} + X_2 \text{ working period} + X_3 \text{ management period} + e_3$$

⁸ The selection of this method to test the relationships here is based upon three considerations: (1) the level of scale of measurement (2) the distribution of the scores is normal and (3) the variances of variables are equal or homogeneous (Bryman and Cramer 1990).

⁹ The selection of which one to be cut is dependent upon (1) theoretical background of each variable (2) the interest of the researcher (3) the significance of it in policy planning.

As shown in these equations, working period, salary and fees have further arrows directed to them from outside the nexus of variables. These refer to the amount of unexplained variance for each variable respectively. These error terms (e) point to the fact that there are other variables that have an impact upon them, but which are not included in the path diagram. They are calculated by taking the R^2 for each equation away from 1 and taking the square root of the result of this subtraction.

Table 5.13 Characteristics of Variables for Path Analysis (Middle East Destinations)

Variables	Means	Standard deviation	N
Working period (months)	21.92	13.86	95
Management period (months)	5.16	6.11	95
Fee (baht)	35,421.05	17,925.12	95
Salary (baht)	8,088.29	3,467.82	94

Note: 'Type of job' is transformed into a dummy variable and is not shown in the table.

Table 5.14 Characteristics of Variables for Path Analysis (Asian Destinations)

Variables	Means	Standard deviation	N
Working period (months)	19.76	12.90	115
Management period (months)	4.15	3.89	128
Fee (baht)	64,851.56	40,512.28	128
Salary (baht)	10,978.99	8,685.16	119

Note: 'Type of job' is transformed into a dummy variable and is not shown in the table.

As shown in Figure 5.2, the effects are computed by multiplying the coefficients for each path. For the path from type of job to salary to fees the effect would be $(.18)(.00) = .0018$. For the path from period of working to salary to fees the result is $(.01)(.00) = .0001$. Finally the sequence from type of job to period of working to fees yields $(-.07)(-.06) = .0042$. Thus the total effects of these four variables upon fees is $.0018 + .0001 + .0042 + .06 = .07$. These exercises suggest that there are

positive relationships between these variables and fees. Clearly, these elements, more or less affect the cost demanded by recruiters and are essential to an understanding of the level of recruitment fees.

Table 5.15 Correlation Matrix of Variables Selected for Path Analysis(Middle East Destinations)

Variables	Working period	Management period	Fees	Salary	Type of job
Working period	1.00				
Management period	.16	1.00			
Fees	-.05	.05	1.00		
Salary	.00	.04	.00	1.00	
Type of job	-.07	.00	-.05	.18**	1.00

* P<.1, ** P<.05, *** P<.01, **** P<.001

Note: Minus sign means negative relationship between variables.

Table 5.16 Correlation Matrix of Variables Selected for Path Analysis (Asian Destinations)

Variables	Working period	Management period	Fees	Salary	Type of job
Working period	1.00				
Management period	.00	1.00			
Fees	-.38****	-.03	1.00		
Salary	-.16**	-.12	.30****	1.00	
Type of job	-.08	.07	.06	.20**	1.00

* P<.1, ** P<.05, *** P<.01, **** P<.001

Note: Minus sign means negative relationship between variables.

In addition, when management period, salary and period of working are analysed simultaneously with fees, pair by pair (only direct effects), it reveals that both management period and working period have a larger effect on fees than salary, but in different directions, positive for the former (.06) and negative for the latter (-.06). When the indirect effects of these three variables are considered, the effects would be

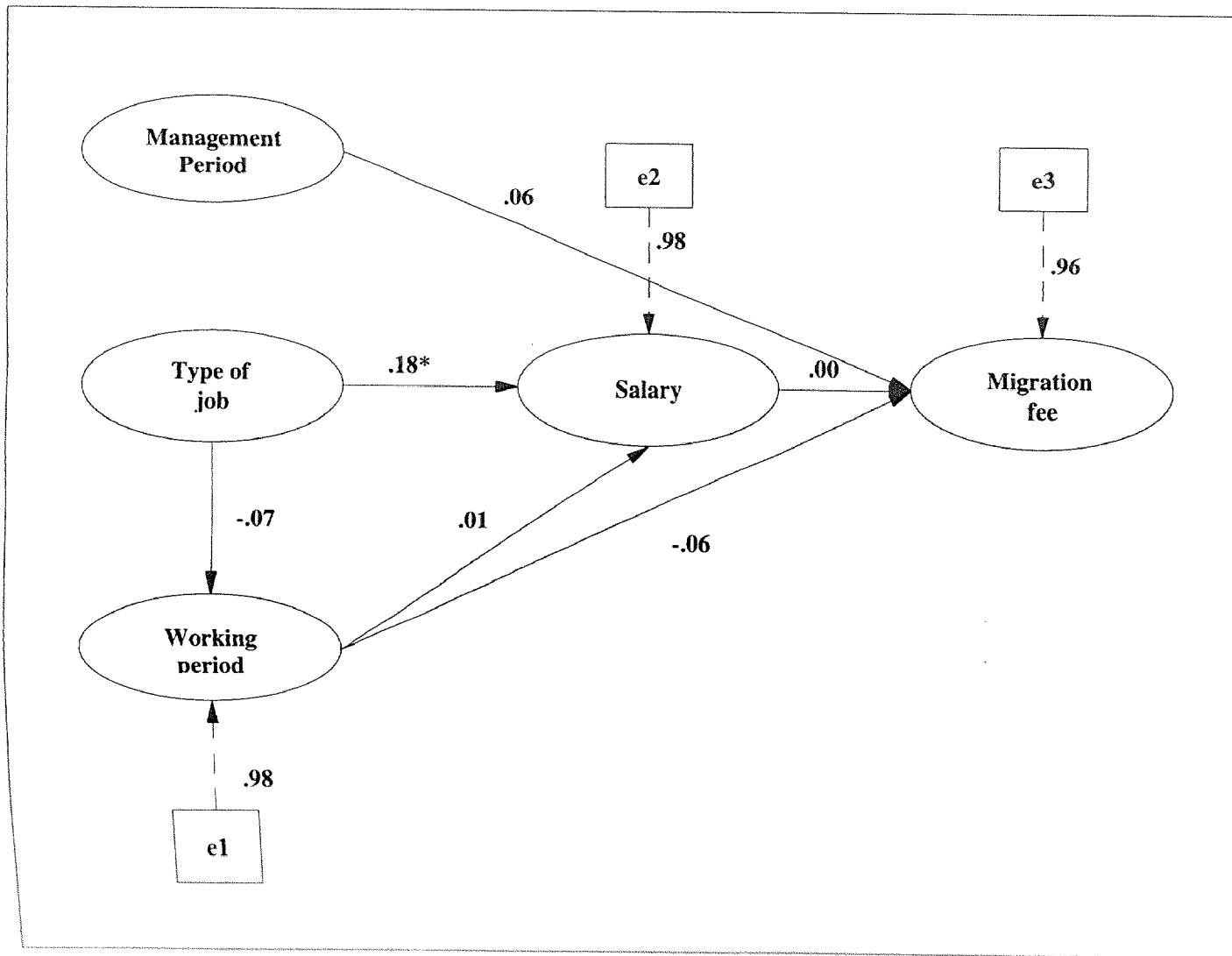
$(.06) + (.00) + [(.01)(.00) + (-.06)] = .13$, suggesting that working period has the largest effect on fees among the variables examined so far.

These exercises are applied sequentially in the case of Asian countries (Figure 5.3). Accordingly, the effect of type of job to salary to fees would be .07; the path from period of working to salary to fees has a coefficient of .04 and; the effect of type of job to period of working to fees is .02. Thus the total effect would be $.07 + .04 + .02 = .13$. This shows a stronger effect of these variables than for the Middle East case.

When analysed in pairs, it was found that working period has the largest effect on fees, followed by salary and management period. Statistical tests further indicate that the first two variables have significant effects at .0001, indicating that there is less than one out of ten thousand probability that these effects are not confirmed. Clearly, there is a very strong effect of working period and salary on fees charged by recruiters in the Asian case. When direct and indirect effects of management period, salary and working period on fees are considered, the effects would be 0.72. Hence, these variables are essential to an understanding of fees for recruitment to work in Asian countries.

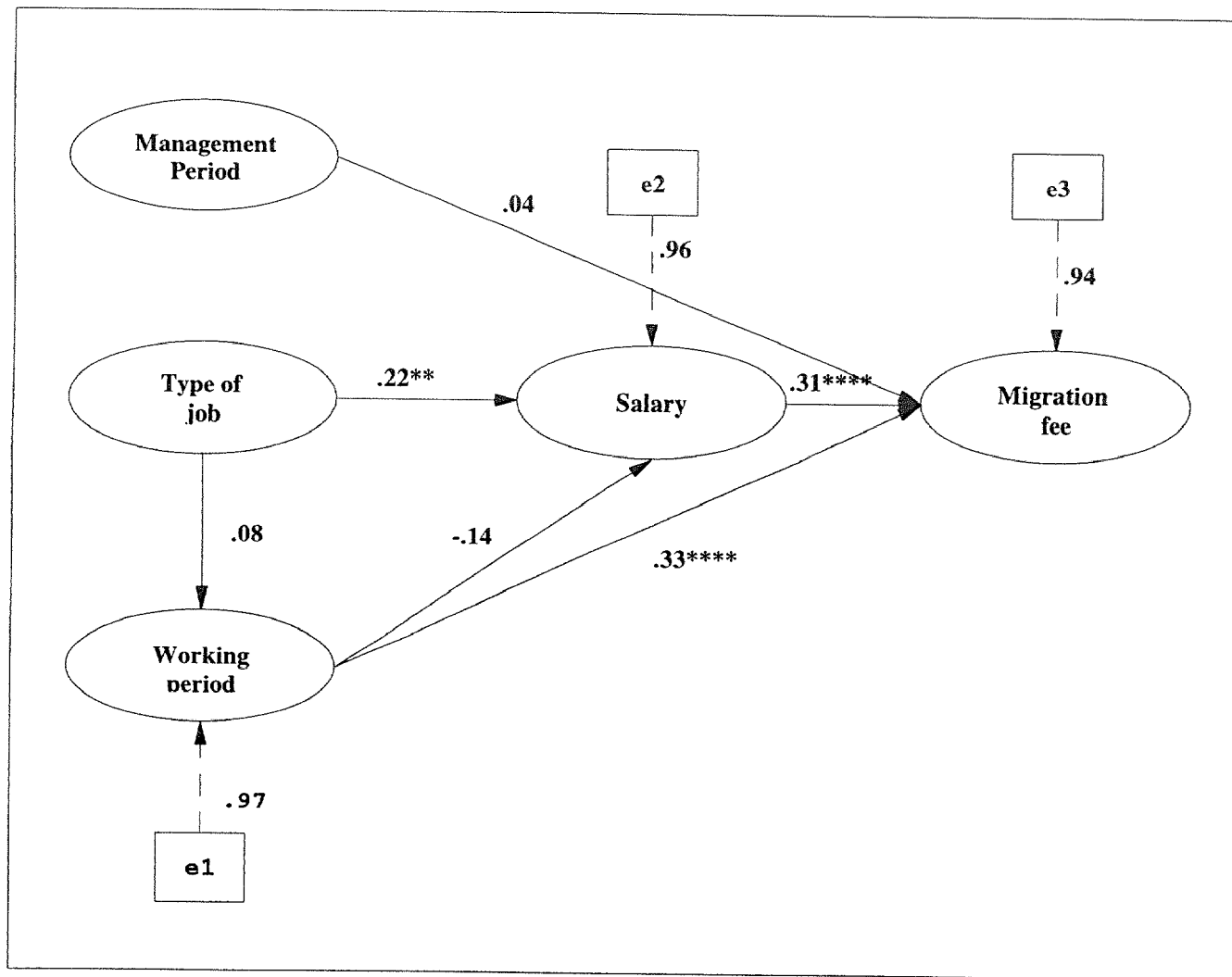
Overall, these results suggest a strong relationship between period of working and migration fees; the longer the worker is abroad, the greater the opportunity to earn more money. If for instance, a carpenter in Taiwan earns 12,000 baht a month on average, he would receive 252,000 baht by the 21st month with no costs deducted since employers normally provide food and accommodation, including transportation (the average duration of work abroad was found to be 21 months). This money is substantial compared to the fees demanded illegally and were found to be 79,500 baht on average.

Figure 5.2 Path Diagram for Migration Fee with Path Coefficients (Middle East)



Note: *p<.1, **P<.05, ***P<.01, ****P<.001

Figure 5.3 Path Diagram for Migration Fee with Path Coefficients (Asian)



Note: *p<.1, **P<.05, ***P<.01, ****P<.001

Hence, this is a worthwhile investment (four times the benefit) and it opens the way for recruiters to overcharge workers since they know that migrants will accept it.

It should be noted that path analysis cannot establish causality; it cannot be used as a substitute for the researcher's views about the likely causal linkages between groups of variables shaped by in depth observation and questioning. All it can do is to examine the pattern of relationships between variables, but it can neither confirm nor reject the hypothetical causal imagery (Bryman and Cramer 1990:248). Accordingly, the researcher does not attempt to produce a predictive equation for recruiting fees.

As mentioned earlier, there are other elements (indicated as error terms (ϵ), in determining fees charged by recruiters. This is evident in the coefficients for these terms which are quite high (.9). These terms vary from country to country, depending on how strict their immigration laws are. The illegal modes of smuggling workers into receiving countries involves using sub-agents in order to evade government charges for processing legal documents and the official exit fee (Abella 1992; Zolberg 1992; Miller 1992) and this influences recruitment fees to some extent.

5.6 Sources of Money

In order to obtain the money to fund overseas migration, potential workers draw upon many sources to meet the migration fees. Singhanetra-Renard (1992) found that migrants from Udon Thani obtained money from four sources to cover their expenses - savings, loans (private and bank), selling possessions and relatives. More than half of her respondents had to make use of more than one source. In response to a question asking where they obtained the required money, 83.9 per cent of respondents in this study reported that they obtained loans (from money lenders, banks and relatives), while only 2.3 per cent sold property such as jewellery, land and buffaloes.

Migrants with loans had to pay high interest rates which varied from 10 to 120 per cent per year. Of the 183 migrants who borrowed money, 13.1 per cent reported that they were obliged to pay interest rates at 120 per cent per annum. Some migrants (10.9 per cent) however, obtained loans from their relatives and received them free of interest.

The loans may be more complex if the actual recruiting agent conveniently provides loans to migrants to be paid back through salary deductions. They also offer prospective migrants the use of other financial sources to repay them such as buying rice at a cheaper price than normal.

Table 5.17 Source of Money Used by Migrants to Pay Recruiting Fees

Sources	Per cent	N
Savings	13.8	30
Loans	83.9	183
Sell property	2.3	5

Source: Field Survey 1994

5.7 Migration Networks

Migration networks are now widely accepted as being important in shaping migration in sending and receiving countries and providing assistance to migrants under the assumption that the more people the workers know, the lower the cost paid is likely to be (Gurak and Caces 1992:150; Massey 1990; Goss and Lindquist 1995). A central premise of migration networks is that recruiters may initiate the migration, but and the networks supply job information and keep migration going (Hugo 1996; Lim 1987; Massey 1990; Boyd 1989).

In Thai society, the best way to explain migration networks is by relating it to traditional patron-client relationships. The central idea of this relationship has its root in a social order whereby people are ranked differently in a state hierarchy. Each individual is situated temporarily in a particular position of relative power in the hierarchy (Keyes 1987:136). Accordingly, the King (patron) sits at the highest position and seeks power from among those below him. In turn those lower down such as nobles (clients) expect tangible benefits from him. Similarly, patron nobles seek benefits from the client officials, while the officials receive protection from the nobles. Similar relationship patterns are also traditionally applied among lower ranking people such as *that* (slave) who must be registered under a *nai* (master or patrons) who provide shelter and food while the former serves the latter with labour. This registration was useful to the country's security during the old days since patrons could urgently recruit clients for particular purposes such as war (Keyes 1987).

Historians accept that patron-client relationships became part of the lives of Thais from the establishment of the country, when Thais had their first King (Chapter Two). The relationship may also occur within the family such as between parents (patron) and children (clients). In this sense, parents seek warm feelings from their children while children are brought up with care (Wyatt 1984). Recently, the patronage system has been undermined through the redistribution of power and wealth in the society. Ties between patrons and clients that were traditionally bound by mutual obligations¹¹ in which all members of a society play key roles have been changed to a monetary basis (Wyatt 1984; Key 1987). Politicians for example began to establish patron-client relations with investors who seek protection and in return provide

politicians with money (Keyes 1987:136). As mentioned in Chapter Two, Chinese (both local-born and China-born) sought to establish relationships with some officials to protect them from nationalism during the early twentieth century (Skinner 1957; Rigg 1966).

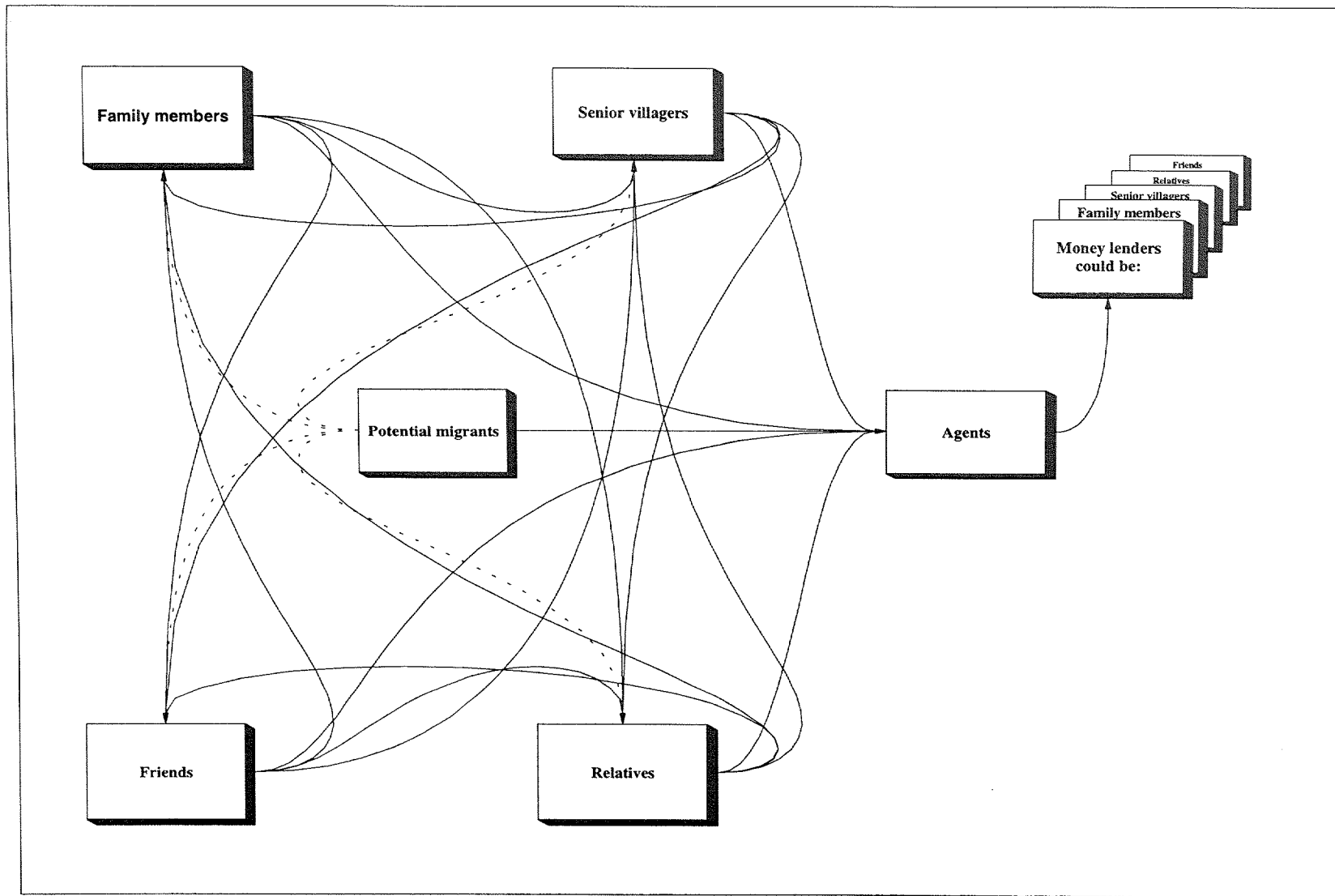
With this in mind, international labour migration from Thailand is often based around patron-client relationships. In a study of migration networks in Udon Thani, Singhanetra-Renard (1992) found that international migration of local workers took place as a result of relationships established with foreign employers who were constructing the United States Air Base in Udon Thani during the 1960s. The employers who moved to the Middle East after completing the construction in Thailand recruited those Thai workers who had previously worked for them there. The relationship those workers maintained with their families and other villagers in the community later facilitated further movements through information about vacancies being transferred back to them.

As was found in Singhanetra-Renard's (1992) study, the networks facilitating international labour migration occur at the village level. The day-to-day socialising of villagers in a small community is a basis of exchanging migration information. The simple greeting normally begins with 'how are you?', a sentence that leads to asking about their relatives who are working abroad. In many cases, the conversation in this regard ends with a discussion about private recruiters that organise migration and the cost of it.

At the beginning, potential migrants seek migration information from villagers living in the same community (Figure 5.4).

¹¹ This relationship is not as in the past when people help each other without demanding. The King (Ramkhamhang 1278-1289) for example governed his people by means of 'father and children' relationship by providing a bell in front of the palace for people seeking assistance.

Figure 5.4 Recommendation Path of Potential Workers



Note: 1. dot line means consultation path
 2. solid line means recommendation path

If another family member of these potential migrants is currently working abroad, they often prefer to contact the same private recruiters as they used. If not, they tend to ask others their opinions about agents since there are many agents working for provincial recruitment companies; some are reliable, some are not. The people who generally are asked for such information were either the head of the village or another senior person who is respected (and trusted) and in many cases has experience in working abroad. These recommenders, according to my knowledge, usually receive some money from the agents as a 'finder's fee'. This reflects an informal linkage between recommender and agent who allocates commission received from recruitment companies. If those who are asked for advice are not agents themselves, the agents usually offer some money to these recommenders. The agents accordingly accept less money per case but hope to get many other cases to compensate their smaller margins per worker recruited.

Agents arrange all procedures such as providing information and collecting documents needed by workers. Additionally, these agents can either suggest sources of money if applicants do not have the funds necessary and receive a 'second time' commission from local moneylenders (who demand a high interest rate as was discussed above) or in some cases are in fact money lenders themselves. How much money these informal agents and official agents actually receive in commission is unknown but is generally expected to be several thousand baht for one case. The importance of this kind of connection is then based on trust, so that the judgment of the recommender remains highly significant.

The recommendation path becomes more complicated when sub-agents take part in the process. They act as middlemen between agents and potential workers. They convince and encourage potential workers to use the services of the agent they

are under. With the expectation of receiving money from agents, some sub-agents (under the same or different agent supervision) obstruct each other when they approach the same client. These agents and sub-agents are normally villagers and in many cases are relatives of the potential migrants.

It is important to note that while there are many factors in the origin areas (Section 5.3) which influence people to migrate, the migration networks although also important in initiating movement tend to have a greater role in *facilitating* further movements from communities. The initial migrants do not have any networks at all but migrated on their own. The kinship links maintained among migrants while abroad with their families fuels migration through information received from migrants.

5.8 Sources of Information

A significant element identified in several studies (Hugo 1981; Massey 1990; Gurak and Caces 1992; Boyd 1989) as influencing movements is the role of relatives and friends of migrants in providing information about possible destinations. The stronger the ties between the receiver and the sender, the more accurate the information is perceived to be. In many developing countries, friends and relatives are regarded as a trusted and dependable source of information, hence the information that comes from these sources is doubly significant (Hugo 1981:201).

This was certainly found to be the case in the Udon Thani study villages, where 51.5 per cent of migrants reported that they obtained migration information from relatives and friends (Table 5.18). In many cases, this information was obtained from return migrants who guide potential migrants as to where to live, eat and seek assistance when abroad. These return migrants are often found living in the same

household as the migrants interviewed (Table 5.19). This often also reflects patron-client relations which are connected to family relationships to some extent.

