

Internal Migration in Thailand and Vietnam

—

Spatial Patterns, Multilevel Determinants, and Regional Return

Von der Naturwissenschaftlichen Fakultät
der Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz Universität Hannover
zur Erlangung des Grades
Doktorin der Naturwissenschaften
Dr. rer. nat.
genehmigte Dissertation
von

Dipl.-Geogr. Vera Junge

geboren am 02. Juni 1984, in Hannover

2012

Bibliographic information published by the Deutsche Nationalbibliothek

The Deutsche Nationalbibliothek lists this publication in the Deutsche Nationalbibliografie; detailed bibliographic data are available in the Internet at <http://dnb.d-nb.de>.

Referent: Prof. Dr. Javier Revilla Diez

Korreferentin: Prof. Dr. Ulrike Grote

Tag der Promotion: 29.10.2012

Junge, Vera:

Internal Migration in Thailand and Vietnam – Spatial Patterns, Multilevel Determinants, and Regional Return

ISBN 978-3-86376-036-6

All Rights Reserved

1. Edition 2012, Göttingen

© Optimus Verlag

URL: www.optimus-verlag.de

Printed in Germany

Paper is FSC certified (wood-free, chlorine free and acid-free,
and resistant to aging ANSI 3948 and ISO 9706)

No part of this publication may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, scanning, or otherwise without the prior written permission of the Publisher. Request to the Publisher for permission should be addressed to info@optimus-verlag.de.

**Für meine Familie, meine Freunde und Christian,
die mir alles bedeuten.**

VORWORT

Warum eigentlich ein Vorwort schreiben? Da auch ich mich mit dieser Frage gegenübergestellt sah, habe ich zunächst einige einschlägige Quellen im Internet hierzu konsultiert. Hier heißt es „das Vorwort kann ironisch und teilweise selbstkritisch ein Werk einleiten“ (<http://manuskript24.de/ein-vorwort-schreiben/>) und „Ein Prolog dient oft der Erläuterung der Intention des Stücks“ ([http://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Prolog_\(Literatur\)](http://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Prolog_(Literatur))). Überzeugt hat mich dann aber letztendlich die Aussage: „Es können auch größere Diplomarbeiten oder Dissertationen ein Vorwort enthalten“ (<http://manuskript24.de/ein-vorwort-schreiben/>).

Nun gut, dann also ein Vorwort. Die Intention des Stückes. Ziel meiner Dissertation war es natürlich, wie es das Ziel einer jeden Dissertation sein sollte, Forschungslücken in einem spezifischen Themenfeld zu schließen und so zum Fortschritt der Wissenschaft beizutragen. Dies ist, wie viele Doktoranden sicher bestätigen können, leichter gesagt als getan. Das Thema Migration, welches in dieser Dissertation behandelt wird, ist beispielsweise wahrlich kein neues Thema und wurde schon von Forschern aus aller Welt und unterschiedlichsten Disziplinen beleuchtet. Daher hieß es zunächst einmal Literatur wälzen und überlegen, wo es überhaupt noch unentdeckte „weiße Flecken“ auf der Landkarte der Migrationsforschung zu füllen gab. Glücklicherweise steht die Welt und auch die Wissenschaft nicht still. Volkswirtschaften, Regionen und Menschen, aber auch Theorie, Empirie und Politik entwickeln sich ständig weiter. Folglich entstehen neue Forschungslücken fast täglich, in der weiten Welt der Geographie vermutlich sogar stündlich.

So verändern sich sicher auch Migrationsmuster in Thailand und Vietnam über die Zeit, sagte ich mir und schon stand die Idee für mein erstes Kapitel. Nachdem ich tatsächlich neue Migrationstrends in Thailand und Vietnam identifizieren konnte, wurde mir bewusst, dass man diese Veränderungen nun natürlich auch mit den neusten Methoden untersuchen sollte. So entstand der Ansatz zu meinem zweiten thematischen Kapitel, in dem ich die Migrationsentscheidung für verschiedene Migrationsziele mithilfe einer Mehrebenenanalyse untersuchte. Schon kurz nach Abschluss des Kapitels fiel mir auf, dass auch die Rückkehrentscheidungen „alter“ Migrant*innen diese Muster

