

# RURAL-URBAN MIGRATION IN CAMBODIA: EXPLORING THE ROLE OF MIGRANT NETWORKS

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# Cambodia

- Population size: 13.9m (2008 census)
- 23 provinces + Phnom Penh
- GDP growth 8% per year
- 23% of population lives below the national poverty line
- Largest industries: Textile, tourism, construction

## PHNOM PENH

- Population size: 2m
- Annual pop growth 8%
- Population doubled between 1998-2006
- TFR 2.0 in 2008
- 8% lived in PP for <1 yr (2008 Census)



Source: <http://www.phnompenh.gov.kh>



# Rural-Urban Migration in Cambodia

- Rapid increase of rural-urban migration since 1990's
  - 8.4% annually (Asian Development Bank 2008)
  - Urban population grew from 13% in 1990 to 20% in 2007 (UNESCAP 2007)
- Motivations
  - Political stabilization
  - Globalization and growth of economy
    - Garment industry – Now major employer
    - Tourism industry – 3 million tourists, \$2 billion in revenues in 2011 (tenfold increase from 1999)
- Challenges
  - Infrastructure and services
  - Poverty and homelessness



# Previous literature on migration in Cambodia

- Migrant characteristics, destinations, risks
  - More likely to come from poorer rural households (Fitzgerald et al. 2007; Molyaneth 2012; Yagura 2006)
  - Internal migration from rural to urban areas (mostly Phnom Penh)
  - Undocumented cross-border migration into Thailand, Laos, and Vietnam
  - Risks of migration (particularly for women and children) such as sex work and HIV/AIDS, human trafficking (Busza 2004; Nishigaya 2002)
- Effects of migration
  - Remittances reduce rural poverty (Kimsun 2012)
  - Positive impact on level of support and well-being among elderly in origin communities (Hak et al., 2011; Zimmer et al. 2008)



# Migration and Social Networks

- “Commonly understood as the links between residents in a community of origin and individuals who are living in another place” (Curran et al. 2003)
- Facilitates the migration process by reducing risks and costs associated with migration
  - Provide travel assistance (Curran et al. 2003)
  - Awareness of opportunities in destination communities (Hugo 1991)
  - Provide assistance in finding employment and housing (Curran et al. 2003)
- Ties to origin communities increase likelihood of return/circular migration, higher levels of support and remittances (Cai 2003)
- Promote migrant incorporation in destination communities
  - Migrants with higher levels of social support are less likely to return permanently (Korinek et al. 2005)

# Research Questions

- How do migrants maintain ties to networks in origin communities?
- Are these ties associated with remittances?
- What networks do migrants have at the time of migration?
- Do these networks play a role in job attainment?



# Cambodia Rural-Urban Migration Project

- Three-level survey (individual, household, community) about migrants and migration-related issues
  - Migration decision-making, remittances, networks, impact of migration on families and children, and circumstances surrounding migration
- Collaboration between Cambodian Ministry of Planning, UNFPA, UCSF (design, implementation, report)
- In-person surveys conducted by trained interviewers from Ministry of Planning and National Institute of Statistics in Phnom Penh in 2011
- Multi-stage stratified cluster sample design, rural households sample is nationally representative

# Survey samples

- Phnom Penh migrants (N=1,000)
  - Demographic characteristics, SES, migrant activities, networks, health
- Rural households (N=4,500 households)
  - 3,000 households with recent migrants (<3 yrs); 1,500 households without recent migrants
  - Demographic characteristics, SES, impact of migration on households (economic, social), migrant destinations, remittances
- Village chiefs (N=375)
  - From the same villages as Rural sample
  - In/out migration in village, village characteristics, impact of migration on village, general attitudes towards migration

# Data and Methods

- Phnom Penh sample of migrants who are not students (N=841)
- Logistic regression
- Independent variable: Sending remittances to family within the last year
- Dependent variables: Age, Sex, Literacy, Marital status, Children, Employment status, Years in Phnom Penh, Income
- Ties to origin variables: Number of visits last year, Gifts to family

# Phnom Penh sample characteristics (N=841)

Independent Variables	%
<i>Age</i>	<i>Mean = 31.1</i>
15-24	31.9
25-34	39.6
35-44	17.0
45+	11.5
Male	39.4
Able to read/write	89.7
Married	50.3
Have children	49.8
Employed	73.8