Table 5.18 Sources of Information of Migrants

First source of information	Per cent
The OEAO	5.0
Recruiter	43.5
Relatives	35.8
Friends from migrant's families	15.7

(n=281)

Source: Field Survey 1994

Table 5.19 Households Having Migrants and/or Returnees

Villages/Members	Migrant+Returnee	Migrants		Returnee	N
		Migrant=1	Migrant>1		
1.Nong nakham	14.3	33.3	19.0	33.3	21
2.Koi	12.5	50.0	0.0	37.5	24
3.Chiang nyu	8.0	48.0	0.0	44.0	25
4.Eluik	13.0	52.2	0.0	34.8	23
5.Nong lan	8.7	43.5	0.0	47.8	23
6.Mek yai	4.0	36.0	4.0	56.0	25
7.Na dee	0.0	30.4	4.3	65.2	23
8.Pung nku	10.0	45.0	0.0	45.0	20
9.Na senual	0.0	46.2	0.0	53.8	13
10.Pon sawan	0.0	47.4	5.3	47.4	19
11.Chiang hwan	0.0	52.0	0.0	48.0	25
12.Dan	0.0	55.0	0.0	45.0	40

Source: Field Survey 1994

Migrants while abroad also provide information to their family households through various means - telephone, letter or circular visiting. This is evident in the survey where less than one per cent of migrants failed to contact their households through letter and telephone while absent. In response, almost 98 per cent of the migrant's households sent letters and telephoned overseas. This reflects the two-way communication in which migration information is inevitably included. Hence information is passed by word of mouth to close family members and also to other

friends and relatives within the villages. Non-migrant households sometimes ask about migrants from family members in order to collect information for their future migration.

5.9 Conclusion

In this chapter, analysis of migration processes has been made based on existing studies and especially upon data collected from the survey in Udon Thani. Poverty is found to be the main element pushing migrant workers out of the village. However although economic reasons dominated, this does not fully explain the large volume of migration out of the region. The advice given by family members and seniors in the village is especially important. These advisers also recommend migrants to agents or in some cases become agents themselves. Potential migrants establish networks with other migrants, agents and recruiters which keep the migration processes going. Recruiters are key elements in the process and the migration fees they charge are five times higher than in the 1970s.

The long experience of overseas contract labour migration in the study villages has made migration part of the way of life of villagers, leading to what is essentially a migration culture. In a competitive situation of securing a place in the labour market, information is often not reliable so that migrants seek out reliable sources of information. Close friends, relatives and family members thus become important sources of migration information. Hence, social networks and recruiters are just as significant as the economic push factors operating in Udon Thani in explaining the high levels of out-migration from that region.

CHAPTER 6

IMPACTS OF MIGRATION ON SENDING AREAS

6.1 Introduction

Impacts of migration on rural development have become a major area of concern to policy makers and researchers. The crucial question is to establish the extent to which migration impacts are beneficial or not to the origin areas, since it is assumed that migration is usually beneficial to the destination area and to the migrants themselves. Hugo (1997a) states that in a society involved with migration, one can never completely disentangle the influence of population mobility from wider social, economic and political changes. Migrants bring back new ideas, skills, goods and remittances that are beneficial to the society to which they belong.

Nevertheless, according to Goldscheider (1984:1), the issue of migration impacts particularly on rural areas, has received less attention than is warranted. Hugo (1987:136) has stated that, 'the impact of population mobility upon societal well-being and economic development has been neglected as a topic of systematic research, especially in the Asia and Pacific region.' Accordingly, the present study attempts to provide such a perspective in relation to international contract labour migration in Thailand. The next three chapters examine various aspects of the impacts of international labour migrations on rural Udon Thani. The present chapter discusses some important concepts and an analytical framework for the study of migration impacts. In order to study these impacts, a number of different categories of international labour migration are identified. Also in the present chapter, remittances

received from, and sent to, migrants are examined and some of their effects on the villages discussed.

6.2 Theoretical Background

According to Hugo (1978:299), there is a lack of theory relating to the impact of international labour migration on communities of origin in third world contexts. Simmons (1982:163) puts forward some hypotheses and analytical approaches regarding the consequences of migration and states that 'the literature on the impact of migration on individuals, households and communities is spotty and the conceptual frameworks for interpreting data bearing on these impacts seems poorly developed.' While there is general agreement that the root causes of most population mobility in Third World countries are predominately economic (Bilsborrow *et al* 1997), generalisations about the net impacts of migration on origin and destination areas are far from conclusive (Hugo 1985). As Simmons (1984:156) points out, 'no simple generalisations about the net effect of migration on rural development are possible.' The complexity of measurement and assessing migration impacts make generalisation impossible (Lipton 1980; Skeldon 1990).

In his pioneering work in West Java, Hugo (1975) distinguishes between 'active' and 'passive' impacts which can be accessed through the adjustment of persons left behind. According to him, the movement of people initiates one or more of three types of adjustment:

- Adjustment to the permanent or temporary absence of out-movers
- Adjustment to the permanent or temporary presence of in-movers
- Adjustment to the reciprocal flows of money, goods, information, ideas, and attitudes that occurs along the linkages established by movers between origin and destination

During a period of absence of family members, those left behind have to adjust to active impacts through ties established between migrants and their families at the place of origin. Migrants usually transmit money, goods, ideas, attitudes from their destination while their families are influenced by the flow of these. The effects are greater on families from which members have migrated than on others. The passive impacts on non-migrant families are an important consideration at the community level. In his migration impact framework, Hugo (1997a) points out a wide range of demographic, social, economic, political and environmental impacts of international migration and units that those impacts impinge upon. The present study adopts Hugo's framework in examining the impacts of migration on migrants and their families at the place of origin. Some major social and economic impacts are identified and examined in detail across categories of international migration and these are listed in Table 6.1.

6.3 Category of International Labour Migrants

Many scholars (King *et al* 1986; Gmelch 1980; Rodriguez and Horton 1996) have found that anyone who leaves his/her place of origin whether temporarily or permanently intends to return home. Migrants establish ties with their families left behind by means of remittances, letters, telephone calls and short visits. The obligation to maintain contact between origin and destination has been found to be strong in Indonesia (Hugo 1975) and Thailand (Fuller *et al* 1990). For international labour migration, the return home is an essential part of the migration process and ties remain intact during the migration (Bilsborrow *et al* 1997).

Hugo (1975) has pointed out the significance of kinship links among rural people in West Java, where migrants usually remain in close contact with their family members by means of letters and visits. Circular migration, however acts as an agent of

change by bringing information, money and goods back to the family. It is likely that the more frequent migrants visit their family, the greater the impact on the village.

Table 6.1 Major Migration Impacts on Migrants and Their Families

Impact	Single move	Repeat move	Premature return	Currently abroad
Migrants				
• Health	x	x	x	x
• Social status	x	x	x	-
• Behaviour	x	x	x	-
• Attitude towards				
-Education	x	x	x	-
-Marriage	x	x	x	-
-Social life	x	x	x	-
• Occupation mobility	x	x	x	-
• Work skill	x	x	x	-
• Language	x	x	x	-
• Marital status	x	x	o	-
• Future migration	x	x	o	-
Family level				
• Task reallocation	x	x	x	x
• Family relationship	x	x	x	x
• Education	x	x	x	x
• Family activity	x	x	x	x
• Contraception	x	x	x	-
• Health care	x	x	x	x
• Source of income	x	x	x	x

Source: Modified from Hugo (1997:Chapter 8)

Note: x means impacts found

o means impact is not found

- means data is unavailable

In Udon Thani villages, there are three methods employed by migrants to maintain contact with their family while absent - letters (including sending parcels), telephone calls and visits (Chapter 5). While the first two methods have become a routine practice among all migrants, visiting is used only by some migrants. As migration impacts emerge from the cumulative influence of migrant trips (Massey 1990), the degree of impact on an individual is likely to be related to the number of moves they make. Accordingly, it is important to make some meaningful differentiation

between migrants, so the impacts can be examined in more detail. Migrants have been categorised here into four types according to whether they had made a single move and returned, made several moves and returned, made a premature return before their contract was completed or were still away. The number of migrants in each category were as follows: single move migrants (single emigration and return) accounted for 23.4 per cent of respondents; repeat move migrants (multiple emigrations and return), accounted for 24.2 per cent and premature return migrants (single emigration but returned to Thailand before their contract expired) accounted for 15.3 per cent of the 215 migrants (Table 6.2); 37.1 per cent were still absent working overseas. Although it was not possible to directly interview the last group, these migrants have generally maintained a close relationship with their family by means of letters and telephone calls. Information obtained from relatives on the basis of these letters and phone calls can therefore be utilised here to examine the impacts of their absence overseas.

Table 6.2 Categories of Migrants According to their Destinations

Type of migrants	Middle East	Asia	Europe & America	N (%)
Single move migrant	62.1	36.4	1.5	66 (23.4)
Repeat move migrant	41.2	57.4	1.5	68 (24.2)
Premature return migrant	67.4	32.6	-	43 (15.3)
Currently abroad	17.3	82.7	-	104 (37.1)

Source: Field Survey 1994

It should be noted in Table 6.2, that the bulk of single move and premature return migrants went to Middle East destinations, while most of the repeat movers and those currently away went to other Asian countries. This clearly reflects the transition which has occurred in Thailand in recent years with respect to international labour migration. This transition is shown in Table 6.3 which depicts the trajectory of Thai

labour migration over the last 25 years. In the 1970s and 1980s Middle East destinations dominated after the oil boom of 1973 created many construction related jobs which Thai workers were able to fill. However, in the late 1980s and 1990s, the nature of the demand for labour in the Middle East changed to a more service orientation. Moreover, with the rise in the NICs in Asia, jobs were created for migrant workers in countries like Singapore, Taiwan and South Korea. Hence, the focus of Thai out- movement has shifted to Asian destinations and this is reflected in the survey villages.

Table 6.3 Average Annual Number of Migrant Workers Originating in Thailand by Region of Destination, 1975-1994 (per cent)

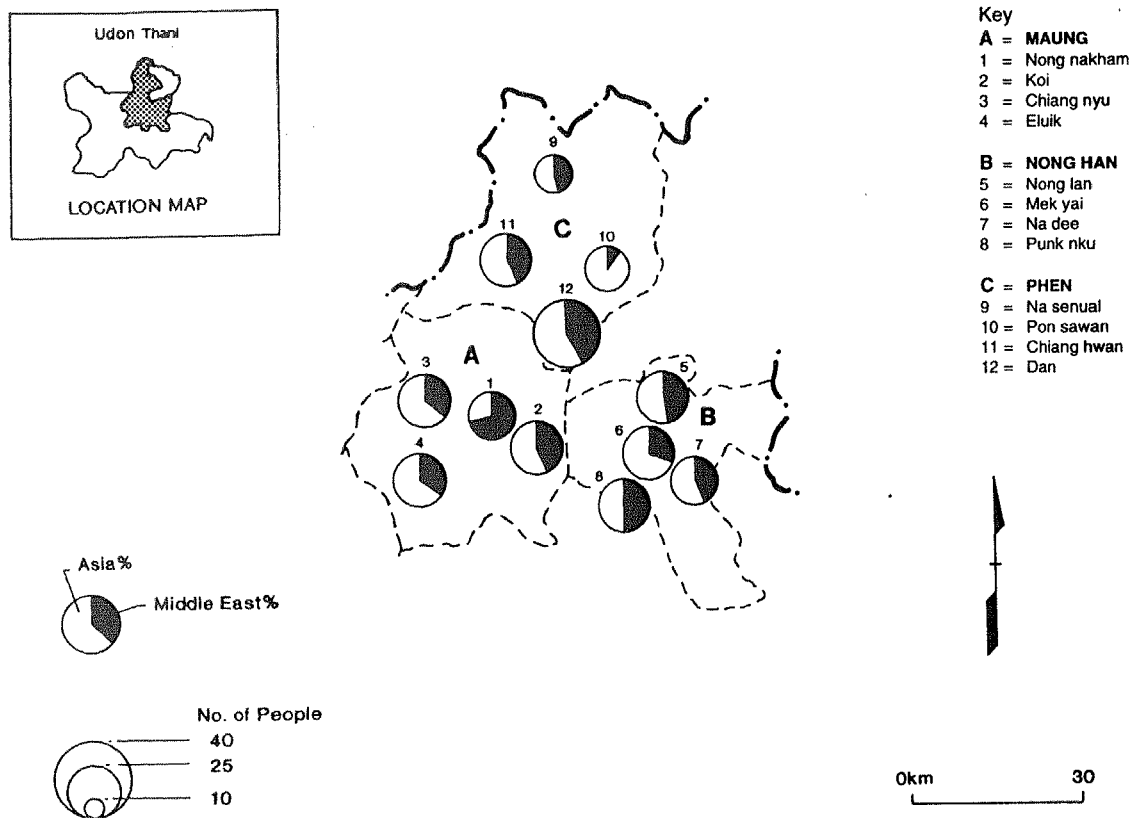
Destination Region	1975-1979	1980-1984	1985-1989	1990-1994
Western Asia*	75.5	81.7	72.4	24.4
Other Asia	7.7	5.3	14.6	71.9
Outside Asia	16.9	13.1	13.0	3.7
Number of Clearances	6,300	60,100	89,600	86,800

Note:* Including Libya

Source: UN 1997, p.81

Figure 6.1 shows the extent of out-movement from the survey villages as detected in the field survey. Clearly, in most communities Asian destinations now predominate with only Nong nakham(1) and Punk nku(8) having a majority going to the Middle East.

Figure 6.1 Destinations of International Labour Migrants by Survey Villages



6.4 Visiting the Village

6.4.1 Introduction

The return of single move and repeat move migrants brings about great excitement in their family and village. People in the village know the return is imminent and gather together at the migrant's house. Some villagers whose relatives are currently working in the same country of this returnee come to seek news about those migrants. Gifts carried on their behalf are passed on to their relatives. These could be money and small items which can be packed readily into the returnee's luggage. Snacks and drinks are normally provided. In many cases, guests are asked to have dinner with the hosts. Typical Thai food such as papaya salad, grilled beef and sticky rice are cooked. After the guests have gone, the returnees then have the opportunity to interact with their family. Pictures and photographs are shown, together with the telling of interesting

stories of their journey and their time abroad. Similar events were also found in Indonesia (Hugo 1975) and Bangladesh (Afsar 1995). This of course leads to the spreading of information from person to person about the migration experience and the destination.

It was observed that the arrival of single move migrants is an occasion of greater excitement than a short visit of repeat move migrants. The situation is the opposite in the case of premature return migrants. These suffering migrants prefer not to tell others, apart from their household members of their situation, because their return is more likely to be regarded as failure. However people in the village observe their arrival and tend to gossip to each other, but rarely visit the migrant's household.

In this section the reasons for making visits by repeat move migrants as well as those given by premature return migrants are discussed and linked to the nature and extent of their impact which is discussed in section 6.5.

6.4.2 Repeat Move Migrants

Unlike single move migrants who return because of the expiration of their contract, more than a quarter of repeat move migrants return to the village because of a wish to visit relatives. People visited by migrants tend to be either family members living in the same household - father, mother, spouse and children - or highly respected people in the village such as monks, the village head and village teacher. This partly reflects the strong kinship linkage among rural Udon Thani people that is maintained regardless of how far they are away from each other.

It was found that although some migrants state the need to take a holiday as a reason for return, they usually take this chance to visit their relatives too. In response to the question asking 'why did you return?', migrants normally reported that they had

been given a vacation by their employers and it did not make sense for them to stay abroad. The researcher then asked further about what activities they carried out during this short visit with the expectation of gaining the 'real' reasons for their return. Many activities were then reported as giving greater insight into their reasons for return.

Table 6.4 shows that some 20 per cent returned because their father and/or mother had died and they wished to attend the funeral, an important obligation among Thais. In this circumstance, male Thais are traditionally expected to enter a temple and become a monk for approximately seven days. This is according to the belief that the monk son will direct his father or mother's spirit to heaven. Failure to do so may result in 'social dissatisfaction' among family and friends in the village. Only one migrant in Na dee (7) was found to have returned for this reason.

Table 6.4 Reasons for Return of Repeat Move Migrants

Reasons	Per cent	Average Duration of stay (days)	N
Visit relatives	26.5	24.5	18
Father or mother died	19.1	20.6	13
Holiday	11.8	12.7	8
Sickness	23.5	19.6	16
War	19.1	23.5	13

Source: Field Survey 1994

[ATS1] Migrants also returned due to physical and mental sickness, accounting for nearly 24 per cent of the reasons stated. Unlike the sickness reasons reported below by the premature return migrants, the reasons reported here were based on 'real' illnesses. To some extent, these migrants failed to adjust to the work environment with problems such as cold weather and sand storms often being mentioned by migrants returning from the Middle East as reasons for contracting illnesses while they were away.

With respect to the duration of short visits, repeat move migrants on average spend 24 days visiting parents, 21 days for funerals and recovering from sickness and 14 days holiday. The length of stay of the short visits was similar in most of the villages surveyed. It was found that the frequency of visiting was largely determined by the cost of air tickets. Normally migrants who work in Asian countries can get cheaper tickets than migrants to the Middle East. For example, migrants working in Singapore, Brunei or Malaysia can return more frequently as it only costs few thousand baht. For migrants working in the Middle East, the greater number of letters sent (Chapter 5) may be a 'substitute' for less frequent visiting of the home area.

One significant finding was that all repeat move migrants are married. This reflects a strong bond between family members left behind and the family member who is temporarily absent. During the period of absence, information concerning family members was still exchanged through letters, with issues relating to examination results of children, health of parents and living conditions in the village being important. Migrants usually told their families about the jobs, weather and money earned.

During visits migrants usually bring back a small amount of money. Interviews with some migrants who repeatedly move indicate that they do not completely trust the banking system in terms of transferring money. In one case a migrant who sent 10,000 baht per month to his family in Na dee (7) lost 120,000 baht over two years. Through information received from his wife, he found later that money transferred was rarely withdrawn but the total amount was much less than the receipts¹. After he returned, although he claimed for compensation by showing proof of all transactions, authorities of the bank refused to take responsibility for the matter. They insisted that the

¹ Usually migrants receive a receipt when they remit money through the banking system with an agreement that money will be transferred to the person whose name appeared as a receiver within a few days. In the case of any loss, banks will take responsibility only for those who provide evidence of such remittance. (See Krajanyav 1982)

computer system was correct and that a mistake was impossible. Hence, due to situations such as this, migrants have resorted to bringing cash back by themselves rather than transferring money via the banking system.

This was also found in the studies of the Institute of Social Research, Chulalongkorn University (1992). This also explains why the total amount of money remittances reported by the Bank of Thailand is much less than the amount currently in the economic system. Unfortunately, the amount of money brought back when returning to their country is not recorded in these data. In addition, migrants spend some money in buying goods such as radios and cameras. They are normally left abroad during their short visit, but upon permanently returning at the end of the contract, these migrants bring back all the goods, as well as the money they have collected. Migrants find that it is less expensive to bring them back than buying brand new ones in their own country, despite the extra cost and weight on the flight home.

Table 6.5 shows that single move migrants bring cash and goods back to their country at the end of their contract. Firstly, almost all migrants had saved some money (apart from the money sent back) and brought it back upon their permanent return. Secondly, migrants brought back goods especially electrical appliances. Thirdly, buying goods was more popular among the Middle East migrants than those going to Asian destinations.

Table 6.5 Average Value of Cash and Goods Brought Back by Single Move Migrants (n =104)

Destination	Money (baht)		Goods (baht)	
	Average Value	Per cent of migrants	Average Value	Per cent of migrants
Middle East	24,000	100.0	9,300	64.2
Asia	19,000	96.2	7,700	69.2

Source: Field Survey 1994

6.4.3 Premature Return Migrant

An important type of migration that affects the social and economic wellbeing of migrants is premature return migration. Migrants falling into this category are those who fail to adjust to the context of the host country and return within a few months. According to Shadid (1992:72) the policies implemented by the host countries in the fields of entry, employment conditions, the absence of policy guidelines and repatriation of migrant workers have made the position of many migrant workers generally difficult and precarious. Compared with non-migrants, migrants are faced with an inferior social and legal status which includes differences in wages and facilities provided. As Eelens (1988:401) puts it '...due to loneliness, unfavourable working conditions, or economic and familial problems, migrants may give up their hope of building a new and better life and return prematurely'.

In the survey it was found that there were 43 contract migrants who had returned prematurely. They were mostly general labourers who returned home within the first three months after arrival at the destination (Table 6.6). Other migrants employed as carpenters, gardeners and welders were also found to return earlier; the number however was small. Unlike housemaids whose lives are somewhat more tolerable, general labourers are compelled to adjust to long working hours, sometimes up to 16 hours a day. These premature returnees were found in all of the villages surveyed. Most of them were in Dan (12), accounting for 10 per cent of premature return migrants. The average duration of stay was 1.8 months for general labourers and 1.5 months for other occupations.

The reasons given for returning prematurely among these migrants can be summarised into two main categories: (a) personal problems and (b) problems arising at the destinations emerging from a second round of fees charged illegally by private

recruiters and employers. Although the motives for migrating overseas are primarily economic, the reasons for return are strongly personal.

Table 6.6 Length of Time Premature Return Migrants Spent before Returning (per cent)

Occupation	1 to 3 months	4 to 6 months	Over half year	N
General labourers	40.0	35.0	25.0	20
Others	54.2	41.7	4.2	23

Source: Field survey 1994

Table 6.7 shows that most premature migrants returned because of home sickness or poor health. The figures were quite high for migrants sent by private recruiters. This issue is a crucial one since all contract migrants have already calculated the total amount of money they are supposed to earn from migration, based on the planned length of stay. If there are circumstances leading to premature return, migrants will certainly suffer. Some premature return migrants returned due to health problems. There were six migrants from Koi(2), Pon sawan(10) and Dan(12) who experienced this. They were sent back from Saudi Arabia, Brunei and Singapore under an accusation of unqualified health status. These premature return migrants indicated that even though their health status had been approved by Ambassadorial representatives in the country they were working with, the employers still insisted that they have a health test again after three months of working. It was suspected that a doctor was especially selected by the employer from a specific hospital located close to the work place to get rid of particular workers. Some migrants complained about this matter but the employers did not listen to them. For instance, one returnee who was found to be healthy before leaving, was found to have tuberculosis later. He was forced to leave the country within one week despite there being nine months left according to his contract. The employer however gave him a chance to return to work under the condition that he

must cure the illness before returning to work. He never went back however since he knew that he had to pay for all of the migration costs again. He believed that this must be a trick of employers in collaboration with private recruiters in Thailand to charge additional fees.

Table 6.7 Reasons for Return by Channels of Leaving

Channel of Migration	Reasons for return					N
	Did not pass health check	Home sickness	Physical sickness	War	Being cheated	
MLSW	-	50.0	-	-	50.0	2
Private recruiter	15.8	26.3	23.7	7.9	26.3	37
Friends	-	25.0	-	25.0	50.0	4

Source: Field Survey 1994

One quarter of premature return migrants returned due to being cheated. These migrants were left at the destination airport without making any contact with the promised employers. Migrants later found out that the contracts they signed were fake and thus there were no employers responsible for them. In many cases, they spent a couple of days there waiting for help from either the host country or the Thai government. Some migrants left at Kuwait airport, reported that they were not allowed to go further than the boundary of the airport and had to sleep there for a couple of days. They were finally deported with the assistance of the Thai Ambassador.

6.5 Remittances

6.5.1 Introduction

One of the most significant impacts of international migration are those associated with flows of remittances. Remittances are also seen as having an important

effect on economic development in sending countries (eg. Miracle and Berry 1970; King *et al* 1986; Oberai and Singh 1983; Kindleberger 1967; Piore 1979; Barkin 1967; Robinson 1986). Many migration scholars (for example, Hugo 1975; Connell *et al* 1976; Oberai and Singh 1983; Adams 1996; Knerr 1996; Sussangkarn and Chalamwong 1996) have examined impacts of migration on the social and economic welfare of the migrants' family and community through the use of remittances.

Hugo (1975) points out the importance of remittances in the West Java context, where people usually leave the village on a short term circulation basis. Remittances were productive because they were used not only for family consumption, but also for investment which dramatically changed the mode of production in the community to be more modern in the long term. As circulation migration become a permanent pattern of behaviour of people, remittances brought about rural development.

