

**Obligation and Opportunity: The Influence of Gender, Earnings, and Household
Obligations upon Thai Migrants' Remittance Behavior**

Kim Korinek
University of Utah

Barbara Entwisle
University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill

August 23, 2005

INTRODUCTION

The vast sums of remittances which flow between countries and urban and rural areas within countries demonstrate the decisive, global influence that migration and spatially-dispersed economic ties among family members have upon the wellbeing and development of origin households and communities (Taylor 1999). The presence, size and persistence of remittance also connote ties of support and obligation linking migrants to households of origin. While remitting is common, not all migrants remit, and there are wide disparities across migrants in the pattern and amount of earnings remitted. Recent scholarship investigating remittance patterns across migrants and over time has attempted to tease out the motivational framework that contributes to these spatially extensive economic ties linking migrants to origin households (e.g., Vanwey 2004; Lillard and Willis 1997; Hoddinott 1994). Commonly, this research has considered the nature of the relationship and spatially dispersed household economic strategies that motivate migrants' honoring of obligations to origin households. To date, however, few scholars have addressed migrants' earnings and occupational positions and how these shape migrants' capacity to remit. The source of the normative expectations that oblige young men and women to remit to origin households have been considered in myriad contexts and through various theoretical lenses; however, the differential constraints that shape migrants' wherewithal to remit have yet to be adequately addressed. This paper aims to fill such a gap, viewing remittance as an act that, while growing out of filial or contractual obligation, is tempered by the competing demands on migrants' economic resources, as well as their socioeconomic circumstances in the destination setting.

Gender, especially in the Thai context, is a key variable structuring remittance patterns (Chant 1992). In Thailand, gender differentials in migrant remittance, in which women tend to remit more, and more often, than men, are commonly understood as arising from cultural beliefs which prescribe different expectations for men's and women's social and economic support to the natal household, and especially aging parents (Curran and Rivero-Fuentes 2003). Besides the normative expectations for men and women expressed in village traditions and cultural teachings, remittance behavior is subject to social structural constraints which vary according to migrants' position in the labor force, stage in the life course, and location within social networks that extend support, enforce norms, and shape opportunities. These structural positions vary by gender as well, with males tending to be favored in educational and occupational settings (Korinek et al. 2005). Our ability to understand remittance behavior as gendered is enhanced when our analyses focus not only on gender differences in the frequency and amount of remittances, but also men's and women's differential occupational positions, monetary returns to employment, social network milieus, and experience of life course events.

In this paper we examine, side-by-side, two measures of remitting among migrants living in top urban destinations in Thailand to their origin households in rural Northeast Thailand. Using the Nang Rong migration follow-up surveys, which feature data linking migrants to households in origin and destination settings, it is possible to construct dual measures of household-based resource demands emanating both from the

rural origin household and the urban destination household. Furthermore, the Nang Rong migrant follow-up surveys inquire about urban earnings, urban employment, urban social network contexts, and the amount and regularity of remitting. These features allow us to analyze the social structural, household composition, and social network features that predict the incidence of remitting to origin households; and, where remitting occurs, we are equipped to assess its monetary value. Predicting these two expressions of remittance while controlling for selective attrition from the migrant sample over time, as well as the social structural position of migrants and resource demands encountered in both destination and origin households provides insights into the logic of remittance motivation and whether remittance motivation logics are gendered. Our results demonstrate that female migrants are more likely than male migrants to remit, and that they remit larger monetary amounts than males, even after taking into account their lower average wages and relatively restricted positions in urban labor markets. Additionally, female migrants' remitting suggests a pattern of greater responsiveness to economic demands emanating from both the origin and destination households. We interpret these patterns as indicating that the normative context around remittance is gendered, and that females are not only encouraged to be more generous in their remitting than males, but also that they are expected to be more responsive to household compositional features that represent relative economic need.

MOTIVATIONS FOR REMITTANCE: THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES AND EMPIRICAL RESEARCH

Early empirical research and the “new economics of migration” theoretical perspective has posited that remittance, rather than a form of pure altruism, represents migrants' contribution to an implicit, intertemporal contractual agreement with members of the origin household (Stark and Bloom 1985). According to this perspective, especially where origin households exist in contexts of economic risk and incomplete markets, remittance of earnings from a distinct, often urban, labor market serves as one expression of a coinsuring arrangement between migrant and origin household (Stark and Bloom 1985). Adhering to remittance expectations should be motivated by anticipated benefit of the coinsurance arrangement, for example the future bequest of inheritable property, or as a form of compensation for previous gains from the cooperative, coinsurance arrangement, such as return payment for the costs of schooling (Vanwey 2004; Poirine 1997). At the same time, this “new economics” perspective on migration recognizes that entry costs associated with unemployment and other forms of labor market adjustment may restrict migrants' ability to remit, especially during the early phases of migration (Winters et al. 2001; Lucas and Stark 1985). Research conducted among internal migrants in settings as diverse as Thailand, Nepal, and Botswana has supported the view of remittance as an expression of contractual behavior between migrants and origin households (e.g, Lucas and Stark 1985; Vanwey 2004; Regmi and Tisdell 1994)

Another school of thought focuses upon altruism, or actions intended to enhance family welfare, as the primary motivation for remittance (Lillard and Willis 1997). Scholars whose findings suggest that migrants remit regardless of origin household

income have interpreted this result as supporting the view of remittance as altruistic behavior (Osaki 2003). In a comparative analysis of households in four Caribbean basin settings, Itzigsohn (1995), while noting that remittance is a “rational strategy” implemented by households, views remitting as an altruistic behavior central to origin household wellbeing. Itzigsohn’s finding, that in certain areas with constrained labor markets remittance by migrants eases pressure on household accounts, thereby allowing other household members to avoid unwanted jobs, is interpreted as an expression on behalf of migrants.

