INFORMATION TO USERS

This manuscript has been reproduced from the microfilm master. UMI films the text directly from the original or copy submitted. Thus, some thesis and dissertation copies are in typewriter face, while others may be from any type of computer printer.

The quality of this reproduction is dependent upon the quality of the copy submitted. Broken or indistinct print, colored or poor quality illustrations and photographs, print bleedthrough, substandard margins, and improper alignment can adversely affect reproduction.

In the unlikely event that the author did not send UMI a complete manuscript and there are missing pages, these will be noted. Also, if unauthorized copyright material had to be removed, a note will indicate the deletion.

Oversize materials (e.g., maps, drawings, charts) are reproduced by sectioning the original, beginning at the upper left-hand corner and continuing from left to right in equal sections with small overlaps. Each original is also photographed in one exposure and is included in reduced form at the back of the book.

Photographs included in the original manuscript have been reproduced xerographically in this copy. Higher quality 6" x 9" black and white photographic prints are available for any photographs or illustrations appearing in this copy for an additional charge. Contact UMI directly to order.
The role of education in rural-urban migration: A case study in Chiangmai, Thailand

Chotisukan, Suwanna, Ed.D.

University of Hawaii, 1994
THE ROLE OF EDUCATION IN RURAL-URBAN MIGRATION:
A CASE STUDY IN CHIANGMAI, THAILAND

A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO THE GRADUATE DIVISION OF THE UNIVERSITY OF HAWAII IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF

DOCTOR OF EDUCATION
IN
EDUCATIONAL FOUNDATIONS
DECEMBER 1994

BY

Suwanna Chotisukan

Dissertation Committee:
Ralph K. Stueber, Chairman
Robert W. Gardner
Royal T. Fruehling
Melvin Ezer
Alice G. Dewey
Copyright 1994
by
Suwanna Chotisukan
iii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This dissertation could not have been completed without a great support and assistance from many individuals and organizations. First, I wish to thank the residents of Papai village, San-kam-pang district and the teachers and students of San-kam-pang School for their kindness and cooperation in providing all of the valuable information needed. I also appreciate the Chulalongkorn University Social Research Institute (CUSRI) for being the institute sponsor while this research was being conducted.

My sincere thanks go to the Ministry of Education and the Thai government who allowed a lengthy leave of absence to complete my doctoral studies. I am deeply grateful to the Students Affairs and Open Grants (SOAG) and the Consortium of Teaching Asia and Pacific in School (CTAPS) of the East-West Center for providing invaluable financial assistance through a graduate scholarship and research assistantship.

My most important debt is to my dissertation committee members: Dr. Ralph K. Stueber, Chairperson, Dr. Alice G. Dewey, Dr. Melvin Ezer, Dr. Royal T. Fruehling and Dr. Robert W. Gardner. In addition to their valuable advice and comments, they constantly encouraged and guided me throughout this research.

iv
Special thanks go to Nancy Aleck, my dissertation editor, and to all my colleagues for their generous supports throughout my study in Hawaii.

Finally, I would like to express a great gratitude to my family from whom I always received much kind encouragement. The achievement of this research is mostly dedicated to all of them.
ABSTRACT

This dissertation examines the direct and indirect impact of educational policy on the rural-urban migration pattern. On the one hand, the focus of this research aims to reveal the role of education on the process of the individual's migration decision making, along with the economic constraints in the rural area and the economic incentives of the urban area. On the other hand, it attempts to study the attitude of rural Thai people towards higher education and the tendency of leaving the agricultural occupation to pursue a wage earning carrier in the urban centers.

The purpose of the research is fulfilled by applying multiple research methodologies, including: a case study, formal interviews and historical research.

This research finds that the national economic development which is biased toward industrialization and modernization, uses the educational system as a means to achieve its goals. Vocational training programs are introduced into the school curriculum in conjunction with the policy of industrial development. Students, particular by those in the rural areas, are very interested in industrially related programs because such knowledge enables them to qualify for occupations other than agriculture.
Even though the agricultural program is provided in the schools, its educational quality is not good enough to train students to be proficient farmers. The knowledge that students learn from school does not enable them to relieve the current hardship of the farmers. Most farming families thus view it as an irrelevant subject since they send their children to school with the understanding that education can help their children secure employment in urban areas.

Along with other factors, such as the high cost of property due to speculation, low value of produce, and the neglect of the agricultural sector by the government, most rural Thais are forced to leave their villages to seek wage employment in the industrial and tourist sectors within Bangkok and the nearby cities.

In order to relieve the problem of rural-urban migration, the national policies of both economic and educational development have to be seriously considered by the government. For the economic policy, a "balanced development" should be emphasized to generate economic improvement within both rural and urban areas. For educational development, the Thai educational policy should also promote balanced economic development policy. Within the vocational training programs, agricultural studies should be advocated as well as industrial related studies.
# TABLE OF CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS</td>
<td>iv</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ABSTRACT</td>
<td>vi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LIST OF TABLES</td>
<td>xi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LIST OF FIGURES</td>
<td>xiii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LIST OF MAPS</td>
<td>xiv</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHAPTER I: INTRODUCTION</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Background of the Study</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Statement of Problem</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Significance of the Study</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Situation of the Study Area</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Objectives of the Study</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Research Questions</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Overview of the Study</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHAPTER II: THEORETICAL AND CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Theoretical Thinking</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conceptual Framework and Literature Review</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Educational Attainment</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Knowledge, Skills and Values</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Knowledge</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skills</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Values</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Constraints and Facilitators</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHAPTER III: METHODOLOGY OF THE STUDY</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Case Study</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Documentation</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Informal Interview</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Participant Observation</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Life History Study</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Formal Interviews</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Census</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Survey Technique</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Questionnaire Formulation</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Statistical Analysis</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Historical Research</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

viii
CHAPTER IV: EDUCATIONAL DEVELOPMENT AND ITS IMPACT ON INTERNAL MIGRATION: HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE
Traditional Education (1187-1868) 65
Educational Reform (1869-1931) 70
Education in the Early Democracy Movement (1932-1947) 76
Education for National Development (from 1948) 79

CHAPTER V: RESEARCH FINDING VILLAGE LIFE: SOCIO-ECONOMIC SETTING AND MIGRATION IN PA-PAI VILLAGE
Socio-economic Change in Pa-pai Village 91
Socio-Cultural Change 92
Economic Change 97
The international trade policy 98
The industrial development policy 101
Migration in Pa-pai Village 104
Characteristics of Migrants and Non-migrants 107
Decision Making to Move and to Stay 111
Selection of Destination Provinces 120
Returned Migrants' Reasons for Moving Back 128
Out-migrants' Reasons for Not Moving Back 132
Prospective Migrants' Schedule of Leaving 137

CHAPTER VI: THE SCHOOL AND ITS IMPACT ON VILLAGE LIFE
The Educational Policy of San-kam-pang School 144
The School and Pa-pai's Socio-cultural and Economic Situation 150
The School and Students' Occupational Preparation 155
Students' and Parents' Attitudes about Education and Migration 164

CHAPTER VII: FINDINGS, CONCLUSIONS AND POLICY
RECOMMENDATION 176
Conclusion 176
Policy Recommendation 189
Economic Development 190
Educational Development 195
The improvement of agricultural studies 195
The improvement in industrial related programs 197
### LIST OF TABLES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tables</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4.1 Development of Thai Educational System and Its Impact on Internal Migration</td>
<td>66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.1 Occupation Classification Among Pa-pai Villagers</td>
<td>103</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.2 Basic Characteristics of Pa-pai Villagers, by Migration Status</td>
<td>108</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.3 Distribution of Occupations by Level of Education Among Non-Migrants Who are Satisfied with Their Occupations</td>
<td>114</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.4 Distribution of Occupations by Level of Education Among Non-Migrants Who Considered Themselves as Too Young to Move Out of The Village</td>
<td>115</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.5 Educational Background of Non-Migrants Who Perceived Their Knowledge and Skills as Deficient for City Employment</td>
<td>116</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.6 Occupation of Non-Migrants Who Perceived Their Knowledge and Skills as Deficient for City Employment</td>
<td>116</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.7 Non-Migrants' Occupations Classified by Their Work Places</td>
<td>118</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.8 Reasons for Moving Out of the Village by Migration Status</td>
<td>119</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.9 Occupation of Out-Migrants Who Move to Find Employment by Province of Destination</td>
<td>121</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.10 Occupation of Returned Migrants Who Move to Find Employment by Province of Destination</td>
<td>121</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.11 Occupation of Prospective Job Seeking Movers by Province of Destination</td>
<td>122</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.12 Occupation of Prospective Job Seeking Movers by Their level of Education</td>
<td>122</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
**Tables**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table Number</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>5.13</td>
<td>Occupation of Prospective Job Seeking Movers by Their Expected Occupation</td>
<td>123</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.14</td>
<td>Returned Migrants' Reasons for Moving Back</td>
<td>129</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.15</td>
<td>Education of Returned Migrants Before Moving and After Returning</td>
<td>130</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.16</td>
<td>Education of Out-Migrants Before and After Moving</td>
<td>133</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.17</td>
<td>Out-Migrants' Occupations Before and After Moving</td>
<td>134</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.18</td>
<td>Marital Status of Out-Migrants Before and After Moving</td>
<td>135</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.19</td>
<td>Occupation of Prospective Job Seeking Movers by Their Schedule of Moving</td>
<td>138</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.1</td>
<td>Pa-pai Villagers' Reasons for Supporting Higher Education for Their Children</td>
<td>169</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.2</td>
<td>Pa-pai Villagers' Reasons for Supporting the &quot;City Bias&quot; of Vocational Program, by Occupations</td>
<td>171</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.1</td>
<td>Comparison of Thailand Gross Domestic Product Between Agricultural and Nonagricultural Sector</td>
<td>192</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
# LIST OF FIGURES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Figures</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2.1 Research model: An Individual-level model of the Effect of the Education on Migration</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.1 Types of Labor in the Farming System</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.2 Movers and Their Level of Education</td>
<td>112</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.3 Non-Migrants' Reasons to Stay</td>
<td>113</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.4 Destinations selected by Prospective Student Migrants</td>
<td>127</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## LIST OF MAPS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Maps</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.1 Thailand and Neighbor Countries</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.2 Thailand and Chiangmai Physiognomy</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.1 Chiangmai and the Setting of San-kam-pang</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>District</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.1 San-kam-pang district</td>
<td>93</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
CHAPTER I
INTRODUCTION

Many countries face serious problems of internal migration, particularly developing countries where industrial development is concentrated in the big cities. High rates of rural-urban migration have become a cause of social and economic maladjustment. As the population increases in urban areas, the demand for social services also rises. Providing services including housing, transportation, schools, hospitals, sanitation facilities, etc., becomes a great burden on the government. In the rural areas, the out-migration of mostly young men and women results in a loss of output in terms of rural labor productivity. This situation can lead to a stagnant economy in the rural areas.

These social and economic problems, which are the result of rural-urban migration, have caused governments of many countries to establish various strategies for controlling migration. For example, in Thailand, the government has created many projects for rural development, such as providing credit to farmers, irrigation, dam construction, and road building. In Ghana, the government has set up a policy to promote development in secondary
cities. Such a policy encourages increased agricultural production by labor intensive methods. The Ghana government believes that the problem of unemployment in the big city can be best approached by aggressive policies which stimulate rural and secondary city employment.²

It is generally accepted that the major goal of rural-urban migrants is to find better jobs. In the industrial sector which needs well-trained laborers, education is one of the important factors enabling migrants to achieve their occupational goal. However, past analysis of internal migration in Thailand has mainly emphasized economic factors; education has rarely been taken into account. Since the problems stemming from population imbalance in Thailand are inefficiently solved due to emphasis only on the economic factors,³ a more holistic approach to the problem solutions, which would include the educational factor, should be considered.

Background of the Study

Thailand, a country in Southeast Asia, is surrounded by four neighbors: Burma to the north and the west, Laos to the northeast, Cambodia to the east, and Malaysia to the south (Map 1.1). The geographic area is divided into four regions: the north, the northeast, the south, and the central region where Bangkok, the capital city, is located. Traditionally,
Map 1.1 Thailand and Neighbor Countries
Thailand has had a subsistence economy based on rice farming and fruit growing. Since 1855, when the Trade Treaty between Thailand and Great Britain was established, Thailand's economic structure has changed. Foreign investment and the commercial, export-oriented rice industry have become popular. Modern high technology from western countries has become a growing interest in the Thai industrial sector.

Significant structural changes in the Thai economy have taken place since the early 1960s. Agriculture's share of the national income declined steadily from about 40 percent in 1960 to 24 percent in 1983. At the same time, the manufacturing sector expanded very rapidly, increasing its portion of the national income from 13 percent in 1960 to 20 percent in 1983. Since 1960, the Thai government's economic development plan has stressed industrialization concentrated in major cities. Such a plan leads to economic hardship in rural areas which are primarily agricultural.

After international trade was initiated in 1855, Thai society changed in many aspects, particularly its educational system. King Chulalongkorn, the King of Thailand between 1868-1910, initiated the reform of the Thai educational system. With the assistance of American missionaries, King Chulalongkorn was successful in establishing western-style government schools for all Thai
people. The educational system introduced by the missionaries became popular because it offered subjects such as geography, mathematics, sciences, and English studies not previously included in the traditional Thai system. Moreover, due to the opening of international trade with the west, the Thai government needed people who could speak English and understand international commerce and international law. Therefore, students who graduated from the newly implanted western educational system had a better chance than students of traditional schools of becoming government officials. It might be said that the western educational system was appropriate for the new Thai economic system.

The western educational system introduced educational goals which were contradictory to those formerly held by Thai society. Traditionally, Thai education was an instrument for training children to become 'moral persons.' The subject matter focused on Buddhist principles. With the establishment of international trade and a western system of education, schooling became an instrument for social mobility. As a result of the development of a new economic structure under the monarchy, the purpose of education became that of making a person, as the saying goes, "a ruler and a master," as the function of education was geared towards work in government service. In the current
democratic Thai society, education is still regarded as an instrument of social mobility. Most Thai people believe that "the more schooling and certificates their children can accumulate, the better will be their chances of getting secure and well-paid jobs."4

Because the educational system has become integrally related to the economic system, any attempt to address economic problems should include a serious consideration of education.

Statement of Problem

The current industrial development policy of the Thai government risks a continued imbalance in development and levels of income between the urban and the rural areas. The policy in effect encourages a large number of rural people to migrate to big cities, particularly Bangkok. The Thai government is attempting to remedy these disparities by involving rural Thais more in the development process.

Rural development has been included in the National Economic and Social Development Plans since 1977. The rural development policy of the current five-year plan has five main features: (1) giving top priority to the high poverty concentration areas; (2) developing economic alternatives in high poverty concentration areas for meeting the existing unmet needs; (3) initiating self-help programs; (4)
employing low-cost technology; and (5) encouraging greater participation of rural communities in resolving their problems.\textsuperscript{5}

Implicit in the rural development policy is the objective of reducing rural-urban migration. If the rural development policy achieves its goals, then theoretically rural-urban migration will decline. However, there is little evidence that this has occurred.\textsuperscript{6} The last three censuses showed that the number of migrants living in Bangkok increased from 107,200 in 1970 to 366,000 in 1980 and 638,800 in 1990.\textsuperscript{7} "Thus, effective rural development programs may increase income and agricultural productivity but may not reduce migration as expected."\textsuperscript{8}

The failure of the rural development policy to reduce rural-urban migration calls for a more complex investigation of why people leave the countryside. Previous research shows that although poverty is a major force of out-movement, it is rarely the poorest within any community who move.\textsuperscript{9} Various factors other than economic factors, for example, socio-cultural factors, must be considered in the search for explanations of rural-urban migration. In Thai society, the socio-cultural factors, particularly education, are likely to be related to migration.

Education is viewed as an important instrument for
individual economic achievement. Most Thai people believe that by attaining education they will get a well-paid job. Usually the job they have in mind is not farming. Many of them leave their home town believing they will find a better job in the city.

Studies of socio-cultural attitudes toward education and occupation are a key to the better understanding of rural-urban migration. Unfortunately, the study of such factors has been usually overlooked. There are no previous studies in which education in Thailand was made an important factor in rural-urban migration analysis. Therefore, this research will study the effect of education on rural-urban migration.

Significance of the Study

The ever increasing numbers of rural-urban migrants have created various problems within both the areas of origination and of destination. With the rapid growth of population in the destination area the government finds itself unable to provide essential social services such as transportation, schooling, health care including hospitals, sanitation, and housing. For example, in Bangkok, approximately half of the low-income population lives in slums where houses are built from sub-standard materials and are in generally bad physical condition. Moreover, due to
the dwellers' poverty, there has developed a number of related socioeconomic pathologies in slums, such as crime and drug use. The National Housing Authority estimated that the number of slums increased from 300 with approximately 480,000 inhabitants to 410 with 516,600 inhabitants in just one year (1980-1981).

Additionally, rural-urban migration has become a hindering factor in the regionalization of economic development and the decentralization of industries to rural areas.\textsuperscript{11} It is not likely that the rural areas can be developed while most of their working-age members migrate to cities.

Attempting to reduce the rate of rural migration to Bangkok by focusing only on economic factors has been ineffective. "At the moment Thais probably migrate to Bangkok at the rate of 100,000-200,000 a year."\textsuperscript{12} Therefore, to solve the problem of rural-urban migration effectively, additional factors have to be considered.

\textbf{Situation of the Study Area}

Chiangmai, the second largest city in Thailand, has been the center of the northern region development since 1967 (Map 1.2). Even though Chiangmai's economy greatly depends on agriculture, the industrial sector has been increasing its share in the overall Chiangmai economy,
Map 1.2 Thailand and Chiangmai Physiognomy
especially the tourist industry. Income from visitors spreads to a variety of services in the city, and this income highly helps the Chiangmai economy. With the extensive growth of tourism, cottage industries in Chiangmai (such as cotton and silk cloth, silverware, ceramic ware, and wood carving) have become focused on economic rather than subsistence goods. "Family operations have become corporate affairs; new partnerships have emerged; new design and techniques have been introduced and production has been greatly expanded."

Industrial development has come to be a great force for socio-cultural change in Chiangmai. While the big city is the concentration of financial, commercial and industrial power, it also "plays the role of diffuser of new life styles, customs, tastes, fashions and consumer habits of modern industrial society." As industrial development progresses, the traditionally close relationships among the people have declined. In industrial society, making a profit from investment capital is an essential strategy. Labor becomes an individual's valuable property which can be traded. There is no doubt that the traditionally cohesive community is disappearing from Chiangmai society. The new investors are strongly business-oriented rather than neighborhood-oriented.
Family structure has changed from the extended to the nuclear family. The cost of living in industrial areas, like Chiangmai city, is twice as high as that of surrounding areas. For family survival, sending family members to get jobs elsewhere is unavoidable. As a result, it is quite difficult to maintain an extended family. The Chiangmai tradition in which the youngest daughter stays with parents after marriage is no longer seriously practiced in Chiangmai. Ninety two per cent of the respondents of a recent survey in the central area of Chiangmai were living in nuclear families.\textsuperscript{17}

Due to the industrialization, transportation has been improved, the mass media has been developed, and the arrival of new investors has increased. These are intermediate variables or agents of change which act upon the socioeconomic functions of the local community. At present, Chiangmai traditional patterns have been weakened.

The pace of life has quickened; competition has become stiffer; attachment of the local neighborhoods has faded; Wat [temple] attendance has declined; and it is argued that the desire to acquire luxury goods has spoiled many of the residents—especially those of the younger generation.\textsuperscript{18}

Chiangmai's educational development has been the most extensive of any place in the north. The central Thai government supports this development at all levels, especially higher education. Chiangmai city has a
university, four colleges, twenty-eight vocational schools, and a secondary school in every district. These educational institutions open to local youth the occupational opportunities now found within Chiangmai's economic system.

Similar to other big cities, Chiangmai must deal with the problem of migration both within and between provinces. According to the 1980 census, approximately 5,167 residents of Bangkok had moved there from Chiangmai.

It is obvious that even though Chiangmai is the center of the northern economic development and education has improved accordingly, there are many local people leaving Chiangmai. Therefore, Chiangmai is an interesting province for studying how education effects migration.

Objectives of the Study

From the problem stated earlier, this research will investigate the influence of education on individual's motivation of rural-urban migration. The investigation consists of four areas of inquiry.

First, because the Thai educational system is centralized, the national education plan must be examined to understand the ultimate goal of schooling and the school's roles in the community.
Second, school curriculum and educational activities will be reviewed with the special emphasis given to values, training and abilities which impact the decision to migrate.

Third, parental opinions will be examined on the matter of the school's responsibility and the impact of education on their family members' motivation for working and/or continuing higher education outside the community.

Finally, the community's judgment of the well-educated person and the white-collar employer will be clarified. The findings from third and fourth areas of investigation will indicate that family and community can act to either facilitate or constrain out-migration.

Research Questions

The objectives of study mentioned earlier reflect a number of research questions:

1. What are the goals of the school? This question will also investigate whether the school's goals are believed to meet the individual's and community's needs.

2. What are the values that school attempts to inculcate in its students? This question focuses on those values that might affect a student's motivation to stay or to migrate. This question consists of the following sub-questions:
2.1 What image of rural life does the school present?

2.2 What image of urban life does the school present?

2.3 Does the school encourage students to maintain family ties?

3. What training and abilities can students acquire from their school? This question is comprised of the following sub-questions:

3.1 Does the school prepare students for any particular occupations?

3.2 Are the occupational skills that students receive from school appropriate for the available jobs in local areas?

3.3 Does the school prepare students to deal with life in a city?

3.4 Does the school provide and/or encourage students to get information about life and available employment in the city from various sources?

4. How do parents view education and out-migration? This question will also study whether parents want their children to attain higher education and get jobs in the city, and why?
5. How does the community view education and out-migration? This question will also examine whether the community views those who are well-educated and get white-collar job in the city as "successful."

An Overview of the Study

The structure of this dissertation consists of seven chapters. The first chapter is an introduction which presents the fundamental ideas of the research problem, the objectives of the research, and the scope of this dissertation.

The second chapter expresses the theoretical thinking which illustrates the role of education within the Thai national development system and the way in which education influences the decision to migrate. In this chapter, a conceptual model is presented to inform the framework of this research.

The third chapter emphasizes the methodology applied in this research, in which three major approaches are utilized: case study, formal interview, and historical and documentary research. The rationale of utilizing such methods as an integrated field design is discussed.

The fourth chapter traces the four stages of Thai educational development which are: Thai traditional education (1187-1868), Education reform (1869-1931),
Democratic movement (1932-1947), and Education for national development (from 1948). This exploration concentrates on the inter-relation between education and socio-economic and political situations, the details of which reveal the influence of education on internal migration.

The fifth chapter analyzes the research findings in the form of tables, figures, and samples of cases. Using Pa-pai village as a model, the results clarify socio-cultural and economic changes which lead to the problem of rural-urban migration. Personalities profiles of migrants and non-migrants are also delineated.

The sixth chapter contains research findings focusing on the impact of the values and training provided by the school on children's attitudes about occupation and rural-urban migration. The results also reveal parents' perspectives on their children pursuing higher education and getting city employment.

The last chapter summarizes the findings of the study and how they might be utilized for improving the educational system.
CHAPTER II
THEORETICAL AND CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

The theoretical and conceptual frameworks are the main subject of this chapter. A theoretical framework is necessary for expressing the way in which the research deals with a problem in a certain situation. The same problem may be treated in different ways if viewed from distinct perspectives. The first section, therefore, presents the theoretical framework explaining the relationship between education and migration and the effect of the former on the latter. The second section contains a conceptual model of the research and literature review, which provide the framework for ordering inquiry.

Theoretical Thinking

The simplest explanation of why a person migrates is that he or she expects to be better off by doing so. The fundamental idea of such an explanation is that of cost-benefit calculation. "A person chooses to migrate if he or she believes the benefits will exceed the cost."¹

Even though viewing migration from an economic perspective is likely to focus study on "economic" costs and benefits, nonmonetary costs and benefits such as social
mobility, friends and family connection and ecology, are also important for studying migration decision making. "There is danger in assuming that migration is always economically purposive behavior, and while . . . overlooking the significant proportion of migrants who move for social, idiosyncratic and particularly multiple reasons."\(^2\) Tiebout\(^3\) also has found that some people choose to migrate even though they do not improve their earnings while others choose not to move in spite of an offer of higher paying jobs in a area of destination.

Nonmonetary factors in migration decisions and behavior have been added to economic factors in a study of migration decision making by Byerlee\(^4\) and DaVanzo.\(^5\) These nonmonetary factors include psychic costs of leaving friends, relatives, and familiar surrounding, the costs of breaking old and setting up new contacts, the costs of overcrowding in cities, and pollution. They also include nonmonetary returns such as urban social amenities, a more pleasant climate, better living conditions, better schools, and anticipation of the nature of rural-urban social networks including remittances. Such nonmonetary factors have been woven into the theoretical thinking about migration decision analysis.\(^6\) Most recent studies of migration decision-making reveal the importance of and attempt to look at both economic and
noneconomic factors, including financial returns, social mobility, residential satisfaction, affiliations with family and friends and the attainment of life-style preferences.

Additionally, individual and place (origin and destination) characteristics are considered by scholars to be essential factors in any study of migration decision making. For individual characteristics, "the determinants of migration vary according to how the migrants are differentiated by their personal characteristics."\(^7\) For example, between two people perceiving similar costs and benefits of migration, the person who has a greater risk-taking propensity is more likely to decide to migrate than the other.

