PAPERS IN POPULATION AGEING

2

Migration and Intergenerational Solidarity:
Evidence from Rural Thailand

UNFPA Thailand
and Country Technical Services Team
for East and South-East Asia
Bangkok, Thailand

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Acknowledgements

This report is the culmination of several years of work that started with a pilot project consisting of 29 open-ended interviews by the research team in 2004 with older age parents with migrant children in four rural communities in Thailand. We are most grateful to these parents who shared in detail their experiences and feelings related to their relationships with both their migrant and non-migrant children. We learned enormously from them. It was mainly the insights they provided that enabled us to develop a survey questionnaire that we believe at least starts to capture the richness and complexity of their experience and that of other parents in their situation. Thus in a very real sense our current project grew out of what these parents told us about their own lives. We are grateful to the Population Studies Center of the University of Michigan for supporting that pilot project with funds provided by a grant from the Mellon Foundation entitled "Research and Training in the Demography of Urbanization, Internal Migration, and Urban Life in Developing Countries". We also thank Zachary Zimmer for helpful comments he made on earlier versions of the questionnaire.

We are of course also greatly indebted to the over 1,000 parents who were willing to be interviewed for the survey on which this report is based. The interviews were sometimes quite long and the information we asked quite detailed. Yet with few exceptions the respondents seemed patient and understanding of the need for the information they provided. Funding for the Migration Impact Survey was provided by a grant to the Chulalongkorn University, Faculty of Nursing from the Thailand Research Fund (TRF) through the National Health Foundation (NHF). We are very grateful to the guidance provided by reviewers recruited by the funding agencies to evaluate our proposal. Last but not least, we are grateful to the Thailand Country Office of the United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA) who made the technical assistance of the senior author possible through a special services agreement (SSA). In particular, we thank Mr. G. Giridhar, Director of Country Technical Services Team-Bangkok and UNFPA Country Representative in Thailand for his confidence in our research effort and for his patience during the lengthy period it took us to carry out the work.

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Foreword

Population ageing is an inevitable consequence of sustained decline in fertility together with increasing longevity. It is taking place at a much faster rate in the developing countries today than in the developed countries since the 1960s. For example, it is estimated that in East Asia, older persons of age 60 years and above will outnumber children of 15 years and below by the year 2018. In Thailand, this tipping point will be reached by 2020. Such emerging shifts in age structure will have significant implications to policies and programmes for older persons.

The International Conference on Population and Development (ICPD) held in Cairo in September 1994 called for: (a) enhancing self reliance and promoting quality of life of older persons; (b) developing systems of improving health care as well as systems of economic and social security in old age; and (c) providing formal and informal support to enhance the ability of families to take care of elderly within the family. The Madrid International Plan of Action on Ageing (MIPAA) adopted at the Second World Assembly on Ageing in Madrid in 2002 echoed the need for similar actions.

UNFPA's work in population ageing is now guided by MIPAA with its three priority area: (a) older persons and development; (b) advancing health and well being into old age; and (c) ensuring enabling and supportive environment. The Fund will continue to advocate for effective policy response to this emerging challenge and for mainstreaming ageing issues into national development frameworks and poverty reduction strategies.

The Country Technical Services Team (CST) of UNFPA in Bangkok recently launched the series, ***Papers in Population Ageing***, with the first issue providing a situation analysis at the regional and country level. This second publication in that series, based on a study conducted by Prof. John Knodel and his team, examines the impact of out-migration from rural areas in Thailand on intergenerational solidarity. With increasing migration of young adults from rural areas to the towns and cities, Thailand offers an interesting case to examine the implications of migration for maintenance of relationships among family members of different generations. The Report provides extensive evidence from the first systematic survey focusing specifically on this issue. It thus provides a unique basis for assessing the complex implications of out-migration on older parents remaining behind in rural areas.

I wish to thank the research team led by Professor John Knodel, the senior author, consisting of the project director, Ms. Jiraporn Kespichayawattana and her able associates Ms. Suvinee Wiwatwanich and Chanpen Saengtienchai. The research addresses this important but under researched topic and provides findings that are very relevant to formulation of realistic policies for improving the lives of the rural elderly in Thailand. These findings could also be relevant to other countries with similar circumstances.

G. Giridhar
Director CST for E & SE Asia
and UNFPA Representative in Thailand

Acronyms

ADL	Activities of Daily Living
IADL	Instrumental Activities of Daily Living
MCA	Multiple Classification Analysis
MIS	The Migration Impact Survey
NHF	National Health Foundation
SSA	Special Services Agreement
SWET	The Survey of Welfare of Elderly in Thailand
TRF	Thailand Research Fund
UNFPA	United Nations Population Fund

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Executive Summary

Migration of adult children from rural areas is an inexorable component of the socio-economic change taking place throughout the developing world. How this migration affects the well-being of the older age parents who remain behind is a matter of considerable debate. International forums concerned with advocacy and mass media accounts tend to see the dispersion of children, especially to urban areas, as undermining the family and leading to the loss of economic, social and psychological support and personal care to elderly parents from absent children. In contrast social scientists tend to depict migration as benefiting economically both migrant children and family members who remain behind and stress the ability of families to adapt to changing circumstances.

The Migration Impact Survey, conducted in 2006 in Thailand, is the first survey to directly focus on this issue and provides a unique source for exploring the subject based on systematically collected data. The survey purposively targeted three age cohorts (50-54, 60-64 and 70-79) and provides information on the economic, social, physical and psychological well-being of the respondent as well as detailed information about each of the respondent's children. The particular choice of cohorts permits comparisons associated with life course stages and changing family size associated with past fertility decline, features that are likely to bear on the impact that migration of adult children could have on older age parents. A total of 1011 interviews were completed in rural or peri-urban localities in three provinces (Nakorn Ratchasima, Si Sa Ket, and Kamphaeng Phet) with relatively similar numbers obtained for each cohort in each province.

Migration of young adults from rural and peri-urban areas is very common in Thailand. The vast majority of the survey respondents have at least one child who left the parents' district and about three-fourths have at least one child that currently lives outside their province and a few have a child currently living abroad. There is very little difference across the cohorts in these respects. Return migration is also common. Almost 30 per cent of those who migrated had returned by the time the survey took place. According to the respondents, concern about parents' welfare was said to be a major reason for returning for 60 per cent of the migrant children who did return.

The results make clear that contrary to alarmist views promoted by the mass media and some advocacy groups, in Thailand migration of adult children has not led to widespread desertion of rural elderly. Very few rural elderly have lost contact with all their children and been left to fend for themselves. Rather, most older age parents still live with or very nearby an adult child and the large majority of migrant children maintain social contact with parents and provide at least some financial support. Moreover, children who have moved to urban areas, especially to Bangkok, are more likely to provide significant remittances than children who migrated to elsewhere in Thailand, likely reflecting the greater earning opportunities in cities, and are at least as likely to maintain social contact, a process facilitated by the higher proportion of urban than rural migrants who have phones. Thus fears that urban settings, and hence the process of urbanization, particularly erode the filial allegiances of migrant children seem unwarranted.

The ability of migrant children and their parents in Thailand to maintaining social contact has clearly been enhanced by the development of cellar phone technology and the sharply reduced costs of calls thus greatly expanding accessibility

to persons with modest incomes. In contrast to less than a decade ago when phones were a rarity in rural households, most older persons in rural areas and their migrant children now have access to one. According to our survey, two thirds of migrant children talked with the respondent at least once a month on the phone and four fifths had phone contact at least several times during the past year. Such contact permits maintenance of social support despite geographical separation. The greatly improved ability to communicate by phone also means that parents can reach geographically dispersed children quickly in case of a health crisis. In addition, improved roads and means of transportation enable children living elsewhere to more rapidly reach parents to provide assistance and at least temporary care if no children reside nearby.

Although migration of younger family members to urban areas in Thailand has not lead to the any substantial desertion of rural elderly, it is linked to both benefits and disadvantages for older age parents who remain behind. Remittances, especially when the amount of support is quite substantial, contribute to parents' material well-being. Such financial help includes paying for major household appliances, paying for significant improvements of the parents' home, or even buying a new house for the parents. In general, longer distance migration results in greater financial benefits for parents than shorter distance migration. Migration abroad has the greatest material benefits but is relatively rare. Migration within Thailand has more favourable financial consequences for parents when it is to urban areas. Children who move away but remain in the local area also contribute financially to parents but on average in lesser amounts than children who migrate elsewhere.

Material exchanges between parents and migrant children occur in both directions. It is not unusual for parents to provide major financial support to children, including those who migrated, in response to special circumstances. A substantial share of older age parents also provide an important service for migrant children by taking responsibility for grandchildren left in their care. Thus the net balance of material exchanges between parents and their migrant children is not necessarily in the parents favour. Results from the Migration Impact Survey indicate that while the net balance more often than not favours parents the chances of being so is considerably greater with respect to children who migrate to Bangkok than elsewhere in Thailand.

Migration impedes services requiring face-to-face contact. Children who remain near, and especially those who remain coresident, are much more important sources of services that need to be performed frequently and on a sustained basis to be meaningful such as assistance with household chores, help with most types of household economic activities, or providing meals. It is not uncommon, however, for migrant children to take parents for treatment outside the parents' locality, presumably to superior facilities, or to temporarily return home to care for parents in case of a serious illness.

Some idea of what the future holds for rural elderly in Thailand is suggested by the age 50-54 cohort of respondents. Despite their substantially smaller family sizes compared to older cohorts, they are just as likely to have children who migrate and as a result are less likely to live with a grown child. Since smaller family sizes make it more difficult to have both children remaining at home and others migrating, unless migration reduces, coresidence is likely to continue to decline as future cohorts with even smaller families enter the elderly age span. Given that the survey results indicate that living with a grown child is associated with a number of advantages for parents, the declining trend in coresidence raises concerns about its impact on the well being of Thailand's future elderly. The experience of the 50-54 cohort provides some basis for optimism in this respect. This cohort is even less likely than their older counterparts to have lost contact with children who migrate as indicated by higher frequencies of both visits and phone calls. Moreover, despite their smaller family sizes and lower levels of coresidence, they are at least as likely as the older parental cohorts to say that they are very satisfied with their children in

terms of all the forms of support and assistance asked about in the survey.

Clearly migration of grown children has both benefits and disadvantages for the 'left behind' parents that often vary with the life course stages of the parents and their adult children. Given the cross-sectional nature of the Migration Impact survey data and the descriptive nature of the analyses, causal connections remain uncertain. Nevertheless, the results are at least suggestive of a Thai family in which parents and adult children exercise human agency to adapt to the changes in the social and economic environment brought about by development in ways that are not necessarily detrimental to their intergenerational relations. Overall, most rural based parents and their migrant children appear to be adapting to the increasing need to live separately in ways that permit maintaining family relationships and providing each other with support.

The rapid transition to low fertility several decades ago will pose new challenges for the next generation of elderly parents and their smaller number of adult children. Thus the current situation, in which some siblings migrate while others remain with their rural elderly parents', will become increasingly difficult to maintain. This could substantially change the implications of migration for the well being of the parents, especially when illness or frailty sets in and daily personal assistance is needed. It thus seems likely that in future decades, as parents with small families become common within the oldest age groups, there will be an increasing need for community based health services to meet the needs of elders who require long term personal care but who have no adult child living nearby to provide it. Hence in planning for meeting the needs of rural elderly in the future, the government would be wise to expand community based health services for frail and chronically ill elders. Fortunately the Thai government is making some efforts in this direction already. For expanded community based programmes to have maximum success, however, efforts need to be made to change prevailing attitudes to increase the acceptability of critical personal care from others besides adult children.

At this point, it is premature to conclude that the balance between positive and negative effects of migration for rural Thai elders will necessarily become less favourable. Many other changes will accompany the shift in numbers of living children. Thus adjustments to changing living arrangements will occur in a different social, economic, and technological context than has prevailed during the period of the present research. Monitoring the situation of rural Thai elders in this changing context is crucial for developing and modifying policies and programmes that realistically address the needs of the rapidly increasing older population. The findings documented in this report should provide a useful baseline for such efforts.

Section 1: Introduction

The present report explores the impact of migration of adult children in Thailand on the well-being of their parents who remain behind in rural or peri-urban areas. It is based primarily on a recent survey especially designed for this purpose. The data relate to a wide range of potential impacts and permit examination of both positive and negative consequences for the parents. This report focused on implications for economic and social well-being. As far as we are aware, this is the first survey specifically designed to address the impact of migration of children on older age parents, not only in Thailand but in South-East Asia and perhaps other regions of the developing world as well. It provides a unique opportunity to shed light of the applicability of the different perspectives described below within a particularly interesting social, economic and cultural setting.

During the last four decades, Thailand experienced profound demographic change including a rapid transition from high to low fertility and large increases in life expectancy. As a result, the population is ageing and the size of the older population has increased substantially. During most of this period, economic development proceeded rapidly resulting in a shift in the labour force away from agriculture together providing the impetus for large scale migration of young adults from rural to urban areas in search of non-agricultural employment (Osaki, 1999; Curran et al., 2003). At the same time, old age support, as in much of the developing world, remained largely a family responsibility, depending particularly on the fulfillment of the filial obligations of adult children. Under such circumstances, the migration of young rural adults to urban areas in the course of economic development is often viewed with alarm in the mass media and among observers concerned with the well-being of rural elderly (e.g., Bernama, 2007; Charasdamrong, 1992; Charoenpo, 2007).

This alarmist view is summarized succinctly in the 2nd UN World Assembly on Ageing Plan of Action: "In many developing countries... the ageing population is marked in rural areas, owing to the exodus of young adults. Older persons may be left behind without traditional family support and even without adequate financial resources" (United Nations, 2002, paragraph 29). Evidence supporting this position, however, is typically anecdotal and systematic empirical investigations are largely lacking (Kreager, 2006). Similar statements of concern are echoed throughout the literature on ageing in developing countries (e.g., Jamuna, 1997; Kosberg & Garcia, 2004; Sen, 1994, p. 10; UNFPA, 2002a, p. 19; UNFPA, 2002b, forward). In addition, the fact that persons approaching older ages will have fewer children to depend on in their later years as a result of the fertility decline of past decades is seen as potentially further threatening their welfare (Jones, 1993; Kinsella, 1988; UNFPA, 2002b, forward). These negative portrayals of the impacts of migration and reduced family size fit within a broader argument that the general process of 'modernization' or development, of which urbanization and the transition to low fertility are parts, is undermining the extended family including its function as a source of old age support (Aboderin, 2004; Hermalin, 2003).

Much of the academic literature on migration, especially as related to the developing world, provides an alternative perspective. Both theoretical arguments and empirical studies depict the consequences in a more positive light. Migration is typically seen as part of a household strategy to diversify risks for families and as benefiting both migrant and non-migrant members, including presumably older age parents who remain in the place of origin (Cai, 2003; Stark & Lucas, 1988; Stark & Bloom, 1985; Vanwey, 2004). This literature,

however, rarely specifically addresses the impacts on older age parents in the sending areas. Moreover, the focus of these studies is typically limited to implications for economic exchanges rather than the fuller range of support that children potentially provide parents such as social interaction, assistance with daily living, and caregiving services related to health.

One perspective in the academic literature that does consider a broader range of the impacts deals with how family relations and structure change as societies pass from agrarian to industrial and then to postindustrial forms. This perspective provides both theoretical reasoning and empirical evidence suggesting that impacts on the type of support being considered are responsive to changing contexts. From this perspective, modernization does not lead to the demise of extended family relations but instead to a modified version that is adapted to the changed circumstances and the dispersion of its members (Litwak, 1960; Litwak & Kulis, 1987; Smith, 1998). According to this view, advances in technology, especially with respect to transportation and communication, permit family members to maintain close contact and to fulfill some, if not all, of the responsibilities to each other, including filial obligations to older age parents that previously required geographical proximity. The proponents of this view recognize that different services vary in their dependence on geographic proximity (Litwak & Kulis, 1987). Key determining dimensions are: (1) the extent to which services require face-to-face contact, and (2) the frequency with which the service must be delivered to be effective. Also of importance is the duration that the service is needed. Services dependent on frequent face-to-face contact over long durations require proximity. If face to face interaction is not necessary, then social contact and certain types of emotional support, for example, can be sustained over the phone for reasonably long periods. In addition some services are needed only for short periods of time even though they require frequent face-to-face contact during that period as in the case of temporary health crises. These can be met by short visits of children who live at a distance by using modern means of transportation and taking temporary absences from work.

"Typical house in rural northeastern Thailand".

So far, the concept of a 'modified extended family' has mainly been discussed in the context of economically advanced Western countries. Nevertheless, the modes through which important family functions can be fulfilled over geographical distance and the extent to which they are maintained in a changing society merit exploration in other settings. Thailand provides a particularly interesting case for this purpose given the rapid pace at which development has been taking place.

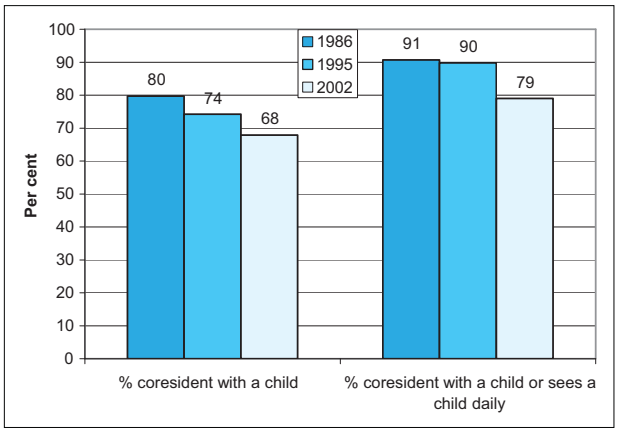
Section 2: Socio-Economic Context

In the three decades between 1975 and 2005, the number of Thais age 60 and older more than tripled to over 7 million and their share of the total population more than doubled from 5.5 to 11.3 per cent (UN Population Division, 2007). The increasing share of older persons in the population is largely attributable to the substantial reduction of fertility during the last few decades. According to the United Nations, the total fertility rate fell from over 6 in the early 1960s to under 2 by the turn of the 21st century with by far most of the decline occurring before 1990 (UN Population Division, 2007). At the same time, life expectancy increased by almost 20 years since the early 1950s. Since the current generation of older Thais established their families when fertility was still high, persons aged 60 and over still averaged over 4 living children in 2002 (Knodel et al., 2005). However, those in their early 50s averaged less than 3 living children, reflecting the past trends in fertility decline (original calculations). At the same time, the adult children of older persons tend to have much smaller families with few desiring more than two children (Knodel et al., 1992).

Between the 1960s and the economic crisis that engulfed much of the region in the late 1990s, Thailand experienced annual rates of economic growth that typically were among the highest in the world. After several years of negative growth during the crisis, rapid economic growth resumed (US CIA, 2007). The share of the labour force engaged in agriculture fell from over three-fourths to well under half. Just in the decade or so following the early 1990s, according to World Bank (2006) estimates, the share of the labour force engaged in agriculture fell from 59 to 47 per cent for men and from 62 to 43 per cent for women. Substantial urbanization accompanied this shift with the share of the total population in urban areas rising from under 20 per cent in 1960 to almost a third by 2005 (UN Population Division, 2007).[1] One result of the outflow of younger adults to find employment in urban areas is that population ageing has been even more extensive in rural compared to urban areas. According to the 2000 census of Thailand, 9.8 per cent of the rural population was age 60 and older compared to 9.3 per cent in provincial urban areas and 7.9 per cent in Bangkok (original calculations). Still, despite rapid urbanization, most of Thailand's population still remains in rural areas and this is particularly the case for the older population.

As in other South-East Asian societies and indeed much of the developing world, the family traditionally has taken primary responsibility for older persons in Thailand. Widespread norms supporting filial obligations to parents underlie the existing system of intergenerational relations and government policy is geared towards reinforcing family responsibility for support and care of older persons (Knodel et al., 1995; Thailand, Ministry of Public Health, 2004). Parents also typically feel a continuing obligation to ensure their children's well-being, and intergenerational exchanges of support and services remain pervasive (Knodel et al., 2000; Knodel, Chayovan, et al., 2005). Living arrangements of older aged parents and adult children have been closely intertwined with this system of support exchanges. A vast majority of older Thais either live with or very near at least one of their adult children. Nevertheless, as Figure 1 shows, national surveys indicate that the percentage of parents age 60 and over who coreside with at least one of their children declined from 80 to 68 per cent in the 16 years between 1986 and 2002. However, the decline in the per cent who either live with a child or close enough to have daily contact with the child declined more modestly and even in 2002, almost four-fifths of older age Thai parents were in this situation.

Figure 1: Trends in living arrangements of Thai parents age 60 and over, based on national surveys of older persons



Source: Knodel et al., 2000; Original tabulations from the 2002 Survey of Elderly in Thailand conducted by the National Statistical Office.
Notes: 2002 results include coresidence and daily contact with children–in–law as well as children.

Although the family remains the main source of support for older persons, several government programmes provide formal sources of assistance. In 1993 the government started a programme to provide monthly subsistence allowances for indigent old persons in rural areas. Since then the programme has expanded and the amount of the allowances has increased. At the time of the fieldwork for the survey on which the present report is based, the monthly amount of the allowance was typically 300 baht per recipient (equivalent to about US $8 based on the exchange rate at the time) although the amount has subsequently been raised to 500 baht. The programme operates in virtually all rural and peri-urban areas and central government funds are sometimes supplemented by local organizations administering the programme. Although the original intention is to provide allowances only for those who are indigent, some local administrations have broadened eligibility criteria considerably and a few even aim for near universal coverage.

In addition to welfare allowances for elderly, two major government-sponsored plans provide retirement benefits in Thailand. The longest-standing (but changing) covers government and state enterprise employees. As such, it covers only a small minority of older persons, particularly in rural and peri-urban areas. Starting in 1998, a second scheme covers employees in private enterprises under the Social Security Act. However, because entitlement to full old age benefits is limited to employees who contribute for at least 15 years, this scheme does not benefit the current older population.

In 1989, the Ministry of Public Health established a free medical care programme for disadvantaged older people that has been extended to cover all aged 60 and more years. In 2001, a new plan for low-cost health coverage for the general public was introduced but older people continued to be entitled to free services for most health problems. After the change in government in 2006, universal free government health service was initiated for Thais regardless of age who were not covered by another plan. Thai government and state enterprise employees and their spouses, parents and children are entitled to health insurance benefits that are superior to those now available free to the general public (Tangcharoensathien, Supachutikul and Lertiendumrong, 1999). In some cases, these benefits continue after retirement. Although few older persons in rural areas qualify as retired civil servants, a more significant number are likely to benefit as parents of an adult child who is currently employed as a civil servant. Thus if a child migrates and takes a civil service job in the

place of destination, the parents who remain behind would benefit from better health care coverage as a result.

In 2003, the Ministry of Social Development and Human Security initiated a pilot project of Home Care-givers to train and maintain a corps of local volunteers to assist elderly in their communities who are in need of home care or other assistance. The goal is to provide community based home care and facilitate access to health and social services on a wide scale for those elderly especially in need of such help, especially elderly who can not care for themselves but lack a care giver, are deserted, live alone, or receive inadequate care (Thailand, The National Commission on the Elderly, 2006). By 2006, model projects had been established in all 75 provinces. In January 2007, the Thai Cabinet approved a plan to expand the Project of Home Care-givers over the next five years with the goal of achieving complete national coverage by fiscal year 2012-2013 with programmes anticipated in all localities. The Ministry of Public Health also launched a Home Health Care for the Elderly Programme in 2005 to provide home health services and visits for those elderly who are frail, chronically ill, or in needs of care. The project aims to develop a system of community health services for the elderly and also strengthen family and community abilities in taking care of the elderly who need long term care.

Section 3: Data and Measures

3.1 Source of data

This report relies primarily on data from the Migration Impact Survey (MIS) conducted in October and November 2006 by the Chulalongkorn University Faculty of Nursing. The survey enquired about economic, social, psychological and physical health issues. To our knowledge it is the first survey to focus specifically on impact of migration on older age parents. Funding for the Migration Impact Survey was provided by a grant to the Chulalongkorn University, Faculty of Nursing from the Thailand Research Fund (TRF) through the National Health Foundation (NHF). Technical assistance was provided under a special services agreement (SSA) from the Thailand Country office of the United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA). The research team consisted of the project director Jiraporn Kespichayawattana, associate investigators Suvinee Wiwatwanich and Chanpen Saengtienchai, and project consultant John Knodel. A fuller description of the survey methodology is provided in Annex I.

The questionnaire solicited detailed information about various types of current support being provided to parents as well as major lifetime material exchanges between parents and children in relation to the current migration status and migration history of the children. Most information about support and intergenerational exchanges is specific to the individual child involved and to their location in relation to parents at the time. The content of the questionnaire drew considerably on the research team's previous research on the topic based mainly on open-ended interviews in 2004 (Kespichayawattana & Wiwatwanich 2005; Knodel & Saengtienchai, 2007). In addition to the survey questionnaire, the research team conducted semi-structured interviews with key informants (typically village headmen and health centre personnel) in each sample site to obtain background information about the locality. The full questionnaire is provided as Annex II and the key informant interview guidelines as Annex III.

The study design specified equal numbers of respondents in three age cohorts (50-54, 60-64 and 70-79) who had at least one living child. These particular cohorts were chosen because they differ both in terms of the number of adult children they have and the life course stage they are in, features that are likely to bear on the impact that migration of adult children could have on older age parents. Given the past timing of fertility decline in Thailand, persons age 50-54 in 2006 had the fewest children and the 70-79 cohort the most. Of particular interest is that substantial proportions of the 50-54 cohort have only two or three children and thus can provide some indication of how smaller family sizes will affect the expectations and welfare of future cohorts of elderly. In contrast, the need for long term personal care is common only at a much later stage of the life cycle when frailty and chronic illnesses are prevalent. Thus health problems will be greatest for the 70-79 cohort and least for the 50-54 cohort. If out-migration leads to a shortage of local children who can provide needed personal assistance and health care, this should be most evident for the cohort age 70-79.[2] Finally, economic activity and the ability to support oneself decreases as persons reach older ages and will be highest for the youngest and lowest for the oldest cohorts. Thus the three cohorts differ in all these crucial respects with the intermediate cohort of persons age 60-64 representing a transitional stage in the life course between larger and smaller family sizes, better and worse health, and full and reduced or ceased economic activity.

The survey covered rural and peri-urban sites in 3 purposively selected provinces, two in the North-East and one in the lower North. Major urban areas were excluded given the focus on parents left behind by migrant children whose destination often was such areas. Peri-urban areas were included as we expect similar forces operate in both rural and peri-urban areas that lead to out migration of children. The northeastern and lower northern regions were selected because they are sufficiently distant from Bangkok (a major destination for adult children who migrate) and in the case of the lower north also sufficiently far from Chiang Mai (a likely destination in the north) and thus migration would often involve substantial geographical separation between parents and migrant children. This in turn should increase the likelihood that impacts of migration will be salient. In addition, the provinces were chosen to reflect a range of economic conditions as indicated by different mean household incomes.[3]

As Table 1 shows, a total of 1011 interviews were completed with relatively similar numbers obtained for each cohort.[4] Somewhat fewer interviews were obtained for Nakorn Ratchasima, the province where field work commenced, than for the other two provinces. This likely reflects the slower pace of interviewing during the initial days of fieldwork as interviewers became more familiar with the questionnaire and the research team learned how to handle the logistics fieldwork more efficiently.

We relied on 'family folders' kept at the local health centres to select individuals to interview. Although in principle, the family folders are kept up to date to allow for persons entering or exiting the population in practice persons dying or moving were often not removed. Although some allowance was made for this by initially selecting more potential eligible respondents than targeted, the problem was more severe than anticipated. Thus some individuals selected for interview were ineligible because they had died or left the sample site. In addition, a number of selected individuals were either temporarily away from the area or not at home during the time the survey team was in their area. To make up for shortfalls in the number of respondents who could be interviewed from the original sample selection, replacement respondents were sought. Overall, among the total interviews completed, 40 per cent represented either replacement for individuals originally selected from the site or additionally selected persons to make up for shortfalls from another site. Thus, although the original sample design called for representative probability samples of each cohort in each survey site, in practice a substantial share of the sample was recruited on a quasi-convenience basis. The high proportion of replacement interviews likely skews the sample towards persons who are home during the day and do not work away from home. A more detailed accounting of replacement interviews, the reasons for replacements, and the potential implications for the analysis is included in Annex I.

