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Changes in Migrants' Residential Distribution in KDSS between 2000 and 2004

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Introduction

The influx of migrants to Thailand, especially from neighboring countries beginning in 1990s, has been a concern to the Thai government and to the Thai population. Levels of migration to Thailand are likely to increase and immigrants are inclined to settle for lengthy periods or permanently. Similar to migration phenomenon in other receiving countries, economic prospects of migrants in Thailand do not progress at the same pace compared to the local Thais. With specific to KDSS data, previous analysis indicates that migrants' residence is consequential on migrants' wellbeing and that migrants are better off when they mix with locals (Jampaklay, Entwisle, and Hagan, Under review). While many communities, especially those in bordered areas or those with job opportunities for migrant labors, are composed of a remarkable proportion of migrants, little is known about the distribution of migrants' residence and how it has been changed over time. Nor we know much about the nature of communities with high and low levels of international migrants. In order to develop appropriate policy for handling immigrants issue effectively, especially to mitigate left-behind economic prospects among migrants, we need to equip with understanding about migrants' settlement especially its change over time.

This paper examines changes at village level in volume of migrants and their residential distribution throughout 100 villages/communities in KDSS, Thailand, during 2000 to 2004. We further explore differences in village characteristics of villages with low, moderate and high levels of migrants. Over 5-years period, we also explore the differences of villages in which the proportion of migrants increase from villages in which the proportion of migrants decreases or do not change. The main data for this paper are derived from the KDSS which annually collected data in 100 villages/communities throughout Kanchanaburi province at individual, household and village levels from 2000 to 2004.

Existing theoretical perspectives on migrant residential settlement posit that immigrant-concentrated areas reveal a degree of social cohesion, a density of supportive social ties, and significant socioeconomic success and mobility emerging within the confines of immigrant-concentrated communities (e.g. Alba et al., 1997; Ellis and Wright, 1998; Johnston et al., 2002; Waldinger, 2001; Pamuk, 2004). Ethnic neighborhoods have been posited to slow down "complete" assimilation in those scenarios where they offer an "ethnically supportive infrastructure" which cannot be found in neighborhoods that lack a concentrated ethnic population (Alba et al., 1997; Breton, 1964; Jampaklay, Entwisle, and Korinek, 2008).

In this paper, we compare the percentage of people who were born outside Thailand in each village in the 1st round and the 5th round. Preliminary results show that between 2000 and 2004, the percentage of migrants at village level ranges from 0% to 40% in 2000 and from 0% to 79% in 2004. More than one third of villages (37 from 100) in the study site experience an increase in the proportion of international migrants during 2000 to 2004. Eighteen villages experience a decrease in migrants' proportion, while the proportion of migrants in 45 villages remains the same. While the average share of migrants in total village population does not increase much (from 3% in 2000 to 5% in 2004), migrants may change their residence within the study site. Characteristics of villages that gain migrants, of villages that lose migrants, and of villages where the proportion of migrants remain the same are explored in this study. We hope to provide our findings on migrants' residence distribution to local organizations responsible for residential planning in order to better prepare in migration management.

Theoretical Background

(Michael Fletcher, 1999)

Over the past half century, changes in the way settlement is thought of have reflected changes in the relationship between the host society and migrant groups and changes in the character and patterns of migration itself (P.6). The notion of assimilation, prevailing in the post-war period, posits that migrants should assimilate into their new society, without significantly altering it or requiring active change on its part. Successful settlement was "the achievement of invisibility by the migrant," that is neither migrants as a whole or individual national groups should remain visible in the sense of having special needs beyond the initial period of arrival (cited in Morrissey et

al, 1991: 25). Assimilation notion has been questioned since the late 1990 as an appropriate objective of migrant settlement. Many migrant groups in Australia, Canada, and the U.S. appeared not to be assimilating materially in the sense of attaining comparable social and economic outcomes. The notion of cultural assimilation is seen as dehumanizing and contrary to human rights (p.7).

Assimilationism is replaced by the concepts of multicultural society, adopted by Canada and Australia as official policy in the 1970. The concepts emphasize every person's right to retain their own culture and to have full access to society and government services. It implies that settlement was a two-way process involving change by both migrant and the host society. In terms of policy perspective, multiculturalism implies an obligation on government to ensure that all migrants had access to services and were able to retain their cultural heritage without disadvantage (p.7).