prägen mussten. Dieses Thema ist, das muss ich zugeben, wohl das innovativste dieser Arbeit. Zum einen gibt es zu interner Rückmigration tatsächlich keinen allzu hohen Berg an Literatur, zum anderen sind sowohl die Grundidee als auch die Analysen in einer relativ fortgeschrittenen Phase meiner Dissertation entstanden. Denn auch wenn man es zunächst nicht immer mitbekommt, entwickelt man sich und seine Fertigkeiten während dieser Zeit durchaus weiter. Was ich damit sagen möchte richtet sich vor allem an andere Doktoranden, von denen ich zufällig einige kenne, und die Botschaft lautet kurz gefasst: Es gibt Hoffnung. Fast alle Doktoranden fragen sich am Anfang, ob sie wohl das Zeug dazu haben, etwas Neues zu erschaffen, die richtigen Methoden zu finden und zu erlernen oder ein ganzes Buch zu schreiben. Die üblichen Seiten im Internet kennen sicherlich alle, die sich in dieser Situation befinden, und können sich meist ohne größere Schwierigkeiten einer der beispielsweise auf Zeit.de beschriebenen sieben Phasen der Promotion zuordnen (Siehe: <http://www.zeit.de/campus/2012/02/promotion-ablauf>). Dabei können die Phasen „2 Sammelwut“, „3 Auswertung“ und „4 Selbstzweifel“ meiner Erfahrung nach beliebig häufig wiederholt werden. Irgendwie schafft man es dann zur Abgabe, und die Lösung, wie man es zu diesem erstrebenswerten Moment schafft, ist am Ende eine ebenso simple wie anstrengende: Immer einen Schritt nach dem anderen. Die besten Ideen kommen meist erst während der Arbeit und umso tiefer man in die Materie einsteigt. Dabei muss ich noch hinzufügen, dass der Prozess nicht immer so linear abläuft wie oben beschrieben, sondern manch spätere Erkenntnis durchaus eine grundlegende Überarbeitung vorangegangener Kapitel zur Folge hatte. Mühsam ernährt sich das Eichhörnchen. Trotzdem, letztendlich bin ich sehr stolz auf diese Arbeit und weiß, dass es die Mühe wert war.

Zu guter Letzt möchte ich zu dem Punkt kommen, weswegen ich ursprünglich dieses Vorwort schreiben wollte. So heißt es nämlich im Internet auch: „Man könnte auch erwähnen, wo man Unterstützung bei der Ideenfindung bekommen hat und es mit einer Danksagung verbinden“ (<http://manuskript24.de/ein-vorwort-schreiben/>).

Mein erster Dank gilt insbesondere meinem Doktorvater Herrn Prof. Javier Revilla Diez vom Institut für Wirtschafts- und Kulturgeographie in Hannover, der mich während der nicht immer einfachen Zeit der Promotion begleitet und jederzeit mit Rat und Tat unterstützt hat. Auch sehr herzlich bedanken möchte ich mich bei meiner Zweitgutachterin Frau Prof. Ulrike Grote vom Institut für

Institut für Umweltökonomik und Welthandel in Hannover für die intensive Auseinandersetzung mit und Wertschätzung von meiner Arbeit. Ebenfalls bedeutender Dank gilt Herrn Prof. Schätzl, der mir nicht nur in räumlichen, sondern natürlich auch in inhaltlichen Fragen stets zur Seite stand und der vor allem bei der Themenfindung eine entscheidende Rolle gespielt hat. Für die exzellente Übernahme des Prüfungsvorsitzes während meiner Disputation am 29.10.2012 möchte ich Juniorprof. Tom Brökel sehr herzlich danken.

Bedanken möchte ich mich auch bei meinen Kollegen im Institut für Wirtschafts- und Kulturgeographie für ihre vielseitigen Beiträge zur Fertigstellung meiner Arbeit – insbesondere bei Dr. Jürgen Brünjes, PD Dr. Daniel Schiller, Arne Vorderwülbecke und Nora Hesse. Für die anregenden Diskussionen und die tolle Zusammenarbeit möchte ich auch allen Mitarbeitern des DFG FOR756 Forschungsprojekts danken, vor allem bei Lena Hohfeld, Dr. Theda Gödecke, und Prof. Hermann Waibel. Für die spannenden Gespräche und die inhaltliche Unterstützung meiner Forschungsarbeit in Thailand und Vietnam möchte ich meinen zahlreichen Interviewpartnern aus Forschung, Politik und Entwicklungszusammenarbeit einen großen Dank aussprechen. Besonderer Dank gilt Le Viet Thai vom Central Institute for Economic Management (CIEM) in Hanoi, Vietnam, sowie Dr. Suwanna Praneetvatakul von der Kasetsart University in Bangkok, Thailand, die mich beide intensiv bei der Organisation vor Ort unterstützt haben und ohne die mir das Treffen so vieler interessanter Gesprächspartner nicht möglich gewesen wäre.

