

Migration to Southern Thailand : An Analysis of Lee's Theory

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Introduction

Lee (1966) states that there are four factors which enter into the decision to migrate and the process of migration: factors in the place of origin, factors related to the place of destination, intervening obstacles between the place of origin and the place of destination and individual factors. In each of the first three, there are many pull factors attracting people to migrate. At the same time there are push factors forcing people to move out. Both push and pull factors will affect different people in different ways. Some factors, though, would effect only certain people. This might be engendering positives in some people but negatives in others. Thus, any factor could produce different effects on different people.

Factors in the place of origin - A migration would start at the place of origin. This means that a person would move out or agree to leave his or her current place of living. This would require some influence or factor(s) that existed in the place of origin. The place of origin might have both push and pull factors. The push factors could be regarded as negatives, making people feel they want to leave their current communities.

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The pull factors could be regarded as positives, things prompting people to stay in their current communities. They change according to time and have different influences on different people. There are many pull factors. These include preferences for living locations, a caring family, good facilities, the ability to make a living and ownership of land. Others are having good homes, satisfactory yields from farming activities, a good climate, a comfortable environment, a faire justice system, an adequate income and sufficient social services. Social services are schools, hospitals, police stations and effective administration. At the same time, the place of origin will have push factors such as a lack of jobs, broken families and divorce, too much crime, no safety of life and property, little land to use to earn a living and inadequate living spaces. These are push factors causing migration.

Factors in the place of destination - At the place of destination there are three important factors. These are pull factors and push factors. Pull factors at the place of destination include high wages, more employment opportunities and the existence of good schools. Also, services are plentiful, there is an ample availability of shelter and lives and property are safe. Push factors include poverty, crime, unfriendly people, poor environmental conditions, hot weather, traffic congestion and land and houses are too expensive. Obstacles between the place of origin and the place of destination include the right to travel and problems in moving such as expenses, the amount of time needed and the various steps to be taken to reach the place of destination. If such obstacles are not too serious, this will help the migrants to decide easily. If there are low travel expenses it will not take an entire day, week or even a year to reach the destination. If the obstacles are too severe, they will impede migration.

In Lee's view, whether or not the migration will happen depends on the results of an assessment of the pros and cons of the old place of living versus the areas into which migration is contemplated. The migration will occur only if there are more favorable points than unfavorable ones. Migrants must be able to overcome the various obstacles that are impeding their migration. This will depend on the ability of the prospective migrants as to whether or not the obstacles can be overcome. People have unequal abilities. Everything mentioned above, including the land area, the density of

the population and social welfare services are the disadvantages and are the push factors leading to the out-migration. Consequently, push and pull factors and the intervening obstacles all have effects on migration. Obstacles may not have the same meaning or importance to all people. They may not be very meaningful to some people but others may not be able to overcome them at all. So that decisions about migration sometimes do not require complete reasoning. Some persons move without having the opportunity to decide : children following their parents and wives their husbands are examples.

Migrants who respond to pull factors at the place of destinations will have a positive preference higher than migrants who are pushed by factors at their place of origins. Lee was of the opinion that usually push factors at the place of origin have more important roles in causing the migration than do pull factors at the place of destinations. In general, migrants would have some characteristics similar to those of the population in their old communities. Such characteristics are not likely to change. At the same time, some of these characteristics are also similar to those of the population at the place of destinations. For example, migrants from rural areas tend to have higher education and better skills than the population in the same rural areas but lower than those of the population at the place of destination. Analyzing migration, Lee developed a series of hypothesis about the volume of migration, stream and counter stream and the characteristics of migrants.

