Segmented Assimilation: A Comparison of the Factors Related to the Adjustment of Domestic and International Muslim Migrants to Bangkok

Kathleen Ford[1] and Aree Jampaklay[2]

Abstract

This paper uses segmented migration theory to consider differences in demographic characteristics, adjustment and concerns between domestic and international Muslim migrants to Bangkok. Face-to-face individual interviews were conducted with 183 international and 104 domestic male and female migrants. Both the domestic and international migrants adjusted reasonably well to life in Bangkok. Most were employed at the time of the survey and were at least moderately satisfied with their lives in Bangkok. The domestic male migrants were on average younger than the international migrants and most had migrated to Bangkok when they were young adults. Many of the migrants had university education (52% male domestic, 60% female domestic, 40% male international, and 29% female international). The migrants also reported concerns about their future lives and difficulty with language. The Islamic faith and Islamic education were important factors in the adjustment of the migrants to Bangkok.

Keywords

Muslim; Bangkok; religious practice; Islamic religion; segmented assimilation theory

Introduction and Background

Muslims comprise about five percent of the population in Thailand. While there is some social research on Thai Muslims (Gilquin, 2005; Knodel, Gray, Srinatcharin, & Perocca, 1999) research on migrant Muslims in Thailand is rather limited. We know very little about their life, thoughts, plans and adaptation to Thailand and to the Thai Muslim community. This knowledge and understanding is essential for an increasingly multicultural society like Thailand (Jampaklay, Ford, & Prasittima, 2013). Using a unique data set that includes both international and domestic migrants, this paper describes differences in demographic characteristics, adjustment and concerns between domestic and international migrants, and examines factors related to their adaptation to life in Bangkok.

Both political and economic motivations may bring both international and domestic migrants to Bangkok. International migrants have come to Thailand from areas where there has been conflict such as Afghanistan and Pakistan. These international migrants may also be drawn to business opportunities in Bangkok. Many international migrants have also been

[1] Institute for Population and Social Research, Mahidol University, Salaya, Nakhon Pathom, Thailand and School of Public Health, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan, USA.
  Email: kford@umich.edu
[2] Institute for Population and Social Research, Mahidol University, Salaya, Nakhon Pathom, Thailand.

coming from Myanmar, where Muslims have been experiencing difficult times as a minority as well as limited employment opportunities in their home country.

Bangkok is also an attractive destination for domestic migrants. They may be drawn to Bangkok because of Thailand's economic development as well as the educational opportunities in the area. The Muslim population has been concentrated in the southern provinces of Thailand (Jampaklay, Chamratrithirong, Ford & Hayeete, 2011). In recent years, the southern provinces may be losing population due to conflict and violence that has reduced the quality of life of the Muslim population. Due to conflicts with the Thai government, the southern provinces of Thailand have been experiencing a period of unrest for many years. The unrest has included frequent violence including executions of civilian and military personnel as well as roadside and urban bombings. The southern provinces also have limited educational opportunities compared to Bangkok.

On arrival in a new area, migrants may work to develop ties with the community and to create new social networks (Kuo & Tsai, 1986). These networks may include members of the migrants' own community as well as members of the host society. There is some evidence that contacts within migrants' own community may be beneficial in preserving newcomers' mental health (Kuo & Tsai, 1986; Banchevska, 1981) and avoiding economic exploitation (Portes, 1983). Furthermore, contacts within the host community may promote access to further economic opportunities as well as health information and services (Ford, Chamratrithirong, Apipornchaisakul, Panichupak & Pinyosinwat, 2014).

Religious affiliation has been of importance to the adaptation of migrants in many areas of the world. For migrants of the Christian and Jewish faiths in the twentieth century in the United States, participation in an ethnic church or temple often provided socioeconomic opportunities, social recognition and a refuge from stigma and discrimination (Hirschman, 2004).

For Muslim immigrants to Australia, *masjid*[3]—places of worship for Muslims—became an important place for guidance, education and welfare (Bouma, Daw & Munawar, 2001). *Masjid* provided a community of people who shared important aspects of life, information about halal food, and persons who understood the Muslim way of life (Kabir, 2007). Even Muslims who had not been active in *masjid* in their country of origin were drawn into a deeper level of involvement after migration to Australia (Bouma et al., 2001).