Still another group of scholars posits that the strength and persistence of family ties over time and distance are defining factors in decisions about remittance. This perspective is based upon the observation, among migrants from the Philippines, Mexico, and elsewhere, that remittance occurs most commonly, and at higher monetary levels, among those migrants whose family ties to origin households are strong, and among those whose situations suggest eventual return migration will occur (Grieco 2003, 2004; Rodriguez 1996). Several researchers (Grieco 2004) also credit persistent family ties with counteracting the decay in remitting that a range of theories have predicted will occur with the passage of time. We expect that social relations of the migrant in the destination will serve either to enhance or to erode the maintenance of family social ties and the flow of remittances back to origin households. When new family ties are formed in the destination, or when the presence of family members in origin households diminish through migration or death, the pressure to remit is likely to be diminished.

Recent scholarship has recognized that remittance, across individuals or across one individual’s life course, may be guided by a mixture of different motivational underpinnings and directed toward different ends (Vanwey 2004). Recognizing this diversity, commonly observed gender differences in remittance behavior may arise due to gender-differentiated, culturally-derived motivations for extending economic support to origin household members. It is also possible that gender differences may be rooted in differential structural opportunities to earn sufficient income for own expenses and remittance. In other words, gender differences in educational attainment and gender segregated labor markets are among the structural features that may differentially impact men’s and women’s capacity to fulfill remittance obligations, whether they flow from contractual arrangements or purer forms of altruism. Across the many perspectives proffered to explain remittance behavior, few directly address the issue of socioeconomic position in facilitating or constraining remittance over time. In our view, highlighting migrants’ socioeconomic positions and the multiple demands exerted upon their economic resources can aid in delineating the motivational underpinnings of migrant remittance. In particular, by viewing the incidence of remittance and the monetary amount of remittance in light of migrants’ socioeconomic position and the competing demands for their economic loyalties in destination and origin contexts, it is possible to assess whether remittance is oriented toward the welfare of origin households, and, furthermore, whether remittance is tempered by differential need and capacity to remit. Lacking information on the economic position of migrants and their households in destination settings, we may interpret failure to remit as renegeing on contractual obligations, or a diminishment of altruism. However, knowledge about income and

dependent members sharing migrants' destination households allows us to view remittance behavior, and the contractual arrangement versus altruism question, in a new light—as a behavior that is constrained by local socioeconomic circumstances which fluctuate based on income, employment context, household composition, and other features.

Whether remitting is conceived as the product of a contractual agreement between the migrant and his/her origin household, or as an act of “altruism” informed by an ideology of filial piety, we maintain that remittance behavior is shaped not only by gendered normative expectations but also by labor force opportunities and life course trajectories which, like behavioral norms and filial obligations, are gendered. Migrants' remittances to origin households will be conditioned by normative expectations to remit, as well as by the migrant's capacity to remit, which is shaped by his or her economic position and competing obligations that arise in destination settings. Novel obligations that compete with obligations to origin households commonly arise through life course events, such as entrance into marriage and bearing children, as well as the formation of households which place stringent demands upon migrants' capacity to save and remit income. The formation of a conjugal household, with the new relationships and economic support obligations entailed, is likely to reduce the salience of the natal household in the migrant's constellation of economic obligations, and hence limit adherence to remittance expectations.

Social relations external to the household are also likely to influence migrants' adherence to economic support obligations. Theoretical perspectives on social capital maintain that certain social network configurations engender enforceable trust. That is, the enforceability of norms (such as the norm to remit money to one's family of origin) is contingent upon the informal social controls inherent in social networks. If embedded in an enclave-like network of close-knit kin and co-villagers within the destination, migrants' potential reluctance or temptation to stray from support obligations are more likely to be quashed than if s/he were residing in a more heterogeneous social arena.

To better understand the salience of gender in determining remittance behavior, we assess not only the migrants' gender, but also his/her economic position as expressed through measures of earned income, employment position, and the relative strength of the competing demands, in origin and destination locations, upon these economic resources. In several contexts it has been suggested that, not only do female migrants remit more and more regularly than male migrants, they also do so in situations when their earnings are lower than males'. The gendering of filial obligation and remittance behavior will be rendered more clearly by assessing the relative influence of earnings, economic position, and life course events upon of male and female migrants' remittance behavior.

THE RESEARCH CONTEXT

The notable economic development occurring in Thailand in recent decades, concentrated heavily in the urban centers of Central Thailand, has fueled large flows of internal, rural-urban migration (Phongpaichit 1993; Pejaranonda et al. 1995). Large

numbers of rural-origin migrants working are found in cities like Bangkok, working primarily at low-wage jobs in the very industries—manufacturing, construction, and services—whose explosive growth and profits have fueled recent economic growth. Thai economic growth, in other words, has been dependent upon a form of geographic mobility in which poor, low-skill workers from agrarian settings have been skimmed from relatively underdeveloped, rural regions. The Northeast region of Isan, where the migrants in our study originate, is one such region.

While permanent migration has become increasingly prevalent among Isaners in recent decades (Guest et al. 1995), it is frequently the case that migrants are sojourners, return migrating and otherwise maintaining contact with their origin households. Urban Thai labor markets have beckoned at the same time that rural economic growth, both on and off the farm, has been minimal, thereby rendering migrants' remitted wages a stop-gap measure for smoothing severe and rising rural-urban income disparities. Ofstedal et al. (1999) find that the majority of adult children in Thailand (69% in the previous calendar year) who live apart from their parents send substantial amounts of monetary support to these parents. In myriad ways, rural households and aging rural residents see monetary gain from young labor migrants' acts of remittance and intergenerational support.

