Internal Migration in the Context of High Emigration in Fujian, China: Building the Linkage, and Reaching beyond Community Development

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Using China's Fujian Province as a case, this paper examines patterns of internal migration as a response of emigrations in the context of high emigration communities. Our findings suggest that emigration of individuals initially deterred both interprovincial and intra-provincial migration of other family members, and yet, overtime they had an increasing propensity to migrate internally at both scales. During the internal migration process, family members of emigrants were better rewarded economically and had reached farther destinations than those without emigration experiences in family. We thus suggest that research on international migration and economic development should, at the micro level, move beyond examinations of remittance use and scale up to a broader geographical area, and take into consideration of the "spill over" effect for communities beyond. Our results imply that the picture of development in origin country after emigration should be brighter than what we had obtained from direct examinations of remittance use.

Located at the east coast of China, for centuries Fujian Province is known in Chinese history for sending migrants overseas; and after a few decades of ebb after the establishment of the People's Republic, it witnessed a powerful and sustaining revival in emigration immediately following the economic reform in the late 1970s, when constraints for individuals to move loosened. In Fujian, which remains one of the top emigrant sending provinces in China, family reunions and illicit emigration with the aid of smuggling organizations have become the dominant emigration pathways in the rural area where emigration is the most frequent (Liang and Morooka 2004, Liang and Chunyu 2008). Fujianese sees the United States and Europe as the top destinations, with the former attracting the majority of the emigration populations (Lu et al. forthcoming).

When the relaxation of hukou (household registration) status in the late 1970s opened up the valve for massive nationwide internal migration in China, the Fujianese was not left out. Having seen the economic opportunities associated with business niches followed by the loosening of decades of planned economy, the Fujianese took actions. Departed from most of the internal migrants who usually work as construction workers or manual labors, migrants from Fujian are highly entrepreneurial with the majority serving as small business owners. How, then, is this process of internal migration knitted into the long defined histories of high emigration? Given that international migration enjoyed greater popularity in this area than its internal counterpart, would the outmigration within the borders, at some level, react to this intense outmigration to the other side of the globe?

In answering this question, we are making efforts firstly for a novel way of building a linkage between international and internal migration in the migration literature. Migration studies from multiple disciplines have been rived with a binary distinction of internal migration and

international migration and have rendered separate literatures. Thus, for a long time literature on one type of migration was developed independently without referencing to the other. Recent years have seen a growing literature striving to bridge the two processes in different social contexts, the types of which can be concluded into three themes: the competing choices of internal migration and emigration, emigration and the influx of internal migrants to the emigrated areas, and immigration and internal migration within destination countries (eg. Lindstrom and Lauster 2001,Davis et al. 2002, Borjas 2006, Skelton 2006, King et al. 2008, Liang and Chunyu 2013). Thus, this study builds one link that previous studies have failed to construct – what are the patterns of internal migration as a response to high emigration, if any? We attempt to dig into this question within the framework of new economics; that is, we see the household as the unit of decision making and migration as a result of calculated decisions made jointly by all household members. Thus, we ask these questions specifically: how is someone's internal migration related to the prior emigration of another household member? Do the patterns of internal migration for individuals with an emigrant in household differ from their counterparts without an emigrant in household? If so, how are these differences manifested?

This is also a crucial developmental issue to address especially for developing countries where internal migration and emigration are usually in revealing simultaneously. Prior literature on development in developing countries either overly concentrating on altered economic opportunities in domestic markets for internal migrants (fully manifested in internal migration studies in China), or the debate of emigration and community development in emigrant sending communities (as shown in a number of studies on Mexican communities), without tapping into the possibilities of an alternative path toward development in the origins that might simultaneous at work. Bringing that into perspective, considering the fact that work related internal migrants

from this area of Fujian, China are in majority business people, and if internal migration is favorably encouraged by emigration, we might be able to suggest that international migration benefits origin community in a way that has never been looked at before – in ways of reaching beyond the geographical scope of the community, by creating job opportunities and bringing in business for the destination communities within borders. More specifically, not only are we able to compare the probabilities of internal migration between internal migrants who had emigration experience in the household and those who did not, we also investigate the income of the two migration groups after migration, how far they travel for their migration and their destination types (rural\urban), which all in different aspects capture the power and the scale of such impact.