Other studies of contemporary Muslim migrants have found an association with religious changes (Osella & Gardner, 2004; Roy, 2004; Kibria, 2008; Ballard, 1989; Kurien, 2002; Simpson, 2004). Both long-term settlement in Europe and North America and short-term migration to the Middle East were found to be associated with a more visible commitment to religion (Kibria, 2008). This religious change may be related to the development of a new identity, particularly among international migrants. As they consider long-term residence in a new location, their previous nationality may become less important. The experience of migrants in Britain indicated that their Muslim identity became more important than a national identity over time (Thomas & Sanderson, 2011).

When Muslim migrants move to an environment where Islam is not normative and institutionalized, they have to adjust to religious minority status and stigmatization (Kibria,

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[3] Masjid is the Arabic word for a place of Muslim worship. The English equivalent is the word mosque.

2008). This stigmatization may be amplified when the perceived international threat of militant Islam by the host community has a further negative impact on the migrants (Kabir, 2007). Indeed, Bulut and Ebaugh (2013) noted that Turkish Muslims in the U.S. worked to dissociate themselves from Arab Muslims, who may be perceived as associated with militant Islam.

Segmented Adaptation Theory

Segmented adaptation theory may provide a useful framework for considering the comparative adaptation to Bangkok of international and domestic migrants (Portes & Zhou, 1993; Skop, 2001). This model focuses on three issues to understand the adaptation of migrants: 1) the conditions of departure; 2) the initial resources immigrants bring with them; and 3) the social/economic context in the host culture (Portes & Bosocz, 1989). Differences in these factors may lead to differences in socioeconomic trajectories and levels of adaptation of different groups. This paper uses this framework when considering differences between the international and domestic migrants in demographic characteristics, current work, concerns about life in Bangkok, religious practice and perceived adaptation to Bangkok.

Methods

Study sample

Data were collected from both international Muslim migrants (those born in a country other than Thailand) who are currently living in the Bangkok metropolitan area, as well as domestic Muslim migrants (those born outside of the Bangkok area who had recently moved to Bangkok). Our survey did not include Muslims who were descendants of migrants originally from other countries who settled in Thailand in Bangkok generations ago. Our sample included 183 international Muslim migrants (155 males and 28 females) as well as 104 domestic Muslim migrants (54 males and 50 females). This study received ethical approval from the Institute for Population and Social Research's Institutional Review Board (IRB) before the fieldwork began.[4]

Fieldwork

To reach international Muslim migrants, we began at *masjids*, places of worship for Muslims. In Bangkok alone, there are almost 200 *masjids*. Using key informants at Bangkok *masjids*, we identified respondents from areas near *masjids* in all of the known places of residence for foreign Muslims including the Bangrak, Nana, Charoen Krung, Pratunam, Pattanakarn and Kaew Nimit areas of Bangkok.

The fieldwork was conducted from February through December, 2012. About 10 part-time interviewers were hired for the study. Due to difficulty in recruiting interviewers who spoke both English and Thai fluently, only some of the staff were able to interview in English. Our interviewers presented participants with an official letter from the Director of the Institute

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[4] The document of approval (COA – Certificate of Approval) is numbered COA 2012/1-1-02.

for Population and Social Research (IPSR) at Mahidol University inviting respondents to participate in the study, an information sheet explaining the research and a consent form.

To reach migrant respondents, we contacted some of them through coordinators located at the *masjids*. Although there were cases where the *Imam*[5] helped out with taking interviewers to meet and interview migrant Muslims, this did not happen very often. Though they were generally willing to help, the role of the coordinator and the *Imam* in persuading Muslim immigrants to give an interview for our study was limited. From our observation, some *Imam*s and *masjids* did not have close contact with migrants. For some migrants, a *masjid* was merely a place to pray and did not connect them with the *Imam* or with local Thai Muslims. A number of the successful interviews were with Muslim migrants who regularly pray at *masjid* and saw our interviewers there several times. The interviewers became familiar to them and they eventually gave the interview. The recruiting process may have led to bias in the samples of migrants. Because most international migrants were connected with the *masjid* the sample may be biased toward the more religious migrants or those who prefer to pray at the *masjid* rather than at home. The larger number of men likely represents a greater number of male migrants in the area as well as greater male attendance at the *masjid*.

Domestic respondents were recruited mainly through the social networks of the field workers. Interviews took place at residences, restaurants and coffee shops. Because the field staff was well educated, they tended to recruit others who were well educated. Consequently, the domestic sample included a large number of well-educated migrants and is likely to be underrepresentative of less educated migrants.