Independent Variables	%
<i>Years in Phnom Penh</i>	<i>Mean = 2.9</i>
<1 yr	21.8%
1-3 yrs	32.3%
3-4 yrs	17.5%
>4 yrs	28.4%
<i>Monthly income</i>	
<200k Riels	33.3
200-599k Riels	44.8
>600k Riels	21.9

Remittances to family last year	58.3
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# Ties to origin variables

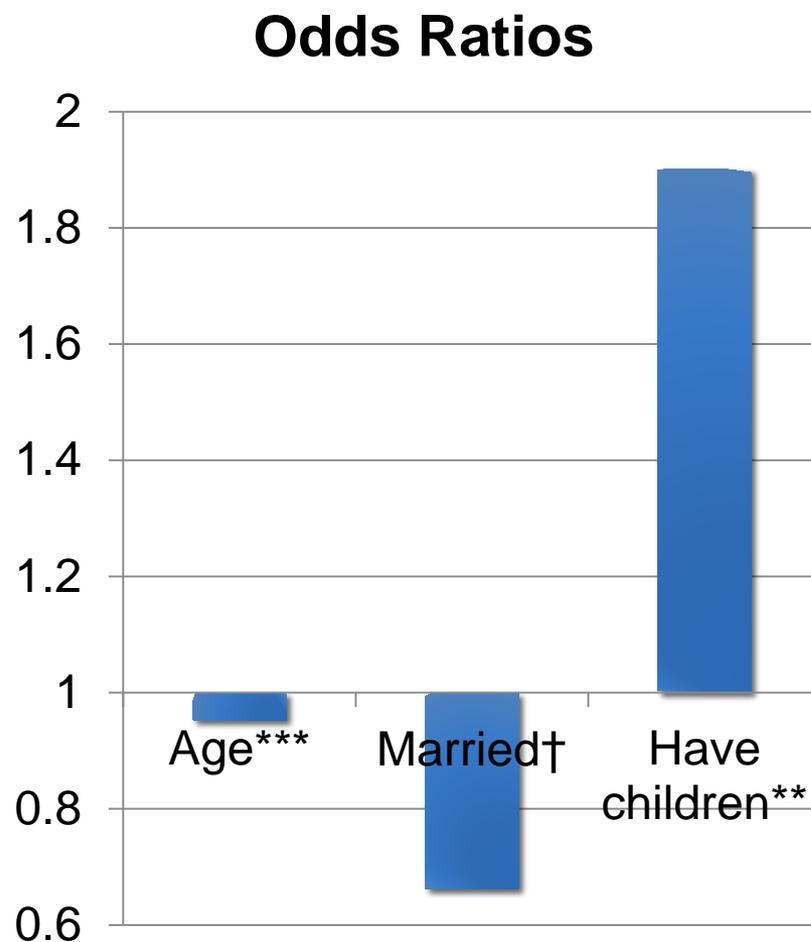
Variables	%
<i>Visits last year</i>	<i>Mean = 2.4</i>
None	18.7
Infrequent (1-3)	63.4
Frequent (4+)	17.9
<i>Gifts to family last year</i>	<i>51.1</i>
Clothes	38.3
Food	44.6
Goods	11.9
All 3	7.6
None	48.9

<i>Purpose of extended visits (N=177)</i>	%
Talk to family	80.2
Celebrate holidays	85.9
Caregiving to parent(s)	38.9
Caregiving to grandparent(s)	15.2
Caregiving to children	7.9
Help with farm work	22.0
Help with family business	22.6
Give money to non-family	2.3
Give non-monetary to non-family	4.5