Table 1: Number of respondents in the Migration Impact Survey, by age cohort and province

	Number of respondents by age cohort			
	50-54	60-64	70-79	Total
Nakorn Ratchasima	101	110	105	316
Si Sa Ket	115	115	124	354
Kamphaeng Phet	118	111	112	341
Total	334	336	341	1011

Notes: The 50–54 cohort refers primarily to persons born 1951–1955 but includes 11 person born in 1950 and 1 born in 1956; the 60–64 cohort refers primarily to persons born 1941–1945 but includes 6 person born in 1940 and 9 born in 1946; the 70–79 cohort refers primarily to persons born 1927–1936 but includes 1 person born in 1926 and 5 born in 1937.

Although the survey interviewed older age parents, the questionnaire included extensive questions about their individual children. Thus information is available not only for respondents themselves but for a total of almost 4000 children of the respondents. It is important to recognize that some results presented are based on respondents as the unit of analysis others are based on their children as the unit of analysis. In addition, analyses or sometimes conditioned on subsets of respondents or children. For example, an analysis may be based only on respondents who have at least one child living outside their local district or province while others may be based only on children who have ever migrated or are currently living outside the parents' local district or province.

3.2 Measures and definitions

Respondents were asked where each of their living children currently resided in relation to themselves with answers pre-coded as follows: same household, next door or very nearby, same village, same sub-district (tambol), same district (amphoe), same province (changwat), different province, Bangkok, and abroad.[5] They were also asked if the child lived in an urban, peri-urban or rural area. Thus the survey permits detailed examination of how different types of child residential mobility impact on parental well-being. The questionnaire also included sections directed at obtaining information about children who ever migrated as well as return migrants. We note that defining what constitutes migration is to some extent an arbitrary matter (Bell et al., 2002). For these sections we define migration quite broadly as moving out of the district in which the parents lived at the time for at least one year. This enables us to compare effects of migration involving shorter distances, which we define as moves across district boundaries but within the same province, from longer distance migration that involves crossing a provincial boundary. We note that most studies of migration in Thailand are limited to examination of longer distance migration as we define it.

The questionnaire section asking about children who migrated specifically refers to children who moved away from where their parents lived at the time. However, in some analyses we rely on the present location of children in relation to parents to define migrant children. In some cases, current differences in the location of parents and their children may result from parents moving rather than the children. To assess the extent to which this could be the case, we asked respondents where they lived at the time their oldest child was age 15 and in cases where they had lived in a different sub-district (*tambol*) from their present one, how long they were living in the present sub-district. The results indicate that 95 per cent of respondents have lived in the same province since their oldest child was age 15 and 90 per cent have lived in the same district. Among those who had lived in a different district or province over half had lived in the same sub-district for 20 or more years. Thus it is unlikely that in more than a small percentage of cases the parent rather than the child had been the one to move out of the district or province.

The survey contains both subjective and objective information that can be used to measure current material well-being of respondents. Based on this information we construct two measures of economic status. One measure relies on the two subjective items in the questionnaire, one of which asked interviewers to judge the economic status of the respondent's household based on the appearance of the house and the other asked respondents to assess their own economic situation relative to others in their community. Answers to both items are recorded on a five point scale ranging from very poor to well-off.[6] A single composite index of subjectively judged economic status is calculated by adding together responses to the two questions such that higher values represent better economic situations.[7]

Objective measures of material well-being are provided by information on five characteristics of the house and 11 different possible household possessions. The five house characteristics are the types of structure, roof, floor and toilet and whether the house has running water.[8] The 11 household possessions are TV, video player, refrigerator, telephone (either landline or cell), microwave, washing machine, furniture set, computer, air conditioner, motorcycle, and car or

truck. A single composite index of objectively measured household economic status is constructed from the combined set of 16 house characteristics and household possessions using principal component analysis to derive weights (Filmer & Pritchett, 2001). For the purpose of presentation, both the composite subjective and objective economic status indices are each ranked and expressed in terms of percentiles with a mean of 50. The two measures are correlated but only moderately (Pearson correlation coefficient=.64).

Section 4: Basic Characteristics of Respondents

The basic social and demographic characteristics of the respondents are shown in Table 2. Women modestly outnumber men, almost one third of respondents live in peri-urban areas, and virtually all are Buddhists.[9] None of these characteristics differ substantially across age cohorts. However the per cent who are currently married and living with their spouse decreases sharply across successive cohorts. While the vast majority of the 50-54 cohort is married and live with their spouse, this is the case for just less than half of those in their seventies. In addition, while being illiterate or unable to read without difficulty characterizes more than a third of respondents, this is considerably more common among the oldest cohort than the other two.

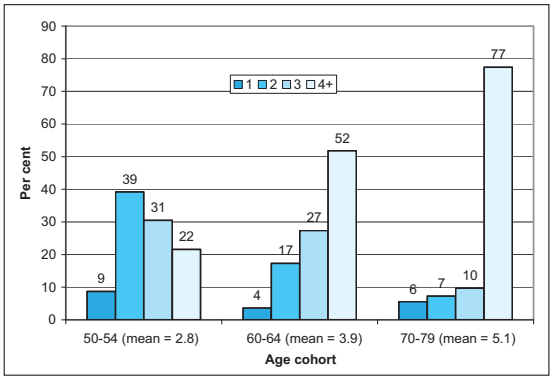
Table 2: Basic demographic characteristics of respondents, by age cohort

	Age cohort			
	Total	50-54	60-64	70-79
% of respondents who are				
Women	56.2	57.5	53.6	57.5
Peri–urban residents	31.6	29.3	31.0	34.3
Buddhist	99.5	100.0	98.8	99.7
Married, living with spouse	69.7	84.1	75.9	49.6
Illiterate or reads with difficulty	35.6	30.8	32.1	43.7
Education (% distribution)				
None	11.4	5.7	9.2	19.1
1–3 years	8.3	5.1	7.1	12.6
4 years	71.2	76.6	72.0	65.0
Beyond basic primary	9.1	12.6	11.6	3.2
Total	100	100	100	100

The lower rates of illiteracy and reading difficulty among younger cohorts reflect the expansion of public education over the period when the different cohorts were of school age. Although the cohorts span a period when changes occurred in the educational system, a compulsory basic lower level primary education of four years of schooling was common to all. Thus a fourth grade education is by far the most frequent level of schooling for respondents and characterizes large majorities in all three cohorts and provinces. Only 3 per cent of the oldest cohort went beyond 4 years while almost a third had either no education or less than the basic four years of school. In contrast, studying beyond 4th grade was more common for the two younger cohorts although even for the 50-54 year olds the proportion is modest. At the same time, not completing at least four years of basic primary school was considerably less common for the younger cohorts, especially for the 50-54 year old cohort.

As anticipated by the research design, the three cohorts differ considerably with respect to family size. The mean number of living children is 2.8, 3.9 and 5.1 respectively for the 50-54, 60-64 and 70-79 cohorts. As Figure 2 shows, these differences in means correspond to quite different distributions of family sizes for the three cohorts. Only slightly over a fifth of persons aged 50-54 had four or more children compared to over three-fourths of those in their 70s. In contrast almost half of those 50-54 had two or fewer children compared to only 13 per cent of those in their 70s. Still, one child families were fairly uncommon even for the 50-54 cohort.

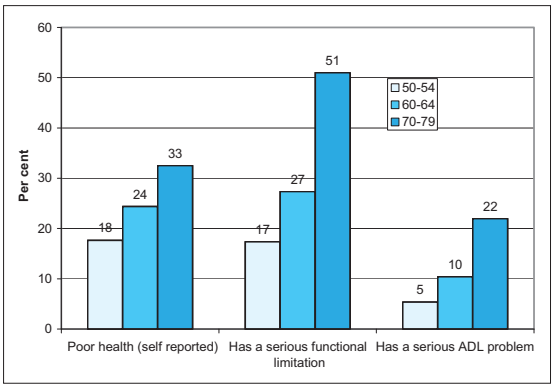
Figure 2: Number of living children (% distribution), by age cohort



One important consideration when choosing the particular age cohorts to interview was to span a range of life course stages associated with differing needs for personal care assistance due to health problems and frailty. Figure 3 provides three measures indicative of health status for the different age cohorts. The measures are based on questions asking respondents to assess their own health and to indicate if they had difficulties with any of five normal functional activities or four activities of daily living (ADL). The results clearly confirm that the three cohorts differ substantially in terms of their health status and presumably their need for personal care assistance.

The first indicator shown is the per cent who reported their health to be either poor or very poor on a five-point scale in which the other choices were average, good or very good. One

Figure 3: Current health status, by age cohort



Notes: Poor health includes respondents who reported their health as poor or very poor. A serious functional disability refers to having a lot of difficulty with or being unable to perform at least one of 5 physical functions: walking, lifting, crouching, grasping and climbing stairs. A serious ADL problem refers to having a lot of difficulty with or being unable to perform at least one of four activities: eating, dressing, bathing, and standing up.

third of respondents in their 70s assessed their current health to be poor or very poor compared to only 18 per cent of those 50-54. The second indicator is the per cent who have at least one serious functional limitation defined as having a lot of difficulty with or being unable to perform at least one of 5 activities necessary for functioning physically: walking, lifting, crouching, grasping and climbing stairs. Just over half of respondents in their 70s have at least one such limitation, a level three times as high as reported by the 50 to 54 cohort. The third indicator is the per cent who have either a lot of difficulty with or are unable to perform at least one of four normal activities of daily living: eating, dressing, bathing, and standing up. In general, fewer respondents reported ADL problems than functional limitations. However over a fifth of the oldest cohort reported problems compared to only 5 per cent of those 50-54.

As described in the discussion of measures above, the survey collected both subjective and objective information on material well-being. As Table 3 shows, by far the most common subjective assessment of economic status is 'average', whether based on the judgement of the respondents themselves or that of the interviewers. Almost

60 per cent of respondents' self assessments and just over half of interviewers' assessments fell into this middle category. Among those not judged to be average, intermediate categories of below and above average were considerably more common than either of the two more extreme categories of very poor or well off for both self and interviewer assessments. The distributions of self and interviewer assessments differ only modestly across cohorts with a slight tendency for less favourable rating to be more common with increased age.

Table 3: Indicators of material well-being, by age cohort

	Age cohort			
	Total	50-54	60-64	70-79
Subjective measures Self assessed SES (% distribution)				
Well–off	1.9	1.8	1.2	2.6
Above average	13.6	15.9	11.9	12.9
Average	58.9	59.6	59.5	57.5
Below average	16.3	14.4	17.9	16.7
Very poor	9.4	8.4	9.5	10.3
Total	100	100	100	100
Interviewer assessed SES (% distribution) [(a)]				
Well–off	4.1	4.2	4.0	4.2
Above average	22.7	23.9	24.2	20.1
Average	50.5	52.3	50.0	49.2
Below average	18.8	16.1	18.0	21.9
Very poor	3.9	3.5	3.7	4.5
Total	100	100	100	100
Objective measures % whose dwelling has:				
Flush toilet or latrine with a septic tank	79.2	77.5	82.1	78.0
Running water	69.9	71.3	71.1	67.4
Corrugated cement or tile roof	37.7	39.5	35.4	38.1
Vinyl, tile, of finished wood floor	24.4	22.5	26.5	24.3
% whose household has:				
TV	95.4	97.3	96.1	92.9
Refrigerator	81.6	84.4	83.0	77.4
Telephone (landline or cell)	73.1	83.2	76.2	60.1
Motorcycle	68.8	78.7	68.5	59.4
Video	54.5	65.6	53.9	44.1
Washing machine	38.3	44.9	38.1	32.1
Furniture	32.0	34.7	33.3	27.9
Car or truck	27.2	33.5	27.1	21.2
Computer	11.6	11.4	12.2	11.2
Microwave	5.5	5.1	6.0	5.3
Air conditioner	5.3	4.2	6.5	5.0

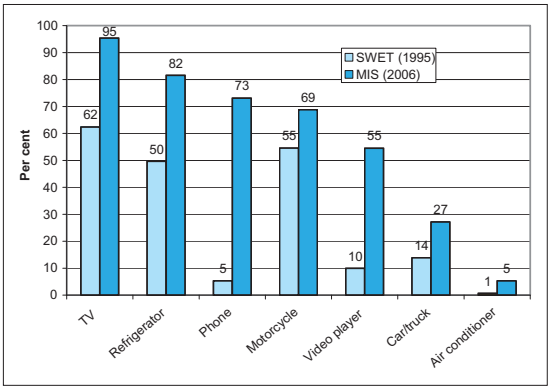
(a) Based on house appearance.

Objective information on economic well-being includes characteristics of the dwelling unit and household possessions. A substantial majority of respondents in all three cohorts live in dwellings with a flush toilet or a latrine with a septic tank. Most dwellings also have running water. Roofs and floors made of higher quality materials are less common. Overall, the prevalence of these housing quality features differs only modestly across cohorts.

The most common household possession regardless of cohort is a television followed by a refrigerator with 95 per cent of households overall having a television and over 80 per cent having a refrigerator. Almost three-fourths live in households in which at least one member has a telephone although the per cent is highest for the 50-54 cohort and distinctly lowest for the oldest cohort. At the other extreme, few households have a microwave oven or an air conditioner. Differences in possession of most household items are modest across cohorts although the oldest cohort generally lives in households least likely to have each of the various possessions shown. The fact that a household contains a particular possession does not mean that it necessarily belongs to the respondent. Nevertheless the presence of items can serve as an indicator of the general economic status of the household in which the respondent lives and therefore provide relevant information on their material well-being.

As noted earlier, despite the temporary setback associated with the economic crisis in Thailand that was precipitated in 1997 and lasted several years, economic growth and improving standards of living have characterized much of the period during recent decades. Combined with technological change, this has resulted in more widespread ownership of a wide variety of household possessions. This is reflected in Figure 4 which compares the percentage of households having selected possessions according to the Survey of Welfare of Elderly in Thailand (SWET) conducted in 1995 and the Migration Impact Survey (MIS) which was carried out of 11 years later. Although the results are not directly comparable given the very different sample designs, the comparison nevertheless strongly suggest that major increases in household possessions have occurred during the interim period. To increase comparability, results from SWET are limited to the equivalent age cohorts at the time as targeted in the MIS. In addition, SWET results are restricted to respondents in rural areas (which at the time of SWET also included most of what later became the officially designated peri-urban areas included in the MIS sample).

Figure 4: Per cent of households with selected possessions: Comparison of the 1995 Survey of Welfare of Elderly in Thailand (SWET) and 2006 Migration Impact Survey (MIS)

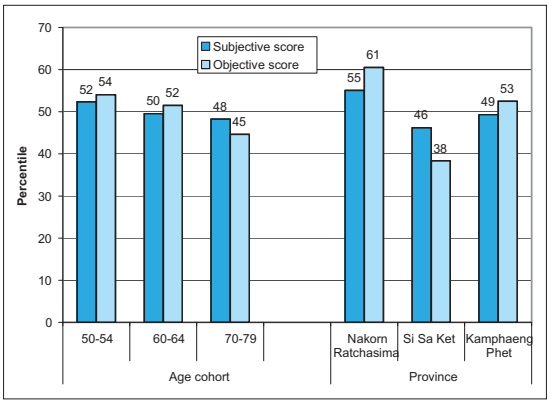


Note: Results for SWET refer to a national sample and are limited to parents in the equivalent age cohorts as in MIS (50–54, 60–64 and 70–79) who live in rural areas as defined at the time.

The percentage of households possessing each of the items shown in is noticeably higher in MIS than in SWET and in most cases very substantially so. The most dramatic change is with respect to the possession of a phone, reflecting the widespread introduction and rapid spread of mobile (cellular) phones in the intervening period between the surveys. Indeed, it was extremely rare for any rural household to have a phone in 1995. In sharp contrast, by 2006 almost three fourths of the households in the MIS sample had one. Also striking is the increase in the percentage of households owning a video player, again reflecting technological advances with the development and widespread marketing of DVD players in recent years.

Composite indices (expressed as percentiles) summarizing the subjective and objective measures of economic status are displayed in Figure 5 by cohort and province. Modest differences in both measures are evident across cohorts with some decline apparent in the average score with age, especially when based on objective items. Thus the 50-54 cohort has the highest average score and the 70-79 cohort the lowest for both scales.

Figure 5: Subjective and objective economic status scores (in percentiles), by age cohort and province



More pronounced differences are evident across provinces. Both scores are lowest for Si Sa Ket and highest for Nakorn Ratchasima. Differences are particularly pronounced with respect to composite index of objective measures with the average for Si Sa Ket respondents below the 40th percentile and slightly above 60th percentile for those in Nakorn Ratchasima. Thus as intended, the research design appears to capture a range of settings with respect to economic conditions.[10] This is even more evident when the economic status scores are compared across the 18 research sites among which the average percentiles range from a low of 38 to a high 70 for the subjective composite index and from 25 to 81 for the objective index.

The vast majority of respondents has at least one migrant child and most have a child who migrated to an urban area. As Table 4 shows, 87 per cent of respondents have at least one child who ever moved away from the district where they lived at the time and over 80 per cent have a child currently living outside their present district. Most have children who moved a significant distance with over 75 per cent of respondents having at least one child living outside the province where they presently

Table 4: Per cent with children in selected locations, by age cohort of respondent

	By age cohort			
	Total	50-54	60-64	70-79
% of respondents with any children who:				
ever moved out of district	87.3	86.5	89.3	86.2
currently live out of district	81.3	81.1	82.4	80.4
currently live out of province [a]	75.9	74.9	78.6	74.2
currently live in an urban area out of district	68.5	68.9	71.1	65.7
currently live in Bangkok area	48.4	44.3	54.8	46.0
currently live abroad	4.3	3.6	3.6	5.6
returned to district from out of district	29.6	26.9	32.7	29.0
	By province			
	Total	Nakorn Ratchasima	Si Sa Ket	Kamphaeng Phet
% of respondents with any children who:				
ever moved out of district	87.3	85.1	87.9	88.9
currently live out of district	81.3	78.2	82.8	82.7
currently live out of province [a]	75.9	70.3	78.8	78.0
currently live in an urban area out of district	68.5	62.7	73.7	68.6
currently live in Bangkok area	48.4	37.7	59.3	46.9
currently live abroad	4.3	6.0	2.0	5.0
returned to district from out of district	29.6	34.5	27.7	27.0

(a) includes Bangkok and abroad.

reside. Despite differences in family sizes, there is little difference in these respects across the three cohorts.

Most respondents have children who moved to urban areas, with over two-thirds having at least one child living in an urban area outside their own district and almost half having at least one child currently living in the Bangkok area. Differences across cohorts are only modest in these respects. In addition, experiencing the return of a migrant child is not uncommon. About 30 per cent have a child who returned after living out of the parental district with little difference evident by cohort. Provincial differences in most of the indicators shown in Table 4 are relatively minor. The most pronounced is between the distinctly higher per cent of Si Sa Ket respondents who have at least one child living in the Bangkok area compared to respondents elsewhere.

In total, the respondents have almost 4000 living children. As Table 5 shows, almost all are their own biological children with only about 3 per cent being step or adopted children.[11] The children are equally divided between sons and daughters. The large majority is currently or has previously been married. Only a small percentage is still in school. The per cent who has married increases with the age of the parents' cohort, accounting for only modestly over half of the children of parents age 50-54 compared to almost 90 per cent of children of parents in their 70s. In contrast, 16 per cent of children of parents 50-54 are still currently in school compared to virtually none of the children of older parents.

Table 5: Socio-demographic characteristics of children, by age cohort of respondent (parent)

	Age cohort of parent			
	Total	50-54	60-64	70-79
N of cases	3972	927	1313	1732
% who are:				
own (not step or adopted)	96.7	95.7	97.6	96.6
sons	49.7	48.8	48.5	51.2
ever–married	77.6	54.3	79.9	88.4
currently in school	4.7	15.8	2.7	0.3
Age (% distribution)				
under 16	1.8	6.5	.9	0.0
16–19	2.7	8.8	1.5	.3
20–24	7.0	20.3	5.6	1.1
25–29	14.6	35.1	14.4	3.9
30–39	39.4	28.2	60.2	29.5
40+	34.5	1.0	17.4	65.2
Total	100	100	100	100
Mean age	35.6	25.9	33.8	42.2
Education (% distribution)				
less than grade 4	4.4	2.4	4.3	5.5
grades 4–7 (primary)	54.9	33.8	52.9	67.7
lower secondary	14.6	23.3	15.2	9.4
upper secondary	15.8	24.9	16.8	10.1
beyond secondary	10.4	15.6	10.8	7.3
% with children of their own	69.8	43.0	70.9	83.2
Mean number of children among those with children	1.9	1.5	1.8	2.1

The vast majority of respondents' children are adults themselves. Less than 2 per cent overall are under age 16 and even among children of the youngest cohort, 85 per cent are age 20 or older.[12] Nevertheless, there is still a big difference in age distributions of children across the three cohorts of parents. Over 40 per cent of the children of the oldest cohort are age 40 or older, over 70 per cent of children of the youngest cohort are under age 30. The education of the children is considerably higher on average than that of their parents. Almost all children received at least a basic primary education of four years regardless of their parents' cohort.[13] However, in line with the general trends towards increasing education in Thailand, the children of the youngest cohort completed the greatest amount of schooling while those of the oldest cohort the least. Over 60 per cent of the children of parents age 50-54 studied beyond the primary level compared to only a little more than a fourth of the children of the cohort in their 70s.

The per cent of respondents' children who themselves have children varies substantially across cohorts. Less than half of the children of parents 50-54 had children of their own compared to over 80 per cent of the children of parents in their 70s. Among those who had children of their own, the mean number is relatively small, reflecting the low levels of fertility that have prevailed in Thailand over the last several decades. Even the children of parents in their seventies have an average of only slightly more than two children themselves.

Overall, as Table 6 indicates, migration is quite common among the respondents' children as indicated by the fact that almost 60 per cent had ever moved outside of their parents' district. Moreover, as indicated by the median age at which children first migrate, half do so by age 20. Both the proportion who have migrated and their median age at first migration are somewhat lower for the children of respondents in the youngest cohort. This unlikely signifies trends but rather reflects the fact that these children are on average younger and have not had as long a period of opportunity to move away than children of older cohorts.

Of the children who moved out of their parents' district, a substantial minority subsequently returned and is currently living in the district. This is higher for children of respondents age 50-54 than for the older cohorts. This possibly reflects a process for some of the children by which more permanent departures are preceded by less permanent moves. Such a process would not yet have played itself out as fully for the youngest cohort's children as for those of the older cohorts who have had a longer period of time to return and then leave again. However, one major reason for returning is concern about the parents' welfare. According to the respondents, such concern was said to be a major reason for returning for 60 per cent of the migrant children who did return. Moreover, the per cent of return migrants for whom concern about parents plays a major role increases with the age of the parents, likely reflecting the poorer health status of older parents compared to younger ones (as indicated in Figure 3).

Overall, just over two fifths of respondents' children are currently living in the same village as their parents, almost evenly divided between those who coreside in the same household and those who live in independent households. However, the balance between these two situations varies sharply among the children of the different parental cohorts. Children of the youngest cohort are far more likely to coreside in their parents' household than in a different household within the village while the opposite is true for the children of the oldest cohort. At the same time, children of parents age 60-64 are evenly divided in this respect. These differences reflect the different life course stages of children of the three parental cohorts, particularly in relation to marital status. Many of the children of the youngest cohort have not yet married and remain in their parents' household while those of the older cohorts have married and established their own household, in a number of cases adjacent to or nearby their parents or elsewhere in the village. Overall, when coresident and non-coresident children are considered collectively, it is somewhat more likely for children of the oldest cohort to be in the same village as their parents than for children of the younger two cohorts.

Table 6: Location and migration of children, by age cohort of respondent (parent)

	Age cohort of parent			
	Total	50-54	60-64	70-79
N of cases	3972	927	1313	1732
% who ever moved out of parents district	58.3	52.5	60.7	59.6
Median age at first migration	20.0	18.0	20.0	20.0
Among those who moved, % who returned to parents district	16.5	21.6	16.1	14.3
Among those who returned, % for whom concern for parents was a major reason	62.1	55.2	61.6	68.0
Current location of children relative to parent (% distribution)				
in same household	20.3	30.0	19.3	15.7
in same village, different household	21.3	8.2	19.2	29.9
in same district, not in village	9.8	5.6	9.5	12.3
in same province, not in district	6.4	6.3	5.1	7.4
in another province	41.0	48.5	45.9	33.4
abroad	1.2	1.4	1.0	1.3
Total	100	100	100	100
Type of area if in Thailand (% distribution) [a]				
Bangkok	21.7	27.0	24.7	16.7
other urban	15.1	19.4	14.9	13.0
peri/semi–urban [b]	17.2	16.5	16.7	18.0
rural	45.9	37.1	43.7	52.4
Total	100	100	100	100

(a) Excludes 45 children for which type of area is unknown.
(b) Includes children in areas in the sample that are peri–urban (*tetsabaan tambol*) and children living elsewhere who are reported to live in semi–urban or somewhat urban areas.

Among children who do not live in the same village, a modest share lives either in the same district or the same province as a parent. However most of the children who do not reside in the parents' village are in a different province. This is highest for children of the 50-54 year-old cohort among whom half are no longer in their parents' province and lowest for children of the oldest cohort among whom only just over a third live outside the province. A modest share of children who do not live in their parents' village still remain in the same province representing about 16 per cent of all children. This share is lowest for children of persons 50-54 and highest for those with parents in their 70s. In addition, among this group of children, more are still in the same district as the parents, and thus not very far away, than in a different district in the province. Of those who are no longer in the parents' province, only few have moved out of the country with international migrants representing about 1 per cent of the children of each of the three cohorts.

Table 7 compares the socio-demographic characteristics of children according to their current location relative to parents. For this purpose we distinguish four categories of children: coresident with parents, not coresident but in the same district (local movers), outside the district but in the same province (shorter distant migrants), and not in the province (longer distance migrants).[14]

Table 7: Socio-demographic characteristics of children, by location relative to parent

	Total	Parent's household	Same district	Same province	Outside province
N of cases	3972	802	1230	253	1687
Age (% distribution)					
under 25	11.5	25.2	3.7	6.8	11.5
25–29	14.6	18.6	6.2	12.4	19.1
30–39	39.4	38.3	36.0	39.4	42.4
40+	34.5	18.0	54.2	41.4	27.0
Total	100	100	100	100	100
Mean age	35.6	30.5	40.1	37.7	34.5
% of the children who:					
are sons	49.7	44.9	48.3	60.1	51.5
ever married	77.6	47.3	95.8	85.4	77.7
have children of their own	69.7	41.6	91.6	77.5	66.0
live in an urban area [(a)]	41.5	0.0	7.6	55.7	86.1
are currently in school	4.7	14.6	0.7	3.6	3.1
Education (% distribution)					
less than grade 4	4.4	5.5	5.9	4.0	2.7
grades 4–7 (primary)	54.9	45.2	69.9	47.0	49.8
lower secondary	14.6	17.5	10.6	11.5	16.6
upper secondary	15.8	19.6	8.6	19.4	18.6
beyond secondary	10.4	12.2	5.0	18.2	12.3
Total	100	100	100	100	100

(a) Includes children reported as living in urban or semi–urban areas or in Bangkok but not children living in peri–urban areas (*tetsabaan tambol*) in the sample sites.

Coresident children are distinctly younger on average than those outside the household. Over one fourth is under age 25 compared to far lower shares in each of the other three categories. Thus they are least likely among the four groups to be married or to have children of their own and most likely still to be in school. Among the other three groups, those who are longer distance migrants are the youngest with over 60 per cent being in their later 20s or 30s. Thus they are somewhat less likely to be married or have children of their own than local movers or shorter distance migrants who tend to be older.

The per cent who are sons is lowest among coresident children and highest among those who are shorter distance migrants. This likely reflects the cultural tendency to have a married daughter live with parents as documented in previous research (Knodel et al., 1992; Sobieszczyk et al., 2003). A correlate of this is that sons who marry are more likely to join their wives' households than married daughters are to join their husbands' household. This could explain the dominance of sons among children who are shorter distant migrants since a reasonable share may have married wives who come from the same province but a different district. Longer distance migrants, however, are rather evenly divided between sons and daughters. Only a few among local movers (i.e., those who have left the household and remained in the same district)

"Elderly couple with coresident daughter and grandchildren and visiting migrant daughter".

reside in urban areas while among migrants, and particularly those who have left the province, the majority are currently in urban areas.