Measurement and statistical methods

Demographic Variables

Area of origin included country of origin for international migrants and Thai province for domestic migrants.
- Age was measured in single years.
- Age at migration was estimated by subtracting years since migration from current age.
- Years since migration was the number of years since migration.
- Years in Bangkok was the number of years in Bangkok.
- Secular education was coded as none, primary, lower secondary, upper secondary or vocational, and university or graduate school.
- Islamic education was coded as none, *Ibtidaiyyah* (Years 1-4), *Mutawasitah* (Years 5-7), *Sanawee* (Years 8-10), higher than *Sanawee*, *Jamiah* (Islamic University) and other.
- Nationality of spouse was coded as Thai, same country as migrant or different country from migrant other than Thailand.
- Marital status was coded as married or not.
- The main reason for coming to Bangkok was coded in 10 categories (see Table 3).
- Current work status was coded into several categories (see Table 4.)
- Respondents were also asked about their top concerns or what they were concerned about the most. This concern was coded in categories (see Table 5).

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[5] An *Imam* is an Islamic leadership position, most commonly in the context of a worship leader of a *masjid* and Muslim community (for Sunni Muslims only).

- Change in faith after migration was coded in five categories: became stronger, became somewhat stronger, no change, became somewhat weaker and became weaker.
- Strictness of Islamic practice was self-reported and coded as very strict, fairly strict, not very strict and do not care to practice.
- Adaptation to life in Bangkok was measured with the question "How well have you adapted to life in Bangkok?" with the responses very well (4), fairly well (3), a little (2) and not at all (1).
- Ability to understand and speak Thai language was coded as very good, good, somewhat good and not at all. This question was only asked of international migrants.

Significance of differences in tables was determined by chi-square tests for categorical variables and analysis of variance for continuous variables. The dependent variable in the multivariate analysis in Table 7 is self-reported adjustment to Bangkok at the time of the survey. This measure was used as the dependent variable because it is our main question of interest. Other events such as a change in faith must have occurred by the time of the survey.

Ordinal logistic regression analysis was used for the models in Table 7 due to the ordinal nature of the dependent variable. Ordinal logistic regression is an extension of logistic regression (used for binary dependent variables) allowing for more than two (ordered) response categories (Fullerton, 2009). The results are displayed as proportional odds ratios which can be interpreted in a similar way to odds ratios from logistic regression. For example, the odds ratio of "faith became stronger" represents the effect of reporting that faith became stronger on the odds of reporting the highest satisfaction level vs. the other levels.

Results

Area of Origin

Table 1 shows the countries or provinces of origin of the migrants. About 39% of the migrants came from Southeast Asia, with Myanmar (28%) contributing the largest group. Another 30% came from South Asia, with India and Pakistan contributing the most immigrants from this area. The Middle East and Africa were also the sending areas for a considerable number of immigrants.

Almost all of the domestic migrants came from the southern provinces of Thailand. Narathiwat and Pattani were the two largest sending provinces. In addition to being provinces with large Muslim populations, both of these provinces have experienced conflict in recent years (Jampaklay et al., 2011). Countries or provinces that included at least 2% of the migrant population are shown.

Table 1: Area of origin of domestic and international migrants

International Migrants		Domestic Migrants	
Southeast Asia	%	*Thai province*	%
Myanmar	28.4	Narathiwat	24.0
Indonesia	8.2	Pattani	14.4
Malaysia	2.2	Satun	8.6
Total Southeast Asia	38.8	Songkhla	8.6
South Asia		Yala	8.6
Pakistan	15.8	Nakhon Si Thammarat	7.7
India	10.4	Krabi	7.7
Bangladesh	2.4	Trang	4.8
Other	1.0	Phattalung	2.9
Total South Asia	29.6	Petchaburi	2.9
Total Middle East	13.6	Other	9.8
Total Africa	15.8		
Europe, US, Japan	2.2		
N	183	N	104

Demographics

The demographics of the international and domestic migrants are shown in Table 2. The average age of the male international migrants was higher than that of the male domestic migrants (34.5 vs. 27.1, p<.01), while the average ages for females was similar between the two groups. In terms of secular education, the domestic migrants had more education, with more than half having university education, although almost half of male international migrants also possessed university education. However, more than a quarter of international migrants had primary or no education. The domestic migrants were more likely to have more Islamic as well as secular education (p<.01). The international migrants were also more likely to be married (p<.01) and the majority of migrants' spouses were from their sending country.

Motivation for Migration

The reasons for coming to Bangkok are shown in Table 3. The main reasons for male international migrants to come to Bangkok were that they were told about a job (28.4%), or they came to start a business or had a work transfer (26.4%). Some were persuaded by their family. For international female migrants, the most common reason was being persuaded by her family. Some women were also told about a job. Among domestic migrants, the main reason for coming to Bangkok was for study or training.

