

# **Impact of Family Structure, Parental Migration, and Parental Divorce on an Adolescent's Educational Enrollment: Evidence from a Longitudinal Study in Kanchanaburi Province, Thailand**

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## **Introduction**

Education is the crucial well-being indicator that remains a concern in many countries because of its attendant demographic, economic, and social consequences for human and overall national development. Increasing education is expected to contribute higher population well-being. Adolescents are considered the future of the nation in which to drive economic development for many decades in Thailand. Education of the young Thai population has improved corresponding to Thai government implementation for a long time. However, Thailand is a country that has both a gender and a socio-economic gap in schooling (Pattaravanich, et al., 2005). Thus, despite legal and structural changes making an equity and equality of education for Thai people, not all children are equally likely to make it to secondary school. Although the goals for net primary school enrollment and lower secondary school enrollment have been successfully met, about 68 percent of the adolescent population aged 15-17 were enrolled in upper secondary school and only 60 percent of those aged 18-21 were enrolled in college or university (Ministry of Education, 2007).

Much of the recent researches have proposed that an adolescent's education have been influenced by their family structure, parental migration, and parental divorce. These are considered the determinants that are highly associated with adolescent outcomes and well-being (Buchman, 2000; Hao and Xie, 2002; Khun, 2006). Families in Thailand have changed overtime, for example, family size has declined from an average of 5.6 in 1960 to 3.6 persons in 2000, while family structure has become increasingly diverse and complex (Table 1). Considering gender of household head and family structure, female-headed households are steadily increasing and, surprisingly, extended families and unrelated individuals are rising progressively during the period 1980-2005 (National Statistical Office, 2006).

**Table 1: Percentage distribution of household by gender of household head and family structure in Thailand, 1980-2005**

	1980	1990	2000	2003	2004	2005
<b>Gender of household head</b>						
Male	83.5	80.6	73.8	73.2	72.1	70.4
Female	16.5	19.4	26.2	26.8	27.9	29.6
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
<b>Family structure</b>						
Nuclear family	70.6	67.6	60.3	54.2	53.2	53.9
Extended family	25.2	26.2	29.6	33.3	34.0	34.5
Unrelated Individuals	4.2	6.2	10.1	12.2	12.8	11.6
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

*Source:* National Statistical Office, 2006

These phenomena may impact a family member's well-being, especially adolescents in the household. Growing literatures describe correlations between an adolescent's well-being and family structure. Popular discussions have emphasized the distinction between two-parent families and single-parent families. McLanahan and Sandefur (1994) and other researchers have confirmed that children who live outside two-parent families tend to have poorer outcomes when compared with those who live in two-parent families. Nearly all previous studies have studied family structure by focusing on divorce and most studies are in Western context where divorces are common (Brown, 2006; Wolfinger, 1998). While Thai context is different, family structure, migration, and the rising number of divorces seem to shape a family member's well-being nowadays (Curran, et al., 2004; Jones and Kittisukhsathit, 2003).

Considering these determinants, first, population aging is a consequence of fertility and mortality declining, which increases the number of extended families in Thailand. Mortality decline shapes the longevity among Thai people. Increasing life expectancy leads to grandparents surviving for longer periods and makes extended families more prevalent. A few studies concern the effect of extended families on children and an adolescent's well-being, especially in an Asian context where the extended families are regarded as the norm. Previous studies found the positive effect of extended families on an adolescent's schooling and suggestions that extended families play a crucial role in mitigating the adverse effects of single-mother families (Deliere and Kalil, 2002).

Second, while much work has been done on the impacts of international migration on receiving countries and on immigrants themselves, the consequences of migration for those left behind has not received the attention it deserves (Battistella and Gastardo-Conaco, 1998; Hadi, 1999). Internal and international migrations are an important phenomenon in Thailand. Migration is also making the living arrangement among Thai families different. Left behind children in the household are the consequences of migration. It is generally accepted that the migration of parents usually benefit children economically. Remittance from migrants may help the household's standard of living and increase the chances for children to enroll in school (Curran, et al., 2004).

