

# Social Capital and Migration: How Do Similar Resources Lead to Divergent Outcomes?<sup>1</sup>

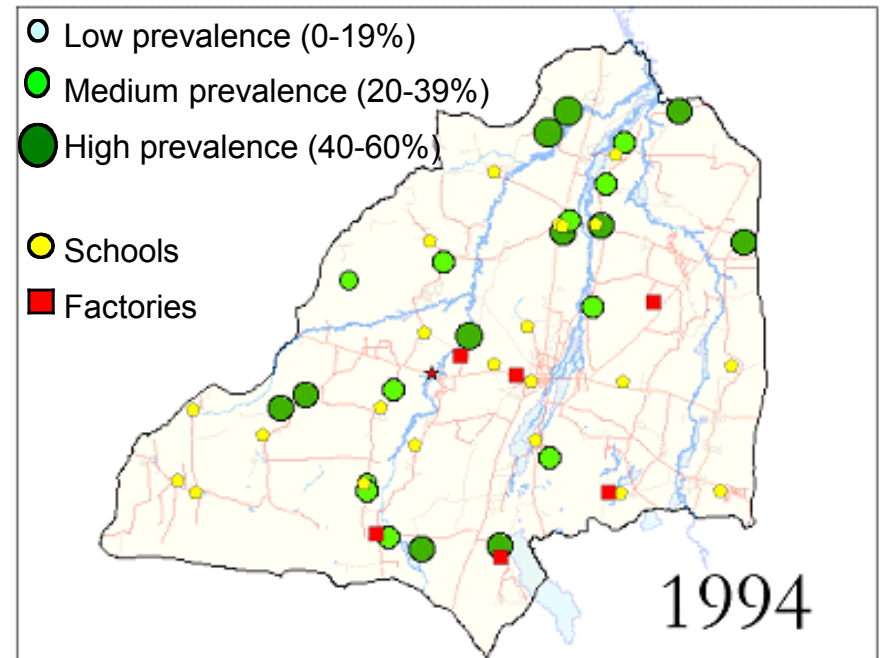
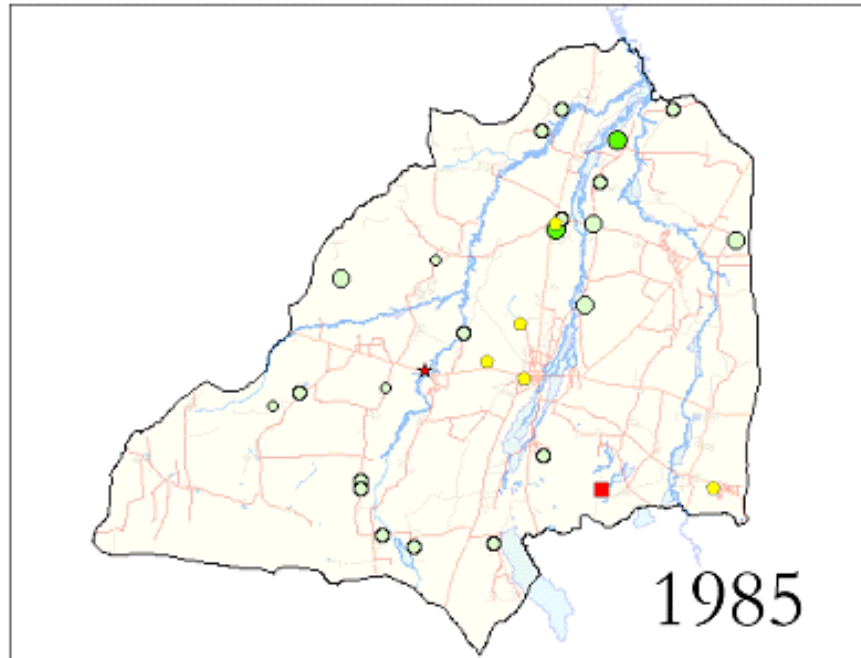
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# The Thai Puzzle

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# My Argument

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Differences in migration levels of the Thai communities is explained by how migrant social capital accumulates in these communities.

Migrant social capital differentially affects migration outcomes depending on its level, diversity, and accessibility.

Because social capital accumulates over time, even small initial differences may be aggregated to large discrepancies in migration patterns over time.

# Social Capital Theory

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Resources linked to possession of a durable network of relations (Bourdieu 1986)

Contingency of resources on social structure

- Closure in networks (Coleman 1988)
- Structural holes in networks (Burt 1992)
- Strength of network ties (Granovetter 1973)

Three distinct dimensions of social capital (Portes 1998)

- Recipients (those making demands)
- Sources (those agreeing to those demands), and
- Resources

# Social Capital and Migration

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*Migrant social capital is...*

Information about or direct assistance with migrating provided by prior migrants, which decreases the costs of moving for potential migrants

*Using Portes' typology...*

A resource (information or assistance) that recipients (potential migrants) access through their social ties to sources (prior migrants)

# Resources of Migrant Social Capital

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The higher the amount of resources available to recipients, the greater their propensity to migrate.

The higher the diversity of resources available to recipients, the greater their propensity to migrate.

The higher the accessibility of resources available to recipients, the greater their propensity to migrate.

# Sources of Migrant Social Capital

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The stronger the ties to sources, the more reliable the resources, and the greater the recipients' propensity to migrate.

The weaker the ties to sources, the broader the scope of resources, and the greater the recipients' propensity to migrate.

# Recipients of Migrant Social Capital

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The higher the migration experience of recipients, the greater their propensity to migrate.

The higher the migration experience of recipients relative to other sources, the less valuable the resources from those sources, and the lower their effect on the propensity to migrate.