Nicht vergessen möchte ich die unverzichtbare und wundervolle Unterstützung aus meinem privaten Umfeld. Mit meinen ehemaligen Kollegen vom Institut für Wirtschafts- und Kulturgeographie verbinden mich viele vergnügliche Kaffeepausen und Abende, die mir meine Promotionszeit versüßt haben und die sich hoffentlich hin und wieder wiederholen werden. Auch ohne meine Freunde, namentlich genannt sein Ina, Maren, Laura, Arne und Arne, sowie meine Familie, meine Eltern Irene und Arthur, sowie Angelika, Roland, Ivo und Doris, die immer ein offenes Ohr und wenn nötig auch Ablenkung für mich bereit hielten, wäre diese Arbeit sicher nicht so schnell, wenn überhaupt, fertig gestellt geworden. Ganz besonderer Dank für inhaltliche, aber auch persönliche Unterstützung und viele gemeinsame Arbeitswochenenden im Büro gilt meinem Freund Dr. Christian Hundt, der vor allem in der anstrengenden Phase der Fertigstellung ein wahrhaftiger Fels in der Brandung für mich war.

ABSTRACT

The central goal of this dissertation is to explain and to analyze internal migration in Thailand and Vietnam. In particular, this study contributes to three areas of migration research: notably the patterns of migration over time, the migration decision in a multilevel perspective and for varying destinations, and the preconditions and consequences of return migration.

With respect to the patterns of migration over time, the empirical results show a growing urbanization in Thailand and Vietnam, particularly down the hierarchy away from the major centers Bangkok, Ho Chi Minh City and Hanoi. The primary data shows furthermore a changing destination pattern for migrants, again away from Bangkok and Ho Chi Minh City to other and particularly more regional destinations. These findings indicate a decentralization process in both countries and thereby confirm important arguments of the polarization reversal theory established by Richardson (1980). Based on these results, the growing importance of destinations within the regions is acknowledged by distinguishing between within-province migration and outside-province migration.

In order to analyze the migration decision for these two types of destinations in a multilevel perspective, i.e. taking into account both the individual and the regional level, binary logistic multilevel regressions are applied. In doing so, the regional level is proved to have a significant impact on the individual migration decision. At the individual level education strongly affects the migration decision. Furthermore, these educated persons are more likely to leave areas where no nonfarm opportunities are available. Thus, another important finding is the existence of cross-level interactions between the individual and the regional level in migration decisions. This underlines the importance of a multilevel perspective of migration determinants, which should be incorporated more intensely into the theoretical discussion of migration.

Finally, this dissertation distinguishes between local return migrants, who return to their home communities, and regional return migrants, who move to other destinations within their home provinces. Results from the multinomial regressions indicate that regional return migrants are significantly more educated and engage in different labor sectors than local return migrants. Moreover, positive pull-factors, such as the size and growth of nonfarm markets within the communities or provinces, impact the return decisions of regional return migrants more than those of local returnees.

Since this work highlights the importance of the individual *and* regional impact on migration, also policies should address both levels simultaneously. At the individual level, mobility of labor should be further facilitated and investments

in education are necessary to increase the individual capabilities and absorptive capacity of migrants. Since the empirical results show a polarization reversal trend in both countries, the promotion of economic growth and agglomeration economies in medium-sized cities should be a goal of policies at the regional level.

Keywords: Migration, Regional Development, Asia

KURZZUSAMMENFASSUNG

Das zentrale Ziel dieser Dissertation ist die Erklärung und Analyse interner Migration in Thailand und Vietnam. Dabei trägt die Arbeit insbesondere zu drei Bereichen der Migrationsforschung bei: die räumliche Veränderung der Migrationsmuster im Zeitablauf, die Migrationsentscheidung in einer Mehrebenenperspektive sowie die Determinanten und Konsequenzen von Rückwanderung.