Third, the number of divorces among Thai population is steadily rising from 8.4 divorces in 1960 to 23.4 divorces per 1,000 marriages in 2000 (Ministry of Public Health, 2000). It is expected that single-parent families are increasing. Previous studies have examined that parental divorce can have many effects on the well-being of offsprings. Compared to people from intact families, the children of divorced families complete fewer years of school (McLanahan and Sandefur, 1994) and do less well economically as well as occupationally (Amato and Booth, 1991). In addition, parental divorce often has profound social and psychological consequences for children.

So far, few studies about family structure, parental migration, and parental divorce have been done. There is no study considering all of these determinants on an adolescent's schooling in Thai context. However, with the concept of family changing in Thailand over the years, it becomes crucial to test these phenomena with an adolescent's schooling. It is expected that the results of the present study will propose the important information to policy makers in order to improve the adolescent welfares.

### **Research Objectives**

This study addresses the relationship between family structure, parental migration, parental divorce and adolescent's educational enrollment. The concept of family structure, migration, and parental divorce are considered for creating the independent variables that will be taken into account in the following: family structure, parent's duration of migration, and parental divorce. To demonstrate how these

determinants have effected an adolescent's educational enrollment, the present study uses longitudinal data from Kanchanaburi Demographic Surveillance System, 2001 to 2004, to examine the relationship of family structure, parental migration, parental divorce and adolescent's educational enrollment in Thai context.

## **Theoretical Considerations**

To reach the question on why and how family structure, parental migration, parental divorce influence an adolescent's educational enrollment, all of the three main independent variables are viewed through theoretical considerations as follows.

### **Family structure and children schooling**

The educational benefits of extended families require at least two conditions. First, there must be a close multigenerational bond between grandparents and grandchildren so that grandparents provide emotional support for grandchildren. Second, grandparents are resourceful in terms of their income and education. Coleman (1988) conceptualized adult-child relationship in a form of social capital that enhances the production of human capital. The idea that a close adult-child relationship with educational resources flowing from the adult to the child has educational benefits to the child and may be based on the concept of social capital within the family.

Compared to nuclear families, extended families consist of greater and more varied adult-child relationships. Adult-child bonds could be between parents and children, or between grandparents and grandchildren, and between grandparents and parents. There is 'intergenerational closure' within an extended family (Coleman, 1988), providing a child more monitoring and supervision. One can imagine an idealized version of an extended family where grandparents provide support and connections between the grandparents and his/her parents. If wisdom comes with age, the help provided by grandparents may be even more useful than the help given by parents.

### **Parental migration and children schooling**

The effects of migration on outcomes in left-behind children have looked at the economic perspective. Economic arguments stress the future returns of schooling. Parents consider how to maximize the resources of the entire family and how to redistribute them among family members. The primary concern is wealth maximization. In the existing migration literature, remittances received by families have often featured as an important factor leading to an increase in standard of living. The remittances make an important financial contribution towards the well-being of left-behind children. It has been found that remittances are not only used to compensate emigration-related expense and income lost by left-behind household, but are also used by left-behind household to meet the daily needs, improve living conditions, and invest in the education of their children (Jones and Kittisukhsathit, 2003). Children whose parents are migrants may be expected to be better educated than children whose parents are non-migrants due to the advantage of receiving remittances.

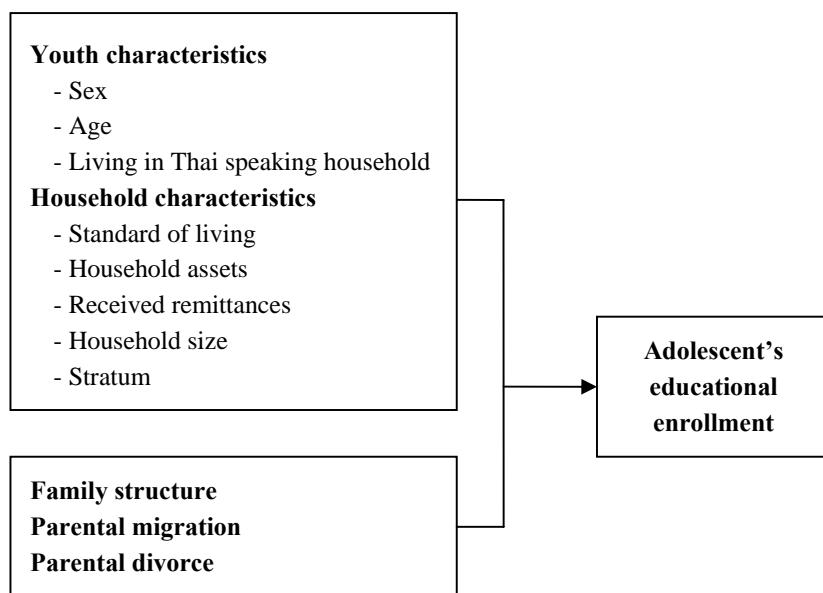
### **Parental divorce and children schooling**