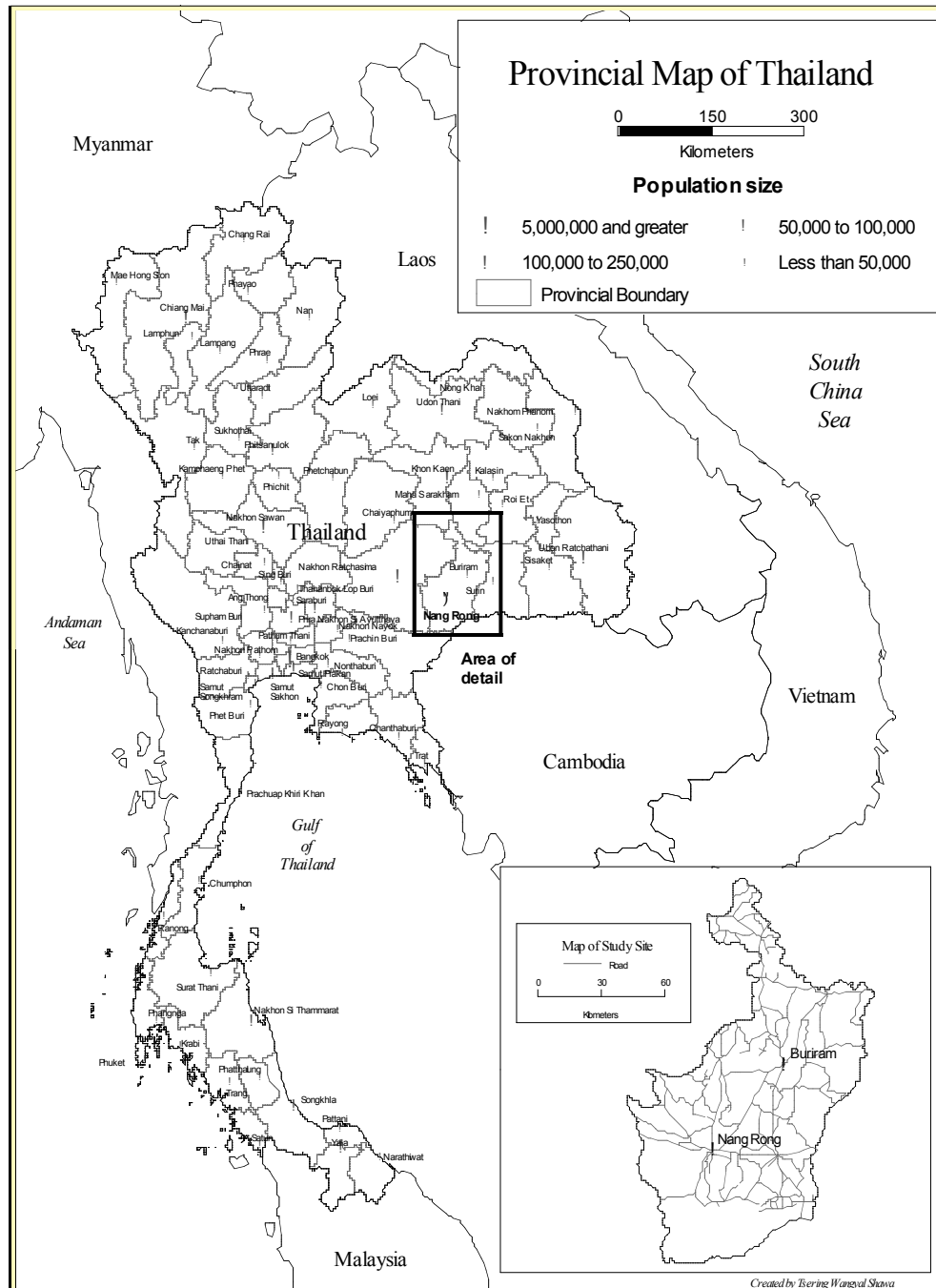
# Thai Setting

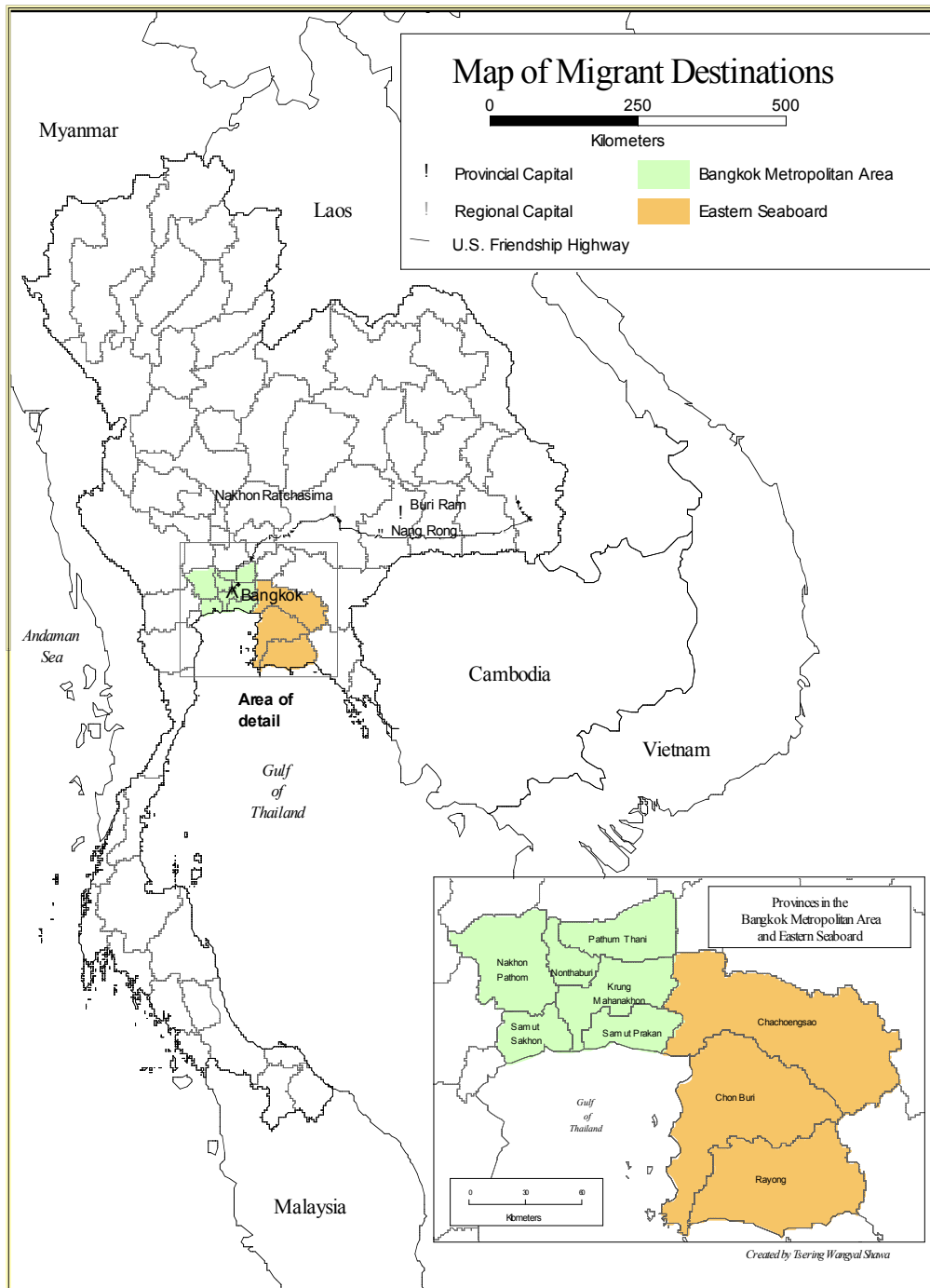
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Dramatic economic change and growth from mid-1980s to mid-1990s