Hinsichtlich der räumlichen Migrationsmuster zeigen die empirischen Ergebnisse eine zunehmende Urbanisierung in Thailand und Vietnam, insbesondere in kleinen und mittelgroßen Städten. Die Erhebungsdaten zeigen zudem, dass sich auch die Migrationsziele über die Zeit verändern, mit einer Verlagerung der Migrationsströme von den Hauptstädten Bangkok und Ho Chi Minh City hin zu regionalen Zentren. Damit weisen die Ergebnisse für beide Länder einen Dezentralisierungsprozess nach und bestätigen damit wichtige Argumente der „Polarization Reversal“-Hypothese von Richardson (1980). Der wachsenden Bedeutung regionaler Zentren wird in dieser Arbeit durch eine Unterscheidung zwischen intraregionaler und interregionaler Migration Rechnung getragen.

Um die Migrationsentscheidung beider Gruppen in einer Mehrebenenperspektive zu analysieren, werden für die individuelle und regionale Einflussene binär-logistische Mehrebenenregressionen geschätzt, wobei ein signifikanter Einfluss der Regionsebene auf die individuelle Migrationsentscheidung nachgewiesen wird. Auf der individuellen Ebene üben zudem Bildung und außerlandwirtschaftliche Beschäftigung einen signifikanten Einfluss aus. Ein weiteres Resultat ist, dass gebildete Individuen mit einer größeren Wahrscheinlichkeit jene Regionen verlassen, in denen nur wenige außerlandwirtschaftliche Beschäftigungsmöglichkeiten existieren. Dieses Ergebnis belegt die Existenz von ebenenübergreifenden Wechselwirkungen und unterstreicht die Bedeutung einer Mehrebenenperspektive bei der Untersuchung von Migrationsdeterminanten. Die Mehrebenenperspektive sollte daher stärker in die Migrationstheorie integriert werden.

Zuletzt wird in dieser Dissertation unterschieden nach lokalen Rückwanderern, die zurück in ihre Gemeinde wandern, und regionalen Rückwanderern, die in andere Orte ihrer Heimatprovinz wandern. Die Ergebnisse der multinomialen Regressionen zeigen, dass regionale Rückkehrer über ein signifikant höheres Ausbildungsniveau verfügen und in anderen Sektoren tätig sind als lokale Rückkehrer. Des Weiteren üben regionale Pull-Faktoren, wie die Größe oder das

Wachstum des außerlandwirtschaftlichen Sektors, eine größere Anziehungskraft auf regionale Rückkehrer aus als auf lokale.

Da diese Arbeit den gleichzeitigen Einfluss von individuellen und regionalen Faktoren auf die Migration hervorhebt, sollte auch die Politik beide Ebenen berücksichtigen. Für Individuen sollte die Erhöhung von Mobilität und Bildung im Fokus stehen, um Fähigkeiten und Absorptionskapazität der Migranten zu verbessern. Für die regionale Ebene zeigen die Ergebnisse einen „Polarization Reversal“-Trend an, weshalb wirtschaftliches Wachstum und die Nutzbarmachung von Agglomerationseffekten in mittelgroßen Städten unterstützt werden sollten.

Schlagworte: Migration, Regionalentwicklung, Asien

TABLE OF CONTENTS

List of Tables.....	V
List of Figures and Maps.....	VII
1 INTRODUCTION.....	1
1.1 RESEARCH GAPS	3
1.2 CENTRAL OBJECTIVES AND GUIDING RESEARCH QUESTIONS	5
1.3 STRUCTURE OF THIS DISSERTATION	7
2 PEASANTS ON THE MOVE: MIGRATION PATTERNS AND DEVELOPMENT IN VIETNAM AND THAILAND	9
2.1 MIGRATION AND DEVELOPMENT IN SPATIAL PERSPECTIVE.....	10
2.1.1 Migration and Development	11
2.1.2 Spatial Patterns of Migration and Development.....	17
2.2 DEFINITIONS, DATA AND SAMPLING METHOD	23
2.2.1 Migration Data Availability in Thailand and Vietnam.....	23
2.2.2 Own Survey Design	27
2.2.3 Defining Migration	32
2.3 ANALYZING PATTERNS OF MIGRATION AND URBANIZATION IN THAILAND AND VIETNAM	37
2.3.1 Migration, Urbanization and Development in Empirical Perspective	37
2.3.2 Magnitude and Motives of Rural Out-Migration	43
2.3.3 Temporal and Individual Characteristics of Rural Out-Migrants.....	47
2.3.4 Urbanization and Migration Patterns.....	53
2.4 CONCLUSION.....	63