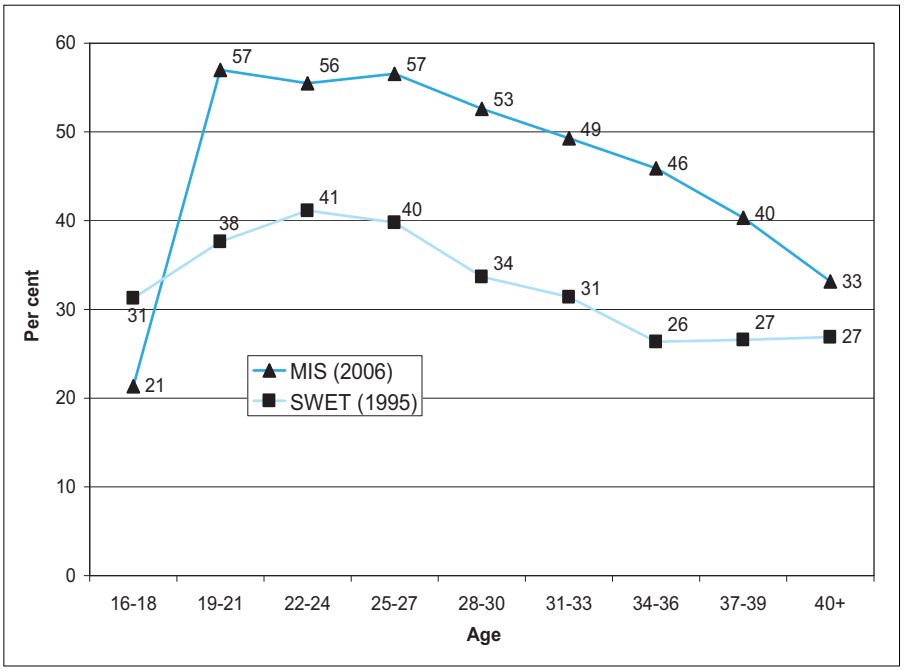
Consistent with their younger age, coresident children are by far the most likely to be still in school. Educational attainment also differs among the four groups of children. It is difficult, however, to distinguish between the extent to which this is a result of selection associated with migration or simply a matter of the different age distributions of the children in the four groups. The latter is likely to account for much of the difference given that in recent decades educational levels have been rising fairly rapidly in Thailand. Non-coresident children who reside in the same district as the parents are clearly the least educated but they are also the oldest. At the same time, there is only modest difference in the education of distributions of the other three groups.

Although results from the Migration Impact Survey are not directly comparable with results from earlier national surveys of older persons, a comparison of the per cent of children of older persons who live outside their parents' province suggests that migration of young adults from rural areas has increased substantially during the last decade or so. Figure 6 shows the per cent of grown children of older persons who live in a different province than their parent as indicated by the 1995 Survey of Welfare of Elderly in Thailand (SWET) and by the 2007 Migration Impact Survey (MIS). To increase comparability, SWET results are limited to the children of the equivalent age cohorts of parents at the time as targeted in MIS and are restricted to children of parents in rural areas. The results are presented according to the age of the children.

At all ages except 16-18 a substantially higher percentage of children of MIS respondents are living in a different province than their parents than found in SWET. This suggests that migration increased substantially in the intervening 12 years. The exception of the 16-18 year olds likely reflects the rapid spread during the intervening period of secondary level education, which keeps

children in local schools longer and thus postpones the age of leaving home. Given that the MIS covers only three provinces and SWET is based on a national probability sample (and does not include any of the three MIS provinces), the comparison is only suggestive. Nevertheless, the differences are so dramatic that they likely reflect a genuine substantial increase in migration. Moreover, such an increase is consistent with the decline in coresidence between older persons and their adult children that, as noted earlier, has been occurring in recent decades in Thailand.

Figure 6: Per cent of children of older age parents who live outside their parents' province of residence, by age: Comparison of the 1995 Survey of Welfare of Elderly in Thailand (SWET) and the 2006 Migration Impact Survey (MIS)



Note: Results for SWET refer to a national sample and are limited to parents in the equivalent age cohorts as in MIS (50–54, 60–64 and 70–79) who live in rural areas as defined at the time.

Section 5: Family and Living Arrangements

Undoubtedly the most common concern among observers who view migration of adult children away from rural areas as threatening the well-being of their older age parents relates to the potential impact on living arrangements and the possibility that all children move far away and 'abandon' their parents. In societies such as Thailand, where traditionally coresidence of parents and adult children has been an important feature of the familial system of old age support, increases in the proportion of parents who are left with no child near enough by to provide daily assistance with personal care or household chores or contribute to household economic activities is viewed as worrisome. Of particular concern are elders who are left completely on their own without a spouse or any children nearby.

Table 8 examines household composition and living arrangements focusing on the location of children. A majority (58 per cent) of respondents still live with at least one of their children. This differs only modestly by cohort. However coresidence with a child at least age 16 varies far more by cohort. Just under half of respondents age 50-54 live with a child age 16 or more compared to over 60 per cent of respondents in their seventies. For the two younger cohorts, most who live with children also live with a spouse. In contrast, most respondents in their 70s who coreside with children have no spouse present, reflecting the toll of mortality leading to increased widowhood with advancing age. Solitary living is relatively rare among respondents in our survey. Overall less than 7 per cent live in a one-person household. More common is living only with a spouse, a situation reported by nearly 17 per cent of respondents overall. Both situations vary by age cohort although in opposite directions. While living alone increases with age, living only with a spouse decreases. Again, increased widowhood at older ages undoubtedly accounts for the cohort differences. Only about 5 per cent overall live with others without either a spouse or a child present.

Among the total sample, it is relatively uncommon to have all children living relatively far away. Indeed, over 70 per cent have a child in the household or living very nearby and over three-fourths have a child at least in the same village. Less than a fifth has no child living within the same district and fewer than 15 per cent have no child within the province. Results presented in Table 8 also make clear that living alone or with only a spouse does not necessarily mean that all children are far away. Overall, among respondents who live alone, just over 40 per cent have a child living next door or very nearby and fully half have at least one child who resides within the same village. Moreover less than a fifth has no child living in the district and fewer than 15 per cent are without a child in the province. Likewise, over a third of those who live only with a spouse have a child living next door or very nearby and over 40 per cent have a child at least in the same village. Those living only with a spouse, however, are more likely to have no child in the district and fully a third has no child in the province.

There is considerable variation across cohorts in these respects. For the youngest cohort, most who live alone or with only a spouse do not have a child either nearby or in the village and the majority have no child in the district or even the province.

Table 8: Household composition and living arrangements, by age cohort

	Age cohort of parent			
	Total	50-54	60-64	70-79
Household composition in relation to spouse and children (% distribution)				
alone	6.5	3.6	6.0	10.0
with spouse only	16.5	19.5	16.7	13.5
with spouse, others, but no children	14.4	18.0	16.7	8.8
with children but no spouse	19.0	9.0	12.5	35.2
with spouse and children	38.8	46.7	42.6	27.3
with others only	4.7	3.3	5.7	5.3
Total	100	100	100	100
Among all respondents:				
% coresident with any child	57.8	55.7	55.1	62.5
% coresident with a child age 16 or older	54.9	48.8	53.3	62.5
% with a child very nearby	72.2	61.1	71.4	83.9
% with a child very nearby or in village	76.1	63.5	75.6	88.9
% with no child in same district	18.3	32.0	16.4	6.7
% with no child in same province	14.3	26.0	12.2	5.0
Among those who live alone:				
% with a child very nearby	40.9	(0.0)	25.0	64.7
% with a child very nearby or in village	50.0	(8.3)	35.0	73.5
% with no child in same district	31.8	(83.3)	35.0	11.8
% with no child in same province	25.8	(83.3)	25.0	5.9
Among those who live with only a spouse:				
% with a child very nearby	35.3	15.4	39.3	58.7
% with a child very nearby or in village	43.7	21.5	50.0	67.4
% with no child in same district	44.3	70.8	32.1	21.7
% with no child in same province	33.5	53.8	23.2	17.4

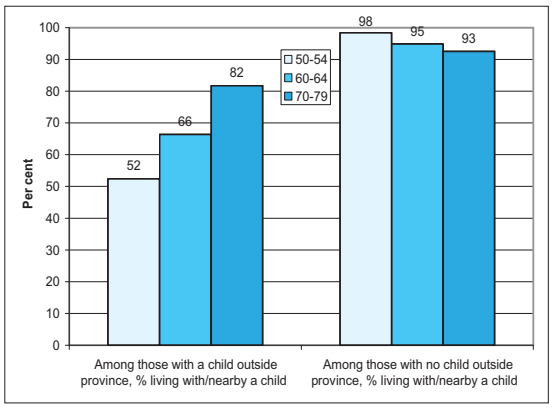
Notes: Results in parentheses based on less that 20 cases.

In contrast, substantial majorities of the oldest cohort living alone or only with a spouse at least have a child in the village and relatively few have no child within the province. The results in these respects for those who live alone among the youngest cohort, however, are based on only a small number of cases and thus should be considered with caution.

The extent to which migration has left parents distant from children depends how migration is defined. When we consider the combined results of both shorter and longer distance migration then almost a fifth of parents have no child in their own district. If instead we consider only longer distance migration (i.e., outside the parent's province) then less than 15 per cent of parents are left with no child in the same province. However, the impact is most pronounced for the youngest cohort and least for the oldest. For example almost a third of parents age 50-54 has no child residing in the same district compared to only 7 per cent of those in their 70s.

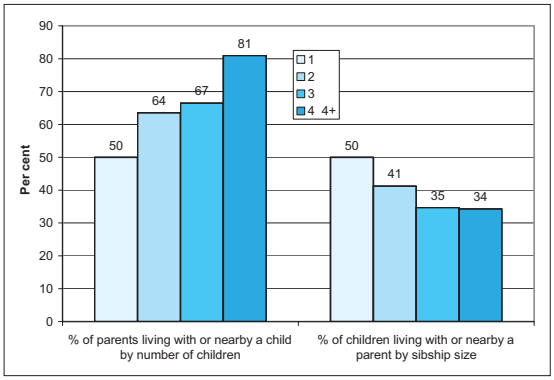
As already noted, although the cohorts differ considerably in family size, they are quite similar with respect to the per cent that have at least one migrant child, with approximately three-fourths of each cohort having at least one child living outside the province (see Table 4 above). However, as Figure 7 illustrates, the impact of having a migrant child on living arrangements is far greater for the youngest cohort and far less for the oldest. Among respondents 50-54 with at least one child living outside the province, only slightly more than half live with or very nearby one of their children compared to over 80 per cent of the respondents in their seventies. At the same time, regardless of cohort, over 90 per cent of respondents who have no child currently living outside the province live with or nearby at least one of their children.

Figure 7: Per cent living with or nearby a child among respondents with and without any child outside the province, by age cohort



The differences in apparent impact of migration on the living arrangements of the three cohorts are likely in large part a function of differences in family sizes. The relationship between family size and the per cent of parents living with or nearby a child is illustrated in Figure 8. The per cent of respondents who coresided or live very nearby a child increases substantially with the number of children the respondent has. Only half of respondents with one child live with or nearby that child compared to over 80 per cent of those with four or more children.

Figure 8: Living arrangements of parents by number of living children and living arrangements of children by size of sibship

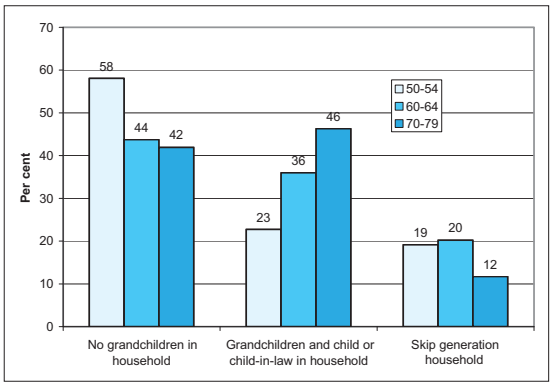


Also shown in Figure 8 is the per cent of children who live with or very nearby a parent according to their sibship size. Children in a sibship of one (i.e., who have no sibling) are most likely to live with or nearby their parents followed by those with only one sibling. The effect of sibship size largely disappears for sibships of three or more. While half of children with no sibs reside with or nearby a parent, only about a third of children in sibships of four or more do so. This suggests that the implications of migration for parent's living arrangements are likely taken into consideration when children decide whether or not to move away. Quite possibly the fact that the departure of an only child would result in the parents having no child nearby leads parents to discourage migration or acts as a deterrent to the child moving out of the household or leaving its immediate vicinity.

Another aspect of changing living arrangements that is often thought to affect the well-being of older persons in rural areas relates to grandchildren. Migration, especially to urban areas where childcare can interfere with employment and affordable lodging is often not appropriate for raising young children. Thus migration may not only result in older persons back home having no adult child in the household but also leave them responsible for raising grandchildren who are left behind by their migrant children. Examination of household

composition in relation to grandchildren, presented in Figure 9, shows that just over half of the respondents overall have at least one grandchild present although differences are evident across cohorts. The absence of a grandchild is most common among the youngest cohort while the two older cohorts differ only modestly in this respect. The relatively low proportion of the youngest cohort that has a grandchild present undoubtedly reflects the fact that their own children are at younger ages and thus considerably less likely to be married with offspring of their own compared to the children of older respondents.

Figure 9: Household composition in relation to grandchildren



Note: Skip generation households are those with a coresident grandchild but no coresident child or child–in–law.

Particularly interesting is the substantial proportion of households who live in a "skip generation" situation, defined for the purpose of the present analysis as having a resident grandchild in the household but no resident child or child in-law. Most such situations undoubtedly represent cases in which a migrant child has left their own young children to be cared for by the grandparents.[15] About a fifth of respondents in the two younger cohorts live in skip generation households. For respondents in their seventies, the proportion is considerably less, likely reflecting the fact that most of their grandchildren have already grown up and no longer need to be looked after.

Of course, the living arrangements of any cohort can change as parent's age. Some migrant children of the younger cohorts will return and coreside or live nearby parents in the future, perhaps even in response to increased needs of their parents for personal care. Other children will move away. Thus levels of coresidence or living nearby children among respondents may increase or decrease as they age, particularly for those in their early 50s. Still, the strong association between small family size and the absence of children who coreside or live nearby suggest that in the future, the effect of migration of children on living arrangements of older age parents is likely to increase as persons with small families increasingly fill the ranks of the elderly. In addition the very low recent fertility of adults in reproductive ages may reduce the extent of skip generation households. How all this will impact on the well-being of the elderly, however, depends on how living arrangements and location of children affect the various types of material and non-material supports children provide parents in old age, issues we examine in Section 6.

Section 6: Children's Support to Aged Parents

6.1 Material support and household assistance

Previous research has documented that older Thais depend mainly on their own work and support from children for income and meeting material needs with the balance shifting from work to children with advancing age (Chayovan et al., 1988; Chayovan & Knodel, 1997). In the MIS, a number of different questions provide information on sources of income and material support. Respondents were asked whether or not they worked, whether they received government welfare allowances, whether they received income from several different types of sources, and which of these sources was the most important. In addition, respondents were asked about money and food that each child provided them during the past year.

As Table 9 shows, the percentage of respondents who report they currently work depends very much on the cohort to which they belong. The vast majority of respondents age 50-54 currently work but only about a third of those in their seventies are economically active. Receipt of government welfare is limited largely to persons age 60 and above reflecting the fact that the main source of these payments is the monthly allowance programme for elderly for which eligibility starts at age 60. The expansion of the programme is evident from the fact that almost half of persons in their seventies report receiving allowances. As recently as 2002, far fewer elderly were receiving the allowances (Knodel et al., 2005).

When asked about sources of income, as in previous national surveys, the two most important are clearly their own or spouse's work and money from their children (or grandchildren). The large majority of respondents in the two younger cohorts have income from their own or their spouse's work but less than half of those in their seventies report work as a source of income. In contrast, substantial majorities of all three cohorts report that children (or grandchildren) provide income, with 90 per cent of the oldest cohort compared to just under three fourths of persons 50-54 doing so. Income from other sources is far less common. Apparently some respondents who report that they received government allowances when asked directly do not consider this when responding to what their sources of income are. This is indicated by the fact that the per cent who report income from other sources is lower than the per cent who report receiving a government allowance for the two older cohorts.

When asked their most important source of income, own or spouse's work is clearly the most frequently cited source by the youngest cohort while children (or grandchildren) are the most frequently cited by the oldest cohort. Only 16 per cent of the 50-54 cohort reported children as the most important source compared to 60 per cent of persons in their seventies. The differences across cohorts in this respect likely reflect changes in dependence on children over the life course rather than a trend towards reduced filial support from children of parents who will reach more elderly ages in the near future. We note that percentages of each age cohort that report children as their most important source of income are almost identical to results based on rural respondents in the same age groups in the 1995 Survey of Welfare of Elderly in Thailand. While this comparison is not conclusive because the samples are not directly comparable, it is at least

Table 9: Work status, sources of income and sources of material support, by age cohort

	Age cohort of parent			
	Total	50-54	60-64	70-79
% who work	62.2	87.1	66.9	33.1
% who receive government welfare	23.7	3.0	18.8	49.0
% who get income from:				
own or spouse's work	71.7	94.9	78.3	42.5
children (or grandchildren)	83.3	74.2	86.0	89.7
rent, interest or investment	11.4	9.0	12.2	12.9
other	11.0	3.3	6.8	22.6
Most important source (% distribution)				
own or spouse's work	53.3	79.3	56.3	24.9
children (or grandchildren)	36.3	15.9	33.0	59.5
rent, interest or investment	2.5	0.9	3.0	3.5
other	3.4	0.9	2.4	6.7
more than one	4.5	3.0	5.4	5.3
Total	100	100	100	100
% who receive from one or more children:				
any money	88.6	82.3	91.7	91.8
at least 1,000 baht last year	83.1	79.9	86.3	83.0
at least 5,000 baht last year	56.4	61.1	56.0	52.2
monthly/regular monetary support	50.7	48.2	49.1	54.8
at least weekly contributions of food	57.5	41.6	58.3	72.1

suggestive that little change has occurred in the dependence on children for income among older persons during the previous decade or so.

Responses to questions concerning the contributions of each child during the past year indicate that the vast majority of respondents received at least some money from their children. In some cases the amounts were very small and likely of little more than token significance. Nevertheless over 80 per cent of respondents received at least 1,000 baht (approximately US $25 at the time) and over half more than 5,000 baht (ca. US $125) from at least one of their children in the past year. About half also report that at least one child provided money either on a monthly or regular basis. In general, the provision of money does not differ greatly across cohorts although the youngest cohort was most likely to receive over 5,000 baht while the oldest cohort was most likely to receive regular income from a child. In addition to monetary support, over half of the respondents report they received at least weekly contributions of food although this differs sharply across cohorts with the highest percentages reported by the oldest cohort. This may in part reflect greater need on the part of the oldest respondents for assistance in procuring food but also likely reflects the higher proportions of the oldest cohort who live with or very nearby a child.

When considering material support and household assistance provided by children to older age parents it is important to recognize that the meaning of such support from coresident children is more difficult to interpret than when it come from a non-

coresident child. In particular, provision of money or food to parents by a coresident child may be for communal benefit including for the child who provides the money or food. Thus interpretation of material support from coresident children is more ambiguous than support provided by non-coresident children.

In addition to questions asked about all children, the MIS questionnaire includes two questions about contributions to the household by each member 16 and older and thus such information is available only for coresident children. One question asked about material support to the household and the other about assistance with household chores. Table 10 summarizes several measures of material support and household assistance from coresident children to the household and the parents. Since some coresident children, especially those who are young and single, may still be primarily dependent on parents for support rather than a contributor to the support of the household,

Table 10: Material support and household assistance from coresident children age 16 and over, by age and marital status of child

	Age and marital status			
	Total	Single (never married)		Ever married, all ages
		Age 16-22	Age 23+	
N of cases	737	65	277	379
% who support the household financially	77.8	32.9	72.9	90.7
Amount of money given to parents in previous year (% distribution)				
none	39.8	68.8	44.2	30.4
less than 100 Baht	6.3	6.3	5.4	6.9
1,000–5,000 Baht	24.8	13.8	19.9	30.7
more than 5,000 Baht	29.2	11.3	30.4	32.0
Total	100	100	100	100
% who regularly provided money	36.4	18.8	36.6	39.9
Frequency of proving food to parents (% distribution)				
rarely or not at all	25.7	63.8	31.2	13.8
at least monthly	7.6	8.8	6.5	8.2
at least weekly	66.6	27.5	62.3	78.0
Total	100	100	100	100
Help with household chores (% distribution)				
none	13.0	15.2	14.8	11.1
some	40.5	49.4	48.7	32.6
a lot	46.5	35.4	36.5	56.2
Total	100	100	100	100
% who regularly helped with work or business	38.8	38.8	38.4	39.2

Note: Excludes 65 coresident children under age 16.

results are shown separately by marital status and for single children by age (divided into those who are 16-22 and those who were older).[16]

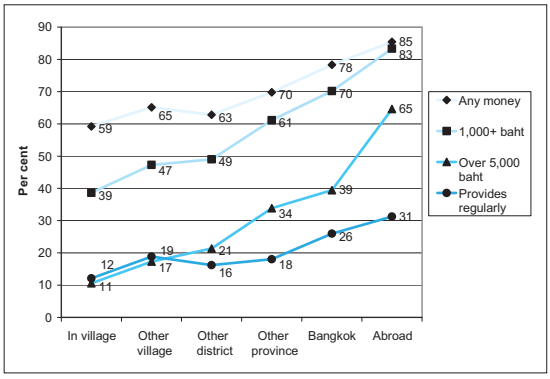
The extent to which coresident children age 16 and above is reported to help support the household financially differs considerably by age and marital status. In general, coresident married children contribute most to the material support of parents and household and younger single children least. Less than a third of coresident young single children contribute financially to the household compared to almost three-fourths of older single children and over 90 per cent of the ever married children. Information on the amount of money that coresident children provide parents is consistent with the information on financial support of the household. Over two thirds of coresident younger single children are reported not to contribute any money during the prior year compared to under one-third of married children, with older single children falling in between. Married children are also more likely to provide substantial amounts of money and to regularly provide money than single children, although the difference between married and older single children is modest.

Most coresident children provide food to the parents on a regular basis. Again this differs considerably by age and marital status. Almost two-thirds of younger single children contribute food only rarely or not at all while over three fourths of ever married children provide food at least weekly. Married children also are more likely to help a lot with household chores compared to single children of any age. Finally, just under two fifths of coresident children are reported to assist with the parents' work or business with little difference evident across the three groups of coresident children.

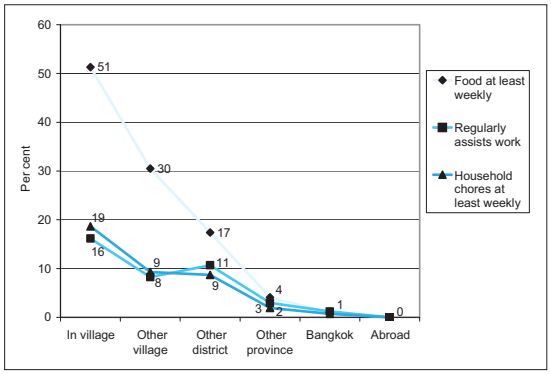
The contribution to material support of parents by non-coresident children is shown in Figure 10 according to their location relative to the parents. The results make clear that financial support is more likely from migrant children, particularly those at greater distances, than from local movers. In contrast, the closer the child lives to the parent, the more likely are contributions that require personal contact.

Figure 10: Per cent of non-coresident children age 16 and over providing different types of support to parents during prior year, by location of child

(a) Money



(b) Non-monetary help



The top panel of Figure 10 represents provision of money during the prior year. The majority of children regardless of location provided at least some money to the parents although in some cases the amount is less than 1,000 baht and thus unlikely to affect parents' material well-being. Regardless of the amount of money provided, there is a clear tendency for children living nearby to be less likely to provide money compared to those who live further away. In particular children in Bangkok and the small number who live abroad contribute the most. In general, only a minority of non-coresident children provide money monthly or on some other regular basis. However, again there is a tendency for those in Bangkok and those abroad to be more likely to do so than those living elsewhere. For all measures of monetary

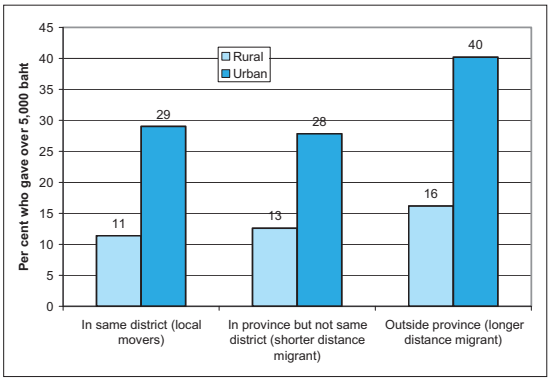
support, non-coresident children who live in the same village as the parents rank the lowest compared to children in other locations.

The lower panel of Figure 10 indicates the per cent of non-coresident children who provide non-monetary assistance to the parents. The measures shown include providing food at least weekly, providing regular assistance with the parent's work or business, and helping with household chores at least weekly. On all three measures, non-coresident children in the village ranked distinctly higher than children living elsewhere. In general, the percentage of children providing regular help on any of these three dimensions declines with distance from parents and is extremely low for children living in other provinces, in Bangkok, or abroad. These results are hardly surprising given the practical difficulty of providing services that largely require personal contact for children at considerable geographical distances from their parents.

Figure 11 examines whether there is a difference in monetary support provided by non-coresident children in rural and urban areas. The results make clear that regardless of whether the child is a local mover remaining in the same district or a shorter or longer distant migrant, those who end up in urban areas are far more likely to provide significant amounts of money, defined in this case as over 5,000 baht, during the past year than those who ended up in rural areas. Moreover longer distant migrant, especially those in urban areas but to a lesser extent also those in rural areas, are more likely to send significant amounts of money than their counterparts among local movers or shorter distance migrants. It thus appears that it is an advantage for the parents in terms of monetary support if their child moves or migrates to an urban area.

Our previous research indicated that besides routine material support, children often are the ones who pay for household appliances and other amenities including vehicles. In addition children sometimes provide major gifts or financial assistance to parents for major expenses such as building a new house or expanding or making major

Figure 11: Per cent of non-coresident children age 16 and over who gave over 5,000 baht to parents in prior year, by location relative to parent and type of area



Note: Excludes children living abroad. Urban areas refer to locations reported as Bangkok, urban, or semi-urban. Rural includes peri-urban (*tetsabaan tambol*) sample sites.

improvements on an existing one (Knodel & Saengtienchai, 2007). Adult children may also assist parents by contributing labour to build, expand or improve a home. The MIS questionnaire included a series of questions about household possessions, who paid for them, and if it was a child, where that child was living at the time. Additional questions asked about major gifts to the parents and contributions of children to paying for or helping with the labour for building or improving the parents' house, including whether the amount of help was a little, a moderate amount, or a lot.

Table 11 provides results concerning assistance from children with regards to household appliances as well as vehicles. We note that the items shown often do not specifically belong to the parent but rather to some other household member or to the household generally. Nevertheless, as part of the household, the parents presumably benefit from the presence of at least many of the items shown. For the cases in which children paid for the item, the table shows their distribution according to whether they were coresident, not in the household but within the district (i.e., local movers), or outside the district (i.e., migrants) at the time.

Table 11: Per cent of respondents living in a household with selected items, per cent for whom a child bought the item, and per cent distribution of the children who bought the item according to location of child at the time

Household possession	Household has item (%)	Among those in household with item, a child bought the item (%)	% distribution of children who bought the item according to location of child at the time [a]			
			In parent's household	In same amphoe	Elsewhere	Total
Color TV	95.4	64.9	40.4	6.3	53.3	100
Refrigerator	81.6	59.3	45.5	4.6	49.9	100
Telephone	73.1	68.2	53.4	5.8	40.8	100
Motorcycle	68.8	52.6	67.4	3.3	29.2	100
Video/DVD player	54.5	73.6	51.6	3.3	45.1	100
Washing machine	38.3	64.0	60.0	2.4	37.6	100
Furniture set	32.0	41.9	56.0	4.5	39.6	100
Large vehicle (car/truck)	27.2	39.6	80.4	5.9	13.7	100
Computer	11.6	66.4	64.9	5.4	29.7	100
Microwave oven	5.5	65.5	67.6	2.9	29.4	100
Air conditioner	5.3	52.8	61.5	3.8	34.6	100

(a) Excludes a small number of cases where location of the child is unclear or more than one child in different locations bought item.