Increasing mobility and globalization imply what is meant by "commitment", while still relevant, needs to be re-thought. Integration and settlement are unlikely to be so closely linked with once-only migration and abandonment of most active ties with the home country. (p.8)

Approach

Our study site is Kanchanaburi, the largest border province between Myanmar and Thailand. Five of its 13 administrative districts border Myanmar: Sankhlaburi, Thongpapoom, Saiyok, Danmakamtia, and Meoung. Kanchanaburi is a first point of arrival for many immigrants, documented and undocumented, from Myanmar. According to a recent World Bank report (2006: 27), fewer than 10 percent of migrants from Myanmar hold any legal documents when entering Thailand. The population of Kanchanaburi is ethnically heterogeneous, consisting of Thais, Burmese ethnics who have been living in the country potentially for generations, and recent migrants, primarily from Myanmar.

The dataset we use is the Kanchanaburi Demographic Surveillance System (KDSS). Starting in 2000, the KDSS has collected data from all households and household

members living in 100 villages and urban communities throughout the 13 districts of Kanchanaburi. The data for this study comes from the 2000 and 2004 rounds of data collection.

The KDSS is a stratified systematic sample of census blocks and villages. The urban sample consists of 14 census blocks and six villages with a significant proportion of the labor force employed in industries. The rural sample is divided into four strata depending on location and type of crops grown: rice-growing villages in lowland areas; cassava or sugar growing villages in lowland areas; upland villages; and mixed economy villages that do not fall into one of these categories.

Immigrant status is measured by place of birth. The KDSS asks whether an individual was born in Thailand, or not. People of Burmese descent are the dominant minority group in Kanchanaburi Province by far, and some have been living there for decades, in some cases, for generations. We then aggregated number of individuals born outside Thailand, divided by number of whole population in each village, multiplied by 100 to be the percentage of migrants for each village. We did this for 2000 and 2004 rounds of the data. A variable "percentage increase of migrants in each village" was then created. A village with positive difference of percentage of migrants in 2004 and 2000 is considered percentage increased.

Village characteristics included in analysis models are selected based on data availability in order to proxy village's development and prosperity. The characteristics include amount of land used for agriculture, percentage of household owned no land, percentage of villagers working in agricultural sector, percentage of villagers finished more than primary education, number of household in the village, distance from village to district town, whether there is a bus route from village to district town, whether there is secondary school present in the village.

Results

Across villages, the percentage of migrants tends to increase over the 4 years period of the KDSS census. Table 1 indicates share of migrants in total population of 100 villages in 2000 and 2004. In 2000, over 100 villages, the percentage of migrants

ranges from no migrants in the village to 40%. The maximum percentage increases to 79% four years later. Mean of percentage of migrants increases from 3% to 5% between 2000 and 2004. Categorizing villages by percentage of migrants provides consistent results that, overall, the percentage of migrants tends to increase. While the percentage of villages with no more than 5 percent of migrants was 87% in 2000, the figure decreases to 81% in 2004. Meanwhile, the proportion of villages with more than 20% of migrants increases from 4% in 2000 to 11% in 2004. (See also Map1)

Across strata, while the average share of migrants of villages in all strata increases, we see little change of migrant residential distribution between the five rounds of the KDSS study. Villages with high share of migrants are concentrated in Upland stratum. The increase of percentage of migrants also mostly occurred in this stratum (as shown in Table 4 discussed later).

Table 2 shows some village characteristics comparing across villages with different shares of migrants. There are some differences observed among villages with high and low levels of migrants. The differences in village characteristics seem to be related to resources available in the village and agricultural activity. Data show that the amount of land used for agricultural purpose, measured as number of Rai (equivalent to 1600 m^2), is smallest among villages which have migrants more than 20%. The average amount of agricultural land is about the same for villages having smaller percentage of migrants. Percentage of population in the village engaged in agriculture seems to be smaller for villages with higher than 10% of migrants. At the same time, villages with high volume of migrants are likely to be those with high percentage of household having no land. In addition, villages with high volume of migrants tend to be villages with low proportion of population finished more than primary education. In short, descriptive analysis seems to suggest that villages with high percentage of migrants are disadvantaged than those with low percentage of migrants.

Using least square techniques to explore village characteristics which are significantly related to percentage of migrants in multivariate analysis provides results in Table 3. We use village characteristics measured in 2000 to explore whether they are related to share of migrants in total village population in 2004. Results indicate that high percentage of migrants is significantly related to smaller amount of land for

agriculture, smaller percentage of people working in agriculture, higher percentage of household with no land, smaller percentage of people finished more than primary education, and higher number of households in the village. Consistent with descriptive analysis, controlling for other characteristics in the model, villages with high percentage of migrants tend to be villages that have less resource, especially agricultural resource including land which may explain fewer people engaged in agricultural activities. Looking at proportion of villagers finished more than primary education, results also suggest that residence of migrants seems to be less developed.