Given the predominating economic rationale of migration it would seem that the most important impacts on families left behind tend to originate from remittances (Brown 1995). At the community level in rural Thailand, the impact of migration and the effects of development programs launched by the government cannot be separated. It is not clear as to whether development of villages is the outcome of remittances. However, given the fact that the value of remittances far outweighs local government budgets, it may be assumed that villages receive some benefits either directly or indirectly from remittances. As Roongshivin (1986:153) states,

'ultimately these remittances are reflected in the community's development and prosperity. Moreover, remittances evidently have more of an effect on the community's progress than do the government's rural job creation programs, although fewer communities are affected by overseas employment. To increase the coverage and utility of remittances, the government may want to extend overseas employment to more communities and develop a plan to make more effective use of remittances for communities development purposes'.

The objective of this section is to discuss the significance of remittances, its elements and factors influencing them at the micro level. The analysis is based on the findings from the literature on remittances and those of the present survey villages of Udon Thani.

6.5.2 Framework of Analysis

According to Bilsborrow *et al* (1997), the growing complexity of migration patterns has been accompanied by a greater variation in the nature and scale of remittances. However much of this occurs through unofficial channels and in different forms leading to a highly inaccurate picture being given in official data. As Connell and Brown (1995:10) note,

‘though remittances are usually perceived to be principally cash flows (or postal orders or checks), most flows include various kinds of goods, hence, there are sometimes problems in measuring the volume and value of remittances, and problems of comparability because of different definitions of remittances. The actual forms of remittances are variable according to the purpose of remittances, the amount that can be sent, the urgency of need and the availability of a reliable carrier’

Similarly, Brown (1995:51) in his study about the hidden foreign exchange flows into Tonga and Western Samoa concludes that, ‘the most important informal means of remitting to these countries consists of transfers in the form of goods sent or goods and/or money carried personally by the migrants while on visits’.

Survey based data are very important to understand the elements of remittances- the forms, channels, recipients and pattern of use. Table 6.8 summarises the findings of recent surveys relating to remittances, involving both internal and international movement.

Table 6.8 Possible Forms, Channels, Recipients and Using of Remittances

Remittances	References
<p>Form</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Food (milo, sugar, rice, tinned food) • Clothes (shirts, skirt, pants, hat, belts, hand bags) • Blankets • Bed sheets • Utensils • Cars • Cash <p>• Toys (car models, dolls)</p> <p>• Electrical appliances (stereo, VCR, TV)</p> <p>Channels</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Banks <p>• Friends</p> <p>• Mail (ship, freight)</p> <p>• International merchants</p> <p>• Financial Institution</p> <p>• Institute (church, sport club)</p> <p>Recipients</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Senior people • Wives • Children • Parents • Brothers • Sisters • Relatives (aunt, uncle) <p>Pattern of use</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Savings (banks, unions, financial institutions, real estate, shares) • Donations (church, sports club, dance club) <p>• Education (children, wife, relatives)</p> <p>• Consumption (food, household bills such as gas, electricity, water)</p> <p>• Funerals</p> <p>• Birthday</p> <p>• Wedding</p> <p>• House (repairing, maintenance\ new construction)</p> <p>• Invest in local business (fishing, grocery, tourism, weaving tools)</p> <p>• Vehicles (buying new ones, repairing, maintenance)</p> <p>• Airfares</p> <p>• Furniture (refrigerators, stoves, washing machine, flush toilets, VCR, Television)</p> <p>• Household water system</p> <p>• Repay debts (creditors)</p> <p>• Buying clothes</p> <p>• Agricultural tasks (ploughing, chemical, fertilizers, store building, labour)</p>	<p>Stanwix and Connell (1995:73); Faeamani (1995:142) Stanwix and Connell (1995:73)</p> <p>Connell and Brown (1995:11) Stanwix and Connell (1995:73) Stanwix and Connell (1995:73) Ahlburg (1995:27) Brown (1995:39); Faeamani (1995:142); Singhanetra-Renard (1992); Pitayanon (1982); Roongshivin (1986); Tingsabadh (1989) Present study (1997) Present study (1997); Singhanetra-Renard (1992); Pitayanon (1982); Roongshivin (1986); Tingsabadh (1989)</p> <p>Ahlburg (1995:28); Singhanetra-Renard (1992); Pitayanon (1982); Roongshivin (1986); Tingsabadh (1989) Present study (1994) Stanwix and Connell (1995:78) Brown (1995:39) Brown (1995:48) Brown (1995:47)</p> <p>Connell and Brown (1995:18) Connell and Brown (1995:18) Connell and Brown (1995:18) Tongamoa (1987:97); Stanwix and Connell (1995:72) Tongamoa (1987:97); Stanwix and Connell (1995:72) Tongamoa (1987:97); Stanwix and Connell (1995:72) Tongamoa (1987:97); Stanwix and Connell (1995:72)</p> <p>Walker and Brown (1995); Brown and Connell (1995:77); Foster (1995) Walker and Brown (1995:95); Vete (1995); Faeamani (1995:145) Stanwix and Connell (1995:78); Faeamani (1995:145); Brown (1995:39); Tongamoa (1987:108); Walker and Brown (1995) Walker and Brown (1995); Ahlburg (1995:35); Connell (1980); Faeamani (1995:142) Faeamani (1995); Stanwix and Connell (1995:73), Faeamani (1995:145) Stanwix and Connell (1995:72) Stanwix and Connell (1995:73); Walker and Brown (1995:95) Walker and Brown (1995:101); Connell and Brown (1995); Singhanetra-Renard (1992); Pitayanon (1982); Roongshivin (1986); Tingsabadh (1989) Stanwix and Connell (1995:78); Walker and Brown (1995:101) Stanwix and Connell (1995:78); Walker and Brown (1995:101) Vete (1995); Brown (1995:46) Walker and Brown (1995:98)</p> <p>Present study (1997) Tonagamoa (1987:115); Stahl (1986b); Singhanetra-Renard (1992); Pitayanon (1982); Roongshivin (1986); Tingsabadh (1989) Stanwix and Connell (1995:78); Present study (1997) Connell and Brown (1995:22); Walker and Brown (1995:98)</p>

6.5.3 The Occurrence of Remittances

6.5.3.1 Remittances Received from Migrants

Stahl (1986b) in his study of overseas workers' remittances analyses a large number of studies focusing on the proportion of earnings remitted. He estimates that Thais are remitting some 60 per cent of their earnings home. He also provides evidence that in many countries migrants remit home more than fifty per cent of their earnings.

In Udon Thani villages, it was found that of 281 migrants (94.3 per cent) had remitted money and goods to their families at least once since they had migrated. The rest were those who had just left the country for a few months at the time of interview and needed to use their money during their orientation period but would probably remit money later. Among these migrants, some were premature return migrants who had not had an opportunity to remit at all. Some migrants reported that the beginning of their work abroad compelled them not to send money earned because they had to reserve some for unexpected events that might occur during this period. Their salaries were spent on clothes, food and other basic necessities. Only in a few cases were these facilities provided by employers under the conditions of their contract.

It was found that repeat-move migrants tended to bring back cash on a visit home. Migrants realised that the exchange rate varies and the amount of money remitted may be less if the rate in receiving countries is overvalued. In order to maximise the value of their money, migrants preferred collecting money and sending it in a large amount rather than breaking it into small amounts. Some sent their money as a group in order to reduce bank fees. Accordingly, it is not surprising that some labourers in the Middle East were able to send more than 10,000 baht every two months despite the fact they earned less than this amount each month. It was also found

that on average migrants working in Asian countries remitted more money than did those in Middle Eastern countries (Table 6.9).

Table 6.9 Average Value of Cash Remitted by Migrants Each Time by Region of Destination (baht)

Destination	Average	N
Middle East	11,650	110
Asian	13,157	148

Source: Field Survey 1994

Once arriving in the host countries, migrants started sending remittances fairly quickly. It is likely that short term contract labourers were under more pressure than the longer term ones in this respect. Some may need time to become established (a few months) and then begin remitting. Data from the survey villages reveal that the largest amount of money was sent by migrants who had been abroad less than one year (Table 6.10). Of the 25 migrants in this category, one was a premature return migrant from Eluik (4) who returned home after an absence of 45 days. He remitted some 8,000 baht home, which was the first and last remittance during his overseas migration. This money was sent to his spouse in order to pay a debt. In contrast, those who stayed abroad for more than 2 years sent relatively small amounts of money home. This included bringing cash back personally or sending them through friends on a short trip.

Table 6.10 Money Remitted Each Time by Duration of Absence

Duration	Remittances	N
Half year	13,944	25
One year	13,071	63
Two years	12,074	123
More than two years	10,683	33

Sources: Field Survey 1994.

6.5.3.2 Remittances Sent To Migrants

Connell and Brown (1995:11) state that 'in many respects little is known about these (reciprocal) remittances. In some cases these represent altruistic gifts associated with the essential element of reciprocity; in others they stem from self-interest, pump primers for continued remittances from destination countries.' In fact, in almost every context remittances are bi-directional (Stanwix and Connell 1995:73; Oberai and Singh 1983).

It was found in Udon Thani villages that nearly half (45.9 per cent) of migrant households had sent goods abroad at least once. Goods most frequently sent were medicine and food (Table 6.11). The value of these goods varied from 10 to 4,000 baht. The cheapest items were *Pra* (buddhist charms) which can be *chav*¹ (bought) from any temple. It is usual for family members to *chav* the charms from temples located within or nearby the village or in many cases they send the one they were wearing themselves to migrants. The practice of wearing charms according to Buddhism is a way to make one feel confident. The price of the charms varies from less than ten baht to more than a million baht. As reported by respondents, charms sent to migrants abroad however are not expensive ones.

Table 6.11 Type of Goods Sent From Thailand to Migrants Abroad

Goods	Per cent of households sending	Approximate value (baht)	N
Medicine	67.4	456	83
Clothes	4.7	416	6
Book/Tape	3.1	266	3
Food	21.7	543	25
Buddhist charm	3.1	157	2

Source: Field Survey 1994

¹ This Thai word is used only for buying Buddhist charms. Its correct meaning is to hire.

Migrants also received medicines from their families. As described in Chapter 7, migrants have to adjust themselves to the different climates of their destinations and many migrants get sick. In these cases migrants asked their friends to send traditional pain relief tablets named *tham jai* to them. Depending upon the regulations of some countries in which migrants were working, migrants have to take their own risk in ordering them. One premature return migrant who used to work as a household servant in Japan for three months reported that his friend spent 4,000 baht on sending *Tham jai* to him. The cost of *Tham jai* is very cheap (around 8 baht a pack) but the cost of postage pushed the price to be more than double that. One thing that the migrant still does not understand is that sometimes he received the packages but other times he did not, despite the packages being sent from the same village and to the same place in Japan.

Other goods sent to migrants were typically dry food, books, Thai cassettes and clothes. Most of these goods were sent through the post office or via friends returning to work after a vacation in Thailand. Similar results were found in Fiji when people sent woven mats, root crops, seafood and traditional clothes to migrants in Sydney (Stanwix and Connell 1995:73).

6.5.4 The Significance of Remittances in Migrant Households

Remittances are clearly an important part of the benefits side of the international labour migration equation. Connell *et al* (1976), Connell and Brown (1995), Stahl and Arnold (1986), for example, provide evidence from many countries where remittances form a significant part of household income. These remittances maintain social ties and act as insurance premiums for migrants and their families in the long term (Connell and Brown 1995:7). In Thailand, the findings are similar in such major studies as those of

Pitayanon (1982), Roongshivin (1986) and Singhanetra-Renard (1992) as well as the present study where remittances make up a significant proportion of the household income of migrants' families.

It was found that migrant household incomes were higher than those of stayer's household (Table 6.12). Remittances made up a very high proportion of migrant household income in each survey village. This high proportion was to be expected since in general the average earnings of overseas Thai migrants were 4.6 times what they earn in their home community (Stahl 1986b). In Chiang nyu (3) for example, it was observed that the village economy was quite active. Most migrants have their own vehicles (car, motor cycle, bicycle); some even own transportation businesses. Houses are new and constructed in a modern style. Thus it is not surprising that the village was officially recognised as the best developed village in 1992. In Mek yai (6) on the other hand, the average scale of remittances was not as high as in Chiang nyu (3); and most of these were spent on religious festivals and community parties.

**Table 6.12 Contribution of Remittances to Household Annual Income
(thousand baht)**

Villages	Stayer household income (mean)	Migrant household income (mean)	Difference (times)	Per cent of remittances as household income	N
1.Nong nakham	18.7	45.6	2.4	407.4	(15)13
2.Koi	21.9	56.7	2.6	211.9	(14)17
3.Chiang nyu	29.1	71.8	2.5	251.2	(13)16
4.Eluik	28.1	42.2	1.5	566.1	(15)15
5.Nong lan	25.3	32.6	1.3	467.3	(22)23
6.Mek yai	22.9	63.5	2.8	155.8	(18)20
7.Na dee	16.3	62.0	3.8	269.0	(14)20
8.Pung nku	13.8	56.5	4.1	190.2	(10)19
9.Na sensual	11.4	36.5	3.2	365.4	(22)10
10.Pon sawan	14.0	39.2	2.8	457.1	(15)10
11.Chiang hwan	20.1	23.5	1.2	534.6	(45)19
12.Dan	16.0	39.6	2.5	376.7	(19)34
Mean	19.8	45.5	2.5	354.4	(222)203

Source: Field Survey 1994

Note: 1. not including value of goods sent back; 2. Only migrant households receive money remittances; 3. Numbers in parenthesis are those of stayer households

A survey of average household income conducted by the National Statistical Office (NSO) in 1992 reported that the average household income of people in the Northeast of Thailand was only 4,644 baht compared to an average monthly expenditure of 5,462 baht. This suggests that survival of rural people in the Northeast depends heavily upon remittances of absent migrants.

In Na senual (9) where the average annual income was extremely low, the survival of family members depended upon remittances since most people were in debt. Here, it was found that people spent more than half of the remittances they received on repaying debt each month; half of this spending was upon interest only. This payment represented the largest element in the remittance expenditure, buying food was only a sixth of all such expenditure (see Table 6.17). This finding is similar to those of several other studies (eg. Pongsapich 1991; Chiengkul 1986; Singhanetra-Renard 1992) which reveal that villagers do not have much independence in using remittances since they have such substantial debt obligations. Table 6.13 presents the distribution of households that spent remitted money upon repaying debts. It was found that some 34.4 per cent of migrant families spent more than half of the money remitted on debt repayments, while nearly 20 per cent of families spent all their money on freeing their debt obligations. More importantly, migrants who failed to see out their contracts are likely to fall into a 'cycle of poverty' when interest is accumulated on the total money borrowed forcing people to borrow more money (from the same or different lenders) for the next year (Hirsch 1990). Accordingly, family members have to work even harder to release this serious debt. These results are similar to those of Stahl (1986) in his study of overseas migration in Thailand, Sri Lanka, Philippines, India, Pakistan and Bangladesh where he shows how debt obligations of migrants forces them to use remittances to repay debts.

Table 6.13 Families Using Remittances for Loan Repayments

Proportion of remittances paid to creditors	Per cent of families
Less than half of the remittances	46.1
More than half of the remittances	34.4
All money remitted	19.4

Sources: Field Survey 1994

These results are interesting since other studies such as Faeamani's (1995:144) report a significant use of remittances is daily food consumption. This is perhaps because the rural Thai people receiving the remittances are agriculturists so that food is readily available (even if not always nutritious food) in the villages. They have rice, vegetables, chicken and pork which although it may not perfectly feed every member of the family it is enough to prevent them from starving. If they do run out of food, people can borrow from their neighbours who are usually relatives. Repayment of loans can be made in many forms such as returning the same type of food borrowed, paying money back, working for them or giving other kinds of goods of equivalent value.

6.5.4.1 Caution in Income Analysis

Observation made during the field work indicated that great care must be taken in measuring household income. In the rural Thai context, people earn money according to either task involved or on a daily basis. In other words, the wage is determined by the nature of the task. For example, a carpenter will not receive money unless they finish painting a house. Clearly, no matter how long it takes, a he/she receives the same amount according to the negotiation made beforehand. This contrasts to more developed countries where people usually earn money according to the hours they spend on a job.

It was observed that the time management of labourers in the survey villages was relatively poor. During the day people spent time sleeping or talking to each other instead of spending it more productively. Characteristics of crop cultivation in Udon Thani are that each task needs to be done in sequence and there is a 'time lag' between them. This includes the development of the nursery seedbeds, transplanting, threshing, winnowing and the harvesting period. Cultivation begins with the wet season when soils are softened and able to be ploughed. This means people have to wait for the first rains and thus people have time to do 'during waiting jobs,' which may be weaving traditional bamboo mats or being wage labourers. These jobs are paid for on a task basis.

As agriculturists, people receive income when they sell products after harvesting, which takes place from November onward. In many cases they store it and sell some thereafter whenever they need money. Normally, buyers pay in cash and there are no documents to check the exact amount. Although we requested information on the exact amounts involved in such sales, the figures derived seem to be very inaccurate as people said that they could not recall the amounts involved. Sometimes, neighbours borrow rice and return it in other forms such as labour or food and thus these products are implicitly used for household consumption².

During the dry season (February to April), rural people also plant other kinds of crops such as kenaf, beans or cassava, making it difficult to calculate household income on an annual basis. They earn several thousand baht from these crops but the exact amount is unrecorded. Hirsch (1990:25) also found difficulty in calculating income when household labour (including child labour) is used for home production and in fact

² Usually, apart from selling in November, people reserve their produce in two parts, for small sale and consumption.

in any one year, labour investment may exceed proceeds. Accordingly, it is extremely difficult to obtain an accurate estimate of household income from people in rural Thailand.

6.5.5 Forms of Remittances

Ahlburg (1995:160) in his analysis of remittances and distribution of income states that...

'even if money income sources and the receiving unit could be defined, remaining difficulties are how to monetize non-cash sources of income such as subsistence agriculture; what should be included as remittances; should the impact be measured at the initial receipt of remittances or after further redistribution has taken place; and what distribution is relevant, the village distribution, the regional, or the national?

In Udon Thani, migrants both send and bring back gifts to their family members particularly spouses and children (Table 6.14). Apparel dominates including skirts, shirts, pants, hats, belts and hand bags. Even though they realise that most garments in Thailand are cheaper and more beautiful, migrants are happy to buy them as *kong fhark* (souvenirs) from overseas. Receivers will feel good if migrants bring them some attractive things from overseas. To some extent, this tradition shows how concerned migrants are for those left behind. The more expensive goods are most likely to be for close relatives and family members while the less expensive ones are given to other village friends. Those who do not receive souvenirs may feel upset and may pay less respect to the migrants than before. Electrical appliances such as radios, tape recorders and VCRs, as well as toys such as dolls and model cars are popular souvenirs from Japan for children. These gifts are sent back either through the mail or via their friends. As mentioned earlier, these gifts are indicators of prestige, reflecting the success of migrants. The tradition of remitting these souvenirs is found in a large number of

migration studies in developing countries. In Tonga, Faeamani (1995:143) reports the goods remitted tend to be household furniture, clothes and food which are distributed to close family members. In Fiji, Stanwix and Connell (1995:73) indicate that migrants usually send second hand clothes to parents who distribute them to all their relatives in the village.

Table 6.14 Money and Goods Remitted from July 1993-April 1994 per Migrant

Villages	Money remitted	Goods (value*)			N
		Clothes	Electrical appliances	Toys	
1.Nong nakham	185.8	3.0	-	-	16
2.Koi	120.1	-	5.2	-	21
3.Chiang nyu	180.4	4.5	10.4	2.0	27
4.Eluik	239.2	3.0	10.4	-	23
5.Nong lan	152.4	4.5	-	-	26
6.Mek yai	98.9	6.0	5.2	-	29
7.Na dee	166.9	10.4	5.2	-	22
8.Pung nku	107.6	1.5	5.2	-	22
9.Na senual	133.6	1.5	-	-	12
10.Pon sawan	179.3	4.5	-	-	20
11.Chiang hwan	126.0	4.5	-	-	23
12.Dan	149.4	6.0	-	1.0	39
Mean	153.3	4.4	6.9	1.5	

Sources: Field Survey 1994

Note: * approximate value in thousand baht

6.5.6 Channels of Sending

The increase in numbers of migrants has been accompanied by an increase in the absolute amount of remittances and many methods and forms of remission have been developed. It is important however to recognise that a substantial amount of remittances remain unrecorded. Brown (1995) in his analysis of hidden foreign exchange flows, discusses a number of methods that migrants use for remitting money and goods to their villages which include the banking system, international merchants, other persons bringing them back and money orders. In the survey villages, the most common form of sending money was through the banking system, while goods were

usually sent through friends on a visit. With respect to cash, Table 6.15 shows that 95 per cent of migrants remitted their earnings through the banking system (electronic transfer, check and draft). It was reported by some respondents that this was a result of a linkage between foreign employers and banks. While it is safe and economical for employers, banks receive service fees from the workers. Although sending money through the banking system is regarded as the most effective way, service charges have resulted in some disincentives to use the system.

**Table 6.15 Percentage Distribution of Channels of Sending Money and Goods
(N=265)**

Methods	Money	Goods		
		Clothes	Electrical appliances	Toys
Banking	95.0	-	-	-
Mailing	4.6	26.7	28.6	100.0
Friends on visit	0.4	73.3	71.4	-

Source: Field Survey 1994

In some households visited, money remitted had never reached the intended recipients. A return migrant who was currently *pu yai ban* of Pon sawan (10) told us that he went to Israel in 1990 on an 18 month contract. During the first six months, he remitted almost all his collected money (around 40,000 baht) to his wife through the banking system. However upon return in 1994 he found that she had never received any of the money sent. It was lucky that he changed the method of sending from the banking system to money order once his wife told him what was happening. The same was found to be the case for other couples within this village. The amount of money lost, although small, was significant since as mentioned, most migrants have to repay debts using these monies.

The amount of money remitted varies from country to country. Normally migrants in most countries transfer money every one or two months, depending on how serious their family members need funds. In the Middle East migrants seem to have more difficulty using bank services because of: (1) the very strict regulations in sending money out of the country and (2) the availability of banks in such places. In Iraq, for example bank to bank transfer is a more popular method than others.

In other studies, such as those of Brown (1995), Vete (1995) and Stanwix and Connell (1995), it was found that mailing and asking friends who return home to bring money and goods back were popular methods among Thai overseas labour migrants. For clothes and electrical appliances, more than three quarters of migrants used their friends to carry the goods back to Thailand. Given the strong ties among Thais, the migrants are happy to do this. Upon returning home, they have two choices. The first is carrying goods to receivers directly if they live in the same village or nearby. The other is posting them once they come back. However this method is currently under question since the government released a new law in April 1996 regarding carrying back goods from overseas. This law allows only those staying abroad for more than 2 years to carry back expensive goods (5,000 baht). In other words, Thais who leave country for less than 2 years cannot bring into the country goods valued at 5,000 baht a more without attracting payment of duty.

6.5.7 Recipients

According to Hugo (1978:266), a beneficial impact of emigration is the in-flow of remittances to those left behind. The remittances stimulate the local economy through multiplier effects. Recipients spend remittances in buying goods or services from sellers who then spend the money and so on throughout the village. The money

will then be circulated and generate economic development not only within the village but also within the subdistrict, district and even the province (Taylor *et al.* 1996). For unmarried migrants, money is remitted mainly to their parents while others remit to wives and children. Stanwix (1994) found that migrants who remit the greatest amount from Sydney have dependents in their home town in Fiji. Vete (1995:65) also found that remittances are higher in households that have an average of 10 dependents than in households that have only four dependents. These dependents are mainly parents, spouses, children and siblings. A study in India by Oberai and Singh (1983) also reported that married emigrants are more likely to remit than unmarried.

In the survey villages, it was found that whereas 80 per cent of married migrants sent their money and goods to their spouses, most single migrants sent them to their parents (Table 6.16). The pattern remains the same when the sex of migrants is considered. Some households in Mek yai (6) were headed by young migrants' spouse despite the fact that their mother was living in the same house. The reason for this is that the parents are too old (over 70) to go to the bank or post office which is located far away from the villages to withdraw remittances. Some of them are illiterate and need a letter of authorisation to get the funds.

Normally the recipients need to provide an identification card in order to withdraw money remittances from the bank. This is associated with a signature or fingerprint for illiterate recipients. Although in the Thai context every person must have an identification card and renew it every five years, some rural people fail to do so⁴. These people are more likely to be aging people such as grandfathers and grandmothers of migrants. The recipients were most likely to be mother or spouse of migrants.