The results make clear that children are important providers of household possessions. Children paid in the majority of cases for all but two of the 11 different items shown, often accounting for two-thirds or more of the purchases. The extent to which coresident children versus those living outside the household, and particularly those children who were migrants at the time, varies considerably with the particular item being considered. For example, in about half of the cases, migrant children paid for the television and refrigerator, the two most common appliances in households among those shown. For most other items, except large motor vehicles (car or truck), migrant children paid in a substantial minority of cases. Children who had moved out of the household but remained in the local area account for only a very small percentage of the purchases. It is not possible to make precise comparisons of the likelihoods that a coresident, local mover, or migrant child paid for any item since we do not

"Elderly mother in remote rural area talking on cell phone with migrant child in Bangkok".

know the distribution of children overall in relation to their location at the time of acquisition. However, the fact that currently almost two-fifths of non-coresident children live within the same district as the parents, the much lower percentage accounting for purchases compared to those who live outside the district strongly suggest that they are much less likely than migrant children to provide this type of material assistance (see Table 6).

"Elderly father with refrigerator purchased by migrant son".

Table 12 addresses the extent to which children had ever provided expensive gifts and major assistance with regards to the parents' house. Overall just over a fourth of parents received gold or some major gift from one of their children at some time although less than one tenth of children are reported to have made such a gift. Two thirds of the children who gave gold or a major gift were living outside the district at the time. Clearly migrant children are an important source for this type of material support.

Just over two fifths of parents said that children provided at least some help in paying for building or improving the parents' house and over a fourth reported receiving a lot of help in this respect. Among those children who did provide help, slightly over half were living outside the district when the assistance was provided, both in the case of providing any help and in providing a lot of help. Just over a fourth of parents indicated that children provided at least some labour to build or improve the house and almost a fifth said that the amount of labour provided was a lot. However in the case of providing labour, just over half of the children who did so were coresident at the time and most of the remainder were living within the same district. Only a very modest per cent of the children who provided labour assistance for building or improving the house were living outside the district. Thus while migrant children are an important source of financial assistance to parents with regards to

Table 12: Major assistance provided to parents by children and location of child at the time

	Child gave gold or major item	Child helped pay to build or improve house		Child provided labour to build or improve house	
		Any help	A lot of help	Any labour	A lot of labour
% of parents who received from any child	27.0	41.0	27.1	27.0	18.3
% of children who gave to parent	9.1	18.5	8.6	15.0	8.6
Location of child at the time (% distribution)					
coresident	23.7	38.4	37.5	52.8	52.2
in same district	9.0	10.4	7.7	34.2	34.8
outside district	67.2	51.1	54.9	13.0	13.0
Total	100	100	100	100	100

building or improving the house, coresidence and local movers are important as sources of non-financial help in these matters.

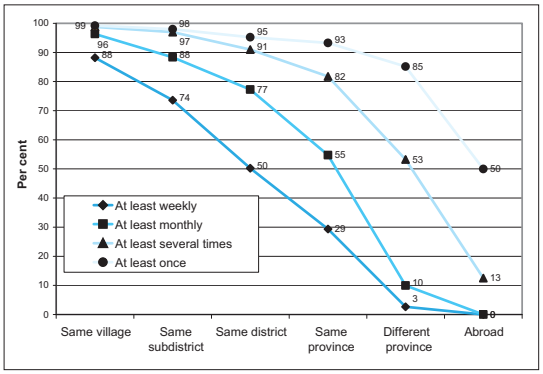
6.2 Social support and contact

Interaction with grown children, including face-to-face contact, is a valued and important source of social and emotional support for most older-age parents. Since the migration of children greatly reduces opportunities for frequent face-to-face interactions, it potentially undermines such support. Still, geographical separation does not preclude maintaining periodic face-to-face contact through visits or keeping in touch through phone calls. Visits, of course, can be in either direction with parents going to children or children coming to parents. The MIS questionnaire simply asked a single question about how often the respondent and each particular child visited each other in the previous year without distinguishing the direction of the visit. Previous research, however, makes clear that the large majority of visits between older age parents and their migrant children in Thailand involve the child coming to visit the parents rather than vice versa (Chayovan & Knodel, 1997; Knodel & Saengtienchai, 2007).[17]

Figure 12 indicates the frequency of visits between non-coresident children (excluding those living next door or very nearby) and parents during the prior year. There is a clear association between the location of the child and the frequency of visits with the parent. Not surprisingly, the further away the child resides, the less frequent are visits with parents. While the vast majority of children who live in the same village see their parents at least weekly and many on a daily basis, few who live in a different province, and even fewer who live abroad, see parents more than several times a year.

Although frequent visits from distant children as not common, there is a strong tradition in Thailand that adult children who have left home return to pay respects to their parents during the 3-day Thai New Year holiday (*Songkran*). Thus it is extremely rare for a migrant child not to see a parent at least annually. Fully 85 per cent of children who live outside the parents' province visited the parents at least once during the prior year and even among those who are abroad half of them did. Clearly it is unusual for a parent to lose all face-to-face contact with any of their children and extremely rare to lose face-to-face contact with all of their children. Among the 822 respondents who have at least one child residing outside their district, only 32 have not seen any of their migrant children during the past year and among these, only 7 did not have other children who were coresident or living very nearby. Thus although migration clearly reduces face-to-face contact with some children, it rarely leaves older-age parents devoid of face to face contact with all.

Figure 12: Frequency of visits between non-coresident children and parents during prior year, by location of child



Note: Results for same village exclude children who live next door or very nearby.

Social support between older age parents and their grown children does not necessarily require face-to-face interactions. In the last few years the widespread availability of mobile phones and reduced cost of calls has literally revolutionized the ability of rural parents and their children living elsewhere, especially in urban areas, to contact each other. Today's older Thais apparently feel phone contact can substitute for visits when children live far away. Over 80 per cent of MIS respondents in each of the three age cohorts said they agreed with the statement "Children who live far away do not need to visit frequently if they often call their parents on the phone."

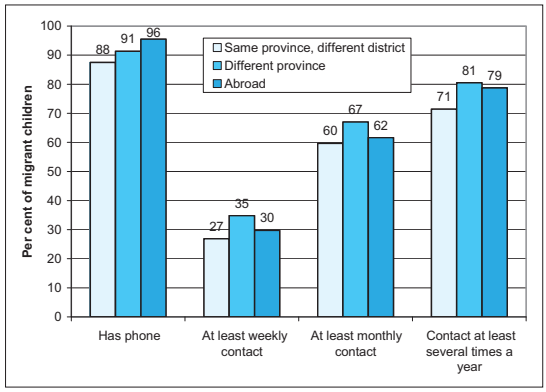
As noted above, a substantial majority of respondents live in households where at least some member has a phone. Overall, only 27 per cent of respondents live in a household without a phone. Moreover, among these respondents, 93 per cent know someone living nearby who has a phone and over three-fourths had used that person's phone. Thus at present, in sharp contrast to only a few years ago, very few older-age persons lack reasonably easy access to a phone. In rural areas this is largely a function of mobile phones. Among the households with a phone in our sample, over 91 per cent have a mobile phone while only 27 per cent had a landline phone (with 18 per cent having both).

As Figures 13a and b indicate, the large majority of migrant children (defined as living outside the parents' district), regardless of location, have a phone. Approximately a third of all migrant children had at least weekly phone contact with the parent during the past year.[18] Among those who did not speak weekly with the parent, many still had occasional phone contact. Thus over 60 per cent of migrant children had at least monthly contact and the large majority had phone contact at least several times during the year. Only modest differences are evident between children living within the same province but in a different district and those living in a different province. Even children who live abroad differ little from those who remained in Thailand in terms of frequency of phone contact. However, a more noticeable difference is evident between migrants living in urban areas and those outside urban areas in Thailand. While there is little difference between migrants in Bangkok and those in other urban areas in Thailand both are more likely than migrants to rural areas to have frequent phone contact with parents. This is at least in part likely to be because migrants in urban areas are more likely to have phones of their own, probably reflecting higher urban that rural incomes and perhaps more convenient phone service availability in urban cities and town than in the countryside.

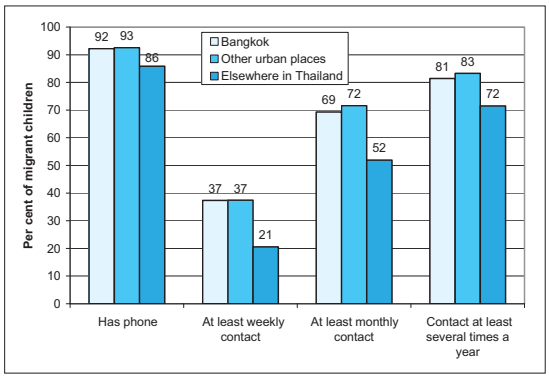
A common implication of discussions that view migration of children as a serious treat to older-age parents' well-being is that migration leaves the parents socially isolated from all their children. Yet older-age parents in Thailand often have children who live with them or very nearby even when some of their children migrate. In addition, visiting or phone contact with migrant children is common. Thus it seems unlikely that migration would often result in social isolation from all children. Figure 14 addresses this issue. It indicates the per cent distribution of respondents who have at least one migrant child (defined as living outside the parents' district) according to the most frequent contact they have with any of their children.

Figure 13: Phone possession and frequency of phone contact between migrant children and parents during prior year, by location of child

(a) All migrant children



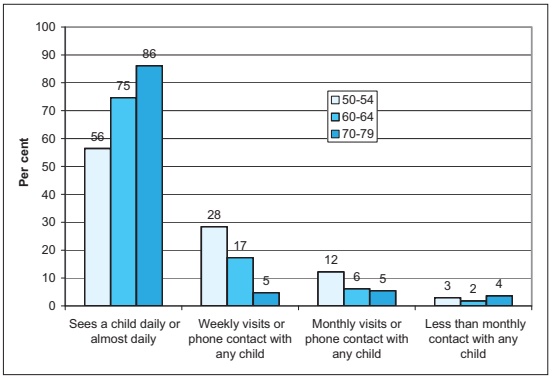
(b) Migrant children within Thailand



Note: Results showing the per cent of children who have a phone exclude the 2.9% for whom the parent did not know whether or not the child had a phone. For a description of how results showing frequency of phone contact were calculated see footnote corresponding to discussion in text.

Clearly, if we consider social isolation as the lack of at least monthly contact with a child, it is quite rare among parents who have migrant children. Indeed, the majority of parents of migrant children see some child on a daily or almost daily basis. However, there is a sharp difference in this respect according to the age cohort of the respondent. The size of the majorities increase substantially with each successive age cohort. As noted earlier, this almost certainly reflects the larger average number of living children that characterize each successive age cohort. Compared

Figure 14: Most frequent contact with any child among respondents with at least one migrant child (living outside of district), by age cohort



Note: Categories are hierarchical in that each successive category excludes cases in previous category. Children who coreside or live very nearby are assumed to see their parent daily or almost daily.

to only modestly more than half of the 50-54 age group who see a child on a daily or almost daily basis, three-fourths of the 60-64 cohort and the vast majority of the oldest cohort do. While lack of at least monthly contact is very uncommon regardless of the age cohort to which the parents belong, the younger the respondent's cohort, the more likely the respondent is to have only weekly or monthly contact rather than daily contact with at least one child. In contrast to parents who have a migrant child, over 95 per cent of those whose child all live within the same district see a child daily or almost daily (not shown). Thus the results indicate that although migration rarely leads to social isolation from all children, it increase chances that social contact will only be weekly or monthly, especially for the youngest cohort.

6.3 Health care assistance

Most MIS respondents believe that migration of children is acceptable as long as social contact is maintained and parents are still in good health. As Table 13 shows, almost 90 per cent of respondents agreed with the statement "If parents are old and in good health, it is not necessary for children to live with or nearby them as long as children visit and keep in contact". Moreover, there was little

difference across the three age cohorts of respondents in the per cent who agreed. However, less than 30 per cent said it was acceptable when asked "If parents are old and not in good health and all their children live elsewhere, is it acceptable if their children hire someone to help the parents?" Furthermore over 80 per cent of respondents believe that under the same circumstances, it better for parents to ask a child to move back to take care of them rather than for parents to move and join a child. Again these opinions differed little among the three cohorts. Thus the prospect of frail health seems to change older persons' acceptance of living without a child nearby and obliges at least some child to return if all have moved away.

As Table 13 indicates, migrant children are by no means totally detached from assisting with health care of their parents. Almost a fourth of respondents who ever had a migrant child (i.e., had ever moved away from the parents' district) reported that a child living elsewhere helped them get medical care either at the place where the child was living or somewhere else away from the parents' own area. Respondents in the youngest age cohort were less likely than older respondents to have been taken elsewhere by a migrant child for health care, perhaps reflecting the lower likelihood they would have needed such assistance given their younger age and better health status than their older counterparts. The general finding that it is not unusual for a

Table 13: Attitudes related to migration and health care and assistance from migrant children in relation to health care

	Age cohort			
	Total	50-54	60-64	70-79
Among all respondents, % who agree that:				
"If parents are old and in good health, it is not necessary for children to live with or nearby them as long as children visit and keep in contact".	88.8	89.8	91.7	85.0
"If parents are old and not in good health and older children live elsewhere, it is acceptable if their child hire someone else to help the parents".	27.8	30.0	22.6	30.8
"if parents are old and not in good health and all their children live elsewhere, it is better for parents to ask a child to move back than to join the children".	81.9	84.7	79.5	81.5
Among respondents who ever had at least one migrant child (i.e., living in a different the district):				
% who were taken somewhere else for health care by a migrant child.	24.1	16.8	27.0	28.0
% ever seriously ill.	40.5	39.0	43.5	38.7
% for whom a migrant child returned to provide care during the most recent episode among those who were ever seriously ill.	48.7	36.0	47.9	61.8

parent to have been taken for health services elsewhere by a migrant child is consistent with results from our earlier research based on open-ended interviews that suggested some health benefits for parents from having a migrant child. In particular, many children who migrate to Bangkok or other urban areas likely gain knowledge of the better health facilities and services available in large urban centres than from where their parents live. These children can then facilitate parents' access to superior health services when serious illnesses or health conditions develop (Kespichayawattana and Wiwatwanich, 2005).

Although children who live beyond a convenient commuting distance from parents will not be able to provide long-term care for chronic conditions, they still may be able to return at critical times should a parent experience a serious acute illness. As shown in Table 13, approximately 40 per cent of respondents who had a migrant child indicated they had ever been seriously ill, a share that does not vary by cohort. Among respondents with a migrant child and who were ever seriously ill, almost half reported that a migrant child had returned to provide care when they were last seriously ill. In this case, substantial differences are evident across age cohorts with the per cent having a child return increasing with age of the parent. The association with age may reflect an increasing severity of illness with age, a decreasing likelihood that a spouse would be present to assist and fewer migrant at the time the illness occurred.[19]

Chronic illness and frailty among parents pose more intractable barriers for assistance from migrant children. As Table 14 shows slightly over half of respondents reported having any difficulty at all with any of the five normal functional activities or four activities of daily living described earlier (see discussion of Figure 3). This varies greatly, however, with the age cohort. Respondents in their seventies are twice as likely to report any such problem as those aged 50-54. At the same time, considerably less than half of those who indicated they had any problem received assistance. In many of these cases the problem was likely not severe and could be handled by the respondents themselves. Among those who did receive assistance, a child was most likely the main person to provide that assistance. Again this differs considerably by age cohort with only about a third of those aged 50-54 and 60-64 reporting a child as the main assistance provider compared to over 60 per cent of those in their seventies. This difference in large part reflects a lower likelihood for a spouse to be the main assistance provider among the oldest cohort, no doubt due to higher rates of widowhood and frailer conditions of the spouses who still survive compared to their younger counterparts.

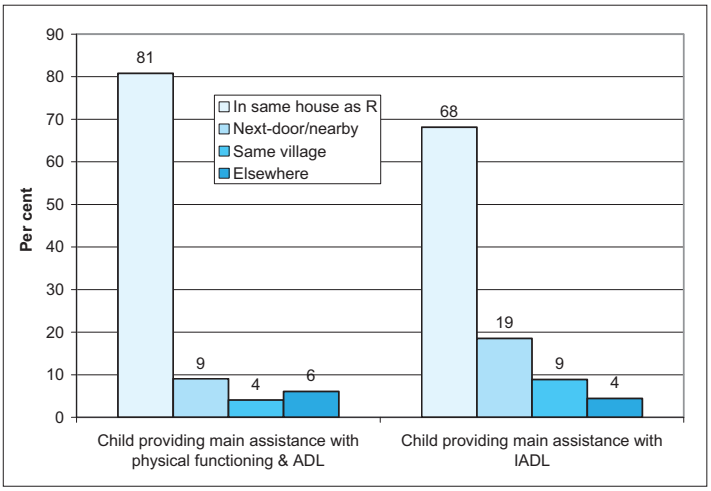
In addition to questions about physical functioning and basic activities of daily living, the MIS also asked about difficulties with five instrumental activities of daily living (IADL): cooking, handling household money, doing housework, washing clothes, and taking transportation. Table 14 indicates that just over two fifths of respondents reported difficulty with one or more of these activities. Of those who reported a difficulty with IADL, a substantially higher per cent received assistance than in the case of difficulties with physical functioning and ADL. Also the likelihood of assistance with IADL varies little by cohort. Again, overall a child is the most likely person to provide assistance with IADL but this varies by cohort. A child was much more commonly the main person for the oldest cohort than for the youngest. In brief then, children play an important role in helping older age parents with chronic physical problems but much more commonly for parents at advanced ages than those who are younger.

Not surprisingly, as Figure 15 clearly shows, when a child provides main assistance for physical functioning and ADL or for IADL, the child usually coresides with the respondent. A distant second in importance in this respect are children who live next door or very nearby. Clearly children who live outside the village including those who have migrated to more distant locations very rarely provide this type of assistance. As research elsewhere has shown, separation through geographical distance, even small distances, simply make it impractical for a child to provide the day to day care that someone who is frail or chronically ill requires (Litwak & Kulis, 1987).

Table 14: Problems and assistance with physical functioning, activities of daily living (ADL) and instrumental activities of daily living (IADL), by age cohort

	Age cohort			
	Total	50-54	60-64	70-79
Physical functioning physical functioning or activities of daily living				
% reporting any difficulty	52.7	34.1	53.6	70.1
Among respondents who report a difficulty, % who receive assistance	38.0	33.3	33.0	43.9
Main person proving assistance (% distribution)				
Spouse	29.7	55.3	42.4	13.3
Child	48.0	31.6	35.6	61.0
Grandchild	11.4	7.9	13.6	11.4
Other	10.9	5.3	8.5	14.3
Total	100	100	100	100
Instrumental activities of daily living				
% who reporting any difficulty	41.0	22.5	39.0	61.3
Among respondents who report a difficulty, % who receive assistance	60.9	61.3	56.5	63.5
Main person proving assistance (% distribution)				
Spouse	21.4	43.5	31.1	8.3
Child	51.6	30.4	40.5	65.2
Grandchild	11.5	6.5	9.5	14.4
Other	15.5	19.6	18.9	12.1
Total	100	100	100	100

Figure 15: Per cent distribution of location of children who are main providers of assistance for parents who have difficulties with physical functioning, activities of daily living (ADL), and instrumental activities of daily living (IADL)



Section 7: Parents' Contributions to Migrant Children

Exchanges of material support and services between parents and adult children can flow in either direction. So far our focus has been on support provided by children to their parents. Previous research in Thailand makes clear that adult children are more likely to provide routine monetary support to older age parents than the reverse (Chayovan & Knodel, 1997). Nevertheless, as our earlier qualitative research revealed, parents can sometimes be an important source of financial support for adult children when special circumstances arise that require large amounts of money such as establishing a business, paying educational fees for grandchildren, or buying a house or property. In addition, with regards to migrant children, especially those who leave their rural home for urban areas and non-agricultural employment, parents sometimes contribute to their material support by supplying them with rice or other produce from their farm or village (Knodel & Saengtienchai, 2007).

Unlike previous surveys of older persons in Thailand, the MIS included two questions about major financial assistance that respondents may have provided at some time to their children. The first question inquired about loans or gifts of at least 5,000 baht to any of their children while the second question asked whether respondents had ever paid for a large expense (excluding costs for education) or given an expensive item to any of their children. Respondents who replied affirmatively in either case were asked if the amount involved 10,000 baht or more. In addition they were asked where the child was located at the time assistance was provided.

Table 15 provides some measures of the extent to which parents provided major financial assistance to their children. Just over 60 per cent of parents indicated that they had provided at least one child with major financial assistance of one or both of the types asked about. Approximately half had loaned or given money amounting to at least 5,000 baht and a third had given at least 10,000 baht to one or more children. Almost a third also indicated that they had paid a large expense for or given an expensive gift to one or more of their children. For about two thirds of these the value was 10,000 baht or more.

Almost a third of children of respondents received one or the other or both of these forms of major financial assistance from their parents at some time. About equal proportions had received a loan or money or had their parents pay a large expense for them. Those who received financial assistance included children who were coresident, local movers, or migrants at the time. Substantial proportions of those who received these types of assistance fall in each of these categories. The information in the survey does not permit any precise determination of whether migration affects the likelihood of receiving major financial assistance. Nevertheless some rough indication of whether or not migrant children are more or less likely than those who remained nearby to receive major financial assistance is provided by a comparison of children who ever migrated and those who never migrated. Based on this comparison, included in Table 15, there appears to be little difference. We note that the comparison is only approximate since some of the children

Table 15: Major financial assistance provided by parents to children and location of child at the time

	Any major financial assistance [a]	Loaned or gave substantial amount of money [b]		Paid large expense for a child (other than for education)	
		At least 5,000 baht	At least 10,000 baht	Any large expense	At least 10,000 baht
% of parents who gave to any child	60.5	49.4	33.3	31.8	21.6
% of children who received	32.5	21.0	14.4	18.3	12.9
Location of child at the time (% distribution)					
coresident	38.1	25.8	26.4	52.4	42.8
in same district	26.7	30.4	30.1	22.5	29.8
outside district	35.2	43.9	43.5	25.1	27.4
Total	100	100	100	100	100
% of children who received by migration status:					
never left district	31.6	19.2	12.8	18.9	14.6
ever left district [c]	33.1	22.3	15.5	17.9	11.7

(a) Represents either giving or loaning at least 5,000 baht, paying any large expense, or both; the distribution of children by location is based on the combined distributions for the two components thus allowing for being in different locations in cases where a child received both.

(b) Includes situations where parent provided collateral for a loan to the child.

(c) Includes all children who ever lived outside the district and thus some may have received assistance before migrating or after returning from living away.

who migrated received the assistance while they were still in the local area of the parents and in a fair share of cases coresident with them at the time.[20]

Figure 16 examines the extent that the different cohorts of respondents provided any major financial assistance (defined as giving a loan or money of at least 5,000 baht or paying a major expense) and the extent to which they provided farm produce on a more or less regular basis to their migrant children. The results refer only to parents who have at least one child who ever migrated out of the parents' district and only the assistance during the time child was living away. There is a negative association between the age of the cohort and the per cent who provided either type of assistance to a migrant child. Over two fifths of the youngest cohort of parents who have a migrant child gave at least one of these children major financial assistance. In contrast, only 28 per cent of those in their seventies who had migrant children ever provided major financial assistance to any of them. For all cohorts, a higher percentage provided migrant children with local produce. Even among the oldest cohort, over half indicated that they did so.

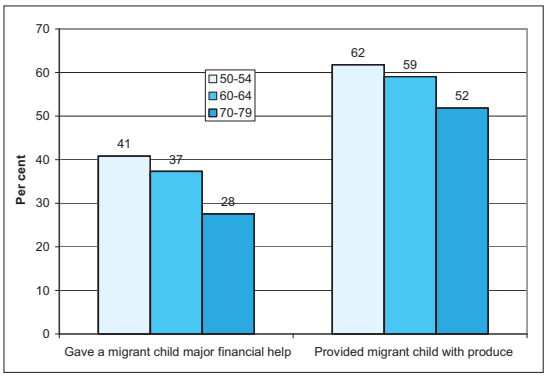
Besides providing material assistance in the form of financial aid or farm produce, parents can provide important services for their children. For coresident

"Taking care of a grandchild whose parents have migrated".

children, these can include a wide range of domestic chores including routine housework, cooking, laundry, and minding the house. Parents can also assist with childcare for grandchildren from both their coresident and non-coresident adult sons and daughters thus freeing them to engage in economic activity outside the home. In the case of migrant sons and daughters, the parents may virtually take over full responsibility for raising the grandchildren acting in effect as the grandchildren's foster parents.

As Table 16 shows, the vast majority of MIS respondents have grandchildren although the percentage varies with age cohort. Among the 50-54 cohort over one fourth have no grandchild compared to much lower proportions of the older cohorts. This reflects the fact that the

Figure 16: Per cent of respondents who gave major financial help and per cent who provided farm produce to a migrant child among respondents who had at least one migrant child



Note: A migrant child refers to any child who was living out of the parents' district at the time assistance was provided.

children of the youngest cohort are substantially younger and in many cases have not yet married or started a family of their own. Among those who do have at least one grandchild, only a small percentage have gone to where a migrant child lives in order to take care of a grandchild for any extended period of time (defined as at least three months). Much more common is caring for a grandchild in the respondent's own home in cases where the grandchild's parent has moved elsewhere. Close to half of all respondents have ever taken care of a grandchild under these circumstances and over one-fourth still do so in the absence of the grandchild's parents. This varies considerably by age cohort of the respondent. The per cent that still care for a grandchild declines sharply with age. This association with age in part reflects the somewhat

Table 16: Grandchild care, by age cohort of respondent

	Age cohort			
	Total	50-54	60-64	70-79
% who have no grandchildren	10.7	26.9	4.8	0.6
Among those with at least one grandchild:				
% who ever went to care for a grandchild who lived elsewhere for at least 3 months	5.5	3.7	6.3	6.2
% who ever took care of a coresident grandchild whose parent lived elsewhere	47.0	50.8	49.1	42.2
% who still are caring for a coresident grandchild whose parent lives elsewhere	26.8	37.7	28.4	17.7
Among grandchildren cared for by respondent:				
Median age of grandchild when care began	<1.0	<1.0	<1.0	<1.0
Location of absent parent of grandchild (% distribution)				
Very nearby	6.5	6.7	5.1	8.1
In same sub–district	3.8	1.7	1.8	7.7
Elsewhere	89.6	91.7	93.1	84.1
Total	100	100	100	100
Who paid most expenses of raising the grandchild (% distribution)				
The parents	61.2	66.9	55.1	64.2
The respondent	25.2	22.7	29.3	22.4
Shared expenses equally	10.5	8.3	12.5	9.8
Other arrangement	3.0	2.2	3.1	3.5
Total	100	100	100	100

"Proud parents of successful migrant children".

lower lifetime experience of caring for a grandchild of an absent parent especially among the oldest cohort as just discussed. However, probably a more important influence is that the grandchildren of older respondents are more likely to be grown and no longer need care.

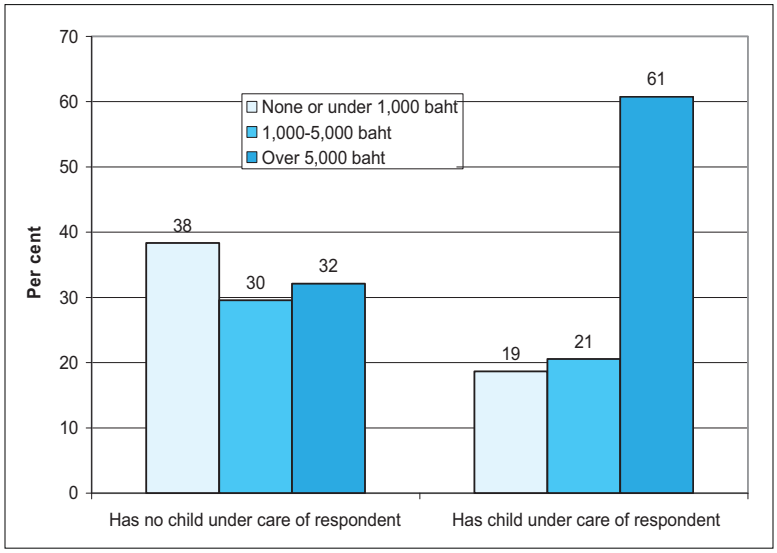
Table 16 also makes clear that grand child care begins at an early age. Regardless of the age cohort of the respondent, the median age of the grandchild at the time grandparental care began was under 1 year old. The vast majority of cases in which a grandchild has been cared for in the absence of a coresident parent involve situations in which the parents are migrants and have left the district where the grandparent lives. This varies only modestly by cohort of the respondent. In well over half the cases where a respondent has cared for a grandchild in the absence of the parent, the parents themselves have been the main contributor to the expenses of raising the grandchild. In

only about a fourth of the cases is the respondent paying most expenses. In the remainder of the cases the respondent and the grandchild's parent share expenses more or less equally or have made some other arrangement.