Table 2: Demographic characteristics of domestic and international migrants

Demographic characteristics	International		Domestic	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
Age				
Mean	34.5	26.0	27.1	25.1
Range	13-67	16-37	18-52	19-53
Age at migration				
Less than 18	9.1	13.0	11.1	8.0
18-24	23.2	52.2	66.7	76.0

Demographic characteristics	International		Domestic	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
25-35	37.3	34.8	18.5	14.0
36-65	30.3	0.0	3.7	2.0
Years since migration				
Less than 1	29.6	8.7	13.0	14.0
1-5	48.6	65.2	33.3	60.0
6 or more	21.8	26.1	53.7	26.0
Secular education				
None	10.3	7.1	0.0	0.0
Primary	14.2	25.0	5.6	4.0
Lower secondary	9.0	14.3	13.0	4.0
Upper secondary/vocational	26.4	25.0	29.6	32.0
University or graduate	40.0	28.6	51.8	60.0
Islamic education				
None	21.3	14.8	7.4	2.0
Ibtidaiyyah	4.7	20.0	24.1	20.0
Mutawasitah	7.3	56.0	40.7	56.0
Sanawee	14.7	20.0	22.2	20.0
Higher than Sanawee	4.0	0.0	1.8	0.0
Jamiah	19.3	0.0	1.8	0.0
Other	28.7	1.6	1.8	2.0
Married	61.3	82.1	25.9	18.0
Spouse Thai	6.2	4.2	100.0	100
Spouse same country	89.7	95.9	-	-
Spouse other country	4.1	0.0	-	-
N	154	28	54	50

Table 3: Reasons for coming to Bangkok of domestic and international migrants

Main reason for moving to Bangkok	International		Domestic	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
Told about a job	28.4	14.3	16.7	16.0
Business or transfer	26.4	7.1	9.3	8.0
Persuaded by friend	7.7	7.1	5.6	2.0
Easy to enter Thailand	7.7	0.0	-	-
Suggested by broker	6.4	7.1	-	-
Persuaded by family	11.1	42.9	11.1	0.0
Earn money	3.7	10.7	3.7	4.0
Study/training	3.9	3.6	50.0	70.0
Other	6.4	7.1	3.7	0.0
N	154	28	54	50

Current Work Status

Almost all of the male international migrants were employed at the time of the survey (Table 4). The most common type of work was being self-employed/working in a family business, followed by sales. Fewer international female migrants were employed compared to males, and their most common work areas were sales, self-employed/family business or professional/Academic work.

Among male domestic migrants, almost all were employed and the most common types of work were services and sales. Among female domestic migrants, most were employed and the most common types of work were communications/transportation, sales and professional/academic work.

Table 4: Current work of domestic and international migrants

Current work	International		Domestic	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
Self-employed/family business	40.9	10.7	9.3	6.0
Professional/academic	7.1	10.7	9.3	12.0
Clerical	1.3	0.0	0.0	8.0
Managerial	5.2	3.6	13.0	2.0
Manual/factory	11.0	7.1	3.7	0.0
Services	3.3	0.0	33.3	16.0
Communications/transportation	0.7	0.0	0.0	0.0
Sales	19.5	25.0	22.2	20.0
Student	1.9	3.6	1.8	18.0
Housemaid	0.0	3.6	0.0	0.0
Unemployed	5.2	32.1	0.0	4.0
Other	3.9	3.6	7.4	14.0
N	155	28	54	50

Concerns

The most important concerns cited by the international male migrants (Table 5) were difficulty with language (17.8%) and their future life (13.2%). Other concerns were family in the country of origin, children's education and economic security. Female international migrants were also concerned with difficulty with language, their future life, family in the home country and children's education.

Among domestic male migrants, important concerns were divided among many factors. These included lack of free time, economic security, their future life, family in their home province and difficulty with language. Among domestic females, their top concerns were their future life, family in their home province and the lack of free time.