We further explore change of the percentage of migrants between 2000 and 2004. Descriptive table (Table 4) indicates that 37% of villages in KDSS experience an increase in percentage of migrants implying gaining migrants over time. Villages in Upland and Mixed economy strata gain migrants relatively higher than villages in other strata, while villages in Rice stratum receive migrants relatively smaller between 2000 and 2004 (See Map 2).

Using bivariate analysis, we then explored whether village with an increase in share of migrants have different characteristics from villages with no increase, either decrease or no change (Table 5). Similar to the analysis looking at village characteristics associated with percentage of migrants shown earlier, we measured village characteristics in 2000. Village experienced the increase in percentage of migrants seem to be have higher amount of agricultural land but smaller share of population in agricultural sector, higher percentage of households having no land, larger number of household, has secondary school in the village, located far from district 20 km or more, and has bus route to district.

We further explored village characteristics associated with the increase in percentage of migrants between 2000 and 2004 using multivariate analysis, i.e. logistic model. Results (Table 6) suggest somewhat different pictures from the earlier findings. Only two characteristics of villages show significant relationship with the increase in share of migrants to village population between 2000 and 2004, i.e. higher percentage of people having no land and larger number of households

While small amount of land for agricultural activities is associated with high percentage of migrants in 2000, it has no significant association with the percentage increase in migrants between 2000 and 2004. By contrast, the percentage of household having no land shows a significantly positive relationship with both the percentage of migrants and with the increase in share of migrants. Migrants tend to live in villages with smaller amount of agricultural land, with higher percentage of households with no land, smaller percentage of people finishing higher than primary education, and larger number of households. Meanwhile, migrants tend to move to villages with higher percentage of households with no land and villages with larger number of households.

The above results suggest that villages with relatively high volume of immigrants and receive more immigrants over time seem more disadvantaged (smaller amount of agricultural land, higher percentage of household owned no land, and smaller percentage of people holding at least secondary education) compared to villages with relatively low level of migrants.

We then turn to individual perspective to explore contributors of migrants' moving out of the village where they were staying in 2000. Our aim is to explore whether village characteristics really matter for migrants whether to stay or to move on to other places. Migrants interviewed in 2000 that we failed to follow-up in 2004 were considered moved out. Descriptive table shows some village and individual characteristics of 1,271 migrants interviewed in 2000. Among them, 672 or 53% moved out after 2000. We see from Table7 that the differences between migrants who moved and who stayed were more observable for individual characteristics than village characteristics.

Further multivariate analysis confirms that whether migrants moved or stayed in the village found in 2000 depends largely on individual characteristics than village characteristics (Table 8). Only two village characteristics are related to moving out among migrants, i.e. number of households and whether villages located far from district at least 20 km. Migrants who lived in villages with larger number of households and in a faraway village were less likely to move out. Migrants were more

likely to move out if they were male, young migrants, single migrants, and those who expected to move.

Conclusion

Using data of 100 villages of KDSS in 2000 and 2004, we found little change in residential distribution of migrants, measured by individuals aged 15 and older born outside Thailand. Villages with high share of migrant are segregated in the Upland stratum. The increase in the share of migrants to village population was also found mostly in this stratum. Some village characteristics significantly associated with high share of migrants were observed. Villages with a high share of migrants tend to be disadvantaged in terms of land resource and levels of development. Our findings show that the large percentage of migrants is associated with the higher percentage of household owned no land. In addition, the less amount of land used for agriculture, the smaller percentage of villagers finished more than primary education, and the larger number of households, the larger the percentage of migrants in the village.

Overtime, the average share of migrants in total village population is on the rise, from 3% in 2000 to 5% in 2004, ranging from 0 to 40% in 2000 and to 79% in 2004. Village characteristics associated with the percentage increase of migrants were the higher percentage of household owned no land and the larger number of household. Analyses at individual level show that in addition to individual characteristics, migrants who lived in bigger villages or in faraway villages were less likely to move out.

Findings clearly indicate not only that migrants are segregated in specific villages, they were also segregated in disadvantaged communities, especially in terms of land availability. In fact, residential segregation among migrants is consistently found in other studies in other setting (e.g. Wu. 2008). Previous analysis in this setting (Jampaklay, Entwisle, and Hagan. Under review) suggest that living in communities with high share of migrants is negatively related to economic status, both for Thai population and for migrants themselves. Living in disadvantaged villages becomes cumulative disadvantages for migrants. At the same time, living in communities with high share of Thai population is associated with positive economic status of migrants.