As Figure 17 clearly shows, migrant children who left their own children in care of grandparents are far more likely than other migrant children to remit substantial amounts to their own parents. More than 60 per cent of migrant children who left a child of their own behind gave more than 5,000 baht to the respondent in remittances during the prior year. This is almost twice the percentage of other migrant children. Moreover less than a fifth of those who left children behind remitted little or no money to parents during the past year, a level half that for other migrant children.

In brief, older-age parents in skip generation households do not necessarily suffer economically from caring for a grandchild whose parents are absent. At the same time, remittances from the migrant parent of the grandchildren may largely go for expenses associated with the coresident grandchildren rather than for the direct benefit of the older age parents with whom they live.

Figure 17: Per cent distribution of migrant children according to amount remitted to respondent in prior year, by whether the respondent (parent of migrant) is caring for the migrant's own child

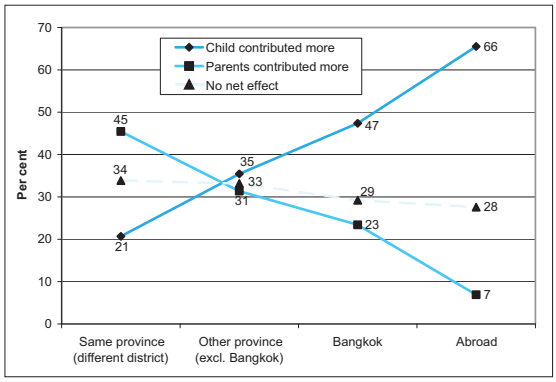


Section 8: Impacts on Parents' Well-Being

As noted in the introduction, migration of adult children can potentially impact a variety of dimensions of the well-being of their rural older age parents who remain behind. Assessing these impacts can be quite complex, especially since determinants of whether a child migrates or not and to where a child migrates are themselves typically intertwined with other determinants of parents' well-being. Thus separating cause and effect is a major challenge and to the extent possible, requires complex statistical analyses that are beyond the scope of the present report. Nevertheless exploratory analyses can provide at least suggestive results. We first explore the extent to which the balance of material exchanges between respondents and their migrant children favour one party or the other. We then turn to the relationship between migration of children and respondents' current economic status. Following this, we explore the associations between migration of children and overall satisfaction with the children. Finally we assess the extent to which migration results in the desertion and neglect of parents.

The balance of material exchanges. As previous analyses in this report have illustrated, material exchanges between parents and their migrant children flow in both directions and take place over the entire span of time that migrant children reside in localities that are geographically separated from their parents. To measure whether the net balance of support exchanges has favoured the parent or the migrant child more, we asked respondents the following question for each child who ever resided for at least a year outside the district in which the respondent lives: "Thinking about the entire time that this child has lived away, would you say this child contributed more to your and your spouse's material support or that you contributed more to the child's material support?" Responses are coded into four categories: (1) the child contributed more (2) the parents contributed more, (3) both parties contributed equally to each other, and (4) neither party contributed to the support of the other. For our analysis, we combine the last two categories into a single category indicating no net effect.[21] Results are shown in Figure 18 according to the initial destination to which the child migrated.[22]

Figure 18: Per cent distributions of children who ever migrated according to net balance of material exchanges with parents during entire period away, by initial destination



The results show a clear relationship between the initial migration destination and the net balance of material support exchanges. Shorter distant migrants who moved to a different district but remained in the same province as the parents are clearly the least likely to have contributed more to the parents than the parents contributed to them and the most likely to have been the net

beneficiary in the exchanges of material support. Indeed, the percentage of these children for whom the balance is in their favour is more than twice the percentage for whom the balance is in favour of their parents. In contrast, among all three categories of longer distant migrants, the percentage of cases for which the balance favours the parents is higher than the percentage for whom the balance favours the migrant child. However, this difference is very modest for children who migrated to some other province within Thailand but not Bangkok. Migrants who went to Bangkok are far more likely to have contributed more to their parents than the reverse with the percentage in which the exchanges favoured the parent being more than twice that in which the exchanges favoured the migrant child. The difference is even greater for the small number of migrant children who went abroad among whom two thirds contributed more to the parent than the reverse and less than a tenth received more support from parents than they gave. Clearly the extent to which parents gain more material support from migrant children than they give depends on where a migrant child moved. Migration to Bangkok is substantially more favorable for parents in this respect than is migration to other provinces in Thailand. Moreover, shorter distance migration within the parents' province appears to leave migrant children more dependent on their parents than the reverse.

Table 17 examines the balance of exchanges of material support in association with the age cohort of the parents. Two sets of results are shown. The upper half refer to migrant children as the unit of analysis and the bottom half to respondent as the unit of analysis. The top half presents the per cent distribution of migrant children with respect to which party contributed more to the material support of the other. Overall, migrant children are more likely to be net contributors to their parents' support than the reverse (39 per cent versus 29 per cent). However, this favourable balance towards parents is limited to the children of the two older cohorts of respondents. The most favourable balance for parents is evident among children of the oldest cohort with almost twice as many having contributed more support to their parents than they received. Among children of parents age 50-54, the percentages are in the reverse direction. Only a third of their migrant children were net contributors to parents' material support and fully two fifths were net receivers. One factor that contributes to the unfavourable support balance for parents associated with migrant children of the youngest cohort is that a substantial share of the children (16 per cent) is still in school. In contrast, only 3 per cent of children of respondents 60-64 and less than 1 per cent of children of respondents in their 70s are still attending school. This affects the direction of the intergenerational support balance because children still in school typically remain dependent on parents and even if they earn some income it is unlikely to be sufficient for them to contribute much to their parents' support. If children in school are excluded, then the share of migrant children of respondents age 50-54 whose parents are net gainers rises to 35 per cent and almost equals the share who are net gainers themselves which declines to 37 per cent (not shown in table).

In order to calculate a respondent based measure of the net balance in intergenerational exchanges of support with children who migrated, the number of migrant children of the respondent for whom the net balance was favourable to the parents is compared to the number of migrant children for whom the net balance was favourable to the child. If children who were net contributors of support to a respondent outnumber those who were net receivers, the net balance for the respondent is judged to be in favour of the respondent. If the reverse is true, the net balance is judged to be in favour of the migrant children. In cases where the numbers are equal or if for all migrant children neither the parent nor the migrant child contributed to each other's support, the balance is characterized as not in favour either party. The respondent based pattern of results, shown in the lower half of the table, is fairly similar to the child based results in the upper half. Overall the net balance of material exchanges is more likely to be in favour of parents than their migrant children. Again, this holds only for the two oldest cohorts of parents while the reverse is the case for parents in the 50-54 age range.

Table 17: Per cent distributions of migrant children and parents according to the net balance of material exchanges between migrant children and parents, by age cohort of parents

	Age cohort of parent			
	Total	50-54	60-64	70-79
% distribution of migrant children with respect to relative amount of material support exchanged between the parent and migrant child				
Child contributed more	39.3	32.6	43.2	40.2
Equal amounts [(a)]	31.5	27.4	27.9	37.9
Parent (respondent) contributed more	29.3	40.0	29.0	21.9
Total	100	100	100	100
% distribution of parents (respondents) with respect to net balance of exchanges of material support with migrant children				
Net balance in favour of parent (respondent)	41.4	30.7	46.3	46.8
Net balance in favour of neither	25.3	26.4	22.3	27.3
Net balance in favour of migrant children	33.3	42.9	31.4	25.9
Total	100	100	100	100

Migrant children include any child who ever moved outside the district in which the parent resided at the time of the move.

(a) Includes cases in which, for all migrant children, neither child nor parent contributed to each other's material support.

Parents in their seventies are least likely to experience a net balance in favour of their migrant children and most likely to experience a net balance in favour of neither.

It is not possible to determine if the distinctive pattern for the younger cohort of parents simply reflects life course differences among cohorts or instead a recent shift in the balance of intergenerational exchanges between parents and their migrant children. If the latter, we would expect the present predominant balance in favour of migrant children for the 50-54 cohort to persist over time as they and their migrant children advance in age. Alternatively, the pattern currently observed for this youngest cohort of parents may simply be a function of conditions that generally characterize earlier life course stages of parents and migrant children compared to conditions at later stages. In this case, we would expect the balance to shift in favour of parents as the 50-54 year old cohort ages and eventually to resemble the current pattern for the 60-64 and 70-79 cohorts by the time the 50-54 cohort reaches those ages. At a minimum, as the younger cohort ages with time, the effect on support exchanges resulting from still having substantial numbers of migrant children in school will dissipate. In brief, whether or not the results for the youngest cohort reflect a basic change in intergenerational support relationships between migrant children and their older age rural parents compared to the past remains an open question that can be raised but not resolved by the present study.

8.1 Current economic status

Examination of the current economic status of rural parents in relationship to the migration of their children may provide some indication of the impact of migration on their material well-being. However, there are many other potential factors that influence current economic status and, to the extent they are also associated with migration of children, can confound results. Thus interpreting any association between current economic status and migration of children needs to take these other influences into account. In our analysis,

we control for the following likely relevant characteristics of respondents: age cohort, province and type of area of residence, coresidence status, total number of children age 16 or older and self-assessed prior economic status. This last variable is conceptually important to include given that parents' economic situation at the time when children reach an age when migration typically occurs may influence the decision to migrate as well as be associated with their current economic status. Under these circumstances, a build-in association between migration and current economic status would exist and complicate interpretation of results. With this in mind, MIS respondents were asked to assess their economic status relative to others in the community when their oldest child was age 18 (an age when migration of children starts to become likely).[23]

The subjective and objective measures of current economic status described earlier serve as dependent variables when exploring associations between children's migration and parents' material well-being. Table 18 shows the association between the two indices and the control variables mentioned above. Results are shown both unadjusted and statistically adjusted by multiple classification analysis (MCA) for each of the other variables in the table. Statistical significance is indicated by p-values based on analysis of variance.

Most of the characteristics show reasonably clear associations with the economic status indices. In general, the patterns of relationship are similar for the subjective and objective measures of economic status and are only modestly altered by statistical adjustment for the other variables. Older age cohorts are associated with lower mean economic status scores. Respondents in Nakorn Ratchasima score the highest and those in Si Sa Ket the lowest. Respondents in peri-urban sites and those who live with at least one child aged 16 and over are better off than those in rural sites and those who are not coresident. The number of children age 16 and over shows an erratic relationship with both measures of current economic status that does not achieve statistical significance at even the .100 level when adjusted for the influence of the other variables. However respondents with only one child score lowest on both measures after adjusting for the other variables. Finally, better self assessed economic status at the time when the oldest child was 18 is generally associated with better subjectively measured current economic status but shows no consistent relationship with the objectively measured score. Nevertheless, as discussed above, this variable is conceptually important to include in the analysis.

Our analyses exploring the impact of migration of children on material well-being of parents uses three measures of migration: (1) the number of children who ever moved out of the parents' district; (2) the number of children currently in urban areas outside of the parents' district; and (3) whether or not any child currently lives abroad. The first measure is the broadest and includes both children who have remained away as well as those who returned to their parents' district after leaving. The second measure is of special interest given that the discussion concerning the impact of migration on rural parents left behind is often framed in terms of urbanization and migration to urban areas. Although only a few children live abroad, they are of particular interest given that analyses presented above showed that they were the most likely to contribute more to parents than parents contribute to them (Figure 18) and were particularly likely to give significant amounts of money to parents during the previous year (see Figure 10a).

As the results in Table 18 clearly showed, coresidence with an adult child is strongly associated with better current economic status. This is not surprising given that having adult children in a household is likely to bring in income and increase the number of people able to purchase appliances and afford other household amenities as well as to make house improvements.[24] At the same time, coresidence is likely to be related to migration since each child who migrates reduces the pool of children available to coreside. Thus before presenting results of our analysis relating migration of children and current economic status, it is important to consider the interrelationship between migration of children and the coresidence

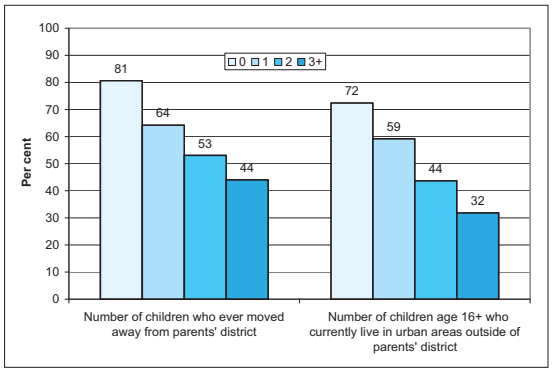
Table 18: Current subjective and objective economic status scores by selected potential influences

	N of cases	Subjective economic status score (mean percentile rank)		Objective economic status score (mean percentile rank)	
		Unadjusted	Adjusted	Unadjusted	Adjusted
Age cohort					
50–54	324	52.4	53.3	54.1	54.3
60–64	335	49.7	49.8	51.6	51.7
70–79	339	48.2	47.3	44.7	44.4
P–value		.138	.050	0.000	0.000
Province					
Nakorn Ratchasima	307	55.1	53.9	60.4	58.4
Si Sa Ket	351	46.3	47.3	38.5	39.6
Kamphaeng Phet	340	49.5	49.5	52.6	53.3
P–value		.000	.011	.000	.000
Type of area					
Peri–urban	315	54.6	53.4	58.9	55.3
Rural	683	48.0	48.6	46.0	47.6
P–value		.001	.013	.000	.000
Any coresident child age 16+					
No	450	47.7	47.8	43.7	43.4
Yes	548	52.0	51.9	55.3	55.6
P–value		.012	.021	.000	.000
Number of children age 16+					
1	62	45.7	44.6	48.9	47.5
2–3	449	51.7	50.8	53.6	52.0
4–5	289	47.2	48.3	46.2	48.3
6+	198	51.9	52.7	48.0	48.9
P–value		.053	.131	.005	.263
Self–assessed economic status relative to others when oldest child was age 18					
Much better	42	55.9	55.7	49.0	47.5
Somewhat better	179	57.0	56.8	54.0	53.7
About average	503	50.1	50.3	49.1	49.8
Below average	169	46.4	46.1	48.7	47.9
Much worse	105	41.7	41.5	50.4	49.7
P–value		.000	.000	.367	.289

Note: Adjusted results are based on multiple classification analysis (MCA) and control for each of the other variables in the table.

status of the respondent. As Figure 19 shows there is a strong relationship between the two. As expected, the more children who have migrated or the more who currently reside in urban areas outside the respondent's district, the less likely the respondent is to coreside with an adult child.[25] The important implication of this interrelationship is that there is likely a trade-off between the positive impacts of coresidence and positive impacts of migration with respect to the measures of parents' material well-being.

Figure 19: Per cent of respondents who coreside with at least one child age 16 or older, by the number of children who ever migrated and by number of migrant children who currently live in urban areas



Note: Results exclude 4 respondents who have no children age 16 and over.

Table 19 shows three sets of results representing the association between each of the three measures of migration of children and the mean percentile rank of respondents on the subjective and objective measures of current economic status. Both unadjusted results and results statistically adjusted by MCA for the variables included in Table 18 are shown. In order to allow for a tradeoff between the impacts of coresidence and migration, the adjusted results are presented in two steps. The first step excludes coresidence status of the respondent from the variables being controlled while the second step controls for all variables including coresidence.

The most consistent results relate to whether or not any child currently lives abroad. Regardless of whether results are adjusted or not, those few parents with children living abroad score higher on both indices of economic status than those who have no children abroad. With respect to the much more common situation of having children who migrated internally within Thailand, the results are more complicated. The unadjusted results show little consistent relationship between current economic status and either the number of children who ever migrated or the number who are currently in urban areas outside the parents' district.[26] None of these unadjusted associations come close to conventional levels of statistical significance. When results are statistically adjusted for all the control variables except coresidence, there is little change and all the associations remain non-significant at even the .100 level. However when the coresidence status of the respondent is included in the set of control variables, the results are reasonably consistent in indicating that having children who ever migrated or who are currently in urban areas are both associated with better current economic status. The comparison between the two sets of statistically adjusted results suggest that the effect of migration on reducing coresidence counteracts the effect of migration on providing economic support to parents. Thus while migration can be beneficial to parents materially, this is only the case if its negative affect on coresidence is controlled for in the analysis. Otherwise it appears that there is neither a clear positive or negative impact of migration on parents' material well-being.

To more directly examine the trade-off between the effects of coresident children age 16 and over and migrant children on material well-being of parents Figure 20 compares mean subjective and objective economic status scores for respondents in different combinations of situations. The results are statistically adjusted by MCA for age cohort, type of locality, province, and total number of children age 16 and older.[27] The top panel compares combinations of coresidence status of the respondent and whether or not the respondent has at least one child currently living in a different district. The bottom panel compares combinations of coresidence status and whether

Table 19: Current subjective and objective economic status scores by number of migrant children

Measure of migration used in the analysis [a]	N of cases	Subjective economic status score (mean percentile rank)			Objective economic status score (mean percentile rank)		
		Not adjusted	Adjusted for all except coresidence	Adjusted for all variables	Not adjusted	Adjusted for all except coresidence	Adjusted for all variables
Number of children who ever moved out of parents' district							
None	119	50.7	49.7	48.1	51.2	49.8	45.6
1	200	46.9	46.4	45.6	49.1	47.1	45.0
2	277	51.3	50.7	50.7	51.2	49.9	50.0
3 or more	402	50.6	51.6	52.4	49.4	51.7	54.0
P-value		.348	.251	.077	.760	.368	.002
Number of children currently in urban areas outside of parents' district [b]							
None	307	48.1	48.2	47.0	51.0	50.0	47.2
1	293	50.0	49.4	49.1	50.4	49.3	48.5
2	222	52.9	53.0	53.7	50.7	50.9	52.6
3 or more	176	50.0	50.9	52.6	47.2	50.1	54.4
P-value		.306	.113	.050	.521	.931	.032
Any children living abroad							
No	955	49.4	49.5	49.5	49.5	49.6	49.5
Yes	43	65.0	63.4	63.6	63.5	60.9	61.5
P-value		.000	.001	.001	.002	.008	.004

Notes: Statistical adjustment is based on multiple classification analysis (MCA) and controls for age cohort, type of locality (rural or peri-urban), province, self-assessed economic status of respondent relative to others in community when oldest child was age 18, and number of children age 16 and older. Each of the three sets of results incorporate only the measure of migration.
(a) Each set of results incorporates only the measure of migration to which it refers.
(b) Excluding children under age 16.

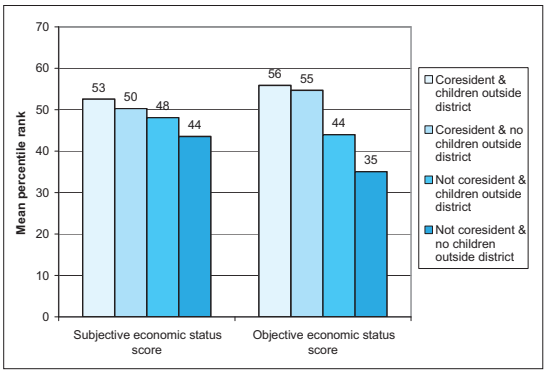
or not the respondent has at least one child currently in an urban area in a different district.[28]

Respondents who coreside with a child and have at least one migrant child score the highest on both the subjective and objective measures of economic status and the small number who are neither coresident nor have a migrant child score the lowest. This holds both when considering whether respondents have any currently migrant child or only any urban migrant child. With respect to a trade-off between coresidence and having migrant children, the results suggest that coresident respondents with no migrant children are better off than those who are not coresident but have a migrant child. The difference is quite modest when based on mean subjective scores but considerably greater when based on mean objective scores. It is possible that the much larger advantage of coresidence only over having migrant

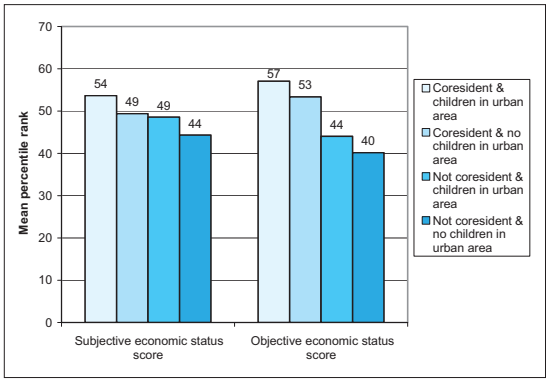
children associated with the objective economic status score is biased towards showing an advantage for coresidence. As mentioned previously, the objective score is based in part on household possessions some of which likely belong to the coresident children and may not contribute to the respondent's own material well-being. Nevertheless, the general impression given by the results in Figure 20 suggest that while there is some trade-off for parents between the benefits of coresidence and the benefits of having migrant children, co-residing with a grown child contributes somewhat more to their material well-being than does migration of children.

Figure 20: Adjusted mean subjective and objective current economic status scores

(a) By coresidence and children living outside respondent's district



(b) By coresidence and children living in an urban area outside respondent's district

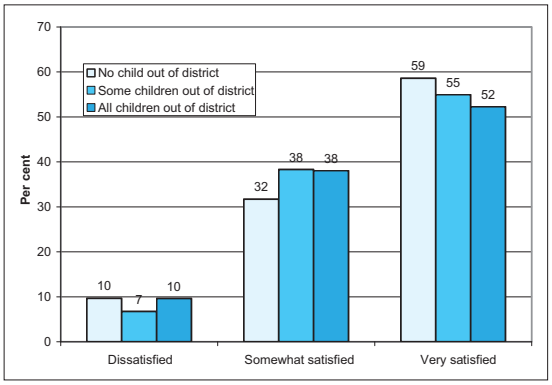


Notes: Results exclude 4 respondents who have no children age 16 and over. Coresidence refers to living with at least one child age 16 or over. Results are statistically adjusted by MCA for age cohort, type of locality, province and number of children age 16 or over.

8.2 Satisfaction with children

MIS respondents were asked a number of questions concerning how satisfied they were overall with their children in terms of a number of aspects of potential support and assistance as well the concern and respect that children provide. More specifically, questions addressed satisfaction with financial and material support, health care needs, help with household chores, help with personal affairs, showing personal concern for the respondent, and respect for the respondent's opinion. Figure 21 shows the per cent of respondents according to the degree of satisfaction they feel concerning the financial and material support that their children as a whole provided.[29] Results are shown according to the current migration status of the respondents children aged 16 and over. Respondents are grouped into three categories, those whose children all currently live within the same district as the respondent, those who have children both living within and outside the district, and those whose children all live outside the district.

Figure 21: Per cent of respondents according to degree of satisfaction with financial and other material support provided, by current migration status of children age 16 and over



Note: Results exclude 4 respondents who have no children age 16 and over.

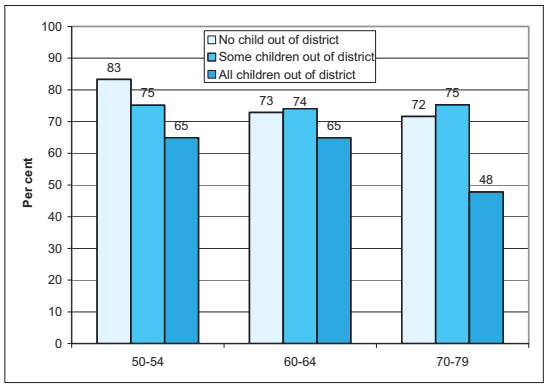
Overall only a small minority of respondents expressed dissatisfaction with the financial and other material support they received from their children. In addition, there is no difference in the per cent who are dissatisfied with the support between respondents who have no migrant children

and those whose children all reside out of the district. Also, regardless of the migration status of their children, more than half of respondents indicated they were very satisfied with the material support provided by their children. Still, modest differences are evident. Respondents who have no child living out of the district are most likely to be very satisfied and those whose children are all residing out of the district are the least likely. Thus the results suggest only a modest but somewhat negative impact of migration of children on parent satisfaction with material support.

Serious functional limitations as well as chronic health problems are likely to require frequent and often daily personal care on a long-term basis. Since providing such care necessitates geographical proximity of the care giver, migrant children are not in a position to give it. Other health needs such as care during an acute illness or help with visits to medical facilities for occasional checkups or treatments typically involve shorter term assistance and thus can be met by temporary visits from children who live some distance away if someone nearer is not available. Since serious physical health problems and related care needs increase with age, any adverse impacts associated with the migration of children with respect to meeting these needs are likely to be more pronounced for parents of more advanced ages than for younger parents. As noted earlier, one rationale for including persons in their seventies in the MIS sample was to ensure representation of persons at ages when substantial longer term needs for personal care are common. As results presented above verify (see Figure 3), this oldest cohort clearly has the poorest health among the three cohorts targeted by the survey.

Figure 22 examines the association between the migration status of children and the per cent of respondents in each age cohort who indicate that they are very satisfied with the help their children provides with health care needs and care during illness. For each cohort, respondents whose children all reside outside the district are less likely than others to say they are very satisfied with the health care provided by children. Still, almost two thirds of respondents from the youngest and middle cohorts whose children all live away say they were very satisfied. For the oldest cohort, less than half of those respondents whose children are all currently migrants say they are very satisfied with health care assistance from the children. This likely reflects to the greater probability that this cohort, compared to the younger two, has health care needs related to chronic conditions that would benefit from continual care and hence necessitate physical proximity rather than needs that can be met by temporary short-term visits from children living at some distance.

Figure 22: Per cent of respondents who are very satisfied with assistance from children with health care and care when ill, by current migration status of children age 16 and over and age cohort of respondent

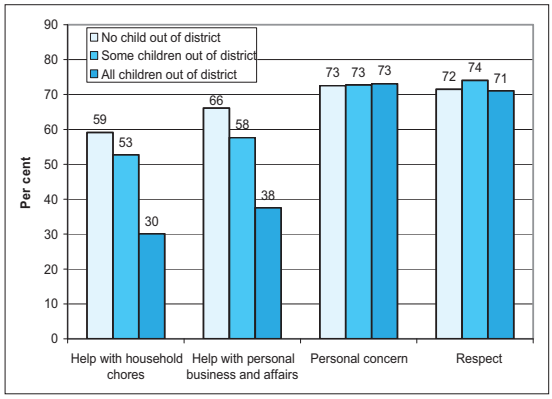


Note: Results exclude 4 respondents who have no children age 16 and over.

Figure 23 addresses several other aspects of satisfaction with children in relation to the migration status of their children. These include satisfaction with help provided with household chores, help provided with personal affairs, showing personal concern about the respondent, and respecting the respondent's opinion. In each case, the results indicate the per cent of respondents who said they were very satisfied with the children overall in these regards.

As discussed at the start of this report, some services that adult children can provide for their older age parents need to be done relatively frequently and on a continuous basis and hence

Figure 23: Per cent of respondents who are very satisfied with assistance, concern and respect from children, by current migration status of children age 16 and over



Note: Results exclude 4 respondents who have no children age 16 and over.

require geographical proximity while others do not. While material support can be provided at a distance by sending or bringing remittances, meaningful help with household chores or with personal affairs are likely to be of sufficient value only if provided frequently and over an extended period of time. This is probably the reason why the per cent who indicate they are very satisfied with the help their children provide with household chores and with personal affairs is much lower among respondents whose children all currently reside out of the respondent's district. Indeed the differentials in satisfaction according to migration status are substantially greater than those indicated for material support (see Figure 21) and to a lesser extent for health care (see Figure 22). On the other hand, personal concern and respect do not necessarily require either frequent expression or geographical proximity. For example, conveying concern and respect for parents during visits or through phone contact could be sufficient to satisfy parents. The results in Figure 23 suggest that this is indeed the case. Regardless of the migration status of their children, close to three-fourths of respondents say they are very satisfied with the level of personal concern and the level of respect shown by their children.

8.3 Desertion of parents

As noted in the introduction, mass media accounts, advocacy literature, and even declarations from international forums typically imply that migration of young adults in the developing world leads to the widespread desertion of the rural elderly parents left behind. Any evidence provided is typically anecdotal. Almost totally lacking are studies that address this issue with systematic empirical evidence. Data from the MIS provide an opportunity to remedy this situation.