Like women in many other developing societies, Thai women migrants, including those of the Isan region, have remitted more regularly and more generously than their male counterparts (Curran and Rivero-Fuentes 2003). Women's remittances tend to exceed men's, both in terms of their total amount and as a percentage of income (Richter and Havanon 1995; Phongpaichit 1993). In Thailand, the gender disparity in remittance is frequently attributed to cultural proscriptions for sons and daughters. Following a spiritual and ideological belief system informed by popular Buddhism, Thai sons and daughters are each expected to make merit in order to repay their parents for providing them with life and livelihood. However, the proscribed pathways for repaying this filial obligation differ for sons and daughters. Specifically, while nearly all Thai males fulfill a brief period in the monkhood, thereby making merit and repaying filial debts to parents, Thai females have no such religious institutional outlet for making merit. Daughters, consequently, experience a more stringent set of expectations for providing monetary and social support to origin households and aging parents in particular. Research by Curran (1994, 1995) and others (Richter 1992, Osaki 2003) substantiates the notion that remittance patterns reflect filial obligations that are stratified by gender and birth order. Specifically, Curran demonstrates that middle daughters are the most generous remitters, while middle sons are the least generous. These patterns map upon gender and age hierarchies of filial obligation. It is quite common for female Thai migrants to consider migration for work a primary duty, directed toward improvement of origin family finances (Singhanetra-Renard and Prabhudhanitisarn 1992). Consequently, we expect that women's remittance, more so than men's, will be responsive to constellations of demand in both origin and destination household. With respect to migrants' personal economic circumstances, we expect that women's remitting will be more frequent and more generous (in terms of monetary amounts) than men's remitting, and it will be less conditional on individual earnings and employment position.

DATA

The data we analyze come from a set of longitudinal social and demographic surveys conducted in 1984, 1994, and 2000 in 51 villages of Nang Rong district, Buriram province, Northeast Thailand, and linked follow-up surveys of migrants from 22 of these villages in 1994 and 2000 (see www.cpc.unc.edu/projects/nangrong/ for more information about the surveys). The design and content of the Nang Rong migration follow-up surveys provide a unique set of data for examining the influence of migrants' origin and destination household compositional features, employment positions, earnings, and social contextual positions within cities upon remittance behavior. The longitudinal nature of the surveys, which assess the location of Nang Rong migrants in 1994 and again in 2000, makes it possible to determine whether selective return and onward migration biases estimations of the determinants of remittance behavior. By correcting for selection bias we are able to estimate the determinants of remittance, by gender, while accounting for the selective return and onward movement of migrants whose socioeconomic status positions, life course stage, and social network characteristics have proven to differ from those of migrants who remain in urban settings for longer periods of time, and which may also inform remittance tendencies (Korinek et al. 2005).

The 2000 migrant follow-up survey is a focus of our analyses; however, we also draw upon a survey of rural households to assess, in year 2000, the family structure and land ownership of the origin households to which migrants could remit. The 2000 migrant follow-up survey was directed toward migrants who had been, in 1984, the members of households in 22 villages of Nang Rong district, but who had moved, for a duration of at least two months, to one of four urban target destinations at the time of the 1994 data collection. The 22 villages were selected randomly within strata defined by a cross-classification of involvement in cassava (i.e., cash crop) cultivation and distance from major roadways in 1984. All persons resident in 1984 but no longer resident in 1994 were candidates for the migrant follow-up if they had moved to one of the following places: greater metropolitan Bangkok (sprawling across six provinces); the Eastern Seaboard (three coastal provinces featuring rapid growth and development), Korat (a regional city), or Buriram (the provincial capital). Due to the primacy of Bangkok, and urban Central Thailand more generally, as well as historical migration patterns in the northeast, the vast majority of migrants departing Nang Rong district between 1984 and 1994 chose one of these four urban settings as destinations. By 2000, then, when our data on earnings and remittance are collected, a subset of migrants from the initial migrant follow-up survey, conducted in 1994, remained migrants in urban settings. Another, sizable subset had returned to origins or moved elsewhere. Drawing upon the strengths of the longitudinal design, we address mobility out of the migrant population, which may bias estimates of the remittance equations, through a series of two-stage models that correct for selective attrition.

The Nang Rong surveys assess myriad measures of remittance behavior. Previous research has demonstrated that analytical results vary depending upon whether measures incorporate monetary remittance, in-kind remittance, or both forms of remittance. Following such findings, which show that the chosen measure influences results, and extending the logic that remittance may be geared toward origin family welfare, or toward fulfillment of contractual arrangement, we believe that, predicting the act of remitting—a dichotomous outcome, and the monetary amount of remittance—an

interval-level outcome, will yield valuable insights into the meaning and logic of remittance. Therefore, we draw upon two remittance-related questions in the 2000 migrant follow-up survey to create our dependent variables. The first question asked all migrants whether they had sent any money to households in their origin village in the past 12 months. The answers to this question are used to derive our first, dichotomous measure of remittance. A subsequent question, coded categorically, asked about the monetary amount of remittance in the past 12 months. For analytical purposes, we recoded the categorical response, assigning a remittance amount to each migrant based upon the midpoint of the specified category. We coded the final category (40,000 baht or more) with the lower bound of the category (i.e., 40,000 baht). Migrants who reported not remitting at all in the previous 12 months were assigned a value of zero.

We maintain that migrants' propensity and ability to remit is contingent upon a set of family-household obligations that commonly span dual settings—the migrant's origin household and destination household. Linked origin household and destination household surveys lend us the ability to measure and jointly estimate the influence of origin-and destination-household compositional features upon remittance behavior. Household rosters were completed in the migrant's origin household and destination household. Thus, household composition, such as the presence of parents, siblings, or young children, can be determined for both locales. This enables us to assess whether children, parents, spouses, and other kin either enhance or diminish the odds of remitting and the monetary amount of remittance to origin households. We expect that remittance to origin households will be greater where migrants have dependent children, parent(s), or a spouse living in the household of origin. Consulting the household roster for migrants' origin households we construct variables which indicate whether children, spouse, or parent are present in the origin household. This is consistent with Grieco's perspective (2004) on remittance as the product of ongoing relational ties with origin households. At the same time, when dependents (i.e., indicated by persons over age 50, or children under age 15) are living in the destination household, migrants may be less likely to remit, and more likely to remit relatively small amounts, than their counterparts lacking destination-based resource commitments. In other words, resource demands linked to destination household composition in the destination will curtail migrants' ability and perceived obligation to remit to the origin household.