3 DETERMINANTS OF MIGRATION – A MULTILEVEL APPROACH	67
3.1 MULTILEVEL DETERMINANTS OF MIGRATION IN A THEORETICAL PERSEPECTIVE	68
3.1.1 Migration Determinants at the aggregated Macro-Level: The Region.....	69
3.1.2 Migration Determinants at the Micro-Level: The Individual.....	73
3.1.3 Towards a Multilevel Theory of Migration	76
3.1.4 Deriving Determinants of Migration in a Multilevel Framework	79
3.2 MEASURING DETERMINANTS OF MIGRATION	84
3.2.1 Data and Definitions for Analyzing Determinants of Migration.....	84
3.2.2 Multilevel Modeling and Analytical Procedure	88
3.3 ANALYZING MULTILEVEL DETERMINANTS OF MIGRATION.....	96
3.3.1 Appropriateness of Multilevel Modeling.....	97
3.3.2 Analyzing Micro-Level Determinants of Migration	101
3.3.3 Analyzing Macro-Level Determinants and Cross-level Interactions.....	113
3.4 CONCLUSION.....	122
4 WINNERS OR LOSERS? LOCAL AND REGIONAL RETURN MIGRANTS IN THAILAND AND VIETNAM.....	127
4.1 LITERATURE REVIEW AND RESEARCH GAP	128
4.1.1 Return as Failure versus Success.....	129
4.1.2 Empirical Evidence on Internal Return Migration	133
4.1.3 Towards a Distinction between Local and Regional Return Migrants.....	136
4.2 METHODOLOGY	141
4.2.1 Data Base for Analyzing Return Migration.....	141

4.2.2	Defining Regional and Local Return Migrants	143
4.2.3	Multinomial Regression Analysis and Variable Construction.....	145
4.3	ANALYSIS OF LOCAL AND REGIONAL RETURN MIGRANTS.....	148
4.3.1	Analyzing the Return Decision.....	148
4.3.2	Individual Consequences and Potential Impacts after Return.....	160
4.4	CONCLUSION.....	170
5	SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS	173
5.1	SUMMARY OF MAJOR RESULTS.....	173
5.2	IMPLICATIONS FOR RESEARCH AND POLICY	177
6	REFERENCES	183
	APPENDIX	199

LIST OF TABLES

Tab. 2.1: Modules of Household Questionnaire and Variables (Hardeweg and Waibel 2009:5)	27
Tab. 2.2: Administrative Units in Research Provinces	34
Tab. 2.3: Observations and Share of Migrants (all Reasons) over the three Survey Waves	44
Tab. 2.4: Observations and Share of Migrants by Motives over the three Survey Waves	45
Tab. 2.5: Destinations and Durations of Migration.....	48
Tab. 2.6: Characteristics of Household Members and Migrants.....	50
Tab. 2.7: Characteristics of Migrants by Reason	52
Tab. 2.8: Number of Urban Centers and Urban Population in Thailand and Vietnam 1980-2020	57
Tab. 3.1: Regional Migration Rates (Recent Migration) and Coefficients of Variation.....	98
Tab. 3.2: Multilevel Null Models.....	100
Tab. 3.3: Overview of Variables at the Micro-Level	102
Tab. 3.4: Thailand - Random-intercept Model with Covariates at the Micro-level	108
Tab. 3.5: Vietnam - Random-intercept Model with Covariates at the Micro-level	111
Tab. 3.6: Overview of Variables at the Regional Level in T hailand and Vietnam	115
Tab. 3.7: Thailand – Random-intercept and Random-slope Models with Cross-level Interactions	118
Tab. 3.8: Vietnam – Random-intercept and Random-slope Models with Cross-level Interactions	121

Tab. 4.1: Characteristics of Non-Migrants, Continuing Migrants, and Return Migrants.....	149
Tab. 4.2: Characteristics of Continuing Labor Migrants, Regional and Local Return Migrants during Migration.....	151
Tab. 4.3: Multinomial Logistic Models for Continuing Migrants, Local or Regional Return Migrants	157
Tab. 4.4: Characteristics of Non-Migrants and Regional and Local Return Migrants after Return.....	161
Tab. 4.5: Multinomial Models of Non-Migrants, Local and Regional Return Migrants after Return	166