⁴ All people must apply for an identification card at the age of fifteen years old and renew it every five years.

Table 6.16 Migrants Remitting Money and Goods to Mother and Spouse

Status	Mother		Spouse		N
	Money	Goods	Money	Goods	
Single	46.9	-	-	-	49
Married	13.8	2.7	80.8	73	203
Other	37.5	-	-	-	8

Source: Field Survey 1994

6.5.8 Pattern of Use of Remittances

The most significant impacts of migration are the economic consequences which are largely associated with remittances and savings that migrants bring back (Kearney 1986). According to Knerr (1996:219), the impact of remittances on the origin area economy is largely determined by the way migrants' families spend them. This section presents the pattern of use of remittances by recipients in the origin area. This is shown in Table 6.17 which indicates the main uses made of money remitted to each study village.

In the rural Thai context, people are often in debt and a major part of remittances is spent on repaying such obligations (Hirsch 1990). The rest of money remittances tend to be spent on goods according to the needs of family members. Unless specified, goods bought with remittances are shared among several family members such as car, house, land or even jewelry; and few are for individual use such as clothes, special foods and other personal items.

The overall dominance of using cash remittances for building or reconstructing a house was clearly apparent in the six villages. These houses are an indicator of social and economic prestige of migrants.

Table 6.17 Pattern of Use of Remittances in Survey Villages (thousand baht)

Villages	Total Remittances	Deposit in bank	Buy jewellery	For loan	Buy land	Build house	Repair house	Deposit in union	Repay debt	Household consumption	Business investment	Children education	Buy vehicles
1.Nong nakham	185.8	64.4 (2)	0.0	31.0 (6)	48.3 (4)	94.0 (1)	15.0 (7)	0.0	58.0 (3)	40.0 (5)	10.0 (8)	0.0	0.0
2.Koi	120.1	79.0 (4)	0.0	70.0 (5)	120.0 (2)	90.0 (3)	9.0 (9)	0.0	47.3 (6)	34.1 (7)	29.0 (8)	0.0	300.0 (1)
3.Chiang nyu	180.4	117.5 (1)	5.4 (11)	20.0 (8)	110.5 (2)	53.0 (5)	7.3 (10)	22.0 (7)	95.7 (3)	25.0 (6)	0.0	10.0 (9)	70.0 (4)
4.Eluik	239.2	105.5 (1)	10.0 (8)	0.0	97.0 (2)	91.6 (3)	20.0 (6)	15.0 (7)	91.2 (4)	60.0 (5)	0.0	0.0	0.0
5.Nong lan	152.4	71.0 (2)	4.0 (10)	0.0	35.0 (6)	87.5 (1)	16.6 (8)	45.0 (4)	67.0 (3)	40.0 (5)	10.0 (9)	20.0 (7)	0.0
6.Mek yai	98.9	24.0 (6)	4.0 (11)	10.0 (10)	100.0 (1)	85.0 (2)	42.0 (4)	10.8 (9)	53.7 (3)	12.3 (7)	11.0 (8)	0.0	34.0 (5)
7.Na dee	166.9	36.1 (4)	6.7 (9)	32.5 (6)	66.3 (2)	106.0 (1)	35.0 (5)	0.0	58.7 (3)	15.0 (8)	30.0 (7)	0.0	0.0
8.Punk nku	107.6	35.7 (5)	22.2 (6)	45.0 (3)	71.8 (1)	70.0 (2)	0.0	8.0 (9)	43.5 (4)	1.2 (10)	21.0 (7)	0.0	20.0 (8)
9.Na senual	133.6	40.9 (4)	0.0	10.0 (5)	0.0	50.0 (3)	56.0 (2)	0.0	60.2 (1)	5.0 (6)	0.0	0.0	0.0
10.Pon sawan	179.3	32.7 (4)	6.0 (7)	30.0 (5)	43.7 (3)	63.3 (1)	5.0 (8)	0.0	58.1 (2)	15.0 (6)	0.0	0.0	0.0
11.Chiang hwan	126.0	31.1 (5)	2.5 (8)	0.0	48.5 (4)	88.3 (1)	0.0	0.0	65.6 (2)	25.0 (6)	0.0	20.0 (7)	60.0 (3)
12.Dan	149.4	59.1 (4)	7.2 (10)	25.0 (7)	118.3 (3)	153.0 (2)	19.0 (9)	45.0 (5)	49.1 (4)	19.2 (8)	30.0 (6)	5.7 (11)	168.0 (1)
Total	1,713.6	661.9 (4)	58.5 (11)	268.5 (6)	807.9 (2)	942.4 (1)	216.9 (8)	145.8 (9)	680.5 (3)	260.8 (7)	141.0 (10)	35.7 (12)	592.0 (5)
Mean	153.3	58.1 (4)	5.6 (11)	22.7 (7)	71.6 (2)	85.9 (1)	18.7 (8)	12.1 (9)	62.3 (3)	24.3 (6)	11.7 (10)	4.6 (12)	54.3 (5)

Source: Field Survey 1994

Note: The amounts are not additive since some households spend on more than one item. The amounts are ranked as shown in parenthesis.

Many studies (eg. Singhanetra-Renard 1992; Pitayanon and Chanchareon 1982; Roongshivin 1982, 1985) report that most migrants spend their remittances on building new houses- the so called 'Saudi Arabia house'⁵. In the villages surveyed it was found that 68.7 per cent of migrant households lived in such 'Saudi Arabia houses', compared with 59.2 per cent of stayers.

Work on the house usually begins while the migrant is still abroad and is often built stage by stage according to the amount of money remitted. A large amount of money however is spent on materials; only a small amount is spent on labour. Normally rural people inherit expertise in construction activities from their father, mother and relatives. It was apparent that in Pon sawan (10) that many migrant houses were constructed by family members. Tasks such as laying of bricks, mixing concrete, weaving roof etc. were finished by both male and female members of the family.

The house reflects not only the high status of owners but it also indicates the wealth of migrants. Most of them are decorated with expensive furniture and are equipped with new electrical appliances such as a new model of television, VCR and CD players. Table 6.18 shows the proportion of migrant and non-migrant households owning major household goods. It can be seen that in most cases the proportion owning the goods is greater among migrant households, reflecting their greater purchasing power and the fact that migrants often bring back such goods with them when they return from overseas.

Other main uses of remittances such as, buying land, repaying debts and depositing in banks were also found in all villages surveyed. Since land is the most important element in the agricultural economy in rural Thailand (Hirsch 1990) villagers

⁵ Usually, these houses can be identified by: (1) permanent material construction, such as concrete and cement and (2) how well these dwellings are equipped (see also Table 6.3).

are likely to spend money remitted on buying land. The land is regarded as 'instant cash' as it is widely accepted as collateral by bankers and money lenders.

Table 6.18 Property Owned by Migrants and Non-migrants

Property	Migrant households	Non-migrant households
<i>ea tan</i>	6.4	5.5
Motorcycle	47.7	31.1
Tractor	5.3	2.1
Power tiller	3.2	2.1
Fridge	47.0	29.1
Television	81.5	75.1
VDO.	8.9	3.1
Radio	66.2	61.6
Tape recorder	47.0	26.6
Sewing machine	35.9	23.2
Thresher	3.2	1.4
Silo	84.0	77.9
Water pump	14.2	6.9
Buffalo	54.1	56.4
Cow	10.0	10.7
N	281	289

Sources : Field Survey 1994.

An important pattern of use is investment in transportation services. In almost all villages visited, members of migrants' families spent money in *sky lab* (small motorised public transport vehicle) which cost around 10,000 baht second hand. These *sky lab* operate between the survey villages and district or provincial centres. These local services are extremely significant in villages where buses and minibuses are not yet available. They facilitate the circular movement of villagers, which is so important since people have to deal with the 'outside world' in their daily life such as working, schooling and entertaining (see eg. Goldstien and Goldstien 1986; Chamratitirong *et al* 1995). These services include 'picking up' and 'taking to' services which people have to pay a small extra fee (10 baht) per trip. For wealthier villagers, drivers are also asked to take their young children to school in the morning and pick them up in the afternoon. People normally go to the district or provincial centre at least once a week to buy

goods which are not available in local grocery stores, such as lamps, clothes, shoes and food.

With respect to household consumption, it was found that people from a surveyed villages spent less money received in buying food than depositing it in the bank and repairing houses. This reflects Thai rural context where people can survive in the village with agricultural products they cultivate. The cost of consumption is then less concerned. There are only some wealthy families that consume healthy food by using money remitted while most of them prefer eating typical food. The wealthy families according to this survey were in Nong nakham (1) and Mek yai (6).

6.6 Conclusion

The analysis of remittances in this chapter shows that most migrants remitted money to their families at the place of origin after arriving in destination countries. In some cases, migrants start remitting during the early months and generally continue sending monthly. The significance of remittances is that they are the largest part of the migrant households' income and are spent on purchasing basic subsistence necessities. Moreover, they are spent on debt repayment, house construction and buying land.

This chapter illustrates that there are many forms of remittances such as toys, clothes and food which are neglected in other studies. These remittances, both monetary and non-monetary, are transferred through the banking system, the postal system and via fellow migrants who return to Thailand on vacation. It is observed that channels of remitting are a concern of recipients interviewed in the villages. Although there is no recommendation made in any studies relating to the most effective way of remitting, most migrants in this survey prefer transferring money through banks and sending goods through the post. An attempt has also been made to identify the forms,

channels, recipients and patterns of use of remittances. These elements are significant in the study of migration impacts which are examined in the next two chapters.

CHAPTER 7

IMPACTS OF INTERNATIONAL LABOUR MIGRATION UPON MIGRANTS

7.1 Introduction

Within Hugo's (1997) migration impact framework, the impacts of migration on an individual migrant are those associated with behaviour, values, attitudes and skills that change after migration. Migration initiates an adjustment of the individual migrants to the different socio-economic context once they arrive at the destination and to the original community upon their return. The migration also initiates change in both origin and destination communities. The following two chapters have the objective of providing insights into the major impacts of migration upon the migrants themselves, their families and communities of origin in Udon Thani. In this chapter an attempt is made to identify the extent to which the impacts are beneficial or not to the migrants themselves, on the basis of data collected in field work in Udon Thani. This examination is undertaken across the three categories of international labour migrants identified earlier. The chapter attempts detailed and balanced assessments of both the positive and negative effects of the migration.

7.2 Impact Upon Personal Health

Upon landing in the host country, migrants suddenly realise that they neither know, nor understand, their rights at the destination. The first impact is to deal with their emotions during the first months. It was found that more than half of migrants had serious problems about human contact, work, language, living quarters, climate and food. Psychologically, they also suffered from feeling lonely. Unlike migrants working in Asian countries where the context is relatively similar to that of their home,

Middle East migrants found it more difficult to cope with their living situation especially religion. It was found that 66 per cent of migrants working in the Middle East felt lonely whilst abroad, while 58 per cent of migrants working in Asian countries reported this. It has frequently been found that the greater the similarity between the way of life of the host and origin country, the more likely it is that the migrant will adjust well to the context (Richmond 1969:270; Price 1969; Jansen 1969; Miracle and Berry 1970).

With respect to physical health, it was found that more than one fifth of migrants were sick at least once while abroad (Table 7.1). Of these migrants, 30 per cent reported that they had caught a fever. Some migrants experienced food poisoning, work injury and dental problems. It was also found that the number of repeat move migrants who had been sick was higher than among other types, since they were away for a longer time and hence had more chance to be sick.

This information was obtained from direct interviews with migrants who were currently in the village during the period of field work. These migrants include both permanent return migrants who used to work abroad for a few years and current contract migrants who were at home on a visit. The researcher obtained information for another 104 current migrants indirectly, concerning their health from letters written to their relatives.

Table 7.1 Migrants Ever Sick While Abroad

Type of migrant	Per cent	N
Single move migrant	23.9	104
Repeat move migrant	34.0	68
Premature return migrant	27.9	43

Source: Field Survey 1994

One respondent in Nong nakham (1) stated that his son who was working in Taiwan always tells him about his health. During the first months, he had to adjust to the cold weather there, causing him to get a sore throat. Although he had already seen a doctor, he still had a cough that had stayed for a couple of months. He then wrote to his parents to send him traditional herbs available in the village. He soon got better after taking them for a couple of weeks. After six months, he was well adjusted to the weather and was never sick from then. He also told his parents that his asthma was getting better.

There were, however, no indications of labour migrants bringing back new diseases to the community as is the case in some other research. In Italy for example, it was found that return migrants from America brought back some diseases (- alcoholism and tuberculosis) to their society through changed drinking and smoking habits (Gilkey 1967:32). Semmingsen's (1961:43) study in Norway, and Rogers'(1968:108) in Tanzania, found that returnees from America behave ostentatiously, smoked incessantly and drink 'hard' liquor and beer.

There are cases of migrants experiencing occupational health problems. As was reported in the Bangkok Post (8 October 1995), a Thai migrant working in Taiwan was sent to a PVC plastics company instead of a furniture factory as was indicated in his contract. As the former work involved colouring and chemical spraying, he lost much weight due to the poor working environment and lack of ventilation. It is then no surprise that 36 out of 200 Thai workers fled from the factory. They were unable to get any help from the Thai Labour Offices in Taipei leading them to believe that some Thai officials were in collusion with their employers. As a result they had to either overstay and become illegal migrants or return home prematurely, putting a serious economic constraint on their families. There have been other occupational health

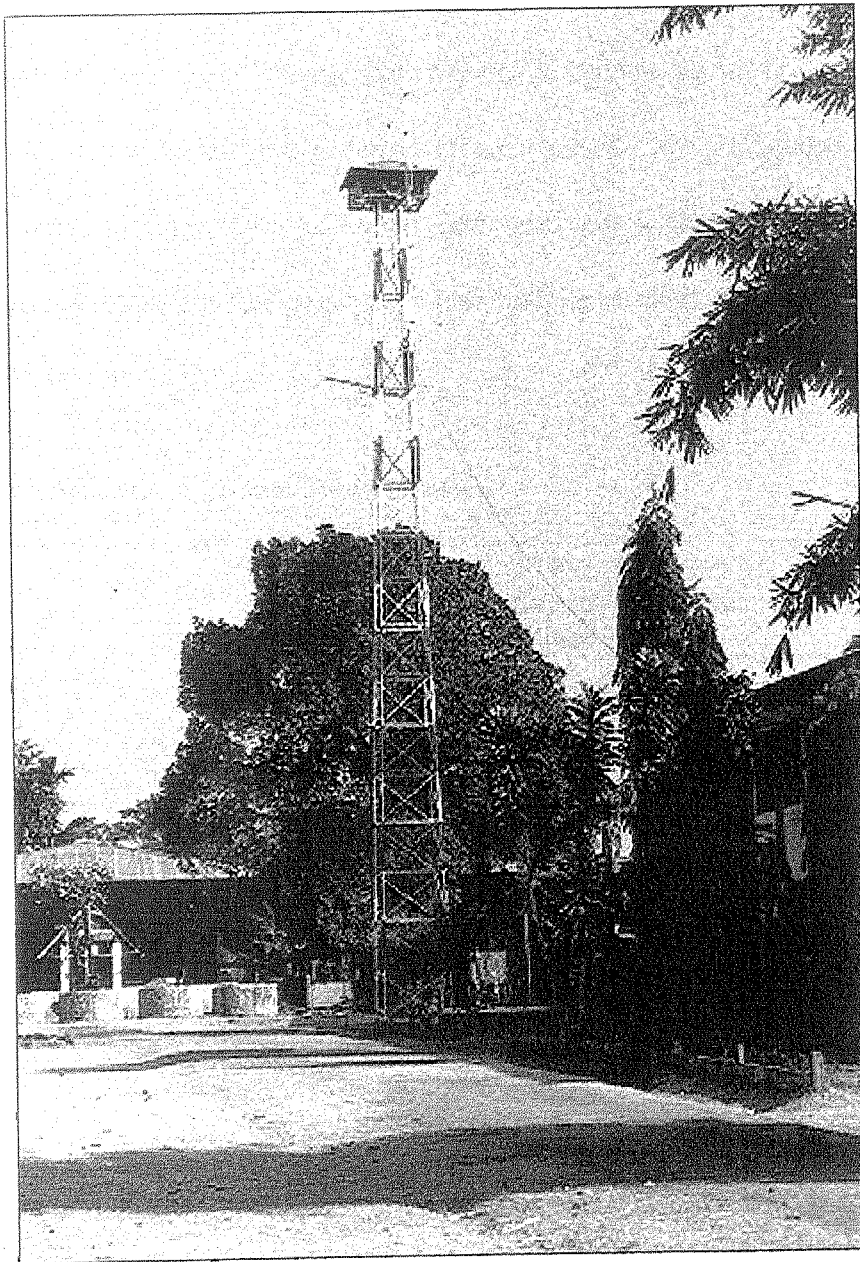
problems reported by the press. For example, a number of Thai construction workers died mysteriously in Singapore and it was found that they were cooking their meals in PVC pipes which poisoned them.

The cheating of Thai migrant workers by recruiters and employers, causing them to not be able to remit money for repaying debts has led some to commit suicide when they realise that working abroad is actually increasing their debts, plus interest rates which family has to pay (Bangkok Post, 8 October 1995). One migrant was sent home after he tried to hang himself twice to escape such a debt crisis. Being victimised by collusion between some employers and private recruiters and some Thai officials, has left many Thai migrant workers disgruntled.

7.3 Impact on Social Status

It was observed that the first immediate impact of most migrants after returning home was enhanced prestige and social acceptance. Some 34 per cent of stayers stated that migrants had changed positively since they returned from overseas. They always appear to be well dressed, ate healthy and expensive food and are more confident and socially aware. However, 10.1 per cent of stayers stated that migrants were poorer than before moving. Financial assistance, advice given and the roles taken in the community by migrants reflect the extent to which people accept them. It was found that migrants usually tended to donate some money to the community fund upon their return. The money was spent on tasks such as repairing schools, constructing a village hall or installing a village news tower (Plate 7.1). Nevertheless, some migrants have complained that these community tasks depend on them too much and that the financial demands of the community upon their return were excessive.

Plate 7.1 A New Village News Tower



In many cases, migrants also give advice to stayers in certain matters. This assistance indicates the social values and norms of the community in that those who have seen the wider world are regarded as being among the top people of the village. Whilst abroad, migrants had spent their leisure time reading local news papers, watching television and listening to the radio (Table 7.2) so that they had learned a great deal about different ways of life in other parts of the world. The new traits and

values of migrants and their widened experience equipped them to advise fellow villagers on the problems that they have to face (Cerase 1974:258). The more often a migrant moves, the more it is likely that they would become *pu yai* (powerful) in the village. A study conducted by the Social Research Institute, Chulalongkorn University (1992) found that upon their return, migrants not only acted as advisers but also leaders and role models in village activities and this was certainly the case among those in Udon Thani.

Table 7.2 Migrants' Activities While Abroad

Activities	Never	Every day	Many days a week	Once a week	Less than once a week
Read news paper	23.7	25.9	10.1	23.0	17.3
Watch TV	11.5	55.4	13.7	14.4	5.0
See movie	61.9	5.8	6.5	10.8	15.1
Listen radio	16.5	62.6	8.6	9.4	2.9
Jogging	40.3	2.9	7.2	15.1	34.5
Shopping	5.0	5.8	12.2	37.4	39.6

(N=215)

Source: Field Survey 1994

Upon their return migrants have a higher probability than non-migrants of becoming a village head. It was not surprising therefore that most of the village heads interviewed in the present study had experience of overseas migration. It is not clear however, whether there is a differential impact on social status between single move and repeat move migrants. It was found that *pu yai ban* (village heads) in 9 out of 12 survey villages used to be overseas migrants. Observation in the field shows many significant differences between migrants and stayers in this regard. To be a leader of a village in rural Thailand is not an easy task. The leader is selected from an election in

the village by voting from the members of the village in a meeting¹. This shows that a local leadership is established by acceptance and respect from the members. *Pu yai ban* must have an ability to give assistance to villagers when needed. With the advantage of financial security and wide experience, migrants gain high respect and are well accepted by the members of the village.

Some 13.8 per cent of stayers state that they would ask advice from migrants or members of their families if they were facing agricultural problems (Table 7.3). Stayers also seek assistance in financial matters as well as social problems such as drug addiction of children. Accordingly, some migrants' houses have become informal centres for seeking advice and help by members of the village.

Table 7.3 Where Stayers Seek Advice Regarding Economic, Agricultural and Social Problems

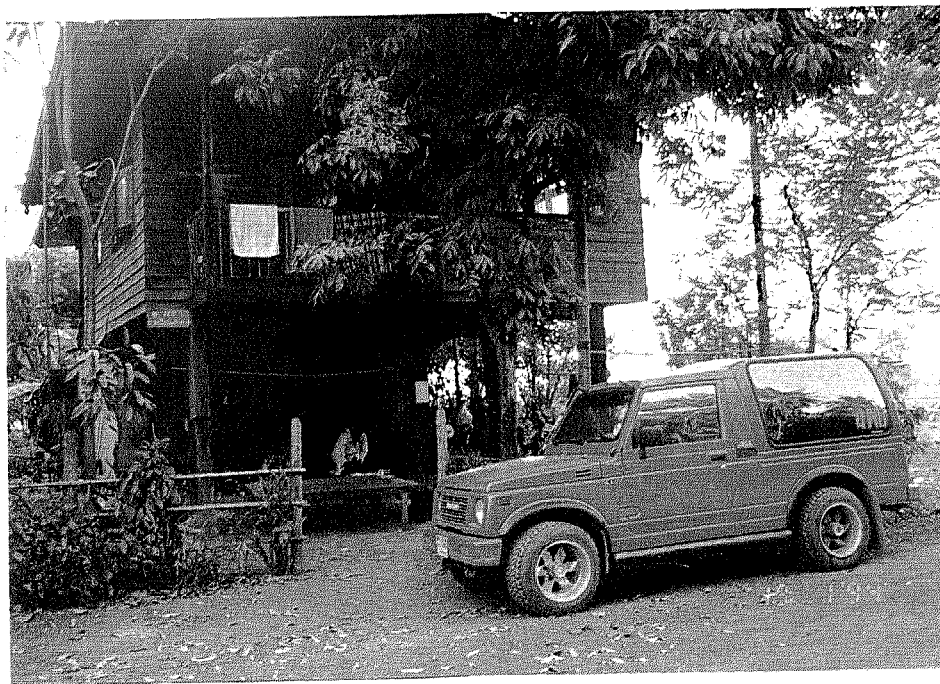
Advisers	Economic problem	Agricultural problem	Social problem
No advice sought	31.8	45.0	42.6
Relatives	34.9	30.1	38.4
Employers	1.0	-	0.7
Agricultural Bank	6.9	0.7	-
Village head	1.4	6.6	6.9
Spouse	0.7	0.7	-
Money lender	4.8	-	-
Commercial Bank	8.7	-	-
Sub district	-	3.1	-
Agriculturist			
Migrant family	9.7	13.8	11.4

Source: Field Survey 1994

¹ Under Thai law, *pu yai ban* (village head) and *kamnan* (sub district head) must retire at the age of sixty five.

Normally *pu yai ban* are expected to be wealthy. He² serves as a representative of the community in dealing with state authorities outside, as well as organising and adjudicating village affairs (Hirsch 1990:204). The connection between economic status and official leadership position is found in Nong lan (5) where a rich migrant is holding two administrative positions - *pu yai ban* and *kamnan* (sub district head)³. After returning from Saudi Arabia a decade year ago, he bought land, established a village grocery, ran a local bus service and became a money lender. His economic status had resulted in him becoming more respected and thus he had been elected to be *pu yai ban* and *kamnan* for a long period of time (Plate 7.2).

Plate 7.2 House of a Migrant Family



² The pronoun is used here because there are no women *pu yai ban* or *kamnan* in the survey villages. Indeed, it was only in 1981 that women were legally entitled to stand for such offices, since then several have been elected in other parts of the country (Hirsch 1990: 88).

³ One person holding both of these two positions is commonly found in rural Thailand. Usually the residence of *pu yai ban* and *kamnan* is used as an office. Thus in every *tambon* (sub district), *kamnan* has to be the *pu yai ban* of the village in which he is living.

The role of *pu yai ban* and *kamnan* in community development is important since he has to maintain good relationships with the government officials who allocate annual budgets to the village. Many villagers are indebted to him because he has been instrumental in getting a new road constructed or tap water provided in the village. The greater role that external resources play in the village economy, the greater potential there is for economic gain by such intermediaries (Hirsch 1990:203). Opening up the village to the outside world results not only in increasingly divergent economic fortunes of villagers but also shifts in relationships within the community (Hirsch 1990:204).