# Demographic covariates

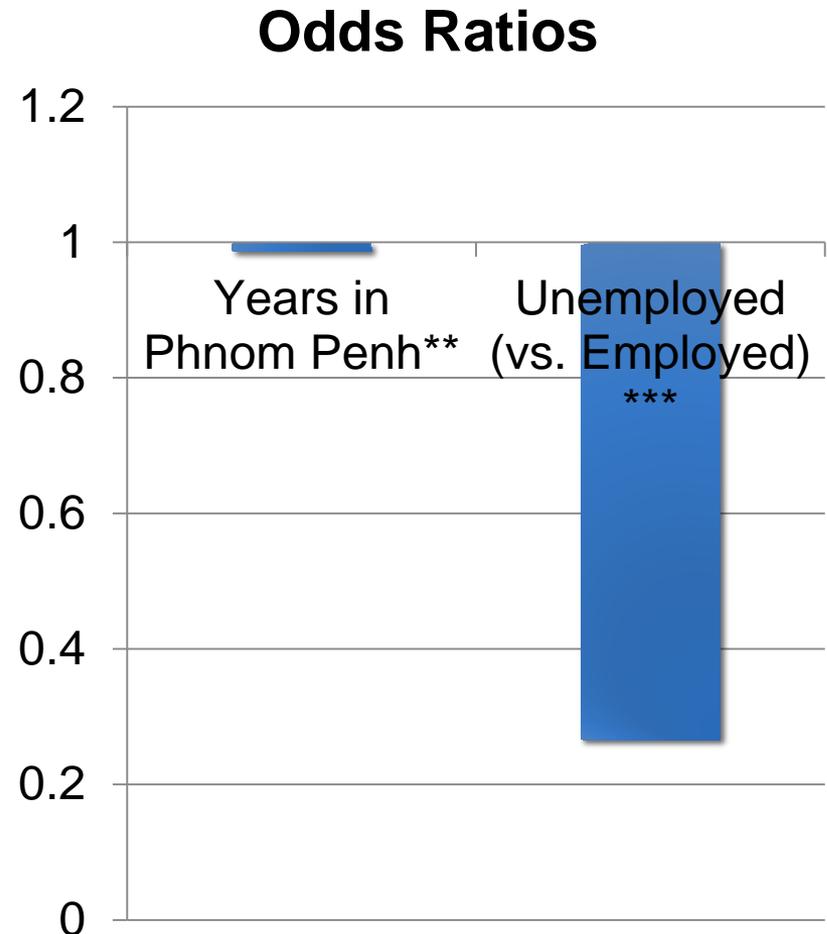
- Older ages and married migrants have lower odds of remittances
- Having children is associated with higher odds
- Sex and reading ability are not significant in the full model

• \*\*\* $p < .001$ ; \*\* $p < .01$ ; \* $p < .05$ ; † $p < .10$



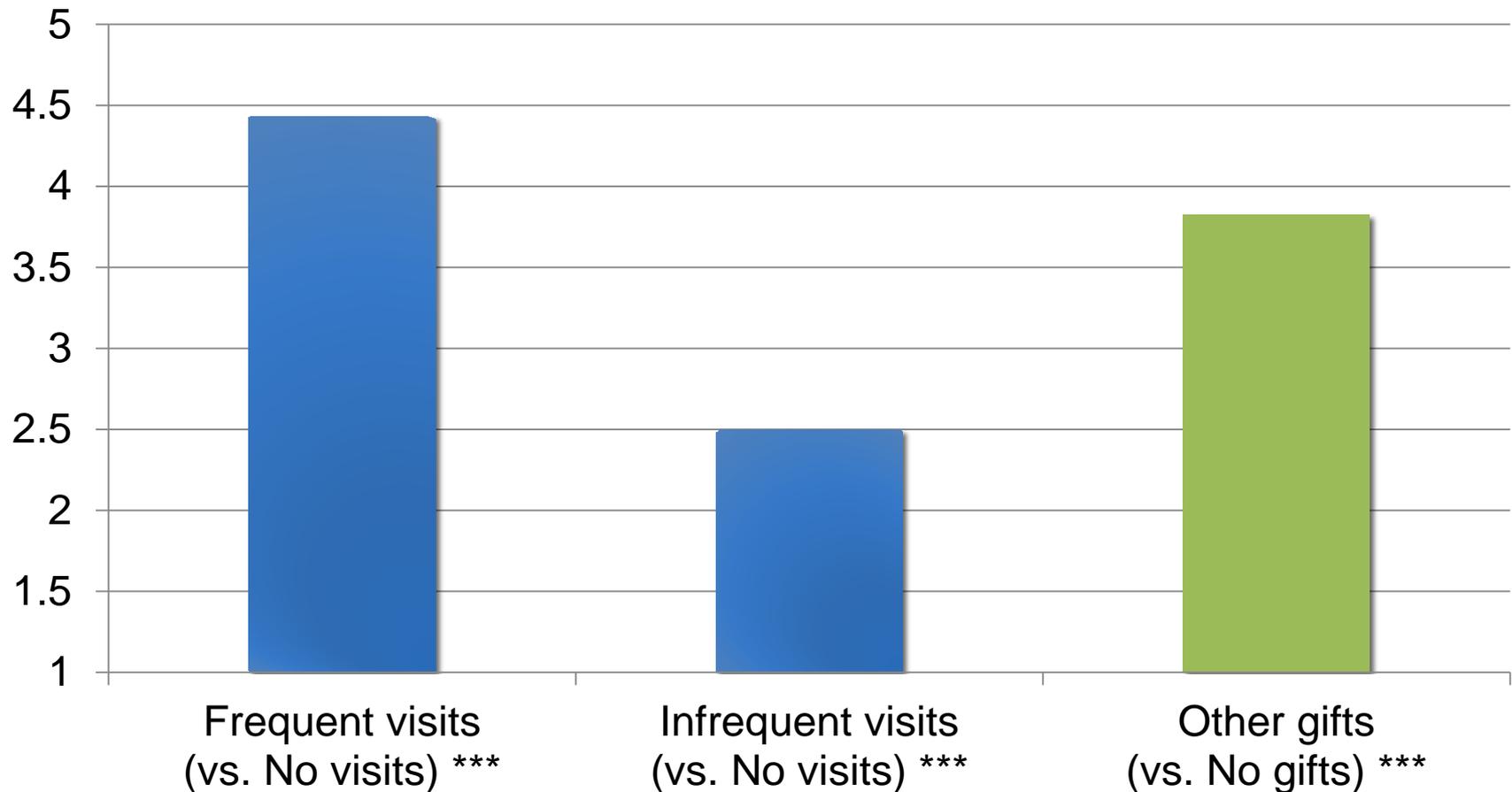
# Time in Phnom Penh, employment status, and income