A number of theoretical perspectives suggest why parental divorce may affect children well-being (McLanahan and Sandefur, 1994; Wu, 1996). The economic deprivation perspective argues that much of the difference in child outcomes between single-parent and two-parent families is a result of poverty. McLanahan and Sandefur (1994) found that family economic resources account for half the differences in child developmental outcomes between single-mother families and their two-parent counterparts. The stress perspectives suggest that it is stress caused by the disruption in family that is most critical to children's well-being of children (Wu, 1996). Disruptions, including divorce and remarriage, can create stress for parents and their children. This stress may lead not only to less effective parenting, but also to changes in the behavior of a child.

## Conceptual Framework

From the theoretical considerations, we can draw the conceptual framework in relation to the variables of this study. Family structure, parental migration, and parental divorce are the independent variables affecting an adolescent's educational enrollment, while controlling with youth and household characteristics.

**Figure 1**  
**Conceptual framework for the impact of family structure, parental migration, and parental divorce on an adolescent's educational enrollment**



Three hypotheses can be drawn from theoretical considerations as above. (1) adolescents in extended families have better chance of schooling than those in nuclear families, (2) adolescents whose parents migrate have better chance of schooling than those with non-migrant parents, and (3) adolescents with no parental divorce have better chance of schooling than those whose parents have divorced.

## **Data and Methods**

### **Data**

The data come from the Kanchanaburi Demographic Surveillance System (KDSS), longitudinal study during the year 2000 to 2004, conducted by the Institute for Population and Social Research, Mahidol University, which was supported by the Wellcome Trust, United Kingdom. The KDSS is a field research and training centre that is dedicated to monitoring population change and evaluating intervention-based research. The main research activity is the creation of a database on the demographic, health, social, and economic composition of the population in 100 villages and communities. The project began by annually collecting all the households in the sampled villages in the year 2000.

The KDSS project consists of five strata, categorized by ecological features and economic activities; urban and semi-urban, rice field, plantation, uplands, and mixed economy. There are twenty villages or communities in each stratum.

The KDSS is not specifically designed to study the impact of family structure, parental migration, and parental divorce on an adolescent's educational enrollment; however, the longitudinal nature of data has made this study possible. The measure of family structure, parental migration, and parental divorce, data from round 2 to round 5 (KDSS 2001-2004) were used to predict the impact of family structure, parental migration, and parental divorce on an adolescent's school enrollment.

### **Sample**

The study sample contains adolescents aged 13-18 years living in round 2 census (2001). The study subjects were limited to children aged 13-18 because this group are expected to finish the primary and secondary levels of education. Samples of this study were limited to those who are single and living with parent(s) because this study explores the impact of family structure, parental migration, and parental divorce. The sample was also restricted to those who were enrolled in school at the time of the second census (2001) to demonstrate the impact of family structure on the adolescent's

educational enrollment at the time of the last census (2004). The sample was from separate household in order to avoid the statistical bias for those who have co-resident adolescents.

### **Measurement of Variables**

#### ***Dependent Variable***

The dependent variable in this study is educational enrollment, which refers to whether adolescents enrolled in upper secondary school or college, which was higher than the compulsory level of education in Thailand, at the time of the last census (2004). It was measured as a dichotomous variable.

#### ***Independent Variables***

The independent variables include family structure, parental migration, and parental divorce, which are explained in detail as below:

##### ***(1) Family Structure***

There are 3 types of family structure; nuclear families, extended families with grandparents, and extended families with other adults. Nuclear family refers to family that has parent(s) and children. Extended family with grandparent presence refers to parent(s), children, and grandparents in the household. Extended family with other adult presence refers to parent(s), children, and other adults aged more than 22 in the household. This information was derived from the household roster table in the household questionnaire.