Shift of the economic base from agriculture to export processing

Increased rural to urban migration and diverse demographic base of migrants





# Nang Rong Survey Data

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Household and village censuses, combined with life histories of all individuals aged 13-35 between 1984 and 1994

Migrant follow-up component, 43% of migrants interviewed in destination

Prospective panel design avoids attrition bias, allows us to observe the accumulation of migrant social capital over time

# Qualitative Data

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Focus group discussions with village leaders, return migrants and migrant-sending households

24 focus groups in 8 villages with a total of 160 participants

Inquired about past and current migration patterns, and their consequences for households and villages

# Operational Measures of Migrant Social Capital

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	<u>Amount</u>	<u>Diversity</u>	<u>Accessibility</u>
<b>Resources</b> <i>(Information or assistance)</i>	Accumulated migrant trips in household or village	Entropy of trips by destination & occupation in household or village	Equality of distribution of trips in village
<b>Sources</b> <i>(Prior migrants)</i>		<u>Strength of ties</u>	
<b>Recipients</b> <i>(Potential migrants)</i>		<u>Attributes</u> Relative migration experience index_____	

## Operational Measures - Details

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$$\text{Accumulated Village Trips (V,T)} = \sum_{t=1984}^{T-1} \sum_{i=1}^{N_V} \text{Individual trips (i,t)}$$

$$\text{Destination Entropy of Trips (V,T)} = - \sum_{d=1}^D \frac{p_d(V,T) \log p_d(V,T)}{\log(D)}$$

$$\text{Equality of Trips (V,T)} = 1 - \frac{\sigma_{V,T}}{\mu_{V,T}}$$

$$\text{Relative Migrant Experience (x)} = F(x)E[x-z|z<x]$$

V=1..22, T=1985..1994, D=1..4,

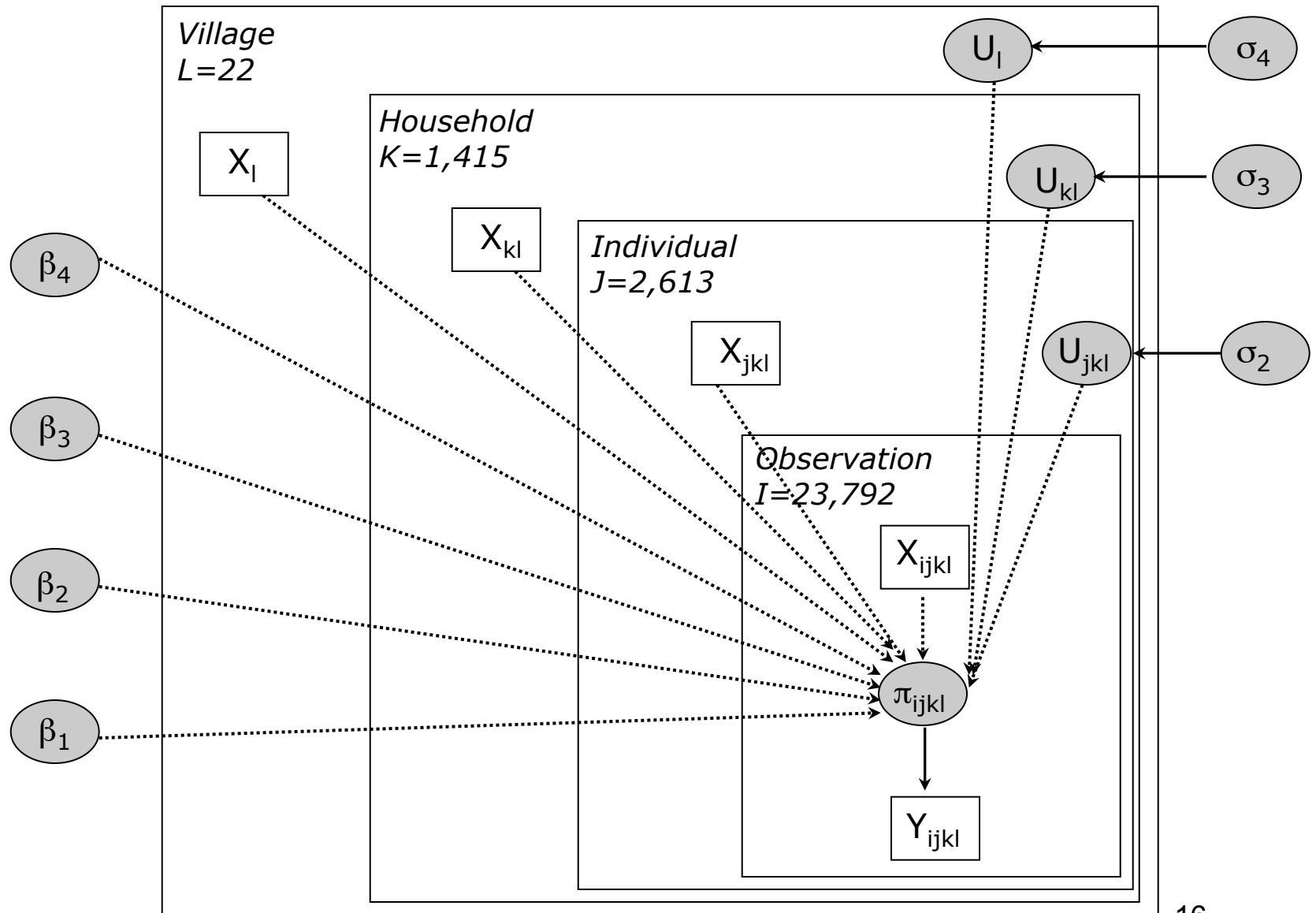
$p_d(V,T)$ : proportion of village trips to destination  $d$ ,