LIST OF FIGURES AND MAPS

Fig. 1.1:	Structure of this Dissertation.....	8
Fig. 2.1:	Classical Migration Theory with fixed Rate of Economic Growth ...	11
Fig. 2.2:	Recent Migration Theory with Agglomeration Economies.....	14
Fig. 2.3:	Polarization Reversal Theory.....	19
Fig. 2.4:	Map of Research Area.....	29
Fig. 2.5:	Spatial Levels for Migration Definition.....	33
Fig. 2.6:	Urbanization and GDP p.c. in various Countries.....	38
Fig. 2.7:	Percentage of Population living in Urban Areas.....	39
Fig. 2.8:	Rural-Urban Gaps in Consumption and GDP p.c. for various Countries	40
Fig. 2.9:	Rising Disparities in GDP p.c. between Leading and Lagging Areas in Southeast Asia	42
Fig. 2.10:	Overview of Motives for Migration.....	46
Fig. 2.11:	Motives for Migration and Rural or Urban Destination in 2007, 2008 and 2010	49
Fig. 2.12:	Maps of Urbanization in Thailand and Vietnam 1980-2010	59
Fig. 2.13:	Major Destinations of Migrants	61
Fig. 2.14:	Major Destinations of Labor Migrants.....	62
Fig. 3.1:	Push-Pull Model following Lee's Theory of Migration	78
Fig. 3.2:	Identification of Labor Migrants for analyzing Determinants of Migration.....	85
Fig. 3.3:	Definition of Levels and Migration.....	87
Fig. 3.4:	Multilevel or Variance-components Models.....	93
Fig. 3.5:	Identification of Labor Migrants for Analyzing Determinants of Migration.....	94
Fig. 4.1:	Identification of Return Migrants and Reference Groups.....	144

Fig. 4.2:	Thailand - Sector of Occupation during Migration.....	152
Fig. 4.3:	Vietnam - Sector of Occupation during Migration.....	153
Fig. 4.4:	Thailand - Sector of Occupation after Return.....	163
Fig. 4.5:	Vietnam - Sector of Occupation after Return	164

1 INTRODUCTION

The movement of people from one place to another has occurred ever since humans exist. While international migration in the wake of globalization and reduced transportation costs have received most academic attention, the largest flows of people take place *within* nations (World Bank 2009). In Vietnam for instance, data from the 1999 population census shows that more than four million people migrated internally between 1995 and 1999, not even taking temporary migration into account, while less than 300,000 Vietnamese moved to other countries (Anh, Tacoli and Thanh 2003).

Internal migration can be an important driver of urbanization, which in turn facilitates economic growth by giving rise to agglomeration economies within cities and improving the allocation of labor. In today's developed countries rural-urban migration accompanied economic development and industrialization and nowadays the average share of population living in urban areas is about 75%. By contrast, the average share of urban population in developing countries is only 45.1%, and even only 29.2% in the least developed countries (UN 2010). This highlights the vast and yet unexploited potential for migration within these countries.

In Thailand and Vietnam, migration and urbanization rates have increased considerably during the past decades. This process however differs between the two countries and started earlier in Thailand due to strong governmental migration restrictions that had been in practice in Vietnam for several decades before. In Thailand, the government has not formulated any policies to either promote or discourage migration directly, but it intended to achieve a more balanced regional development in its National Economic and Social Development Plans. Nevertheless, the focus on industrial production for export, tourism and large infrastructure projects in the capital promoted internal migration in particular to Bangkok (Huguet and Chamrathirong 2011). Due to the relatively open and market oriented economic system, Thailand also attracted foreign investments and rapid economic growth occurred in the 1980s, again particularly in Bangkok and the Eastern Seaboard region. The subsequent high demand for labor resulted in large migration flows from the rural agricultural sector to the urban industrial sector in Bangkok in the 1980s and

1990s. In particular Northeast Thailand witnessed a net loss of population during these decades. Today, migration rates have stabilized. Some surveys focusing on long-term migration even find a decline in migration rates since 2000, and growth rates of Bangkok Metropolis are nowadays lower than those of other cities (Huguet and Chamrathirong 2011).