Our approach to assessing remittance patterns is unique in that we address the impact that migrant socioeconomic circumstances have upon the practice and level of remitting, and the extent to which socioeconomic stratification by gender serves to explain gender differences in remitting. Migrants' socioeconomic circumstances are addressed through two measures. First, we include a measure of daily earnings (measured in Thai baht) from the migrant's primary and secondary (where applicable) occupations. Second, we assess the occupational category of the migrant's primary job. Specifically, migrants' jobs are categorized in the following scheme: Not working the labor force; Professional or Managerial occupation; Sales occupation; Services occupation; Construction or other manual labor; Transportation; or Factory Production. Aside from the monetary compensation associated with these occupations, we also reason that occupations will differ in the degree of stability and security they offer. Remittance,

we expect, will be more likely not only where earnings are higher, but also where jobs are relatively secure.

Whether conceived as delivering a net of social and economic security, or a milieu of norm enforcement, several scholars have noted that the configuration of migrants' social network ties is influential for remittance behavior (Grieco 2004). The Nang Rong migrant follow-up survey data allow for measurement of social support ties and origin-community enclave effects on remittance behavior. Specifically, surveyed migrants were asked whether they knew of persons in the destination whom they could call upon for help, in particular to borrow money, in a time of need. Affirmative response to this question, and identification of the support provider's province of origin, allows us to determine whether destination support is available and whether it comes from another Nang Rong migrant or an individual from the destination or elsewhere. Using aggregate data on the origin village and destination province status for all Nang Rong migrants in core urban destinations in 1994, we calculate a measure indicating migrants' residential co-village enclave status. Specifically, this variable indicates the absolute number of surveyed migrants, from the origin village, who share the index migrant's destination province in 1994. We assume that migrants living among a sizable number of co-villagers, as opposed to those who have few co-villagers in their midst, experience a more integrative, familiar, enclave-like milieu. Including these two variables in our models allows us to assess whether social ties in the destination, in particular those that extend from the destination household and that are assumed to deliver migrant social capital, and thereby enforceable trust, play a role in positive enforcement of remittance norms.

In addition to the variables delineated above, we also incorporate a set of control variables which have shown to be correlated with remittance behavior in previous research. Specifically, we include dependent variables controlling for the migrant's age and consecutive years lived in the destination. Educational attainment is also assessed and taken into account in the multivariate analyses.

Our research design is also unique among studies of remittance behavior in that we purposefully model remittance through a two-stage model that corrects for sample selectivity. In previous research, we have found that the duration of migrants' urban settlement is contingent on a set of social network, human capital, and other features of migration experience (Korinek et al. 2005). Failure to address the selective attrition that has taken place among our sample of migrants between 1994 and 2000 would therefore, we expect, be subject to measurement bias. The use of a two-stage ordinary least squares regression, and logistic regression, each with a Heckman correction for sample selection, permits a joint assessment of the selectivity of who stays in the urban setting (and hence is capable of remitting) and among those who stay, who is most likely to remit, and to remit substantial quantities of money.

RESULTS

Table One reports bivariate patterns of remitting across Nang Rong migrants found living in core urban destinations of Thailand in 2000. The first and second columns (and third and fourth columns) of data represent, respectively: a) the entirety of Nang Rong migrants found in the core urban destinations (Bangkok, Eastern Seaboard, Korat, and Buriram Town) in 2000, and b) a subset of those same urban Nang Rong migrants, present in 2000, who were also present in urban destinations six years previous—in 1994. We include both groups in order to assess whether the remittance patterns of migrants whose stays are of longer duration differ from those of urban Nang Rong migrants overall. We also include the subset of migrants with longer stays in the destination because it is this group who will form the basis of our multivariate analyses when we model the predictors of both remittance and selective attrition simultaneously. Table One presents two indicators of remitting behavior: remittance of any amount (a dichotomous measure), and remittance in excess of the average amount remitted by all migrants (i.e., greater than 10,000 baht in the previous 10 months).

[INSERT TABLE ONE ABOUT HERE]

From the bivariate data we observe that a greater proportion of female migrants (80.2%) than male migrants (71.5%) remitted money to origin households in the twelve months prior to the survey. The female-male disparity in remitting prevalence is even wider when we consider above average levels of remittance. Gender differences in the prevalence of remittance, which favor women, are marked for both all migrants in 2000 and for the subset of migrants who were present in urban destinations in 1994 and again in 2000.

Remittance differentials also emerge when considering migrants' human capital and employment status characteristics. A nonlinear relationship appears with respect to educational attainment and remitting. Migrants who have completed primary school display a higher incidence of remitting in the past year than those with secondary and post-secondary schooling. This nonlinear pattern, with migrants educated only through primary school show highest incidence of remitting, also typifies remittance at the 10,000 baht and above level. Several notable differences emerge with respect to remitting prevalence by employment status. Specifically, migrants not working the labor force at the time of the survey are consistently the least likely to remit and least likely to remit large amounts. Whether we consider the entirety of urban migrants in 2000, the subset of migrants with enduring urban residence, or the subset of migrants remitting higher than average monetary quantities, those working in factory production and in the service sector consistently evince the highest incidence of remitting. The bivariate analyses suggest a positive relationship between migrants' daily earnings and annual remitting to origin households. In the bivariate view, the positive relationship between wages and remitting is very apparent—nearly 90% of migrants earning greater than 250 baht per day remitted greater than 10,000 in the year prior to the survey, whereas less than 20% whose earnings were less than 100 baht per day remitted so much.