The level of education is a personal characteristic which seems to have a great influence upon migration decision making. Several migration studies (see reviewed literature) show that well-educated persons are more likely to migrate than those who are less educated. The reasoning is that well-educated persons have developed a capacity to change and to deal with changes in their living situation beyond that of non-educated persons. "Education orients persons increasingly toward a . . . problem-solving perspective . . ."\(^8\) The reasoning is also that well-educated persons may pursue and get a high quality of information
since such persons can access various sources. Accurate quality information reduces risk and uncertainty.\textsuperscript{9}

Moreover, in some cases, particularly in developing countries, education is perceived as the major means to occupational and economic mobility of migrants (as discussed below). This means that well-educated persons generally have a better opportunity to obtain stable employment, and thus, are more likely to migrate than those who are less educated.

Since migration involves a change of residence, characteristics of places have to take into account. Each place has a different set of positive and negative factors which attract or repel migrants.\textsuperscript{10} As mentioned earlier, various and numerous reasons are involved in migration decision making. However, "no one place can provide the highest level of satisfaction of all goals [reasons for moving]."\textsuperscript{11} A potential migrant will choose to migrate to a place for which expected benefits exceed expected costs.\textsuperscript{12}

In developing countries, the major concern of internal migration is rural-urban migration. This means generally that rural people perceive the city as a place that will maximize the expected gains from migration. In order to explain the attraction of different characteristics of rural and urban areas to potential migrants in developing countries, it is necessary to look at their national
development policy. Several models or theories of development will be applied in examining and attempting to explain the national development of developing countries.

First, the theory of Westernized imitative modernization explains that Third World countries will follow the same path taken by the developed countries in becoming modernized. Secondly, the Economic Commission for Latin America (ECLA) model of internalized industrial development projects a world-system viewed as one divided into 'center' and 'periphery'. The development which arises within the core societies is then taken as a dynamic also able to exercise significant influence over the development in the periphery.

However, many studies conducted in various Third World countries take issue with these conventional models of development. For example, many surveys have found that the urbanization process in Third World countries has been different from that in the developed countries. Each country in the Third World has its own pace of development which is not unlike the pace of development in the first World. But a major difference has been the impact of colonialism in the third world. Differences in socio-cultural, economic, and political circumstances must be taken into account. For instance, in many countries in the Third World, particularly in Asia, urban development is the
product of colonizing Western powers rather than indigenous economic organization. In addition, in the economic development plans of many Third World countries, there is often an intervention by the central government which is in contrast to the free market of the West. Moreover, in Third World countries, as McGee (1985) contends, there is:

> the persistence of stagnation in traditional agriculture, the structural pressures faced by small producers confronted by the penetration of agribusiness and the continued extension of low productivity activities.  

All of these focus and activities drive the Third World countries away from the imitative stylizations of conventional development models.

For the world-system model, it can be shown that economic development in the center does not always generate economic development in the periphery. There may be "unequal trading links and the consequent transfer of economic surplus or value from the peripheral nation to the center." For instance, the transnational corporation system is one way in which capital investment as well as high technology and modern equipment are transferred from the big cities such as New York, Tokyo, and London to the Third World countries. The profit from such the investment is, of course, sent back to the headquarters in those big cities.
In addition, within a nation, the concept of center/periphery relations in practice shows cities acting as what MCGee\textsuperscript{21} calls "theaters of accumulation." The promotion of industrial growth leads to the channeling of rural resources into urban manufacturing, banking and marketing concentrations in the cities. In general, "there is no constant correlation between increased economic growth rates and a more equitable distribution of the fruits of that growth."\textsuperscript{22} Indeed, the inequality of economic growth and the disparities of standards of living between urban and rural areas are increased.\textsuperscript{23}

Migration is one among many consequences of uneven economic links between peripheral and center areas. As Todaro\textsuperscript{24} contends, since the 1960s when industrial modernization, technological sophistication, and metropolitan growth initiated a substantial imbalance in geographic economic opportunities, the aspirations and motivations of individuals have been moved to the favored sector. At present, such rural-urban migration due to economic disparity is a serious problem facing many Third World countries.

As a nation develops into an urbanized, industrial society, various social programs, including education, are reformed. In fact, industrial development increases the pressure not only to expand education but also to make
possible the acquisition of a greater variety of skills by students, while at the same time, catering to the higher aspirations of wider sectors of society. Thus, reformed education as an institution now plays a much more important part than formerly in designating the kind of occupation a person might engage in. In such circumstances, education becomes an instrument for the allocation of people into an occupational hierarchy which reflects the social and modern stratification of the society. In this way, education supports unknowingly unequal economic growth in the society which is then the critical cause of internal migration. Education, therefore, is seen as one of the important contribution factors of rural to urban migration in developing countries.

This is a study of the Thai educational system intended to be a better understanding of that system within the process of national development. The study will be based on McGee's perspective on Third World urban systems as theaters of accumulation. The national development policy moving Thailand in the direction of becoming a modern industrial country and society creates economic polarization between Bangkok and the rest of the nation. Thai education has been reformed to be used for preparing children to work in a variety of occupations, each of which require different
levels and kinds of knowledge and skills. At present, the young generation of Thais attempts to pursue post-elementary education in order to obtain well paying jobs in the industrial sector which is mostly located in Bangkok. As Lee contends, it is rare that a person who receives the formal training necessary for developing his/her skills will pursue a career in the same locale as his/her birth. Migration is implied, an individual will migrate to find employment in his/her speciality. This means that within development policy education plays an important role in individual decisions to migrate or not.

Conceptual Framework and Literature Review

Generally, migration can be best understood in relation to the economic structural changes of the nation. Migration is a response to "the spatial concentration of wealth . . . with its inevitable creation of poverty and underdevelopment in relation to a few areas of dynamic economic growth." As the result, economic factors are viewed as the major forces that encourage people to migrate.

In previous research, the educational background of migrants has been included with other information gathered on migrant characteristics. No studies to date have concentrated on education as an important factor in explaining people's mobility. But according to ESCAP,
education is one of many active factors known to interact with the rest of the social elements. The trends of educational development have been influenced by the dynamic of socio-cultural, political, and economic changes, and vice versa. Internal migration, which is the product of socio-cultural, political and economic development is, therefore, partly related to educational development and vice versa.

It is quite difficult to analyze migration phenomena in an economic context without considering the influence of education. Furthermore, in order to explain why people leave their home town the educational factor becomes important. We should recognize that "any economic and social policy that affects rural and urban real incomes will directly and/or indirectly influence the migration process." For Todaro, even though economic factors have a great influence on the decision to migrate, noneconomic factors should also be taken into account, such as

social factors including the desire of migrants to break away from traditional constraints of social organizations; cultural factors including the security of urban "extended family" relationships and the allurement of the 'bright city lights'; communication factors resulting from improved transportation, urban-oriented educational systems and the modernizing impact of the introduction of radio, television, and the cinema.

This research will, therefore, emphasize the influence of socio-cultural factors, primarily education, on motivation for migration in Thailand.
Usually when we talk about education, we focus on schooling, including all those involved in school management. This research, as shown in Figure 2.1, will examine Thai schooling activities giving emphasis to educational attainment, knowledge, skills and values which seem to influence students' motivation to migrate.

**Educational Attainment**

Educational attainment refers to the level or number of years of education that a person is able to acquire. Several previous studies found that migrants in various countries have distinguished themselves by their relatively high educational attainment. Bogue's study of migration in the United States illustrated that during 1940-1950 the highest rates of migration in the United States were among those with high levels of schooling or college training.

In the developing countries, many studies showed similar research findings. Roussel's study in the Ivory Coast found that the people who completed primary school were more likely to leave rural area than those who did not. The Central Bureau of Statistics of Nepal revealed that the overall educational level of migrants was higher than that of non-migrants. An ESCAP study in Pakistan showed
Figure 2.1 Research Model: an Individual-Level Model of the Effects of Education on Migration
that migrants were better educated than their non-migrant counterparts. Migrants were twice as likely to be diploma holders as non-migrants. Moreover, migrants aged ten and above were twice as likely to be literate than non-migrants.

The UNESCO study35 of "Education and the Urban Migrant" reported that rural-urban migrants in the Philippines, Indonesia, and Thailand were relatively well-educated. In terms of years of schooling, the educational level of migrants in the Philippines was equal to, if not higher than, that of non-migrants. In Indonesia from 1974 to 1975, migrants coming to Jakarta had various levels of education; as a group they were more educated than those who remained in the place of origin. The UNESCO study also showed that the majority of migrants coming to Bangkok in 1968 were those who received education higher than the typical rural Thai. Moreover, a study by Goldstein, Prochuabmoh and Goldstein36 done in 1974 also found a positive relationship between migration and education.

These studies tell us that educational attainment is a feature of migration selectivity. Most of these studies have also investigated the causality of educational background on the migrants' actual economic success in the destination area which is usually an urban area. These studies revealed
that well-educated migrants have a better chance to get good jobs than less-educated migrants.

Preston's findings indicated that the acquisition of different levels of employment requires different kinds of qualifications. This means that "those seeking work must evaluate their personal chances of obtaining particular jobs or types of job by matching their qualifications to those required for the jobs available." For example, a subsistence farmer's teenage daughter who has had four years of primary school and has no prospect of employment in the home community is likely to seek urban employment in domestic service rather than in a managerial position in business, even though she knows of jobs available in the business sector.

In addition, employers tend to use educational attainment or number of years of completed schooling as a job requirement. Even though extra years of education may not contribute to better job performance, for the same wages the employer will generally prefer to hire those with more education rather than those with less education. Thus, the higher probability of success in securing a modern sector job and the higher expected income in the urban work place are very good reasons for those with more education to migrate to the cities. Rhoda's study described how
children in Ghana were required to attend six years of primary school followed by four years of middle school. After completing their education, many middle school graduates moved to the cities in search of jobs which offer greater monetary gains and carry a better social status. "The basic expected income model, therefore, provides an economic rationale for the observed fact in most LDCs [Less Developed Countries] that rural inhabitants with more education are more likely to migrate than those with less."*41*

Several studies made in the destination area, have shown that migrants with more education have better chances of getting jobs within a short period after arriving in the city than those who are less educated. The UNESCO*42* study of Bangkok showed that white-collar jobs seemed accessible to the more educated only. Most of the unemployment was concentrated among the migrants who were less-educated and had only recently arrived. In addition, Spear and Harris*43* estimated earning functions based on 1973-74 survey data for recent migrants to Indonesian towns. Their findings were that while migrants with low educational attainment did find work after arrival in the town, very little advancement in earnings was made after the first job was found.
Knowledge, Skills and Values

The individual's decision to migrate is not only determined by the quantity of educational attainment, but also the quality of education, and thus the knowledge, skills and values attained. The schools seem to be the place where students acquire knowledge and skills which are needed for jobs and life outside and after completion of schooling. Thus, a school might provide general knowledge and basic skills for problem solving and adjustment to a new environment, and vocational training programs for a certain kind of employment. This research will look at the kinds of knowledge and skills which students receive from their school and examine whether these are appropriate for living and obtaining jobs in rural or urban areas.

Knowledge

It becomes generally known that schools provide the kind of knowledge that is necessary for students' mental and physical improvement. In addition to learning how to read and write, students learn about different subject matters, including mathematics, sciences, social studies, and physical education. These subject matters have their specific educational objectives which may or may not relate to migration.

However, many studies found that education is able to
increase a person's awareness of the social and cultural difference of various locations. Such the awareness can be the result of an explicitly urban bias in some text books. It is also possible that education enables the student to recognize the advantages and disadvantages of rural vs. urban life and the prospects for development in the village and in towns and cities.

In addition, various studies found that educated persons are able to gain more information for their migration decision making than those who are non-educated. Even though relatives and friends are the migrant's major source of information, "an inability to obtain information from various kinds of written material isolates an individual from important sources of information." Thavonjit, in a study of regional migration in Thailand, found that education enables individuals to obtain information about jobs available in other areas through the mass media, such as newspapers, magazines, radio, and television. Yeshwant's study of four Tamil Nadu villages reveals that people who have access to various channels of information such as newspaper, radio, and television are more likely to migrate.

Therefore, it will be very interesting to find out how schools teach students to access and gather information
which might be useful for migration. Moreover, this study will also examine information directly related to migration that school might provide to students. This includes information from teachers and students that might contribute to migration.

**Skills**

Training in vocational skills programs are included in schools curriculum in conjunction with national economic development plan. Since 1960, Thai economic setting has moved from agrarian to industrialization. The transition within the economic system affects the ways in which people earned their living and leads to change in education. The schools, therefore, have to offer different vocational training programs which serve the labor market needs. Each of vocational training programs have a set of goals to prepare students for specific kinds of work. As the result students who complete certain vocational program are expected to find a jobs in the field for which they have been prepared.

Obviously, vocational training programs can be used as a means to allocate students in occupational structure. It is also possible that vocational training program becomes a "screening device for job recruitment and selection."\(^{51}\)

Vocational training programs are not only directly
related to graduates' occupations but also their workplaces. The graduates might decide to move to other areas after found that there is no local employment that is suitable for their working skills. This research, therefore, will investigate vocational training programs offering in schools to see: 1) what kinds of vocational training programs are provided in the schools, and 2) whether or not these vocational training programs are appropriate for local employment.

Values

In terms of values, this research attempts to find out what values schools evoke or help students acquire. Those values, which include attitude toward occupation and the importance of education, the values of a living environment, of family ties, and an achievement orientation, etc., "will represent goals sought by all individuals and societies."52

Some previous studies imply that schools build values which encourage students to migrate, such as a strong preference for city life. For example, a study of migrants to Peshawar, Pakistan, suggested quite firmly that the more educated among the rural people were likely to migrate because of their greater preference for city life.53 Critto54 and Margulis55 agree that the educational system and mass
media have a great influence on changing the perceived needs of some individuals.

Fagerlind and Saha also argue that advancement in school is directly related to modernity-linked orientations.

The raising of educational and occupational aspirations, less adherence to traditional customs and beliefs, and openness to new experiences, a willingness to migrate and a reduction in familism or family ties, are just a few such modern orientations which result from the school experience.

In terms of occupational preferences, Nair contends that education makes youth feel that they are unfit for the rural area. "He [the educated person] leaves agriculture altogether, because cultivation, or in fact any kind of manual work in the rural context, is considered totally incompatible with education." Preston's findings showed that in Highland Ecuador, modern education leads rural youths to aspire to a career outside the traditional or subsistence agricultural sector, preferably in a non-manual occupation in an urban environment. From the earliest age, children are taught "the desirability of a trade or of a profession and urban-based consumerism." They are also taught that education is the essential means open to them to compete for such a life.

The UNESCO study indicated that the majority of migrants in Bangkok view education as a stepping-stone
toward clerical, professional, and other white collar jobs. Approximately sixty percent of the migrants agree with the statement that "an educated man should work in an office, not on the farm."

Even though the findings of these studies illustrate that students learn in school to prefer city life and a desk job rather than rural life and a farm job, there has been no explanation of why and how schooling does this. It might be possible that students learn these values from their textbooks. Deniel's African study revealed that the books used in primary schools often give a pleasant impression of the African town. Although the influence of appealing pictures in the printed and other media is obvious, the school textbook might also present messages describing some of the advantages of city living. Therefore, this research will not only examine what values are taught by the schools, but also why and how schools do it.

Another source of values development in school is the "hidden curriculum"; or that is, ways of thinking and doing things which are not explicitly part of the official curriculum. School is able to bring young people together from diverse backgrounds and organize their time according to set routines. Students are trained to broaden their views of the world and to accept the norms of tolerance, adjustability, the necessity of planning ahead, and the
importance of punctuality. It has been suggested that what is taught informally and indirectly may be more important than what is taught formally and directly. In Dreeben's work on "What is Learned in School," he points out that "punctuality, competitiveness and bureaucratic organization, are three dimensions of normative systems which, in effect, the child must learn if he or she is to survive in the larger society." The "hidden curriculum," whether the school intends to teach it or not, might make students feel more inclined to move to a city and to live in a cosmopolitan environment.

Constraints and Facilitators

As shown in Figure 2.1, the research will also examine the responses of people who decide that their home town is not where they want to live, or even get desired employment. Some of them might try to adjust themselves to the setting of their home town, whereas others desire to move to a new area where they might be able to fulfill their life's goals. Before migration actually occurs, many factors are involved. For this research, only family and community will be studied in terms of being constraints or facilitators of migration.

Thai society, particularly the rural sector, is a traditional society. All members of a community or a village know each other very well. They are able to trace an
individual's family line back two or three generations. They treat other people in the community as their relatives, especially the elderly. Within a family, which usually is extended, parents receive great respect from their children. An individual or even a married child is unable to make any decision without asking his/her parents' opinion. Everyone abides by the social norms and values of the community. The community members negatively sanction any behavior which deviates from community beliefs.

Therefore, in order to study the motivation of migration, this research cannot ignore the family's and the community's perspective toward education and migration. In some cases, family members might view migration as a means to solve economic problems. For example, in a big family which does not have enough land for everyone in the family, parents might encourage some of their children to complete school and get a job outside their home town. In this situation, parents will expect the school to prepare their children for the employment and life in city. That is, the family members act as a facilitator of individual's migration. As a study in Ghana by Rhoda\textsuperscript{64} showed, the failure of school vocational programs was due to the fact that they did not meet the parents' expectations. The vocational program was established in order to create a good
attitude among students toward manual work in the rural areas. This policy has not been successful because the public did not accept vocational schools; most of the parents wanted their children to receive an academic education in order to have higher-paying white collar jobs.

Traditionally, Thai people in rural communities admire a well-educated person, particularly a person who attended school in a city, who is considered knowledgeable, and whose ideas and advice concerning community management are likely to be accepted by community members. Community heads are usually selected from those who not only are well-educated but who have also spent a period of their life time in a town or city and who have connections with high ranking officials. Even though it is not a formal requirement, in practice community leaders are often better educated persons and returned migrants. Thus, community members encourage the younger generations to seek a higher educational level than their village school can provide and to see the world outside their community. This situation suggests that community members behave as facilitators of individual migration.

As mentioned earlier, this is an initial study of effects of education on migration decision making. This research, therefore, will not cover other factors that might also influence motivation for migration. Focusing on school
curriculum and activities as well as family and community opinions will lead to a better understanding of how and why education is an instrument that encourages people to leave their home town.
CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY OF THE STUDY

The ultimate goal of this research is to reveal the role of education on the individual decision to migrate. The research methodologies are designed to gain the in-depth information from the respondents of a village in Chiang-Mai. Even though the findings might not be generalizable to apply to the whole country, they will initiate the idea of looking at education as an important yet unstudied variable in the analysis of rural-urban migration.

The study endeavors to answer six research questions (see chapter I) by utilizing an integrated field design which consists of: 1) a case study approach, including documentary reviews, participant observation, informal interviews, and life-history techniques; 2) formal interviews by means of questionnaire and quantitative analysis; and 3) historical and documentary research to trace the impact of educational policy on internal migration. The advantage of such an integrated field design is that the information gathered will provide a holistic explanation of the effect of education on rural-urban migration. The following rationales, including explanations
and problems encountered, relate the research methodologies applied in the study.

Case Study

A case study is an in-depth, multifaceted investigation of a contemporary social phenomenon within its real-life context.\(^1\) In case studies human beings are considered as the actors in such social phenomenon rather than as the informants. In other words, a case study provides a way of studying human events and actions in their natural surroundings. In contrast, quantitative work primarily deals with survey questions and answers with a large number of respondents. As a result "the flesh and bones of the everyday life world is removed from the substance of the research itself."\(^2\)

Additionally, according to Yin,\(^3\) a case study allows an investigation to retain the holistic and meaningful characteristics of real-life events. In a case study, the researcher examines not only the life in which people are involved but also "the complex web of social interaction, such as individual life cycles, organizational and managerial processes, neighborhood change, international relations, and the maturation of industries,"\(^4\) which influences the individuals' beliefs and decisions. Through
studying human beings in this manner, the researcher can "get a sense of what drives them, and develop claims of how their personal as well as collective lives have been created." Since this research intends to reveal the impact of education on the individual's decision to migrate, a holistic investigation can provide a detailed understanding of the factors which go into the individual decision process.

The case study portion of this research was conducted in two study areas: San-kam-pang School, the district school located in the center of San-kam-pang district; and Pa-pai, a village of San-kam-pang district, Chiangmai province. According to unpublished reports of the Chiangmai Governor's Office, the district of San-kam-pang (Map 3.1) is suitable for the study for the following reasons: First of all, the economic setting of San-kam-pang district, compared with all other districts, is in the middle level, meaning that its economic situation does not override the importance of socio-cultural factors in terms of its impact on decisions to migrate. Secondly, even though eighty percent of San-kam-pang residents are involved in the traditional agricultural community, some urbanization has occurred, affecting the San-kam-pang socioeconomic and cultural setting. A large number of small industries of handicrafts and their showcases, such as silver products, ceramic ware, and silk
Map 3.1 Chiangmai and the Setting of San-kam-pang District
and cotton weaving, are located on the Chiangmai - San-kam-pang highway. Each day, a large number of tourists visit these industries and also go to other tourist attraction within San-kam-pang district, which is approximately thirteen kilometers east of Chiangmai city.

Thirdly, San-kam-pang appeared very interesting to me after I was informed by the Provincial Department of Education that among all of the secondary schools in Chiangmai, San-kam-pang School, the only secondary school (grade 7 to 12) of San-kam-pang district, is the most successful in providing vocational programs. Such programs are directly related to the students' future occupations. Since this study emphasizes the educational factor in internal migration, I chose San-kam-pang School to be a study area.

Within San-kam-pang district, there are one hundred and thirty six villages. According to the head of the District Office, mobility is found in all villages of San-kam-pang district. Officially, when a person changes his/her residence, he/she has to report at the Department of Household Registration at the District Office. The head of District Office contends there are many people who have changed their residence without reporting to the Household Registration Office. This is taken to mean that there is no
full and accurate information on people's mobility. As a result, in order to find an appropriate village as a study area, the researcher decided to do a preliminary survey in San-kam-pang district. After two weeks of surveys and informal information gathering at community public places (such as a street corner coffee shops, grocery stores, and beauty salons), Pa-pai village seemed to have some residents who are returned migrants and others who desire to migrate. The researcher, therefore, chose Pa-pai village to be the study area.

Pa-pai, a farming village of San-kam-pang district, had four hundred and twelve households at the time of the census. The village is about one and a half kilometers from the San-kam-pang School, which is located in the center of San-kam-pang district. After my preliminary survey in San-kam-pang School, Waraporn, a school teacher, kindly offered to let me stay at her house in Pa-pai village.

In a case study, well-designed field procedures are essential. The investigation and information collection rely mostly on the existing people and institutions. The investigator must learn to integrate real-life events with the needs of data collection. The properly designed plan will provide "the logical sequence that connects the empirical data to a study's initial research questions and,
ultimately, to its conclusions." Moreover, the plan can help the investigator to complete all data collection activities within a specified period of time. With limitations of budget and time, I had approximately eight months to conduct my field study.

However, the case study approach has been criticized on the basis of its lack of validity. This is because the data collection depends on the "subjective" judgments of the investigator. Case study investigators reply that multiple sources of evidence are used in a manner which encourage convergent lines of inquiry and also provide multiple measures of the same phenomenon. As the result, the findings and conclusions in a case study are likely to be much more convincing and accurate than those that rely on only single sources of information.7

In order to construct validity, four sources of evidence are applied in data collection for the case study part of this research: documentation, informal interviews, participant observation, and life history techniques.

**Documentation.**

All government educational documents such as the National Education Plan, the school educational plan, the school curriculum, and school year-book reports, were reviewed. These documents disclosed the role of education
and school activities from the government's perspective. In addition, the school curriculum is established by the policy makers whose offices are in Bangkok. The information that is appeared in the school curriculum is reflected the perception of those who do not work in schools. That means, the researcher obtained the information from the vision of the outsiders.

Informal Interview

Interviews are an essential source of case study evidence. The investigator obtains information from various groups of people who are directly involved in the matter under study. Interviews provide the information that is "reported and interpreted through the eyes of specific interviewees, and well-informed respondents can provide important insights into a situation."  

Informal interviews were conducted with both the residents of Pa-pai village and teachers and students of San-kam-pang School. In the school, the interviewees were the vice principal, nine teachers, eight students from grade ten, and fourteen students from grade twelve. In Pa-pai village, the interviewees were Waraporn and Santipab. Waraporn is a teacher of San-kam-pang school. She invited me to stay at her house in Pa-pai village while I was conducting the research. Santipab is a fourteen-year old boy.
who lived nearby. He is a grade 9 student of San-kam-pang school. Both Waraporn and Santipab helped me to understand the real-life events within the Pa-pai village and to gain access to the other interviewees.

**Participant Observation**

The observation technique in this approach differs from everyday observation. In participant observation, the researcher actually participates in the events being studied. The degree of participation can range from simply living in the community in which research is being conducted to emulating the natives as fully as possible.\(^9\) Participant observation involves "conscious and systematic sharing, insofar as circumstances permit, in the life-activities and, on occasion, in the interests and affects of the group of persons."\(^{10}\) In addition, the participant observation means to create "the various kinds of human social relationships" and "to establish some reciprocal relationships" with the people of the study area.\(^{11}\) The researcher who conducts participant observation is not merely a passive observer. Instead, the researcher has to analyze what s/he observes by linking it with patterns, organizing concepts, and theories in order to draw general conclusions (see chapter II for the theoretical and conceptual frame work).