In Vietnam on the other hand, the government has shaped the internal migration patterns over a long period of time. From the 1970's onwards, resettlement programs were set in place with the aim of moving individuals into NEZs, the New Economic Zones (UN Viet Nam 2010). Although most internal migration in the 1970s and 1980s was caused by the resettlement programs, the long-term success of these policies was low as many migrants returned illegally to their homes due to the poor quality of infrastructure, housing and employment opportunities in the NEZs. Only few NEZs were successful and able to attract voluntary migration. During the 1980s the "Doi Moi" or "renovation" reforms started a transformation process of the Vietnamese economy. In the course of Doi Moi, the Vietnamese communist government initiated the transition from a centralized command economy to a more market oriented one (Revilla Diez 1995; UN Viet Nam 2010). In the following years, both the strict relocation programs as well as the "Hộ khẩu" registration system that formerly restricted many individuals from legally migrating into cities were relaxed. Farmers were now able to transfer or lease their land while migrating themselves (UN Viet Nam 2010). Due to these changes spontaneous internal migration rates dramatically increased in Vietnam during the 1990s and early 2000s and are still on the rise today (GSO and UNFPA 2011). However, in order to receive a permanent resident status in the major cities a high number of requirements still have to be fulfilled; otherwise the access to social services such as health care, education and housing is limited (UN Viet Nam 2010). In terms of destinations, the Southeast Region with Ho Chi Minh City and its surrounding provinces is the major magnet for internal migrants in Vietnam. In addition, the Central Highlands and The Red River Delta with Hanoi in the Northern part of the country also represent major destinations for migrants (GSO and UNFPA 2011).

Although the topic of internal migration has become more prominent in Thailand and Vietnam, analyses of the obvious changes in destination patterns over time and the related factors influencing the migration decision as well as the emergence of return migration remain sketchy and have not received adequate attention. These research gaps will be in the focus of the next section.

1.1 RESEARCH GAPS

In terms of migration in Thailand and Vietnam, there are three major topics that deserve more detailed analysis. Firstly, the migration destinations over time, secondly the migration decision itself with regard to individual and regional impact factors as well as different destination choices, and last but not least the return migration which has been mentioned frequently, but not yet analyzed in detail. These research gaps will be laid out in more detail in the following paragraphs.

Firstly, spatial patterns of migration usually change over time but have been rarely analyzed on a theoretical basis. The polarization reversal approach (Richardson 1980) states that after an initial phase of polarization of migration streams and economic activity in only few centers, a process of interregional dispersion sets in. As economic development and the related increase in non-farm income opportunities have spread into the periphery of Thailand and Vietnam (GSO Vietnam 2009; Brünjes 2012), patterns of migration may therefore, in line with the polarization reversal approach, indicate a shift away from the large urban centers to newly urbanized areas in more peripheral regions.

For the analysis of migration patterns, data availability is a major problem. Frequently, in developing countries such as Thailand and Vietnam census data are the major migration data source. Although with regard to migration data quality has improved lately, in particular temporary movements by individuals from rural areas are mostly not captured in the data bases. This is disappointing, as a large share of the internal migration in developing countries is temporary (Deshingkar and Grimm 2004). Recent publications based on census data in Vietnam and Thailand that identify new migration trends still focus - as expected - on long-term migration and do not provide any insight into temporary migration streams from rural areas (GSO and UNFPA 2011). Also, different patterns of migration in Thailand and Vietnam have rarely been analyzed and explained – in particular in a comparative approach – which is important to broaden our knowledge of current and future migration trends.

Secondly, moving on from the identified patterns of migration, the question of what influences the individual migration decision arises. While many studies on determinants of migration exist, the migration decision has been rarely analyzed in the context of shifting migration patterns. The polarization reversal

hypothesis would suggest analyzing changes in migrants' destination patterns, which may be related to the increase in non-farm opportunities within the provinces. This could be done by distinguishing for example migration decisions within the province from those to the major centers outside of the province. However, such a distinction has not been made in the literature on migration decisions in Thailand and Vietnam. Also, individual and regional aspects as determinants of the migration decision have been seldom analyzed simultaneously. Although a multilevel theory of migration determinants is mentioned in the literature (Bilsborrow, McDevitt, Kossoudji and Fuller 1987; Findley 1987; Zhu 1998; Ezra and Kiros 2001), it is predominantly based on empirical findings and has not yet been linked to theoretical concepts. In addition, the operationalization of this theoretical idea in adequate empirical analyses using for example multilevel modeling is often missing.