Before examining this issue, it is necessary to define what constitutes desertion. For the present study desertion is defined in terms of the frequency of social contact between children and parents and extent of material support provided to parents by children during the previous year. Since desertion can be a matter of degree, we use two alternative sets of measures. The first is more extreme and refers to a total lack of contact or support during the prior year. The second refers to situations in which contact and support are at most only minimal. More specifically, the second measure encompasses both situations in which there is no contact or support as well as situations in which contact involves only one visit during the year and less than monthly phone contact and in which material support consists of less than 1,000 baht and no substantial gifts of food. In some sense this second measure is more a reflection of neglect than desertion but for convenience we refer to the two sets of measures as indications of desertion.[30]

Assessments of the extent of desertion can be addressed either from the perspective of children or parents. Results based on children as the unit of analysis reveal how commonly children desert parents. In contrast, results based on parent as the unit of analysis determine how many parents are deserted by their children. Since at present most older-age parents in Thailand have at least several children, even if some desert or neglect them, others may not. Thus the percentage of parents who are deserted by all their children will be substantially less than the percentage of children who desert their parents.

We first examine desertion from the perspective of migrant children. Results are shown in Table 20 according to several characteristics of the child as well as the age cohort of the parent (i.e., the respondent). Estimates of desertion are shown based only on the lack of social contact (i.e., without considering material support) as well as on the combination of lack of social contact and material support.

Table 20: Per cent of current migrant children age 16 and older who had minimal or no social contact with respondent and provided little or no material support during prior year

	Base N	% who had no social contact and provided no material support		% who had minimal or no social contact and provided little or no material support	
		No contact [a]	No contact or support	Minimal or no contact [a]	Minimal or no contact or support
Total	1914	8.1	6.3	21.8	15.1
Location of child [b]					
Bangkok	852	7.4	5.7	21.1	13.1
Other urban places [c]	677	6.2	5.4	17.3	13.6
Elsewhere in Thailand	337	12.9	8.6	30.8	20.9
Abroad	48	14.1	4.7	35.1	10.8
Gender of child					
Son	1008	9.9	7.1	24.6	17.3
Daughter	906	6.2	4.9	18.7	11.6
Education of child					
Primary or less	1001	11.5	8.1	30.2	20.1
Lower secondary	304	8.9	7.6	20.5	13.5
Upper secondary	355	2.9	2.3	12.1	8.5
Beyond secondary	250	1.6	1.6	4.9	2.8
Age of child					
Under 30	557	3.5	2.9	11.2	7.4
30–40	804	7.8	5.5	20.5	13.1
40+	553	13.3	10.1	34.5	24.1
Marital status of child					
Never married	470	7.0	5.1	15.3	8.7
Ever married	1434	7.9	5.9	23.4	16.0
Age–cohort of respondent					
50–54	509	3.7	2.9	11.0	6.9
60–64	679	6.9	5.4	19.0	13.1
70–79	726	12.3	8.8	31.9	21.3

Notes: No contact refers to having no visits or phone contact in last year; no material support means providing no money or food in last year; minimal or no contact means did not visit at least twice and did not have phone contact at least monthly during last year; minimal or no support means did not provide at least 1,000 baht or any food during last year.
(a) Results exclude 64 cases in which phone contact was not reported and can not be implied (see text footnote 18).
(b) The 15 cases whose location is unknown and the 27 for whom the respondent did not know the type of area in which the child lived have been distributed proportionately.
(c) Urban includes as areas described as semi–urban well.

Clearly few migrant children can be considered to have totally deserted their older age rural parents. Only 8 per cent neither had visits nor phone contact with their parent during the past year and only 6 per cent also did not provide any material support. Even based on the broader indicator of desertion, only slightly more than a fifth of migrant children overall had no more than minimal social contact with the respondent. Moreover, some of these children still provided at least modest material support so that only 15 per cent lacked more than minimal contact and did not provide at least a moderate amount of material support.

Among migrant children, the small numbers who live abroad are most likely to lack social contact with parents.[31] This is unsurprising given the much greater difficulty that visiting from abroad would entail compared to visiting from within Thailand and the difficulty and expense of international phone calls compared to domestic calls. Even so, a substantial majority who live abroad do maintain social contact with parents. Moreover, most who had little or no social contact during the year still provided parents with material support. Thus when lack of contact and material support are considered together, children living abroad no longer stand out in comparison to other migrant children as being more likely to have deserted their parents. Among migrant children in Thailand, the measures of lack of contact and support are lower for those in Bangkok and other urban settings than those living elsewhere. A very substantial majority, however, maintain more than minimal contact with parents regardless of place of residence and a moderate share of those who do not nevertheless provide at least modest material support.

Several patterns are quite clear with regards to the relationship between apparent desertion of parents and characteristics of the migrant children. Daughters are less likely than sons to desert parents. Education is inversely associated with desertion with the least educated children by far being the most likely and the best educated the least likely to have little or no social contact or to provide support to parents. There is a clear association between age of the child and desertion of parents, with levels lowest among children under 30 and highest among those aged 40 and above. Also migrant children who have married are more prone to desert parents than those who are still single. This may reflect competing demands on migrant children who have families of their own to raise and thus have less time and resources to devote to parents. This may also account in part for the greater lack of contact and support noted for older children given that married children tend to be older than those who are single. Finally, there is a clear association between the age cohort of the parent and the lack of contact and support from their migrant children. Children of the youngest cohort of respondents are by far the least likely to desert parents while those of the oldest cohort are the most likely to do so.

As discussed above, a large majority of MIS respondents with migrant children also have non-migrant children who live with them, very nearby, or within the same locality. Moreover, even if some of a respondent's migrant children are neglectful, others may maintain contact or provide material support. Thus while being neglected or deserted by one or more migrant children may be distressing to respondents, it by no means implies that they are deserted by all their children. In order to assess the extent to which migration leads to the desertion of parents, we use a hierarchical index of social contact and material support. The first category includes respondents who live with or very near a child age 16 or older. Clearly these respondents are not socially isolated from all children and are virtually certain to interact with at least one on a daily basis. The next category includes respondents who do not live with or very nearby a child but who see a child at least monthly. The third category represents respondents who do not see a child monthly but have at least monthly phone contact with one or more. The fourth category of respondents includes those who lack monthly contact with any child but who receive meaningful material support from at least one (defined as at least 1,000 baht, regular monetary contributions, or at least monthly provision of food during the prior year). The final category consists of the remainder of respondents and

thus represents those who lack both monthly contact and substantial material support from any child. As such, these parents represent those who have been deserted by their children.

The per cent distribution of respondents with at least one migrant child according to this hierarchical index is provided in Table 21. The results make clear that very few Thai parents who have migrant children are deserted by all their children. Overall almost two-thirds live with or very nearby a child and the vast majority of the remainder either sees or has phone contact with a child at least monthly. This leaves only 3 per cent of parents who have less than monthly social contact with at least one child. Moreover, more than half of respondents who have only infrequent or no contact with a child received meaningful material support during the past year from at least one. Thus few older age rural parents in Thailand are totally deserted even if some of their migrant children are neglectful. Interviews with the key informants at the research sites confirm this. With only one exception they were universal in denying that there were more than a very few cases of deserted older persons, if any, that they knew about in their communities.

Table 21: Per cent distribution of respondents who have at least one child who currently lives outside the district according to hierarchical categories of the level of social contact or material support by at least one child during the prior year, by age cohort of respondent

	Age cohort			
	Total	50-54	60-64	70-79
Hierarchical categories of level of contact or material support				
Lives with or very nearby a child age 16 or older	64.6	46.9	65.0	81.8
Saw a child at least monthly	18.0	23.2	20.9	9.9
Talked with a child on the phone at least monthly	14.5	26.6	12.3	4.7
Received at least moderate material support (a)	1.7	1.8	1.1	2.2
None of the above	1.2	1.5	0.7	1.5
Total	100	100	100	100

Notes: Categories of social contact or material support are hierarchical in that cases falling in a prior category are excluded from subsequent categories.
(a) Moderate material support includes any of the following: receiving at least 1,000 baht, regular monetary support, or at least monthly provision of food during the prior year.

While the share of parents with migrant children who are out of social contact with all their children differs little among the three age cohorts, the type of social contact does vary substantially. Over four fifths of the oldest cohort has at least one child living with or very nearby them compared to two thirds of the middle cohort and less than half of the youngest cohort. Both the youngest and middle cohort make up a fair amount of this difference through frequent visits with a child. Particularly important for the youngest cohort is reliance on phone contact. This undoubtedly reflects the fact that among respondents who do not live with or very nearby a child, the youngest cohort is least likely to have a child living within the same village or district and most likely to have all of their children living outside their district.[32] The experience of the 50-54 cohort indicates that the recent spread of telephones, especially cell phones, can mitigate what likely would otherwise be more prevalent social isolation of those older aged parents who have no children within easy visiting distance.

Although the 50 to 54 cohort has considerably less children on average than the older cohorts, given the past trend of fertility decline in Thailand,

future cohorts entering older ages will have even less children, with a substantial majority having only two. It is thus interesting to examine the relationship between social isolation and family size based on the current data set. Table 22 presents the per cent distribution of respondents by family size according to the hierarchical categories of level of social contact and material support. Results are based on the full sample (rather than just those who have migrant children) and suggest that only those respondents who have just one child have a substantially increased risk of lacking social contact and material support from any child. Among the remainder, there is little difference in the per cent who lack social contact or the per cent who lack both social contact and moderate material support. Family size is, however, associated with the type of social contact. Respondents who have fewer children are more likely than those with larger families to rely on telephone contact and less likely to coreside or live very nearby one of their children.

Table 22: Per cent distribution of respondents according to hierarchical categories of the level of social contact or material support by at least one child during the prior year, by number of children age 16 and over

	Number of children age 16 and over				
	Total	1	2	3	4 +
Hierarchical categories of level of contact or material support					
Lives with or very nearby a child age 16 or older	70.1	50.0	60.0	65.7	79.6
Saw a child at least monthly	15.4	19.1	19.1	17.8	12.1
Talked with a child on the phone at least monthly	11.8	17.6	18.2	13.9	7.2
Received at least moderate material support [(a)]	1.5	4.4	1.4	2.2	0.8
None of the above	1.2	8.8	1.4	0.4	0.4
Total	100	100	100	100	100
Base N	1007	68	220	230	489

Notes: Categories of social contact or material support are hierarchical in that cases falling in a prior category are excluded from subsequent categories.
(a) Moderate material support includes any of the following: receiving at least 1,000 baht, regular monetary support, or at least monthly provision of food during the prior year.

Section 9: Conclusions

As discussed in the introduction to this report, several alternative perspectives exist for interpreting the impact of migration on older age parents who in rural areas of the developing world. These include the 'alarmist', the 'household strategy' and the 'modified extended family' perspectives. Our results are least consistent with and indeed largely contradict the 'alarmist' perspective that views massive migration of young adults to the cities as leading to widespread desertion of their elderly parents left behind in the rural areas. While there are deserted elderly in rural Thailand who have lost contact with their children and have been left behind to fend for themselves, such situations are still quite rare. Rather, the large majority of migrant children in Thailand maintain social contact with parents and most provide at least some financial support. Thus migration, at least so far, has not led to widespread desertion of rural elderly. Moreover, children who have moved to urban areas, especially to Bangkok, are more likely to provide significant remittances than children who migrated to elsewhere in Thailand, likely reflecting the greater earning opportunities in cities, and are at least as likely to maintain social contact, a process facilitated by the higher proportion of urban than rural migrants who have phones. Thus fears that urban settings, and hence the process of urbanization, particularly erode the filial allegiances of migrant children seem unwarranted.

The 'household strategy' perspective views migration of rural adults as a way to diversify economic risks for the household and as benefiting both migrants and family members who remain behind. According to this perspective, migrant children in the non-agricultural sector are subject to different cycles of economic risk than their rural parents who remain in agricultural households. Thus each can serve as a form of insurance for the other while at same time each can contribute to the material welfare of the other in their own way. Our findings provide some support for this view. Respondents in the survey indicated in more than half of the cases when a child migrated that, at the time of the move, they thought it would benefit both the child and themselves. Exchanges occur between rural parents and their migrant children which appear to benefit both. Migrant children often provide parents with remittances as well pay for major household appliances and home improvements while parents sometimes provide farm produce as well as occasional major financial assistance, including using their assets as collateral for loans. Also parents who have both coresident and migrant children appear to be slightly better off than coresident parents with no migrant children. However, parents with migrant children but who are not coresident are worse off than parents who coreside but have no migrant children. Since migration reduces the pool of children available to coreside, it increases the chances that an older age parent will have to forgo the benefits associated with coresidence. Thus in this respect the findings are somewhat at odds with the 'household strategy' perspective.

Most consistent with our results is the 'modified extended family' perspective. It postulates that, although migration associated with development leads extended family members to be geographically dispersed, advances in transportation and communication technology that accompany development permit members to maintain relationships and continue to fulfill at least some of the associated obligations. Thus while living arrangements and household structure change, family ties and assistance remain in tact although in modified forms. Our findings clearly document how important cellar phone technology has become for enhancing the ability of migrant children and

their parents in Thailand to maintain social contact. In contrast to less than a decade ago when phones were a rarity in rural households, most older persons in rural areas and their migrant children now have access to one. According to our survey, two thirds of migrant children talked with the respondent at least once a month on the phone and four fifths had phone contact at least several times during the past year. Such contact permits maintenance of social support despite geographical separation. The greatly improved ability to communicate by phone also means that parents can reach geographically dispersed children quickly in case of a health crisis. Also improvements in roads and means of transportation allows children living elsewhere to more rapidly reach parents to provide assistance and at least temporary provide care if no children reside nearby. In these respects changes in Thailand with regards to maintaining intergenerational relationships and meeting filial obligations are consistent with the 'modified extended family' perspective.

The preceding analyses of the Migration Impact Survey reveal that outflow of adult children from rural areas has multifaceted and complex implications for the welfare of their older age parents who remain behind. Clearly migration has both benefits and disadvantages for the 'left behind' parents that often vary with the life course stages of the parents and their adult children. Given that the data are cross-sectional and the descriptive nature of the analyses, causal connections remain uncertain. Nevertheless, the results are at least suggestive of a Thai family in which parents and adult children exercise human agency to adapt to the changes in the social and economic environment brought about by development in ways that are not necessarily detrimental to relations between the generations. For example, although the youngest cohort of respondents has considerably fewer children and are least likely to coreside with a grown child, they are at least as likely as the older cohorts to say that they are very satisfied with their children in terms of all the forms of support and assistance asked about in the survey. In addition, social contact between migrant children and parents, both in terms of visits and phone calls, is more frequent for this cohort than for their older counterparts. Overall, most rural based parents and their migrant children appear to be adapting to the increasing need to live separately in ways that permit maintaining family relationships and providing each other with material support and social contact.

The rapid transition to low fertility several decades ago will pose new challenges to maintaining the well being of the next generation of elderly parents and their smaller number of adult children. Our results reveal that receipt of financial support from children and satisfaction with it is at least as likely among the younger cohort of parents compared to older parents thus suggesting problems with material support will not necessarily become worse. However, the smaller family sizes of future elderly will mean that the current situation of older cohorts, in which some children migrate while other siblings remain with their rural elderly parents', will become increasingly difficult to maintain. This is clearly evident the substantially higher percentages of the youngest cohort whose children have all migrated out of the district. The lack of coresident or nearby children could substantially change the implications of migration with respect to personal caregiving from children when frailty and chronic health conditions require such assistance. While it is true that the youngest cohort of respondents is as likely to say that they are satisfied with health assistance provided by children, unlike older cohorts, few younger parents require longer term care at their current stage of life.

It thus seems likely that in future decades, as parents with small families become common within the oldest age groups, there will be an increasing need for community based health services to meet the needs of elders who require long term personal care but who have no adult child nearby to provide it. Thus in planning for meeting the needs of rural elderly in the future, the government would be wise to expand community based health services for frail and chronically ill elders. The recently adopted plan to expand the Home Care-giver Project initiated by the Ministry of Social Development and Human Security to train and sponsor community based volunteers to help

provide care and assistance to local elderly seems particularly appropriate in this respect. Expansion of the Home Health Care Programme of the Ministry of Public Health to help meet the more specific medical needs of ill elderly after hospital discharge would also be useful. For expanded community based programmes to have maximum success, however, efforts need to be made to change prevailing attitudes to increase the acceptability of critical personal care from others besides adult children.

Still it is premature to conclude that the balance between positive and negative effects of migration for rural Thai elders will necessarily become less favorable in the future. Many other changes will accompany the shift in numbers of living children such as expansions and improvements in public and private health provision, social security and other forms of formal support, rapidly increasing computer literacy and associated means of communication, and improvements in the educational composition of both adult children and their older age parents as better educated cohorts move up the age structure. Thus modifications in intergenerational family forms will occur in a different social, economic, and technological context than has prevailed during the period of the present research. The fact that the cultural roots of filial obligation still appear to remain strong in Thailand suggests that some accommodation to this changing situation may well emerge.

Continuing to monitor the situation of rural Thai elders in this changing context is thus an obvious priority for any future social research agenda in Thailand. Doing so holds considerable potential for contributing to the theoretical and conceptual debates surrounding issues of ageing, family, and intergenerational relations. It is also crucial for developing informed polices and programmes that realistically address the needs of the rapidly increasing older population. The findings documented in this report provide a useful baseline for such efforts. For example, they include the first systematic evidence on the increasing importance of phone contact between older age parents and adult children and the first documentation of non-routine major material support exchanges and thus provide a basis for assessing future changes in these critical respects. Future research also needs to pay particular attention to attitudinal changes with regards to intergenerational obligations. Comparisons with results from the present study can help in judging the direction of any such changes. Documenting changes in living arrangements and the geographical proximity of adult children relative to their older age parents will continue to be interest. At the same time, their implications for the multiple facets of older age well-being will continue to change. Providing an adequate basis for understanding the complex dynamics involved provides a real challenges for future research on population ageing in Thailand.

Endnotes

1 Some of the increase in the per cent urban results from reclassification of areas from rural to urban as the nature of the local economy and expansion of municipal facilities and services transformed their character.

2 Although this potential effect should be even more evident for persons in their 80s, potential practical difficulties in interviewing very old persons lead us to limit our oldest cohort to persons in their 70s.

3 According to data from the National Statistical Office (NSO), mean per household incomes averaged over 1996, 1998, 2000, 2002 and 2004 (in Thai Baht) in the three selected provinces are 7,744 for Sri Sa Ket, 9,505 for Nakorn Ratchasima, and 11,126 for Kamphaeng Phet (original calculations from NSO data).

4 A small number of respondents were born one year later or one year earlier than the range set for the cohort (see Annex I). Since the numbers are small and the deviation in age is only one year, they are included in the cohort to which their birth year is adjacent.

5 When recording answers, interviewers treated the categories as hierarchical in the sense that the appropriate location for a child was the nearest location that qualified.

6 Although the two subjective measures of economic status are positively correlated (Spearman correlation=.48) identical assessments occurred for less than half of the cases.

7 In a modest number of cases (42) the interviewer did not see the respondent's house and thus could not render judgement. In these cases the self assessment score was doubled to form the combined index.

8 Type of structure is ranked on a five point scale with hut, bamboo or wooden one story house corresponding to 0 and two or more story cement house or shop house corresponding to 4. Type of roof was ranked on a four point scale with thatch, leaf, or grass corresponding to 0 and tile corresponding to 3. Type of floor is ranked on a four point scale with dirt, bamboo or thatch corresponding to 0 and tile, parquet or polished wood corresponding to 3. Type of toilet is ranked on a four point scale with no facility or pit toilet corresponding to 0 and flush toilet corresponding to 3. Running water is coded 0 if the house has no running water and 1 if has it.

9 One of the sample sites was in the process having its status upgraded to tetsabaan tambol. Since the change had already been approved and would soon take place, we classify respondents in this site as residing in a peri-urban area even though at the time of the survey the process had not been completed.

10 We note that the ordering of the three provinces with respect to economic level differs from that reflected in the mean per household incomes cited from NSO statistics. This is not surprising since our sample was not designed to be representative of the provinces and in fact excludes the main urban centres. However both sources indicate that Si Sa Ket is distinctly poorer than the other two provinces.

11 For the purpose of the survey, only step children whom the respondent helped raise are counted as among the respondents' children.

12 Among all respondents, only 4 (all in the 50-54 cohort) had no child age 16 or older.

13 The period of time when the children of the respondents were of school age spans a number of decades during which the educational system in Thailand underwent changes including changes in the level of compulsory education and the number of grades within the primary level, which varied between 4 to 7. (Knodel, 1997).

14 The classification of migrant status is based on current residence of children relative to parents and thus does not take into account prior moves. Thus some who are currently classified as local movers or shorter distance migrants have at an earlier time migrated outside the province but subsequently returned. In addition, many will likely move again in the future and switch from one category to another. In a few cases in which children currently live in a different district or province from the respondent, the parent moved away rather than the child. For convenience, however, when basing migrant status on current residence (rather than on the respondent's

account of children who ever mover away), we classify these children as migrants.

15 In a small number of cases the parent of the grandchild may have died rather than have migrated.

16 Among the younger group of single children, 48% were still attending school compared to only 4% of the older single children and 3% of the married children, suggesting that many of the younger single children are largely dependents of the parents rather than main contributors to their support.

17 For example, according to the national 1995 Survey of the Welfare of the Elderly in Thailand, 84% of the adult children of rural parents aged 50 and older who lived in a different province had visited their parent while only 37% had been visited by their parent (original calculation).

18 The question about phone contact was only asked in relation to each child who lived beyond the sub-district for whom the respondent said the child had a phone. Thus no direct information on frequency of phone calls is available for 170 of the 1879 children outside the district (the reference group for migrant children in Figure 13) who had no phone. For the 79 children in this situation whose parent lived in a household with no phone, phone contact is assumed to be less than several times a year given that it would be difficult to reach parents even if the child could borrow someone else's phone. Also for an additional 25 cases whose parent lived in a household with a phone but who in the last year did not visit, send money, give food or help in household, the child likely has lost contact with the parents and thus phone contact for them is also assumed to be less than several times a year. The situation for the remaining 66 cases is less certain given that the child apparently is still in contact with the parent and could more easily reach their parent if they used someone else's phone. Thus these 66 cases are excluded from the tabulations on phone contact.

19 In just over 1% of cases the parent reported going to be cared for by the migrant children. The fact that this is quite low compare to the earlier findings that almost a fourth of parents were taken somewhere for health care by migrant children suggests that the latter involved primarily chronic illness while situations where migrant children return to give care involve acute illnesses.

20 Among children who ever migrated and received a substantial loan or money, two thirds were living outside the parents' district at the time. However, among those for whom the parents paid for a substantial expense just slightly over two fifths were living outside the district and half were actually coresident at the time the expense was paid.

21 Four cases coded as 'other' are included with the 'no net effect' category. Evidence that the responses to the question on the net balance of support are reasonably valid is provided by comparisons with information from other questions on the contributions of parents to migrant children and the support provided to parents from migrant children. For example, among migrant children for whom the reported net balance of support favours parents, 87% are reported to have provided regular support to parents at least part of the time while away and only 14% are reported as receiving substantial financial assistance from the parents during this time. In contrast, among those for whom the reported net balance of support favours the migrant child, only 36% are reported as having provided regular support and 35% as receiving substantial financial assistance from parents while away.

22 Since migrant children do not necessarily remain in their initial destination, some of the children are currently in a different location category as that shown in Figure 18. For example, approximately 17% of children who at one time migrated outside the parents' district have returned and are now residing within the parents' district and thus are former but not current migrants. Among those who went to a different province excluding Bangkok, 72% still remain in this category. Among children who went to Bangkok initially, 68% remain in Bangkok. Of those who have gone abroad, 69% remain abroad.

23 That there is no simple association between migration of children and prior economic status is suggested by the lack of any statistically significant relationship at even the .100 level between self assessed economic status of respondents at the time their oldest child was 18 and the three main measures of migration that serve as independent variables in our subsequent analysis: the number of children who ever moved away from their parents' district, the number of children who currently live in an urban area outside the district of the parents, and the number of children who currently live abroad. The lack of statistical significance characterizes both unadjusted results and results statistically adjusted by MCA that control for the respondent's age cohort, type of locality, province, and number of children age 16 and older. One possible reason for the lack of association is that the measure of prior economic status is too imprecise to adequately to detect it. Nevertheless, to the extent the results are valid, they suggest that prior economic status of parents has little consistent effect on migration of children and thus increase the chances that associations found between current economic status and the migration of children reflect the influence of migration on material well-being rather than the reverse.

24 As noted in the discussion of our construction of the objective economic status variable, household possessions that contribute to higher scores do not necessarily belong to the respondent, although in many but probably not all circumstances the respondent may still gain benefit from them. Thus the objective economic status score for coresident households may exaggerate the level of material well-being of the respondent.

25 The association between coresidence and whether or not any child currently lives abroad is not included in Figure 19 because so few children are abroad. Overall 55% of respondents with any child abroad coreside with a child 16 or older compared to 53% of those who do not.

26 The number of children who ever migrated includes the small number who are currently abroad since in most instances these children moved to elsewhere in Thailand before going abroad.

27 Statistically unadjusted results, not shown, are very similar to the statistically adjusted results.

28 Combinations of coresidence and having a child abroad are not shown because of the very small number of respondents who have a child currently living abroad. Among the 43 respondents who currently have at least one child abroad, there is almost no difference in either the mean subjective or mean objective current economic scores between those who are coresident and those who are not. Both groups have mean economic status scores well above respondents with no child living abroad.

29 Because relatively few respondents indicated they were either very or somewhat dissatisfied, these two responses have been combined into a single category for presentation. In addition, 1.3% of respondents were coded as does not apply. Since these consisted almost entirely of cases in which little or no material support was provided, they are included with the 'dissatisfied' category.

30 Children can neglect their older aged parents in other ways as well, for example by failing to provide personal care or other services that the parents may need and can be present even when social contact is frequent. For example, a coresident child or one living next door may fail to provide needed material support or care. However, neglect in the context of frequent social contact is unrelated to migration and thus beyond the scope of the present study.

31 Note that the MIS did not ask about receipt of letters, one method of contact that might have been particularly important for children abroad.

32 Among respondents who are not coresident with nor live very nearby a child age 16 or older but have at least one child age 16 or older living outside the district, 81% of the 50-54 cohort, 59% of the 60-64 cohort and 46% of the 70-79 cohort have no child living in their district.

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Annex I: Methodology of the Migration Impact Survey

Survey instruments

The research team developed an original survey questionnaire specifically for the purpose of assessing the impact of migration of adult children on rural parents. Much of the content was influenced by earlier qualitative research conducted by the team on the topic. The questionnaire included detailed questions on the background and current situation of parents and children and various types support exchanges between them both currently and in the past. Most information about support exchanges is specific to the individual child involved and to their location in relation to parents at the time. Extensive pretesting was conducted by the full research team during three separate field trips in three different provinces.[1] The full questionnaire is provided in Annex II.

The research team also conducted semi-structured interviews with key informants in each sample site. The interviews asked about background information concerning the locality including changes in community level conditions over time, the extent of migration during the recent past, and out-migration of older persons to join migrant children living elsewhere. These interviews were tape recoded with permission of the key informant. The full set of interview guidelines are provided in Annex III.

Sample design

The survey design targeted respondents who had at least one living child and resided in rural or peri-urban areas in three provinces (Nakorn Ratchasima, Si Sa Ket, and Kamphaeng Phet). The respondents were to be divided equally among three age cohorts: 50-54, 60-64 and 70-79. For the purpose of sampling we defined rural as localities outside officially designated municipal areas (*tetsabaan*) and peri-urban as sub-district level municipal areas (*tetsabaan tambol*). Major urban areas (*tetsabaan muang*) were excluded form the sampling universe. The limitation of the sample to three age cohorts in three provinces reflects a compromise between budget constraints and the need to have sufficient numbers of respondents in different categories of substantive interest for the topic under investigation.

The sample design called for selecting 18 sample sites: 3 districts (*amphoe*) within each province; 2 sub-districts (*tambol*) within each district; and one health centre in sub-district if more than one health centre existed (which was true for 5 sub-districts). The plan was to interview 18 cases in each cohort in each of 18 sample sites. This would result in 54 interviews per site or 324 per province for a total of 972 interviews.

Sampling of cases within each province involved several stages. Based on household registration data, three districts were chosen proportional to size (based on the combined rural and peri-urban population). Then within each of the selected districts, two sub-districts were selected proportional to size. Since ultimately we planned to use local health centre registers to obtain lists of potential respondents, for the five sub-districts that had more than one health centre (including community hospitals if any population within an eligible tambol was under their jurisdiction), we selected one health centre proportional to number of households under their jurisdiction.