##### ***(2) Parental migration***

Parental migration is the length of move-out during the year 2001 to 2004. This study categorize parental migration as father and mother's duration of migration to be the set of dummy variables as follow: (1) not move between 2001 to 2004, (2) move-out for one year, (3) move-out for two years, (4) move-out for three years, and (5) move-out for four years.

*(3) Parental divorce*

Parental divorce is categorized into dummy variable, which refers to whether their parents divorce during the year 2001 to 2004.

*Other Variables*

Other variables cover the variables at individual and household level. All other independent variables were assessed in the second census (2001). Individual characteristics include sex, age, and whether adolescents lived in a household that uses other languages speaking at home.

Household characteristics comprise standard of living, household asset, living in household that received remittance, household size, and residential area. As for the household standard of living score, this study used a combination of five variables; material of roof, material of housing, electricity available, pipe water available, and type of toilet. This ordinal scale variable is a composite score from 1-5. Household assets have been measured from the ownership of household assets to create a composite score from 1-5 as well. Living in the household that received remittance is a variable which depend on whether the household has receive some remittance from out-migrants during the time of 2001 to 2004. Household size was therefore included in the model, which is a continuous variable. Place of residence is measured on whether adolescents lived in the urban/semi-urban, rice field, plantation, upland, and mixed economy strata.

**Analysis**

Multivariate analysis is used to assess the complex impact of independent variables on dependent variables with the set of other independent variables. In this study, since the dependent variable-educational enrollment is a dichotomous variable, binary logistic regression is employed. It is used for making prediction of enrolling in school probability. In order to obtain adequate descriptions and useful predictions, there are number of independent variables and other variables included in the regression model.

## Results

Table 2 provides summary statistics of the variables included in the analysis. About 33 percent of the samples were enrolled in school in the last census (2004). There were more females than males and the mean age of the samples was 15 years. More than 90 percent of the samples are living in a Thai speaking household. About 14 percent of adolescents were living in a household that received remittance from out-migrants. The average household size in this study was about 5 people in the household. The largest proportion of adolescents was living in the urban and semi-urban stratum (25 percent), followed by the adolescents living in the rice field (22 percent), mixed economy (22 percent), upland (17 percent), and plantation strata (15 percent).

Most of adolescents were living in nuclear families, which include only parent(s) and children in the household without other adult presence. About 14 percent of the adolescents were living in extended families with grandparents and 9 percent of adolescents were living in extended families with other adults. Eighty percent of samples' parents did not move out from the household. About 3 percent of parents were moving out 4 years. However, we cannot trace the migration before the years of analysis, which was before the year 2001. Only 3 percent of adolescents had parental divorce during the year 2001 to 2004.

**Table 2: Percentage of adolescents by characteristics, KDSS 2001-2004**

Variables	Percentage	S.D.
Enrolled school in 2004	32.87	
Male adolescent	45.03	
Mean age of adolescents	15.18	(1.59)
Living in Thai speaking household	92.47	
Standard of living score	2.87	(1.25)
Household assets score	3.00	(1.42)
Living in a household that received remittance	14.14	
Average household size	4.94	(1.81)

**Table 2: (Continued)**

Variables	Percentage	S.D.
Stratum		
Urban and semi-urban	24.66	
Rice field	22.06	
Plantation	14.72	
Upland	17.13	
Mixed economy	21.43	
Family structure		
Nuclear family	77.17	
Extended family with grandparents	13.66	
Extended family with other adults	9.17	
Father's duration of migration		
Not move	82.0	
Father move-out for 1 year	7.67	
Father move-out for 2 years	4.01	
Father move-out for 3 years	2.85	
Father move-out for 4 years	3.47	
Mother's duration of migration		
Not move	82.31	
Mother move-out for 1 year	7.43	
Mother move-out for 2 years	4.01	
Mother move-out for 3 years	2.70	
Mother move-out for 4 years	3.55	
Having parental divorce	3.01	
N	2,072	

**Note:** Standard deviation for continuous variables

Table 3 presents the relationship between independent variables, other variables, and dependent variable by using chi-square test. Higher proportions of female were enrolled in school more than that of male. The proportion of enrolling in school was increased by age of adolescents. Adolescents living in Thai speaking households had higher proportions of enrolling in school (33.7 percent) than those living in non-Thai speaking household (22.4 percent).