$\sigma_{V,T}$ : standard deviation of individual trips,

$\mu_{V,T}$ : mean of individual trips

x: number of trips of index individual

# Modeling Strategy





## Estimation Procedure

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$$Y_{ijkl} \sim B(1, \pi_{ijkl})$$

$$\text{logit}(\pi_{ijkl}) = \beta_0 + \beta_1 x_{ijkl} + \beta_2 x_{jkl} + \beta_3 x_{kl} + \beta_4 x_l + U_{jkl} + U_{kl} + U_l$$

$$U_{jkl} \sim N(0, \sigma_2^2)$$

$$U_{kl} \sim N(0, \sigma_3^2)$$

$$U_l \sim N(0, \sigma_4^2)$$

*Model can be estimated by...*

**MLwiN software with Penalized Quasi Likelihood**

STATA Gllamm application

HLM software with three-level hierarchy

WinBUGS software for Bayesian estimates

# Impact of Migrant Social Capital on Migration

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	Odds Ratio
Trips in household	1.14 *
Trips in village	1.30 *
Destination diversity in household	0.98
Destination diversity in village	0.87 *
Occupation diversity in household	1.08 *
Occupation diversity in village	0.98
Equality of trips in village	1.39 *
Relative migrant experience	1.89 *

\* $p < 0.05$  (Diversity, equality and rme indices are centered)  
Controls for age, education, wealth, household structure, village development, and unemployment rate

# Summary of Results

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Individuals are more likely to migrate when:

- migrant social capital resources are greater, more accessible, and more diverse,
- migrant social capital resources are from weakly-tied sources,
- they have prior migration experience themselves.

# Summary of Results from Interaction Models

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Individuals benefit more from migrant social capital resources when:

- resources are more accessible, and of high diversity,
- they have relatively low migration experience themselves.

# Insights from Focus Groups

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“I followed my friends. We went as a group and worked together. If the place paid good money, we stayed.” (Male return migrant, 45)

“I had relatives who invited me to go. They found a job for me.” (Male return migrant, 44)

“A lot of information is from prior migrants. They come home for a visit and recruit more people to work where they are working. I used to work in a factory. I recently changed jobs because I heard from my former co-factory worker, who resigned to work elsewhere, that the new job is better. So, I followed her there.” (Female migrant, 27)

“It is risky to go without help because we might end up not finding work at all.” (Male migrant, 22)

# Insights from Focus Groups

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“They choose to go to [Bangkok or Chonburi] because the previous migrants are there.” (Head of the mothers group, 43)

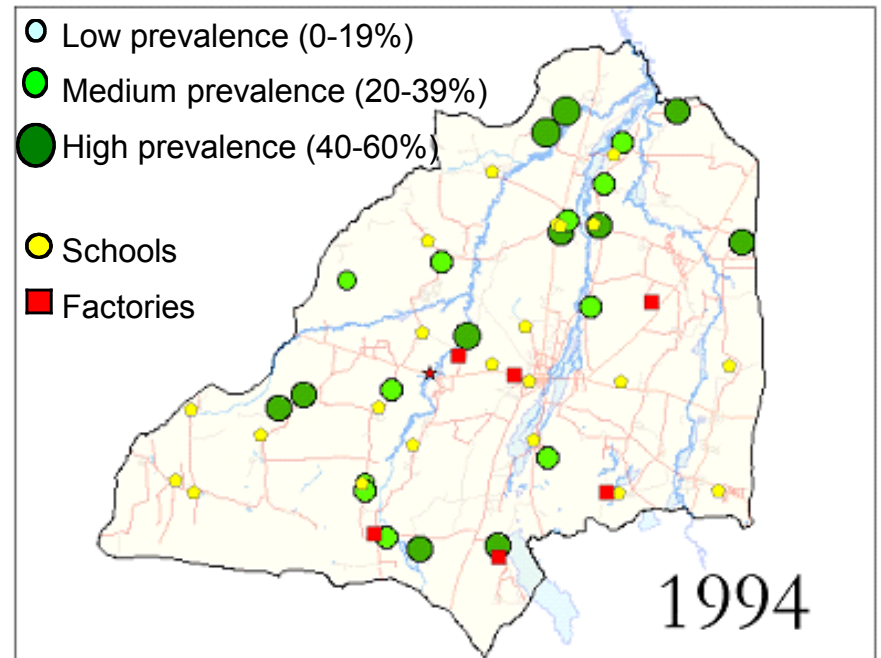
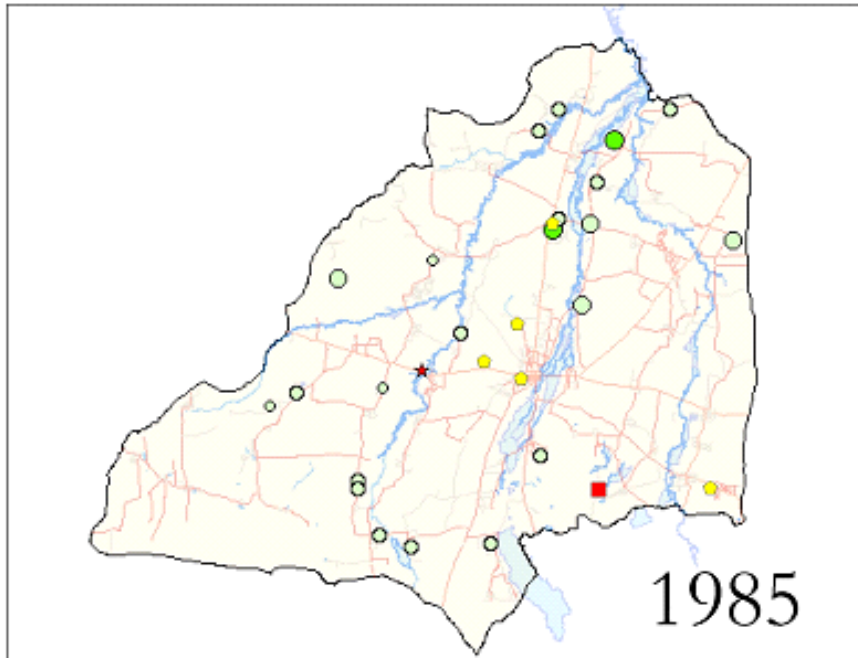
“They follow the lead of their relatives and other prior migrants. When these people say that it is good where they are and that there is a job opening where they work, many people are interested.”