Participant observation provides a distinctive
opportunity to perceive reality from the viewpoint of someone "inside" the case study rather than external to it.\textsuperscript{12} Participant observation, therefore, is suitable for research on processes into complex fields of activity with numerous situations and persons, or as a method of exploration to discover relevant variables of the behavior of actors or in their relation to an organization.\textsuperscript{13}

The study of the impact of education on individuals' decisions to migrate is complicated because the researcher has to examine both implicitly and explicitly how social, economic, and cultural factors interact with education. In addition, in many societies, Asian societies in particular, the migrants do not make the decision to migrate by themselves. Several groups of people, including family members and friends have influenced in the process of making a decision to migrate. Therefore, in order to explain why and how education is an essential factor in the motivation to migrate, the researcher needs to participate in the real-life activities of the people in the study area to gain information as an insider.

In order to make successful observations and to receive information from inside, the researcher has to be accepted as a member of the community being studied. In doing my research, I found myself easily being accepted in the two study areas. Since I am a teacher in a public school myself the San-kam-pang school's principal was able to introduce me
as a substitute counseling teacher. Thus, I was welcomed to share in every school activities and to talk with teachers and students as well. In Pa-pai village, I was known as Waraporn's friend. Most of the villagers respect Waraporn because of her career as a teacher. In the first week I stayed in her house, Waraporn accompanied me around the community and introduced me to the villagers. I could not have been recognized as a "resident" of the Pa-pai village within a few days without Waraporn's assistance. Her trust in me gradually led the majority of the community to trust me.

Life History Study

The life history approach emphasizes the experiences of the individual living in the society. The informant describes the events in his/her life history in conjunction with the socio-cultural and economic influences. In addition, the life history technique allows the researcher to see the individual's adaptative behavior when dealing with new situations such as changing of cultural roles and status, entering a new social group, or acquiring a new self-conception. The researcher expects to explain why the individual adapts his/her behavior by examining the main opportunities and limitations that the individual has faced at each turning point in life.14
The researcher who applies the life history techniques should set criteria for choosing respondents who can provide information on particular subjects. The members of Pa-pai village who were selected to be the respondents for the life-history approach were persons who intended to migrate, were returned migrants, and were non-migrants. Data from the village census (discussed below) was used to identify those respondents. Three typical individuals in each category of respondent were chosen for the life history approach. While this research was being conducted, a few out-migrants happened to visit the village. All of them were included in the life history approach.

The life history technique primarily uses an in-depth interview. Since very personal information is needed, the researcher has to establish a good relationship with the respondents and create his/her own technique to prompt them to speak about special subjects of interest. Fortunately, Pa-pai villagers were very friendly and willing to talk to other people. It was, therefore, easy for the researcher to ask them to reveal personal information. To make the informants feel comfortable, the researcher attempted to arrange the interviewing to be as casual and convenient as possible. The researcher also gradually collected information by meeting several times with each
informant rather than attempting to solicit all the information at once.

Formal Interviews

As previously mentioned, this research attempts to apply an integrated research method. Such a method enables the researcher to obtain both a depth and breadth of information for the particular study undertaken. The research techniques which are applied within the case study approach have been discussed. In this section, the area of discussion is the formal interview which relied on a large number of respondents and required statistical analysis. The formal interviews were conducted in the form of village-level census and a community survey which concentrated on the respondents' opinion toward education and out-migration.

Census

The census was conducted in Pa-pai village. The purpose of the village census was to collect both general personal information and personal histories of migration. As mentioned earlier, the target informants for the life history technique were those who intended to migrate, were return migrants, and who were non-migrants. The village census was very helpful in identifying who and where these potential respondents were. The current number of households
in Pa-pai village, which the researcher found in a preliminary field survey, was four hundred and twelve. The village-level census attempted to obtain information of all households within the village. However, there were three hundred and ninety three completed census forms. Some households refused to be interviewed and other households were not able to set up a convenient time for the interview.

In the census form, the researcher attempted to include all information relevant to the impact of education on personal motivation to migrate (see census form in appendix). Questions 1-9 requested personal information which was used as a frame of reference. Questions 10-15 were information of those who were return migrants, to reveal their reasons for moving back. The information of those who intended to migrate were questions 16-19. These questions tried to investigate the individual's life expectations in the particular destination. Questions 20-29 were designed to obtain information about the out-migrants and review the motivation for moving away. Question 30 sought the incentive for staying for the non-migrants. Finally, questions 31-40 tried to examine the land holder status of each family, in what way their lands are used and the problems associated with farm labor. The census form was translated into Thai and pretested before using it in the actual study area. The
researcher spent about eight weeks doing the census. The statistical analysis of collected data will be presented later (Chapter V).

Survey Technique

The role of education in affecting individual motivation to migrate can be revealed, on the one hand, from the inside of educational system, that is from the provider's perspective. On the other hand, it can be disclosed from the receiver's perspective as well. The residents of the Pa-pai village are witnesses providing information as to what has been instilled in their children by the school. They also are able to clarify the impact of education on motivation to migrate.

To obtain such information, the sample survey method was utilized. The method is an "inquiry which involves the collection of systematic data across a sample of cases, and the statistical analysis of the results." The researcher who applies the survey technique in his/her research has to design a research instrument--questionnaire--to serve the research objectives and to be appropriate for statistical analysis. Survey sampling--the "methods for selecting a part of population in order to make inferences about the whole population," is another important stage which the researcher must carefully consider.
Since this research was conducted within only one village and San-kam-pang School was selected to be case study area, the respondents of the survey were villagers whose children are attending San-kam-pang School. According to year book report of San-kam-pang School, there are two hundred and ten households in Pa-pai village having children in San-kam-pang School. The researcher decided to ask all of these households to answer the questionnaire. There were one hundred and ninety four completed questionnaires. The rest of them were incomplete because the respondents were unclear about what their children learn from school and/or did not want to answer the questionnaire.

**Questionnaire Formulation**

The survey questionnaire was constructed to cover all of the research questions (see questionnaire in appendix). Questions 1-21 ask for personal information to be applied as a frame of reference. To reveal values which are provided by the school and which influence students' motivation to stay or migrate, questions were formulated in three groups of questions: questions 22-24 explored the image of the students' local community, question 25-26 examined the image of city life, and questions 28-31 were designed to look at the meaning of life achievement. Questions 35-37 investigated the vocational training program provided by the
school. Questions 33, 34, 38, and 39 sought the parents'
options regarding the school's vocational program.
Questions 27 and 32 looked at abilities which the school
instilled into students. Questions 40, 41, 42, 43, 53, 54,
55, and 56 examined parents' attitudes toward education and
the school's responsibilities. Questions 44-52 were designed
to study the community's opinion of well-educated persons
and of out-migrants. Finally, question 57 was open for
respondents' comment and suggestions.

The researcher spent about two weeks improving the
questionnaire in order to make it appropriate for the
respondents. The questionnaire was translated into Thai and
pretested with a pilot group of twenty Pa-pai villagers with
different educational backgrounds and occupations. Its
organization was adjusted and ambiguous questions were
changed to be clearly understandable for the respondents.

**Statistical Analysis**

The census form and questionnaire were used as the
instruments of the formal interview. As previously stated, a
total of 194 completed survey questionnaires and a total of
393 census forms were received. Respondents spent
approximately 20 minutes completing the census form and
approximately 30 minutes answering the survey questionnaire.
For the census, the household heads were the target persons
to be interviewed. However, in situations where the household heads were not home and/or are not available to answer questions, the family member who was taking charge at that time was interviewed. For the survey questionnaires, the student's parents (either father or mother) were the informants.

Five research assistants were needed for data collecting. They were trained to conduct the interviews using the census form and questionnaire. The structure of both forms and all technical wordings were clearly defined. The research assistants were instructed to ask all questions in the same manner in order to obtain consistent results. They also practiced explaining the purpose of the study in the most friendly manner possible prior to asking the questions.

All of the answers were coded in the boxes at the end of each question before being recorded on the coding sheets. For the village census form, data were analyzed using an individual as unit of analysis. Within the 393 households there are 1622 individual cases. The decision to move and family-influenced values can thus be traced via the tabulation between the individual's data and the family's background information. For the survey questionnaire, data were obtained using the household as the unit of analysis, since only the parents answered the questionnaire.
Historical Research

Current circumstances can be more clearly and fully understood by looking back into the history forming the time context of these circumstances. Historians attempt to investigate every issue in long perspective, looking for trends and direction that appear. For example, historians find "the roots of today's racial tensions [in the United States] in lines of development that go back not merely to the Civil War but long before." The historical approach can be applied to analyze the impact of education on an individual's motivation to migrate. This research approach enables the researcher to trace back the impact within the process of Thai educational development from the year 1187 to the present. The findings of the historical research can be applied as fundamental information in understanding the current Thai educational system and its influence on migration decision making.

Similar to other research approaches, the historical approach consists of data or information collection, data evaluation, and a meaningful data presentation and discussion. Since the historical approach focuses on past events, it is very difficult for the researchers to obtain information directly from the primary sources. Therefore, historical researchers attempt to gather
information from "primary documents, secondary documents, and cultural and physical artifacts."²²

Nonetheless, for the historian, the significance and the reliability of the data are much more essential than the quantity of the data. From the historian's perspective, not every detail is relevant to the research question. The historian, therefore, endeavors to explore carefully all possibly significant and reliable data.²³ There are three criteria for obtaining such data: closeness, competence, and impartiality. "Closeness" means "the source closest to the event in time and space."²⁴ Some historians consider contemporary accounts of events and original words of official documents as "primary" sources while the others are "secondary" sources. In contemporary documents, Felt²⁵ argues, there is a mixture of eyewitness and hearsay evidence. It is crucial that time lapse between an event and its recording must be considered. "Contemporary" can be perceived as a misleading term as soon as an eyewitness loses his/her focus. Thus, for Felt the "closeness" is indeed very essential.

"Competence" emphasizes the capability of the sources to understand and describe a circumstance. Felt contends that not all participants are able to explain efficiently what happened. The researcher, therefore, should select
those informants who have the greatest potential to answer correctly the questions.

"Impartiality" focuses on the motivation of the sources in providing the information. According to Felt, official agencies which have responsibility only in gathering and reporting information are most reliable. In contrast, agencies which obtain data from others can hardly control the accuracy of their report.

In order to trace the linkages between education and motivation of migration, the researcher attempted to search for primary sources. Most of the primary sources were official documents, reported by the office of Ministry of Education and Ministry of Interior who deal with the policy of internal migration. Since these documents are released by the official agencies directly involved in the circumstances, such primary sources can be considered accurate and reliable.

However, Shafer contends that government documents might be released only up to a certain extent. Some information might not be opened to researchers for a variety of reasons. In this light, the researcher, as Felt suggests, tried to obtain information from other sources such as newspapers, letters, and private records. As a
result, the researcher was able to cross-check and compare information for the sake of accuracy.

The final step of the historical approach is data discussion or interpretation. All of the collected information or evidence must be properly digested before attempting interpretation. This requires examining the evidence piece by piece and knitting it together to reveal the larger meanings. It is not easy to see the interconnections and contradictions of the evidence. The researcher must become a thinker and puzzle out meanings for him/herself.\textsuperscript{29}

It is obvious that each research technique has its own strengths and weaknesses. This research attempts to apply an integrated research methodology by using several research techniques for establishing complementarity among them. As a result, the research seeks to see clearly a holistic picture of the impact of education on individual motivation for migration.
CHAPTER IV

EDUCATIONAL DEVELOPMENT AND ITS IMPACT ON INTERNAL MIGRATION: HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

It is important to look into the history of the development of the Thai educational system in the context of socio-cultural, political, and economic change in order to understand its present system and its effect on internal migration. Four distinctive periods have been described in Thai history: Sukhothai (1187-1350), Ayuthaya (1350-1767), Thon Buri (1767-1782), and Bangkok (from 1782) (Table 4.1). The modern Thai educational pattern was not formed until the Bangkok regime. Thai education development consists of four stages: Thai traditional education (1187-1868), educational reform (1869-1931), early democracy movement (1932-1947), and education for national development (from 1948). In this chapter, the patterns of education in each stage will be examined. I will look closely at how they were influenced by the socioeconomic and political environment, and how they in turn affected internal migration.

Traditional Education (1187-1868)

In traditional Thai society, there was only an informal education which was more influenced by socio-political factors than by the economic needs of the nation. In the
TABLE 4.1 Development of Thai Educational System and Its Impact on Internal Migration

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Thai Historical Period</th>
<th>Educational Goals</th>
<th>Impact on Internal Migration</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sukhothai period (1187-1350)</td>
<td>Traditional education (1187-1868)</td>
<td>Little effect on people mobility</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ayuthaya period (1351-1767)</td>
<td>-education for morality</td>
<td>Induce people to move to the city</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thon Buri period (1768-1781)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Retained rural people in their home town</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bangkok period (from 1782)</td>
<td>Educational reform (1869-1931)</td>
<td>Recruited rural people to work for industrial sector in cities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-training bureaucrats</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Education in early democracy movement</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(1932-1947)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-equal opportunity for education</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-training for local occupation</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Education for national development</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(from 1948)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-vocational education</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-training skilled workers</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Sukhothai period, King Ramkhamhaeng sought to eliminate Khmer influence in Thai culture and religious practices. Buddhist monks from Sri Lanka were brought to Sukhothai to preach the Buddhist principles. Buddhism became the dominant religion in Thai society, enjoying the King's support. Buddhist doctrine was adjusted to and assimilated into the customs, attitudes, traditions, art, literature, and daily actions of the Thai people. Buddhist principles also became fundamental to the subject matters taught in monastery schools.

Traditional education had very little direct impact on migration. First, it became generally known through education that self-fulfillment was a value fostered by Buddhist principles. Students of monastery schools were taught to find contentment with their local life situation. Such a value did not encourage the individuals to migrate. In general, the individuals migrated to other places where they expected to have better living conditions in terms of both economic and socio-cultural aspects. Since satisfaction with the current living situation was instilled into students of monastery schools, the graduates hardly migrated.

In addition, education in monastery schools did not generally increase a person's awareness of the social and
economic situation in other locations. Before becoming interested in migration, individuals need information about areas of destination. The individuals who gained more information from various sources, including both written and nonwritten materials, would have greater awareness of the socio-cultural and economic difference of other areas. However, during Sukhothai period, the communication was inefficient and transportation between towns took days or months. Even though people who attended monastery schools learned to read and write, it was quite difficult for them to receive direct and meaningful information from other towns.

Second, the monastery schools did not provide an occupational training program. The offspring of a family would normally assist in the family business or occupation in order to take over after the death of the parents. According to Watson,\(^1\) it is obvious that traditional education aimed at training the students for life, at teaching them about human relationships and morality and at preparing them for work in the local community.

Education was changed for political reasons during the reign of King Narai, a king of Ayuthaya (1656-1688). King Narai intended to maintain good relations with western countries who competed with each other and with Thai authority for trade and power in the Ayuthaya kingdom.
Nonetheless, Holland operated "gunboat diplomacy" and forced King Narai to accept a disadvantageous trade treaty in 1664.\footnote{2} In order to reduce the Dutch's commercial position in Ayuthaya, the king encouraged closer relations with the French. Within that brief period, French missionaries established a school at Ayuthaya. The school taught not only Christian principles but also western subjects such as science, mathematics, and medicine.

Thai people were interested in western knowledge and seemed not to refuse to learn Christian principles. King Narai was afraid that Thai people would convert to Christianity. He therefore felt that he had to match the missionaries' accomplishment in promoting an indigenous education. King Narai asked Phra Horathibodi, his Court Astrologer accomplished savant of renown, to write the first textbook, "Chindamani," for teaching Thai language in the monastery schools throughout the kingdom. This textbook is considered by Thai educators as an initial stage of modern education patterns even though teaching Buddhist principles remained the major goal of the monastery schools.\footnote{3} Unfortunately, the Ayuthaya kingdom was destroyed by Burma before this form of modern education was further developed.

Between the period of Thon Buri to the early period of Bangkok, the number of resident foreigners, including the
representatives of foreign governments, businessmen, and missionaries, gradually increased. Westerners brought with them their culture and knowledge which generated alternatives in many aspects of life in Thai society such as new techniques to medical treatment, disproving the court astrologers, printing codes of law, and building foreign-style ships for government trading. The influence of the western world in this period was one of the major factors which led to educational reform.

Educational Reform (1869-1931)

The Thai socioeconomic and political environment was dramatically changed by western influence in King Chulalongkorn's regime (1869-1910). Western bureaucratic organization was initially introduced in the Thai political structure by King Chulalongkorn. During his regime, European imperialist countries also had penetrated Thailand's neighboring countries. To maintain her independence, Thailand was forced by western countries to sign unfair trade treaties. Such treaties not only forced Thailand to accept the international commercial measures but through such treaties western countries also claimed that Thailand granted extraterritorial rights on the grounds that Thailand's traditional administration and political structure was less "civilized". In addition, the internal
political environment was destabilized due to a power struggle between central government control and local authority. Because of the external political pressure and the internal political struggle, King Chulalongkorn drew upon and adopted features of western political structures which, in turn, helped him in consolidating his political power and control.

The modern Thai educational system was formed in response to such changes in the political structure. King Chulalongkorn realized that the introduction of the western political and administrative system would not be successful unless there was a sufficient number of educated men to fulfill administrative and legislative responsibilities. Therefore, the Thai formal educational system was established in 1881, a system following the western model and geared toward the preparation of students to become bureaucrats. In the process the school curriculum was divided into two standards. Standard One, pursued through elementary classes, focused on the basic skills of Thai language--reading and writing. Standard Two was a more specific type of teaching, focusing on the needs of the bureaucracy itself. "Education was rarely viewed by Thai elites as an end in itself." It was used as a means to serve the need of the Thai elites. To supply the extensive manpower needed by the growing bureaucracy was one example.
The modern Thai educational system changed the whole course of Thai thinking and values about education. Thai people came to believe as in the West that formal education trained students to become a component of a new ruling elite. Such values and belief had a direct impact on migration. Educated people were no longer willing to do farming. They wanted to serve in the government offices located in either Bangkok or rural towns.

General education tends to encourage people to aim for clerical jobs, because general education learned from schools equips them for clerical work. Many young people leave their farms to find clerical jobs.

When formal education was extended from Bangkok to other provinces, the national education plan was launched to control and standardize national curriculum. Again, political reasons were involved. King Chulalongkorn intended to reform the provincial administrations in order to unite all provinces into a functioning national entity. Education was one of several means which were implemented to increase central control over the administration of the provinces. All government schools (public schools) throughout the country were mandated to use the same curriculum and textbooks. In addition, only standard Thai was used as a means for instruction.

Although education was standardized, its quality, nevertheless, differed between schools in rural and urban
areas and in turn affected internal migration. In the mid-1880s, the annual examination system was introduced for all students who were graduating. Passing this examination gave students both a chance at eventual government employment and an exemption from military obligation. Because of the limited budget, the educational quality of other provinces was subordinated to that of Bangkok. The Standard Two Curriculum which emphasized the civil service was concentrated at a single school in Bangkok. As a result, most of the students who passed the annual examination were the children of Bangkok elite. Children in other provinces realized that they had to attend school in Bangkok in order to pass the annual examination. This was an implicit motivation which encouraged people to move to Bangkok for obtaining a higher quality education.

The formal education raised the local students' awareness of the social and economic differences between Bangkok and the local provinces. First, students learned urban elite culture such as living style and value of life achievement from government officials who came from Bangkok. The Department of Education, which was responsible for controlling the educational quality and budget management of the schools, appointed inspectors to visit and give suggestions for improvement to school administrators.
Students, therefore, had an opportunity to be exposed to the Bangkok elite culture as represented by these inspectors.

Second, improvements in communication and transportation, namely, road and railway construction, and post and telegram service establishment, gave educated people access to information from other provinces, especially from Bangkok. Such improvements, in turn, "encouraged" local people to move to Bangkok city. In the late period of the King Chulalongkorn regime, a large number of educated persons left their home towns in hopes of government employment in Bangkok but could not get jobs there. This was because the number of educated persons was higher than the demand for government official. However, these people did not apply for other professions because they wanted to be government officials. This situation led to a curriculum adjustment in King Vachiravut's regime (1910-1924).

King Vachiravut realized the problem of preparing students only for the civil services. Therefore, the national education plan in his regime focused on vocational education because he wanted to encourage young people to have access to occupations other than that of government official.
Education for all people, according to their individual abilities, should not include only general education, it should include specialized subjects like agriculture, handicrafts, and commerce. In 1913 the elementary school curriculum was extended from 3 to 5 years—3 years for academic subjects and 2 years for vocational subjects. Vocational schools were established in Bangkok and other provinces.

It might be said that the educational plan during the regime of King Vachiravudh had an implicit goal of reducing the amount of internal migration. The objective of vocational education was to prepare students to work in the different occupations available in their home towns such as agriculture, handicraft and commerce.

However, the vocational schools failed not only to interest young people in occupations other than government service, but also to retain rural people in their home towns. These vocational schools had been closed in the following years because they lacked student enrollment. Most of the Thai youth pursued an education in academic subjects because the idea of being a well-educated ruling elite was by now rooted in Thai society. Attaining a position in government offices became highly competitive, and students worked very hard to achieve their goals.

In 1917, Chulalongkorn University, the first university of Thailand, was established in Bangkok. This university
attracted young people from throughout the country to move to Bangkok. By graduating from this university, a student gained not only a high quality of education but also the prestige of being an "intellectual."

In the early period of King Prachathipok's reign (1925-1944), the Thai economy and polity had been affected by a world-wide economic depression and a decline of foreign trade. The Thai government had to cut the number of official bureaucratic positions. Moreover, there were a number of scholars who studied abroad and brought democratic ideas to Thai society. This crisis led to the coup which overturned the power of the absolute monarchy in 1932. Education was certainly changed in this new political situation.

**Education in the Early Democracy Movement (1932-1947)**

In this period of political transition from absolute monarchy to democracy for Thailand, education remained an important instrument of government for sociopolitical and economic development.

After the People's Party took over power from the absolute monarchy in 1932, Thai society changed. The king was still present in form, but hardly in practice. Provincial administration was managed by the local governments. Popular participation and interest in national politics grew extensively. However, the majority of Thai
people were still unclear about democratic ideology. The Thai government realized that without such knowledge and understanding, Thai people were unable to play their appropriate role in the democratic society. The government proclaimed that an election for the full Assembly would be conducted when half of the population had received at least four years of compulsory education (elementary education becoming compulsory by law 1925). By 1932 compulsory education had become implemented in every province.

In addition to the government's need for political socialization, economic needs also had a role in educational development within this period. In order to support economic development, a variety of professionals, including civil servants, were needed. Similar to King Vachiravut's educational plan, vocational education was promoted to a higher level by the Thai government by establishing vocational schools at secondary and higher educational levels, with a curriculum consisting of handicraft, commerce, and agricultural programs. Studying in such programs, the local people gained the capacity to earn their own living in a changing economy. Rural people were able to continue their farming rather than be civil servants in rural towns or in Bangkok. An implied intention of
vocational education was to retain local people in their home town.

However, the vocational education program was unsuccessful. The educational standards of vocational schools were quite low due to the lack of well-trained teachers and appropriate teaching instruments. On the one hand Thai people held the view that vocational education was only for lower achieving students. These children had to attend vocational school because their educational performance was not good enough to study in academic school. On the other hand, most of the parents believed that their children had high potential and should attend academic school and enter the university in Bangkok.

During the period of Field Marshall Phibun's government (1938-1944), a policy of economic nationalism was put into practice. This policy was strongly anti-Chinese, since the Chinese held great economic power. Most of the foreigners in Thailand in this period were Chinese. According to the policy, numerous occupations, particularly the civil service and the military men, were forbidden to be noncitizens.

The Phibun government attempted to inspire a national loyalty among Thai people. The education system was, therefore, manipulated to serve the government's political propaganda. All school age children who wanted to attend
public schools (government school) had to have a Thai family name. Only standard Thai language was used as a means for instruction in public schools.

Phibun government's education system seems to have affected the rural-urban migration. Because of the nationalism policy, the ideology of national security was taught in public schools. Students were trained as boy scouts, junior red cross, and national guard. Many Thai youth were proud to serve in military forces. Since military bases were usually located in towns and cities, the number of young people leaving their villages increased.

Even though Phibun enacted a strong anti-Chinese policy, he established good relations with westerners, particularly Americans. Financial support from the United States would have a great influence on Thailand's international economic situation in the coming years.

**Education for National Development (from 1948)**

Since 1948, the education system in Thailand has been arranged to serve primarily the needs of economic development, which was geared toward industrialization and an export economy. Industrialization was first introduced to Thai society in the second Phibun regime (1948-1957). During this period, Communism penetrated Southeast Asia. Most of Thailand's neighboring countries, such as Vietnam,
Cambodia, and Laos became Communist societies. The United States viewed Thailand as a strategic country from which to fight the further spread of Communism ideology in Southeast Asia. The American government, therefore, attempted to maintain good relations with the Thai government and encouraged Thai economic development by providing not only financial aid but also technological assistance in the fields of agriculture, education, and irrigation.