Standard of living and household assets increased the proportion of adolescent who were enrolled in school. Surprisingly, there were higher proportion of adolescent who were living in household that have not received remittance (34.1 percent) than those who were not (25.6 percent) in terms of educational enrollment. Higher proportions of samples that were living in urban and semi-urban stratum (42.1 percent) were enrolled in school when compared with those from other strata.

Adolescent who lived in extended families with grandparents have higher proportion of enrolling school, nearly half of them, than those who were not. Higher proportion of the sample who have non-migrant parent were enrolled in school when compared with migrant parent. Adolescents with no parental divorce during the year 2001 to 2004 have higher proportion of enrolling school than those who has parental divorce.

**Table 3: Percentage distribution of adolescents by independent variables and dependent variable, KDSS 2001-2004**

Independent variables	Not enrolled in 2004	Enrolled in 2004	Total (%)	Total (n)	$\chi^2$
<b>Sex of adolescents</b>					
Male	68.6	31.4	100.0	933	1.646
Female	65.9	34.1	100.0	1,139	
<b>Age of adolescents</b>					
13	37.6	62.4	100.0	388	396.357
14	46.6	63.4	100.0	395	p<0.001
15	72.2	27.8	100.0	431	
16	84.6	15.4	100.0	357	
17	88.1	11.9	100.0	302	
18	91.5	8.5	100.0	199	
<b>Living in Thai speaking household</b>					
Living in non-Thai speaking household	77.6	22.4	100.0	156	8.319
Living in Thai speaking household	66.3	33.7	100.0	1,916	
<b>Standard of living score</b>					
Lowest	72.5	27.5	100.0	429	16.906
Lower	71.6	28.4	100.0	408	p<0.01
Medium	61.1	38.9	100.0	321	
Higher	64.8	35.2	100.0	840	
Highest	64.9	35.1	100.0	74	

Table 3: (Continued)

Independent variables	Not enrolled in 2004	Enrolled in 2004	Total (%)	Total (n)	$\chi^2$
<b>Household assets score</b>					
Lowest	76.1	23.9	100.0	414	34.790
Lower	71.6	28.4	100.0	415	p<0.001
Medium	66.1	33.6	100.0	414	
Higher	62.3	37.7	100.0	414	
Highest	59.3	40.7	100.0	415	
<b>Received remittances</b>					
Not received	65.9	34.1	100.0	1,779	87.211
Received	74.4	25.6	100.0	293	
<b>Household size</b>					
Less than 5 persons	67.7	32.3	100.0	986	14.408
5 persons and over	66.6	33.4	100.0	1,086	
<b>Stratum</b>					
Urban and semi-urban	57.9	42.1	100.0	511	46.368
Rice field	67.4	32.6	100.0	457	p<0.001
Plantation	66.6	33.4	100.0	305	
Upland	80.0	20.0	100.0	355	
Mixed economy	67.6	32.4	100.0	444	
<b>Family structure</b>					
Nuclear family	69.1	30.9	100.0	1,599	12.351
Extended family with grandparents	54.1	45.9	100.0	283	p<0.001
Extended family with other adults	70.0	30.0	100.0	190	
<b>Father's duration of migration</b>					
Not move	63.3	36.7	100.0	1,699	25.706
Father move-out for 1 year	75.5	24.5	100.0	159	p<0.001
Father move-out for 2 years	76	24.0	100.0	83	
Father move-out for 3 years	79.7	20.3	100.0	59	
Father move-out for 4 years	80.7	19.3	100.0	72	
<b>Mother's duration of migration</b>					
Not move	61.6	38.4	100.0	1,705	75.622
Mother move-out for 1 year	77.3	22.7	100.0	154	p<0.001
Mother move-out for 2 years	76.1	23.9	100.0	83	
Mother move-out for 3 years	86.7	13.3	100.0	56	
Mother move-out for 4 years	90.4	9.6	100.0	74	
<b>Parental divorce</b>					
Not have	65.3	34.7	100.0	2,008	27.795
Have	83.3	16.7	100.0	64	p<0.001
N	67.1	32.9	100.0	2,072	

Table 4 displays two regression models, all of which take educational enrollment as the dependent variable. The first model includes the other variables, while the independent variables are taken into account in the second model.