The South is one part of Thailand having an abundance of natural resources. This brings a large amount of money to the country. This money comes from rubber and tin as well as from fishing and orchards that is income for the southern people. While there is also investment in the 6 provinces out of a total of 18 provinces in the country, according to the Thailand investment plan. The southern provinces receiving investment are Phuket, Nakhonsridhammaraj, Suratthani, Songkhla, Trang and Pattani. These provinces are at the top in each industrial section. This indicates the south is favored for industrial investment power (<http://www.investmentthailand.com>). This industrial promotion may be one factor influencing the choice of location of new residents. Considering investment money, there is an increase in the amount of investment in which brings about increased employment. There are more southern

people working in household industries than in any other places, except for those employed in industry. There are many advantages to this. For instance, the household industrial proportion per total households is 11.4 % higher than the other parts of the economy (National Statistical Office, 1995). This investment created varied occupations in the agricultural sector such as growing and milling rice. There are also employment opportunities outside the agricultural sector such as in the chemical and rubber industries. Weaving, which takes at least 6 to 11 months, creates continual employment and brings in per capita monthly income higher than the country average of 2,613 baht (National Statistical Office, 1995). Taking average wage per day into consideration that they are less than the country's average wage, but they are higher than that of the north and the northeastern parts of the country (Welfare and Labor Protection Department, 1995).

There are also factors supporting agricultural activities, other than the advantages of investment, occupations and wages. There was an increase in individual land holding in the south from 13.3 % in 1988 to 14.2 % in 1993 and to 14.9 % in 1998. However, the benefits from land usage are higher than in other parts of the country because the monsoon tropical climate causes more rain. The moisture is normal and supports the agricultural sector (National Statistical Office, 1990). But, a disadvantage for the southern region is that it is the least populated part of the country having only 13.78 % of the total population. The southern population density is 113.9 persons per square kilometer. This is less than the country's population density, which are only 4 persons per kilometer. This is considered to be rather high (National Statistical Office, 2000).

According to Lee (1966), individuals will take both the advantages and the disadvantages into consideration when making their decisions. When the advantages in the place of destination are more than in the place of origin, the migrant will move. For this reason, this study wants to examine the effects of push and pull factors including the influences of intervening obstacles variables whether they have any effects on potential migrants to migrate to the southern region or not. The findings from this investigation could provide some benefits to support policy makers to develop some

measure to serve potential migrants when they decided to move to the south. Similarly, the government could bring some results from this examination to promote development programs to support the growth in other parts of the country. This can then be adjusted so that the development process will facilitate equal development to all areas of Thailand.

Objectives

1. To investigate pattern of migration to southern region.
2. To examine consequences of factors that effect on in-migration to southern region.

Methodology and Data

Methodology

This research employs a cross-sectional research design. The purpose is to examine the current situation of migration pattern in southern region. The study uses not only data from the Survey of Migration which was conducted by the National Statistical Office in 1997, but also some secondary data sources when calculating some of the push and pull factors including migration efficiency index. The sample size is 16,936 individual 13-60 years old. Among this sample, 528 cases are the migrants who moved to the south. 8,421 are migrants who move to other regions. And there are 8,287 non-migrants who are still living at the place of origin when the 1997 migration survey took place. For this reason, the unit of analysis is individual.

Migration definition here measures from the process of geographical mobility that the potential migrants has moved across the provincial boundary to the southern provincial areas between 1995 and 1997. Bangkok is excluded. Because it is the outlying city that has high socioeconomic development. In addition, the place of origin and the place of destination were also classified into urban areas (municipal and sanitation areas) and rural areas (outside the municipal and sanitation areas).

Data analysis

There are two parts:

Part 1 investigates patterns of migration focusing on individual characteristics such as age, sex, level of education, marital status, occupation, and reason of move.

Part 2 examines the consequences of factors that have effects on migration to southern region. These include not only the push and pull factors, but look at the intervening obstacle variables as well. Multinomial Logistic Regression (MLOGIT) under the process of simulation of the predicted probabilities is employed. Details of variables for this examination are as follows.

Dependent variable means migrations being classified as moving into the places of destination that is various provinces in the southern region. The places of origin means various provinces not situated in the southern region. There are three categories for this dependent variable. They are 1.) No-moving, 2.) Move to southern region, and 3.) Move to other region.

Independent variables

Factors effecting in-migration to the southern region consist of push and pull factors as well as intervening obstacle factors. Migration indexes and individual factors are controlled variables that consist of age, sex, marital status, occupation and education. Below are descriptions of each variable.

Push and Pull Factors

The push and pull factors are measured at the provincial level both at the place of origin and the place of destination.

1. Level of urbanization, uses one indicator, which is urbanization as measured by the population living in the municipal boundary or sanitation boundary. This is compared with the total population of the province.