The bivariate data suggest a nonlinear relationship between remitting and age, and remitting and years lived in the destination. That is, migrants in their mid-twenties to

mid-thirties are the most likely to remit and the most likely to remit in excess of 10,000 baht in the previous year. Migrants who've lived from two to four years in an urban destination are more likely to remit to origin households than those who've been in the urban setting for one year or less, or for five years or more. This pattern suggests that recent migrants are hindered from remitting because of the time and economic costs associated with adjusting to the urban setting and locating a job, whereas migrants who've resided longer in the urban setting may have established households and community ties that demand economic resources which would otherwise be directed toward remittance.

The bivariate results further suggest that migrant remittance behavior is associated with their origin and destination household contexts. Specifically, married migrants who have spouse living in the origin household are more likely to remit than migrants who are single or whose spouse does not reside in the origin household. Similarly, migrants with one or more parents living in the origin household are more likely to remit to said household than are those whose parents are deceased or who reside elsewhere. The presence of dependent children in the destination household diminishes the odds of remitting and remitting large quantities to origin households. Interestingly, migrants who come from households with other migrants in addition to themselves are more likely to remit and to remit sizable monetary amounts.

The final two independent variables, indicative of migrant social networks in destination contexts, also suggest a positive association between migrant social connectedness in destinations and the incidence of remittance. Specifically, a greater percentage of migrants living amongst others from their own village, and a greater percentage of migrants with social support ties to persons from their origin province, remit home and remit at levels greater than 10,000 baht per annum than those who lack social support ties in the destination or reside in provinces with few/no other co-villagers.

In order to delineate the unique effect of individual, employment status, household context, and community context variables upon remitting we estimate a series of logistic regression models predicting the incidence of remitting in the twelve months prior to the 2000 survey. Finding that the influence of several variables upon remitting is conditioned by the migrant's gender (analyses not shown) we present separate, parallel analyses of male and female migrants' remitting outcomes. A two-stage logistic regression model, which incorporates a Heckman correction for sample selection bias, is used to estimate the determinants of remitting. The results, presented in Table Two, reveal that labor market outcomes and household contexts matter for remitting behavior, but they matter differently for male and female migrants. Most notably, females not only are more likely than their male counterparts to remit, their remittance is also more likely irrespective of earnings. The odds of male migrants' remittance, by comparison, are significantly increased as baht earned in the labor force increase. This result suggests that females remit irrespective of earnings, whereas males' remittance is contingent, to a greater degree, upon their earning power. The fact that female migrants earn less than male migrants, on average, and yet remit in a patter not influenced by earnings levels,

suggests that their remittance persists despite weaker earning power, and most likely in situations of economic strain that surpass those experienced by their male counterparts.

[INSERT TABLE TWO ABOUT HERE]

Female migrants also diverge from male migrants in that their remitting behavior reflects greater sensitivity to economic constraints experienced in the destination and origin household. Whereas male migrants' odds of remitting in the previous year are not significantly altered by the presence of a spouse or parents in the origin household, or the presence of additional migrants in the origin household, for female migrants all of these variables are significant determinants of the odds of remitting. Female migrants are less likely to remit in the previous year if their spouse is residing in the origin household. This result likely indicates a lesser degree of economic obligation to the origin household—due to the spouse's presence, than would be the case were the migrant single or were her spouse residing elsewhere. Conversely, the presence of a parent (or two parents) in the origin household increases the odds that a female migrant remits over the course of a year. For male migrants the influence of parental residence in the origin household on remitting is not statistically significant. This gender differentiated result also suggests a different logic of remitting on behalf of female migrants. Where need and filial obligation are apparent, women's, but not men's, odds of remittance are heightened.

An interesting, gender differentiated result can also be observed when we consider the impact of other migrants in the origin household on remitting. That is, the odds of remitting is diminished among women, the greater the number of other individuals who have migrated from the origin household. While the location and economic circumstances of these additional household migrants is unknown, one possible interpretation is that female migrants perceive a diminished remittance burden in those contexts where they have numerous family members who also may contribute remittances to the origin household. Male migrants' odds of remitting are not changed significantly by this feature of origin household composition, again suggesting that their remittance is less sensitive to origin household economic demands.

A final result of note in Table Two concerns the influence of destination social contexts upon remitting. Neither set of results suggests, as anticipated, that greater social contacts and embeddedness in a co-village enclave increases the odds of remittance. Rather, to the contrary, we observe that the odds of male migrants' remitting actually is significantly lower, the greater the number of co-villagers residing in their destination province. As opposed to acting as norm-enforcing social capital, the enclave-like milieu, wherein male migrants are in the company of many co-villagers, may in some ways deflect male migrants' economic resources. For example, personal consumption may be greater in the enclave-type context.

A brief comment on the selection models that precede the models predicting remittance is warranted. The first stage of the model (results not shown) of the Heckman regression demonstrates that attrition from the migrant sample between 1994 and 2000 is not random, nor is it an identical process for male and female migrants. Specifically,

both male and female migrants' staying in the urban destination is influenced by occupational position and by their residence in an co-village enclave. While female migrants' persistence of urban residence is positively influenced by possession of economic support ties, a similar result does not emerge in consideration of the factors influence male migrants' persistence in the urban destination over the 1994-2000 time period. For male migrants, attrition from the sample also appears to be influenced by educational attainment, with male migrants more highly educated having greater odds of remaining in the urban destination across survey waves.

Analyzing the monetary value of annual remittance to origin households also suggests that the logic of remitting behavior diverges across male and female migrants. Table Three presents the results for two sets of Heckman regression models, one set for male migrants and one set for female migrants. As was true for the dichotomous measure of remitting, a gender-specific pattern emerges in the analysis of annual amounts remitted. The constants in the models for men and women, although derived from a categorical measure recoded to an –interval-level measure, are telling. They reveal that female migrants are remitting sums to origin households that are far more sizable than the sums remitted by male migrants. Additionally, as a comparison of the first coefficients in each model reveals, female migrants remit more per baht earned than do male migrants. For both male and female migrants greater earnings result in greater amounts remitted to origin. However, the magnitude of the effect is substantially larger for female migrants.