We begin our analysis by focusing on the relationship between educational enrollment and demographic factors, including individual and household characteristics, in Model 1. The results showed that males were less likely to enroll in school than female. The age of adolescents decreased the chance of enrolling in school. Household asset score increased the probability of enrolling in school. Adolescents who were residing in the 'medium', 'higher', and 'highest' quintile of household asset score tended to have more chance to enroll in school than those who were residing in the lowest quintile. Comparing with adolescents in urban and semi-urban, those dwelling in other stratum were less likely to enroll in school in the last census (2004).

In Model 2, we add the key independent variables in the analysis. For family structure, adolescents who are living in extended families with grandparents were more likely to enroll in school than those living in nuclear families. The results suggested that the duration of migration of the fathers and the mothers mattered differently. Adolescents whose father moved out from the household for a short time, only 1 year, had lower probabilities of enrolling in school than those who had non-migrant father. Adolescents whose mothers moved out from the households were less likely to enroll in school than those who had non-migrant mothers. Adolescents whose parents divorced during the year 2001 to 2004 have lower probabilities of educational enrollment than those who have no parental divorce. When the independent variables were added into the second model, the significant relationship between other variables and dependent variable were not changed.

**Table 4: Odds ratios of logistic regression analysis of the impact of family structure, parental migration, and parental divorce on adolescent's educational enrollment, KDSS 2001-2004**

Variables	Model 1	Model 2
Male	0.796 (0.086)**	0.790 (0.088)**
Age	0.479 (0.019)***	0.471 (0.020)***
Living in Thai speaking household	1.289 (0.293)	0.818 (0.203)
Standard of living score (Lowest: ref.)		
Lower	1.087 (0.194)	1.149 (0.213)
Medium	1.209 (0.234)	1.231 (0.246)
Higher	1.057 (0.177)	1.138 (0.199)
Highest	0.674 (0.229)	0.752 (0.269)
Household assets score (Lowest: ref.)		
Lower	1.169 (0.223)	1.176 (0.232)
Medium	1.595 (0.305)**	1.521 (0.303)***
Higher	1.921 (0.377)***	1.853 (0.376)***
Highest	1.943 (0.417)***	1.757 (0.394)***
Received remittances	1.000 (0.000)	1.000 (0.000)
Household size	0.981 (0.030)	0.975 (0.035)
Stratum (Urban and semi-urban: ref.)		
Rice field	0.591 (0.098)***	0.475 (0.083)***
Plantation	0.624 (0.115)***	0.540 (0.104)***
Upland	0.322 (0.066)***	0.258 (0.056)***
Mixed economy	0.643 (0.104)***	0.549 (0.093)***
Family structure (Nuclear family: ref.)		
Extended family with grandparents		1.731 (0.298)***
Extended family with other adults		0.932 (0.192)
Father's duration of migration (Not move: ref.)		
Father move-out for 1 year		0.772 (0.195)*
Father move-out for 2 years		0.861 (0.309)
Father move-out for 3 years		2.233 (1.036)
Father move-out for 4 years		1.283 (0.207)
Mother's duration of migration (Not move: ref.)		
Mother move-out for 1 year		0.395 (0.101)***
Mother move-out for 2 years		0.357 (0.143)***
Mother move-out for 3 years		0.073 (0.058)***
Mother move-out for 4 years		0.044 (0.089)***
Having parental divorce	0.387 (0.099)***	
Log-likelihood	-1265.394	-993.365
N		2,072

**Note:** \*p<0.05; \*\*p<0.01; \*\*\*p<0.001 and standard errors in parentheses

## Discussion

Using the longitudinal data of KDSS, the present study provides three interesting findings from the logistic regression models to examine the relationships between family structure, parental migration, parental divorce and adolescent's educational enrollment. The first interesting finding is that extended families with grandparents have a positive effect on an adolescent's educational enrollment. The second interesting finding showed that the duration of migration has negatively affected the schooling of adolescents, especially mother's migration. The third interesting finding is that parental divorce has the negative effect on an adolescent's education enrollment.

For the first interesting finding, showing the positive effect of grandparents in the household, supports literature which argues that resources in the hands of grandparents will improve adolescent's welfare outcomes. Grandparents can be an important source for extra income and child care, especially in single-parent families where economic deprivation is considered high (Deliere and Kalil, 2002). Using the KDSS data, the effects of extended household suppress negative impacts of the long-term absence of the mother on the children's school enrollment (Jampaklay, 2006). Grandparents in Thai context have an important role in terms of economic advantage and socialization. We do not believe that grandparents are substitutes for fathers and mothers and that this effect holds true across all level of socioeconomic status. Instead, we suspect that the presence of grandparents interacts with socioeconomic status and is particularly beneficial among low-income families.