The Thai government under Field Marshal Sarit Thanarat, the Prime Minister during 1958-1963, strongly encouraged the policy of industrial development. The first National Economic and Social Development Board was set up by the government, on the recommendation of the World Bank to plan and administer national development. The Board of Investment and the Industrial Finance Corporation of Thailand were set up to accelerate the pace of industrialization by local entrepreneurs through the injection of foreign capital. However, industrial development was not possible without an adequate basic infrastructure. The Thai government made vigorous investments to improve the country's social facilities such as irrigation, transportation, communication, banking, and education. At the same time, to improve agricultural exports, Thai farmers were encouraged to apply western technology and to cultivate new cash crops such as cassava, maize, and tapioca.
The Thai government policy of industrial development sought growth rather than the equitable distribution of the national product. Most Thai economists believed that "even though the rich will get richer, and the poor get poorer, soon growth will filter down to the poor automatically. . . But we have used this method for 20-30 years now without success."\(^{13}\)

The introduction of modern technology into the agricultural sector assisted the local elites to become agricultural entrepreneurs and to garner greater profit from their investments. In contrast, most peasants were unable to afford the high cost of agricultural technology. They fell into debt, lost their land, and ultimately became laborers.\(^{14}\) At the same time, the booming industrial sector was very attractive. Since the majority of Thai peasants failed in this shifting economy, they attempted to find their fortune in the industrial sector. It became generally known by peasants that well-trained persons had a higher potential to gain positions in both public and private enterprises. Education was, therefore, viewed as "the avenue into the white-collar jobs."\(^{15}\)

Since the industrial development policy was put into practice in 1960, education was utilized by the government as a means for the development of the national economy.
Education was no longer just seen as a desirable means to modernization as in Chulalongkorn's reign, nor as an essential prerequisite for democracy as in the 1930s, but it was now seen as a partner in economic planning. 

In other words, the Thai educational system served not only to foster social and national security but also economic development as well. Therefore, the Thai National Education Plan was made to follow the National Economic and Social Development Plan (NESDP), by emphasizing the production of the more and better qualified personnel needed to fulfill national manpower requirements at all levels, especially in the fields of science and technology. Colleges and universities were established to produce technicians and professionals. Secondary education, which included academic and vocational schools, was geared to produce middle-level manpower. Primary education, which was compulsory, was extended from grade four to grade seven.

During the First and Second National Economic and Social Development Plans (1961-1966, 1967-1971), the educational plan was successful in its objective of providing both the middle and high level manpower needed for economic development. However, the National Educational Plan also led to unintended consequences and affected internal migration.

Educational objectives ran counter to the realities of rural life. While school curriculum increasingly prepared
students to work in the industrial sector, the actual socioeconomic situation in rural areas was still based primarily on agriculture. After graduating, rural children by government policy were expected to leave their home towns for industrial employment in cities.

The educational system was unable to provide an equal educational opportunity to all children. While Thai people realized that education was essential for their economic achievement, there were not enough schools for all of the school-age children, especially those in the rural areas. By 1971, at the end of the Second National Social and Economic Plan, there were nearly 1170 secondary schools, over 500 of which were in Bangkok. In higher education, 10 out of 13 public universities were in Bangkok. Thus, children in the rural areas lacked equal access beyond the primary educational level.

In terms of educational quality, there was a disparity between schools in rural areas and schools in urban areas. Most of the schools in rural areas were of lower quality than those in cities, especially Bangkok. Schools in Bangkok provided a high educational standard with fully equipped facilities, including well-planned concrete structures, library and other educational materials, and many highly proficient teachers. Schools in rural area had one-room
wooden buildings and were located on vacant land of Buddhist temples. In some areas, schools were unable to provide even basic facilities for students and had only one teacher for students at all grades. Good teachers tend to compete for teaching positions in cities whereas less qualified teachers remained in the rural area. According to the Ministry of Education, 30 percent of teachers in Bangkok held Bachelor degree while only 12 percent of teachers in rural areas had Bachelor degrees.

Since secondary schools were of low quality and in short supply in rural areas, students had to migrate to the city areas to continue their education. Most of the rural people who succeeded in their education decided to reside permanently in a city, usually in Bangkok. Phillips's study of "The Culture of Siamese Intellectuals," revealed that of the 153 respondents who were intellectual persons, only five made their home in cities other than Bangkok. More than half of the persons in the sample were "born and reared outside Bangkok and came to Bangkok either as adults or as adolescents, usually for further schooling."

During the Third National Social and Economic Development Plan (1972-1976), the Thai political and economic situation was critical. Field Marshal Thanom and Field Marshal Praphat resorted to dictatorship as Prime Minister and Deputy Prime Minister from 1963 to 1973. Even
though they proclaimed that a general election would be held in 1973, the November 1971 coup, spearheaded by Thanom and Praphat, abrogated the 1968 Constitution, closed down parliament, banned political parties, and placed the country under martial law.22

A number of world economic factors contributed to the worsening economic picture in Thailand. This was the result of basing the national development strategies on foreign investment. Economic slowdown, inflation, and drought affected not only the peasants but also the students. Enrollment in Thai universities had increased between five- and sixfold from 1961 to 1972. However, there were no longer enough "suitable" positions in the bureaucracy and the private sector to accommodate all qualified graduates.23

The university student movement, which became the revolution in October 1973, succeeded in removing Thanom and Praphat from power. Education was one of the important issues which the revolution needed to reform. Sanya, the interim Prime Minister (1973-1975), set up an ad hoc committee for educational reform. The educational policy emphasized the concept of lifelong education, equality of educational opportunity, and democratization. The policy promised
to make all primary schools equal in quality; to provide schools for those in need; to extend services to the rural areas; to allow far greater administrative decentralization and far greater freedom for local schools to develop a curriculum suitable for the socio and economic needs of the region; and to emphasize extra-curricular, vocational, non-formal educational programs using a variety of methodological approaches.24

It was clear that the new educational system was intended to serve the demands of the majority who were in rural areas. Local governments were able to create their own school curricula. Children in each region would obtain a high quality education suitable for their socioeconomic situation. They would also have a chance to learn the ideology of and how to participate in a democratic society. Unfortunately, the educational reform was interrupted by another coup in 1976, in which the military returned to power.

During 1973-1980, the Thai economy was hard hit by successive phases of the energy crisis and of political unrest. The Thai government implemented many projects in an attempt to improve the national economic situation. In General Kriangkrai Chamanad's reign (1977-1979), the government attempted to encourage foreign investment in Thailand by providing low-wage labor. In doing this, the government had a policy favoring the supply of cheap rice to the cities where most of the industrial sectors were
located. At the same time, farmers who mostly lived in rural areas lost their benefits. Even though General Prem Tinsulanonda's government (1980-1988) set up a massive program to attack agricultural problems, the agricultural sector did not progress as much as the industrial sector.

In the 1980s, Thai national economic development, as part of the Fifth and the Sixth Economic and Social Development Plans (1982-1986, 1987-1991), drove toward new industrialization. The industrialization process moved from import-substitution to export-oriented. Over the past two decades, significant structural changes in the Thai economy have taken place. Agriculture's share of the national income declined steadily from about 40 percent in 1960 to 24 percent in 1983, whereas the industrial sector expanded very rapidly, increasing its portion of the national income from 13 percent in 1960 to 20 percent in 1983.25

In the 1980s education was viewed by the government as an important means to promote national economic development. This idea was clear in the 1977 national education plan which required general schools at all levels to provide vocational programs such as handicrafts, mechanical work, carpentry, commercial subjects, and gardening. Each school was granted a certain level of autonomy in choosing vocational courses, according to their available finances, staff, and equipment. Placing vocational programs in the
conventional curriculum virtually forces a certain portion of students into vocational programs to serve in the industrial sector.

Vocational education, as a consequence of the industrialization policy, has profound impacts on other aspects of development. Firstly, vocational education increases the shortage of manpower in the agricultural sector. Even though the national economic development plan attempted to encourage industrialization, the agricultural sector could not be left out. Agricultural products contributed to the national income through exports such as rice, tapioca, maize, sugar, and natural rubber. By the end of the Fifth National Economic and Social Development Plan (1982-1986), none of the primary school graduates went into farming. Thirty-five percent of primary school graduates continued their education in secondary level, whereas 65 percent of them, including those who came from farming families, entered the labor market rather than worked in the field.26

Second, vocational education became one of the factors encouraging rural-urban migration. It was generally known that most manufacturing and international investment were located in Bangkok Metropolis (including the area of four neighboring provinces: Thonburi, Samut prakan, Nonta-buri
and Bangkok) because of its vast infrastructure. Vocational education made students feel that they were unfit for rural employment which concentrated on farming. People who were trained to work in the industrial sector by the educational system were forced to move in Bangkok where there was presumably employment. This situation led to the problem of unemployment and underemployment because the industrial sector was in fact unable to create work for all of this manpower. Moreover, the increasing number of rural-urban migrants became a serious problem for Bangkok in other ways, as discussed in chapter I.

Obviously, the Thai educational system has been developed over time to serve the demands of the socioeconomic and political situation. During the feudal period, Thai traditional education was designed to serve a sociopolitical situation in terms of national security. Education emphasized Buddhist principles and therefore had very little effect on the pattern of internal migration. During the colonial period, Thailand was forced by the western countries to change her sociopolitical and economic structures in order to preserve her independence. Education became a means to create national security and to prepare people to work in a new economic system. The educated had to work as government officials under the absolute monarchy. This meant education began to have an important effect on
internal migration since working in the urban bureaucracy was the ultimate goal of educated persons. After World War I, Thailand moved into the early democratic period. Her economic system moved toward industrialization which was encouraged by the United States. Education was used as a means to serve the goal of national industrialization and thus had a profound impact on the pattern of internal migration. The educated realized that their work was in the cities. The next chapter will discuss the living conditions and migration of Pa-pai villagers.
CHAPTER V
RESEARCH FINDING
VILLAGE LIFE: SOCIO-ECONOMIC SETTING AND MIGRATION IN PA-PAI VILLAGE

During the last three decades, Thailand has struggled for economic development. With a centralized national administration, government policies have affected every area of the country. Pa-pai village has been forced to change along with the rest of the nation.

Since the socioeconomic setting and migration interact with each other, an analysis of migration patterns must include the socioeconomic setting in which such migration occurs. Therefore, the purposes of this chapter are: firstly, to look at Pa-pai's social, cultural and economic changes; and secondly, to investigate migration patterns among the villagers and to illustrate the personalities of migrants and non-migrants.

Socio-economic Change in Pa-pai Village

Pa-pai, the village selected for field study, is approximately fourteen and a half kilometers east of the center of Chiangmai. The village is connected to the Chiangmai - San-kam-pang highway about one and a half kilometers to the east by paved road. According to the Thai
local administrative system, Pa-pai is part of tambon (subdistrict) Chae-chang, amphoe (district) San-kam-pang (see Map 5.1). In the field research year (1992) the village consisted of 412 households.

Socio-Cultural Change

In general, Pa-pai villagers maintain their traditional social life in many ways. The village setting reflects the rural Thai tradition of the wat (temple) as the center of the community. Most of the households are concentrated in the area around wat Chae-chang. The wat, for the villagers, is a place for not only practicing religion and making merit but also for socializing and acquiring information about what is going on in the village. Annual events such as New Year's Eve and Song-Gran day, as well as individuals' life occasions like birthday celebrations and funerals, are always held at the wat. Almost all of the villagers come to help with the preparations, to donate some money, to have fun, or to share their sorrows.

All the Pa-pai villagers know each other very well. They are able to trace an individual's family line back two or three generations. Whenever a stranger, like the researcher, appears in the village, they are immediately noticed. Information about the stranger will spread
Map 5.1 San-kam-pang district
throughout Pa-pai village within a few days. This made it easy for me to introduce myself to each villager: they already knew me before we actually met. The villagers also treat other people as their relatives, especially the elderly people. Elders are respectfully addressed as older sister, older brother, aunt, uncle, mother, father, grandmother, grandfather, along with their names. After my first two weeks of staying in Pa-pai, I was older sister Suwanna to the youth in Pa-pai village.

However, some aspects of village social life have changed. First of all, matrilocality is no longer seriously practiced in Pa-pai village. In the past, newly-married couples always stayed with the wife's parents. At present, there is considerable flexibility about where a couple lives after marriage. Family structure is changing from extended to nuclear. The single family unit (an average of four family members), established independently of relatives living elsewhere, is now commonly found in Pa-pai village. Moreover, some newly married couples are moving out of the village in search of better economic opportunities.

The marriage patterns of Pa-pai villagers have also changed. In the past, few villagers married people of other villages. At the time when the predominant occupation in Pa-pai village was subsistence agriculture, villagers visited
other villagers only on special occasions such as a religious celebration held at another village's wat. Thus, the Pa-pai villagers did not have much opportunity to meet members of other villages. Today, the economic setting of Pa-pai village is no longer subsistence agriculture (as discussed below). Many villagers (both men and women) work outside their village and have more chance to see people from other villages. There are many villagers whose spouses are residents of other communities. Again, since the traditional pattern of living with the wife's parents has decreased, some villagers, particularly women, move out of Pa-pai village to live elsewhere with their spouses.

The progressive inheritance system is another factor which indicates change in the living conditions of Pa-pai villagers. Traditionally, the youngest daughter acquired her parents' house along with the responsibility of taking care of the parents in their old age, while other property, particularly farmland, was equally divided among the heirs. This meant that the size of farmland which children received from their parents would get smaller. When these children had their own families, the profit from the agricultural product of a small piece of farmland was not enough to feed their family. Under these circumstances, during the off harvest season, some villagers looked for temporary
employment outside their village. Today, however, some families, rather than separate their farmland into small pieces, might encourage some of the children toward occupations other than farming by sending them to school. Children who do not attend school acquire the farmland. The case studies below illustrate Pa-pai villagers' inheritance pattern.

Case Study 5.1: Chan Wongampai
Mother Chan and father Boonta have five children: two sons and three daughters. Father Boonta passed away a few years ago. At the age of fifty seven, mother Chan lives at her own house with her second child, Wanchai, and his family, while the other children have their own families and live elsewhere. At the time when mother Chan and father Boonta were farmers--they inherited 14 rai (1 rai = 0.4 acre) of farmland--, they encouraged their five children to work off the farm. Mother Chan and her husband sold parts of their farmland to support their children's education. Since graduating from a vocational training college, the two younger daughters have worked at a fabric company and the youngest son has worked as a clerk in the San-kam-pang District Office. The two older children--Wilai and Wanchai--have to help Chan work on the farm. They did not have an opportunity to attend school higher than primary (compulsory) education. Consequently, the remaining 4.5 rai of farmland have been equally divided between Wilai and Wanchai. Mother Chan's house is also to be given to Wanchai, with whom she has lived.

Case Study 5.2 Inthorn and Malee Chitcharoen
Father Inthorn (62 years old) and mother Malee (58 years old) live independently in their own house. Their three married children are economically independent and have their own houses. Even though Inthorn and Malee live by themselves, they never feel lonely. Their children, especially Panja, their firstborn child, often bring their families to visit. Because of severe back pain, Inthorn retired from farming a few years ago. At that time Inthorn had his farmland equally divided among his children. Now Inthorn and Malee still live at their own house with their children supporting
them. The house is the only property that Inthorn and his wife have left. According to Inthorn and Malee, this house will also be shared by their children.

Obviously, the current inheritance system of Pa-pai village creates a change in occupational patterns. Now many Pa-pai villagers are employed in occupations other than farming such as teaching, nursing, crafts, and private firm employment. Most of the work places for these occupations are outside their village. In addition, according to the current inheritance system, the parents' house is not always given to the youngest daughter. Taking care of the aging parents is no longer the responsibility of the youngest daughter. Again, the matrilocality is weakening within Pa-pai community. At present, as mentioned earlier, there are many women in Pa-pai moving out of the village after marriage.

**Economic Change**

In Pa-pai village forty to fifty years ago, family income depended mainly on agricultural products. That is, a household's economic status could be categorized on the basis of land-ownership—landless or landowner. Farm size of landowner households ranged from fifteen to twenty rai (1 rai = 0.4 acres). These farmlands were cultivated with rice for consumption, plus a good deal more to store as insurance against uncertain weather and/or to sell for cash when
needed. Although landless households were found in Pa-pai, they were few in number; their incomes were derived from jobs, such as mini bus driver and civil service.

Since 1960, the Pa-pai economic setting has changed according to the Thai national economic development policy. Two economic policies which have generated dramatic changes in the Pa-pai village economy are the international trade policy and the industrial development policy.

The international trade policy improves market conditions and increases monetization of the economy while weakening the subsistence nature of the village. Village agricultural products such as longan, maize, and mungbean have become important as export crops and their prices depend on the world market price. These crops are the main source of cash which plays an essential part in the everyday life of the household. The villagers have to pay a lot of money for necessary consumer goods which used to be homemade such as food, clothes, and farming equipment, but which are now commercial goods, obtained through the market.

New farming techniques such as mechanization and chemical fertilization are being applied to improve the quality and quantity of agricultural products. The cost of this, however, is very high. Farmers with little capital are easily beaten out of the market. The number of landless households has increased, and the number of landowner
has declined. In 1992 when this research was conducted, twenty-five percent of Pa-pai households were landless and seventy-five percent were landowner households. Most of the landless people were wage laborers, working in farming. However, because of the decrease in agricultural product prices and a shortage of water, not every plot of land in Pa-pai village was used for agriculture. Only sixty-four percent of the landowner households utilized their lands for farming. That means, it has been getting harder for wage laborers to be employed even in a harvest season. Since cash has become important for present living conditions in Pa-pai village, many wage laborers have left the village to find employment in other villages or in cities.

With increasing monetization, the cooperative working group has declined. In the traditional Pa-pai village community, the cooperative work group was a major source of labor force. Cooperative farm work was arranged between households on the basis of reciprocity rather than kinship obligation. At present, in Pa-pai village, approximately eleven percent of farming households engage in cooperative work (Figure 5.1). Thirty-three percent of farming families rely only on wage labor, whereas fifty-two percent of them depend primarily on their family members. It is still
Figure 5.1 Types of labor in the farming system
possible for the small landholder families to depend on the family members. The average of their agricultural land use is five rai (1 rai=0.4 acres).

Shortage of labor is also found in Pa-pai village. Even though seventy-two percent of the farming households have applied farm mechanization, only simple farm equipment, such as small tractors and water pumps, is used. Most of the farming households still need human power for farming. In harvest season, fifty-five percent of the farming households do not have sufficient labor for farming. Hiring wage labor in Pa-pai today is difficult because a number of potential workers either engage in work other than farming or have left the village to work elsewhere. Since there are few wage laborers, their wages are high. For some farming households who desperately need labor, wage laborers from other villages must be hired.

The industrial development policy has brought about structural changes in Pa-pai's economy. Since the industrial development policy was launched in 1960, Chiangmai has become the center of industrial development in the northern region. It has been generally accepted that Chiangmai has a highly successful tourist industry which supports the development of commercial services such as hotels, restaurants, and local arts and craft souvenirs. As a result
of the tourist industry, a variety of new occupations has been created.

Changes in the economic structure of Pa-pai village, however, may be due not only to the introduction of industrial development but also to agricultural constraints. As discussed above, a number of villagers have lost their land and some of the landowners do not use their land for farming. Concurrently, industrial development in Chiangmai has become very attractive. In 1992, many Pa-pai villagers were engaged in occupations other than farming (Table 5.1). Forty-eight percent of the villagers earned the majority of their income from sources other than agriculture as private company employees, small business owners, government officers, and wage laborers, whereas forty-four percent including unemployed workers had no income. Only eight percent of the villagers were farmers. Even though there might be more than eight percent of the villagers involved in agriculture, they do not consider themselves farmers, because they raise agricultural products only for family use, while their family income comes from other sources.

The new occupational patterns have affected some aspects of Pa-pai village life. First, a number of Pa-pai villagers have found work outside their community. In the Pa-pai village, besides the farmlands, there is one primary public school (government school) and a few retail shops.
The villagers whose employment is non-farming have to commute between their work places and the village. In some cases, the non-farming employees have moved out of the village to be closer to their work.

TABLE 5.1 Occupation classification among Pa-pai villagers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupations</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Non-agriculture</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Labor</td>
<td>17.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Small business owner</td>
<td>13.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Private firm worker</td>
<td>13.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Government official</td>
<td>3.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agriculture</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farmer</td>
<td>7.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-income</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Student</td>
<td>20.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Retire</td>
<td>7.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Homemaker</td>
<td>6.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unpaid worker</td>
<td>2.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unemployed worker</td>
<td>1.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baby</td>
<td>6.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>1622</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Second, the role of Pa-pai woman has changed. In the past, a Pa-pai woman worked at home: housekeeping and taking care of children. At present, women have an opportunity to work as teachers in public school, nurses and civil servants. Moreover, many Pa-pai women have moved out of the village for their occupation (see more information in "reasons of moving" section).
In addition, as occupational patterns have changed, economic disparity has grown among Pa-pai villagers. Such a disparity can be seen by looking at the physical structure of village housing. The few fine teak wood houses with concrete block basements which have emerged amidst the numerous second-hand wooden board houses indicate the widening income gap.

Migration in Pa-pai Village

Generally, economic benefits are the main reason for migration. Migration is viewed as the most effective strategy to reduce consumption pressure and to increase family income by getting a job elsewhere. Positive and negative factors associated with the areas of origin and destination are considered before migrating. The greater the differences between these positive and negative factors are, the higher the potential of migration.

Migration in Pa-pai village seems to relate to economics. In the new economic system, cash plays an important role in the village life. Households need income for many different purposes ranging from daily consumption to other social and economic necessities. Since profit from agricultural products has been falling, Pa-pai villagers have attempted to look for employment opportunity in the industrial sector outside their village.
However, there are other factors involved in the process of migration decision making. Two essential factors, as Lee suggests are: family bonds tying one to the hometown, and lack of pre-arranged housing in the destination area, both examples of obstacles to migration. Personal characteristics such as age, sex, skill level, and education make up Lee's second factor.

In Pa-pai village, family bonds are weakening. As discussed earlier, the family structure of Pa-pai villagers has changed. A small single family is replacing an extended family consisting of three generations—grandparents, parents, and children. The tradition of a newly married couple living with the wife's parents is no longer practiced. Since family members are already loosely tied, leaving their families seems not to be difficult for Pa-pai villagers.

According to Lee, personality is an important factor which determines the perspective of each individual toward the destination of migration, how he/she views the opportunities at the destination, and the way he/she deals with the obstacles. Consequently, the main purpose of this section is to examine the personalities of migrants and non-migrants in Pa-pai village. The pattern of migration as it relates to the individual's personality is also discussed.
Historically, migration in Pa-pai village began with what was called seasonal migration. The harvest season covered only four months; the villagers spent their off season earning extra income by participating in temporary work outside the village. Mostly, the seasonal migration of the Pa-pai villagers was limited to other rural areas. Since the improvement of transportation during the year 1960, highways and paved roads connecting Pa-pai village and Chiangmai have been constructed. Many villagers now find temporary employment in the city instead of in other rural areas. Some villagers get permanent jobs in the city and decide to stay there rather than return to the village.

Thus, the Pa-pai villagers have been involved in several forms of migration. Their migration status is categorized as: (1) non-migrants, the villagers who have never moved from the village, (2) out-migrants, the villagers who have stayed outside the village for at least two years at the time when the research was conducted, (3) returned migrants, the villagers who left their home-town for at least two years and then moved back to stay in the village, and (4) prospective migrants, the villagers who intend to migrate. In 1992, approximately eighty-three percent of the villagers were non-migrants, eight percent of them were out-migrants, three percent were returned
migrants, and six percent intended to migrate. Information about the villagers in these four groups, revealed by the informant answering the village census form, is discussed below.

Characteristics of Migrants and Non-migrants

The characteristics of the villagers in each group of migration status are different in terms of age, sex, marital status and education. Most of the Pa-pai villagers who intend to leave their home town are young. As shown in Table 5.2, approximately thirty-three percent of prospective migrants are between one to fifteen years old and fifty-nine percent are less than sixteen years old. It might be difficult for the prospective migrants to leave the village at a very young age. Some of them are still attending school. The prospective migrants will have high potential to migrate after growing up, graduating, and receiving more information about migration.