Table 5: Top concerns of domestic and international migrants to Bangkok

Concerns	International		Domestic	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
Future Life	13.2	14.3	11.1	34.0
Family in country/ home province	9.2	10.7	11.1	20.0
Lack Free Time	0.0	3.6	14.8	12.0
Difficulty with language	17.8	35.7	11.1	8.0
Child Education	9.9	10.7	7.4	2.0
Economic security	9.9	0.0	13.0	6.0
Family	0.0	6.6	9.3	6.0
Respondent's Health	9.2	3.6	1.8	2.0
Homesick	6.7	7.1	5.6	4.0
Unemployed	5.9	7.1	0.0	0.0
N	152	28	54	50

Religious Practice

Many migrants reported changes in their religious practice after migration (Table 6). Among male international migrants, almost half reported that their faith had become stronger and others reported that their faith had become somewhat stronger. Among female international migrants, less change was reported with more than half of these women reporting no change in faith after migration. However, about a quarter reported that their faith had become stronger and some reported that their faith had become somewhat stronger.

Table 6: Religious practice, change in faith and adaptation to life in Bangkok of domestic and international migrants

Descriptions	International		Domestic	
	Male (%)	Female (%)	Male (%)	Female (%)
Change in faith after migration				
Became stronger	42.3	23.1	16.7	22.0
Became fairly stronger	12.1	19.2	24.1	26.0
No change	36.9	53.8	38.9	42.0
Became fairly weaker	8.0	3.5	14.8	10.0
Became weaker	0.7	0.0	3.7	0.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Islamic practice				
Very strictly	46.4	26.6	20.4	16.0
Fairly strictly	43.1	40.0	63.0	76.0
Not very strictly	10.5	21.4	14.8	8.0
Do not care	0.7	3.7	1.8	0.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Adaptation to life in Bangkok				
Not at all	2.0	0.0	5.6	6.0
A little	17.0	17.9	9.3	12.0
Fairly	51.6	50.0	68.5	56.0
Very much	29.4	32.1	16.67	26.0
Listening and speaking Thai language (1-4)	2.0	2.3	-	-
N	152	28	54	50

Among domestic migrants, many respondents also reported an increase in faith, though to a lesser extent than international migrants. Among males, less than 20% reported that their faith became stronger and about a quarter reported that their faith had become somewhat stronger. Among females, about 20% reported that their faith had become stronger and about a quarter reported that their faith had become somewhat stronger.

Respondents self-reported their level of Islamic practice. Most male international migrants reported a strict level of practice with almost half reporting that they practice very strictly and many others reporting that they practice fairly strictly. Female migrants also reported a strict level of practice. Domestic migrants also reported a strict level of religious practice, although domestic men did not report that they practice very strictly as often as the international male migrants (domestic 20%, international 46%, *p<.01*).

Adaptation to life in Bangkok

Respondents were asked how they had adapted to life in Bangkok on a scale from one (not at all) to four (very much). All four groups of migrants reported similar levels of adjustment. The most common response was three, meaning "fairly adapted."

Table 7 shows an ordinal logistic model of factors related to perceived adaptation to life in Bangkok. Ordinal logistic models are shown for the total sample and for male and female migrants. Looking first at the total model, age, marital status, domestic or international sample, secular education, male gender and years in Bangkok were not significantly related to adjustment. However, migrants with more Islamic education reported greater adjustment to life in Bangkok. The odds ratio was 1.11 (*p=.01*). In addition, migrants who reported that their faith had become stronger reported increased adjustment to Bangkok. The odds ratio was 1.45 (*p= .00*).

Among the male migrants, both Islamic education and faith becoming stronger were significantly related to adjustment. An increase in the level of Islamic education increased adjustment to Bangkok. The odds ratio was 1.20 (*p=.02*). An increase of a level of faith also increased adjustment to Bangkok. The odds ratio was 1.32 (*p=.04*).

Among the female migrants, the domestic migrants reported a lower level of adjustment. The odds ratio was 0.27 (*p=.09*). Secular education was also related to adjustment. Women with more education were more likely to report greater adjustment. The odds ratio was 1.63 (*p=.07*). Reporting that faith becoming stronger was significantly related to female migrant adjustment. The odds ratio was 2.27 (*p=.00*).

Table 7: Proportional odds ratios from ordinal regression analysis of factors related to migrant adaptation by gender

Factors	Adaptation to Bangkok					
	Total		Male		Female	
	Odds Ratio	s.e. (p)	Odds Ratio	s.e. (p)	Odds Ratio	s.e. (p)
Age	1.00	0.02 (.76)	1.01	0.02 (.47)	1.01	0.06 (0.81)
Married	0.63	0.19 (.13)	0.57	0.21 (.12)	0.70	0.48 (.61)
Domestic (1) vs. International (0)	0.73	0.25 (.35)	0.92	0.36 (.83)	0.27	0.21 (0.09)
Secular education	1.11	0.13 (.34)	1.05	0.13 (.72)	1.63	0.44 (.07)
Islamic education	1.19	0.08 (.01)	1.20	0.09 (.02)	1.22	0.22 (.28)
Male gender	0.70	0.22 (.25)	-		-	
Faith became stronger	1.45	0.17 (.00)	1.32	0.18 (.04)	2.27	0.62 (.00)
Years in Bangkok	1.01	0.03 (.73)	1.00	0.03 (.98)	0.99	0.08 (.96)
Log likelihood	-254.5		-182.8		-67.18	
N	256		186		104	