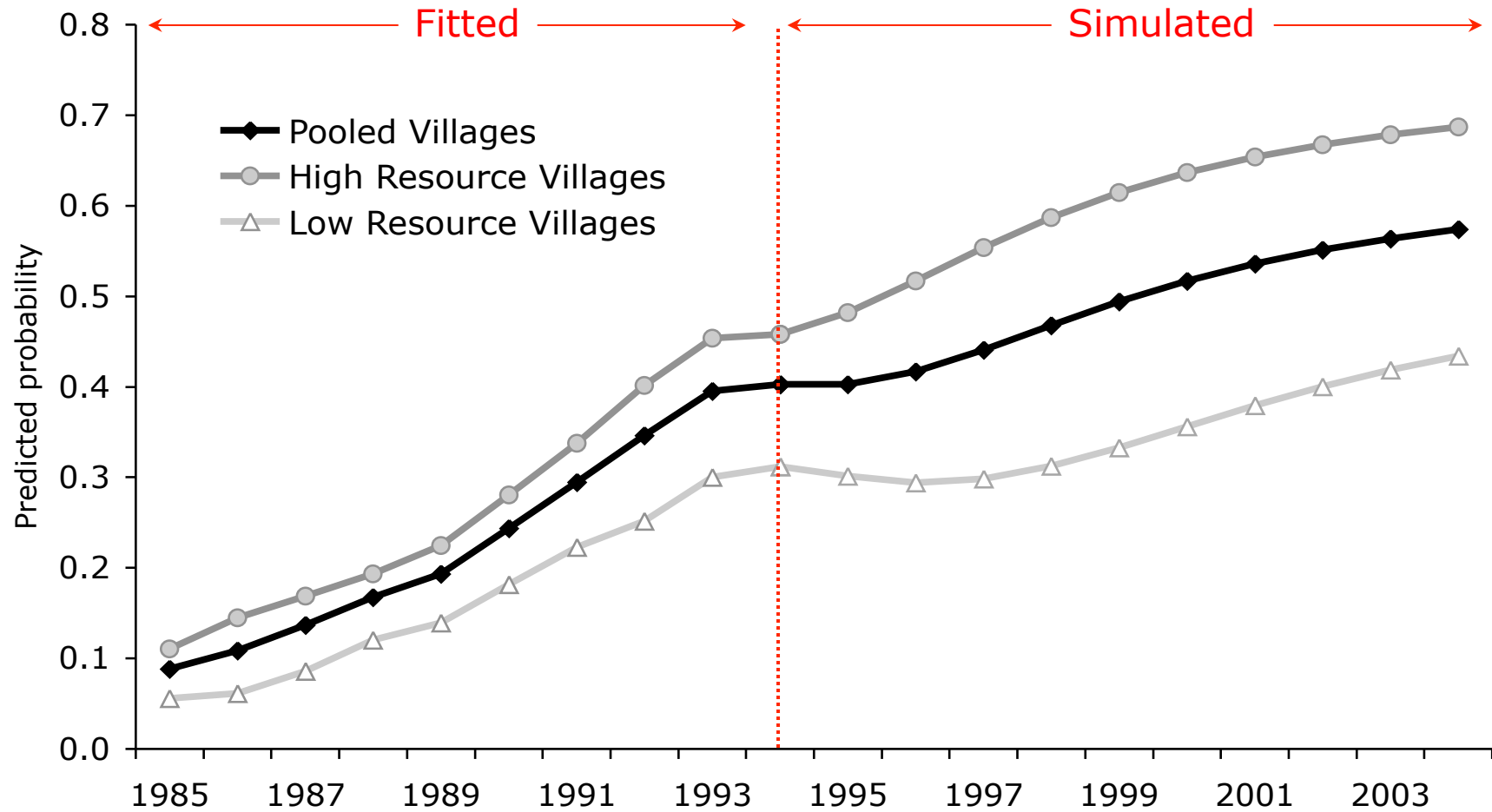
“...and yet when the C-Bird center (a nearby factory) announces job openings every month, nobody is interested because there is nobody they know that works there.” (Village headman, 54)