2. Level of industrial development, using one indicator that is the number of working persons employed persons per 100 total population aged 13 and over in each province.

3. Level of social services, using 2 indicators, namely:

1) Rate of education: the number of population aged between 6 and 29 years who are still in schools in the province per 100 total population aged 6 to 29 years in that province.

2) Ratio between the number of population and physician.

4. Level of abundance using one indicator that is the abundance of nature. It consists of two indicators:

1) Quantity of rainfall throughout the year which was measured from rainfalls in each month combined (in millimeters) from January to December of the year of the study in the province.

2) Relative humidity measured from the levels of relative humidity in each province in that year.

5. Safety of life and property, using one indicator that is the ratio of safety measures. This is measured by comparing the number of police officers in the province to the number of people.

Intervening obstacle factors

Existence or nonexistence of social networks for migrants:

1. Existence of social networks for the migrants to contact in order to seek employment through employment offices of the Labor Skill Development Agency, employment service firms of the private sector or relatives, friends or acquaintances.

2. Without social networks, migrants who left their old jobs must make contacts by themselves in order to seek employment.

Results

Pattern of In-migration to Southern Region

A. Sociodemographic Pattern

Migrants into the southern region are more likely to be males than females. On average they are 30 years old, while the average age of females is about 29.

More males are single rather than married by about 16 percent. Females who migrate to the southern region are more likely to be married than being single, also by about 16 percent. In regard to education, it is found that males who migrated into the southern region finished higher education more so than females by about 20 percent. This is because work in the southern region needs skilled labor. This leads to the in-migration of males to the southern region. Among those who finished primary education 49.6 percent were female migrants and 48.5 percent of them finished secondary education. There were more female skilled workers or professionals than just laborers by about 10 percent. The reason for the migration of males was caused by work. This corresponds to the industrial development in the southern region. The main reason given by female migrants for their migration was to follow their families (Table 1 and chart 1).

Table 1: Percent of in-migrants classified by characteristics and reasons for migration

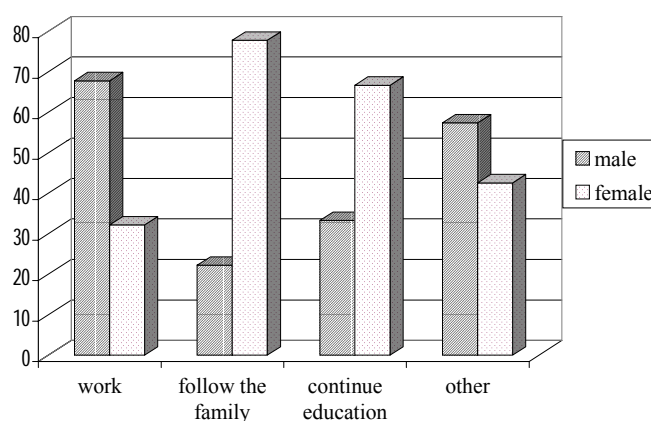
Individual Characteristics	In-migrant		Total
	Males	Females	
Age			
13-14	57.1	42.9	100
15-19	58.6	41.4	100
20-24	39.8	60.2	100
25-29	45.6	54.4	100
30-34	52.7	47.3	100
35-39	53.4	46.6	100
40-44	64.0	36.0	100
45-49	54.5	45.5	100
50-54	78.6	21.4	100
More 55 year	42.9	57.1	100
Average age (years)	30	29	
Number	273	255	528
Marital Status			
Single	62.1	37.9	100
Married	46.2	53.8	100
Number	273	255	528

Table 1: (continued)

Individual Characteristics	In-migrant		Total
	Males	Females	
Level of education			
Primary	50.4	49.6	100
Secondary	51.5	48.5	100
Undergraduate	60.0	40.0	100
Number	273	255	528
Occupation			
Skilled worker	46.4	53.6	100
Unskilled worker	56.5	43.5	100
Number	273	255	528
Reason for migration			
Work	67.8	32.2	100
Follow the family	22.2	77.8	100
Continue education	33.3	66.7	100
Other	57.4	42.6	100
Number	273	255	528

Chart 1

The reason for migration , classified by sex



B. Regional Place of Origin and Stream of Migration

Most migrants to the south were from the central region (37.7 percent). Next were people from the northern and the northeastern regions accounting for 31.6 and 30.7 percent respectively (Table 2).