For the second interesting finding about the negative effect of duration of migration, there are differences in the effect of the length of migration between fathers and mothers. Short-term migration of the father reduces the likelihood of an adolescent's education; while long-term migration of the mother reduces the chance of enrolling school. It can be said that long-term migration of the father may imply successful migration, but long-term migration of mother cannot make the benefits for adolescent in terms of education (Jampaklay, 2006). The present study provides support for previous findings that it is hard to find a substitute for a mother's absence.

The third interesting finding proposes that adolescents who have parental divorce during the year 2001 to 2004 are less likely to enroll in school than those who have not. This finding is consistent with other research that has shown that adolescents who have parental divorce often experience poorer educational enrollment and outcomes (Painter and Levine, 2000). Parental divorce typically involves a shift in household membership and a reorganization of family roles that disrupt family routine, resulting in inconsistent parenting. Poor parenting can contribute to emotional insecurity among children and lower quality parent-child relationships. In addition, the disadvantage of economic hardship among disrupted families can have negative effects on an adolescent's educational enrollment. However, several studies suggest that the impact of divorce on adolescents may begin long before their parent separate, probably as a result of conflict, family dysfunction, and economic difficulties before divorce (Cherlin, et al., 1991; Elliot and Richards, 1991).

Some longitudinal studies have been carried out pertaining to long-term effects of parental divorce on offspring adjustment (Hetherington and Kelly, 2002; Sun, 2001). It is generally found that the effects of divorce are most pronounced shortly after a divorce, while the long-term post divorce effects are rather inconsistent (Hetherington and Stanley-Hagan, 1999; Sun and Li, 2002). This study uses the parental divorce within 4 years of the census (KDSS 2001-2004), considered the short-term period the negative effects on an adolescent's educational enrollment. Long-term post divorce effect should be examined in Thai context.

This study found that females are more likely to enroll in school than male, which is consistent with the finding of Pattaravanich (2005) that gender gap favoring boys has closed at the national level and that girls now move up to upper secondary school more often than boys. Surprisingly, there is no difference in educational enrollment between adolescents living in Thai speaking households and those who live in non-Thai speaking households.

Household assets score has significantly predicted educational enrollment in this study. Household assets can increase the likelihood of schooling in Thailand where inequalities of upper secondary school attendance still exist among different socioeconomic background of families (Pattaravanich, 2005). This study does not

support the idea that remittances can contribute to household well-being and an adolescent's education as was found from other findings (Jampaklay, 2006; Jones and Kittisuksathit, 2003). There is no significant relationship between remittances and adolescent's educational enrollment. It might be that the household economic resources tend to have stronger influence on adolescent's schooling than remittances. Household wealth often predicts the ability to migrate and the likelihood of migrant success (Taylor and Wyatt, 1996; Vanwey, 2003). Migrants may not be from the poorest household that lacking of ability to move.

Although the data from KDSS were not designed to examine directly about the relationship between family structure, parental migration, parental divorce and an adolescent's educational enrollment, its nature of longitudinal data can help us to capture the migration effects. The finding that extended families lead to a higher chance of an adolescent's schooling and not only on the migration status of parents but also on the duration of the mother's migration reduce the chances of an adolescent's schooling, requires careful policy consideration.

### **Recommendations**

According to the findings, the intervention related to adolescent developments should consider more about grandparents. As the results that existence of grandparents is important for an adolescent's well-being, grandparents should be trained through the Training of Trainer (TOT) program in order to improve their skills of caring for their grandchildren.

To extend the results that a mother's presence is necessary for an adolescent's educational enrollment, the income generating project in the household and community ought to be promoted such as the project of developing village and community capacity (SML project), which was run by the Thai government. The SML project should be focusing on the women by generating the available work for women in the community level, which can reduce the likelihood of migration among women.

Due to the lesser probability of educational enrollment of adolescents in divorce homes, the office of the Non-formal and Informal Education, Ministry of

Education should encourage the Life Skill Program to them with the intention of increasing the capacity for their careers in the future and also their self-esteem.

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