# Explaining the puzzle

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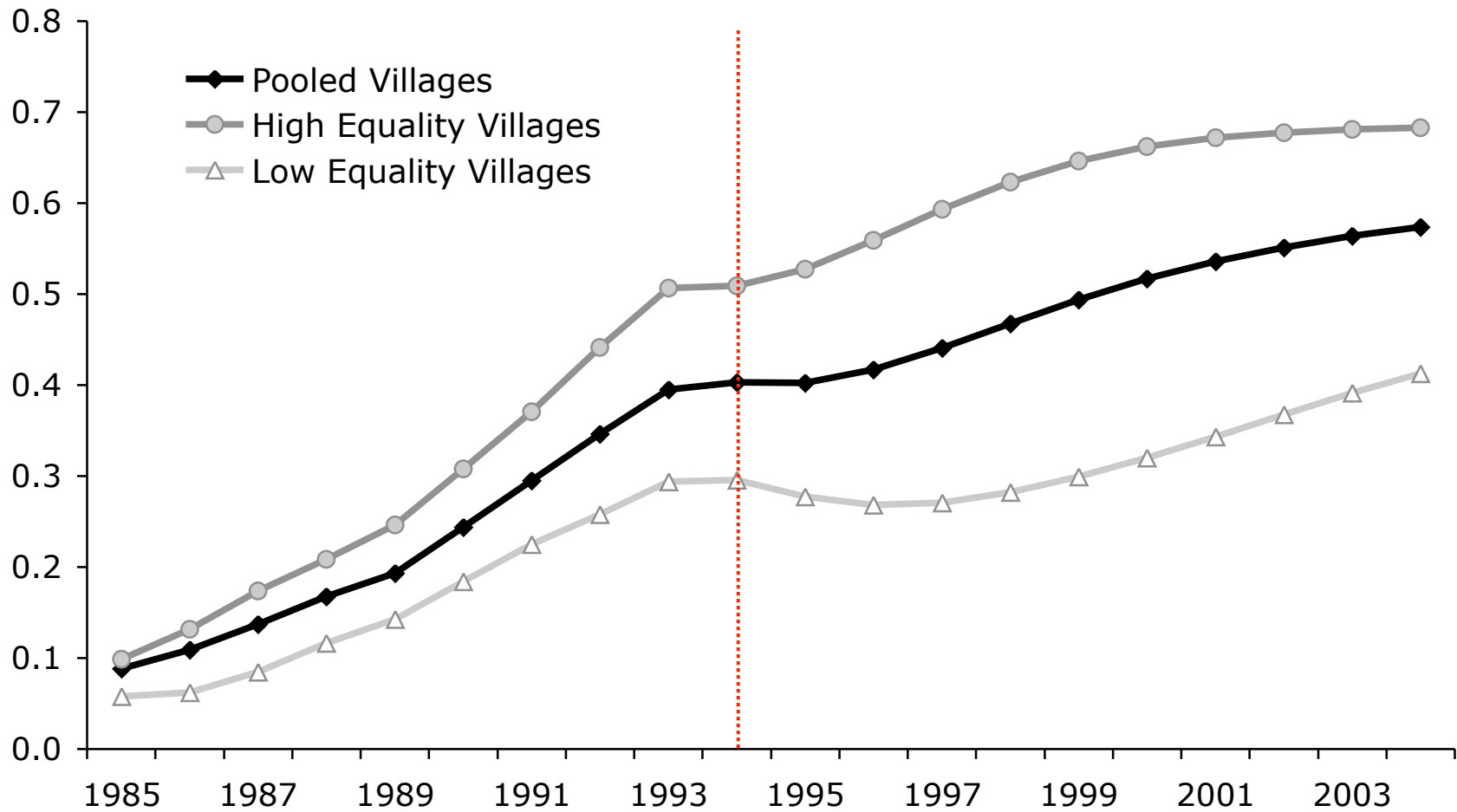
# Migration Outcomes by Level of Resources





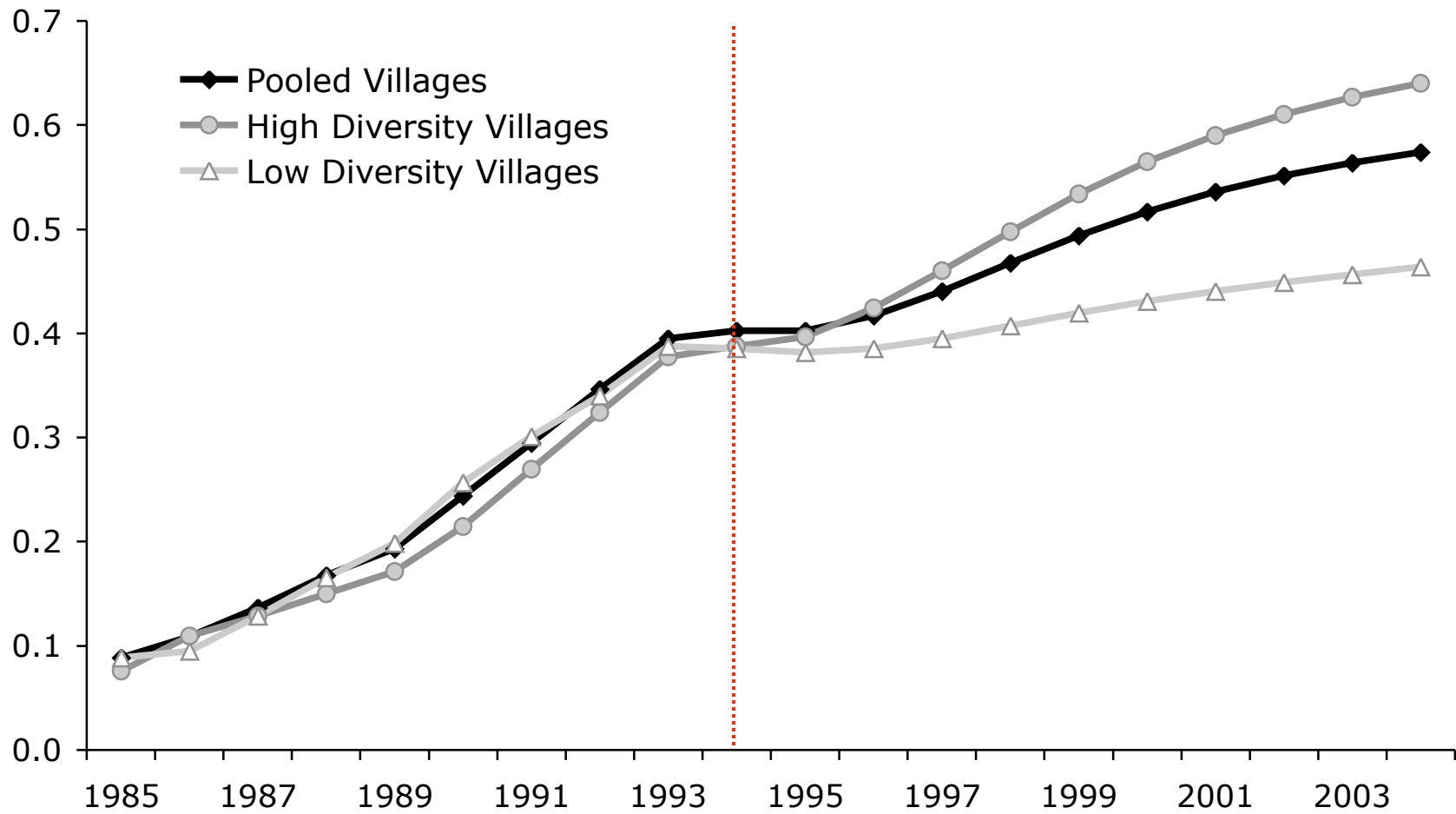
# Migration Outcomes by Accessibility of Resources