Table 2: Place of origin of in-migrant who move to southern region classified by region

Region of origin	Percent
North	31.6
Central	37.7
Northeastern	30.7
Total	100.0
Number	528

Most of the migration streams into the southern region are migrants from rural areas to urban areas. There were more females than males by 8.7 percent. The rural – urban migrants were typically aged between 40 to 44 years - about 50 percent. They were single at 41.2 percent and had finished primary school, 42.3 percent. In addition, they had careers that used skills, knowledge and ability more than their labor by about 10.9 percent. About 42.4 percent of these migrants gave work as the reason for migration.

Other group of migrants were from urban to urban areas. Among these migrants there were approximately equal numbers of males and females. About 71.4 percent of adults aged 55 years old or more. There were about the same numbers of married and single people - 26 percent and 26.9 percent respectively. The education of the people was different. Those who finished higher education was about 52.7 percent. Those having careers that used skills more than labor were about 12.3 percent. Those who migrated to continue studying were about one-third of all cases.

For rural to rural migration there were more male migrants than female migrants. Percent of the migrants. Where age were 50-54 years old were 35.7 percent.

Percent of migrants who were married were 27.2 and, had and those who finished primary education were 30.6, while unskilled laborers outnumbered those who were skilled. The main reason given by these migrants for their migration was to follow the family members, 28.1 percent of migrants in this category.

There were more males than females migrating from urban to rural areas. Percent of youth migrants aged 13-24 years old were 39.9. Migrants in this category were 9.5 percent married and 8.2 percent single. These migrants gave other reasons as the most common reason for their migration, which was related to return-migration to place of origin (Table 3).

Table 3: Migration into southern Thailand classified by stream of migration, individual characteristics and reasons for migration

Individual Characteristics	Stream of migration				
	Rural-Rural	Rural-Urban	Urban-Rural	Urban-Urban	Total
Sex					
Male	28.9	34.4	9.5	27.1	100
Female	22.7	43.1	8.6	25.5	100
Age					
13-14	21.4	28.6	21.4	28.6	100
15-19	27.1	48.6	7.1	17.1	100
20-24	27.3	43.2	11.4	18.2	100
25-29	26.3	35.1	8.8	29.8	100
30-34	24.2	35.2	9.9	30.8	100
35-39	29.3	32.8	6.9	31.0	100
40-44	22.0	50.0	8.0	20.0	100
45-49	22.7	31.8	13.6	31.8	100
50-54	35.7	28.6	0.0	35.7	100
More than 55	14.3	14.3	0.0	71.4	100
Marital Status					
Single	23.6	41.2	8.2	26.9	100
Married	27.2	37.3	9.5	26.0	100