- Longer residence in Phnom Penh is associated with lower odds of remittances
  - Unemployed migrants are much less likely to send remittances than employed migrants
  - Income is not associated with odds of remitting (n/s in full model, but in bivariate model, higher income is associated with higher odds of remittances)
- \*\*\*p<.001; \*\*p<.01; \*p<.05; †p<.10



# Stronger ties to origin community is associated with higher odds of remittances

## Odds Ratios



# Networks at the time of migration

N=1,000	%
Migrated with a spouse only	31.9
Migrated with friends/relatives (non-spouse)	19.1
Of those that migrated with others	
Percent that migrated with friends only	36.8
Percent that migrated with relatives only	43.2
Percent that migrated with both friends and relatives	20.0
Knew friends and/or relatives in Phnom Penh	50.5
Of those that knew friends and/or relatives at migration.....	
Know people from same village	70.7
Received help from friends/relatives with finding jobs	52.9
Receiving help from friends/relatives with finding a place to live	70.3

# Conclusion

- After controlling for demographic, SES, migration variables, we find that migrants with stronger ties are more likely to send remittances.
- Other factors that influence remittances include current employment, age, marital status, and having children.
- Networks at the time of migration consist heavily of family members (spouse, children, relatives), and friends from the same village.
- Some types of networks influence rapid job attainment but not others. Having no networks is a disadvantage to rapid job attainment.
- Future directions: Type of industry, examine gender in more detail (interactions), income, job changes

# Results from Full Model

## DV: Remittances to family

Covariates	O.R.
Age	0.953 <sup>***</sup>
Married (vs. Not married)	0.662 <sup>†</sup>
Have children (vs. No children)	1.901 <sup>**</sup>
Years in Phnom Penh	0.987 <sup>**</sup>
Not working (vs. Working)	0.266 <sup>***</sup>
Gave non-monetary gifts (vs. Did not give)	3.822 <sup>***</sup>
Frequent visits (vs. No visits)	4.429 <sup>***</sup>
Infrequent visits (vs. No visits)	2.497 <sup>***</sup>
Male (n/s), income (n/s)	

\*\*\*p<.001; \*\*p<.01; \*p<.05; †p<.10



# Networks at the time of migration

- Migrated with a spouse
- Migrated with friends/relatives
- Percent that knew friends and/or relatives in Phnom Penh at time of migration
  - Percent knowing people from their village of origin
  - Percent receiving help from friends/relatives with finding labour opportunities
  - Percent receiving help from friends/relatives with finding a place to live