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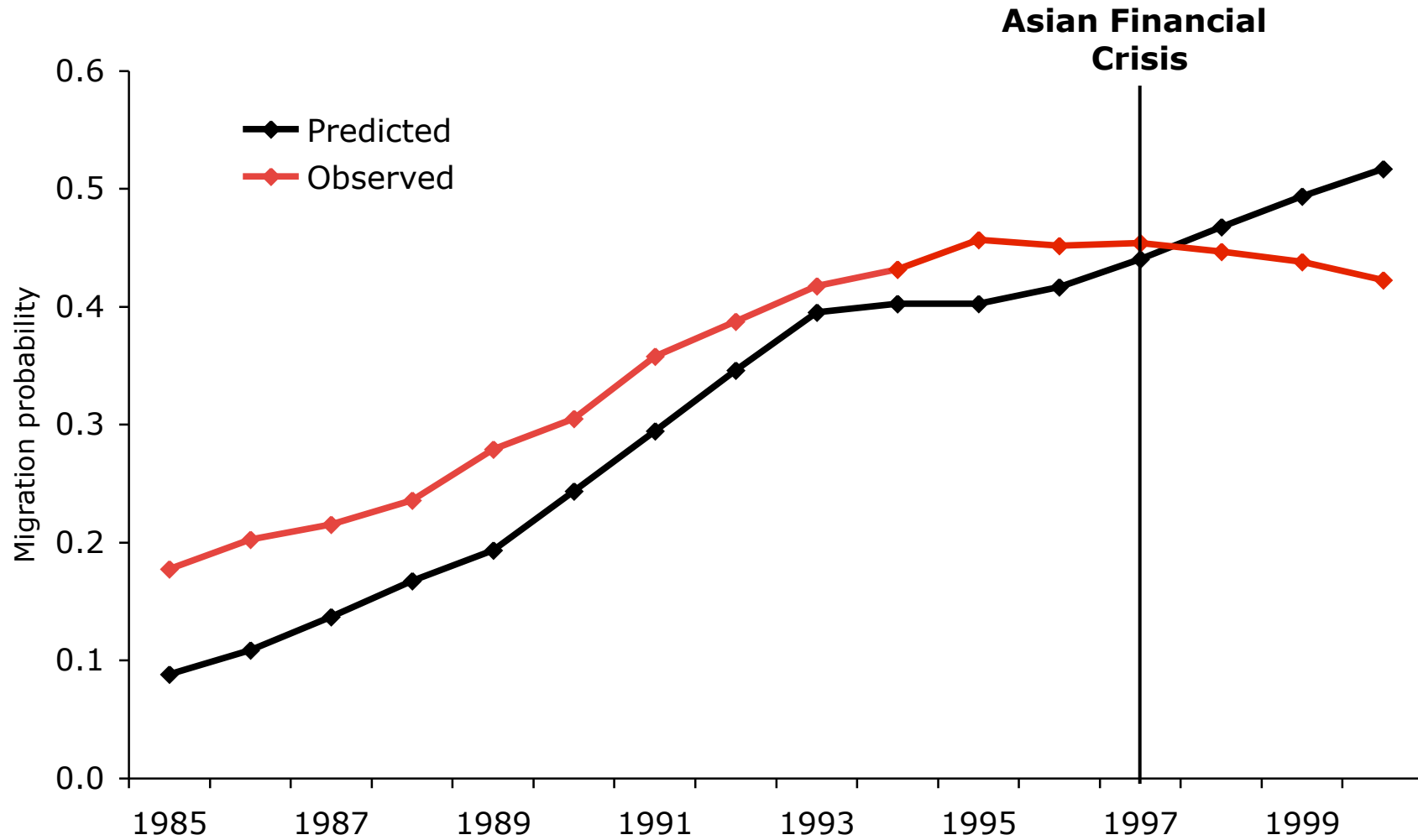
# Migration Outcomes by Diversity of Resources