The majority of the out-migrants and returned migrants of Pa-pai village are working-age. Approximately eighty-six percent of out-migrants and seventy-nine percent of returned
# TABLE 5.2 Basic Characteristics of Pa-pai villagers, by migration status

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Non-migrants</th>
<th>Out-migrants</th>
<th>Returned migrants</th>
<th>Prospective migrants</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Age</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1-15</td>
<td>22.8</td>
<td>2.3</td>
<td>3.8</td>
<td>33.3</td>
<td>21.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16-30</td>
<td>20.7</td>
<td>41.2</td>
<td>28.8</td>
<td>58.6</td>
<td>24.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31-45</td>
<td>27.6</td>
<td>45.0</td>
<td>50.0</td>
<td>5.7</td>
<td>28.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>46-60</td>
<td>16.6</td>
<td>10.7</td>
<td>15.5</td>
<td>2.4</td>
<td>15.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60+</td>
<td>12.3</td>
<td>0.8</td>
<td>1.9</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>10.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>N</strong></td>
<td>1352</td>
<td>131</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>1622</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Sex</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>52.5</td>
<td>48.8</td>
<td>71.2</td>
<td>51.7</td>
<td>48.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>47.5</td>
<td>51.2</td>
<td>28.8</td>
<td>48.3</td>
<td>51.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>N</strong></td>
<td>1352</td>
<td>131</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>1622</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Marital Status</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Single</td>
<td>36.7</td>
<td>65.6</td>
<td>40.4</td>
<td>88.5</td>
<td>39.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Married</td>
<td>55.3</td>
<td>29.8</td>
<td>50.0</td>
<td>11.5</td>
<td>53.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Divorced</td>
<td>1.1</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>1.9</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Separated</td>
<td>0.6</td>
<td>0.8</td>
<td>1.9</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Widowed</td>
<td>6.3</td>
<td>2.3</td>
<td>5.8</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>5.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>N</strong></td>
<td>1352</td>
<td>131</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>1622</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Education</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>None</td>
<td>7.8</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1.9</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>6.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary</td>
<td>71.2</td>
<td>45.0</td>
<td>78.8</td>
<td>11.5</td>
<td>65.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secondary</td>
<td>15.9</td>
<td>38.2</td>
<td>9.6</td>
<td>70.1</td>
<td>20.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vocational</td>
<td>3.7</td>
<td>12.2</td>
<td>9.6</td>
<td>16.1</td>
<td>5.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bachelor</td>
<td>1.4</td>
<td>4.6</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2.3</td>
<td>2.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>N</strong></td>
<td>1352</td>
<td>131</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>1622</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
migrants are between sixteen to forty-five years old (Table 5.2). After moving back to the village, the returned migrants who are between sixteen to thirty years old might be able to leave the village again since they still young and have experiences of migration. However, it seems to be difficult for the returned migrants who are between thirty-one to forty-five to leave their home town again in their old age.

The number of out-migrants and prospective migrants is small within the older age groups. Particularly, at the age of sixty and over, only one percent of out-migrants and none of prospective migrants are in this age group. This means, the elder people do not migrate. In other words, most of them are non-migrants.

In Pa-pai village, the patterns of migration between male and female have no significant differences (Table 5.2). The number of non-migrant and prospective migrant males are slightly more than females whereas those of out-migrant females are slightly more than males. The large number of females participating in out-migrants indicates the socio-cultural and economic change in Pa-pai village. As previously discussed, at present, women in Pa-pai have jobs not only outside their house but also outside their village.
However, the number of returned migrant males are higher than females. This might be because half of the returned migrants are married. They, therefore, move back to join their families living in the village.

Similar to the returned migrants, married persons are dominant within the non-migrants group. In contrast, the majority of prospective migrants and out-migrants are single. This shows that moving out of the village is easier for single persons than for married persons. Some out-migrants, particularly females, might leave the village to marry and stay with their spouses whose residences are outside the village (see more information in "decision making to migrate" section).

Like people in other rural areas, the majority of Pa-pai villagers have attained only primary education which is compulsory. However, within the out-migrant groups, fifty-five percent of them have received education higher than primary education (Table 5.2). By comparing the out-migrants to the total population on the basis of educational background, the village appears likely to lose well-educated persons much more than less-educated persons. About nineteen percent of the bachelor degree holders and eighteen percent of those who have obtained vocational education are out-migrants while fifteen percent and six percent of those who
have finished secondary and primary school respectively are out-migrants (Figure 5.2). Moreover, the primary graduates are the majority of the returned migrants whereas those who have received education beyond primary school are dominant in prospective migrants (Table 5.2). This means that well educated persons have the higher percentage leaving their hometown than those who have less education.

Decision Making to Move and to Stay

1) The Pa-pai non-migrants have several reasons for not migrating. Approximately twenty-eight percent, the largest number of the non-migrants, state they already have good employment (Figure 5.3). Twenty-three percent of the non-migrants consider that they are too young to migrate. Thirteen percent believe that they are lacking in knowledge and skills for city jobs. Only six percent of the non-migrants stay home to take care of their parents.

For the non-migrants in Pa-pai "having a good job" does not always mean having a high paying job; rather it means having appropriate work for one's ability. The non-migrants who do not migrate because they have a good job have different educational levels (Table 5.3). All of the bachelor degree holders are government officials and private company employees. Among the non-migrants who have obtained only a primary education, thirty-three percent have their
Figure 5.2 Movers and their level of education

1 = No-education 2 = Primary 3 = Secondary 4 = Vocational 5 = Bachelor 6 = Village overall
Figure 5.3 Non-migrants' reasons to stay

- Have good job: 28%
- For family business: 7%
- Take care parents: 6%
- Too old: 12%
- Education deficiency: 13%
- Prefer to stay home: 12%
- Too young: 23%
- Have good job: 28%
own small business and twenty-seven percent are employed by private firms in which their positions are certainly lower than those who reach higher level of education. Fourteen percent of non-migrants having primary education are laborers and twelve percent are farmers. Even though these two categories of occupation are generally accepted as low paying jobs, they are considered as good employment by the non-migrants themselves.

### TABLE 5.3 Distribution of occupations by level of education among non-migrants who are satisfied with their occupations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Educational level</th>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Govt. worker</th>
<th>Pri.-bus. firm owner</th>
<th>Unpaid worker</th>
<th>Unem. worker</th>
<th>Home maker</th>
<th>Stu.-pupil</th>
<th>Re-tired</th>
<th>Wage worker</th>
<th>Farmer worker</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>N</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Primary</td>
<td></td>
<td>1.1</td>
<td>26.7</td>
<td>33.2</td>
<td>2.2</td>
<td>0.4</td>
<td>1.4</td>
<td>7.6</td>
<td>1.4</td>
<td>14.1</td>
<td>11.9</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secondary</td>
<td></td>
<td>18.5</td>
<td>24.6</td>
<td>26.2</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>6.2</td>
<td>3.1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>10.8</td>
<td>9.1</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vocational</td>
<td></td>
<td>45.8</td>
<td>33.3</td>
<td>12.5</td>
<td>4.2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>4.2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bachelor</td>
<td></td>
<td>58.8</td>
<td>41.2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The second largest group of non-migrants are those who consider themselves as "being too young." The majority of the non-migrants within this group are students (Table 5.4).
Sixty-five percent of them were still attending primary school at the time when this research was conducted. It is likely that they have not yet decided what they will do after graduating.

**TABLE 5.4 Distribution of occupations by level of education among non-migrants who considered themselves as too young to move out of the village**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Educational level</th>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Private firm owner</th>
<th>Business unpaid worker</th>
<th>Unemployed worker</th>
<th>Student</th>
<th>Home maker</th>
<th>Wage labor</th>
<th>Farmer</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>N</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Primary</td>
<td></td>
<td>0.6</td>
<td>0.6</td>
<td>0.6</td>
<td>93.7</td>
<td>0.6</td>
<td>1.3</td>
<td>1.9</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>158</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secondary</td>
<td></td>
<td>4.9</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>91.8</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1.6</td>
<td>1.9</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vocational</td>
<td></td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are a number of non-migrants who think that they have deficient knowledge and skills for city employment. That is because the majority of them have poor educational backgrounds. None of them is a bachelors degree holder, while seventy-six percent of them have obtained only primary education and twenty-four percent have received secondary education (Table 5.5). The majority of them are laborers and farmers (Table 5.6).
TABLE 5.5 Educational background of non-migrants who perceived their knowledge and skills as deficient for city employment

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Education</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Primary</td>
<td>87.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secondary</td>
<td>11.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vocational</td>
<td>1.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>89</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

TABLE 5.6 Occupation of non-migrants who perceived their knowledge and skills as deficient for city employment

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Private Firm Worker</td>
<td>6.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Business Owner</td>
<td>18.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unpaid Worker</td>
<td>9.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unemployed worker</td>
<td>1.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Student</td>
<td>2.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Homemaker</td>
<td>10.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wage labor</td>
<td>27.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farmer</td>
<td>25.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>89</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The non-migrants in Pa-pai seem to be satisfied with their living situations. However, according to the in-depth interviews, many non-migrants would be willing to migrate if they had an opportunity to do so.
Case Study 5.3 Sirima Pasuk

Sirima, an unmarried twenty-seven year old woman, lives with her parents who work in San-kam-pang School--her father works as a custodian and her mother is a food vendor at the lunchroom. Sirima has an older brother--Sithichok--who has been in Bangkok for a few years. Sithichok has visited his parents only once or twice since he left. Sirima herself has a certificate in accounting from a commerce-business college in Chiangmai. She has worked as a permanent wage worker at the Provincial Office of Forestry since she graduated five years ago. Sirima believes that she will be admitted as a civil servant as soon as there is an available position. Sirima has a few friends who have moved to other provinces. They keep informing her about the available employment in their places. She always tell her friends that "I still love my present job." However, Sirima revealed to me that "I never seriously think about moving out because all the jobs that my friends tell me about are similar to my present job in terms of salary. If I have to leave my home town I should get a better job than my present job." The researcher found that many young men and women in Pai have the same perspective as Sirima's.

Case Study 5.4 Wilai and Thep Tanpaibool

Wilai and her husband, Thep, have three children attending school in grades 10, 9 and 6. Wilai and Thep are wage laborers. They work in the field during harvest season. During the off season period, Thep is hired by an incense shop to make incense sticks in his home backyard. Tawkae (shop owner) of the incense shop provides him with necessary materials while Thep supplies additional labor. The contract is based on the number of incense sticks produced, one baht per two hundred incense sticks. Under such circumstances Thep and his family are not protected by the minimum wage law. Thep works very hard for the survival of his family. Unfortunately, in the last couple of years, Thep has rarely been hired to work in the field because many land owners have sold their farmlands. Sometimes, Thep thinks about finding a job in Bangkok. However, he has not left his family because he cannot imagine what kind of work he could find without the knowledge and skills for a city job. Today, Thep's income depends solely on making incense sticks.
Some villagers also consider themselves to be non-migrants because they live with their families in the village even while participating in a pattern of commuting migration. Many villagers work outside the village (Table 5.7).

**TABLE 5.7 Non-migrants' occupations classified by their work places**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>In the village</th>
<th>Outside the village</th>
<th>Jobless</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>N</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Government official</td>
<td>4.3</td>
<td>95.7</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Private firm employee</td>
<td>30.2</td>
<td>69.8</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>169</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Business owner</td>
<td>71.0</td>
<td>29.0</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unpaid worker</td>
<td>92.1</td>
<td>7.9</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unemployed worker</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Student</td>
<td>29.9</td>
<td>68.8</td>
<td>1.3</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>234</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Homemaker</td>
<td>92.6</td>
<td>6.3</td>
<td>1.1</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Retired worker</td>
<td>14.8</td>
<td>1.9</td>
<td>83.3</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>108</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wage labor</td>
<td>51.4</td>
<td>48.4</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>244</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farmer</td>
<td>81.8</td>
<td>16.4</td>
<td>1.8</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>110</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Since government offices and private companies are usually located in Chiangmai and the center of San-kam-pang district, ninety-six percent of the non-migrants who work in government services and seventy percent of private firm employees commute between their offices and homes. The non-
migrants who are commuters have high paying jobs. Students who continue their education higher than primary level are also commuters. They have to attend secondary schools in San-kam-pang district or in Chiangmai.

2) There are several reasons involved in the process of migration decision making. As discussed earlier, the majority of out-migrants and returned migrants are young people, mostly working age. Thus, leaving the village for finding jobs seems to be a main reason of the out-migrants and returned migrants (Table 5.8). However, for the prospective migrants, obtaining higher education is likely to be more important than finding jobs. This is because most of the villagers who intend to migrate are high school students.

**TABLE 5.8 Reasons for moving out of the village by migration status**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reasons of migration</th>
<th>Out migrants</th>
<th>Returned migrants</th>
<th>Prospective migrants</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>To find a job</td>
<td>35.7</td>
<td>76.9</td>
<td>29.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To continue higher education</td>
<td>7.8</td>
<td>3.8</td>
<td>66.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To join spouse</td>
<td>33.3</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>4.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To acquire a new position</td>
<td>11.6</td>
<td>5.8</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do not know</td>
<td>11.6</td>
<td>13.5</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>131</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>87</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

119
Approximately thirty-three percent of out-migrants leave the village to join their spouses (Table 5.8). The out-migrants within this groups are not likely to move back to the village, since their family members have been united elsewhere. In contrast, none of the returned migrants leave the village to join their spouses (Table 5.8). This means most of the returned migrants who are married left their families in the village. The returned migrants, therefore, do not intend to permanently leave the village.

Both out-migrants and returned migrants who leave their home town to acquire a new position are government officials. Usually, they leave to seek promotions. The higher positions always have higher payment and are located in big cities. Leaving their hometowns, therefore, seems to be necessary for local government officials in order to advance professionally.

Selection of Destination Provinces

The Pa-pai migrants who leave their home town to find a job elsewhere select different destination areas depending on their occupations. The majority of the high income workers are likely to move to Bangkok rather than to Chiangmai (Table 5.9, 5.10 and 5.11). Alternately, the majority of the low income workers decide to go to
Chiangmai. Moving to Bangkok might be quite difficult for the low income workers. With a limited budget, they are unable afford to move to Bangkok. Moving expenses, including transportation and accommodation are higher for Bangkok than for Chiangmai.

**TABLE 5.9 Occupation of out-migrants who move to find employment by province of destination**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Chiangmai</th>
<th>Bangkok</th>
<th>The rest of northern region</th>
<th>Central region</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>N</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Private firm employee</td>
<td>16.7</td>
<td>75.0</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>8.3</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unpaid worker</td>
<td>66.7</td>
<td>33.3</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unemployed worker</td>
<td>33.3</td>
<td>33.4</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>33.3</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Homemaker</td>
<td>66.7</td>
<td>33.3</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wage labor</td>
<td>62.5</td>
<td>29.2</td>
<td>8.3</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farmer</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**TABLE 5.10 Occupation of returned migrants who move to find employment by province of destination**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Chiangmai</th>
<th>Bangkok</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>N</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Private firm employee</td>
<td>21.7</td>
<td>78.3</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Business owner</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Homemaker</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wage labor</td>
<td>35.7</td>
<td>64.3</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
TABLE 5.11 Occupation of prospective job seeking movers by province of destination

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Destination</th>
<th>Chiangmai</th>
<th>Bangkok</th>
<th>Central region</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>N</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Private firm worker</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unemployed worker</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>57.1</td>
<td>42.9</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Student</td>
<td>27.3</td>
<td>54.5</td>
<td>18.2</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>11</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wage labor</td>
<td>75.0</td>
<td>25.0</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

However, within the prospective migrant group, the majority of unemployed workers and students plan to move to Bangkok and other provinces in the central region rather than to Chiangmai. This circumstance can be explained by their educational background (Table 5.12) and their expected occupations (Table 5.13).

TABLE 5.12 Occupation of prospective job seeking movers by their level of education

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Education</th>
<th>Primary</th>
<th>Secondary</th>
<th>Vocational</th>
<th>Bachelor</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>N</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Private firm worker</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>33.3</td>
<td>66.7</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unemployed worker</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>42.9</td>
<td>57.1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Student</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>36.4</td>
<td>54.5</td>
<td>9.1</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>11</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wage labor</td>
<td>75.0</td>
<td>25.0</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### TABLE 5.13 Occupation of prospective job seeking movers by their expected occupation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Present occupation</th>
<th>Expected occupation</th>
<th>Government official</th>
<th>Private firm worker</th>
<th>Wage labor</th>
<th>Do not know</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>N</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Private firm worker</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>66.7</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>33.3</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unemployed worker</td>
<td>28.6</td>
<td>57.1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>14.3</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Student</td>
<td>9.1</td>
<td>90.9</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>11</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wage labor</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>50.0</td>
<td>50.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

All of the prospective job seeking migrants who are unemployed workers and students have attained an education beyond primary level, and more than half of them have acquired vocational education. These well-educated persons expect to obtain high paying jobs because they have seen that many of successful out-migrants who are well-educated have obtained high paying jobs (see out-migrants' reason of not moving back). Even for non-migrants in the Pa-pai community, most of the well-educated persons get high paying work. The prospective migrants, therefore, think that with their high educational background they should work as government officials and private enterprise employees. Consequently, the majority of the unemployed workers and students intend to move to Bangkok where they believe that
they will be able to fulfill their expected occupations.

Cases 5.5 - 5.7 below illustrate this.

Case Study 5.5  Ratana Wongwanich

Ratana is one of the prospective migrants who intends to get a city job. Ratana is the youngest child in her family. Her three brothers and sisters have married and established their economic independence. Her father passed away a long time ago. Ratana and her mother stay with her eldest brother who has a retail shop. At the age of twenty-one, Ratana is to finish her vocational certificate in accounting by the end of this academic year (1991). She and many of her classmates are attempting to apply for jobs with private companies in Bangkok. They keep looking for advertising on available employment in the newspapers and other media. Ratana and her friends have also sent their resumes to several companies in Bangkok. There are two companies asking Ratana for an interview after her final exam. She is so happy and looking forward to being in Bangkok. Ratana has never thought about finding a local job. She says, "The only local job that I can do is helping my brother take care of his retail shop. However, such a job does not call for a college graduate like myself. A primary school graduate is good enough to work in the retail shop. I also believe that I can find more job opportunities and advance more in my profession while working in Bangkok rather than working in Chiangmai. Even though new businesses and companies are establishing in Chiangmai, their headquarter offices are in Bangkok". Ratana has visited Bangkok many times but does not have any relatives there. However, she has contacted her friends and asked them to look for a female dormitory where she can stay before finding a permanent residency. (Before I left Pa-pai village, Ratana's mother told me that Ratana had been hired by one of the private companies that interviewed her).

Case Study 5.6 Mukda Thaneethong

Mukda stays with her eldest sister who owns a beauty salon in the village. Her only younger brother was drafted and still has to serve one more year in the army. Mukda's father retired from his teaching position
in San-kam-pang School a few years ago and depends on his pension. Her mother is a homemaker. At the age of twenty-four, Mukda is a senior student in the Department of Political Science at Chiangmai University. She intends to apply for a position in the Department of Public Welfare, Ministry of Interior. This means she would have to move to Bangkok. Actually, as a bachelor degree holder in Political Science, Mukda is able to apply for a position in the Provincial or District Office which is also under the Ministry of Interior. However, she prefers not to do so because "being a woman I will never have a chance to be a provincial governor or a chief of the district office." It is true that Thai society has never had a female governor or a female sheriff before. Working in Department of Public Welfare, as Mukda contends, she will be able to get promotions to high range positions even though she is not expected to become the head of the Department. Mukda is preparing to take an annual examination which the Department of Public Welfare offers for all candidates.

Case Study 5.7 Amnach Monkonkan

Amnach has five brothers and sisters. He is the third child and graduated from a teacher training college in Chiangmai. His father is in civil service at San-kam-pang District Office. His mother is a homemaker. His two elder sisters have married and live with their families in Chiangmai and in Lampoon (a province in northern region). His two younger brothers are attending vocational college and high school in Chiangmai. At the age of twenty-six, Amnach has not had a permanent job. Last year, he failed the annual examination for getting a teaching position in a public school in Bangkok. Amnach would have a permanent job if he had applied to teach in other provinces. However, Amnach contends, teachers in rural public schools have less opportunity in their professional advancement. It is also quite difficult for them to transfer to city schools. Since teachers in city schools are abundant whereas teachers in rural schools are in demand. Amnach says, "I would rather wait until I get a position in a city school rather than get stuck in a rural school."

For the migrants who leave their hometown to join spouses, their occupation seems to have less effect on the
selection of their destination area. The majority of them move to stay with their spouses in Chiangmai. This does not mean that the migrants' spouses originally resided in Chiangmai. Some of them might have emigrated from other areas including Pa-pai village. Rationally, to solve their economic problems, people have to be temporarily separated from their families. In this situation, the occupation of one migrant spouse can highly affect the selection of the destination area because that spouse has already moved there first.

The majority of the migrants who leave the village to pursue higher education are likely to select Bangkok as the area of destination. With several universities and many vocational colleges in Bangkok, students from Pa-pai might think that Bangkok provides more choices and better opportunities for their educational achievement. Additionally, in Bangkok, there are many more employment opportunities for those with higher education than in Chiangmai.

However, within the prospective migrant group, Chiangmai is almost as attractive as Bangkok for those who intend to continue higher education (Figure 5.4). In order to encourage high school graduates to attend higher education in their local areas, a quota of twenty-five
Figure 5.4 Destinations selected by prospective student migrants
percent of the total of students annually admitted by local public universities is protected for local students. Entrance examinations are conducted in two separate phases. The first round is exclusively for high school graduates whose house registrations are in the local region to assure that local students constitute twenty-five percent of the number the local universities admit. The second round is opened to high school graduates from the rest of the country including those in their own regions. Therefore, forty-three percent of high school graduates in Pa-pai village plan to continue higher education in Chiangmai. Nonetheless, in case they fail the entrance examination, which is highly competitive, most of them plan to go to Bangkok where they can attend open universities. During this research, many high school students in Pa-pai were seriously preparing for their entrance examinations. Their families and teachers were very supportive. The next chapter will discuss in the details of the school's project for students' achievement.

Returned Migrants' Reasons for Moving Back

During the year when this research was conducted, forty-six percent of returned migrants moved back to the village; fifty-four percent of them had come back earlier. The returned migrants have different reasons for moving back to the village (Table 5.14). Approximately sixty-two percent
would like to find jobs in their home town, twelve percent are homesick when they are away from their families, while the rest of them have retired from their employment, received new local positions, or are responsible for taking care of their parents. Since moving back to the village, most of the returned migrants have found local employment. However, similar to the non-migrants, many of the returned migrants have their work places outside the village.

**TABLE 5.14 Returned migrants' reasons for moving back**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reason of returning</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Find jobs in the village</td>
<td>61.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Homesick</td>
<td>11.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Retire</td>
<td>3.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acquire new positions</td>
<td>3.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Take care of parents</td>
<td>3.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do not know</td>
<td>15.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Not all of the returned migrants have moved back to the village because they are unsuccessful in fulfilling their purposes; many of them seem not to be satisfied with their living situations in the areas of destination. At the destination areas, the majority of the returned migrants did not improve their educational attainment. As shown in Table 5.15, only a few returned migrants whose educational background is primary education continue to higher
educational levels. Five percent of them have attained secondary education and seven percent have received vocational education. Since the majority of the returned migrants still have low educational backgrounds, they are likely to obtain employment and income similar to what they had before.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Education after returning</th>
<th>Education before moving</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>---------------------------</td>
<td>-------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No education</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary</td>
<td>87.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secondary</td>
<td>4.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vocational</td>
<td>7.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The cost of living in Bangkok or even in Chiangmai is higher than that of in Pa-pai village. After living in the destination areas for a certain period, the returned migrants found that living in this situation did not solve their economic problems. Moreover, they were far away from their relatives and friends. Many of returned migrants were willing to move back to the village and to their former employment.
Case Study 5.8 Panja Chitcharoen

Panja, thirty-five years old, and his wife, Naree, twenty nine years old, have two children, both girls. They are attending San-kam-pang School at grade 7 and 9. Panja had been in Bangkok for 2.3 years (1987-1989). In 1987, a furniture factory in Bangkok wanted many craftsmen. Panja, his relatives and friends (10 persons), had only primary education but had been trained for wood crafting by their parents. They went to Bangkok to work for this factory. They earned twice as much as their local work had provided. However, after two years, they had little savings because they had to live on their own. Their salary was spent for food, accommodations, transportation, and health care. Panja was the first one who moved back to the village. The others gradually moved back in the following years. Since his return, Panja does piece-work at home for a furniture shop in Chiangmai. The contract is based on the number of pieces he can finish. Panja admits that he earns less than when he worked in Bangkok. However, he is happy to be with his family.

There are some returned migrants who move back to the village because their living situation in the destination area is worse than in the village. Waraporn (the San-kam-pang teacher with whom the researcher stayed while conducting the research) is one of them.

Case Study 5.9 Waraporn Supanun

Waraporn is a teacher at San-kam-pang School. Her only younger sister is studying in the school of nursing at Chiangmai University. Her mother passed away a few years ago. Her father is a carpenter and takes care of four rai of lychee and longan (cash crops of Chiangmai). In 1986, Waraporn graduated from a teacher training college in Chiangmai and was admitted as a teacher in a public school in Tane district, Lampang province, ten kilometers north of Chiangmai. Tane district is twenty-five kilometers from the center of Lampang province and is connected to other districts by dirt roads. Waraporn had to stay at teacher housing in the school area. During two years of teaching in this
school Waraporn requested a transfer to San-kam-pang School in Chiangmai. Her request was approved in 1988. Waraporn is delighted to work in San-kam-pang School. She has an opportunity to advance in her profession in terms of academic improvement and promotion to high position. Waraporn states, "if I still worked in Tane district school, I would be in the same position as I was in the last two years." This is the third year of her working in San-kam-pang School. Waraporn is a bachelor degree holder and is entitled to three levels of promotion according to the public school administration system.

Out-migrants' Reasons for Not Moving Back

Leaving their hometown does not mean that the out-migrants from Pa-pai village lose contact with their relatives and friends in the village. Most of the out-migrants visit their hometown whenever they have free time or on special occasions such as Song-Gran day (Thai New Year's Eve). Approximately seventy-five percent of the out-migrants come to visit their hometown once or twice a year, and twenty-five percent visit their hometown more than twice a year.

Even though the out-migrants still keep their family and community connections, only sixteen percent of them mentioned moving back to their hometown. Most of them have not decided when is the time to move back.