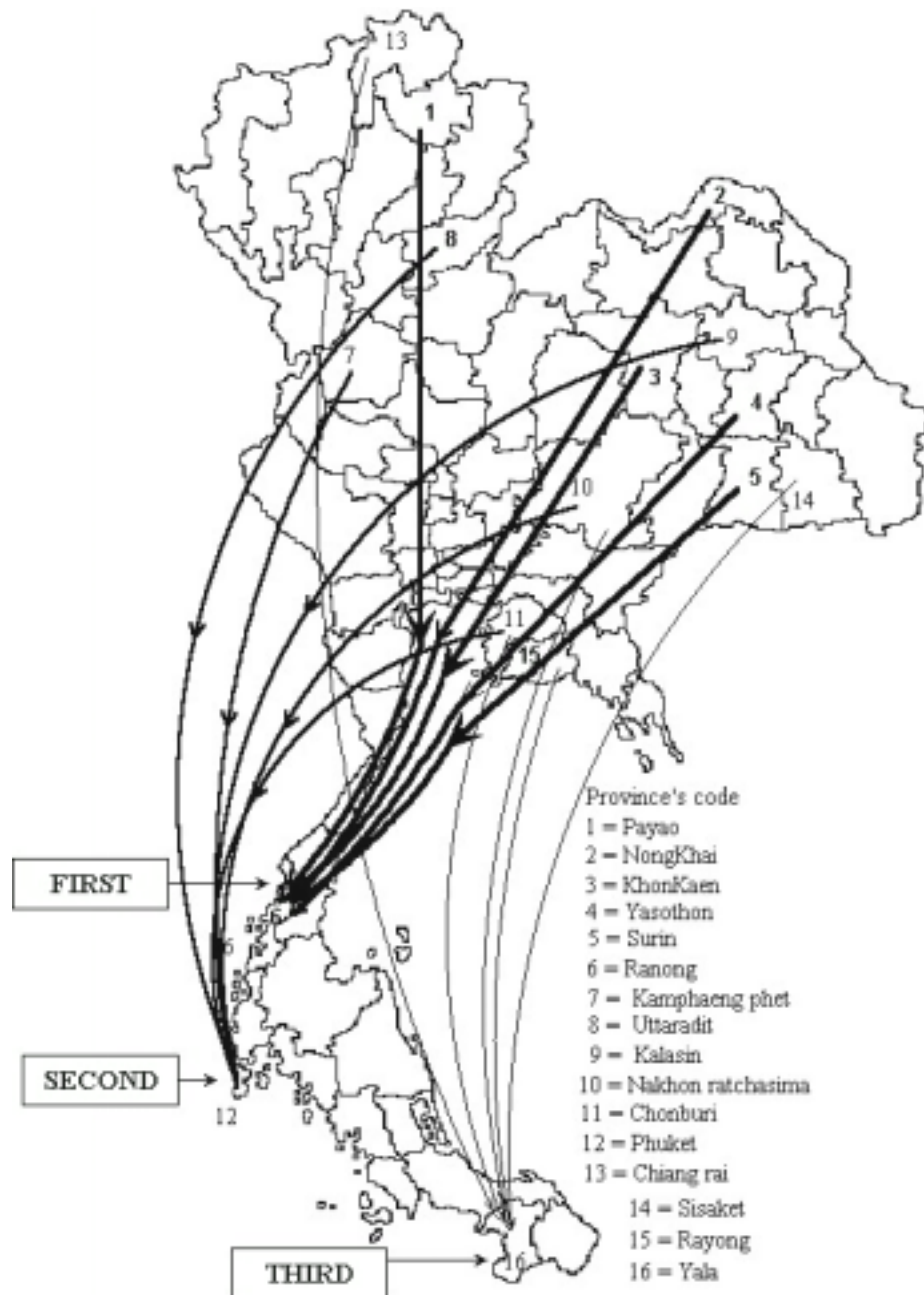
Table 3: (continued)

Individual Characteristics	Stream of migration				
	Rural-Rural	Rural-Urban	Urban-Rural	Urban-Urban	Total
Level of education					
Primary	30.6	42.3	8.5	18.7	100
Secondary	21.5	33.8	9.2	35.4	100
Undergraduate	7.3	27.3	12.7	52.7	100
Occupation					
Skilled worker	16.0	44.4	6.8	32.8	100
Unskilled worker	34.9	33.5	11.2	20.5	100
Reason for migration					
Work	25.0	42.4	6.6	26.0	100
Follow the family	28.1	37.4	8.2	26.3	100
Continue education	16.7	33.3	16.7	33.3	100
Other	25.5	19.1	27.7	27.7	100

C. The Popular and Attractive Destination

Regarding the most popular and the most attractive destination, migrants preferred Ranong Province as the favored place of destination in the southern region. Ranong Province shows a stream more than a counter stream. This means the quantity of migrants who moved into Ranong was more than the number that moved out. Because Ranong has many resources for fishery careers, this is the main occupation there. This is a pull factor that brings in jobs. However, when the migrants have enough money, they tend to migrate back to place of origin (Figure 1).

Figure 1
In-migration stream into the southern region, as the first second and third popular place



Factors Effecting Migration to Southern Region

Migration according to Lee's concept involves factors that relate to push factors and pull factors, intervening obstacles and characteristics of people. Because many researches have found that all individuals characteristics always have influences on migration (Lee,1985 ; Chamrathirong, 1995; Sawangdee, 1997). Therefore, the study had treated them as control variables and focuses only on the push and pulls factors and the intervening obstacles variables that have been proposed above.