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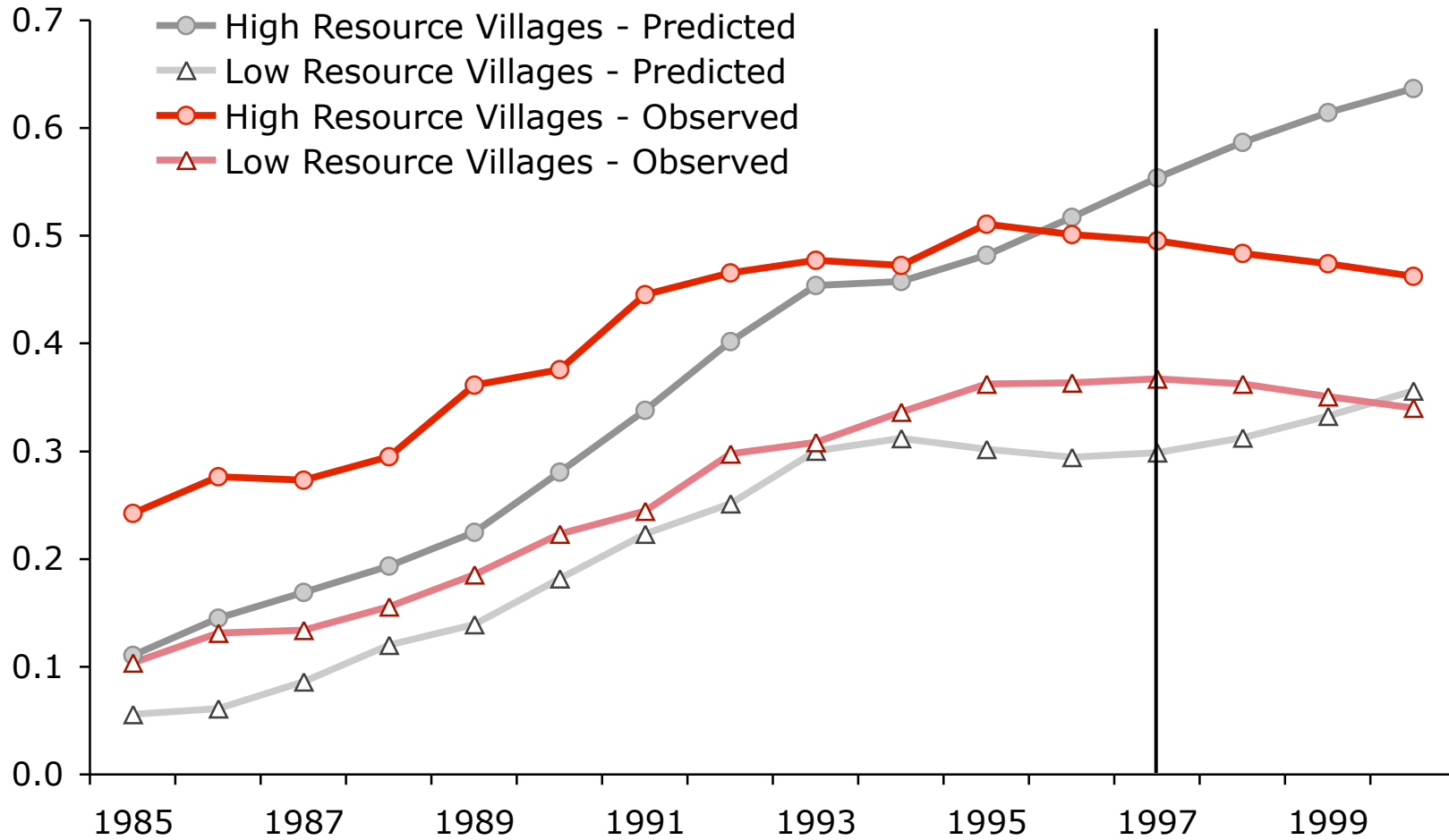
# Capturing real trends?

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# Capturing real differences?

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## Conclusions for the Thai case

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Migrant social capital differentially affects migration outcomes depending on the level, diversity, and accessibility of resources, strength of the ties to sources, and characteristics of recipients.

Even small discrepancies in the level, diversity and accessibility of social capital resources can lead to striking differences in migration patterns over time.

Ignoring these discrepancies can result in biased predictions about future migration patterns.

# Conclusions

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It is necessary to conceptually distinguish among resources, sources and recipients of social capital.

Drawing these distinctions provides a useful framework to combine hypotheses that are typically tested in isolation and to reconcile theory and empirical analyses of social capital.

Because of its cumulative nature, social capital may be a powerful mechanism for generating inequalities.

# Future Directions

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Cumulative Advantage Models of Social Capital

Diffusion Models of Migration

Social capital as a mechanism for inequality

# Descriptive Statistics

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	Migrants		Non-migrants	
Age				→
Sex (Male=1)				→
Some secondary school				→
Completed secondary school				→
Married				→
Number of dependents in household				→
Own no land				→
Own <10 rai of land				→
Own 10-25 rai of land				→
Remote village?				→
Village has electricity				→
Months of water shortage in village				→
Unemployment rate (non-farm work) in year	↓	↓	↓	↓



# Alternative Explanations of Migration

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	Odds Ratio
Age	1.09 *
Sex (Male=1)	1.49 *
Some secondary school	1.06
Completed secondary school	1.86 *
Married	0.39 *
Number of dependents in household	1.24 *
Own no land	1.51 *
Own <10 rai of land	1.32
Own 10-25 rai of land	1.11
Remote village?	1.39
Village has electricity	1.03
Months of water shortage in village	0.93 *
Unemployment rate (non-farm work) in year	0.98

\*p<0.05

# Interaction Model Estimates

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	Odds Ratio
Trips in hh * Destination diversity in hh	1.00
Trips in vill * Destination diversity in vill	1.17 *
Trips in hh * Occupation diversity in hh	0.99
Trips in vill * Occupation diversity in vill	1.05
Trips in vill * Equality of trips in vill	1.42 *
Trips in hh * Rme of individual	1.04
Trips in vill * Rme of individual	0.23 *