Out-migrants not intending to return are fulfilling their purposes of migrating. This is supported with several
explanations. After leaving their hometown some of the out-migrants have improved their education. Among the out-migrants who finished only primary education before moving, about seven percent of them had completed secondary education and two percent of them had attended vocational education (Table 5.16). For those who were secondary school graduates, fourteen percent of them had obtained vocational education and eight percent had received bachelor degrees. For the vocational certificate holders, nineteen percent of them became bachelor degree holders. By improving of their educational attainment, the out-migrants have increased their potential to obtain high paying jobs which needed well educated workers.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Education before moving</th>
<th>Education after migration</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Primary</td>
<td>Primary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary</td>
<td>91.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secondary</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vocational</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bachelor</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

At the area of destination, many of the out-migrants, especially those who are government officials, private firm
employees, and small business owners, have been able to pursue the same occupations (Table 5.17). Some of the out-migrants have changed their occupations, generally to better ones than formerly held. Additionally, about fifty six percent of formerly unemployed workers are employed. It might be said that after migration, the overall economic status of the out-migrants is improved.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation prior to move</th>
<th>Occupation after move</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Govt. service worker</td>
<td>Govt. service worker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Private worker</td>
<td>Private worker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Business owner</td>
<td>Business owner</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unemployed worker</td>
<td>Unemployed worker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Student</td>
<td>Student</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Homemaker</td>
<td>Homemaker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wage labor</td>
<td>Wage labor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farmer</td>
<td>Farmer</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Govt. service worker    | 100.0  | -   | -   | -   | -   | -   | -   | 100.0  | 13   |
| Private worker          | -      | 100.0| -   | -   | -   | -   | -   | 100.0  | 16   |
| Business owner          | -      | -    | 100.0| -   | -   | -   | -   | 100.0  | 2    |
| Unemployed worker       | -      | 28.6 | -   | -   | -   | -   | 14.3| 42.8  | 14.3 | 100.0 | 7    |
| Student                 | 11.1   | 22.2 | -   | 11.1| 11.1| 2.2 | 22.3| -      | 100.0| 9    |
| Homemaker               | -      | -    | 11.1| 11.1| -   | -   | 44.5| 22.2  | 11.1 | 100.0| 9    |
| Wage labor              | -      | 6.4  | -   | -   | -   | -   | 4.3 | 85.0  | 4.3  | 100.0| 47   |
| Farmer                  | -      | 11.1 | -   | -   | -   | -   | 11.1| 11.1  | 66.7 | 100.0| 9    |

Many out-migrants have changed their marital status after moving out. Fifty-eight percent of the single persons married (Table 5.18). Out-migrants within this group left their home town to get married to Pa-pai villagers who
migrated before or to persons who are permanent residents in the area of destination. In either case, these out-migrants are not likely to move back to the village because their purpose of family reunion is fulfilled.

**TABLE 5.18 Marital status of out-migrant before and after moving**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Marital status before moving</th>
<th>Single</th>
<th>Married</th>
<th>Divorced</th>
<th>Separated</th>
<th>Widowed</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Single</td>
<td>41.7</td>
<td>58.3</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Married</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>85.7</td>
<td>2.4</td>
<td>7.1</td>
<td>4.8</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Divorced</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Widowed</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

From the above discussion, the out-migrants seem to be satisfied with their new life situations at the areas of destination where they have the opportunity to improve their educational attainment, to be employed workers or to get high paying jobs, or to join their spouses. Therefore, the majority of the out-migrants from Pa-pai village do not intend to return to their hometown. The researcher had a chance to talk with three out-migrants who visited their hometown during New Years Eve; two of them certainly would not move back to the village but the other out-migrant seemed unsure about moving back.
Case Study 5.10 Sithichok Pasuk

Sithichok, Sirima's older brother, is thirty-one years old. After graduating six years ago from a vocational college in Chiangmai, he moved to Bangkok. With knowledge in industrial machines, Sithichok worked as a machine operator at a garment factory in Bangkok suburb. He realized that in order to get a promotion he must be a hard worker and improve his educational attainment. Sithichok attended evening classes at Rachamonkon Institute of Technology (a vocational college in Bangkok), received a bachelor degree and was appointed supervisor of machine operators. Sithichok's parents are very proud of their son. During his three-day visit, he related his Bangkok experiences to his family, relatives and friends. Sithichok said "even though at first I was unhappy and really wanted to come back to the village, after I got this job I feel better and keep working hard. I am glad that I made a right decision to find a job in Bangkok. I do not have any idea what I would do now if I stayed in the village where there is not any manufacturing."

Case Study 5.11 Benjaporn Boonslang

Benjaporn's parents--Pronchan and Somboon--own a retail shop and ten rai of farmland. A few years ago, they rented out their 10 rai of farmland and depended mainly on the income from their retail shop. Somboon and his wife have six children. The two eldest children, both girls, have married and already set up independent households of their own. The third child, a boy, is twenty-five years old and works as a guide for a big tourist company in Chiangmai (he commutes to his office by motorcycle). The fifth child, a boy, is twenty years old and attends vocational college in Chiangmai. The youngest child, a girl, is eighteen years old and in grade 12 of San-kam-pang School. Benjaporn, the fourth child, is twenty-three years old and is a nurse the Chiangmai hospital where she met her fiance--Chaiya, a medical doctor. Since the hospital provides a dormitory for nurses, Benjaporn chooses to stay there rather to commute between the hospital and her house. However, Benjaporn and Chaiya will move to stay in their own small townhouse, close to the hospital, after getting married next year.
Case Study 5.12 Lamai Daechawong

At the age of twenty-two, Lamai is the eldest child in her family. She and her younger sister—Malai, twenty years old—have worked at a textile factory in Bangkok for four years. Half of their monthly income is sent back to their parents. Lamai's parents are wage laborers. Without Lamai's and Malai's financial support, their two younger sisters could not attend college. Since last year, Malai has wanted to change her job because she was tired of working in a textile factory, but she was not successful. She says that with only a primary educational background, she qualifies for only low paying work which is not enough to support her younger sisters' education. She hopes that after her two sisters graduate, she can move back to the village and find local work.

Prospective Migrants' Schedule of Leaving

The timing of migration varies even within a group. When to move is determined by the type of present occupation among prospective migrants with the same motivation. Table 5.19 shows that private firm employees and unemployed workers plan to leave the village after obtaining employment in the destination area. Prospective migrants in these two categories hesitate to move due to two reasons. Workers in private companies, on the one hand, are not sure about the availability of their pending jobs at the destination, and therefore, still cling to their present jobs. The unemployed workers, on the other hand, perceive that they cannot afford to be unemployed in the city, while they still can find some means of survival in their local community, despite their
unemployment. For the prospective migrants who work as laborers, they can move only after saving enough money for moving expenses. Laborers are not much concerned about available jobs in the destination since laborers are in high demand in the city. Students are the most interesting group among prospective migrants. All of them, either high school or college and university students, plan to move immediately after graduating. Students believe that getting city jobs is easier than finding local jobs. For them, staying in the village means a loss in employment opportunities.

The national economic development policy has affected Pa-pai village life in terms of socio-cultural and economic
aspects. According to the influence of national industrial development, Pa-pai village no longer relies on subsistence agriculture. Monetization plays an important role in village life. Pa-pai villagers need money to buy consumer goods which used to be home products. As a result, the traditional cooperative work group has been replaced by wage labor. Farm mechanization, which needs lot of capital investment, forces small farming families out of business. Many of Pa-pai landowners become landless. Agricultural products, therefore, are no longer a main source of the villagers' income.

Under economic pressure within the village, the Pa-pai socio-cultural situation has also changed. In the past, having a lot of family members meant having many laborers to work in farming. Today, however, since the number of farming families is decreasing and cost of living in the village is rising, matrilocality is not practiced among the newly married couple of Pa-pai. The family structure, therefore, has changed from extended to nuclear. That means Pa-pai villagers' family bonds are loosening. Moreover, at present, Pa-pai villagers do not attempt to tie their children to the farmland. Rather than equally dividing the farmland among the heirs, parents prefer to sell the farmland and support their children's education in order to encourage them to have occupations other than farming.
Within the present socio-cultural and economic context, Pa-pai villagers have had various occupations other than farming such as civil servant and private firm employee. Most of the non-farming jobs are in cities rather than in the village. That means Pa-pai villagers whose jobs are non-farming have work places outside the village. Some of them commute to work while others move out of the village for their work. In 1992, Pa-pai villagers reflected in several forms of migration: out-migrant, return migrant, prospective migrant and non-migrant.

Out-migrants of Pa-pai village are young and single. They are likely to fulfill their purposes of leaving the village: to find a job, to acquire a new position, to continue higher education and to join spouses. Even though the out-migrants' educational backgrounds are low, after moving out of the village, they have improved their education and obtained better employment in the destination than they had in the village. Therefore, most of them have not planned to move back to the village.

Returned migrants, unlike the out-migrants, are in the working-age group and married. After leaving the village for at least two years, they moved back. Similar to the out-migrants, returned migrants have low levels of education and leave the village for the same reasons. However, the
returned migrants do not seem to achieve their goals in moving. That is because the majority of returned migrants were not able to improve their education or get a better job. In the destination, most of them had jobs similar to their local jobs. In 1992, the majority of returned migrants had moved back to the village and resumed their former work.

There are numbers of Pa-pai villagers who intend to move out of the village. Most of them are of school age and single. The majority within this group intend to leave the village to continue higher education. Unlike the out-migrants, the educational background of the prospective migrants is higher than primary education. They also expect to obtain better jobs in the destination after finishing their higher education.

The majority of Pa-pai villagers are those who considered themselves non-migrants. The villagers within this group reveal their three main reasons of not moving: having good jobs, being too young to migrate and lacking of the knowledge and skills for city employment. The characteristics of the non-migrants have affected their reasons for staying in the village. First, among those who say they already have good jobs, some of them have obtained education higher than primary school and work as civil servants and private firm employees. Even though they do not seem to be interested in migration, they are likely to be
ready to move out if they happen to get a better job elsewhere. Moreover, today, most of them are commuting migrants since their work places are outside the village. Others of the non-migrants, who have good jobs have obtained only primary education and work as wage laborers. These non-migrants are satisfied with their jobs. They believe that they have a job which is appropriate to their educational background.

Second, non-migrants who consider themselves too young to migrate are in the school-age group and attending primary school. This group of non-migrants, therefore, has not thought about migration.

Third, non-migrants who perceive that their knowledge and skills are deficient for the city employment have less educational background. The majority of them have obtained only a primary education and are farmers or wage laborers. This group of non-migrants reveal that they would be interested in migrating to find a better job in cities if they had a chance to improve their education.

Even though in 1992, Pa-pai migrants were small in number, there were a number of villagers who intended to migrate in the near future. In addition, the new generation of movers are young and well-educated persons. Education turns out to be an important factor involved in rural-urban
migration since most of the successful migrants of Pa-pai village are well educated. How and why education affects people's mobility will be discussed in the next chapter.
CHAPTER VI
THE SCHOOL AND ITS IMPACT ON VILLAGE LIFE

Since 1881, when the formal school system was established in Thailand, schools have had an obligation to emphasize not only literacy but also occupational preparation. In other words, schools became responsible for equipping students with knowledge and skills that are appropriate for the demands of society.

The role of schools in village life is the concern of this chapter. First, the educational policy of San-kam-pang School is explored. Second, the relation between the school curriculum and the socio-cultural and economic situation of Pa-pai village is disclosed. Third, the school's vocational training programs are discussed. Finally, students' and parents' attitudes about education and migration are revealed.

The Educational Policy of San-kam-pang School

Within San-kam-pang district, San-kam-pang School is the only public school which provides both lower and higher secondary education (grades 7-9 and grades 10-12). The other public school provides only lower secondary education. San-kam-pang School occupies approximately 49 rai (1 rai=0.4
acres) of land on Kod-cha-san road, Tambon Say-mool. The campus is large enough to provide space for a big soccer field, two 56-classroom buildings, three small workshops, and two teacher's houses. In 1992 there were 145 teachers working in San-kam-pang School. The same year, there were 2,145 students attending the school. All of them came from tambons (sub-districts) within San-kam-pang district.

Under Thailand's centralized national administrative system, the implementation of public education at the local school level must comply with the five-year National Education Development Plan, designed by the Ministry Attached to the Office of the Prime Minister. As a public school, the educational management of San-kam-pang School has to follow the National Education Development Plan. The Seventh National Education Development Plan (1992-1996) aims to enhance the ethic, moral, cognitive and physical well being of the citizen. Under the monarchic democratic system, the education program will provide sufficient training for Thai citizens to gain skill and knowledge, to lead a productive happy life, to earn their living, to be self-supportive and economically independent, to be adaptive to the present economic circumstances, to be creative to help pursue national development in a right course, to facilitate the socioeconomic change process according to the limited natural resources, personal needs, the community and the Thai society, and to bring about equilibrium and cooperation in economic, social, political, and cultural development for the mutual benefit of both the rural and urban realm.
Obviously, the Thai educational system is formulated to serve national socioeconomic and political development. Students are prepared to be good and useful citizens of the Thai society. In addition, Thai policy makers view education as an essential instrument to relieve the problems resulting from national socioeconomic development. One of the problems which directly relates to this research is the economic disparity between urban and rural areas. As the National Board of Education states

\[\ldots\] education is a major means to develop and enhance the efficiency of the rural people to be able to help themselves, to improve themselves, to develop their community and society which in turn, will lead to the abatement of rural-urban economic disparities. \ldots\]

One of the Seventh National Education Development Plan's objectives, therefore, focuses on improving the quality of education, particularly vocational education, for rural people. Moreover, the National Board of Education realizes that the rigidity of the former National Education Development Plans, which were intensely centralized, limited the flexibility needed in providing education in the remote areas. The Seventh National Education Development Plan aims to grant more decision-making authority to the provincial schools in order to allow them flexibility to readjust their curricula to local needs.
Although the National Education Plan does not explicitly state the objective of keeping children in the local community after they graduate, the goal of alleviating rural-urban economic disparities is directly related to stemming rural-urban migration.

The National Education Development Plan is applied as the master plan at all educational levels. For the secondary schools, the Ministry of Education establishes the school curriculum which complies with the plan. The secondary schools, generally, provide both academic and vocational programs which are presumed to be appropriate to local socioeconomic development.

In San-kam-pang School, according to Bua-pan, the Vice-Principal and the Director of School Academic Division in 1992, the school administration board--consisting of the school principal, vice-principals and the head teachers in each of the subject groups--sets up the schooling policies which serve the objectives of the Seventh National Education Development Plan and attempt to exercise efficiently the school curriculum to achieve its goal.

The goals of the educational policies of San-kam-pang School are . . . To support and enhance the excellence of education by means of teaching development to comply with the policy of the Ministry of Education to meet the present goals of education . . . To encourage the acquisition of knowledge by students, by means of classroom teaching
or extra-curricular activities, to avail themselves to earn their living while learning; fifty per cent of the students will be the target of the policy. To encourage students to learn more about the nature of rural society in order to be able to contribute to their own community. To enhance the awareness and knowledge of deadly diseases such as AIDS in order to help themselves and others to prevent the disease; to develop a healthy personality by participating in sports and other activities. To support and encourage religious and cultural activities in order to bring about awareness and value of the national heritage. To encourage the integration of local resources with the local teaching planning to avoid social conflict between school and the local community by means of the utilization of local resources effectively to support the local educational development according to the present school curricula.

As the Director of School Academic Division points out, the school policy has explicit statements regarding student development in terms of morality, personality, academic knowledge, and vocational training. In addition, the school policy aims to provide knowledge about the local community so that students will be able to apply their education to address community problems. In turn, the school is able to use local resources as a learning laboratory for students practical training.

Even though the school policy does not have an explicit objective to retain students within the community after graduation, the school administrators seem to be concerned about migration problems within the community. The Director of School Academic Division contends, the number of youths who leave their home town to find a job in cities has
increased because the rural economic situation is falling. More than fifty percent of students in San-kam-pang School have relatives who get jobs in cities, especially in Bangkok. The Director of Academic Division states further that it is quite difficult to convince rural people not to migrate since the rice price is dropping and there are no substitute jobs for farming within the community. San-kam-pang School, however, attempts to provide knowledge and skills that students are able to apply for employment in and around Chiangmai. "At least, we [school administers and teachers] can encourage school graduates to find a job in Chiangmai instead of Bangkok."5

San-kam-pang school provides several vocational programs such as auto repair, machine operation, accounting, flower making, and painting courses. Even though the school is authorized to offer any program of study which is appropriate to local needs, every program must be approved by the Ministry of Education in advance. This means that the school is still controlled by the central government.

During the last several years, San-kam-pang School has been very successful in terms of the students' educational achievements. This is because the teachers have given added attention to the students. Students in both academic and vocational programs are encouraged and counseled by their teachers to pursue higher education according to individual
capability and financial situation. Within the school, outstanding students in each program of study are honored by receiving tuition waivers and having their names posted on the school acknowledgement board. Since 1990, San-kam-pang School has been named by the Ministry of Education as a model public school in the northern region for effective implementation of the mandated school curriculum. 6

The School and Pa-pai’s Socio-cultural and Economic Situation

As previously discussed, Thailand consists of four regions. Within the overall common national Thai culture, each region has its own unique tradition. Generally, public schools are responsible for instilling the national culture in students. According to the Seventh National Education Development Plan, public schools should encourage students to admire their local culture as well. San-kam-pang School, as a school of the northern region, attempts to teach students to appreciate and conserve their local culture.

I observed that the local culture is infused into all subject matter. For example, students have an opportunity to learn folk stories in Thai literature courses, folk law in social studies courses, Lana style painting (a northern style of painting) in fine art courses, and northern style of dressing in home economic courses. Moreover, the northern
dialect is also allowed in the classroom when it can assist understanding, although as a public school the standard Thai language is required for classroom instruction. Outside of the classroom the northern dialect is used in casual communication between teachers and students. Teaching the local culture is going well because approximately seventy-eight per cent of the teachers in San-kam-pang School are northerners.

In addition, teachers try to encourage students to participate in local cultural events such as wedding ceremonies, Song-Gran Day celebration, and winter season celebration. Teachers always let students talk in front of the class about cultural events they have attended. This is another way to inform students about activities within their community and to encourage them to learn their local culture by having fun. Moreover, since these events bring all of the villagers together, they provide a good chance for the children to create community bonds. In other words, teachers try to build a sense of belonging in the student.

In San-kam-pang School, students have an opportunity to learn about their own community in terms of its physical geography and economic situation. In social studies class, students learn to survey their community. In geography, students have to draw maps and locate their houses within the village and the village within the district. For
economics courses, students learn how the people within their community earn their living. On some occasions, the school invites people in different occupations, such as small business owners, government officials, nurses, and bank tellers to talk to students in order to give them inspiration in choosing their own occupations. However, according to Khong-khun-thene, a counseling teacher, farmers have never been invited. This is because, first, most of the students' parents are farmers, and second, from information received from the students, none of them are interested in being farmer.

The school's provision of local socio-cultural and economic knowledge receives strong support from students' parents in Pa-pai village. According to the survey findings, about ninety percent of the respondents believe that the school tries to present a positive image of community life. Parents also support the school's cultivation of local culture in the students. They believe that the local culture, which is their ancestral heritage, is going to die out in the community if the new generations do not conserve it. Providing knowledge about the local community helps to conserve its heritage. It is also possible that such knowledge might affect rural-urban migration since it is
able to create a community tie among children (see Chapter V).

Approximately seventy-seven percent of the respondents believed that school should provide students with information relevant to "the local economic situation". Many of respondents believe that learning about the local economic situation will help students understand the real life situations which they will have to face in the future.

However, as Thai citizens, students also have to learn about their nation as a whole. The school, therefore, provides students with the information about life outside their community. Students learn about the socio-cultural and economic situations of other regions in the country, including Bangkok. Bangkok is presented to students as being the center of national socioeconomic and technological development. Students learn that life in Bangkok is very convenient but very competitive and crowded. At present Bangkok has the highest density of population in Thailand and is facing serious problems of crime, drug abuse, traffic congestion, and environmental destruction. It was clear to me that the school curriculum gives students accurate information about socio-cultural and economic conditions in Bangkok. However, this information also makes students in
San-kam-pang School aware of unequal development between Bangkok and the rest of the country.

Additionally, in order to keep track of daily events within and outside of their own community, students are required to search for interesting information from media such as television, radio, or newspaper. Such information is posted on the bulletin board in front of the classroom. However, most of the information concerns events outside the students' community. This is not because students are disinterested in local events, but because the main source of information is the nationwide network media which is produced in Bangkok and broadcast throughout the country. There are a few local radio stations and newspapers but no local television station.

Even though the school does not intend to instruct students on how to live in a big city like Bangkok, it occasionally involves students in activities with teachers who used to live in Bangkok. Students are very interested in the life experiences of their teachers. The teachers tell their students about the difficulties of living in Bangkok, including the very high cost of living and the air pollution.

Generally, rural people perceive that they are less modernized than urban people. As the result, they are
pleased that their children have a chance to learn about life in Bangkok. About eighty-nine percent of the respondents supported teaching their children about living in big cities because such knowledge helps their children to know more about the world outside their community. In addition, since the children are exposed to information of Bangkok's living situation from mass media, as mentioned above, the respondents prefer to have their children taught by their teachers rather than to learn only from the media.

The School and Students' Occupational Preparation

Since the Seventh National Education Development Plan aims to develop the competence of rural people to improve their economic status, San-kam-pang School provides a variety of vocational training programs as well as academic education programs. The Director of the school's Academic Division states that even though students are allowed to choose an educational program in which they are interested, they have to be advised by teachers in order to prevent failure. In the school application form, students indicate in which programs they would like to study. However, their entrance examination score is the major determining factor of which programs they can enter. For example, if a student would like to enroll in the math-science program of study,
his/her grade in mathematics and sciences subjects must not be lower than a B.

According to the public secondary school system, the annual entrance examination, provided by each of the schools, will be held on the same day. This means, students have to decide which schools they want to attend. Usually, the excellent students of every primary schools try to compete for attending an outstanding secondary school in Bangkok or Chiangmai. These schools are always full of good performance students. Unlike San-kam-pang School and other rural secondary schools, students applying for these schools realize that they are unable to compete with those outstanding students to attend secondary schools in cities. Every year, San-kam-pang School has fewer applicants than the number of students which the school is required to admit annually. That is, all students taking the entrance examination are enrolled. Additionally, San-kam-pang School has to provide the second round of entrance examination because students from the first round are fewer than the total number of students annually admitted. Students taking the second round of entrance examination are those who failed in the first round of other schools entrance examinations. As a result, the majority of San-kam-pang School's students are average or below average. More than
fifty percent of the students have had low grades in academic subjects. Therefore, in San-kam-pang School, the students in vocational programs number twice as many as those in academic programs. Teachers contribute a great deal of effort toward the educational achievement of their students in both academic and vocational programs.

The school provides extra instruction for 12th grade students in the academic programs in order to prepare them for the public university entrance examination. For three months before the examinations, students receive extra instruction which is offered at night on the school days and during the day on holidays. Even though teachers receive very little payment for this, they are willing to help their students to be successful. All of the students work very hard for the examination because it is a major determinant of their future life. If they fail at the examination, some of them try again the next year while the others apply for college and open universities or even private universities in Chiangmai and Bangkok.

For vocational education, San-kam-pang School provides several programs of study, namely home economics, commerce-business, fine arts, agriculture, and industrial related program. The two most highly successful vocational programs of San-kam-pang School are the fine arts training
program--drawing and painting on ceramic, wood and fabric--and the home economics program--flower making, dress making, and cooking. Since 1986, the vocational programs of San-kam-pang School have encouraged students not only to improve their working skills but also to learn about business management such as marketing and financial investment. Students are trained to work together as small business owners.

The home economics program seem to be very successful in doing this. According to Suporn, the head of the Home Economics Department, the quality of students' products is good enough for commercial sale; a few retail flower making and dress making shops are channels for selling the students' products. In addition, some graduates have been hired by textile companies in Chiangmai. For the fine arts training program, some graduates have been hired as painters for umbrella/fan companies. In addition, because there are many ceramic companies located in Chiangmai, ceramic painting courses have been offered in San-kam-pang School since 1990. Because these courses are expensive, the school provides all of the materials and also the ceramic oven. However, students get their share of the profits after selling the products. Pisit, the teacher who began the ceramic painting courses, says that the school intends to develop the students' capabilities in ceramic design and
painting so they can be hired by the ceramic manufacturers or even have their own small gift shop.

The commerce-business program and the industrial related program are improving in quality. In the past, graduates from these two programs could hardly get a job, because their work was inferior to that of those who graduated from vocational schools. In Chiangmai, most of public vocational schools are upper-secondary educational level (grade 10-12), providing vocational knowledge and skills sufficient for students to pursue a certain career. In San-kam-pang School, since there are few students willing to study in the commerce-business program, the school does not have a chance to select students for this program. Most of the students attending the commerce-business program want to learn only typing. They are not good in mathematics which is fundamental for several courses in this program. Due to the school's counseling teachers' efforts to build awareness and understanding of the commerce-business program, 1992 students in the program did better than those in the past few years. The school also planned to improve the educational quality of the commerce-business program to the same high level as that of vocational schools.