Results from Multinomial Logistic Regression which were presented in Table 4 show that the intervening obstacles variable - migration networks and some push factors from the place of destination such as the rates of safety of life and property have effect on migration to the southern areas. Likewise, there are some pull factors from the place of destination have effect on pulling the potential migrants to move to the south. These factors are income, relative humidity, rainfall quantity, and education rates. Interestingly, the safety of life and property rates have strong effect on in-migration to the southern region with a statistically significance at 0.01 and 0.001 level.

Table 4: Multinomial logistic regression coefficient concerning In-Migration in the Southern Region

Variable	Move to southern region VS No-moving	Move to other region VS No-moving	Move to other region VS Move to southern region
Demography			
Age	.0009	.0029	.0020
Sex (1)			
Male	.1817	.1133***	-.0684
Marital Status (2)			
Single	.3739*	.1895***	-.1844
Occupation (3)			
Skill worker	.4782***	-.0822*	-.5604***

Table 4: (continued)

Variable	Move to southern region VS No-moving	Move to other region VS No-moving	Move to other region VS Move to southern region
Education (4)			
Primary	-.0399	-.1260*	-.0860
Secondary	-.4335	-.2246***	.2090
Intervening obstacle			
Social network (5)			
Have relative	.6619***	.1098**	-.5521**
Migration index			
Effectiveness index	-.0025	-.0018	.0007
Push factors from places of origin			
Income	-.0002	-.0001	.0001
Level of abundance			
Relative Humidity	-.0301	-.0111	.0191
Quantity of rainfalls	-.0005	-.0001	.0004
Level of social service			
Rate of education	-.0376	-.0060	.0316
Rate of physician treatment	-.0001	.0001***	.0001
Level of urbanization			
Urbanization	.0442	.0221**	-.0221
Level of industrial development			
Rate of working	-.0339	-.0282**	.0060
Life and property safety			
Rate of safety measures	-.1506***	-.0064	.1442**
Pull factor from places of destination			
Income	-.0002***	.0001	.0003***
Level of abundance			
Relative Humidity	.4061***	-.0065	-.4126***
Quantity of rainfalls	.0011**	.0001	-.0010*

Table 4: (continued)

Variable	Move to southern region VS No-moving	Move to other region VS No-moving	Move to other region VS Move to southern region
Level of social service			
Rate of education	.2124***	.0155	-.1969***
Rate of medical treatment	.0001**	.0001	-.0001
Level of urbanization			
Urbanization	.0319	-.0001	-.0319
Level of industrial development			
Rate of working	-.0553	-.0101	.0453
Safety of life and property			
Ratio of safety measures	.1714***	-.0150	.1865***
Constant	-34.2977	3.0902	37.3878

Model Chi-square = 801.83 Degree of freedom = 48 Number = 16,936

Loglikelihood = (-12218.846) Significant = 0.0000

- (1) Reference group is female * Significant = 0.05
- (2) Reference group is married ** Significant = 0.01
- (3) Reference group is unskill worker *** Significant = 0.001
- (4) Reference group is undergraduate
- (5) Reference group is no relative

When considering the probability predicted value which was presented in Table 5 value of push factors related to the levels of relative humidity at the places of origin, the higher the level of relative humidity, there tends to be non-migration. Relative humidity allows for good agriculture and this is a major career of people in the country. People in the country choose to live at their places of origin. As a result, there is a decreasing trend of in-migration in the southern region. An increased ratio of safety at the places of origin will lead to decreases of in-migration in the southern region. In this case, people who live in the places of origin intended to live there longer. This reduces in-migration to the southern and other region. Because of the increase in

educational opportunities for people from 6 to 29 years old, there is a trend towards getting more education in the places of origin. This causes a decrease in-migration.

Table 5: Percent of probability prediction of in-migration in southern region, classified by push and pull factors.