The persistence of migrant residential segregation in disadvantaged communities, therefore, should receive special attention. In order for better assimilation, economically and socially, migrant residential distribution and dispersion within Thai communities should be encouraged.

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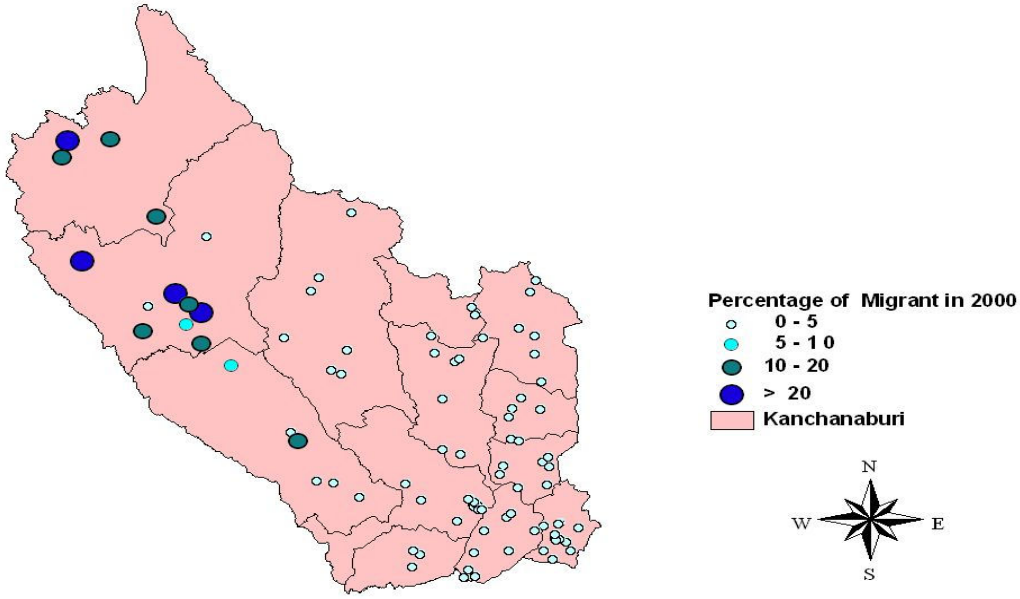
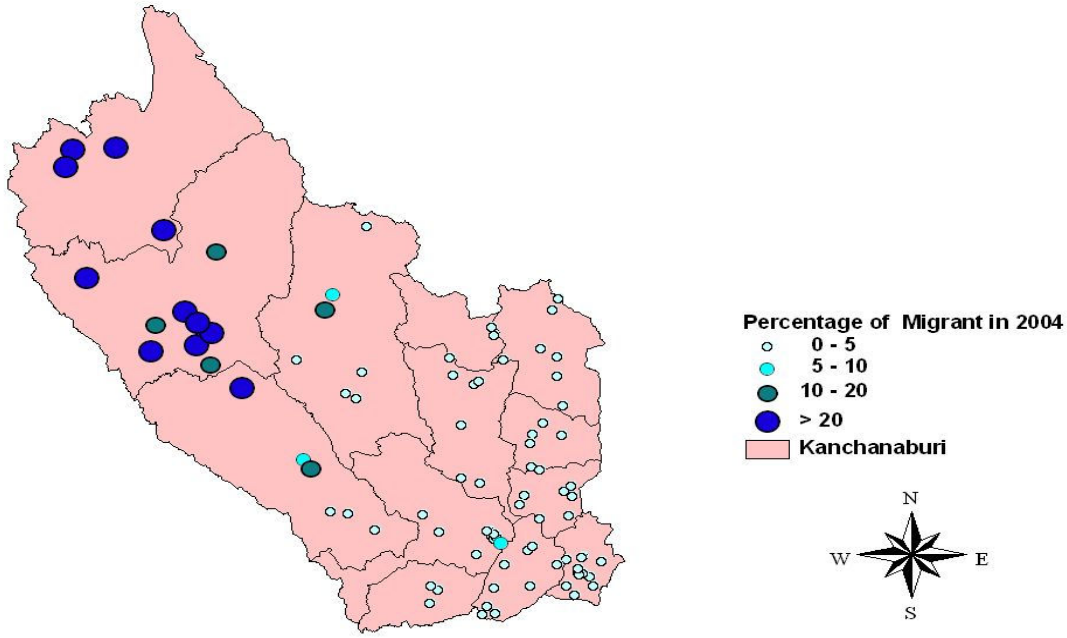
Percentage of Migrant in KDSS: 2000



Percentage of Mgrant in KDSS: 2004



Map1