Since 1984, the school has invested in materials and a workshop to improve the industrial related program (auto
repair, welding, construction, and machine operation). According to the head of industrial related teachers, San-kam-pang students are less competent than those in vocational schools. Several industrial factories are willing to hire the students because they are able to develop their working skills rapidly. However, their salaries are lower than for those from vocational schools. Recently, the industrial estates in Lumphun province have come to recruit San-kam-pang students who are going to graduate.

Within the next few years, improved vocational programs of San-kam-pang School will put students at the same level as those from vocational schools. As the result, San-kam-pang students will be able to compete for jobs and to continue their higher education in vocational college. 7

"French for Tourism" is another program of study which has made San-kam-pang School a well known public school in Chiangmai. 8 As at other public schools in Thailand, French is offered as an elective foreign language course. Usually, only students who intend to continue higher education take French courses. In recent years, very few students (approximately 10 to 15 students a year) in San-kam-pang School had enrolled in French courses. According to Ni-thi-pan, the leader of French teachers, since French tourists are the most numerous of foreign tourists visiting Chiangmai each year, in 1986 San-kam-pang School, with the support of
Ministry of Education, established a study program of French for tourism. The program emphasizes using French in the tourist industry. Students have an opportunity to do practical training at the showrooms of cottage industries and gift shops in Chiangmai during the three months of summer holiday. Students are trained as receptionists, sales personnel, and translators for French tourist groups.

At the beginning of this program, it was difficult to find training sites for the students. Most of the business owners could not imagine what the students could do. Now, a lot of tourist business owners request students to train with them and give students an allowance for their contribution. Even though the allowance is only a small amount of money ($2 per day), students are very pleased since the allowance is the by-product of their practical training.

From the inception of French for tourism, the number of students studying in this program has been steadily increasing. After graduating, these students have a better chance to continue their higher education, especially in the tourist industry program of study, due to their ability to speak French and to their work experience. Additionally, many of the students are able to get jobs at the business firms where they did their practical training.
While other vocational programs of San-kam-pang school are likely to be successful, as discussed above, the agricultural program is the only vocational program which seems to be in decline. According to the Academic Division Director when I interviewed her in 1992, the school agricultural program will be terminated in 1993 due to lack of enrollment. The number of students attending the agricultural program has been decreasing each year. In 1992, there were only four students in this program. Wee-ra-pan, the head of agricultural teachers, and all of the school agricultural teachers are very disappointed at the discontinuation of this program. Over the last ten years, as Wee-ra-pan states, the school agricultural program has been changed to serve students' needs. Students have various courses to study, including farming, vegetable cultivation, and decorative gardening. Students of the agricultural program are mostly interested in decorative gardening courses. Teachers find decorative gardening projects and let students work on them. Students involved in the project gain work experience and their share of benefits from the project. However, teachers in the agricultural program realize that they have been unsuccessful in convincing students to choose a career in the agricultural sector.

In fact, teachers of each vocational program in San-kam-pang School work very hard to help students succeed
in their education and in their occupation as well. The achievements of graduates makes the school more attractive to parents and children. Wee-ra-pan tries to encourage his students to take advantage of opportunities in farming. However, very few students in the agricultural program are interested in working as farmers after graduating. Students realize that, at present, similar to other rural areas, the farmers within their community are facing crises of water shortage and falling agricultural prices. As a result, for students of San-kam-pang School, working in the agricultural sector seems less attractive than in the industrial or commercial sector.

The vocational programs of San-kam-pang School succeed in improving the knowledge and working skills of the students. According to the 1992 school year book, approximately sixty-two per cent of graduates who did not continue their higher education worked in private companies. Among the graduates of the same year who pursued higher education, about ninety percent of them were attending a vocational training college.

However, the vocational programs of San-kam-pang School is likely to fail in preparing students to work in farming. Even though vocational education of San-kam-pang School, as the Director of Academic Division claimed, seems to succeed
in keeping graduates within Chiangmai or at least in the northern region, it is clearly that none of graduates intend to pursue careers as farmers. Education becomes a means to encourage current generation to leave their farmland. Since agriculture still is important for San-kam-pang district's economy, rather than being terminated, the agricultural program of San-kam-pang School should be improved to provide knowledge, techniques and methods which would enable students to be more efficient and more profitable farmers.

Students' and Parents' Attitudes about Education and Migration

The achievement of the vocational programs of San-kam-pang School has had an effect on students' attitudes about education and occupation. In the past, children in the San-kam-pang district believed that secondary education was not necessary for them. Most of the children were occupied with helping their parents work in the field. Only a few primary school graduates attended secondary schools.

Case Study 1. Anuson Reondaj

Anuson is a sixteen-year-old boy, studying in grade 9. When he was a small child, he and his younger sister and brother loved to follow their parents to the farm land even though they were too young to work there. Anuson believed that he would spend his whole life as a farmer, just as his parents and grandparents. He thought that every child had to attended a primary school because it is compulsory. Since education beyond primary school is not mandatory, Anuson does not plan to continue his secondary education. For him, helping his parents in farming would be more beneficial than attending secondary school.
Case Study 2. Piwat Waikul
Piwat is a nineteen year old student of grade 12. He agrees that when he was young, children in Pa-pai village paid little attention to education higher than primary level. Attending secondary school seemed to be a waste of time since the secondary school graduates finally became farmers, the same as the primary school graduates. Moreover, in some cases, primary school graduates who had been trained to be craftsmen and furniture makers could earn better livings than secondary school graduates.

At present, children in Pa-pai have begun to discern the value of education in relieving their families’ economic problems. Twenty-two student respondents revealed that their attitudes about education have changed. They attend secondary school because they believe that education beyond primary level can help them get good employment.

Case Study 3. Dongdaw Maeka
Dongdaw, a fifteen year old student of grade nine, reflects the changing of children's perspective. Before finishing primary school, Dongdaw's parents had to sell their farmland to mitigate their debt. Dongdaw realizes that due to a lack of education, her parents had to become wage laborers. She states that at first she could not make the decision whether or not to continue secondary school, let alone public college and university which is highly competitive. Dongdaw believed that her parents could not afford her higher education in private college and university. She might become a wage laborer after finishing secondary school. Fortunately, in the last year of primary school, a few teachers from San-kam-pang School came to her school to give information about the vocational training programs which really encouraged her to continue secondary school. Dongdaw believes that she has made the right decision to study home economics in San-kam-pang school. She is very pleased to earn some money while she is studying in school. Dongdaw hopes that she will
work as a dress maker for a fabric company after finishing secondary school.

Generally, in other public schools, students studying in vocational programs are those who are likely to be deficient in academic related subjects. As the result, they perceive that their educational performance is lower than those who study in the academic program. On the contrary, in San-kam-pang School, the majority of the students choose to study in vocational programs. All twenty-two respondents indicated that they did not feel inferior to the students in academic programs. They anticipated good employment as soon as they graduated.

However, according to Khong-khun-thene, a counseling teacher, most of the students in the vocational programs seem not to be interested in agricultural programs, even those students whose parents still work in the field. For example,

Case Study 4. Chanchira Makoew
Chanchira, a grade twelve student, hopes to be a cashier in a shopping center in Chiangmai city after finishing the accounting program at San-kam-pang School. Her parents are working on her grandmother's farmland. The benefits of farm production are divided between her parents and grandmother. During summer holidays, Chanchira helped her parents work in farming. She found that farm working is very hard. She said "we always received less benefit than we expected."
Case Study 5. Sattawat Rakhmung

Sattawat agrees with Chanchira. He is a grade twelve student of the fine arts program and has part-time work as a painter in a fan and umbrella factory in San-kam-pang district. His parents have nine rai of farmland cultivated. Sattawat says that he does not plan to be a farmer. He said "I am so tired to see my parents struggle with problems, including water shortage, the decline of farming product prices, and the growth of their debt." Sattawat sees the vocational program as the only way he can find a career outside the agricultural sector.

Case Study 6. Pongsak Sittipornchai

Pongsak, a 12th grade student, finds himself in the same situation as Sattawat. In the last few years, his parents have faced difficulties in farming. They have gained very little benefit from their hard work. Moreover, much of the benefit must be paid for their debt. Pongsak does not want to go through the same painful situation as his parents. He is therefore studying in the industrial mechanics program and intends to work in industry estate, which he believes will provide him with a higher standard of living than working on the farm would. Pongsak also hopes that he will be able to support himself for a twilight vocational college.

In addition, students seem to believe that secondary education cannot help them improve their competence in farming. All of the respondents agreed that if they wanted to be farmers, secondary school would not be the place for them. A better way to learn farming would be by helping their parents, not from school. Thus, students attend San-kam-pang School because they believe that they will be able to acquire an employment outside of agriculture. That is, they perceive that education beyond primary level is not for
farming. Again, these circumstances emphasize the unsuccessfulness of the agricultural program of San-kam-pang School. The administrators of San-kam-pang School should realize that in order to make agricultural program become more attractive for students, the school needs to provide the motivation and the highly efficient training to help it happen.

All of the respondents stated that they are planning to find city employment after graduating from San-kam-pang School. Even though the twenty-two respondents agree that it will be quite difficult for them to be separated from their families, their own and their families' economic survival are more important than living together with their families.

Within the Pa-pai community, generally, the villagers highly respect a well-educated person, particularly a Bachelor degree holder. The villagers believe that such people are omniscient and should be consulted in every matter. During the field study for this research, a lot of villagers came to see Waraporn for her advice, even about matters that she does not really know about. In such cases, Waraporn is able to refer them to the appropriate person. For example, a villager who wanted to sell his farmland asked Waraporn to look at the agreement of land sale to see whether or not it was legal. In this matter, Waraporn had to
ask a specialist of the District Office to inspect the agreement.

Pa-pai villagers think higher education is important. Almost all of the school-age children are attaining education beyond primary level. Approximately eighty-two percent of the respondents agree that children in the village should attain higher education. The majority of villagers discern the value of higher education in improving the individuals' economic situation. Forty-five percents of the respondents reveal that higher education is a major factor in obtaining white-collar employment (Table 6.1). As previously discussed, most of the employment other than farming is outside the village (Chapter V). This means, the higher education graduates will leaving the village to pursue their careers.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reasons</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>To obtain white-collar employment</td>
<td>45.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To improve their standard of living</td>
<td>26.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To be intellectual</td>
<td>23.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To develop their local community</td>
<td>4.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>113</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
However, paying for children's higher education is difficult. Approximately fifty-two percent of the respondents have economic problems in doing so, particularly those who earn less than six thousand baht (25 baht=1 dollar) a month and have more than two children in school. Nevertheless, they endeavor to keep their children in school, even if it requires going into debt. In some families, the economic situation is so critical that they are unable to send all of their children to school beyond the primary level. The younger children have more opportunity to attend school whereas the older children must help their parents earn their living. In Pa-pai village, the gender of the children no longer matters since there are several kinds of employment where the number of female workers surpasses male workers, for example, nurse, teacher, secretary, and receptionist. In other words, with the equal opportunities for their children's employment after graduation, parents have not reason to favor one sex over the other when deciding who to send to school.

Pa-pai villagers are likely to support San-kam-pang School in providing vocational education. Most of the respondents states that vocational programs help students to prepare for their occupations and to earn their living even while being students. The majority of the villagers
also agree that the vocational programs of San-kam-pang School are better for city employment than for local jobs. They seem extremely satisfied with the school's vocational programs (Table 6.2). Sixty-one percent of farmers thought that it is appropriate for the school to train their children for working in the city because of the lack of available employment in their community. This implies that the farmers are losing faith in farming as an occupation and no longer believe that their children's economic achievement can be through farming. Since all of the farmers had only primary education, they could rarely get employment better than laborer. As a result, they work quite hard to send their children to school hoping that education will help the children to survive in the current economic situation.

TABLE 6.2 Pa-pai villagers' reasons for supporting the "city bias" of vocational program, by occupations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Reason</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>N</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Lack of local employment</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farmer</td>
<td>61.2</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laborer</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Private worker</td>
<td>10.9</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Civil servant</td>
<td>7.7</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Merchant</td>
<td>10.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>High potential to get good job in city</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farmer</td>
<td>38.8</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laborer</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Private worker</td>
<td>89.1</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Civil servant</td>
<td>92.3</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Merchant</td>
<td>90.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The majority of laborers, private firm employees, civil servants and merchants discern that the vocational education of San-kam-pang School to be providing their children a great potential to obtain a good job in city. They believe that after graduating, with the vocational training their children will be ready to get a city job.

Villagers whose their children are attending San-kam-pang School tend to encourage their children to find employment in a city (Chiangmai or Bangkok). Seventy-five percent of the respondents are willing to support their offspring to work in the city. The majority of the respondents are likely to be concerned about their families' economic survival. They consider that by working in the city their children will get employment with high pay that can also relieve their families' economic tension.

About twenty-five percent of the respondents do not support the idea of their children working in the city. The main reason for this, in all occupation groups, is that they are worried about being separated from their children.

Respondents who encourage their children to work in the city also worry about them living far away. Furthermore, they are concerned about living alone in their old age since successful movers seldom return to their home town (see chapter V). However, many of the respondents state that it
is not worthwhile to keep all of our children at home without enough food to feed them.

Obviously, the alleviation of families' economic problems is the main reason for youth seeking city employment. The majority of the respondents state that the villagers highly respect the person who leaves his/her family to work in the city. This is because those who work in the city show they have a great responsibility to their families. In addition, such movers become role models of successful achievers among Pa-pai village's younger generation. Whenever the movers visit their hometown (as discussed in chapter V), they always are surrounded by their younger fellows asking about their achievements.

Within Pa-pai, the villagers know that not everyone who wants to get city employment will be able to accomplish it. The majority of the respondents agree that it is quite difficult for the youth of Pa-pai village to move to a city. One obstacle is the lack of connections in the city. Fifty-four percent of the respondents think that most of the villagers do not have any friends and relatives living in the city to help the movers find a job or even provide a place to stay at the first period of moving. A second problem is the villagers' lack of education. Twenty-seven percent of the respondents believe that the educational background of the villagers is not good enough to apply for
city employment. After moving to work in the city for a while, some of the villagers have moved back to their local employment (see chapter V).

Thirdly, concern for the family may hold back a potential migrant. Nineteen percent of the respondents state that the villagers are worried about their family members whom they left behind. Again, being separated from their families seems to be a less important reason than the other two reasons of not moving. If the villagers are able to find a connection in a city of destination and receive a better education, moving to the city is likely to be easier for them.

The number of the movers from Pa-pai village had increased. As previously discussed, most of the children in Pa-pai village are pursuing education higher than primary education. The educational program of San-kam-pang School which the majority of Pa-pai children are attending is preparing students for city employment. In other words, obtaining city employment is seen as the ultimate goal of the educated person. Villagers who are planning to migrate are young educated persons (Chapter V). Moreover, the networks between the village and the city are being expanded, since the number of villagers living in the city
is increasing. That is, the problem of lacking connection in the city has been gradually relieved.

From the above discussion, this research reveals that San-kam-pang School's educational policy has complied with the National Education Plan to achieve the goal of improvement in the rural people's skill and knowledge so that they can earn a living. However, this research also discloses that by such education, the students seem to come to believe that an educated person deserves city employment and that city employment is better than rural and farm employment. This illustrates that education plays an important role in the villager's decision to migrate. The influence of education on the rural-urban migration will be discussed in the next chapter.
CHAPTER VII
FINDINGS, CONCLUSIONS AND POLICY RECOMMENDATION

The primary purpose of this study has been to investigate the impact of education on migration decision making. In this chapter, conclusions will be drawn from the research findings and suggestions for policy implications will be made and discussed.

Conclusion

In order to accomplish the objectives of this research, three research methodologies have been applied: 1) a case study, including participant observation, informal interviews, life-history techniques and documentary reviews; 2) formal interviews and 3) historical research. While the field study was being conducted, the researcher found that integrating these research methodologies was very helpful in acquiring the desired information. Formal interviews were used for obtaining villagers' migration information and parents' attitude toward education and migration. The case study, on the other hand, was used to reveal the effect of education on Pa-pai village life and migration. Moreover, in order to understand clearly how and why education has come to affect the individual's migration decision making,
historical methodology was used in tracing the development of the Thai educational system from the Sukhothai period forward.

As a case study, this research was conducted within only one village, Pa-pai, a village in San-kam-pang district, Chiangmai province. Since 1967, socio-cultural and economic settings of Pa-pai village have changed as a result of Thai national economic development policy. According to that policy, Chiangmai has been the center of economic development in the northern region of Thailand. The industrial sector, particularly the tourist industry, has progressed and increased its share in Chiangmai's economy. Agricultural products have also become export goods.

However, the economic advancement in Chiangmai has not generated economic growth in Pa-pai village. In fact, Pa-pai village's economic situation is slowing down. Agriculture, which used to be the dominant occupation in the village, cannot today ensure the Pa-pai villagers' economic survival. The villagers are struggling with various economic problems. First, the price of rice is decreasing due to industrial development. Cheap labor is one of the essential factors in the acceleration of foreign capital investment in the industrial sector. The Thai government attempts to keep wages in the cities low by making food cheap. Second, the
cost of farming investment has risen sharply according to commercialization. Farmers are forced to utilize costly fertilizers and insecticides to increase the quality and quantity of their products which are unaffordable to small farmland owners. Third, because of bureaucracy and corruption, the Thai government's program of rice price intervention which tries to protect farmers from being taken advantage by middlemen and rice millers, has not been fully accomplished. Fourth, farmers are facing a serious problem of water shortage. Under these circumstances, farmers gain less benefit, become mired in debt and lose their farmland. In 1992, twenty-five percent of the Pa-pai villagers were landless. Most of them became wage laborers. Among landowner families, sixty-four percent of them use their own land for farming.

Economic pressure is an essential cause of the Pa-pai socio-cultural change. Since the production of agricultural products now tends to be business-oriented, monetization is important for village life. All of the essential consumer goods must be obtained through the market. Thus, cooperative workers are replaced by wage laborers. The traditional family structure is also being destroyed. In the past, when farming was the main source of family income, the villagers had their relatives living together and contributed their energies to farming. At present, this traditional
agricultural system is deteriorating. Now, for their economic survival, each family sends their family members, both male and female, to seek employment in other areas. The household size is therefore getting smaller. Family members live separately and are loosely tied with each other.

Since Pa-pai villagers cannot depend on farming, many villagers attempt to find employment outside the village. At present, there are a number of Pa-pai villagers working as government officials, private firm employees, and as wage laborers. These occupations are permanent and exist mostly outside the village. That means that many out of necessity have lost their ties to the village.

It is probable that the number of the villagers leaving their hometown for employment is likely to increase. In the past, Pa-pai villagers sought only temporary jobs outside the village to earn extra income during the off season of harvesting. At present, given the struggle to survive economic hardship and changes now possible in their way of life, the young villagers are no longer willing to toil in the farmlands like their parents. Instead they increasingly leave the village permanently to work in the cities. In 1992, three percent of Pa-pai villagers are returned migrants, six percent are prospective migrants and eight percent are out migrants.
Even though there are several reasons for Pa-pai migration, these reasons seem to relate to the possibilities of economic improvement. Many of Pa-pai migrants leave the village to find city employment. Some villagers, particularly younger ones, leave with the intention of pursuing a higher education which is an essential means to getting a high-paying job. Others leave in order to be reunited with their spouses who have already lived in areas in which the economic opportunity is better than that of their village. This reflects the fact that migration is viewed by the villagers as a strategy for their economic struggle since the villagers reveal that those who leave can gain more experience and acquire more skills to boost their income.

The primary destinations of Pa-pai migrants are Chiangmai and Bangkok. Since the search for employment is the essential reason for migration, the migrants usually move to where there are better economic opportunities awaiting them. Because of their economic prosperity, both Bangkok and Chiangmai are perceived as very attractive for Pa-pai migrants.

The Pa-pai migrants who do not fulfill their purpose of moving out of the village are mostly less-educated. They are unable to compete with those who have attained a higher education to get high paying employment. These less educated
migrants find only the low paying jobs, such as unskilled wage labor such jobs are usually not permanent. The Pa-pai migrants within this group are hardly able to survive in cities. Their prospects in the village are equally dim.

However, the Pa-pai migrants who do achieve their purpose of migration have attained education beyond the primary level. Because of their educational background, they are able to find high paying employment in Bangkok or Chiangmai. These Pa-pai migrants have never considered moving back to the village. Additionally, because of their apparent economic success, these well educated migrants become a role model for the younger generation in the Pa-pai village to aspire to. Today, there are many young Pa-pai villagers, both men and women, attempting to pursue an education beyond the primary level and intending to find city employment. Education is, therefore, viewed by the Pa-pai villagers as an important means to help migrants accept the necessity and to fulfill their purpose of migration.

Historically, education has always had a profound effect on rural-urban migration. Since the western educational system was established in Thai society, Thai educational policy has been influenced by the national socioeconomic and political development policies. The
schools have been used to prepare students to be potential workers according to the demands of such policies.

During the period between 1869-1931, Thai education was affected by the nation's political situation. Because of the sociopolitical reforms that took place in King Chulalongkorn reign (1869-1910), the features of western political and administrative structures were adopted in Thai society. A vast number of educated government officials were needed to work in the new political and administrative structures. Thus, the formal educational system following the western model was established in 1881 with the major purpose of preparing students to work for the government. It could be said that education was only for the sake of training bureaucrats. After their graduation, the students left their hometown and attempted to earn a position in government offices which were mostly concentrated in Bangkok.

In order to become bureaucrats the pursuit of education is developed as a social norm within Thai society. Traditionally, government positions were transferred and passed on genealogically. That is, the government officers trained their children to replace them in their positions. In other words, only children of the ruling elites were able to get positions in government offices. Since the formal school system was open to all Thai people, most of the well-
educated persons regardless of their family background, had a good opportunity to fill government positions. That means, children of farmers were able to become government officials upon graduation. These circumstances made the Thai people perceive education as a major factor to train their children to become part of the educated ruling elites.

The well-educated Thai came to the belief that the only appropriate occupation for them was as a government official. Getting a position in government offices became highly competitive in the following periods because the number of graduates was higher than the available positions. However, the graduates kept moving into Bangkok with the hope that they would be able to obtain a government position in the following years.

There were a number of rural people, particular those who needed their children to help them work on the farm, who did not encourage their children to receive education any higher than compulsory primary school. They were afraid that upon matriculation, their children would desert them and their farms for government employments in Bangkok.

After the Thai political system was changed from an absolute monarchy to constitutional democracy in 1932, education was utilized as a means to instill a democratic ideology in students. The Thai government attempted to provide equality in terms of educational opportunity for all
Thai children. Thus, a large number of schools were built to meet the demands of the population throughout the country. Increasing the schools outside Bangkok also had an underlying purpose to lower the number of rural children moving into Bangkok to attend schools. Thus, the temporary effect was to slow down the rural-urban migration.

It is likely that Thai educational system has increased its role in rural-urban migration after vocational training was included in school curriculum in 1977. According to the national socioeconomic development plan emphasizing industrialization, the schools have had the obligation to produce professionals, technicians and skilled workers to work in the industrial sector which were mostly located in urban areas. As aforementioned, in the past, individuals pursuing education beyond primary school were those who intended to be government officials. Due to the extremely high competition among graduates to obtain a position in government offices, only students who demonstrated high academic performance were able to attain education higher than the primary level whereas those who decided to work on the farm stopped their education at the primary level. After schools were also used to prepare skilled workers to serve in the industrial sector, the number of youths attending secondary schools did markedly increase. The public
secondary schools were no longer meant exclusively for the academically inclined students. Students who demonstrated an average level of academic performance but were interested in vocational training also attended secondary schools. Therefore, graduates in both academic and vocational programs would move into rural towns and cities where government offices, commercial-business companies and industrial estates were concentrated. It could be said that vocational training in schools played a vital role in enhancing the number of rural urban migrants.

It is obvious that education has been an essential instrument for the Thai national socioeconomic development. Schools have been successful in preparing potential workers in order to cater to the needs of the labor market. As a result, the people have come to believe that the purpose of education is for children's occupational training. However, Thai education has been used to train students for all occupations other than agriculture. Students attend school with the idea that they will obtain employment in government offices, private companies and industrial estates which are mostly situated in urban areas. Schools, can therefore, be viewed as an agent to transfer people from the rural areas into the labor market in urban areas.

Economic improvement is the important reason for parents to encourage their children to migrate from their
village. The gap between families who have children working in cities and families who have none is obvious. "Some families gain a high income, better living standard and use modern luxury bought with money from their children." As a result, rather than tie their children down with their heritage of farmlands, most of the farmers encourage their children to pursue an education beyond the primary level and to seek employment in cities.

However, for a number of years, well-educated migrants have had difficulties in finding their fortune in the cities. The main reason is that the number of potential workers extremely exceeds the demands. "Technological change orientates . . . a small number of specialist positions." The 1990 year book report on the working status of internal migrants in Thailand shows that among those who are rural-urban migrants, there is a greater number of the well-educated persons who are unemployed than those who are less-educated. The unemployment rates of persons who completed secondary school and university are about 5.6 percent and 4.6 percent respectively while the corresponding percentage of persons who completed primary school is 3.9.

Because of the higher number of skilled workers the wage rate is proportionately low. The minimum wage is about 125 baht (US $ 5) a day. The skilled workers, especially
those who are migrants, have to accept any available job without any negotiating power even risking physical safety in the working area. In many cases, the workers are not informed in advance that their lives are at risk for certain kinds of employment. The incident at the Northern Region Industrial Estate (NRIE), Lumphun province, is but one example of several tragedies that have happened to workers exposed to hazardous conditions.