Thirdly, not only the migration decision of new migrants but also the return decision of already existing migrants is likely to shape new migration patterns. However, so far little attention has been paid to return migration within developing countries (Adda, Dustmann and Mestres 2006). A strong focus in the literature is on highly-skilled international migrants who move for education purposes and later return home, thereby bringing back new knowledge to their home countries. Recent trends indicate that also in developing or newly industrialized countries with strong cultural family ties such as Thailand and Vietnam, rural-urban migrants often return home after a period of time working or studying in the city. Data on these internal temporary migrants returning home is, however, rare. Since these persons may contribute to rural development with their new knowledge and skills, it is crucial to better understand these special processes of return migration. Again, research on differences regarding return destination choices is missing. Due to the increase in non-farm opportunities in the Thai and Vietnamese provinces, research should focus on differences between migrants who move to their home villages in contrast to others that return to other destinations within their home provinces. Also, results may be important in terms of regional development and policy implications in order to reduce possible negative effects of migration and increase the positive outcome for the migrant, the region, and the whole country.

In addition, analyzing internal migration in two different national economic frameworks such as Thailand and Vietnam is helpful for several reasons. To begin with, both countries share some degree of similar culture and historical as

well as current developments, e.g. strong family ties, relatively low urbanization rates, and rapidly increasing economic development. Despite these similarities, both countries also exhibit significant differences regarding their economic environments. Vietnam has opened its economy only since “Doi Moi” in 1986, while Thailand’s economy has been market oriented long before and is to some degree more developed than the economy of Vietnam. These differences impact the regional non-farm markets and may also yield differences regarding migration patterns and determinants. In particular because the spatial structures in both countries differ; Thailand has a monocentric spatial structure with Bangkok as the major growth pole and migrant destination. Vietnam on the other hand, exhibits a bipolar structure with Ho Chi Minh City in the south and Hanoi – although smaller in relevance – in the north. Also, these two economies differ in terms of migration policies; while Vietnam restricted migration for a long time, the Thai population has always been free to move to any place in Thailand. Still, new migration trends are emerging in both countries at the moment. Analyzing migration in Thailand and Vietnam in a single coherent framework therefore provides two major advantages. On the one hand, analyzing migration in two distinct national frameworks simultaneously may provide insight into the question why and which empirical results on migration may differ between various countries due to distinct political and economic environments. On the other hand and more importantly, it allows for some scaling-up of the results and a better understanding of the larger picture of migration processes. Therefore, results may be found to be robust in more than one cultural and economic environment. Last but not least, future challenges and opportunities in Thailand and Vietnam may be similar to those of other countries in Southeast Asia and analyses of the migration patterns may also yield implications for policies or future research in neighboring countries.

1.2 CENTRAL OBJECTIVES AND GUIDING RESEARCH QUESTIONS

Despite the large body of literature on migration processes some substantial research gaps have been identified in the previous section and the research goals of this dissertation are designed to fill these research gaps. Accordingly, the dissertation is divided into three parts with one major objective and three more detailed research questions in each part. Part A refers to the migration patterns and aims at:

A Explaining spatial migration patterns and their relation to socio-economic development and identifying contemporary migration patterns in Thailand and Vietnam.

The objective can be further subdivided into three guiding research questions. The first refers to the theoretical discussion, the second to the methodology and data for analyzing migration and the third to the empirical analysis:

- A.1 How are migration patterns over time interlinked with socio-economic development?
- A.2 How can migration be defined and what data is needed for analyzing migration in Thailand and Vietnam?
- A.3 What recent patterns of migration can be found in Thailand and Vietnam?

Based on research objective A, research goal B aims at explaining some of these recent patterns of migration in Thailand and Vietnam and in particular at:

B Contributing to a multilevel perspective of the migration decision and analyzing the general determinants of migration and in particular differences between within-province migrants and outside-province migrants in a multilevel framework.

Again, this research objective can be subdivided into three guiding research questions regarding theory, methodology and empirical analysis:

- B.1 Which conceptual levels and factors influence the individual migration decision and the choice of migration destination?
- B.2 Which data and methodologies are adequate to analyze the determinants of migration in a multilevel perspective?
- B.3 How important is the regional level for the individual migration decision and are there cross-level interactions between the individual and regional level?

After investigating the general migration patterns (A) and the individual migration decision in a multilevel context (B), objective C focuses on another aspect that may influence future migration patterns even more than today's, the return migration. Objective C therefore aims at:

C Identifying determinants and potential consequences of return migration by taking into account and analyzing different return destinations.