Often, district officers come to the village to inspect the programs launched by the government (Hirsch 1990). When they visit the village, it is the responsibility of *pu yai ban* to take care of them by providing accommodation, food and entertainment. He has to pay for all of this himself. In addition, on some important days such as the King's or Queen's birthday, Songkran day (the New Year Water Festival) and other significant religious days, he has to organise these festival occasions using his own finances. There is a small salary paid to *pu yai ban* and *kamnan* by the government (1,500 baht per month⁴) but this is not enough to cover these celebration expenses (Plate 7.3).

This is not to suggest that the leader of Nong lan (5) is concerned solely with personal political power because he has a close relationship with officials. Rather it is the beginning of the process of development which marks a change in the control exercised through villagers as a result of social structure change.

⁴ It was not until 1938 that *Kamnan* (subdistrict head) and *pu yai ban* (village head) received a monthly salary from the government. Before that they only received some compensation and a few privileges such as being exempted from tax, receiving a discount for railroad travel and a small commission for measuring taxable land and the small percent of fees they helped collect (De Young 1958:16).

Plate 7.3 *Kanman* (right) Giving Advice and Paying for Food



The village leader function is increasingly oriented to that of being an intermediary between the village and the bureaucracy, giving external resources a more important place in maintaining the leader's status. With this fact, it is not surprising that he (Nong lan's *pu yai ban*) has already sent his two sons abroad with the expectation of them continuing in the position after him.

It was found that materialism is widespread throughout the survey villages. The opening up of the community involves a number of changes with regard to control over, and control through, *pu yai ban*. For example, village committees have been formed to manage some development programs. The committees (including *pu yai ban*) are drawn from other village elite, numbering typically 5 per cent of the village population.

Once the village economy becomes more dependent on external forces, the position of village leader is then dependent on capital and hence only successful migrants can be the leader. Not only do village heads gain economic power but their descendants also gain power and prestige.

Migrants can also gain more respect by being members of *kroum* (group affiliation). For a better understanding of this issue, it is important to expand upon this concept here. The concept of *kroum* is an introduction of the government to make villagers work together more efficiently. The central idea is to encourage villagers to help themselves as much as possible while the government provides a small annual budget for the development of villages (Hirsch 1990). Many *kroum* are set up according to particular tasks assigned by the government such as a village agricultural development group, village cattle feeder group and village irrigation developer group. In these cases, when the set tasks are completely finished, members of the *kroum* will be dismissed. While being members of such a group, villagers receive no money from the government. The advantage nevertheless is that members will be respected as much as being a village head. They actually work voluntarily with some advice from government officers. Overseas migrants have a greater chance than non-migrants to be involved in *kroum*. Table 7.4 shows that nearly one fifth of migrants had been selected to be members of village affiliations. Some were the heads of such *kroum*.

Table 7.4 Becoming Member of Group Affiliation

Type of migrant	Per cent	N
Single move migrant	18.1	104
Repeat move migrant	18.4	68
Premature return migrant	17.5	43

Source: Field Survey 1994

It seems clear that opportunities are opened wider for migrants rather than stayers, so that migrants are generally more respected than stayers. In Pung nku (8), the living standards of migrants and stayers are very different. While most stayers work as day labourers, members of migrant households usually hire stayers to work for them to undertake tasks, such as cleaning vehicles, digging deep wells, serving in a food shop or washing clothes. One returned migrant who earns hundreds of baht a day⁵ from weaving bamboo baskets has hired two people to assist him weaving the baskets. These employees are usually stayers who were unemployed.

With respect to migration's impact on status, several studies have found that this is enhanced. Gmelch (1986:159) found in Ireland that 85 per cent of return migrants from America feel that their status is higher than that of people who have never lived abroad. In Italy, Lepreato (1967) shows that old or return migrants from America have moved their social stratification up from the lower ranks to a higher status. Moreover, some young rich returnees are in a new stratum, a so-called semi-retired status, which mean they do not have to work anymore but live on money earned abroad (King and Strachan 1983:76). Taylor's (1976:217-20) findings in Jamaica, as well as those of Rogers (1968:110) in Tanzania, reveal that returnees who return with wealth gain prestige and are more likely to be a leader or local representative and have an impact on local policy. Karpat (1976:190) found in Turkey, that migrants tend to return to the village for the purpose of the village head election. A large number of migrants later play a major role in national policy through their election as local representatives. In India, Minocha (1987:368) notes that many scholars of top educational institutions who finished their training abroad and returned

⁵ Middlemen pass these baskets every few days to the retailers at the provincial market who double the price. Middlemen provide the weavers with alcohol, colour, thread and brushes, while the weavers

with prestigious positions have played an important role in re-shaping India's educational system along the lines of the American model.

With respect to premature return migrants, they are usually regarded as being unsuccessful. Failure may mean losing everything - money, status or even family. The same phenomenon was found in many countries. In Sri Lanka, where most migrants are female, those who return before the expiration of contract are less likely to be respected by the non-migrants, and are derided as failures (Eelens 1988:407). In contrast, those who spend a long period abroad tend to be treated with more respect. Weller *et al* (1990:283) found that female migrants who return from America to their home country have lower socio-economic power and are therefore more likely to be a failure than migrants who do not return.

7.4 Impacts on Attitude and Behaviour

7.4.1 Extravagance

Enjoyment of better amenities abroad such as housing, recreation, technology etc. influences migrant's expectation of living standards at home. It has been found in many studies (Stanwix and Connell 1995; Faeamani 1995; Connell and Brown 1995;) that migrants spend a lot of money on material goods after they return. As long as there is money, migrants will enjoy a modern life style by buying the latest model of motor cycle, car or electrical appliances. Some migrants from Eluik (4) returned with extravagant habits. They hire-purchase motor cycles and light trucks despite there being local buses available. Furthermore, these vehicles were left at their houses when buyers did not have sufficient money to buy petrol and to service them. This

plant their own bamboo.

extravagant behaviour applied to buying other imported goods which are costly and expensive to maintain.

In many cases, material display is undertaken as an indicator of social status development of individuals. This means migrants need to maintain their status after their money runs out by borrowing money from money lenders. Consequently, some migrants are pushed into indebtedness situations. This increased debt obligation of migrants was also evident in studies in Bangladesh (Mahmood 1992) and India (Nair 1992).

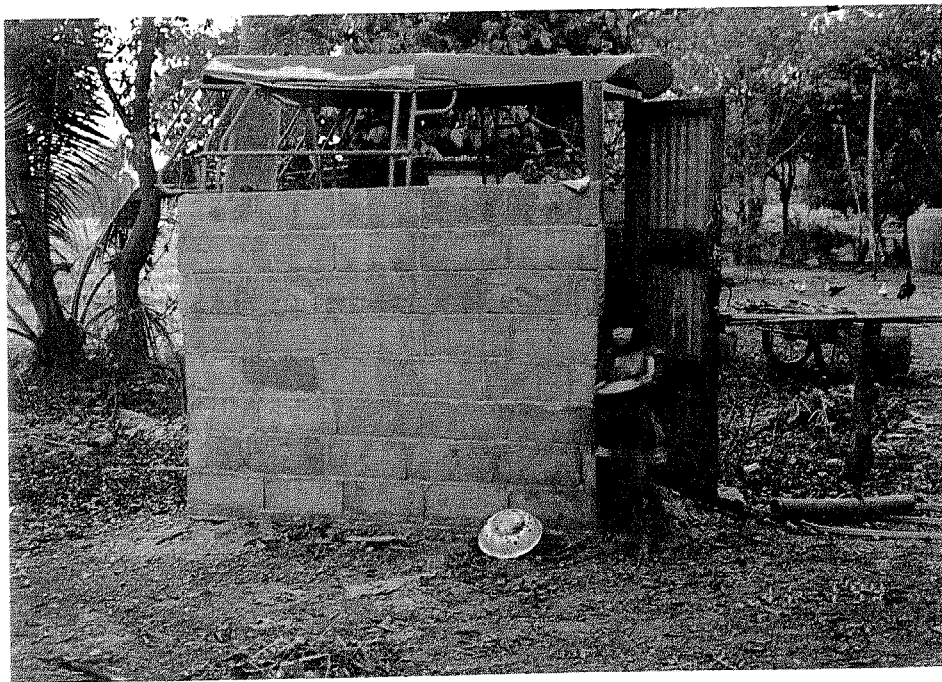
As mentioned in Chapter 6, the government's development programs and remittances are together bringing about community development and changes in the way of life of rural people in Udon Thani. The coming of road construction which is the largest part of government investment in rural areas since the 1960s (Muscat 1994) and the availability of remitted money of people has led to direct sale companies expanding their businesses in villages such as Mek yai (6), Pon sawan (10) and Na dee (7).

It was observed that despite the drought situation, some villager households are now equipped with flush toilets. They are rarely used since tap water is not yet available. A salesman convinced them to install these facilities but lied about the tap water system, saying that this system would be available in the following year. The villagers believed the salesman and agreed to pay money for the toilet facilities (Plate 7.4). (In a demonstration, the salesman simply pours a bucket of water carried from a deep well into the tank to flush it.)

Similar methods are employed by salesmen to sell other goods such as videos, televisions, washing machines, etc. The hire-purchase system of purchasing goods is also available to poor villagers with very high interest rates charged. This system

pushes up the cost to double the set cash price. This kind of activity increases the debt obligation of rural people and leads to them becoming even poorer. In the survey villages, a company namely 'Singer' dominates the hire-purchase business system. This ideology places a stress on individuals which Hirsch (1990:159) refers to as 'consumerist culture' that is produced by the availability of manufactured goods from the outside. It is important to note that, this discussion is not meant to argue against the development strategy launched by the government, but it is to point out another side of the consequence of this development.

Plate 7.4 Toilet Equipped with Flush Toilet



Gilkey (1967:32) reports that 'American fever' was widespread among local people in Italy. They bought expensive goods such as shoes unsuitable for living conditions in the village simply because they were American. In Hong Kong, migrants returning from Britain spend their savings on gambling and building 'Sterling houses'

which comprise up to one quarter of the number of houses in some villages. However, one-third of this kind of house is left empty and unused (Watson 1975:160-3). This extravagant behaviour changes the role of the village from being a centre of production to one of consumption.

7.4.2 Drinking and Gambling Habits

Migrants upon their return can bring back with them values which can assist in the breaking down of traditions (Kearney 1986:333). For instance, after working in the city for a while, some returnees become rude and delinquent and prefer long hair, as well as outlandish clothing (Hugo 1978:209). Studies in Malaysia, China and Singapore by Hodgkin (1972:69), report that many returnees wear shorts, slippers and stockings, where this kind of dress is not appropriate to the community.

Some migrants from Udon Thani also spend a lot of money on drinking and going out at night, made their own liquor, played cards, bet on cock fighting⁶ (Plates 7.5 and 7.6), and went out dancing until dawn of the next day. It was observed that there were some stayers joining the group but the instigators were migrants. This happened in some villages close to the district centre such as Chiang nyu (3), Nong lan (5) and Punk nku (8).

7.4.3 Attitudes Towards the Social Life of Children

According to Mahmood (1992:26), a migrant who is exposed to a different environment in a foreign country will inevitably change in his/her attitudes and behaviour. Gradually, migrants adopt the customs of the host country into their own and it is not an easy thing to change it back to the original ones.

⁶ The behaviour is against Thai law. Some people are arrested; some are not.

Plate 7.5 Cock Fighting Cock, A Favourite Gambling Activity



Plate 7.6 Children Taking Care of a Fighting Cock



Some findings from the present survey regarding this are shown in Table 7.5. Firstly, more migrants than stayers viewed the education of their children as an important element in their life. This attitude applied to both male and female children.

Premature return migrants also had similar views to other migrants. Secondly, migrants prefer their children to be married after the age of twenty, as opposed to stayers who have the opposite view. Other aspects of migrants' attitudes towards the social life of children however, are not much different from those of stayers. This is partly because the duration of stay is too short for migrants to adopt new attitudes of their own.

Table 7.5 Attitudes Towards Children

Attitudes towards childrens' social life	Single move migrant	Repeat move migrant	Premature return migrant	Stayer
Selection of spouse				
- Depend on them	95.7	91.0	97.7	94.8
- Matched by parents	7.3	9.0	2.3	5.2
Average age at first marriage				
- Male				
- Lower than 20	39.0	34.4	34.9	38.5
- Over than 20	61.0	65.6	65.1	61.5
- Female				
- Lower than 20	74.1	68.8	81.4	84.2
- Over than 20	25.9	31.3	18.6	15.8
Education				
- Males				
- Years 12	40.6	34.0	39.5	45.0
- University	57.2	62.0	55.8	51.6
- As high as possible	2.2	4.0	4.7	3.5
- Female				
- Years 12	41.3	33.0	41.9	44.3
- University	56.5	63.0	51.2	52.6
- As high as possible	2.2	4.0	7.0	3.1
Control over children's social lives (dining out, see movies etc)				
- Necessary	72.5	70.0	62.8	71.6
- Not necessary	27.5	30.0	37.2	28.4
N	104	68	43	289

Source: Field Survey 1994

7.5 Impacts on Occupational Mobility

One clear direct impact of overseas migration on an individual migrant is his/her occupation after migration. As shown in Table 7.6, there was a decrease in the number of migrants engaged in agricultural work after migration. On the other hand, the number of migrants who are business owners and drivers increased considerably. Working as day labourers is still common among migrants because the job needs no specific skills. Half of the migrants began working within a month after return. However the pride of return migrants may mean they are reluctant to work immediately upon return, so there may be temporary unemployment among them. Some are unwilling to take part in the agricultural work which they did before leaving, and prefer to live off their savings instead (Piore 1979; Goldscheider 1984:71).

Table 7.6 Occupation of Migrants Before and After Migration

Job	Single move migrant		Repeat move migrant		Premature return migrant	
	Before	After	Before	After	Before	After
Unemployment	-	7.4	1.3	2.5	4.5	2.3
Agriculturist	82.1	57.9	81.8	69.5	70.5	38.6
<i>sky lab</i> driver	13.7	18.9	9.1	12.4	15.9	34.1
Grocery owner	-	10.5	-	4.3	-	6.8
Handy man	3.2	1.1	3.9	4.0	4.5	2.3
Daily labourer	-	1.1	1.3	5.6	2.3	9.1
Guard	1.1	3.2	2.6	1.7	2.3	6.8
N	104		68		43	

Source: Field Survey 1994

Note: First job after permanent return for three months

The pattern of occupational mobility is similar for all three categories of migrants. Interestingly, it was found that most premature return migrants also became *sky lab* drivers after returning from migration. This may be because they hire *sky lab* instead of hire-purchase them like other migrants who are absent for longer periods and return with more capital.

Sky lab driving is very popular among returned migrants in Nong nakham (1) since a vehicle owner can earn much more than an agriculturalist, who according to Krongkaew (1995:58) earns only around 32,000 baht a year. To own a *sky lab*, villagers need approximately 10,000 baht for a second-hand one, depending on the brand name and its condition. For those who hire-purchase them, it takes around 24 months to own them completely.

7.6 Impact on Marital Status and Marriage Patterns

One interesting impact of international labour migration on individual migrants is upon marital status. Of the 227 married migrants, some 15.4 per cent stated that they met their Thai spouse abroad. After knowing each other whilst abroad, they later came back to their home village and got married. Of these 'overseas met' couples, fourteen are married without registration title. Only 6 couples married with registration associated with organising a formal marriage ceremony. The informal marriage pattern constitutes a neglect of the traditional Thai marriage pattern in which the male needs a 'senior representative' to negotiate with the chosen female's parents concerning bride-price and ceremony (Plate 7.7). In fact, most male migrants who were single only asked the female's parents if they could marry their daughters and if he received permission they lived together from then on.

Theoretically, there are three places that a couple can live together after marriage (regardless of whether or not they are married by registration title). The first is living in the female's house, the second is living in the male's house and the last is for a couple to invest in the building of a new house and living together alone. It was found that most new migrant couples tended to build their own house, the so called *reing haw* (wedding house), as opposed to the typical traditional Thai custom that the

male lives with the female's family in order to look after the female's parents. In such cases, most single male migrants usually build their own house to make a match.

Plate 7.7 Marriage Ceremony



These changes in the marriage pattern are consistent with findings of studies undertaken elsewhere. In Tanzania, Rogers (1968:110) found that returnees often disregard tribal sexual morals by trying to avoid dowry practices. In Turkey, Karpat (1976:194) found that the returning migrants abandoned the customs of celebrating marriage such as firing guns. Litfiyya (1966:174-86) found in a Jordanian village that return migrants prefer endogamous marriages rather than exogamous for the purpose of preservation of their biological homogeneity and keeping land holdings within the family. In Spain, Douglass (1976:57) found that rather than marry a local man, female migrants preferred one from outside the village with the expectation of living in town.

In Italy, De Gonzalez (1961:1268) found that male returnees were more likely to marry a woman much younger than themselves.

7.7 Impact on Skill Development

With respect to skill development, it was found that of the 215 migrants interviewed, 53.9 per cent considered they acquired useful skills whilst abroad. Most of them (32) learned laying bricks in construction sites. The rest acquired painting, cooking and mechanical skills by means of trial and error as well as through the help of their friends. A Thai mechanic for instance, said that he learned how to operate a hydraulic lift from his Thai friend before he left. However, skill training is rarely available to migrants. Only one Thai migrant from Na dee (7) who is working in an electrical factory in Taiwan was sent to the training department of his company to train using a new welding machine.

It was also found that engaging in some jobs may result in de-skilling of migrants to some extent. Higher remuneration abroad is instrumental in encouraging them to accept job conditions that they would not otherwise have accepted. Many migrants were employed in unskilled jobs when away and thus no new skills were imparted to them. Migrants who worked as general labourers in a construction site, for instance, were required to carry bricks from place to place or to wash tools after use. Some were assigned to dig holes for constructing concrete bases. A few lucky ones were promoted to foreman and had the chance of learning office work. Changing jobs of migrants was frequently reported in many studies such as Nair's (1992) in India, Khan's (1992) in Pakistan and the Marga Institute's (1992) in Sri Lanka.

One important finding here in relation to acquiring skills is the relationship with length of stay. Skill development of migrants requires an accumulation of substantial

knowledge in the work place (Gunatilleke 1992:4). This means that migrants in occupations that involve skill development such as working as an electrician or mechanic, even if they work in them for a short period, are more likely to acquire skills than those engaged in lower occupations such as gardening. Accordingly, none of the premature return migrants considered they acquired any skills. Their time was spent mostly in adjusting to the new environment. A few of them however learnt to drive as a result of their migration.

7.8 Impact on Language Learning

Learning a new language is another consequence reported by some migrants. It was found that a quarter of migrants learnt to speak a new language through communicating with employers (Table 7.7). English is the language most migrants acquired as Table 7.7 shows. Most companies usually provide interpreters serving foreign workers who cannot speak the local languages. These interpreters are normally workers from the origin country who can speak the language of the country in which they are working. Some 7 per cent also mentioned using body language as a means to communicate with others in the destination country.

Table 7.7 Migrants Acquiring New Language Skills

Language skill	Per cent
Not learned	18.0
Body language	7.2
English	31.7
Chinese	13.7
Arabic	25.2
Japanese	1.4
Korea	2.9

(N=215)

Source: Field survey 1994

There are some findings from other studies concerning the impacts of migration on learning a new language. In Italy, migrants returning from America brought back a new language with them. English is then widely spoken by both migrants and some local people, leading to the creation of a new bilingual society (Rogers 1968:108). In addition, they behave as Americans by speaking fractured English with slang and curses (Gilkey 1967:26). King and Strachan (1980:178) also found that returned migrants were often bossy and proud and spoke in English rather than 'Maltese' and, were shunned by non-migrants because of their different and undesirable behaviour and their consequent bad influence on children.

7.9 Impact on Future Migration Intentions

One important effect of overseas migration is that the experience of the first move often induces migrants to migrate again. In such circumstance, migrants may view migration as an effective choice in seeking to advance their prosperity. Hence a culture of migration may develop in the area of origin. In the present survey it was found that nearly three quarters of returned migrants wished to migrate overseas again (Table 7.8). Most of them wished to re-migrate to Asian countries, particularly Taiwan and Japan. This was especially the case among those who had experienced migration to the Middle East. Paradoxically those who had experience elsewhere in Asia were less committed to returning to an Asian destination.

Many scholars (eg. King *et al* 1986; Price 1969; Richmond 1969) state that unless migrants can fit into the spirit of their home community upon returning, there will be no positive effects for their family and villages. In the case of premature return migrants, returning may mean being detached from this community.

Table 7.8 Destination that Migrants Wish to Move Again

Previous destinations	Intended destination				N
	Middle East	Asia	America & Europe	Any country	
Middle East	19.4	68.7	1.5	10.4	87
Asia	22.2	34.3	-	36.4	126
America & Europe	100.0	-	-	-	2

Source: Field Survey 1994

They may live in isolation and form specific groups of their own. Litfiyya (1966:183) found in Jordan, that the returnees' attachment to the kinship unit in the village is much weaker than that of non-migrants, causing a separate class to develop among the returnees. In Italy, Palmer (1980:280-2) and King and Strachan (1980:177-8) found that returnees are derided and faced the difficulty of re-adjustment into society. This leads to the setting up of minority groups such as football clubs. They also construct their own new houses on the village periphery, leading to family break down or chain migration later. The same findings are also found in China, Malaysia, Singapore (Hodgkin 1972:171-73) and Greece (Manganara 1977:73).

7.10 Conclusion

This chapter has examined the extent to which impacts of international labour migration impinge upon the social and economic well being of migrants themselves. Once leaving the country migrants have to adjust themselves to quite different contexts to their origin areas. The adjustment varies from weather, food, working environment to political contexts. However, there are also other units that migration impinges upon - families and community of migrants and the next chapter examines the social and economic impacts on these units in some detail.

CHAPTER 8

IMPACTS UPON THE MIGRANT'S FAMILY AND COMMUNITY

8.1 Introduction

It was shown in Chapter 6 that remittances are relatively important in examining the impacts of migration upon sending areas. The transfer of remittances between migrants and their families at the place of origin reflects not only ties established between them, but also the extent to which impacts impinge upon family income.

In Chapter 7, an attempt was made to examine the social and economic impacts of international labour migration on migrants themselves. The impacts were assessed through an examination of the adjustment migrants made to the destination countries and upon their return to their communities of origin. According to Hugo (1997), adjustments also have to be made by migrants' families and communities to the temporary absence and eventually the return of their migrant members. Migrants, family and community are linked by a complex pattern of ties which often remain intact even when migrants are absent for long periods. 'Much of the impact of international migration is felt, and responded to, by the social units which are of particular significance in the organisation of the daily lives of people - the family and the local community. In fact, the family and the community to which individuals feel commitment and loyalty, constitute particularly meaningful social units for investigate the impact of international migration' Hugo (1997: p.9).

The main objective of this chapter is to examine social and economic impacts of international labour migration on the family and community of origin of migrants. There has been little theoretical work done on the impact of migration, thus this examination

is made according to Hugo's migration impact framework across three categories of international labour migration.

8.2 Impacts on Family Functioning and Structure

8.2.1 The Reallocation of Labour

According to several researchers (Singhanetra-Renard and Prabhudhanitisarn 1992; Hugo and Singhanetra-Renard 1987), migration can change the traditional sex specification for jobs, and enhances the authority of woman in decision making. Women in rural Thailand are now going out to work and leaving some of their former functions to be carried out by specialist institutions such as nursery services, child care centres, *pinto* (catering services), ready made food or pre-packed meals. Table 8.1 presents the percentage of households experiencing some task reallocation after a member leaves to work overseas.

Table 8.1 Task Reallocation Among Migrant Households

Type of Activities	Per cent of households experiencing task reallocation	Per cent of households whereby migrant's spouse takes on new tasks
Shopping	8.9	95.5
Taking children to school	6.0	97.2
Take care parents	5.0	98.0
Cutting wood	39.1	76.0
Cleaning house	6.4	97.3
Cooking	13.2	94.2
Feeding animals	29.5	58.5
Repairing house	52.0	53.2
Taking members to hospital	40.6	71.4
Washing clothes	9.3	95.2

Source: Field Survey 1994

In some cases, tasks previously carried out by the migrant are taken over by male and female siblings left behind in a cooperative way. However, the main 'supervisor' of such tasks seems to be the migrant's spouse. Evidence from the survey village also showed that the percentage of repeat move migrant households experiencing task reallocation was lower than in single and premature return migrant households (Table 8.2).