Variable	Non-migration	In-migration to southern region	In-migration to other region
Push factors at origin area			
Humidity			
0	30.26	7.73	62.02
5	31.51	7.28	61.21
10	32.79	6.84	60.37
20	35.40	6.04	58.56
30	38.08	5.32	56.60
40	40.81	4.68	54.51
50	43.59	4.10	52.31
60	46.38	3.59	50.02
70	49.19	3.14	47.67
80	51.99	2.74	45.27
90	54.76	2.39	42.85
Ratio of safety			
0	39.10	17.14	43.76
5	42.10	12.21	45.69
10	44.56	8.51	46.93
20	48.20	4.02	47.78
30	50.72	2.01	47.27
40	52.75	1.08	46.17
50	54.57	0.56	44.86
60	56.26	0.29	43.45
70	57.85	0.16	41.99
80	59.40	0.08	40.52
90	60.91	0.03	39.06
100	62.39	0.01	37.60

Table 5: (continued)

Variable	Non-migration	In-migration to southern region	In-migration to other region
Rate of education			
0	40.76	7.45	51.79
5	41.72	6.78	51.50
10	42.66	6.17	51.17
20	44.50	5.09	50.40
30	46.30	4.20	49.50
40	48.05	3.46	48.49
50	49.75	2.85	47.41
60	51.42	2.35	46.24
70	53.04	1.94	45.02
80	54.63	1.61	43.76
90	56.18	1.34	42.48
100	57.71	1.12	41.70
Pull factors at destination area			
Humidity			
0	39.70	0.00	60.29
5	40.46	0.00	59.54
10	41.22	0.00	58.78
20	42.76	0.00	57.24
30	44.30	0.00	55.70
40	45.86	0.02	54.14
50	47.42	0.01	52.56
60	48.89	0.24	50.87
70	49.79	1.02	48.59
80	41.38	21.36	37.26
90	10.82	80.24	8.94
100	0.74	98.73	0.54

Table 5: (continued)

Variable	Non-migration	In-migration to southern region	In-migration to other region
Ratio of safety			
0	93.69	1.12e-31	6.31
5	94.11	2.65e-34	5.89
10	94.51	6.29e-34	5.49
20	95.24	3.53e-33	4.76
30	95.87	1.98e-32	4.13
40	96.43	1.11e-31	3.57
50	96.91	6.20e-31	3.09
60	97.32	3.46e-30	2.67
70	97.69	1.98e-29	2.31
80	98.01	1.08e-28	1.99
90	98.28	6.02e-28	1.72
100	98.51	3.35e-27	1.48
Rate of education			
0	73.51	0.00	26.49
5	72.01	0.01	27.98
10	70.46	0.03	29.51
20	67.17	0.13	32.70
30	63.66	0.32	36.02
40	59.95	0.63	39.42
50	55.87	1.44	42.69
60	50.65	4.33	45.01
70	42.74	13.20	44.05
80	30.67	32.94	36.39
90	16.41	61.07	22.52
100	5.94	84.30	9.76
Intervening obstacles			
Social network			
Have relative	47.58	3.60	48.82
Do not have relative	50.66	2.57	46.77

The probability-predicted value of pull factors in the places of destination presented in Table 5 shows that there are some effects from relative humidity and ratio of safety variables in-migration into the southern region. Consequently, an attractive means in the places of destination caused in-migration into the southern region. This attractive means increased the trend of in-migration in the southern region. Places of destination where there is more relative humidity increases in-migration. This is because relative humidity allows for better agricultural careers. This is the major career of people in the country. Therefore, people in the country choose to live in their places of origin. As a result, there is an increasing trend of in-migration in the southern region. Another important attraction that causes an increase of in-migration is the education ratio. More education allows one to get a better job so people try to get a better and higher education. This leads to an increase of in-migration in the southern region. Because there are some universities and colleges located there. In addition, migrants who have relatives there preferred to migrate to the southern region more than those who do not (Table 5).

According to Lee's concept, some examples of pull factors that cause in-migration to a region are having a good place to live, a warm family, land tenancy, high income rates and good public utilities. When these factors are sufficient, they cause people to stay in their places of origin. The findings here show that pull factors - incomes, relative humidity, rainfall quantities, education rates and life and property safety ratios - correspond to Lee's concepts. This corresponding results indicate that social services related to education and safety of life and property in the 14 provinces of the southern region create a motivation for migrants to go there. Also, a better understanding of the culture of the southern region's population causes people to migrate into the region. This is because there are sufficient places of higher education, and for investment and industry. This is especially true in the major cities such as Songkha, Nakhonsrithammarat and Suratthanee.