[Insert Table Three about here]

Several significant coefficients emerge for migrants' occupational status positions, demonstrating that female migrants employed in professional-managerial fields, and those employed in sales, remit greater amounts to origin households. While further investigation is required to soundly interpret these results, we anticipate that women employed in these fields have entered into relatively stable work environments, where future employment is relatively assured, and hence they are enabled to remit relatively large quantities of money to origin households.

Gender differences again emerge in the consideration of origin and destination household composition upon remittance amounts. The patterns revealed in Table Three, consistent with those observed for the dichotomous measure of remittance, again suggest that female migrants' remit in a manner that is more responsive to economic demands experienced in the origin and destination household. Compared to their male counterparts, female migrants' remittances respond positively when their spouse is residing in the origin household. Conversely, the amount of a female migrant's remittance is negatively effected by the presence of children under age 15 in the destination household. Male migrants' remittance levels reveal no such household composition sensitivity. We do observe, again, that male migrants' remitting declines in amount when numerous co-villagers are residing in the province of destination. This result, contrary to expectation, begs further exploration. A preliminary interpretation is that greater numbers of acquaintances and co-ethnics increase socializing and consumption among male migrants, which in turn may deplete their earnings, and

perhaps diminish their intentions to consider origin family members in their economic decision-making.

The consistent pattern of results across Tables Two and Three suggests that remittance behavior among internal Thai migrants is indeed gendered, and that female migrants not only remit more often, and more generously per baht earned, but in a manner that is responsive to local and origin socioeconomic demands.

DISCUSSION

This paper presents a preliminary attempt to address remitting as a behavior that is informed by socio-cultural expectations felt by migrants, but also by the socioeconomic positions from which migrants attempt to meet their own subsistence needs and filial obligations to members of origin households. Our findings suggest that among rural-urban Thai migrants, gender structures both the experience of socio-cultural expectations for economic support to origin households, as well as the socioeconomic position from which attempts to remit occur. The finding that female migrants have a higher prevalence of remittance, and remit larger amounts, than male migrants is not new. The novel contribution of our research is that females exhibit a pattern of remitting that is distinct from males in that it is both more generous (baht remitted per baht earned), and more attuned to socioeconomic circumstances encountered by the household of origin and the household of destination.

REFERENCES

- Ahlburg, D.A. and R.P.C. Brown. 1998. "Migrants' Intentions to Return Home and Capital Transfers: A Study of Tongans and Samoans in Australia." *Journal of Development Studies* 35:125-145.
- Brown, R.P.C. 1998. "Do migrants' Remittances Decline Over Time? Evidence from Tongans and Western Samoans in Australia." *The Contemporary Pacific* 10: 107-151.
- Chant, Silvia and Sarah A. Radcliffe. 1992. "Migration and Development: The Importance of Gender." Pp. 1-29 in Silvia Chant (ed.), *Gender and Migration in Developing Countries*. London and New York: Belhaven Press.
- Grieco, Elizabeth M. 2004.
- , 2003. *The Remittance Behavior of Immigrant Households: Micronesians in Hawaii and Guam*. New York: LFB Scholarly Publishing LLC.
- Hugo, Graeme. 1995. "International Labor Migration and the Family: Some Observations from Indonesia," *Asia and Pacific Migration Journal* 4(2-3):273-302.

- Itzigsohn, John. 1995. "Migrant Remittances, Labor Markets, and Household Strategies: A Comparative Analysis of Low-Income Household Strategies in the Caribbean Basin." *Social Forces* 74(2):633-655.
- Llanos, Theodore P. 1997. "Factors Determining Migrant Remittances: The Case of Greece," *International Migration Review* 31(1):72-87.
- Lucas, R.E.B. and Oded Stark. 1985. "Motivations to Remit: Evidence From Botswana." *Journal of Political Economy* 93:901-918.
- Massey, Douglas S. and Lawrence C. Basem. 1992. "Determinants of Savings, Remittances, and Spending Patterns among U.S. Migrants in Four Mexican Communities," *Sociological Inquiry* 62(2):185-207.
- Menjivar, Cecilia, Julie DaVanzo, L. Greenwell and R. Burciaga Valdez. 1998. "Remittance Behavior Among Salvadoran and Filipino Immigrants in Los Angeles." *International Migration Review* 32:97-126.
- Osaki, Keiko. 2003. "Migrant Remittances in Thailand: Economic Necessity or Social Norm?" *Journal of Population Research* 20(2):203-23.
- Pejaranonda, Chintana, Sureerat Sanitipaporn and Philip Guest. 1995. "Rural-Urban Migration in Thailand," pp. 171-193 in *Trends, Patterns, and Implications of Rural Urban Migration in India, Nepal and Thailand*. Asian Population Studies Series No. 138. New York: United Nations.
- Phongpaichit, Pasuk. 1992. "The Labour Market Aspects of Female Migration to Bangkok." Pp. 178-191 in *United Nations, Internal Migration of Women in Developing Countries*. New York: United Nations.
- Rodenburg, Janet. 1993. "Emancipation or Subordination? Consequences of Female Migration for Migrants and their Families." Pp. 273-289 in *United Nations, Internal Migration of Women in Developing Countries*. New York: United Nations.
- Rodriguez, Edgard R. 1996. 'International Migrants' Remittances in the Philippines." *The Canadian Journal of Economics* 29(2):S427-S432.
- Singhanetra-Renard, Anchalee and Nitaya Prabhudhanitisarn. 1992. "Changing Socioeconomic Roles of Thai Women and Their Migration," pp. 154-173 in Sylvia Chant (ed), *Gender and Migration in Developing Countries*. London and New York: Belhaven Press.
- Stark, Oded. 1978. *Economic-Demographic Interaction in the Course of Agricultural Development: The Case of Rural-to-Urban Migration (Research Report NO. 2/78)*. Tel Aviv: David Horowitz Institute for Research of Developing Countries.