Table 8.2 Task Reallocation by Category of Migrant Households

Type of Activities	Single move	Repeat move	Premature return	Currently abroad
Shopping	13.6	4.4	14.0	6.7
Take care parents	9.1	4.4	9.3	1.0
Preparing fire wood	54.5	44.1	25.6	31.7
Cleaning	7.6	4.4	11.6	4.8
Cooking	21.2	2.9	16.3	13.5
Feeding animals	39.4	23.5	25.6	28.8
Repairing house	65.2	55.9	53.5	40.4
Taking patient to hospital	56.1	41.2	37.2	31.7
Washing	13.6	11.8	7.0	5.8
N	66	68	43	104

Source: Field Survey 1994

A significant finding is that 98 per cent of respondents reported that migrants' spouses had to take care of their own parents and their spouse's parents. Moreover 50 per cent of them had to repair the house while their husbands were away. Some also reported taking children to school and preparing fire wood. The number of the former however was small, since most schools are located within or near the village at a distance that children can walk¹. Only a few, wealthier households reported that they

¹ This is a government program aimed at distributing equal education opportunity to rural children by establishing a primary school in each village. In some villages in which a school is not yet available, the government mortgages bicycles at a very low interest rate to households facing financial hardship. For the very poor households, children have to walk to schools located up to 5 kilometres away from home every day.

hired a *sky lab* driver to take their children to school in the morning and pick them up in the afternoon.

It was also found that there were changing functions of family members due to migration in relation to the use of child labour. Children have to help in some small tasks such as cooking (under the supervision of mother), preparing drinks and taking them to parents working in the field. It becomes the responsibility of children to feed buffaloes and cows by taking them out early in the morning and coming back late in the afternoon. The context in rural Thailand supports this assignment by means of an agreement made between rural people and the officials regarding the use of streets. The agreement means that rural people can take animals to the street during the periods of 6-9 am and 3-6 pm when they will receive full compensation if the animals are hit by cars. Outside these periods, rural people have to take full responsibility for any costs that might occur to the cars. The drivers on the other hand, must be careful while driving during the periods. This agreement means that children can take animals on to the street safely. The role of children in these tasks may increase with the absence of a parent.

8.2.2 Relationships Among Family Members

8.2.2.1 Loyalty

According to Hodgkin (1972:6), the study of social changes caused by migration in developing countries is normally concerned with cultural and traditional factors which are likely to influence their personality when migrants return to their home country. In the survey villages it was found that upon return, migrants pay less respect to seniors. In Na dee (7), for example some migrants viewed their grandparents as dependent persons since they have to take care of them and take them to hospital

due to the poor health. Some seniors were taken to an aged nursery while their children were left with baby sitters. In addition, when approaching seniors, instead of behaving *wai* (showing great respect), migrants walk past them or only say hello to them. This contrasts to the situation before migration when people's values and attitudes toward seniors are based on love and respect.

8.2.2.2 Weakening of Ties and Trust

According to De Gonzalez (1961:1274) the separation of a member from the rest of the family weakens kinship, especially in nuclear families and could expand the role of women. Connell *et al* (1976) found in India that a large number of females engage in agricultural tasks due to the absence of males. According to Yoddumner-Attig (1992) and Podhisita (1994), the increase in earning power of women makes men less likely to be the sole breadwinner in the family. With higher education and economic independence, after marriage more women continue to work. This makes it possible for them to set up their own household. As a consequence the traditional extended family structure, where grandparents are surrounded by their children, in-laws and grandchildren has been replaced by a smaller unit. The disintegration of the extended family has led to a situation where old people have no one to look after them, leading to the weakening of ties among members.

In the study areas, it was found that since the financial hardship of households was relieved by receiving remittances it seems that some kinship ties between family members have loosened. Unlike in the past when they helped each other without demanding money, this cooperative attitude has been substantially replaced by individualistic attitudes. For example, a migrant's spouse has to pay 20 baht to relatives to feed her baby while she is going to the city for a couple of hours. Brothers and

sisters tend to ask for some money for providing a small service such as buying a drink from a nearby grocery or ironing some clothes. Parents even sometimes have to pay their children to become a monk² or a recruited soldier.

Moreover, more than half of migrant households reported that members watched television and had dinner together less frequently than stayers. The figures are not very different among migrant categories (Table 8.3 and 8.4).

Table 8.3 Major Activities Done Together by Family Members Once a Week by Migrants and Stayers

Activities	Stayers	Migrants
Watching TV	52.7	46.3
Having dinner together	58.7	50.7
N	281	289

Source: Field Survey 1994

Table 8.4 Major Activities Done Together by Family Members Once a Week by Categorisation of Migrant Households

Activities	Single move	Repeat move	Premature return	Currently abroad
Watching TV	42.4	50.0	40.8	62.5
Having dinner together	50.0	50.9	53.5	68.3
N	66	68	43	104

Source: Field Survey 1994

Temporary migration of a particular person can cause quarrels among family members. Compared to stayers, the number of migrant households in which members have quarrelled at least once a week is higher (Table 8.5). The problem is more serious

² It is a tradition among males to become a monk once in their life, normally for three months

when some migrants upon their return, find out that their wives have had an extra marital affair and thus the number and the degree of quarrels is quite high. As reported in *Far Eastern Economic Review* (17 October 1985), there appears to be many family quarrels due to the breakdown of trust between husband and wife. According to an official responsible for a district in rural Thailand, the wives of nearly half of the 600 families whose husbands are working overseas are suspected of having sexual affairs.

Table 8.5 Households Experiencing Quarrels and Burglaries

Events	Stayers	Migrants
Quarrel	4.6	10.0
Burglaries	7.8	10.7
N	281	289

Source: Field Survey 1994

In the villages surveyed, it was found that temporary absence of the husband often creates an instability in the relationship between husband and wife. In Chiang nyu (3) some emigrant households were found to have 'a new member' (secret husband) in the house. In one case, this new member is a "postman" who usually brings letters (supposedly written by her husband) to the house. This pattern is similar in Indonesia, where Hugo (1978:287) found that the proportion of mover households containing at least one divorced person is substantially greater than that for stayer households. In Thailand there is no comprehensive study on the linkage between labour migration and divorce since it is a source of shame for people (especially among rural women) to divorce. According to the Institute of Population Studies, Chulalongkorn University, the divorce rate does not exceed 10 per cent in rural Thailand, although it is more than

according to Buddhism terminology, neglecting this means that a man is *dip* (immature).

double (26 per cent) in urban areas. A major problem here is the inability of wives of adjust to the temporary absence of their husbands. In Pakistan, members who are left behind are found feeling anxious and have been struck with the so-called 'Dubai Syndrome'. Among 1,443 cases recorded by a hospital, 71 per cent were those whose husbands have been away overseas (Abbasi and Irfan 1986:191).

Dias (1986:197) suggests that if the family has a stable background and strong extended family ties, and is living in a homogeneous village environment, it is better able to adjust to the members' departure as well as to accept and utilise the remittances. This is the case in the Philippines, where the close ties that bind Filipinos to their kin provide the wives with a built-in support system that makes adjustment to the absence easier (Go 1986:128). In Thailand, migrants' spouses can possibly stay with their relatives or parents for a while until they feel better and return to their home. In Ban pak tob village in Thailand, only 1 per cent of migrant households (five or six cases) involved family break-ups caused by the long separation of husbands and wives (Far Eastern Economic Review, 17 October 1985).

8.2.2.3 Children and Parents

As parents left behind have a heavier work load, children then have less parental control and often behave badly. In the Thai context, children can learn from one of three major sources - parents, teachers (who are regarded as second parents) and the mass media. As parents are spending more time with their peers, the mass media has become a much more powerful influence, especially in migrant households which are more likely to be equipped with modern television and VCRs. Table 8.6 shows that migrant households were more likely to have a member involved in unapproved practices and habits such as smoking, drinking and gambling. than stayer households.

These findings are similar to those found in Pakistan, where 43 of 67 children who were heroin addicts recorded in one hospital had fathers working in The Middle East (Abbasi and Irfan 1986:191).

Table 8.6 Households Having at Least One Member Smoke, Drink or Gamble Addicted

Behaviour	Stayers	Migrants
Smoking	53.7	61.9
Drinking	21.0	28.0
Gambling	2.8	5.2
N	289	281

Source: Field Survey 1994

Some migration scholars (eg. King *et al* 1986; Hugo 1978; Trebous 1970; Roongshivin 1986; Singhanetra-Renard 1992) have found that migrants often have a greater propensity than stayers to send their children onto tertiary education, which in the long term should feedback to the socio-economic benefit of the community. Patel (1972:28) notes that migrants take an active interest in the education of their children, especially girls who customarily received less education than boys. In the Thai context, when there are limited financial resources requiring a choice to be made between education of a son or a daughter, the son usually comes first (Singhanetra-Renard and Prabhudhanitisarn 1992; De Jong 1995:752).

Although some remittances are spent on education, the fact that children often follow the footsteps of their parents in becoming farmers makes higher education perceived as being largely useless (Table 6.17). Parents realise that jobs are becoming increasingly scarce and most children will eventually return to agricultural jobs. Some are thus discouraged from sending their children to secondary schools or vocational

colleges. Some children have to quit formal education even before finishing the six years of compulsory primary schooling. This is especially evident in large households in which the elder children have to care for younger brothers and sisters and earn money for the family while the heads of households are away. When they grow up with this limited education, their jobs tend to be confined in agriculture like their ancestors.

Being separated can affect family relationships and socialisation of children, creating a wider generation gap between parents and children. In the villages, 44.3 per cent of migrant households reported that migrant children consulted them less than before their father/mother left for overseas. Only 6.8 per cent of households reported that such a discussion was more frequent than before (Table 8.7). Go (1986:64) found in contrast that, in the Philippines, return migrant children became closer to the migrants and also consulted them more often than in the past.

Table 8.7 Extent of Consultation Between Children with Parents Before and After Migration

Consultation	Percentage of households	N
More than before	44.3	97
The same amount	48.9	107
Less than before	6.8	15

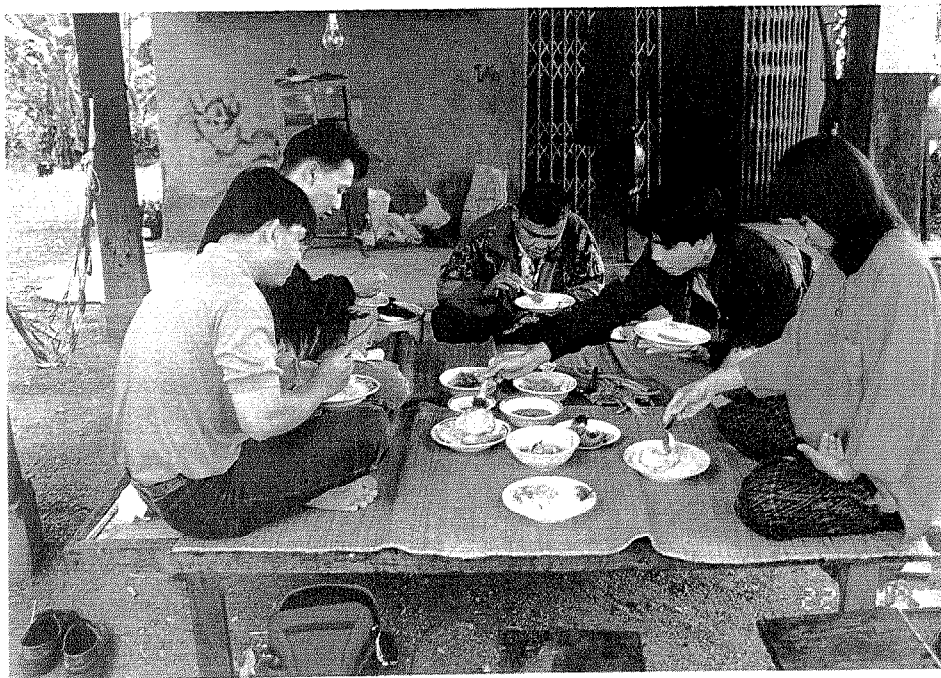
Source: Field survey 1994

8.2.2.4 Family Innovation

Migrants can contribute beneficial impacts to their communities through making innovations or changes in the way things are done (eg. Cerase 1974; Hodgkin 1972; King *et al* 1986; Patel 1972). They can bring back new technology and knowledge to the community in several respects. Migrants from Mek yai (6) for example, introduced Singaporean fried rice to their families. Six migrants introduced eating bread and milk

instead of typical sticky rice with *somtum* (Thai salad). Interestingly, two migrants were seen using forks for eating sticky rice which is strongly against the established tradition of using fingers (Plate 8.1).

Plate 8.1 Using Spoons Instead of Fingers



In Tanzania, migrants are credited with introducing customs such as sitting together at the table or on a mat to eat, as well as introducing the use of knives and forks. Return migrants exhibit the use of rice and coconuts in cooking as well as methods of frying foods. In Turkey, returnees affect the local breakfast pattern which changes from 'tarharna' to cheese and olives and also drank tea. As a result, this 'modern' western kind of breakfast is widespread among people in such areas (Karpat 1976:193-4).

8.3 Impact on Family Size

Hernandez (1968) notes that the return of migrants from America decreased the fertility rate in Puerto Rico. Migrants have fewer children per married woman (age 35-45) than stayers - 2.74 compared to 3.85 respectively (King and Strachan 1983:53). Findley and Sama (1986:178) found that, in Jordan, the average size of returnee family households is 6.27 persons compared to 6.93 for current migrants. They also note that none of the return migrant households have more than ten members, whereas more than a tenth of the current migrant households are of this size. Similarly, in Pakistan where 70 per cent of Middle East migrants are married, a bivariate analysis of a national survey reported that the fertility of younger women aged 25-34, is negatively affected by the absence of husbands. It was also found that the number of children borne by women in households that have no emigrants was 3.84, compared to 2.97 among the households with one or more migrants (Shah and Arnold 1986:276-7).

The traditional Thai family system is that of an extended family, with at least some relatives living in the same village and some others living nearby. Newly married couples are more likely to leave their parents' households to set up their own family. It was found that the family size of migrant households (4.7) is smaller than stayers (5.1). It was also reported that nearly 15 per cent of married migrants have sexual intercourse less frequently than before migration (Table 8.8). The percentage of migrants using contraceptive methods was found to be higher than before migration (Table 8.9). Moreover, the percentage of migrants who began using contraception was higher than before migration, particular among those using an injection.

Table 8.8 Frequency of Intercourse with Spouse After Migration

Frequency of intercourse	Percentage of households	N
More than before	12.3	15
The same amount	73.0	89
Less than before	14.8	18

Source: Field Survey 1994

Table 8.9 Contraceptive Use Pattern of Married Return Migrants

Contraceptive use	Before migration	After migration
Safety period	1.7	0.8
Pills	16.5	23.7
Injection	7.0	16.9
Condoms	-	0.8
IUD	0.9	0.8
Sterilisation	30.4	31.4
Never use	43.9	35.6

Source: Field Survey 1994

8.4 Impact on Family Health Care

In Chiang nyu (3) and Pon sawan (10), two respondents reported that they used medical services from different places both before and after migration. Rather than going to the local public hospital, they preferred to go to private clinics located in the district centre. The reason is that it takes less time (for waiting) to see a doctor in private clinics than in public facilities where people usually have to wait half a day for 10 minutes consultation. Moreover villagers prefer to go to the public hospital where they pay less or even nothing if their children are involved. The absence of a member of the household does not seem to have any impact on the use of medical services by those left behind.

The government provides primary health care officers in each village to assist people with basic health care needs. In more complex cases, well-trained primary health care officers can transfer a patient to a village medical centre where a nurse will take care of a higher level of sickness or send them to the district hospital (or provincial and even specialist hospital in Bangkok where a doctor will take care of patients) through a referral system. Thus for a serious case, the household needs a person to take a patient to these medical centres.

With respect to family health care, most respondents both migrants and stayers, have their health checked at least once a year (Table 8.10). The pattern is not very different between single and repeat move migrant households (Table 8.11). For members living in premature return migrant households, nearly 50 per cent reported that they have their health checked more than twice a year. Practically, the frequency of checking health depends on how much money they have. People are often more concerned with transportation cost rather than the cost of medical services especially those living in more remote villages such as Mek yai (6) and Na dee (7). In these villages people have to spend almost 100 baht for transportation - three times higher than the cost of obtaining medical services.

Table 8.10 Frequency of Health Checks Among Respondents

Frequency	Migrants	Stayers
Twice a year	13.2	12.8
More than twice a year	28.1	21.1
Once a year	35.2	40.5
Once every couple years	11.4	10.4
Not necessary	12.1	15.2
N	281	289

Source: Field Survey 1994

Table 8.11 Frequency of Health Checks by Category of Migrant Households (%)

Frequency	Single move	Repeat move	Premature return	Currently abroad
Twice a year	10.6	14.7	11.6	14.4
More than twice a year	25.8	25.0	44.2	25.0
Once a year	39.4	35.3	32.6	33.7
Once every couple years	12.1	10.3	2.3	15.4
Not necessary	12.1	14.7	9.3	11.5
N	66	68	43	104

Source: Field Survey 1994

It was also evident that the population of migrant households seeing a doctor is less than stayers. This is partly because the former spend much of their remittances in improving their everyday consumption of healthy foods. The percentage of migrants drinking milk for instance, is higher than among stayers (Table 8.12).

Table 8.12 Consumption of Healthy Food by Respondent Households (%)

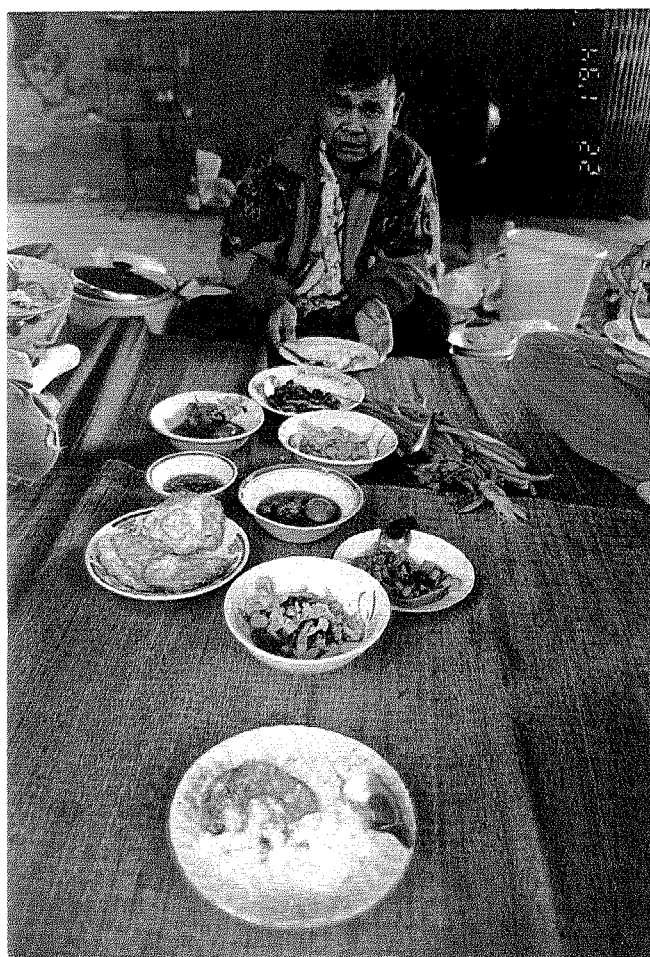
Consuming food	Migrants	Stayers
Beef	95.3	97.2
Pork	97.7	96.9
Fish	100.0	99.7
Chicken	100.0	99.7
Egg	97.7	99.0
Vegetable	100.0	100.0
Milk	58.1	51.6
N	281	289

Source: Field Survey 1994

Consumption of traditional raw fermented food was also less popular among migrant household members than stayers (Plate 8.2). If they want to eat, they prefer to have it cooked before eating. Consequently the number of migrant households whose members have parasitic disease is less than among stayers. Under the national public health policy of upgrading the living standards of people, it is possible to buy milk at 20 baht a litre.

The government also provides free milk to some financial hardship households and educates people regarding the disadvantages of eating raw food. This campaign is carried out mainly through radio program³ in traditional local dialect.

Plate 8.2 Healthy Food in a Migrant's Household



It is reported internationally that migrant families eat greater quantities of better quality food, such as milk, butter, eggs, vegetables and fruit (in Pakistan, eg. Gilani *et al* 1981). It would therefore appear that migrant families are more likely to have a better quality of life than others in the origin areas. In Indonesia, migrant families are more likely to see a doctor than a traditional healer or submit to the will of god, or the

³ The government reserves its complete authority to control radio programme management so that it

influence of spirits, if they are sick (Hugo 1978:290). Similarly, migrants introduced higher standards of hygiene to their family members and fellow villagers in Tanzania (Rogers 1968:109-10), where returnees tend to be more concerned about their health as well as that of others and also discourage the practice of sleeping in the same room with animals.

8.5 Impact on Local Job Opportunities

Apart from farming, villagers receive income from other sources during the year. In particular, the number of households weaving the well known traditional typical clothes (*pa lai kit*) of the province, has decreased since they began to receive remittances (Table 8.13), especially in two of the survey villages - Chiang hwan (11) and Dan (12), which are the centres of cloth weaving.

Table 8.13 Sources of Income Apart From Farming of Migrant Households (%)

Sources of household income	Before migrant leaves	After migrant leaves
Receive from relatives	26.9	8.3
Weaving clothes	51.0	6.2
Being daily labourer	10.3	6.9
Small business	11.7	0.7
Remittances	-	77.9

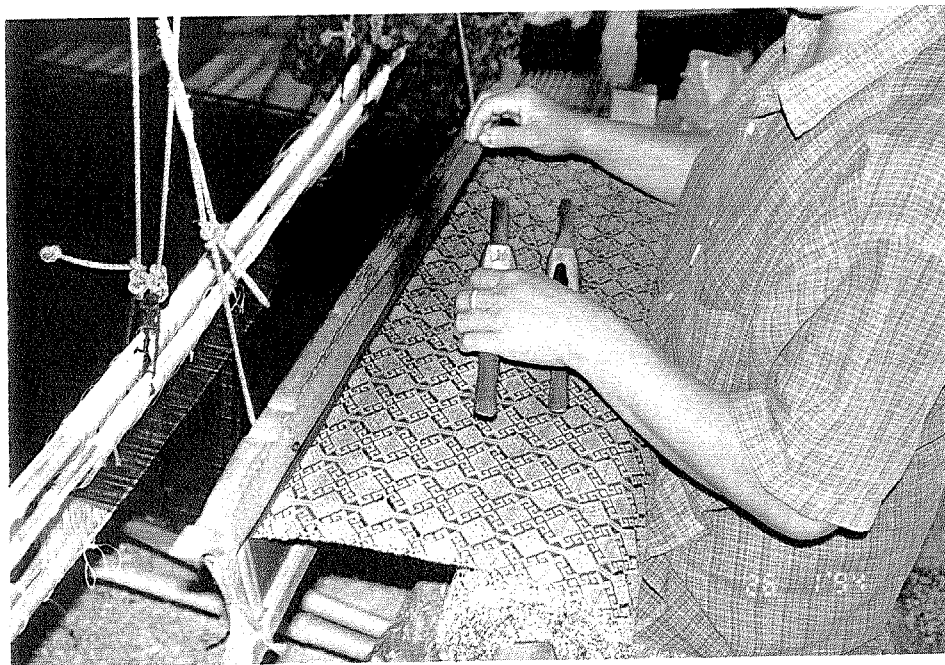
Source: Field Survey 1994

Usually, investors provide various sizes of threads and dyeing colours to weavers who own simple hand-made tools made from wood. Each tool needs two persons to operate; one takes responsibility for inserting threads horizontally through the surface

is compulsory for every radio station to broadcast news every hour.

(which is 1.5 metres wide), the other makes stripes by arranging these threads sequentially by pushing paddles. In one day, skilled weavers can produce five metres, costing 40 baht a metre. The investors will pick *pa lai kit* fortnightly and sell them at the wholesale price (200 baht per metre) before the price goes up to 350 baht in the stores (Plate 8.3). The decrease in households doing so called 'during waiting jobs' or between seasonal agricultural tasks, is also evident in the making of other typical crafts such as weaving *sieha* (bamboo mats) and making artificial flowers.