Concerning the aspect of abundance in the south, the region has a climate that can be characterized as tropical. It is, therefore, suitable for agriculture. This is one of the pull factors corresponding to the study by Schachter and Althaus (1982).

Their analysis focused on people's migration as related to neighborhood and climatic conditions in the U.S.A. This examination found that relative humidity levels affect migration in the summer season. Accordingly, the abundance level is a pull factor for in-migration to the southern region.

Beside abundance, income is another pull factor that affects in-migration in the south. If an area has a high average daily income, this is an attraction for migration into the places of destination (Mumpasi, 1994; Datta, 1984; Okereke, 1975). Moreover, daily wages affect the selection of places of destination (Pattanasiri, 1995). There is an investment plan for 6 southern provinces. This includes seaport construction at Krabi and Phuket, rubber development by building factories for manufacturing export goods in Naratiwat and Trang and improving the Hat Yai airport. An Indian Sea vicinity export center has also been developed in Ranong Province. These economic improvements bring more employment opportunities. This follows Lee's concepts which state that most people migrate because of economic concerns. The southern region is regarded as a new economic region. So, many migrants have moved there because of better work opportunities. Essentially, income is a means of retaining people living in the south.

Push factors, in addition to pull factors, affect migration within the southern region. One is life and property safety. This agrees with Lee's concept. Crime problems in the region are negative factors that cause migration to safer places where there is better life and property safety. Alternatively, if a place of destination has less or nonexistent problems, this is a pull factor causing in-migration to the place of destination. As mentioned above, life and property safety can be both a push and pull factor for migration into the south.

Besides in-migration into the southern region affected by push and pull factors, the intervening obstacles relating to migration networks result in in-migration to the region. Migration networks affect in-migration to the south because they are a principal determinant of Thai migration. Social networks help migrants in many ways. For example, they help in finding jobs, provide for a place of residence and reduce the

costs of migration (Fuller, et al. 1985; Chamrathirong, 1995). Consequently, most migrants choose to go to places of destination where they have experience, migration networks or relatives (Richter, 1992).

Conclusion

For migration into the south, most migrants who moved from other places into the southern region were migrants from the central, northern and northeastern regions respectively. Results from Tables 4 and 5 confirmed that migration in these cases was caused by some push factors from the place of origin i.e. level of urbanization, ratio of safety etc and some pull factors from the place of destination i.e. relative humidity, rate of education etc.

Most of the in-migration streams to the south was not only migrated from rural to urban, but also urban to urban areas. Long-distance migrations to the southern region had distance as an obstacle. The migrants, however, overcame this problem. Migrants who overcame this obstacle were selective persons. For example, potential migrants who have migration network are more likely to move when compare to those who do not have network. So, the distance between provinces was not an obstacle, or was a lesser obstacle that the migrants resolved. If the means of transportation becomes more comfortable and safer, migrants can pay for the cost of transportation and, indeed, migrate. This corresponds to Lee's concept that some of the obstacles between the places of destination and the places of origin are time, distances and cost. If these obstacles are lessened, it helps in making the decision to migrate. However, if the obstacles are increased, this will have a negative effect of migration. This indicates that transportation between provinces is comfortable and satisfies the needs of the migrants.

For migrations from rural to urban areas of in-migrants in the 14 provinces, besides the intervening obstacles that effect migration as considered by Lee, there are other hurdles. The 14 provinces have social and economic development characteristics. There are industry, commerce, infrastructure, mining, and the service sectors. These

attract migration from rural to urban areas. This is especially evident on the east coast. There, development has increased in Surathani and Phuket provinces. They are provinces for tourists. This brings much money into the country. The investment potential development in the 6 provinces of Phuket, Nakhonsrithammarat, Suratthani, Songkha, Trang, and Pattani can be described as having characteristics noted by Ravensteine's (1889). This holds that migration over long distances aim at commercial and industrial centers. In addition, Lee's concept that pull factors in places of destination concerning levels of economic, social and technological development promotes more migration from rural to urban areas. Furthermore, migration streams from urban to urban areas can be described according to Skeldon's concept (1990). This holds that when public utilities such as communication and transportation are developed, migration between urban to urban areas will increase. In summary, push and pull factors as well as the intervening obstacle factors have effects on in-migration to the south. And this is in accordance with Lee's concept.

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