Stark, Oded and David Bloom. 1985. "The New Economics of Labor Migration." *American Economic Review* 75(2):173-78.

Stark, Oded and R.E.B. Lucas. 1988. "Migration, Remittances, and the Family." *Economic Development and Cultural Change* 36:465-81.

Trager, Lilian. 1984. "Family Strategies and the Migration of Women: Migrants to Dagupan City, Philippines." *International Migration Review* 18(4):1264-1277.

Winters, Paul, Alain de Janvry, and Elisabeth Sadoulet. 2001. "Family and Community Networks in Mexico-U.S. Migration." *The Journal of Human Resources* 36(1):159-184.

TABLE ONE. CROSSTABULAR RESULTS: REMITTANCE STATUS & MIGRANT INDIVIDUAL, HOUSEHOLD & COMMUNITY CHARACTERISTICS

	--ANY REMITTANCE--				--REMITTED GT 10,000 Baht Last Year--			
	ALL NANG RONG URBAN MIGRANTS IN 2000		1994 URBAN MIGS--FOUND IN URBAN DEST IN 2000		ALL NANG RONG URBAN MIGRANTS IN 2000		1994 URBAN MIGS-- FOUND IN URBAN DEST IN 2000	
	Migrant Remitted Money (Any Amount) to Origin Household in Past Year		Migrant Remitted Money (Any Amount) to Origin Household in Past Year		Migrant Remitted Money (Any Amount) to Origin Household in Past Year		Migrant Remitted Money (Any Amount) to Origin Household in Past Year	
	Yes	(N)	Yes	(N)	Yes	(N)	Yes	(N)
<i>Migrant's Gender</i>								
Male	71.5%	757	76.5%	319	26.9%	757	29.5%	319
Female	80.2%	896	84.8%	433	41.4%	896	47.3%	433
<i>Migrant's Education Level</i>								
Less than Primary School Completion	74.9%	227	73.3%	120	28.6%	227	27.5%	120
Primary School Completion	81.3%	690	83.7%	362	37.8%	690	42.8%	362
Secondary Schooling	73.4%	335	81.4%	102	33.7%	335	39.2%	102
Post-secondary Schooling	71.1%	398	82.0%	167	34.2%	398	42.5%	167
<i>Employment Status</i>								
Not working in LF	40.1%	182	57.4%	47	14.3%	182	21.3%	47
Professional, Managerial, Admin.	74.5%	110	69.6%	56	32.7%	110	35.7%	56
Sales	78.5%	130	86.7%	60	37.7%	130	46.7%	60
Services	83.9%	193	87.6%	97	44.6%	193	48.5%	97
Construction, Manual Labor, Agriculture	71.9%	139	66.2%	65	25.9%	139	35.4%	65
Transport	73.3%	116	77.8%	45	28.4%	116	26.7%	45
Factory Production	83.8%	758	86.8%	370	39.6%	758	41.9%	370
<i>Daily Wages</i>								
0-100 baht/day	48.7%	261	59.0%	78	19.2%	261	26.9%	78
101-150 baht/day	84.5%	161	84.1%	63	32.3%	161	39.7%	63
151-200 baht/day	81.5%	658	84.6%	299	36.3%	658	37.1%	299
201-250 baht/day	81.2%	191	81.1%	95	39.3%	191	41.1%	95
250+ baht/day	81.2%	330	84.0%	200	89.4%	161	48.0%	200
<i>Age</i>								
0-25 years old	73.1%	774	85.4%	198	34.4%	762	42.1%	197
26-35 years old	80.7%	705	82.0%	450	37.2%	705	41.6%	450
36-45 years old	70.9%	158	70.8%	96	26.6%	158	26.0%	96
46+ years old	50.0%	26	55.6%	9	34.6%	26	44.4%	9
<i>Duration of Time in Current Destination</i>								
0-1 years in destination	78.5%	135	78.5%	135	43.0%	135	43.0%	135
2-4 years in destination	86.4%	236	86.4%	236	41.9%	236	41.9%	236
5-7 years in destination	81.4%	102	81.4%	102	39.2%	102	39.2%	102
8+ years in destination	73.6%	87	73.6%	87	37.9%	87	37.9%	87
Missing data	79.9%	194	79.9%	194	35.6%	194	35.6%	194
<i>Marital Status & Residence of Spouse</i>								
Not currently married	75.6%	750	88.5%	260	37.3%	750	50.4%	260
Current Married, Spouse not in Origin HH	77.5%	694	76.7%	446	33.4%	694	33.4%	446
Current Married, Spouse in Origin HH	82.2%	107	78.9%	19	38.3%	107	52.6%	19
<i>Children in Destination Household</i>								
Zero children under 15 in dest HH	78.7%	1298	85.9%	554	38.6%	1298	46.8%	554
1+ children under 15 in dest HH	66.9%	357	68.0%	200	20.7%	357	20.0%	200
<i>Parents in Origin Household</i>								
No Parent(s) present in Origin HH	71.1%	128	65.7%	35	32.8%	128	37.1%	35
1+ Parents present in Origin HH	78.6%	1462	81.8%	716	36.0%	1462	39.7%	716
<i>Others Migrants in Origin Household</i>								
No other migrants in origin HH	66.1%	345	83.0%	88	27.8%	345	35.2%	88
1+ other migrants in origin HH	78.9%	1310	80.9%	666	36.6%	1310	40.2%	666
<i>Land Ownership by Origin Household</i>								
Origin HH: Zero Plang	80.9%	842	82.0%	405	39.3%	842	43.5%	405
Origin HH: 1-10 Plang	79.5%	127	83.1%	59	30.7%	127	28.8%	59
Origin HH: 11-25 Plang	72.7%	205	80.0%	85	32.7%	205	38.8%	85
Origin HH: 26-80 Plang	73.4%	79	84.2%	38	30.4%	79	31.6%	38
<i>Co-village Enclave Status in Destination</i>								
No covillagers in destination	72.1%	902	1.1%	90	30.7%	902	100.0%	1
0-10 covillagers in destination province	80.7%	462	87.6%	426	38.3%	462	38.3%	462
GT 10 covillager in destination province	81.8%	291	62.6%	380	41.6%	291	41.6%	291
<i>Economic Support Providers in Destination</i>								
No social support in dest (borrow \$)	72.4%	497	78.8%	236	34.2%	497	38.1%	236
Support in destination from Buriram persc	78.5%	600	82.4%	289	37.0%	600	41.5%	289
Support in destination from non-Buriram p	77.5%	480	81.8%	203	32.9%	480	37.9%	203
Missing Data	66.7%	42	76.9%	13	33.3%	42	46.2%	13
<i>Total</i>	76.2	1663	81.2%	754	34.8%	1653	39.8%	752