Plate 8.3 Patterns of *pa lai kit*



To preserve the cloth weaving industry, the provincial governor periodically organises a competition; however, this campaign is not working well for certain reasons. **Firstly**, given the significant role of middle men in not paying fairly, people no longer practice cloth making but prefer to wait for remitted money. **Secondly**, there has been an increased domination of weaving silk elsewhere in Udon Thani, which is more

beautiful than *pa lai kit* and so is able to compete more effectively in the local cloth market.

8.6 Overseas Migration and Economic Development in Communities

8.6.1 Changing Context of Agricultural Work

8.6.1.1 Patterns of Cropping

In many cases, migrants have been found to bring back capital and knowledge to overcome bottle-necks inhibiting technological change. In India, Oberai and Singh (1983:Chapter 5) found that the percentage of households which use a tractor is higher in migrant households. The use of tractor threshers, fertilisers, as well as tube-wells facilitate multiple cropping, which leads to higher levels of productivity. As a result, this successful development has directly affected Punjab's Green Revolution. The same result is evident in other countries such as Italy (Gilkey 1967:31), Tanzania (Rogers 1968:109) and Ireland (Gmelch 1986:167) where migrants introduce the planting of new rice varieties and fertiliser.

In the survey villages such evidence is not so clear since we spent only eight months in the field, which is not long enough to observe the full changes in the pattern of planting this would take at least one year or more, but it seems that there is not much change in the pattern of planting crops of villagers. About 20 years ago, the Thai government encouraged farmers in the Central Region to grow rice twice a year. A large irrigation network, abundant water and the Chaophraya River's fertile alluvial plain made Thailand the world's largest rice exporter. But in the dry season, water supplies have dwindled during recent years. The government has accordingly urged farmers to grow soya beans, sugar cane and other crops that need less water. Many people however are reluctant to make this change since they get a higher yield and

better prices from their dry season rice than they do from their rainy-season harvest (Far Eastern Economic Review, 27 January 1994).

8.6.1.2 Change in Agricultural Labour

Singhanetra-Renard (1992:202) found in her village survey in Thailand that movements to the Middle East bring in capitalism, leading to exchange labour being replaced by monetary payments. According to Shah and Arnold (1986:279) and Dasgupta (1981:44), the absence of able men may be replaced by remaining members who never have been involved in such work before or hiring of workers in order to complete all of the necessary agricultural tasks. In the villages surveyed, remittances have certainly encouraged the development of a more commercial attitude, with people asking for money before providing even a small service. This attitude is quite different to the past when rural people were living together in a 'shared poverty' situation, hence *nam jai* (group solidarity) bonded them together. It was evident that the concept of *ko raeng* (reciprocal labour) - a tradition that involved households who needed labour asked neighbours to help without paying money to them but with the expectation that they would provide labour in return to them later - is increasingly being replaced with direct hiring arrangements involving payment. The concept of *ko raeng* can be applied to any tasks but more often it is found to be used in agriculture when people ask others to transplant and harvest for them. This agricultural tradition is called *lonk kheag*. It is regrettable that the period of fieldwork did not cover the transplanting period which commences from June onwards and thus, we could not present clear evidence of *lonk kheag* during that period. According to Hirsch (1990), however, the transplant tradition is being replaced by wealthy households who prefer to hire labour to ensure having workers during this period of peak demand. Observations made while conducting the

pilot study in November (the harvesting period) showed that the replacement of the traditional system with hiring arrangements during harvesting period was well underway in the survey villages.

More than half of households in all villages were engaged in paid agricultural employment. In Punk nku (8), instead of taking bunches of rice home (by using *ea tan*), people can pay 100 baht a day (or 150 baht during the peak period) to get the task done. The rate has been increasing due to the unavailability of labour caused by migration. Households that do not have mechanical threshers, have to hire them from neighbours. The machines provide a short cut, since people simply put rice on the top and hold a ramie bag at the hole underneath waiting for the grain (Plates 8.4 and 8.5). Mechanical threshing machines (portable in some models) are becoming more popular because they reduce the amount of labour needed in a context where migration has reduced the amount of labour available. These machines are owned by wealthy villagers who usually are migrants. The rent is negotiable; it is cheaper if farmers bring rice to the machine owner's place rather than take the machine to the field. Farmers can pay in terms of either rice or cash (or both).

This process contrasts to the old days when threshing of rice was done in any one of a number of manual way. Those with buffaloes often maintained the traditional practice of stamping, with the rice laid out on an earth threshing floor and buffaloes driven around a stake planted in the middle. This method was later modified by driving a small tractor or power tiller over the grain in place of buffaloes. Those without buffaloes usually hit bunches of rice on the earth (or a log)(Plate 4.9). Winnowing is then done using trays.

Plate 8.4 A Mobile Mechanical Thresher

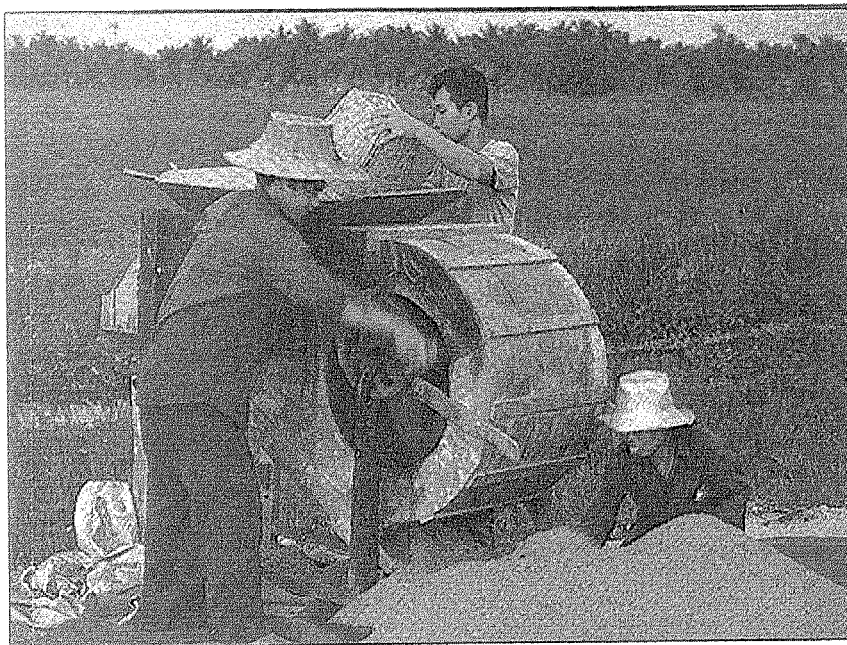
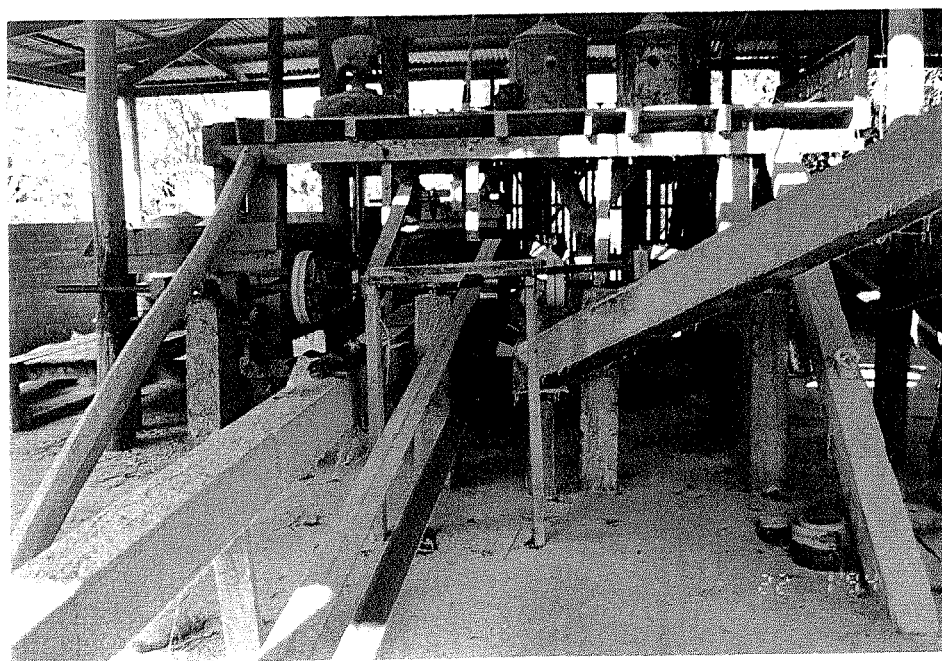


Plate 8.5 Another Type of Mechanical Thresher



The shrinking of the practice of reciprocal labour is also found in other activities. People who are asked to cook for a birthday party always now ask to be paid. Food left after the party will be distributed to other villagers who cannot come; but some is taken by the 'guests'.

Although most transactions are now in cash, some people in Nong lan (5), Chiang hwan (11) and Dan (12) apply reciprocal and hired labour together. People under both types of obligation work alongside each other on the same task. By tradition, the 'host' has to provide lunch, drinks and snacks for reciprocal labourers, while the hired labourers have to bring their own lunch to the site. In practice, however, the latter is able to have a snack or even lunch from the host if there is enough available. Normally, tasks begin early in the morning with a break at lunch time for one hour and continuation of working until sunset at around 6.00 pm. Working after hours is often found, depending on how much *nam jai* they have. Sometimes hired labourers work overtime for free and receive dinner from the employer in return.

It is on some very significant days such as the King and Queen's birthday, that the operation of people under the *ko raeng* concept is still effective. During these days villagers not only work for free but also bring food to share at the *wat*⁴ (temple).

One major advantage of *ko raeng* is the flexible working environment it creates. Since many tasks involve mutual help on a non-cash calculated basis, each person participating is expected to work to his/her full ability, with the expectation that one day's labour is returned in kind, almost always for the same task. They can make jokes during working time or even walk back to their house at any time. This social relationship involves some degree of trust in expecting the obligation to be fulfilled in

⁴ The *Wat* is a significant respected place at the centre of village near the *pu yai ban* house and village hall.

equal valuation of a day's labour. *Ko raeng* contrasts sharply to paid employment where employees have to follow employers' rules otherwise the former will be punished by deducting salary (Hirsch 1990).

8.6.2 The Village Economy

The impact of money remittances needs to be assessed through an analysis of the use they eventually are put to (Oberai and Singh 1983). In this respect, the impact is greater if remittances go to poorer households than when they are in the hands of richer households who usually deposit them in the bank. Since many migrants have a dream of self employment (Gmelch 1980:147), some migrants in Punk nku (8), Pon sawan (10) and Chiang hwan (11) tend to spend their money earned overseas on small businesses such as grocery stores, bicycle and motor cycle repair shops which have resulted in the creation of local employment opportunities. It was found that 69.2 per cent of respondents owning grocery stores stated that they used remitted money to establish it; moreover 54 per cent of these stores employ both full time and part time workers.

The impact of migration on the community economy is evident in the results of studies from many countries. Turks who return from Germany invest their savings in workers' companies, mainly in the industrial sector. With the help of subsidised training management courses provided by the German Government, such company activities have expanded and it was estimated that over 17,000 people are now employed in such activity (Entzinger 1985:273). Furthermore, they also bring back large American second hand cars and set themselves up in businesses such as taxi and bus services (Kindleberger 1965:658, 1968:152). Similarly, the success of migrant investments in tourism has influenced economic development, in terms of earning foreign currency and creating new jobs in home areas such as in Greece (Barkin

1967:507; Manganara 1977:68) and Yugoslavia (Bennett 1978:217). In Baytin village, Jordan, Litfiyya (1966:122-8, 180-7) found that returnees from America and the Middle East introduce cash into the villages leading to economic development in terms of banking. As a result, the traditional barter system has been abandoned. Flows of skilled return workers from Britain have played a major role in Jamaica through their involvement in the local industrial sector (Nutter 1986:209-210). In one Vietnamese village, the tradition of fishing has almost completely disappeared because there are not enough men left to prevent strangers stealing fish from the ponds at night (Connell *et al* 1976). In Italy, with the high expectation of wealth that returnees have, some land owners plan to divide their land into small farms, build houses and sell them to returnees at much higher prices than they should be. This resulted in the government taking urgent action by banning the loan of money that would be spent in this speculative activity (Gilkey 1967:34).

8.7 Conclusion

This chapter has examined the extent to which the impact of international labour migration has affected families and communities of migrants. Through analysis of data from the survey villages, it was found that the absence of family members, especially men affects the functioning of the family left behind. From one perspective, the absence increases the work load of women. On the other, it encourages women to do activities that are traditionally confined to men such as repairing the house and preparing fire wood. Women are more likely to become more socially and economically independent as a result of their husband's migration. Remittances received were spent economically and productively, although a few spent them in a wasteful way.

In the short term, the families and village economy are becoming increasingly dependent upon remittances. In the long the term however, the issue is far from conclusive and remains an important consideration for policy makers. There are indications that the investment of remittances is resulting in a more diversified local economy.

CHAPTER 9

CONCLUSION

9.1 Introduction

The main objective of this study has been to extend our knowledge concerning processes of international labour migration with particular focus on its consequences for the families and communities left behind by the immigrants. Analysis of both primary data obtained from a field survey in Northeastern Thailand and a wide range of secondary data has been undertaken to meet these objectives. This concluding chapter summarises the major findings of the study and provides an assessment of the extent to which the detailed objectives of the study have been achieved. The chapter also discusses the implications of the findings for wider understanding of international labour migration and for policy development in this important area. Finally some suggestions are made for future research activity based upon the experience of the present study.

9.2 Achievements of the Study

The overall objective of the present study has been to examine the consequences of international labour migration in rural Thailand with a particular focus upon twelve villages in Udon Thani. In doing this, a number of specific objectives were addressed and the findings relating to each of these are summarised and assessed below.

1. To examine the operation of networks at the individual level and establish the extent to which they operate to sustain migration once it is initiated.

Chapter 5 examined processes of international labour migration from rural Udon Thani. It was found that migrants made the decision to leave home for abroad because of a complex set of factors prominent among which were the economic constraints prevailing in their origin communities. However, this alone is an insufficient explanation of the migration which is occurring and a full understanding requires a consideration of the social structure of the rural context. The international migration of rural people is interweaving with the way of life of people in Northeastern Thailand whereby the social, economic, cultural and political contexts have all had an influence on the decision to migrate. However a crucial element appears to have been the effect of successful migrants in the village which has resulted in the migration process repeating itself over and over again. In particular communities where most households have a close connection someone with some migration experience, migration has tended to become part of the culture. The first migrants once they have established linkages with employers abroad tend to recruit fellow migrants who are more likely to be friends and relatives from their origin community. This pattern is consistent with many other studies in both developed and developing countries (Massey 1986, 1987, 1990 in America; Hugo 1975, 1978, 1981, 1988 in Indonesia). This is to say that once a pioneer migration occurs, it can expand through chain migration effects and fuel movement out of a region for decades. It is not surprising then to see that at least half of households in the survey villages (almost all in some of them) have some experience of international migration. Indeed, migration has long been the norm among people in this rural area since they have been moving to work in urban areas during dry season for a long time. It is not uncommon then to see some

people make a longer move to other countries. Mr. Chaturon Atthawiparkpaisan, acting director - general of the Employment Department gave an interview in Bangkok Post (8 October 1995) saying: '...I can't comprehend why they (Thai villagers) leave. It has become a new tradition for rural people to work abroad. They try to imitate each other, so now it's become a custom'. Hence a full appreciation of the context where migration is occurring is important to the understanding of migration in Thailand.

2. To elucidate the role of recruiters in international labour migration and how migrants finance their movement.

The important role of private recruiters in channelling international labour migration is increasingly widely acknowledged in the literature (Hugo 1990, 1996; Martin 1996; Spaan 1994; Goss and Lidquist 1995). They act as the facilitating middle man bringing together potential workers and employers, receiving migration fees from the former and commissions from the latter. The first role of recruiters in migration is through provision of information on vacancies, salary and accommodation in destinations to potential workers. They also then arrange the journey and in some cases take workers abroad and are sometimes involved in sending of remittances by the migrant to their home communities. This study was able to elucidate the role of private recruiters in migration from rural Thailand. It was found in the survey villages that recruiters provide information to potential migrants through a number of ways but especially through: (1) advertisement by means of various media such as newspaper or radio and (2) agents and their sub agents at the village level. Given the fact that many people, in particular in rural communities are in some way related; agents and sub agents providing a migration information to key villagers can fully expect that the

information will be quickly spread throughout the village by word of mouth. In many cases, the sub agents are villagers themselves related to, and living in the same village as potential migrants. They not only provide potential migrants with information from a highly trusted source but also loan money to those people who cannot raise the necessary funds themselves.

Given the fact that overseas jobs are limited, recruiters demand increasingly high migration fees, ranging from 30,000 to more than 100,000 baht for one journey. There is no maximum fee set in this regard except that the government estimates the average fee to be 38,000 baht. Indeed, potential migrants appear willing to pay any fees if recruiters can guarantee the overseas job and associated salary. It was found that most villagers who were channelled overseas by a recruiter paid a 26 percent higher fee on average than those channelled by the OEAO. The period of working abroad is an essential factor in determining the level of fees paid to the recruiters. With regard to finance, it was found that potential villagers normally borrow money from local money lenders or relatives. The interest rate varies widely, from 10 to 120 percent a year. In many cases, people sell land and jewellery to cover the fees and hence go into substantial debt to finance the migration of a family member. This exposes them to considerable risk should the migrant not be successful overseas for some reason.

3. To investigate the extent of sending of remittances by migrants, the way in which they are sent and the patterns of use of those remittances.

In Chapters 6, 7 and 8 impacts of international labour migration on migrants, families and community were examined in detail. The examination of remittances in Chapter 6 revealed that most migrants while abroad remitted money home on a monthly basis. Usually, migrants begin as target earners, working as long as possible

for overtime remuneration even at the weekend to reach a particular target as quickly as possible. It was found that the quantity of remittances varied considerably from country to country. Normally the Middle Eastern migrants remitted more money than Asian migrants. It was also found that families of migrants sent cash and food to migrants abroad. This reciprocal pattern of transfers reflects ties being maintained between migrants and their families left behind. While abroad, migrants have to adjust themselves to different contexts that they neither know nor understand. Their families on the other hand have to adjust to not only the absence of the migrants but goods, news and cash transferred by the migrants (Hugo 1975, 1978, 1982, 1987, 1997).

The analysis of patterns of use of money remitted revealed that remittances are relatively important to household incomes and village economies in origin areas. It was found that family members left behind use remittances to improve their living standard by consuming healthy food more frequently than before. Part of remittances were spent on constructing new houses which creates employment in the origin area. However, a large part of the money was also spent upon repaying debt obligations that they made before leaving in order to be able to cover migration fees. People in migrant families may remain poor if most of the remittances are spent unproductively.

4. To examine the behaviour of migrants before migration and after coming home and changes in their status in family members and neighbours' eyes.

The impacts of migration on migrants themselves were examined in detail in Chapter 7. The examination included consideration of the behaviour of migrants before leaving, while abroad and upon their return. Following Hugo's (1982, 1987, 1997) migration impact framework, the study was able to identify impacts of migration on social and economic welfare of migrants while abroad and upon their return home.

The analysis of impacts of migration suggests that the social, economic and cultural contexts and of rural people are vital in explaining the impacts of international labour migration in Thailand. A number of direct impacts on migrants were established in the areas of health, social status, their patterns of behaviour, occupational mobility, marriage patterns, skill development and language ability. However, it was difficult to generalise about those effects since they varied greatly from individual to individual.

Miracle and Berry (1970: 95-8) state that, 'impacts are likely to be largely dependent on the similarity of conditions in the host countries and its supplying economics...Migrants gaining skill in working with machinery represent no net addition of human capital if they return to a home area where culture still prevails and there is no machinery of any kind'. Thus 'rather than formulating theory of impact of migration, attempts should be made directly to identify the conditions that produce the impacts with an understanding of context of which the movement is occurring' (Hugo 1987:163). This study was thus able to identify a number of specific impacts in the rural Thai context.

5. To assess the extent to which social changes are associated with migration, in particular changes in the role and status of women, and in the structure and functioning of the family.

Following Hugo's framework in examining impacts of migration, Chapter 8 was also able to examine the impacts of international labour migration on migrants' family structure and its functioning. The examination was made across different categories of migrants. Family members left behind have to adjust themselves to the absence of an able bodied family member. Given that most migrants in the surveyed villages were males, those left behind had to reallocate tasks among other members during the period

of absence of a person(s). Spouses had to do more work than before, including tasks which used to be done by males. Given the fact that women in rural Thailand have been able to work side by side with males in agricultural tasks, they are able to handle such work efficiently. The other side of this is that by taking on extra work, women have a double burden to bear and have less time to take care of children. In sum, the impacts established were that the absence of migrants led to a re-allocation of labour, some changes in relationships among family members, and a reduction in family size.

In addition the present chapter was able to examine impacts of migration on social and economic welfare of origin community. Although the period of field work was too short to examine a full range of socio-economic and cultural changes within the villages, the study concluded that migration had a considerable effect on village development in terms of employment creation in the village and changes in the patterns of agricultural work.

9.3 Future Research

The present study has been able to only provide a limited glimpse as to some of the impacts of international labour migration on individuals, families and communities in rural Thailand. This remains a research area about which very little is currently known, especially in Asia where international migration is attaining unprecedented scale and social and economic significance. It is clear that before more effective theoretical and policy relevant conclusions can be drawn, more empirical work on the effects of migration in Asia is required. The present study has demonstrated the utility of qualitative approaches in seeking a greater understanding of migration impacts and further work along these lines would be fruitful, especially in gaining a better knowledge of how social networks operate in relation to the consequences of

migration. The qualitative approach enables us to understand the way in which migration's effects interact with other change occurring in the village and allows a more balanced assessment of its impact to be made. To understand migration in rural Thailand, especially Udon Thani where international migration has been occurring for decades, it is crucial to establish how the economic, social and cultural context influences the way in which migration impacts upon individuals, families and communities. Again micro studies involving qualitative methods have much to offer in this area.

In order to truly appreciate the nature and significance of the impact of international labour migration it is clear that more work of a longitudinal nature is required. This ideally should be carried out over a number of years but an alternative is for follow up studies to be carried out of the same communities and families surveyed in earlier studies to establish definitely the extent to which migration affects social and economic development in the long term, rather than the short or medium term covered in studies such as the present one.

There is a need for more systematic research which assesses the impact of migration, in particular different types of context. For example, comparing the impact of the absence of migrants in communities with different socio-economic situations, different types of family and kinship structures etc. This would allow us to explore more deeply the influence of context on the impact that migration has. Another research priority must be the more systematic investigation of the impact of remittances. In particular the uses which those remittances are put to. This would involve thorough analysis of the employment effects of sending of remittances, not just in development activity but also expenditure on consumption goods like housing. To what extent is this expenditure local and hence creating local jobs? To what extent

does it involve purchase of goods made outside the area and country? What are the precise second and third round effects of remittances? What are the long term effects of remittances spent on the education of children and siblings? There is in short, a need for studies which are totally focussed upon remittances and their impact on local economic development.

A final area of research which should be an important priority relates to the role of international labour migration in social change. Its significance in changing the roles, functioning and structure of the family needs to be a focus of detailed research. Similarly, its relationship to the changing role and status of women in origin societies needs to be closely investigated.

Most of the suggestions for further research discussed here refer to the micro level, but there is a pressing need for an improvement in basic data collection relating to international labour migration in Thailand. There are now guidelines available (eg see Bilsborrow *et al* 1997) for structuring data collection of such movement in a way which allows its scale, composition and to some extent, its impact to be monitored and analysed in a more effective and timely way. This is an urgent priority in Thailand where policy relating to international labour migration is developed largely in an empirical vacuum.

9.4 Policy Implications

Thailand has experienced exponential growth of its international labour migration over the past twenty years. With accelerating globalisation trends, and rapid social and economic change international migration in Thailand is becoming quite complex, being both an exporting and importing country. A Sussangkarn (1995:241) states in an analysis of development and labour market adjustment, 'as the country

(Thailand) industrialises, the demand pattern for labour changes. Yet, the supply structure changes rather slowly. This has led to human resource imbalances at various levels, and also directly influences migration movement.'