Summary and Discussion

The objective of this paper is to describe differences in demographic characteristics, concerns and adjustment of domestic and international Muslim migrants to Bangkok. Both the domestic and international migrants adjusted reasonably well to life in Bangkok. Most were employed at the time of the survey and reported that they had adapted to life in Bangkok at least moderately well. The domestic male migrants were on average younger than the international migrants and most had migrated to Bangkok when they were age 18-24. Many of the male international migrants had migrated in their thirties or forties. Many of the migrants had university education (52% male domestic, 60% female domestic, 40% male international, 29% female international). The international migrants were more likely to start businesses than the domestic migrants. Many reported concerns about their future lives and difficulty with the local language (Thai). Islamic education and faith in the Islamic religion was important to the adjustment of the migrants.

As discussed above, segmented assimilation focuses on three issues to understand the adaptation of migrants: 1) the conditions of departure; 2) the initial resources immigrants bring with them; and 3) the social/economic context in the host culture. First, the conditions of departure were likely voluntary for both domestic and international migrants because they cited economic and educational opportunities as their main reason for migration. The migrants did not cite conflict as a reason for migration, although conflict in their areas of origin may have reduced economic opportunities in these sending areas. Most members of both groups moved to an area of better economic and educational opportunity.

In terms of the characteristics of the two groups that facilitated adjustment, the international migrants brought their education and their business skills, while the domestic migrants also brought their education as well as the academic ability needed to further their education. The domestic migrants may also have family resources at a more convenient distance.

The social/economic environment included a growing economy with opportunities for advanced education. The migrants took advantage of these economic and educational opportunities in Bangkok and the international migrants started businesses while the domestic migrants developed their skills through education.

Because the predominant religion in Bangkok is Buddhism, both groups entered an environment where Islam is not institutionalized or normative. The Islamic religion and ties within may have been important both to their social and their economic adjustment. Similar to studies in other countries (Osella & Gardner, 2004; Roy, 2004; Kibrya, 2008; Ballard, 1989; Kurien, 2002; Simpson, 2004), participants reported that the Muslim faith was important in migrant adjustment to Bangkok. Those who reported an increase in faith also reported a more positive adjustment to Bangkok.

This result is consistent with other studies that have noted that in moving to a different country and losing some of their previous national identity, faith may become the more important form of identity for Muslim migrants. In a British study, religious identity had become far more important than national identity among migrants (Thomas & Sanderson, 2011). The contacts made through the *masjid* may also assist in their socioeconomic integration into the community.

The study has some limitations. The data were from a convenience rather than a probability sample. Because respondents were recruited from *masjid areas*, the respondents in the study may have stronger religious ties than other migrants. Although attendance may be lower in Bangkok, a study of five southern provinces in Thailand reported that 100% of male Muslims and 98% of female Muslims go to a *masjid* on some occasions (Pew Research Center, 2012). Reports from the European Social Survey indicated that recent migrants were more likely to attend a *masjid* than longer term residents (Ervasti, as cited in Kaplan, 2014). The international migrants come from a diverse group of countries, and the sample size prevents us from conducting analyses stratified by country of origin. In addition, less educated migrants were underrepresented in the domestic sample.

Many of the differences between domestic and international migrants may be due to the differences in age at migration. The younger domestic migrants were more likely to come to Bangkok for education and were less likely to start businesses. The domestic migrants were also more likely to have concerns about not having enough free time. Difficulty with language was a concern for both the domestic and the international migrants. Language is an issue for some domestic migrants because many come from the southern provinces where Melayu is the most commonly spoken language.

Although many migrants came from countries such as Myanmar where there has been violence directed at Muslims, most migrants reported economic or educational reasons for migration. Political reasons for migration were generally not reported. The economic opportunities in Bangkok were cited as most important.

In summary, both domestic and international Muslim migrants adapted fairly well to life in Bangkok. Islamic and secular education and previous business experience as well as an increase in the Islamic faith were important factors in this adjustment.

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