We relied on 'family folders' keep at the health centres for each household under their jurisdiction

to select individuals to interview. Each health centre is required to maintain a family folder with basic information about household members including their year of birth. This information is available in a computerized database at the health centres (and usually in hand written hard copies). The source for the database is a combination of official household registration data maintained by the Ministry of Interior, periodic surveys conducted by village health volunteers, information from household members themselves during visits to the health centres, and client health records. Staff at health centres can search the database using a programme designed for this purpose. To draw a sample of potential respondents for the survey, we asked the health centre at each sample site to provide us with a list of all persons in the database born during the years that corresponded to our cohorts. This information was usually obtained several weeks in advance of the actual survey at the site.[2]

In principle, the family folders are supposed to be periodically updated to allow for persons entering or exiting the population including removing those who died. However, to allow for the possibility that the database was not fully correct or up to date and that some persons might not be willing or available to interview, we selected 25 potential persons to interview for each cohort even though we were aiming for 18 interviews. Cases were selected using a fixed interval calculated by dividing the total number of persons in the list for the cohort by 25 and starting with the case at the midpoint of the first interval. Names in the lists were stratified by village (*mubaan*) within each sample site thus ensuring a geographically diverse sample within the site.

Survey implementation

Data collection took place during October and November 2006 and was supervised by the research team. Interviewers were graduate students at the Chulalongkorn University Faculty of Nursing and Faculty of Psychology. Three days of in-class training were provided in Bangkok and one day of practice interviews in the field for the original group of interviewers just prior to the start of the survey. Training included instructions about obtaining informed consent and how to sensitively handle situations which might arise in which questions asked were emotionally stressful for respondent. The interviewers' ability to deal with such matters was enhanced by their nursing background or, in the case of the psychology students, the fact all were majoring in counselling.

Unfortunately not all of the interviewers originally recruited were able to remain with the survey during the entire period of fieldwork. Thus additional interviewers were recruited after the survey began. All newly recruited interviewers received a half day training before joining fieldwork and some additional orientation in the field. In addition, before conducting interviews of their own, each joined an experienced interviewer to first observe and then jointly conduct an interview. At least one member of the research team observed each interviewer at an early stage, regardless of when they joined the fieldwork, in order to provide corrective guidance. In total 30 different persons including the three Thai investigators themselves conducted interviews. At any one time, however, only about half of the full team of interviewers were actually in the field.

The median interview time was 45 minutes. However, interview time varied considerably, ranging from just under 20 minutes to over two hours. Interviews with respondents who had many children, especially if many had migrated, took particularly long to complete because the amount of information to be collected was substantially greater than in other cases. For example, interviews with respondents who had 8 or more children of whom most had migrated took almost twice as long as interviews with respondents with two or fewer children none of whom had migrated.

The total of interviews completed was 1011 and thus modestly exceeded the 972 originally planned. A total of 33 interviews, however, are with respondents whose year of birth falls outside the range of the targeted cohorts by one year. Since the number is modest and the deviation only one year, these cases have been retained and

for analytical purposes are included in the age cohort to which their birth year is adjacent. This involves 6 cases for the 70-79 cohort; 9 for the 60-64 cohort and 12 for the 50-54 cohort.

Respondents were located with the help of local intermediaries, typically village health volunteers (*aw saw maw*) and staff from the local health centre. Interviews typically took place at the respondent's home although some were conducted at the place of work. Other persons were allowed to assist respondents answer factual questions but told not to assist with opinion or attitude questions. Most commonly the person who helped was the spouse of the respondent although children also helped. Overall someone other than the respondent assisted in answering questions in just under half (47%) of the interviews but only in 7% was the help judged by the interviewer to be "often". Help in answering the questionnaire differed by age cohort with others helping "often" for 3% of the 50-54 cohort, 6% of the 60-64 cohort and 14% of the 70-89 cohort.

One major problem that became apparent from the start of the survey was that most of the family folder datasets from which we drew the sample of individuals to be interviewed were not in fact up-to-date. In particular, persons who moved out or who died were often not removed from the database. Also in some cases the selected individual was ineligible for other reasons such as being single or childless or was born in a year different than in the records and fell outside the ranges of the targeted age cohorts. Potential respondent's whose physical or mental health condition was such that it would seriously impede or prevent an interview were also replaced.[3] In addition, a number originally selected individuals were either temporarily away from the sample site or not available for interview during the time the survey team visited their area, even though the team started interviewing early in the morning and continued into early evening.

In virtually all sites, the number of persons among the 25 originally selected for each cohort who could be interviewed was insufficient to meet the planned quota of 18 interviews. When a person was unavailable for interview, a replacement was sought from the list who was the same sex, in the same age cohort, and lived in the same village as the originally selected individual. In some sites additional respondents were also recruited to make up for shortfalls in other sites.

As Table A1 shows, among the total interviews completed, approximately 40% represented replacements either for individuals originally selected from the site or shortfalls from another site. The extent to which interviews involved replacement respondents varied considerably by cohort and to a lesser extent by province. Replacement interviews were most common for the youngest age cohort and least common for the oldest. Fully half of the 50-54 age cohort interviews were with replacement respondents, likely reflecting the greater tendency for persons in this age group compared to those in older ones to be economically active and work outside the home and thus less accessible for interview. Among the three provinces, replacement was least frequent in Nakorn Ratchasima, the province where the survey started. This may in part

Table A1: Per cent of interviews that were replacements for or additions to cases ones originally selected from health centre registers

	% replacement interviews by age cohort			
	50-54	60-64	70-79	Total
Nakorn Ratchasima	45.5	31.8	23.8	33.5
Si Sa Ket	51.3	40.9	30.6	40.7
Kamphaeng Phet	52.5	47.7	33.0	44.6
Total	50.0	40.2	29.3	39.8

reflect the greater effort made to check on the accuracy of the lists of potential individuals to interview in advance of the fieldwork for this province compared to the other two and the somewhat longer period of time allowed for the fieldwork in the province.

Table A2 indicates the reasons for replacement interviews. The most common reason for needing to replace originally selected individuals was that the person sought was not at home, accounting for 37% of replacements. Together, individuals who left the area or who were deceased account for about a third of the replacements. Most of the rest were due to either the fact they turned out to be ineligible (e.g., were childless or the wrong age) or were unknown to the intermediaries who assisted us and could not be located. Only one persons directly refused to be interviewed. The low refusal rate probably reflects the fact that local health staff, who usually were personally know to the respondent, helped arrange for the interviews.

Table A2: Reasons for replacement interviews (per cent distribution)

	50-54	60-64	70-79	Total
Number replaced	155	142	101	398
Reason for replacement (% distribution)[a]				
Dead	5.5	12.0	31.3	14.5
Moved out of area	26.0	13.0	14.5	18.6
Ineligible	10.2	13.9	12.0	11.9
Unknown to local informants	15.0	17.6	13.3	15.4
Refused	0.0	0.9	0.0	0.3
Physically or cognitively unable	1.6	0.9	3.6	1.9
Not at home	41.7	41.7	25.3	37.4

[a] Excludes 80 out of 398 cases for which a record was kept but no reason was checked.

There are some differences in reasons for replacement among the age cohorts. Replacement due to death was rarely required for the youngest cohort and but necessary for almost a third of originally selected persons for the oldest cohort. In contrast moving away from the sample site was a considerably more common reason for replacement among the younger cohort than the other two. Although replacements due to inability to answer a questionnaire for reasons of cognitive or physical health impairment were not common, they were most frequent among the oldest cohort.

The high portion of replacement interviews for reasons due to persons not being at home means that in practice some of the sample was recruited on a quasi-convenience basis rather than on a strict probability basis as originally planned. As a result, the sample is likely skewed towards those who were home during the day. One possible implication of this would be that persons who worked outside the household are underrepresented as they would prone to not being home when the interviewers were locating respondents to interview.

To gain some sense of the magnitude of this potential bias, Table A3 compares the per cent of respondents who indicated they were currently working based on results from the 2000 census and round 3 of the 2002 labour force survey (LFS). To increase comparability, both census and LFS results are restricted to the three provinces included in the MIS. Information on whether or not someone was working outside the home is not available from any of the three sources. However, if persons who worked outside the home are disproportionately absent from the migration impact survey (MIS), this should still be reflected in lower proportions reporting that they are

working than in the other sources. One problem is that the questions used to measure work status differ in the three sources. The census asked if persons worked during the previous year, the LFS if persons worked during the past seven days, while the MIS simply asked if the respondent worked without reference to any time period. Also neither the census nor LFS data permit tabulations that are based on rural and peri-urban areas combined and exclude major urban areas as is the case with the MIS sample. Thus comparisons can be made either between rural populations in all three sources or between the total population including periurban and larger municipal areas in the case of the census and the LFS but excluding major urban areas for the MIS.

Table A3: Per cent working by sex and age, MIS compared to 2000 census and 2002 Labour Force Survey (Round 3), MIS provinces only

	MIS (working)	Rural only Census 2000 (work last year)	LFS 2002 (work last 7 days)	MIS (working)	Rural and urban[a] Census 2000 (work last year)	LFS 2002 (work last 7 days)
Men						
50–54	97.1	95.8	95.9	95.8	95.1	95.6
60–64	84.1	82.6	74.7	82.7	80.4	72.0
70–79	51.0	44.1	30.1	47.6	43.6	29.5
Women						
50–54	83.3	90.1	80.5	80.7	87.7	78.8
60–64	54.2	70.4	52.8	53.1	67.6	50.8
70–79	23.8	28.6	5.2	22.4	28.2	6.2

Note: census and labour force survey results represent original calculations; census results are from the 1% sample. The census question asked if the person worked during the past year; the labour force survey asked if persons worked in last 7 days; and the MIS question simply asked if the person was working.

[a] The census and LFS include all urban areas while the MIS only includes peri–urban areas (*tetsabaan tambol*) and excludes major urban areas (*tetsabaan muang*).

The results are generally similar whether they are limited to the rural population only or to the combined rural and urban populations in the different sources. For men, there is little difference between the proportion in each age cohort who are working as indicated by the census and MIS but both sources yield higher levels than the LFS for the 60-64 and 70-79 age cohorts. This likely reflects differences is in the wording of the question in the three sources and suggests that in the MIS respondents were taking a broad view work when answering the question about working rather than narrowly thinking of being engaged specifically at the time of the survey. For women, the per cent who report themselves as working in the MIS is also higher than in the LFS although only modestly so for the first two cohorts but lower for each cohort than indicated by the census. In general, the results do not suggest that the MIS sample is seriously skewed towards persons who are economically inactive although this is likely so to some extent for women. Thus the substantial share of replacement interviews in the MIS seems at worst to only modestly compromise how representative it is in at least this respect.

Data preparation

Questionnaire editing and data entry were done primarily by a subset of persons who had served as interviewers. Although most of the questions involved pre-coded answers, a small number required subsequent coding prior to do data entry. Because of the complex nature of the questionnaire, data entry required the formation of 10 separate files depending to whom the questions being coded referred. The main file consisted of information corresponding directly to the respondent. Other files referred to questions concerning children in general, migrant children, return migrant children, and grandchildren, and children involved in certain types of specific exchanges during their lifetime. Each file included identification information to permit linking information about the same child during analysis. Extensive data cleaning took place in three stages: correcting out of range or invalid values; correcting internal inconsistencies within each of the 10 data files; and correcting inconsistencies between separate data files.

Endnotes

1 Pretesting took place 6-9 January 2006 in Phitsanulok province, 2-6 May in Uthai Thani province, and 29 August in Ayutthaya province.

2 Since interviews were to be conducted in October and November 2006 considered persons born in the years 1952-1956 to constitute the 50-54 age cohort, persons born in the years 1942-1946 to constitute the 60-64 age cohort, and persons born in the years 1927-1936 to constitute the 70-79 age cohort. This means that the small number of persons born in the last year defining each age cohort who had not yet passed their birthday are technically a month or two younger that of the lower age limit of the cohort when considered in terms of age at last birthday. Because information on birth years tends to be more precise than reported ages, we prefer the use of birth years to define the cohorts. For convenience, however, we retain the term age cohort in the text age as it is more readily interpretable for readers.

3 Originally the design called for proxy interviews in such cases but only one proxy interview took place.

Annex II: Questionnaire for the Migration Impact Survey

COVER SHEET

Questionnaire number: _____ (to be added after survey is completed)

Name of interviewer: _____

[Interviewer: Copy from Screening sheet]

Screening sheet ID number: _____

Name of respondent: _____

Year of Birth as determined by respondent: _____

Sex of respondent
1 male
2 female

Is this a proxy interview (because selected respondent is unable to carry out interview)?
1 yes
2 no → skip to date of interview

If proxy interview, indicate the following about the person serving as proxy relation of proxy to intended respondent: _____
age of proxy: _____
sex of proxy: 1 male 2 female

Date of interview: Date: _____ Day _____ Month
Time interview starts: _____ Hour _____ Minute

If interview is interrupted:
Time of interruption: _____ Hour _____ Minute
Date interview resumes: _____
Time interview resumes: _____ Hour _____ Minute

To be filled out by project staff

Task Name	
Supervisor	
Person editing questionnaire	
Data entry person	

Section A. Household Schedule

A1. We would like to know some information about everyone you live with here in your household. Let's start by listing everyone who regularly lives here starting with yourself.

List everyone who lives in the same household with the respondent and their relationship to the respondent before asking the detailed information about each one. Be sure to list the designated respondent as the first person and the spouse (if appropriate) as the second. If more than 10 household members, continue on a second questionnaire.

(a) Line no.	(b) Nick-name or initials	(c) Relationship to R (see codes)	(d) Sex 1 = M 2 = F	(e) Completed Age	Ask if 16 or older	
					(f) Does (name) help support HH financially? 1 = yes, 2 = no	(g) Does (name) help much with HH chores? 1 = yes, much 2 = some 3 = not at all
1		1 (self)				
2						
3						
4						
5						
6						
7						
8						
9						
10						

Codes for relationship to R

1	self	6	grandchild	11	sibling/sibling-in law
2	spouse	7	niece/nephew	12	other relative
3	child of R (including adopted)	8	parent	13	non-relative
4	step child of R (child of spouse not R)	9	parent-in-law		
5	child-in-law	10	grand parent		

Section B. Basic Background and Attitudes

B1. What is your religion?
1. Buddhism
2. Islam
3. Christian
4. Other (specify _____)

B2. What is your ethnicity?
1. Thai
2. Chinese
3. Thai-Chinese
4. Khmer
5. Other (specify _____)

B3. Normally when you converse with household members, what language do you use?
1. Standard Thai
2. Northeastern Thai/Lao
3. Northern Thai
4. Southern Thai
5. Chinese
6. Khmer
7. Other (specify _____)

B4. What is the highest level of schooling you finished?
Grade _____ (0 = never went to school)
Other (specify _____)

B5. (If highest grade is Paw 4 or less) Can you read and write easily?
1. easily
2. with difficulty or read only
3. can not read or write

B6. What is your current marital status
1. currently married, living with spouse → B11
2. currently married, not living with spouse → B8
3. separated or divorced → B8
4. widowed

B7. How long ago did your spouse die?
1. less than a year (state months _____) → B11
2. 1 year or more (state years _____) → B11

B8. How old is your (ex-)spouse? _____ years old (99 = dead)

B9. Where is your (ex-)spouse living?
1. in same amphoe
2. elsewhere
8. dead
9. do not know

B10. How long have you and your (ex-)spouse not been living together?
_____ years (if less than 1 write 0)

B11. What is the highest level of schooling your (ex-)spouse finished?
Grade _____ (0 = never went to school; 99 = don't know)
Other (specify _____)

B12. (If highest grade is Paw 4 or less or does not know level) Can your (ex-)spouse can your read and write easily?
1. easily
2. with difficulty or read only
3. can not read or write

B13. Are you currently covered by any kind of health insurance or health benefits?
[Multiple answers permitted, circle all that apply]
1. no
2. 30 baht health card with *taw* (fee exemption)
3. 30 baht health card (normal)
4. civil service insurance
5. government social security
6. other (specify _____)
9. unsure

B14. Do you and/or your spouse currently receive any kind of financial benefits from the government welfare or from NGOs?
1. yes (specify _____)
2. no

B15. Have either you or your spouse been married before?
1. no
2. respondent has
3. spouse has
4. both have

[Interviewer: Stress to the respondent that for questions B16-B18, we want the respondent's opinion about what is appropriate for elderly persons generally; If spouse or others are present, mention that in this section we want the respondent's own opinion so they should not help answer.]

B16. If parents are old and not in good health but all their children live elsewhere, which is better for them?
1. Stay where they are and ask a child to move back to take care of them
2. Go to live with one of their children who can care for them
3. Not sure

B17. If parents are old and not in good health and all their children live elsewhere, is it acceptable if their child hire someone to help the parents?
1. It is acceptable for the children to hire someone to help
2. It is not acceptable
3. Not sure

B18. Here are some statements about parents and their children. Do you agree or disagree with them?

	Agree	Disagree	Depends	Not sure
A. If parents are old and in good health, it is not necessary for children to live with or nearby them as long as children visit and keep in contact	1	2	3	4
B. Children living elsewhere should give parents money if parents are in financial difficulty	1	2	3	4
C. Even if parents are financially well off, children living elsewhere should give parents money	1	2	3	4
D. Children who live far away do not need to come visit frequently if they often call their parents on the phone	1	2	3	4
E. Children should support and care for their parents in old age even if they have their own families to support	1	2	3	4

Section C. Child Roster

C1. How many living sons and daughters of your own do you have including step and adopted children? *[enter 0 if none]*

A. _____ own children
B. _____ adopted children
C. _____ step children that respondent helped raise (see B18)

C2. I would like to ask you about each of your children, including any adopted children and step children that you helped raise. Please tell me their names starting with the oldest.

[Interviewer: Make sure that the number of children in chart below equals the sum of own, adopted and step children mentioned in C1A, B & C].

Child column number	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
A. Nick-name								
B. Is (name) a own, adopted or step child?								
1. own child	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
2. adopted child	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
3. step child	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3
C. Sex								
1. son	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
2. daughter	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
D. Completed age								
E. Is (name) attending school?								
1. yes	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
2. no	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
9. don't know	9	9	9	9	9	9	9	9
F. Highest grade completed (or current grade if in school) *[If less than upper secondary level → I]*								
G. Did (name) ever live away from home to attend school?								
1. yes	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
2. no → I	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
H. At that time, did you pay for (name's) schooling and living expenses?								
1. yes, paid most or all	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
2. yes, paid part	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
3. no, did not pay or paid only little	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3

I. Where does (name) live?								
1. in same house as respondent → J	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
2. next-door or very nearby → P	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
3. same village → O	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3
4. same tambol, different village → O	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4
5. same amphoe, different tambol → K	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5
6. same province, different amphoe → K	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6
7. different province → K	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7
8. Bangkok → L	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8
9. Abroad → L	9	9	9	9	9	9	9	9
99. don't know → L	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99
J. *[if in same household]* Line number in household schedule → P								
K. Is where (name) lives rural or urban?								
1. rural	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
2. urban	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
3. semi-urban	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3
9. not sure	9	9	9	9	9	9	9	9
L. Does (name) have a phone?								
1. yes	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
2. no → O	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
9. don't know	9	9	9	9	9	9	9	9
M. If you need to call (name) do you know the number to call?								
1. yes	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
2. no	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
N. How often do you talk with (name) on the phone?								
1. never	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
2. only a few times	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
3. several time a year	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3
4. every month or so	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4
5. several times a month	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5
6. weekly or more often	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6
O. How often do you and (name) visit each other?								
1. daily or several times per week	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
2. weekly or several times per month	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
3. monthly or every few months	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3
4. several times per year	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4
5. once a year	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5
6. less than once a year	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6
7. never	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7

P. *If child is under age 16 check here and go to next child. If age 16 or older continue*	_<16	_<16	_<16	_<16	_<16	_<16	_<16	_<16
Q. How many children does (name) have? *[if none write 0]*								
R. Marital status?								
1. single	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
2. married	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
3. divorce/separated	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3
4. cohabiting but not married	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4
9. don't know	9	9	9	9	9	9	9	9
S. Is (name) working?								
1. yes	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
2. no → U	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
9. don't know	9	9	9	9	9	9	9	9
T. What type of work does (name) do?								
1. farming for self/family	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
2. labour (hired)	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
3. regular employment (with steady wage or salary)	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3
4. self employed (describe job)	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4
5. other (describe job)	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5
6. did not work	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6
9. don't know	9	9	9	9	9	9	9	9
U. During the past year has (name) given you or your spouse any money?								
1. no → W	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
2. yes, but only once or twice	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
3. yes, several times	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3
4. yes, monthly or regularly	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4
V. Was the total amount (name) gave over the year, less than 1,000, between 1,000 and 5,000, or more than 5,000 Baht?								
1. less than 1,000	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
2. 1,000-5,000	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
3. over 5,000	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3
W. During the past year has (name) given you food frequently?								
1. no or only once in a while	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
2. at least monthly	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
3. at least weekly	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3
X. During the past year has (name) helped you with household chores frequently?								
1. no or only once in a while	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
2. at least monthly	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
3. at least weekly	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3

Y. During the past year has (name) helped you with your work or business?								
1. no	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
2. for a short time	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
3. regularly	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3
8. does not have any work needing help	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8
Z. Do you feel you could discuss your worries and problems freely with (name)								
1. not very much	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
2. some	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
3. yes quite freely	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3

C3. *[Interviewer: Go back and check C2I and count how many children live inside and outside the respondent's amphoe. Record your count below and confirm with respondent, correcting where necessary]*

Now just to make sure I have this correct, according to what you told me, you have

A. _____ children living in this amphoe and

B. _____ children living outside this amphoe. Is that right?

C4. Can you tell me if you had any of the following problems, to whom would you most likely ask to help?

[If respondent mentions several children, probe to see if one is more likely than others]

	Specific child/ children mentioned	Child but not sure which one	More than one child	Someone other than child (specify)	Unsure
You have financial difficulties	1 name____ col.___ (name____ col.___) (name____ col.___)	2	3 all 6 more than 2 but not all	4 _____ 8 Other answer	5
You need personal care because you are ill	1 name____ col.___ (name____ col.___) (name____ col.___)	2	3 all 6 more than 2 but not all	4 _____ 8 Other answer	5

Section D. Residence, Housing, Savings, Possessions

D1. Where were you living when your oldest child was about 15 years old?
1. same tambol → D4
2. same amphoe but different tambol
3. same province but different amphoe
4. different province (_____)
5. other (_____)
9. no child 15 or older

D2. How long have you lived in this tambol?
_____ years (if less than 1 year write 0)

D3. Where did you live before you lived in this tambol?
2. same amphoe but different tambol
3. same province but different amphoe
4. different province (_____)
5. other (explain _____)

[Interviewer: Base answers to D7 – D9 on observation if possible; otherwise ask respondent]

D4. What type of house does the respondent live in?
1. hut or shack
2. one story wooden or bamboo house
3. wooden house, raised floor on posts, with open lower level
4. wooden house, raised floor, with lower level walled in
5. one story cement/stucco house
6. two or more story cement/stucco house
7. wooden shop-house/row-house
8. cement row house/shop-house/townhouse
9. other _____

D5. What material is the roof of the house made of?
1. thatch/leaves/grass
2. corrugated tin
3. shingles
4. corrugated cement
5. tiles
6. other _____

D6. What is the ground floor of the house mostly made of?
1. earth/sand/clay/bamboo strips/thatch/palm
2. wood planks
3. cement
4. vinyl
5. ceramic tiles/marble
6. parquet or polished wood
7. other _____

D7. What kind of toilet facility do members of your household use?
(*Check all that apply*)
1. flush toilet
2. latrine with septic tank or connected to sewer
3. latrine without septic tank
4. pit toilet
5. no facility/field

D8. Do you have running water inside your house?
1. yes
2. no

D9. *[for interviewer to judge – do not ask respondent]* Based on the appearance of the respondent's house, how do you judge the economic status of the household to be?
1. quite well off
2. somewhat above average
3. average
4. somewhat below average
5. very poor
9. did not see

D10. Who owns the house that you live in?
1. self (and/or spouse) → D12
2. one of R's children (column number in child file _____)
3. parents or parents-in-law → D12
4. landlord (pays rent) → D16
5. other (specify _____) → D12

D11. Did you give the house to your child?
1. yes
2. no → D16

D12. Did any of your children help pay for buying, building or making major improvements (such as enlarging it or changing the roof or wall material) for the house?
1. yes
2. no → D14

D13. Which of your children helped pay for buying, building or making major improvements for the house. *[Interviewer: find the child roster column number and ask the questions below for each child that helped]*

A. Nick-name	B. Child roster column number	C. In total, did (name) contribute only a little, a moderate amount or a lot? 1 only a little 2 a moderate amount 3 quite a lot	D. Where did (name) live at the time? 1 with parent 2 in same tambol not with parent 3 in same amphoe, different tambol 4 elsewhere 5 other (explain)
1		1 2 3	1 2 3 4 5
2		1 2 3	1 2 3 4 5
3		1 2 3	1 2 3 4 5
4		1 2 3	1 2 3 4 5

D14. Did any of your children help with the labour to build or make major improvements for the house?
1. yes
2. no → D16

D15. Which of your children helped with labour to build or make major improvements for the house?
[Interviewer: find the child roster column number and ask the questions below for each child that helped]

A. Nick-name	B. Child roster column number	C. In total, did (name) help only a little, a moderate amount or a lot? 1 only a little 2 a moderate amount 3 quite a lot	D. Where did (name) live at the time? 1 with parent 2 in same tambol not with parent 3 in same amphoe, different tambol 4 elsewhere 5 other (explain)
1		1 2 3	1 2 3 4 5
2		1 2 3	1 2 3 4 5
3		1 2 3	1 2 3 4 5
4		1 2 3	1 2 3 4 5

D16. Do you or your spouse own any land (other than the house plot)?
1 yes (number of rai _____)
2 no → D19

D17. What is this land used for?
[Check all that apply]
1. rice farming
2. orchard
3. other crops
4. not currently in use
5. other (specify _____)

D18. Do you use this land yourself or do others use it?
[Check all that apply]
1. by self or spouse
2. by own children
3. by others with payment (share cropping or rental)
4. by others without payment
5. other _____

D19. Do you or members of your household have any of these items?