Table Two. Heckman Probit with Correction for Selection: The Determinants of Remitting Money to Origin Household in Past 12 months

	Male Migrants		Female Migrants	
	Coeff	s.e.	Coeff	s.e.
Constant	1.63	0.92	2.7**	0.85
Bait earned per day	.003**	0.00	.002*	0.00
Education: Less than Primary	0.21	0.40	0.44	0.33
Education: Primary School Completion (omitted)	--	--	--	--
Education: Secondary schooling	-0.28	0.27	-0.29	0.24
Education: Post-secondary schooling	-0.02	0.29	-0.07	0.27
Primary Occupation: Not in Labor Force	na	na	na	na
Primary Occupation: Professional, Managerial	-0.82*	0.38	-0.43	0.35
Primary Occupation: Sales	0.54	0.58	0.44	0.54
Primary Occupation: Services	0.09	0.32	0.12	0.28
Primary Occupation: Construction, Manual Labor	-0.46	0.33	-0.12	0.28
Primary Occupation: Transportation	-0.04	0.29	0.05	0.26
Primary Occupation: Factory Production (omitted)	--	--	--	--
Age in Years	-0.04	0.03	-0.04	0.02
Marital Status: Single (omitted)	--	--	--	--
Marital Status: Married--Spouse in Origin HH	--	--	-0.07	0.22
Marital Status: Married--Spouse Elsewhere	--	--	0.37	0.47
Destination HH: Any Children Under Age 15	--	--	-0.20	0.23
Origin HH: One or More Parents in Residence	--	--	0.03	0.38
Origin HH: # of Other Migrants in Origin HH	--	--	-0.08	0.05
Origin HH: # of Rai owned by Origin HH	--	--	0.00	0.01
Destination Area: # of Covillagers in Province	--	--	-0.36*	0.18
Destination Area: No Social Support	--	--	--	--
Destination Area: Support Tie to Person(s) from Origin	--	--	0.20	0.21
Destination Area: Support Tie to Person(s) from Elsewhere	--	--	0.25	0.23
Log likelihood	-530.54		-521.54	
(N)	216.00		213.00	
LR test of indep equations	0.36		2.54	
			-588.790	-561.140
			292	286
			4.04*	4.28*
				0.280
				0.940
				0.076
				0.012
				0.280
				0.269
				0.324
				0.030
				0.415
				1.340
				0.250
				0.940
				0.076
				0.012
				0.280
				0.269
				0.324

Table Three. Heckman Regression with Correction for Selection: The Determinants of Amount of Money Remitted to Origin Household in Past 12 months

	Male Migrants		Female Migrants	
	Coef	s.e.	Coef	s.e.
Constant	7786.50	8077.71	14793.03	8608.20
Baht earned per day	9.72***	2.95	11.0***	2.90
Education: Less than Primary	-5444.09	3141.53	-3058.10	3041.10
Education: Primary School Completion (omitted)	--	--	--	--
Education: Secondary schooling	-2648.60	2140.55	-2442.09	2178.20
Education: Post-secondary schooling	-822.80	2223.57	-1143.90	2246.00
Primary Occupation: Not in Labor Force	-7164.48	5952.10	-4992.00	6023.70
Primary Occupation: Professional, Managerial	-6783.50*	3166.80	-4749.88	3175.70
Primary Occupation: Sales	1016.72	3307.10	1376.47	3263.30
Primary Occupation: Services	422.63	2513.90	92.28	2496.60
Primary Occupation: Construction, Manual labor	-1120.98	2645.60	392.80	2645.10
Primary Occupation: Transportation	-872.31	2331.90	-771.64	2316.80
Primary Occupation: Factory Production (omitted)	--	--	--	--
Age in Years	105.20	208.40	67.10	210.80
Marital Status: Single (omitted)	--	--	--	--
Marital Status: Married--Spouse in Origin HH	--	--	-122.60	2012.90
Marital Status: Married--Spouse Elsewhere	--	--	5173.50	3698.60
Destination HH: Any Children Under Age 15	--	--	-5122.00	2048.70
Origin HH: One or More Parents in Residence	--	--	30.80	3375.90
Origin HH: # of Other Migrants in Origin HH	--	--	-413.50	453.40
Origin HH: # of Rai owned by Origin HH	--	--	-93.50	75.22
Destination Area: # of Covillagers in Province	--	--	-3393.8*	1654.50
Destination Area: No Social Support (omitted)	--	--	--	--
Destination Area: Support Tie to Person(s) from Origin	--	--	2838.80	1957.70
Destination Area: Support Tie to Person(s) from Elsewhere	--	--	1546.50	2142.40
Log likelihood	-2750.96		-2706.96	
(N)	216.00		213.00	
LR test of indep equations chi square=	0.01			
			-3704.74	
			292.00	
			0.65	
			-3610.35	
			286.00	
			0.00	
			-372.89*	171.78
			--	--
			-5849.23**	1883.18
			1414.73	4932.75
			--	--
			-6746.9**	2229.35
			5726.41	5385.44
			-391.59	461.19
			43.33	87.40
			1941.39	1840.04
			--	--
			--	--
			928.39	2052.92
			-636.83	2204.63