The Northern Region Industrial Estate is located in Lumphun province. In order to curb wild growth in Chiangmai, Lumphun was selected by the City Planning Office and the Industrial Estate Authority of Thailand to be a satellite town of Chiangmai since 1976. Lumphun has been transformed from a peaceful town into a chaotic urban area. Its economy is rapidly moving toward industrialization. Fields and farms have been replaced by automated factories including electric and electronic industries. As the Thailand Development Research Institute (TDRI) reveals, electronic firms are among the five industries expelling the most toxic waste into the environment. The workers are unaware that they are at a high risk to being exposed to deadly vaporized substances such as lead and mercury vapors. 4

Amidst the industrial boom in Lumphun, this tragic incident occurred.
From March to December 1993, 13 employees of Hoya Opto, Electro-ceramics, Tokyo Coils, KS-S Electronic and Tokyo Tri—all of which are located in the Northern Region Industrial Estate—reported sick and eventually died from unexplained cause.

The situation became more complicated as the actual cause of their deaths came under dispute. The Industrial Estate Authority of Thailand denied any relationship between the deaths and the factories, instead alleging the victims died of AIDS.6

The mysterious deaths of the workers has not affected the migration flow to Lumphun. Since there is no available employment locally, the working age people from other provinces are moving into Lumphun to work at the Northern Region Industrial Estate.

Over the last three censuses, the number of rural-urban migrants have increased from 23.0 percent in 1970 to 34.8 percent in 1980 and to 36.0 percent in 1990.7 Because of the rural poverty and the diminishing of lands for cultivation, the rural people attempt to seek employment in cities and rural towns such as Chiangmai and Bangkok where their economic situation are prospering with growing industrial, commercial and service sectors. Between 1985 to 1990, the number of migrants having moved into Chiangmai and Bangkok was 51,838 and 713,880 respectively.8
The rural-urban migration has had a negative impact on socio-economic situation in both the origin and destination areas. The enormous current influx of migrants to Bangkok has created a number of problems such as slums, increased unemployment, unhealthy environment, and chronic poverty. The growth rate of employment opportunities in the Bangkok has been declining over the past few years making it very difficult for migrants to secure employment. However, since they left the village, the migrants, especially those who are still young and well-educated, do not want to return. "They learn the habits of using luxury products and live in the manner of urban people." On the contrary, there are a number of villages which are depleted of working age youth. Those who remain are not economically active such as the elderly, the handicapped and children. As a result these villages's economic situation is moving backward.

It is clear that the problem of rural-urban migration is becoming serious. The overflow of the migration streams in urban areas is likely to create more harm than good to the economic situation of both the migrants and the nation as a whole.

Policy Recommendations

Like other developing countries, Thailand needs educated persons to work for the national sociopolitical and
economic development. Thus, educational policy has complied with the national sociopolitical and economic development plan. As previously discussed, the present Thai educational policy, which is mainly related to the national economic development plan, directly affects the rural-urban migration. In order to alleviate the problem of rural-urban migration, the policy makers have to consider seriously the education factors. However, since economic pressure is the essential reason for rural-urban migration, it is not possible to solve the problem of rural-urban migration within the context of education without taking the economic factor into account. As a result, the suggestions for economic and educational development policies that would enable the government to relieve the problem of rural-urban migration are the following.

Economic Development

The first is the suggested policy on national economic development. Thai economic development policy should be based on the basis idea of "balanced development," i.e. a development policy which will spread out economic opportunity to the rural areas.\textsuperscript{10}

Up until today, the Thai national economic development policy has concentrated mainly on urban development rather than rural development. With industrialization as its
ultimate goal, most of the economic development policies have been in favor of the promotion of industrial sectors. For example, private investment from both foreign and domestic firms are exempted from business taxes on imports of capital equipment and raw materials.¹¹ The public infrastructure facilities have been built mostly in the urban areas where industrial and commercial enterprises are located. "Those who had had access to the economic and social infrastructure facilities gained the most, while those in the remote areas which had received little attention from the government because the national efficiency criteria ruled out such public investment lost out."¹²

While the industrial sector has prospered there is evidence that the agricultural sector has gradually declined. During the period of 1988 to 1992, in comparison with the prices of agricultural products in the year 1972, the rate of percentage increase in the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) of agriculture is visibly lower than that of the non-agricultural sector (Table 7.1). This discrepancy is an indication that the national economic development plan has been less focused on agricultural development than industrial development. Moreover, the government tried to control the prices of agricultural commodities, rice in
particular in order to encourage industrial foreign investment as discussed earlier.

**TABLE 7.1 Comparison of Thailand Gross Domestic Product between agricultural and nonagricultural sector.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Real GDP at 1972 prices</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(% change)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agriculture</td>
<td>10.2</td>
<td>6.6</td>
<td>3.7</td>
<td>4.5</td>
<td>3.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-agriculture</td>
<td>13.9</td>
<td>13.1</td>
<td>12.7</td>
<td>8.8</td>
<td>8.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Approximately eighty percent of Thai population resides in the rural areas and depends on agriculture. Since the economic policy focuses on developments in the industrial sector which mostly are in the urban areas, it might be concluded that the Thai economic development strategies in general have neglected the distribution of the benefits of growth to the majority of the population.

The uneven development especially in terms of the economic situation is the major cause of rural-urban migration. The rural people cannot survive in the villages with economic stagnation. They, therefore, have to move into urban areas where there is an apparent economic situation boom. As a result, in order to relieve the rural-urban migration, the national economic development policy should
promote rural economic development as well as urban economic development.

For rural economic development, the policy should not seek only to improve the agricultural sector but also to generate agro-based industries within the rural areas. At present, the agricultural sector needs to be greatly subsidized by the government in terms of investment and obtaining the knowledge and practices of modern farming. Because of the advent of new technology, traditional farming no longer exists. The farmers have to be trained to apply a modern farm mechanization which necessitates higher investments. Marketing is also important for agricultural improvement. The prices of agricultural commodities decreases dramatically when the supply is greater than the demand. To rectify this problem, besides the exploration of foreign markets, the government should encourage agro-based industries which use agricultural products as their raw materials such as canned food, tapioca pellets and fabric industries. The increase in agro-based industry is a good strategy to convert the surplus agricultural products into industrial products with a higher value added. The farmers can also be protected from the unstable prices of agricultural products in the world market.

In addition, the agro-based industries do not require
high technological machinery. In other words, such industries can absorb the surplus of labor from the agricultural sector and do not require high financial investment. On the contrary, heavy industries which are encouraged by the Thai government, usually need much more technological equipment than the manpower. They also depend on the importation of raw materials and huge capital investments. Moreover, many of heavy industries expel toxic waste which destroys the environment and endangers human life. The tragic incidents like the Lumphun case have occurred repeatedly in Thailand. It can be said that the agro-based industry is likely to be much better suited to the Thai economic development in terms of agricultural improvement and industrial promotion than is the heavy industry.

The economic progress in rural areas can reduce the rural-urban migration flow to a certain level. However, educated persons in the rural areas might keep moving to the urban areas if their educational background cannot be applied to local employment. Education, an essential means of rural-urban migration, needs to be adjusted to the balanced development policy accordingly.
Educational Development

The second is the suggestion concerning educational development. As previously discussed, the Thai educational system has been used to serve the purposes of socioeconomic development. Within the balanced economic development policy, education should be utilized to serve both urban and rural economic development. In fact, the rural economic development is not limited to agricultural improvement but can also include industrial promotions such as the agro-based industry as discussed above. Education should therefore enhance the students' capacity to work in the agricultural and industrial sectors.

The improvement of agricultural studies should emphasize training students to be potential farmers. The Thai government should provide greater support to the schools to have a number of teachers who are well-trained in agriculture and teaching-learning materials. The school curriculum in agricultural subjects also needs to be reformed. Agricultural studies should provide an appropriate knowledge such that students are able to apply them to their real life situations. Such knowledge might include the way in which the farmers can increase the quality and quantity of their products. The students in agricultural studies should also learn about agribusiness. That is, they need to
know how to manage their own farming business without the need of middlemen. Moreover, the students should be educated about the environmental concerns in order to preserve and protect the environment which usually has direct effect on agriculture. For example, the problem of water shortage pertains directly to the problem of sever deforestation.

Even though the schools have a high quality of agricultural study, they have to work very hard to convince students to attend this program of study. This is due to the fact that Thai people have never perceived education as necessary for agriculture. Providing scholarship could be a convincing strategy. The schools should be granted an extra budget from the government in order to offer scholarships to students who enroll in the agricultural programs. The scholarship is not only to relieve students of their financial burdens but also to instill a sense of self-respect and pride among these students.

The success of an agricultural program is not determined merely by the number of students attending it. Proficiency of graduates as successful farmers is the most important factor. Students may not be motivated to take on agricultural studies even if they are offered scholarships if they see no hope in their future occupation. That means the success of the graduates in farming is the greatest
inspiration to the younger generation. Thus, the improvement of agricultural studies has to progress in conjunction with the development in the agricultural sector. As being found in Pa-pai village, villagers in general do not want to leave their home area if the local economic situation were better. Again, they are willing to send their children to obtain modern agricultural knowledge from the schools if such knowledge can really help them improve their farming capacity.

The improvement in industrial related programs should prepare students to be not only skilled workers but also business entrepreneurs. At present, students attending the industrially related programs plan to work as employees in the industrial estates. They have never been taught about having their own business. Due to the Thai government being interested in establishing the heavy industries the schools curriculum emphasize training skilled workers for those industries. However, if the Thai government pays more attention in agro-based industry which do not depend on foreign investment, the schools will provide a broad knowledge which includes, among other things establishments small factories such as sugar-cane mills, rice paddy mills, and silk or cotton fabric factories. These factories do not rely on modern high technological machinery and the cost of investment is therefore not very high. They can also be
located close to the source of raw materials. The graduates from the industrially related program would be able to find employment within their own community or even have their own small business.

In addition, it is very important that the industrially related programs should educate students to be aware of physical safety within the working areas, in order to prevent them from working in situations with health hazard. Those students who intend to work in heavy metal factories in particular, should know that toxic wastes from the industrial factories are mostly deadly vapors. The students therefore have to receive information concerning the standard treatment of the industrial waste from the factories to ensure that such the waste would not adversely affect humans or the environment.

Obviously, education is directly related to the students' future occupation. Well-educated persons will move to where there is employment appropriate to their knowledge. It can be concluded that education has a great influence on the rural-urban migration. Thus, in order to alleviate the problem of rural-urban migration, besides economic factor, education has to be seriously considered. In other words, the rural-urban migration will be slowed down, if not completely stopped, when the rural economic development
creates employment opportunities and the educational system trains students for those opportunities which are rewarding and worthwhile for educated persons.
Dear Respondents,

My name is Suwanna Chotisukan. I am a graduate student at the University of Hawaii, and am doing field study for my dissertation. I would like to ask you a few questions about your family and about migration. The information you give will be used only for academic purposes and will not by any means be revealed to the public.

I appreciate your kind contribution.

Suwanna Chotisukan

[ ] Completed  [ ] Not at home ( )
[ ] Refused  [ ] Appointment

1. How many members are there in your family? ______
The following is the information of each family member:

**Question number 2 to 9 are for every family members**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Information</th>
<th>Return migrants</th>
<th>Prospective migrants</th>
<th>Out-migrants</th>
<th>Non-migrants</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2. Name of each family member</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(put name according to his/her history of migration)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Relationship with the household head</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(see code below)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Gender</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(1) Male</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(2) Female</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Age</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(see code below)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Education</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(see code below)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Marital status</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(see code below)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Code for Q.3**
1=Household head 2=Spouse 3=Children
4=Son/Daughter in law 5=Grandchildren 6=Parent
7=Mother/Father in law 8=Sibling
9=Brother/Sister in law 10= Relatives.

**Code for Q.6**
1=No education 2=Primary education 3=Secondary education
4=Vocational education 5=Bachelor degree

**Code for Q.7**
1=Single 2=Married 3=Divorced 4=Separated 5=Widowed
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Information</th>
<th>Return migrants</th>
<th>Prospective migrants</th>
<th>Out-migrants</th>
<th>Non-migrants</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>8. Occupation</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(see code below)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>9. Work place</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[1] In the village</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[2] Outside the village</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Code for Q.8**
1=Civil service 2=Private firm employee 3=Small business owner 4=Unpaid worker 5=Unemployed worker 6=Student 7=Homemaker 8=Elder/Disable persons 9=Wage laborer 10=Farmer

Question number 10 to 15 are for Returned Migrants

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Information</th>
<th>Return migrants</th>
<th>Prospective migrants</th>
<th>Out-migrants</th>
<th>Non-migrants</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>10. What educational level did this person attain prior to leaving the village? (see code below)</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>11. Where did he/she move to and stay the longest in the last two years? (see code below)</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Code for Q.10**
1=No education 2=Primary education 3=Secondary education 4=Vocational education 5=Bachelor degree

**Code for Q.11**
1=Chiangmai 2=Bangkok 3=Other provinces in Northern region 4=Other provinces in Central region

202
### Information Return

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Information</th>
<th>Return migrants</th>
<th>Prospective migrants</th>
<th>Out-migrants</th>
<th>Non-migrants</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>12. What is the main reason for his/her moving to other provinces? (see code below)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. What was his/her occupation in that province? (see code below)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. When did he/she move back to the village? (see code below)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. What was the main reason for moving back? (see code below)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Code for Q.12**
1 = To pursue higher education  
2 = To find a job  
3 = To join spouse  
4 = To acquire a new position  
5 = Do not know

**Code for Q.13**
1 = Civil service  
2 = Private firm employee  
3 = Small business owner  
4 = Unpaid worker  
5 = Unemployed worker  
6 = Student  
7 = Home maker  
8 = Elder/Disable persons  
9 = Wage laborer  
10 = Farmer

**Code for Q.14**
1 = Six months ago  
2 = One year ago  
3 = More than one year

**Code for Q.15**
1 = To acquire a new position  
2 = To take care of parents  
3 = To find jobs in the village  
4 = Homesick  
5 = Retire  
6 = Do not know

---

Page 203
Question number 16 to 19 are for Prospective Migrants

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Information</th>
<th>Return migrants</th>
<th>Prospective migrants</th>
<th>Out-migrants</th>
<th>Non-migrants</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>16. What will be his/her destination area? (see code below)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17. What is his/her main reason to move? (see code below)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18. When will he/she leave? (see code below)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19. What occupation does he/she expect to have at the destination? (see code below)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Code for Q.16 1=Chiangmai 2=Bangkok 3=Other provinces in Northern region 4=Other provinces in Central region

Code for Q.17 1=To pursue higher education 2=To find a job 3=To join spouse 4=To acquire a new position 5=Do not know

Code for Q.18 1=After finishing school 2=Getting a job in destination area 3=Having enough money for moving 4=Do not know

Code for Q.19 1=Civil service 2=Private firm employee 3=Small business owner 4=Unpaid worker 5=Unemployed worker 6=Student 7=Homemaker 8=Elder/Disable persons 9=Wage laborer 10=Farmer

204
Question number 20 to 29 are for Out-Migrants

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Information</th>
<th>Return migrants</th>
<th>Prospective migrants</th>
<th>Out-migrants</th>
<th>Non-migrants</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>20. At what age did he/she move out?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21. What educational level did he/she complete before moving out? (see code below)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22. What was his/her occupation prior to moving? (see code below)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23. What was his/her marital status prior to moving? (see code below)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24. Where does he/she live now? (see code below)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Code for Q.21
1=No education
2=Primary education
3=Secondary education
4=Vocational education
5=Bachelor degree

Code for Q.22
1=Civil service
2=Private firm employee
3=Small business owner
4=Unpaid worker
5=Unemployed worker
6=Student
7=Home maker
8=Elder/Disable persons
9=Wage laborer
10=Farmer

Code for Q.23
1=Single
2=Married
3=Divorced
4=Separated
5=Widowed

Code for Q.24
1=Chiangmai
2=Bangkok
3=Other provinces in Northern region
4=Other provinces in Central region
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Information</th>
<th>Return migrants</th>
<th>Prospective migrants</th>
<th>Out-migrants</th>
<th>Non-migrants</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>25. What was his/her main reason for moving out?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(see code below)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26. How many times has he/she visited the village in the last twelve month?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27. On what occasion did he/she visit the village?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(see code below)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29. If yes, when will he/she return?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(see code below)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Code for Q.25**
1=To pursue higher education  2=To find a job  
3=To join spouse  4=To acquire a new position  
5=Do not know

**Code for Q.27**
1=New Year's Eve  2=Song-Gran Day  
3=Khaw-Pan-Sa Day  4=Others(specify)

**Code for Q.29**
1=Within six months  2=This year  
3=Next year  4=Other (specify)
Question number 30 is for Non-migrants

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Information</th>
<th>Return migrants</th>
<th>Prospective migrants</th>
<th>Out-migrants</th>
<th>Non-migrants</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>30. What is the main reason of his/her not moving out?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(see code below)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Code for Q.30
1 = Too young
2 = Too old
3 = Take care of parents
4 = Lack of knowledge and skills for city jobs
5 = Have good employment
6 = For family business
7 = Prefer to stay home

Question 31 to 41 are for every respondents

31. What is your family land tenure status? ( )

32. How many rais of land does your family use for cultivation? _____

33. Do you have enough hands to work in the farmland during the harvest season? ( )
[1] Yes (go to q.35) [2] No

34. What do you do to have sufficient labor? ( )
[1] Organize co-operative workers
[2] Hire wage laborers
[3] Others (specify)____________________

35. Are your farm-workers family members, co-operative workers or hired Workers?
35.3 Cooperative workers [1] Yes [2] No ( )

36. In recent years, has it been difficult to hire laborer? ( )
[1] Yes [2] No (go to q.38) ( )
37. If yes, why?________________________________________

38. What do you do when you need wage laborers?

________________________________________

39. Have you used any machineries in farming?
   [1] Yes [2] No (go to q.41) ( )

40. What kinds of machine have you used?

________________________________________

41. Other comments_____________________________________

________________________________________

Thank you very much for your contribution.
**Questionnaire**

Dear Respondents,

My name is Suwanna Chotisukan. I am a graduate student at the University of Hawaii, and am doing field study for my dissertation. I would like to ask you a few questions about your family and about education. The information you give will be used only for academic purpose and will not by any means be revealed to the public.

I appreciate your kind contribution.

Suwanna Chotisukan

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1. Household number</th>
<th>2. Address</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3. Date of interview</td>
<td>4. Interviewer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Result of interview</td>
<td>6. Date of appointment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Name of respondent</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[2] Female</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Age</td>
<td>10. Place of birth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Education:</td>
<td>( )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[5] Bachelor degree</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. Occupation:</td>
<td>( )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. Your family monthly income</td>
<td>baht</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. How many children do you have?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

209
Question number 15 to 21 are the information about your children

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>child number</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>6</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>15.Name</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16.Age</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17.Gender</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[1] Male</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[2] Female</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18.Occupation</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(see code below)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19.Place of work</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(see code below)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20.Place of school</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(see code below)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21.Marital status</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(see code below)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Code for Q.18
1=Civil service  2=Private firm employee
3=Small business owner  4=Unpaid worker
5=Unemployed worker  6=Student
7=Home maker  8=Elder/disable persons
9=Wage laborer  10=Farmer

Code for Q.19,20  1=In the village  2=Outside the village

Code for Q.21  1=Single  2=Married  3=Divorced
4=Separated  5=Widowed

210
22. What do your children learn from their school about the local community?

22.1 Do the students learn about the local economic situation? ( )

22.2 Do the students learn about the local culture? ( )

22.3 Do the students learn about the local living situation? ( )

22.4 Do the students learn about family relations? ( )

23. What else do the students learn from their school about the local community?

24. What image of the local life does the school present to students? ( )

25. What do your children learn from their school about city life?

25.1 Do the students learn about living conditions in cities? ( )

25.2 Are the students informed about the high cost of living in cities? ( )

25.3 Do the students know about the density of population in cities? ( )

25.4 Are the students informed about the problem of traffic congestion in cities? ( )
25.5 Do the students realize the problem of crime and drugs in cities? ( )

25.6 Do the students know about the ecology problem within the cities? ( )

26. What other things do the students learn from their school about city life?

____________________________________________________________________

27. Besides the school, from which sources do your children obtain the information about city life? (answer may be more than one)
   [1] People who live in the city   ( )
   [3] Books and novels           ( )
   [4] Radio                      ( )
   [5] Television                 ( )
   [6] Other (specify)____________ ( )

28. Has the school invited persons who are successful in their occupation to talk with the students? ( )
   [1] Yes  [2] No (go to q.30)

29. Whom has the school invited? (answer may be more than one)
   [1] Farmer                      ( )
   [2] Driver                     ( )
   [3] Civil servant              ( )
   [4] Business man               ( )
   [5] Private firm employee      ( )
   [6] Other (specify)____________ ( )

30. Does the school honor its outstanding students?   ( )

31. Does the school encourage students to pursue higher education? ( )

32. Does the school prepare students to live in the city? ( )

33. Should the school offer vocational programs? ( )

212
34. Why/why not? (explain)______________________________

35. Does the school offer vocational programs?

36. What criteria does the school use to select students to attend each program of study?

37. What vocational programs does the school offer?
   (answer may be more than one)
   [1] Auto repair ( )
   [2] Business-commerce ( )
   [3] Home economics ( )
   [4] Industry related works ( )
   [5] Agriculture ( )
   [5] Others (specify)____________________
   [6] Don't know ( )

38. Are the vocational programs well suited for local employment or city employment?

39. From your opinion, what vocational programs should the school offer? (answer may be more than one)
   [1] Advance agriculture ( )
   [2] Farmers co-operation ( )
   [3] Handicrafts ( )
   [4] Computer use ( )
   [5] Others (specify)____________________

40. Should local children attain higher education?

41. Why/why not? (explain)______________________________

42. Do you have any difficulty financing your children's higher education?

43. If yes, what do you do?______________________________

44. Do the local people regard well-educated persons highly?

45. Do the local people admire persons who have city employment?

213
46. Why/why not?

47. Is it easy for the local people to live in the cities?

48. Why/why not?

49. Should the local youth seek city employment?

50. Why/why not?

51. Do you encourage your children to find city employment?

52. Why/why not?

53. Should the school prepare students for city employment?

54. Why/why not?

55. Should the school prepare students for local employment?

56. Why/why not?

57. Comment?

Thank you very much for your contribution.
Notes

Chapter I


5Office of Prime Minister, Thailand in the 80s, (Bangkok: the National Identity Office, Office of Prime Minister, 1984).


11Medhi Krongkaew, A Study on the Urban Poor in Thailand, (Phase II), (Bangkok: Thai Khadi Research Institute, Thammasat University, 1987).

12Susanne Thorbek, Voices From the City, p.26
Chapter II


16 Ibid.


20 Warwick Armstrong and T. G. McGee, p.22.

21 Ibid.

22 Ibid, p.23.


38. Ibid, p.192.


49 Rachaniwan Thavonjit, *Patterns and Consequences of Regional Migration in Thailand*. (Bangkok: Thammasat University, Department of Economic, 1973).

50 T.S. Yeshwant, "Rural Migration: A Case Study of Four Ramanathapuram Villages," *Agricultural Situation in India*, 17, 6 (1962).


(Ottawa, Canada: International Development Research Center, 1977).


64 Richard Rhoda, "Migration and Employment of Educated Youth in Ghana." pp.53-76.

Chapter III

2Ibid, p.7.
4Ibid, p.16.
5Anthony Orum, Joe R. Feagin and Gideon Sjoberg, p.11.
6Robert K. Yin, Case Study Research, p.28
8Robert K. Yin, Case Study Research, p.84


21 Ibid., p.22.


24 Ibid, p.7

25 Ibid.

26 Ibid.


**Chapter IV**


3 Ibid.


5 Ibid.


8 Ibid.

9 Suansunantha, Thai Education, (Bangkok: Thai Wattanapanih, 1989).


12 Ibid.


16 Ibid, p.137.

17 Ibid.


19 Rachaniwan Thavonjit, Patterns and Consequences of Regional Migration in Thailand, (Bangkok: Thammasat University, Department of Economic, 1973).


24 Keith Watson, Educational Development in Thailand, p.141.


Chapter V


3 ibid.

4 ibid.

Chapter VI


2 Ibid. p.9.

3 Ibid.


5 Director of Academic Division, Informal Interview, 1992.
Chapter VII


5Ibid, p.10.

6Ibid.

7Ibid.

8Ibid.


BIBLIOGRAPHY

BOOKS


———. "Microeconomic Approaches to Studying Migration Decisions." In Migration Decision Making: Multidisciplinary Approaches to Microlevel Studies in


Noranitipadungkarn, Chakrit and Hagensick, A. Clarke. Modernizing Chiangmai: A Study of Community Elites in


Program of Social Environment, Faculty of Social Sciences and Humanity, Mahidol University. The Impact of Tourism on Social and Culture: A Case Study in Chiangmai. Bangkok: Mahidol University, 1986.


234
Other Sources


Phillips, Herbert P. "The culture of Siamese Intellectuals."


Yeshwant, T.S. "Rural Migration: A Case Study of Four Ramanathapuram Villages." Agricultural Situation in India. 17, 6 (1962).

Newspapers


"Thailand's Key Economic Indicators." Bangkok Post Economic Review: Mid-Year (June, 1992).