	1) Has item? 1 = Yes 2 = No	2) Did one of your children buy this item? 1 yes → next column 2 no → next item 3 other (explain) 4 child-in-law	3) Column number in C2 of child who paid 88 more than one 99 deceased	4) Where did (name) live at the time? 1 with parent 2 in same tambol not with parent 3 in same amphoe, different tambol 4 elsewhere 5 other (explain)
a) color TV	1 2	1 2 3		1 2 3 4 5
b) video/DVD player	1 2	1 2 3		1 2 3 4 5
c) refrigerator	1 2	1 2 3		1 2 3 4 5
d) computer	1 2	1 2 3		1 2 3 4 5
e) furniture set (store bought)	1 2	1 2 3		1 2 3 4 5
f) washing machine	1 2	1 2 3		1 2 3 4 5
g) air conditioner	1 2	1 2 3		1 2 3 4 5
h) motorcycle	1 2	1 2 3		1 2 3 4 5
i) car/truck	1 2	1 2 3		1 2 3 4 5
j) microwave oven	1 2	1 2 3		1 2 3 4 5

D20. Did any of your children ever buy or give you or your spouse anything major, such as gold, land, livestock, or equipment to help you make your living?
1. yes
2. no → D22

D21. Please tell me which of your children bought these things and what they were.
[Interviewer: find the child roster column number and ask the questions below for each child that gave something]

A. Nick-name	B. Child roster column number	C. What did the child give or buy for you	D. Where did (name) live at the time? 1 with parent 2 in same tambol not with parent 3 in same amphoe, different tambol 4 elsewhere 5 other (explain)
1			1 2 3 4 5
2			1 2 3 4 5
3			1 2 3 4 5
4			1 2 3 4 5
5			1 2 3 4 5

D22. Does your house have a telephone (landline) or does anyone in the household have a mobile phone?
1. yes landline phone
2. yes mobile phone
3. yes both landline and mobile phone
4. no → D24

D23. Who bought the phone(s) among those in your house?
[Check all that apply]
1. self or spouse → D26
2. son or daughter living in household (column number in child file _____) → D26
3. son or daughter not living in household (column number in child file _____) → D26
4. other → D26

D24. Do you know someone nearby who has a phone or mobile phone you could use if you needed to?
1. yes
2. no → D26

D25. Have you ever used this other person's phone/mobile phone to make or receive a call?
1. yes, both made and received calls
2. yes made calls only
3. yes received calls only
4. no

D26. Have you or your spouse ever given or loaned at least 5,000 baht to any of your children?
1. yes
2. no → D28
3. arranged loan by providing collateral

D27. Please tell me which of your children you gave or loaned a large amount of money.
[Interviewer: find the child roster column number and ask the questions below for each child that gave something]

A. Nick-name	B. Child roster column number	C. About how much did you give or loan? 1 under 10,000 2 10-100,000 3 over 100,000	D. Has the loan been repaid? 1 yes in full 2 in part 3 not at all 4 was gift	E. Where did (name) live at the time? 1 with parent 2 in same tambol not with parent 3 in same amphoe, different tambol 4 elsewhere 5 other (explain)
1		1 2 3	1 2 3 4	1 2 3 4 5
2		1 2 3	1 2 3 4	1 2 3 4 5
3		1 2 3	1 2 3 4	1 2 3 4 5
4		1 2 3	1 2 3 4	1 2 3 4 5
5		1 2 3	1 2 3 4	1 2 3 4 5

D28. Not counting education, have you ever paid a large expense for or given an expensive item to any of your children?
1. yes
2. no → next section

D29. Please tell me which of your children you gave this to.
[*Interviewer: enter child roster column number and ask the questions below for each child mentioned.]*

A. Nick-name	B. Child roster column number	C. About how much was the money or gift worth? 1 under 10,000 2 10-100,000 3 over 100,000	D. Where did (name) live at the time? 1 with parent 2 in same tambol not with parent 3 in same amphoe, different tambol 4 elsewhere 5 other (explain)
1		1 2 3	1 2 3 4 5
2		1 2 3	1 2 3 4 5
3		1 2 3	1 2 3 4 5
4		1 2 3	1 2 3 4 5
5		1 2 3	1 2 3 4 5

Section E. Health

E1. How would you rate your physical health at the present time? Would you say it is very good, good, fair, poor or very poor?
1. very good
2. good
3. fair
4. poor
5. very poor

E2. Do you have any chronic illness?
1. yes (specify _____)
2. no

E3. Think back to the time your oldest child was about age 18, how would you say your health was at that time? Would you say it was very good, good, fair, poor or very poor?
1. very good
2. good
3. fair
4. poor
5. very poor
9. oldest child not yet 18

E4. How long ago was the last time you had a serious acute illness or serious injury that prevented you from doing your usual daily activities?
_____ years ago (0 = less than a year ago)
99 never had a serious illness → E9

E5. How long did that illness or injury last?
1. less than a month
2. 1-2 months
3. 3-5 months
4. 6-12 months
5. more than a year

E6. Did any child who was living away at the time return to help care for you at that time?
1. yes *[write name and child roster column no for each mentioned]*
   (name _____ ; child roster column no. _____)
   (name _____ ; child roster column no. _____)
2. no (includes no child living away at time)
3. went to stay with child during illness

E7. Who would you say was the person that helped you most at that time?
1. spouse
2. child (name _____ ; child roster column no. _____)
3. son in law
4. daughter in law
5. grandchild
6. other person (specify _____)
8. no one helped → E9

E8. Who else helped at that time, for example did someone you haven't mentioned help take you to the doctor, help you take medicine or provide daily care you needed? *[Circle all that apply]*

1. spouse
2. children (child roster column no. _____)
3. son in law
4. daughter in law
5. grandchild
6. other person (specify _____)
8. no one else helped

E9. I am now going to ask you if you have any difficulty doing a number of physical tasks on your own without assistance. Do you with have any difficulty …. ?

	i. Do you have any difficulty?	ii. How much difficulty?
A. Walking 200-300 meters?	1 yes → ask ii 2 no → ask next task	1 some 2 a lot 3 cannot do
B. Lifting or carrying something as heavy as 5 kg.?	1 yes → ask ii 2 no → ask next task	1 some 2 a lot 3 cannot do
C. Crouching or squatting?	1 yes → ask ii 2 no → ask next task	1 some 2 a lot 3 cannot do
D. Using fingers to grasp or handle?	1 yes → ask ii 2 no → ask next task	1 some 2 a lot 3 cannot do
E. Walking up and down a set of stairs	1 yes → ask ii 2 no → E10	1 some 2 a lot 3 cannot do

E10. Now I would like to ask you about things people need to do to take care of themselves. Do you have any difficulty doing …. without help?

	i. Do you have any difficulty	ii. How much difficulty
A. Eating?	1 yes → ask ii 2 no → ask next task	1 some 2 a lot 3 cannot do
B. Getting dressed and undressed?	1 yes → ask ii 2 no → ask next task	1 some 2 a lot 3 cannot do
C. Bathing yourself?	1 yes → ask ii 2 no → ask next task	1 some 2 a lot 3 cannot do
D. Getting up when you are lying down?	1 yes → ask ii 2 no → ask next task	1 some 2 a lot 3 cannot do

E10x. Interviewer: indicate if the respondent has difficulty any of the 5 items in E9 or any of the 4 items in E10

1. _____ yes, has one or more difficulties → ask E11
2. _____ no, has no difficulty with any → skip to E12

E11. Who would you say was the person that helps you most?

1. spouse
2. child or children (name _____ ; child roster column no. _____)
3. son in law
4. daughter in law
5. grandchild
6. other person (specify _____)
8. no one helps

E12. Now I would like to ask you about things people need to do to take care of their house. Do you have any difficulty doing . . . . without help?

	i. Do you have any difficulty?	ii. How much difficulty?
A. Cooking?	1 yes → ask ii 2 no → ask next task 8 DNA → next task	1 some 2 a lot 3 cannot do
B. Handling household money?	1 yes → ask ii 2 no → ask next task 8 DNA → next task	1 some 2 a lot 3 cannot do
C. Doing housework like cleaning?	1 yes → ask ii 2 no → ask next task 8 DNA → next task	1 some 2 a lot 3 cannot do
D. Washing clothes	1 yes → ask ii 2 no → ask next task 8 DNA → next task	1 some 2 a lot 3 cannot do
E. Taking transportation?	1 yes → ask ii 2 no → ask next task	1 some 2 a lot 3 cannot do

E12x. Interviewer: indicate if the respondent has difficulty any of the five items in E12:

1. _____ yes, has one or more difficulties → ask E13
2. _____ no, has no difficulty with any → skip to E13x

E13. Who would you say was the person that helped you most?

1. spouse
2. child or children (name _____ ; child roster column no. _____)
3. son in law
4. daughter in law
5. grandchild
6. other person (specify _____)
8. no one helps

E13x. Interviewer: Indicate if the respondent is currently married and living with spouse:
1. _____ yes is currently married and living with spouse → ask E14
2. _____ no, not is currently married or not living with spouse → skip to E17

E14. How is the physical health of your spouse at the present time? Is it very good, good, fair, poor or very poor?
1. very good
2. good
3. fair
4. poor
5. very poor

E15. Does your spouse need any help caring for him/herself, like bathing and getting dressed.
1. yes
2. no → E17

E16. Who is the person that helps your spouse the most?
1. respondent does
2. child or children (name _____ ; child roster column no. _____)
3. son in law
4. daughter in law
5. grandchild
6. other person (specify _____)

E17. Think back to the time your oldest child was about age 18, how was the physical health of your spouse at that time? Would you say it was very good, good, fair, poor or very poor?
1. very good
2. good
3. fair
4. poor
5. very poor
8. dead or separated at the time
9. oldest child not yet 18

[Interviewer: if spouse or others are present, mention that for the remaining questions in this section, we want the respondent to answer him or herself, so they should not help answer]

E18. I would like to ask you about your current feelings regarding your life related to your children. I will read a statement and would like you to tell me whether you feel it is true, partly true or not true with regards to your situation.

	True	Partly true	Not true	Don't know
A. You and your children (and among children) get along well together	1	2	3	9
B. Your children are doing well with their lives	1	2	3	9
C. You and your children can depend on each other for help	1	2	3	9
D. You think too much about your problems	1	2	3	9
E. When something bad happens you can accept it	1	2	3	9
F. You are bored with things around you	1	2	3	9

E19. Have you ever considered that you might go to live in an old persons home?
1. yes
2. no
3. do not know what an old persons home is

E20. Now I would like to ask about government services for the elderly. We would like to know if you know of theses services, if you used them and your satisfaction with the service.
[If under age 60 ask only column 1 except for item B]

	1. Ever heard of service? 1 yes 2 no → next item 9 DK → next item	2. Ever use or receive service? 1 yes 2 no next item 9 DK → next item	3. How satisfied were you? 1 very 2 somewhat 3 not satisfied
A. Elderly club	1 2 9	1 2 9	1 2 3
B. Community health service centre	1 2 9	1 2 9	1 2 3
C. Elderly health clinic in government hospital	1 2 9	1 2 9	1 2 3
D. Welfare allowance elderly	1 2 9	1 2 9	1 2 3

Section F. Economic Activity and Situation

F1x. Interviewer: Look at children roster and indicate if oldest child is at least age 18:
1. _____ oldest child 18 or older
2. _____ oldest child under age 18

Preface to F1 to F7: I would like to ask some questions about your current situation and also about your situation when your oldest child was about age 18. Let's start with your current situation.
[Interviewer: If the oldest child is under age 18, only ask about the current situation.]

	A. Current situation	B. Situation when oldest child was age 18
F1. How do you judge your economic status relative to others in your community?		
1. much better	1	1
2. somewhat better	2	2
3. about average	3	3
4. below average but not much worse	4	4
5. much worse	5	5
F2. Which of the following (were) your sources of support? *[Ask each separately]*		
a. own and/or spouse's work	1 = yes 2 = no	1 = yes 2 = no
b. children/grandchildren	1 = yes 2 = no	1 = yes 2 = no
c. rent/interest/investments	1 = yes 2 = no	1 = yes 2 = no
d. other (specify)	1 = yes 2 = no	1 = yes 2 = no
F3. (*if more than one source in F2*) Of all of these, what is you most important source of support?		
1. own and/or spouse's work	1	1
2. children/grandchildren	2	2
3. rent/interest/investments	3	3
4. other (specify)	4	4
5. all equal	5	5
F4. Are (were) you working?		
1. yes	1	1
2. no → F6	2	2
3. other (specify)	3	3
F5. What type of work do (did) you do? *[write down actual response and record all codes that apply]*	(_____)	(_____)
1. farming for self	1	1
2. hired farm labour	2	2
3. hired non-farm labour	3	3
4. fishing	4	4
5. skilled work – self employed	5	5
6. salaried employee – low level	6	6

7. white collar employee	7	7
8. vendor without permanent shop	8	8
9. small shop owner	9	9
10. own business with employees	10	10
11. other	11	11
F6. Is (was) your spouse working?		
1. yes	1	1
2. no	2 → F1B	2 → G1X
3. other (specify)	3	3
9. separated or widowed at time to which question refers	9 → F1B	9 → G1X
F7. What type of work does (did) your spouse do? *[write down actual response and record all codes that apply]*		
1. farming for self	1	1
2. hired farm labour	2	2
3. hired non-farm labour	3	3
4. fishing	4	4
5. skilled work – self employed	5	5
6. salaried employee – low level	6	6
7. white collar employee	7	7
8. vendor without permanent shop	8	8
9. small shop owner	9	9
10. own business with employees	10	10
11. other	11	11
	Go to F1B	Go to F1B

Section G. Returned Migrant Children

G1x. *Interviewer: check C3 indicate if the respondent has children living in same amphoe (including those coresident and living nearby)*
1. _____ has children living in same amphoe → ask G2
2. _____ no children living in same amphoe → next section

G2. You said you have children currently living with you and/or children living in this amphoe. Have any of these children ever lived elsewhere outside of this amphoe continuously for at least a year or more?
1. yes
2. no → next section

G3. Please tell me how many children returned to this amphoe after living away?
_____ number

Now I would like to ask you about the children who returned after living for at least a year elsewhere. Please tell me their nick-names.
[Interviewer: if more than one, record nicknames first and then ask full set of questions about the first before asking about the second, etc. If more than three who returned use additional questionnaire]

	Returned migrant 1	Returned migrant 2	Returned migrant 3
Nick-name of child			
G4. Column number in child roster in section C			
G5. Where does (name) currently live?			
1. with respondent	1	1	1
2. next door/nearby	2	2	2
3. same village but not nearby	3	3	3
4. same tambol but not same village	4	4	4
5. elsewhere in amphoe	5	5	5
G6. Before returning, did (name) live in this province or elsewhere?			
1. in province	1	1	1
2. outside province	2	2	2
G7. What was (name) doing at the place s/he returned from? (*multiple answers allowed*)			
1. working	1	1	1
2. studying	2	2	2
3. taking care of home and family	3	3	3
4. military service	4	4	4
5. other (describe activity)	5	5	5
9. don't know	9	9	9
G8. What was the main kind of work (name) did to earn living at last place before moving back?			
1. farming for self/family	1	1	1
2. labour (hired)	2	2	2

3. regular employment (with steady wage or salary)	3	3	3
4. self employed (describe job)	4	4	4
5. other (describe job)	5	5	5
6. did not work	6	6	6
9. don't know	9	9	9
G9. How long ago did (name) move back? *[Interviewer: record in years with less than 1 year = 0]*			
G10. How long was (name) away before moving back? *[Interviewer: If left and returned more than once, count total time away; record in years with less than 1 year = 0]*			
G11. Was concern about problems you (or your spouse) had a major reason why (name) returned?			
1. yes	1	1	1
2. no	2	2	2
9. don't know	9	9	9
G12. Were any adult children living with or nearby you before (name) moved back?			
1. children lived with me and also nearby → G14	1	1	1
2. children lived with me but not nearby → G14	2	2	2
3. children lived nearby but not with me	3	3	3
4. no adult children lived with or nearby me	4	4	4
5. other (explain)	5	5	5
G13. Did you need someone to return at the time to live with or nearby you?			
1. yes	1	1	1
2. no	2	2	2
G14. Did (name) have any children who lived with you at the time s/he moved back?			
1. no	1	1	1
2. yes	2	2	2
G15. All in all, do you think that it was good for you that (name) returned?			
1. good	1	1	1
2. not good	2	2	2
3. no difference	3	3	3
9. does not know; has no opinion	9	9	9
G16. All in all, do you think that it was good for (name) that s/he returned?			
1. good	1	1	1
2. not good	2	2	2
3. no difference	3	3	3
9. does not know; has no opinion	9	9	9

Section H. Migrant Children

Interviewer: This section refers to children who migrated to a different amphoe regardless of where the parents lived at the time the children left. Note this includes:

_____ children who moved away from parents when the parents themselves may have lived elsewhere
_____ children who moved away but have returned
_____ deceased children who migrated

Note that migration refers to moving out of the amphoe for at least one year.

H1. I would like to ask about your children who migrated. Can you tell me how many children in total have ever moved away from you to live in a different amphoe from where you lived, including any children who moved away but have since returned?
_____ number who ever moved away (if 0 → next section)

H2. Please think about the about the time when the last child left to live elsewhere.
How was your health at that time?
1. good
2. fair
3. poor

H3. How was your spouse's health at that time ?
1. good
2. fair
3. poor
4. widowed or separated at the time

H4. Were you or your spouse working at that time?
1. yes, both were
2. only respondent was working
3. only spouse was working
4. no, neither worked

Can you remind me of the names of your children who left you to live elsewhere including those who returned?

[Interviewer: first write down the names of the children (H5) who lived elsewhere before asking the remaining questions; if more that 6 children who migrated use an additional questionnaire]

	1	2	3	4	5	6
H5. Nick-name						
H6. Column number in child roster in section C (if child deceased write 'died' and code as 99)						
H7. Before (name) first moved away from the amphoe you lived in, was (name) still living with you or had (name) already moved out of your house?						
1. lived with us	1	1	1	1	1	1
2. already moved out of house	2	2	2	2	2	2

H8. What order was (name) among those who ever left to live outside the amphoe you lived in?						
1. first or only one to leave	1	1	1	1	1	1
2. neither first nor last to leave	2	2	2	2	2	2
3. last to leave	3	3	3	3	3	3
H9. About how old was (name) when (name) first moved away?						
H10. Before moving away, did (name) help support your household?						
1. yes	1	1	1	1	1	1
2. no	2	2	2	2	2	2
3. other (specify)	3	3	3	3	3	3
H11. What was the main reason (name) moved away? *[Multiple answers permitted]*						
1. to find or take work	1	1	1	1	1	1
2. as part of his/her job at the time	2	2	2	2	2	2
3. to marry or follow spouse	3	3	3	3	3	3
4. to continue education	4	4	4	4	4	4
5. military service	5	5	5	5	5	5
6. other (specify)	6	6	6	6	6	6
H12. Where did (name) move to at that time?						
1. different amphoe but same province	1	1	1	1	1	1
2. different province	2	2	2	2	2	2
3. Bangkok → H14	3	3	3	3	3	3
4. 4 abroad → H14	4	4	4	4	4	4
9. don't know → H14	9	9	9	9	9	9
H13. Was the area (name) moved to rural or urban?						
1. rural	1	1	1	1	1	1
2. urban	2	2	2	2	2	2
3. semi-urban	3	3	3	3	3	3
9. not sure	9	9	9	9	9	9
H14. At the time (name) left were other children still living with you in your household?						
1. yes → H16	1	1	1	1	1	1
2. no	2	2	2	2	2	2
H15. At that time were other children living elsewhere in your village?						
1. yes	1	1	1	1	1	1
2. no	2	2	2	2	2	2

H16. Whose idea was it mainly for (name) to leave?						
1. you and/or your spouse → H18	1	1	1	1	1	1
2. (name) him/herself	2	2	2	2	2	2
3. siblings of (name)	3	3	3	3	3	3
4. friends of (name)	4	4	4	4	4	4
5. relatives	5	5	5	5	5	5
6. other (specify)	6	6	6	6	6	6
H17. Did you agree with (name) that it was okay to leave?						
1. yes, agreed	1	1	1	1	1	1
2. no, did not agree	2	2	2	2	2	2
3. left it up to child	3	3	3	3	3	3
H18. Did you (or your spouse) help pay the expenses for (name) to move or set up at the destination?						
1. yes we paid all or most of expenses	1	1	1	1	1	1
2. yes we paid some	2	2	2	2	2	2
3. no we did not pay	3	3	3	3	3	3
4. we only loaned money	4	4	4	4	4	4
H19. Did you worry about if (name) living elsewhere when s/he left?						
1. thought child would be okay	1	1	1	1	1	1
2. worried some	2	2	2	2	2	2
3. worried a lot	3	3	3	3	3	3
H20. At the time (name) moved away did you feel that (name) would have a better life as a result?						
1. yes	1	1	1	1	1	1
2. no	2	2	2	2	2	2
3. uncertain	3	3	3	3	3	3
H21. At that time, did you think you (name) would be better able to support you financially as a result?						
1. yes	1	1	1	1	1	1
2. no	2	2	2	2	2	2
3. unsure	3	3	3	3	3	3
4. did not think about it	4	4	4	4	4	4
H22. Thinking about the entire time that (name) has lived away, did (name) provide you with <u>regular</u> financial support?						
1. yes all or most of the time away	1	1	1	1	1	1
2. yes but only some of the time away	2	2	2	2	2	2
3. did not provide regular support	3	3	3	3	3	3

H23. Thinking about the entire time that (name) has lived away, did you ever provide (name) food that you produced on a regular basis?						
1. yes	1	1	1	1	1	1
2. no	2	2	2	2	2	2
3. other (specify)	3	3	3	3	3	3
H24. Thinking about the entire time that (name) has lived away, would you say s/he contributed more to your and your spouse's material support or that you have contributed more to (name's) material support?						
1. (name) contributed more to our support	1	1	1	1	1	1
2. we contributed more to (name's) support	2	2	2	2	2	2
3. about equally	3	3	3	3	3	3
4. neither contributed to the other's support	4	4	4	4	4	4
5. other (specify)	5	5	5	5	5	5

H25. Has any child who lived away from here ever helped you go to get medical care somewhere else?
1. yes, to area where (name) lived
2. yes but to somewhere other than where (name) lived
3. yes, both to area where (name) lived and somewhere else
4. no (including did not need medical care)

H26. Have you or your spouse ever gone to stay for more than a month with one of your children who moved to live elsewhere?
1. yes
2. no → H28

H27. What were the reasons you (or your spouse)stayed with the child for a month or longer?
[Multiple answers permitted]
1. help with child care
2. help with caregiving to (name) or family
3. to be cared for by (name) or family
4. to get medical treatment where (name) lived
5. just to visit
6. to avoid problems at home
7. other (specify _____)

H28. Altogether, would you say you feel pride in your children who have moved away.
1. yes
2. no
3. other (specify _____)

Section I. Grandchildren

I1. Now I would like to ask you about your grandchildren. Have you ever gone to take care of a grandchild who lived elsewhere for at least 3 months?
1. yes
2. no → I3
9. has no grandchildren → next section

I2. Whose children did you go to care for?

Record name parent of grandchildren Record column number in child roster or code 99 if parent is dead	Name: _____ Col. No: 99 parent dead	Name: _____ Col. No: 99 parent dead	Name: _____ Col. No: 99 parent dead	Name: _____ Col. No: 99 parent dead

I3. Have you ever taken care of a grandchild who lived with you for at least a year but whose parent did not live with you?
[Interviewer: this question includes both grandchildren who currently live with the respondent as well as any who previously lived with the respondent]
1. yes
2. no → I6

I4. How many grandchildren in total did you care for?
_____ (number)

I5. I would like to have some information about each of the grandchildren who you took care of for at least a year when their parents were not with you.
[Interviewer: if more than 4 please use an additional questionnaire to continue].

A. Please tell me the grandchild's nicknames	_____	_____	_____	_____
B. Which of your children is this person's parent Record name Record column number in child roster or code 99 if parent is dead	Name: _____ Col. No: 99 parent dead	Name: _____ Col. No: 99 parent dead	Name: _____ Col. No: 99 parent dead	Name: _____ Col. No: 99 parent dead
C. Since what age did (name) start to live with you? Record age _____ or 88 = since birth/soon after birth	_____	_____	_____	_____
D. For how many years in total did this grandchild live with you? *[estimate total time if stay not continuous]* _____ years 88 = still living in household	_____	_____	_____	_____

"It is not by muscle, speed or physical dexterity that great things are achieved, but by reflection, force of character, and judgement; and in these qualities old age is usually not only not poorer, but is even richer"

Marcus Tullius Cicero, Roman Senator (106-43 B.C.)

E. Where did (name of the child who was the parent) live when you cared for this grandchild? [*if more than one place record where she was most of the time*]				
2 = next door/nearby	2	2	2	2
3 = elsewhere in village or tambol	3	3	3	3
4 = outside tambol	4	4	4	4
5 = dead	5	5	5	5
F. Who paid for most of the expenses of raising the grandchild when the grandchild was living with you?				
1. the grandchild's parents paid most or all	1	1	1	1
2. we paid most or all	2	2	2	2
3. both we and the grandchild's parents shared	3	3	3	3
4. other (specify)	4	4	4	4

I6. Did any grandchildren who lived with their parents most of the time come and stay with you at least a few months each year going back and forth between you and the parents?
1. yes
2. no

Section J. Expectations and Satisfaction

J1x. *Interviewer: Please check C3 and indicate if the respondent has children living in this amphoe*
1. _____ has children living in this amphoe → continue to J1
2. _____ has no children living in this amphoe → skip to J2x

J1. Do you expect any of your children who are living in this amphoe to move away in the future?
1. yes, but not all
2. yes, all
3. no
4. unsure

J2x. *Interviewer: Please check C4 and indicate if the respondent has children living outside this amphoe*
1. _____ has children living outside this amphoe → continue to J3
2. _____ has no children living outside this amphoe → skip to J7

J3. Do you expect any of your children living outside of this amphoe to move here in the future?
1. yes, but not all
2. yes, all
3. no → J5
4. unsure → J5

J4. Would one reason they would move here be to help care for you in your old age?
1. yes
2. no
3. unsure

J5. Do you expect to move to live with any of your children who live elsewhere in the future?
1. yes
2. no → J7
3. unsure → J7

J6. Why would you join your child elsewhere?
1. to have them look after me
2. to help them
3. both for them to care for me and for me to help them
4. other (specify _____)

J7. In your old age, do you expect one of your children to help and care for you?
1. yes
2. no → J10
3. unsure → J10

J8. Which of your children would be the most likely to care for you in your old age?
Name _____ Column number in child roster _____
88 more than 1 child → J10
99 unsure

J9. Would the child who cares for you in your old age get special consideration in your inheritance plan?
1. yes, the child would be rewarded through inheritance
2. no
3. has not yet decided
8. has only one child
9. nothing to bequeath

J10. Overall can you tell me how satisfied you are with your children in terms of the following?

	Very dissatisfied	Somewhat dissatisfied	Somewhat satisfied	Very satisfied	Does not apply
A. Financial and material support they provide	1	2	3	4	9
B. Help with household chores	1	2	3	4	9
C. Help with personal affairs outside household	1	2	3	4	9
D. Taking care of you when ill	1	2	3	4	9
E. Overall assessment of taking care of you	1	2	3	4	9
F. Personal concern they show for you	1	2	3	4	9
G. Respect for you opinion	1	2	3	4	9

Section K. Interviewer's Comments

K1. How much of the interview was completed
1. Entire interview
2. Mostly completed
3. Less than half completed

K2. Was anyone else present during the interview for more than a few minutes:
1. Yes
2. No → K5

K3. If yes: Who?
1. Spouse
2. Child(ren) Write child # _____ Write child # _____ Write child # _____
3. Daughter-in-law or Son-in Law. Write child # that this child-in-law is married to _____
4. Other Relative
5. Other Non-relative

K4. Did persons present help the respondent answer questions?
1. Yes, often
2. Yes, only limited amount
3. No, not at all
9. Proxy interview

K5. Did the respondent (or proxy) seem to understand the questions?
1. Very well
2. Acceptably
3. With some difficulty
4. with much difficulty

K6. Did the respondent (or proxy) cooperate?
1. Very well
2. Acceptably
3. Not well

Time interview ends _____ Hour _____ Minute

Annex III: Guidelines for Semi-Structured Interviews with Community Leaders in Connection with the Migration Impact Survey

1. How common is it for young adults to migrate out of the locality? Has this increased or decreased over recent years (see the last decade). If so why?

2. How do villagers in general view outmigration of young adults? Do they see it positively, negatively or some of both?

3. How do the parents of those who migrate out view this? Do they see themselves benefiting or being disadvantaged or some of both as a result?

4. Are there any older parents in the village who have been deserted completely by their children? Probe for details of the circumstances of each case especially in connection with the migration of their children.

5. Do older persons who have children living far away, particularly in cities, visit those children? If so do they go for only short visits or do they sometimes go for extended stays?

6. Have any older persons in your community moved out to follow adult children who have migrated elsewhere to go and live with them permanently (it is important to probe thoroughly to make sure the informant is not simply saying people don't do this). Ask about the details of the circumstances that led to the older aged parents to move.

7. How common is it for adult children who have migrated out to return to live again in this locality? To what extent, if any, is their return related to the circumstances of their parents?

8. Where do older persons go for health care? (Distinguish between minor illnesses and serious ones requiring major treatments and hospitalization). Probe if older persons go to provincial hospitals or to hospitals in larger cities such as Bangkok or Chiang Mai for health care or hospitalization. If so if this is related to having adult children living in those places?

9. How does the 30 baht scheme affect older persons use of health care facilities? Are they generally satisfied with this scheme?

10. How have health facilities changed over the last decade in this area?

11. What major changes have occurred during the last decade in this area? In particular probe about changes in the availability of schools, roads, and means of transportation.

12. How common are mobile phones in this locality. Do most households have them. Are households who do not have one able to access one from others in the locality?

13. In this area, are there any services for elderly provided by government or NGO? Are they used very much? (Probe: why or why each of the following are or are not used much.)

A. Elderly club
B. Community elderly health service center
C. Home visit volunteer for elderly
D. Welfare allowance for elderly
E. Home improvement assistant for elderly

14. The government is considering introducing some services for elderly persons. Please tell us if few, some or most elderly in your community would find the following types of services useful?

Service description	1 Very few/none	2 Some but not most	3 Most	9 Not sure
A. common area for organized exercise for elderly	1	2	3	9
B. common reading and educational activities room	1	2	3	9
C. mobile medical clinic for elderly	1	2	3	9
D. provision of a daily meal to homes of elderly	1	2	3	9
E. home visits to help with household chores	1	2	3	9
F. day care centre for elderly	1	2	3	9
G. home nursing care for serious illness	1	2	3	9

15. Are there any services that we did not mention that you believe would be particularly useful for elderly in this community?

[Write "none" if respondent answers no.]

Specify_____

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