For decades, international labour emigration has been a concern of authorities in Thailand in relation to its profound implications for social and economic activities and its effect on the wellbeing of the national economy. The extent to which labour migration affects economic development is unclear and far from conclusive. Vasupratsat (1994:201) states that, 'it is, however, hard to say as to what extent labour migration contributed to the economic growth and improvement of income distribution through the skill acquired by return migrant workers and their remittances. However, it cannot be denied that international trade is an important factor that fuels economic growth, employment and income of country...'. The expansion of international migration has however, been employed in Thailand as a deliberate government strategy to strengthen economic development improving the balance of payments position.

Thailand, however, has also been a destination of foreigners moving from Asia and Europe for centuries. However, these movements have reached unprecedented levels in recent times and this has been somewhat controversial, especially since illegal immigrants predominate. The Bangkok Post (22 January 1995) estimates that in 1995 the number was approximately half a million. Sussangkarn (1995) and Sussangkarn and Chalamwong (1996) estimated in 1994 that the stock of illegal foreigners was between two to three hundred thousand. Siverman (1996:61) reports that in 1996 Thailand hosted six hundred thousand migrants. The Bangkok Post (9 May 1996) reported that the number was nearly one million; of whom 700,000 were Burmese (5 January 1997). Although the government allows illegal immigrants in Thailand to be

registered and receive work permits, only 370,000 illegal migrants appear to be registered (9 May 1995).

Illegal migrants fall in one of three categorisations (see Pitakmahaket 1997 for the definition of aliens according to Act of Work for aliens 1978, Article 12).

- Aliens who cross the border without permission and work in Thailand.
- aliens who come in as tourists but overstay and work without permission.
- Aliens who are granted work permits but overstay after their visa expired.

Some illegal migrants are political refugees (Sussangkarn 1995:250); some are labour migrants from neighbouring countries, notably Cambodia, Burma and Laos. These migrants cross the long border and work in many provinces.

Illegal migrants who overstay include visitors who come under tourist visas. Indians, for example, seem to be the largest group overstaying in Thailand and accounted for 100,000 in 1994. They usually hold jobs that the Thais are less inclined to take up, such as mosquito net salesman or bean sellers. Some of these overstayers travel to nearby countries such as Laos or Malaysia every few months to renew their tourist visa (Satyanarayan 1994:55) Some enter the country illegally along the border. There is no direct evidence but it was reported that ten Burmese are arrested every day in Mae Hong Son province, north of Thailand. These aliens were sentenced and deported after serving time in jail. However, the process starts again once they are released (Bangkok Post 5 January 1997). It was also reported on the Thai television news (Channel 7 at 8.30pm of 20 January 1997) that more than twenty Burmese dressed as monks were arrested at Yananva temple with the charge of illegal immigration.

With respect to foreigners who receive official permissions to work in Thailand Ponpuasakorn and Taethiengtam (1992) and Pitakmahaket (1997) report that the

numbers are available dating back to 1977. The numbers of foreigners who received work permits in Thailand dramatically increased from 2,000 to almost 11,000 in 1991. Over this period, the number of Japanese was highest; 442 were recorded in 1977, which increased to 2,649 in 1991. From 1992 onward, the data are not available in terms of nationality. It was, however, recorded that there were 11,651 work permits issued in 1992, 22,101 in 1993 and 36,623 in 1994 (Pitakmahaket 1997).

As shown in Chapter 1, the Thai economy is gradually changing from agricultural products to industrial and technology based products that need more skilled labour. While approximately 75 percent of Thai workers are less educated (attaining only primary education) and face difficulties in finding jobs in the modern sector, Thailand issues permissions to highly skilled foreigners to make up the shortage. It was reported that almost 20 percent of work permits issued in 1991 were issued for foreign engineers and technical specialist (Sussangkarn and Chalamwong 1996:117). Although having work permits, it was often found that these migrants overstay after their permissions expired. Those who failed to extend their permits often overstay and work in the informal sector (Sussangkarn 1995:250). The number of these overstayers are, however, difficult to estimate since the data collected and maintained by immigration authorities is of limited coverage and quality.

It is clear that the international labour migration situation in Thailand is a highly complex one, a situation which is likely to be exacerbated by the currency crisis which the country and region are experiencing at the time of writing. There is a need for the development of clear and effective national policies and programs relating to international labour migration which maximise its benefits to Thais and minimise its costs. Development of such policies and programs is greatly hampered by the lack of

data collected, maintained and analysed by immigration and labour officials. An effective monitoring system of the scale and composition of labour flows into and out of the nation is a vital pre-requisite to the development of effective policy. Moreover the government needs to undertake or sponsor the fundamental research needed to establish the cost and benefits of labour migration into and out of the country as a basis for policy development.

From the present survey there are a number of more specific suggestions for Thai officials which arise out of the experience of the migrants studied in Udon Thani.

- There is a need for more follow up of international migrants, perhaps through some airport-based facility. This would allow quick identification of employers and recruiters who are cheating workers and also allow steps to be taken to assist the cheated workers.
- There needs to be a greater control of recruiters. The authorities should keep in touch with private recruiters and if possible, set up a special team to examine the processes followed by recruiters. They must withdraw permission of any recruiter that is found cheating even one migrant. A recent heartening development was that the Head of the Department of Employment (in direct charge of the OEAO) organised meetings of migrants who were cheated and intends using their experience to protect new migrants. The first was conducted in Nong han district of Udon Thani in 1995 and they will be held throughout the country.
- The authorities should organise better and more effective pre-departure training and orientation for potential migrants to increase the chances that they will adapt to the context of the destination countries.
- There should be a national facility for intending migrants to obtain loans with fair, low interest rates with a reasonable system for repayment while abroad.

- There needs to be locally effective information campaigns using experienced migrants who can tell intending migrants about the opportunities but also the problems and pitfalls of international labour migration. Some of the methods of information dissemination developed very effectively in Thailand for the spread of information about family planning and HIV/AIDS could be modified to empower potential migrants with appropriate information so they are less likely to be cheated by recruiters and better equipped to tackle the challenges of international labour migration.
- There is a need to consider provision of investment opportunities for returning migrants in productive small scale, employment generating enterprises. Perhaps an agency which could facilitate the bringing together of small groups of returning migrants to invest in such enterprises would enhance the economic and social impact of labour out-migration.

9.5 Conclusion

International labour migration is a significant challenge for Thailand's policy makers. Not only does it play an important role in the economic development of Thailand as a whole and that of particular regions but it also influences the whole social and economic fabric of the rural communities which migrants leave. With increasing improvement in transportation and communication and further globalisation tendencies, labour migration will continue to increase in scale, complexity and diversity. Rural people both men and women, will continue migrating overseas despite the significant structural changes occurring in Thailand. This is not only because of the current economic difficulties being experienced by the country, and the fact that Thailand's workforce still has low average levels of education which makes the

transition from agricultural to industrial work difficult. It is also because of the in-built momentum of strong social networks, active recruitment systems and normative structures which have created a “culture of immigration” in some areas. Individual labour migration is not always resulting in benefits to the participants and their families and communities in Thailand and it is imperative that we learn more of why and in what circumstances this occurs so that the undoubted benefits which can occur from the movement are maximised.

Appendix I

Reigning Periods of Thai King

Sukhothai Period

Ramkhamhaeng	1275?-1317?
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Ayuthaya Period (Incomplete)

Baromarat II	1424-1448
Ekathotsarot	1605-1620
Sisaowaphak	1620-1620
Songtham	1620-1628
Prasat Thong	1629-1656
Narai	1657-1688
Thaisa	1709-1733
Baromakot	1733-1758

Thonburi Period

Taksin	1767-1782
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Bangkok Period (Chakkri Dynasty)

Rama I Yotfa	1782-1809
Rama II Leotla	1809-1824
Rama III Nangklao	1824-1851
Rama IV Mongkut	1851-1868
Rama V Chulalongkorn	1868-1910
Rama VI Vachiravut	1910-1925
Rama VII Prachathipok	1925-1935
Rama VIII Ananda Mahidol	1935-1946
Rama IX Phumiphon Adunyadet	1946-Present

Source: Skinner 1957:ix

Appendix II

Labour Force Definitions

Total Labour Force

Persons aged 13 years and over, including the current labour force as defined above, or were classified as seasonally inactive labour force.

Persons not in the Labour Force

Persons aged 13 years and over, but were neither employed nor available for employment because they were engaged in household work, engaged in studies, too young (below 15 years of age) or too old (above 60 years of age), incapable of work and working without pay, profits, dividends or any other payment for charitable organisations and institutions or otherwise not available for employment.

Seasonally Inactive Labour Force

Persons aged 13 years and over, who were neither employed nor unemployed as defined above, but were waiting for the appropriate season, being persons who usually worked without pay on farms or in business enterprises engaged in seasonal activities owned or operated by the head of the household or any other member of the household.

Employed Persons

Persons aged 13 years and over, who worked for at least one hour for wages, profits, dividends or any other kind of payment, in kind, who work as employers, employees, own account workers, and unpaid family workers.

Unemployed Persons

Persons aged 13 years and over, who did not work, had no job, business enterprise, or farm of their own, from which they were temporarily absent, but were available for work. Persons in this category include :

1. those who had been looking for work.
2. those who had not been looking for work because of illness or belief that no suitable work was available, waiting to take up a new job, waiting for the agricultural season or other reasons.

Source: National Statistics Office

Appendix III

Procedures of Application for Working Overseas

Operation	Duration	Documents required
Step 1 Announcement of recruitment and selection <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Announce recruitment • Selection • Announce selection name list • Recruited persons report to the OEAO • Skills test and physical examination 	3 weeks	1. Power of Attorney 2. Demand letter 3. Company registration 4. Example of contract 5. Visa approval
Step 2 Coordinate with the employer in applying for a visa <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Prepare relevant documents for the worker • Send the worker to have criminal record checked • Apply for visa for the worker 	1 - 2 weeks	The employer must arrange documents required and apply for visa for the worker and notify the OEAO
Step 3 Coordinate with the bank in applying for guarantee letter for the worker <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Collect and submit the worker's relevant documents to the bank 	1 - 2 days	
Step 4 Inform the employer of the departure date <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Inform the employer of the departure date of the worker • Coordinate with air line for the ticket for the worker 	1 day	
Operation	Duration	Documents required
Step 5 Pre-departure orientation and signing the contract <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Pre departure orientation • Signing the contract 		
Step 6 Preparing departure documents <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Issue the overseas worker's welfare fund card • Preparing departure document 	1 day	
Step 7 Seeing the worker off at	1 day	The employer must confirm their

the airport

- Inform the employer and the Labour Office of the departure of the worker
- Bring the worker to Labour Control at the airport document checking
- Bring the worker to the check-in counter of the airline for boarding

readiness

Source: The OEAO

Appendix IV
Questionnaires

For migrant family

No	Name	Sex	Age	Place of birth	Relationship	Status			Education				
						1.Single 2.Married 3.Widowed 4.Divorced 5.Separated	Number of children	Reason for divorce	Never study	Level of Education			Years
Levels	Which school	Full/Part time											
1.					1.Head of household 2.Spouse 3.Children (never married) 4.Childred (married) 5.Childred (in law) 6.Nephew 7.Parent of spouse 8.Parent of leader								
2.													
3.													
4.													
5.													
6.													
7.													
8.													

No	Main occupation	Member of group affiliation				Behavior			Present residence
		Year 1993		Before year 1993		Smoke	Drink	Gambling	
		Group name	Title	Group name	Title				
	1. Unemployed 2. Student 3. Public service 4. Enterprise employee 5. Company employee 6. Government employee 7. Agriculture 8. Other		1.Member 2.Others		1.Member 2. Others	1.Yes 2.No	1.Yes 2.No	1.Yes 2.No	
1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8.									

For migrants who work overseas

71. What is your marital status?
- 1 Married
 - 2 Widow
 - 3 Separated
 - 4 Divorced
 - 5 Single (go to 75)
72. Before working overseas, were you married ?
1. No 63.1 Did you meet your spouse overseas?
 2. Yes (go to 73)
73. How was your marriage ceremony organised?
1. Tradition
 2. Only register
 3. Both methods
 4. Other
74. How did you make the decision to marry?
1. Own decision
 2. Parent assistance
 3. Relatives
 4. Friends
 5. Others
75. Details of working conditions.
1. At present job.....
 Details of job.....
 Working hour/day.....
 Income earned/baht.....
 2. At job before going overseas.....
 Details of job.....
 Working hour/day.....
 Income earn/baht.....

Accommodation

What sort of accommodation did you have overseas ?

Type	Rent	Total room number	convenience accessory 1 yes 2 No				Supplier	
			Hot water	Air conditioning	Kitchen	Washing machine	Self supplied	Employer
1. Renting								
2. Flat								
3. House								
4. Other								

77. How long did you stay there?
78. Is the accommodation close to your work place?
1. No How far ?.....
 2. Yes (go to 79)
79. Have you ever moved?
1. Yes How many times?.....
 2. No (go to 80)

Working details

80. Did you work with the same company while you were there ?
1. No What was the first company?.....
 2. Yes (go to 81)
81. How did you get paid ?
1. Daily
 2. Weekly
 3. Monthly
 4. Term contract
 5. Other.....
82. What is your average wages per month?
83. What is your work routine?
- 83.1.day/month
 - 83.2..... hour/day (doesn't include break)
84. Is there any overtime ?
- Yes 83.1.hour/month
 - 83.2..... hour rate/month
 - No (go to 85)
- 85 Are you satisfied with the following?.....
1. Income
 2. Supervisor
 3. Collegues
 4. Equipment
86. How many days of holidays do you receive per year (not including the weekend)?
87. Have you ever been absent from work?
- 87.1 Reason for absence
1. Sick
 2. Lack of equipment so cannot perform work
 3. Transfer money back home
 4. Other
- 87.2 Did you recieve money for those days absent?
1. Yes
 2. No
88. Are there any people doing the same job as you do?
1. Yes
 2. No
89. Have you been treated the same as the local employees ?
1. Yes
 2. No 89.1 How.....
90. Have you been promoted ?
1. Yes
 2. No
91. Have you changed jobs while living there ?
1. Yes 90.1 How many.....
 2. No (go to 92)
92. Have you learned a new skill ?
1. Yes From 1. School. 2. Friend. 3. Job training 4. Other.....
 2. No (go to 93)

93. Are there any benefits you received from your employer?
 1. Yes 2. No

94. Do you receive any social welfare from your employer ?
 Yes No
 1. Sick leave
 2. Accommodation
 3. Holiday pay
 4. Food
 5. Health check ups
 6. Disability fund
 7. Pay advance
 8. Transportation
 9. Emergency fund
 10. Other

Adjustment

95. What is the average temperature?
 95.1 Day time.....
 95.2 Night time.....

96. Is there anything that you do not like?

97. How do you spend your free time after work?.....

98. What activity do you do most?

List	Everyday	2-3 time/Week	Once a week	2-3 time/week	Never
1. Read newspapers	4	3	2	1	0
2. Watch TV	4	3	2	1	0
3. See Movies	4	3	2	1	0
4. Listen to the Radio	4	3	2	1	0
5. Sightseeing	4	3	2	1	0
6. Shopping	4	3	2	1	0

99. What is the language you use most, apart from Thai language?

100. How do you communicate with others?

101. How often do you do the shopping?

- 1 Daily
- 2 Weekly
- 3 Every fortnight
- 4 Other

102 While you were working did you have any problems?

- 1 Yes
- 2 No

Problem	Supervisor
	1. Employer 2. Friend 3. Embassy 4. Council 5. Other
1. 2.	

103. While you were working there did you ever experience the following?

- | | |
|---------------------------|-------------------------|
| 1. Pick pocket.....time | How did you manage..... |
| 2. Attack.....time | How did you manage..... |
| 3. House Robbery.....time | How did you manage..... |
| 4. Prejudice.....time | How did you manage..... |

104. Is your lifestyle getting better or worse?

1. Better
2. Same
3. Worse

105. While you were working there, did you want to apply to be a resident of the country?

- 1 Yes 2 No

Journey Back Home

106. While you were working there was your contract ever renewed ?

1. Yes 106.1 how many times
 106.2 how long was the contractmonths
2. No (go to 107)

107. Did you return because your contract expired ?

1. Yes
2. No (go to 108)

108. Why did you come back before the contract expired?.....

109. How long did it take you to decide to return home?.....months

110. Are there any Thai organisations that helped you ?

1. Yes 110.1 Private organisation
 110.2 Public organisation
2. No (go to 111)

111. Who organised the return ?

- 1 On your own
- 2 Private organisation
- 3 Public organisation

112. Was there any problem with the returning process ?

1. Yes What is the problem.....
2. No (go to 113)

113. How much cash/goods did you bring back home?

113.1 Cash.....bahts

113.2 Goods (value).....items

114. 36. How did you spend the money?

Yes No

1. Deposit in the bank
2. Buy jewellery
3. Local shares
4. For loan
5. Buy land
6. Build house
7. Repair house
8. Donation
9. Pay debt
10. Agriculture investment
11. Business investment
12. Buy Car
13. Child's education

115. Have you changed accommodation since you came back ?

1. Yes Why
2. No (go to 116)

116. What was the main problem when you first came back?

117. Are you satisfied with your life in this community?

1. Yes
2. No
- 3 So so (go to 118)

118. Do you think that you are different from stayers ?

1. Yes Why
2. No (go to 119)

119. What is the main advantage of working overseas?.....

120. What is the main disadvantage of working overseas?.....

121. Since you have come back, have you ever work in another province?

1. Yes 121.1 where.....
2. No (go to 122)

122. Since you have come back, do you plan to move to another province?

1. Yes 122.1 where.....
122.2 how.....
2. No (go to 123)

123. Do you want to work overseas again?

1. Yes 123.1 where.....
123.2 how.....
2. No (go to 124)

124. Do you think there is a difference in the community before and after your return?

1. Yes What
2. No (go to 125)

Activity after coming back

125. Did you start working once you came back ?

1. Yes 125.1 How long were you unemployed for before you got a job.....months
125. 2 While you were unemployed did you want to work? Yes/No
2. No (go to128)

126. Are you satisfied with your work?

1. Yes
2. No

127. Since you have come back, did you get a similar job to that in which worked overseas ?

1. Yes
2. No (go to128)

128. Since you have come back, have you had problems getting a job?

1. Yes
2. No (go to129)

129. Since you have come back, have you used your knowledge/skills aquired overseas ?

1. Yes What is the knowledge/skill.....
2. No

Appendix V

Land Document in Thailand

Docu- ment	Class	Thai name	Date Introd- uced	Legal status	Survey method	Transfer rights	Used as colla- teral	Restriction or stipulations
<u>Land Reform Office: Issued in specific areas under official program</u>								
NS-4	Title deed	Chanod	1954	Most secure; full, unrestricted ownership title registered with provincial land registrar; fully negotiable- sold, rented, sub-divided, or mortgaged	Land demarcated by accurate ground survey or rectified aerial photo map; property clearly identified with boundary markers	Fully negotiable	Yes	Issued only for land outside forest reserves; ownership rights can be challenged by state or other farmers if land lies fallow longer than 10 years
NS-3	Certificate of use	Nor-Sor-Sarm	1954	Secure; enables farmers to sell, transfer, or mortgage land; can be converted to title deed (NS-4)	Surveyed in isolation by triangle, tape method	Because of boundary distortions, proposed transfers must be advertised for 30 days	Yes	Issued only for land outside forest reserves; ownership rights can be challenged if land lies fallow longer than 5 years
NS-3K	Exploitation testimonial	Nor-Sor-Sarm Kor	1972	Secure; enables farmer to sell, transfer, or mortgage land; can be converted to title deed (NS-4)	Prepared from unrectified aerial photo map	Fully negotiable	Yes	Issued only for land outside forest reserves; ownership rights can be challenged if land lies fallow longer than 5 years
NS-2	Preemptive certificate	Bai-Chong	1954	Authorised temporary occupation of land; after prescribed period and land use, can be converted to NS-3, NS-3K, NS-4	Land described by metres and bounds	Only by inheritance	No	Issued only for land outside forest reserves; validity of rights conditional on use within 6 months of issuance
SK-1	Claim certificate	Sor-Kor Neung	1954 (during process of implementing the code	Claim to ownership based on possession or use of land before the enactment of the Land Code; can be converted to NS-3, NS-3K, NS-4	Land described by metres bounds	Certificate transferable, after transfer advertised	No	Issued only for land outside forest reserves

Public Welfare Department: Issued in Specific areas under small official programs

STK	Temporary cultivation rights	Sor-Tor-Kor	1981	Usufruct certificate	Varies	Only by inheritance	No	Issue only for land inside forest reserves; covers only plots up to 15 rai (2.4 hectares); conversion of certificate to NS-4 or NS-3 prohibited; state reserves right to revoke usufruct rights if restrictions violated
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Forestry Department: Land documents for plots inside the forest reserves

NK-3		Nor-Kor-Sarm		Can be used legally as loan collateral but		Subject to restrictions	Yes	Can be obtained after 5 years possession of
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NK-2, NK-1	Nor-Kor- Som, Nor-Kor- Neung	cannot be sold until 5 years after issue date Usufruct	Only by inheritance	No	NK-2
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Department of Lands: Land documents for plots outside the forest reserves

SPK	Sor-Por- Kor	Usufruct	Only by inheritance	No
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Source: Feder (1988: 12-14)

Appendix VI

Sakdina

Sakdina (dignity marks) combines an indigenous Thai term *na*, meaning 'rice field', with a Sanskrit-derived term, *sakdi*, meaning 'energy' of deity. This phrase has been translated as giving the right to rule over certain grants of land (see Muscat 1994: 298, Keyes 1987:29-30). Accordingly, most labourers were assumed to be among *that* (slavery). In the adaptation of Khmer principles of organisation and governance, the Siamese rulers developed *sakdina* which may well have been one of the most elaborate systems of manpower registration ever devised. Briefly, the hierarchy divided into four classes - *Chao* (princes or royal blood), *khunnang* (noble), *phrai* (freeman commoners) and *that* (slavery). Under this system every person in the kingdom was assigned a rank and a corresponding *sakdina* number. *That* was the lowest with a *sakdina* of 5 *rai* (1 *rai* equal to 0.4 acres). *Phrai* were assigned a *sakdina* of 25 *rai*, petty officials from 100 to 400 *rai*. Seven ranks of *khunnang* were assigned a *sakdina* from 400 to 30,000 *rai*. Just below the king, *Chao* apparent had a *sakdina* of 100,000 *rai*. Nevertheless, although 25 *rai* seems to have been the accepted upper limit on the size holding of *phrai* and *that*, average holdings are thought to have been considerably less. This reflects family size limitations that influenced the lack of incentive to produce surplus exchange in a largely subsistence economy before the advent of the rice export (Muscat 1994: 24). Akin (1969: 178) notes that...

The area being underpopulated, the labour force necessary to the performance of work and services had to be organised as efficiently as possible. The king, the peak of the society, was in theory the owner of all manpower with the kingdom. He distributed the people to be under the protection of his officials according to their rank as defined by the *sakdina* system.

Accordingly, control of *phrai* and *that* by *nai* or petty officials shaped the patterns of movement of people at any time. Within specified limits, the latter controlled labour time of the former. The *phrai* might lose control over half of his own labour time through the requirement that he provides *nai* up to six months of his labour time each year. Alternatively, *phrai* in economic difficulty could become a bondsman or *that* (or give a member of his family), in which condition the individual loses all

control over his labour. In any instance, the debtors had to allow his child or wife living in and serving in the creditor's household for the rest of their life. The *that* could redeem himself by paying back his loan. Muscat (1994: 22) urges that there can be little doubt that the totality of these arrangements put a significant constraint on a substantial proportion of the labour force, and thereby reduced economic efficiency under conditions of labour scarcity. Thus *that* had been restricted by their movements only under the order of the *nai*. Bowring (1857:55) observes that no less than one-third of the Siamese population were *that*. This system covered not only economic production but also in the time of war that *nai* according to the law must recruit their *that* for the purpose of the mission. (The details of this system appears, for example in Akin, 1969, 1975; Skinner 1957, 1958; Wood 1933; Wales 1965.) However, *sakdina* system had been gradually eliminated by King Chulalongkorn (Rama V, 1868-1910) through a series of decrees between 1874 and final abolishment in 1905 (see Ingram 1955:62).

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