This study also contributes to the literature on internal migration in the context of Chinese society. Albeit internal migration in China has remained a hot research area for a few decades, being able to link it with social stratification and market transition in Chinese society is generally more recent (Wu and Treiman 2007, Liang and Chunyu 2013). We are able to examine whether local positional power (cadres) continues to privilege in this more complex local migration backdrop where internal migration is accompanied with high emigration. Further, instead of addressing the unskilled manual workers migrated from rural areas which most literature has been focusing on, we take an insight to a largely overlooked migration group – the group migrating for the purpose of doing small businesses in other area of the country. Although typically considered a smaller group compared to manual labors who are most likely to come from Sichuan or Anhui province, small business owners in service industry with accents different from the locals are also quite visible in a broad area of China, with a good proportion of them coming from Zhejiang or Fujian province. Less known, this group of internal migrants nevertheless warrants more recognition and understanding of in academia.

Internal Migration as a Response to International Migration

The linkage between immigration and internal migration has been addressed by a growing volume of literature in recent years (eg. Belanger, and Rogers 1992, Nogle 1994, Frey 1996, Alba et al. 1999, Kritz and Gurak 2001, Davis et al 2002, Fussell 2004, Borjas 2006, Skeldon 2006, Crowder and South 2008, King et al. 2008, Liang and Chunyu 2013). Basically, three themes emerge in this inquiry of study: emigration and the influx of internal migrants to the emigrated areas, the competing choices of internal migration and emigrations, and immigration and internal migration within destination countries (Skelton 2006, King et al. 2008).

The first theme mostly draws examples from traditional emigrant sending Southeastern Asian countries, and argues that high emigration from particular regions creates opportunity vacuum in terms of labor supply, thus rendering individuals from other areas to fill in the vacuum in the form of internal migration (Nair1989, Gardner 1995, Skelton 2006, De Haas 2007). The second theme takes internal migration and international migration simultaneously as two competing events to investigate the differences in selectivity of two migration processes (Lindstrom and Lauster 2001, Liang and Chunyu 2013). Being able to consider the two streams of migration at origin communities, both of the themes regard international migration as a single event or "act", paying less attention to the dynamic and complex features of social processes accompanied with international migration.

The last theme is a more full-blown area compared to the previous two. It looks at destination countries, mostly the U.S., and sees international migration as a temporal series of events and raises the importance of networks during the process of migration. This body of work examines the possible secondary migration for immigrants after they set foot in the destination

land and takes it in test of spatial assimilation in destination countries (Belanger and Rogers 1992, Zhou 1992, Nogle 1994, Alba et al. 1999, Kritz and Gurak 2001, Logan et al. 2002, Borjas 2006, Crowder and South 2008, Iceland Scopilliti2008). Spatial assimilation theory comes across with this literature in ways that immigrants first concentrated in ethnic enclaves in a few major gateway destinations where immigrants' network is able to work out, and some of the immigrants would later embark on a secondary migration within the boarders for better economic opportunities. The common agreement is that migration networks built on familial ties, shared hometowns and all other resources continue to aid immigrants after they arrived at destination countries.

Being able to fulfill our curiosity of what is happening in the destination countries, we are also tempted to take a peek at how such international experiences and networks got sustained in the destinations potentially play out in the *origin countries*. Examining the internal migratory responses to international migration in the origin country bestows us a unique opportunity to exert an angle to probe into this question. By linking internal and international migration in the emigration community we are able to see how international migration capitals and sustaining networks might be able to work out in the milieu of a migrant sending country. To our knowledge, we are among the first to explore the linkage between internal and international migration through this angle.

International Migration and Community Development: Reaching beyond

International migration and the impact on community development in origin communities is another line of literature we draw on and hope to contribute. The debate on migration and development encountered several turns; based on a systematic synopsis of internal and international migration studies at macro, meso and micro levels, DeHaas (2010:227) summarized

that the relationship between migration and development has "swung back and forth like a pendulum," from optimism in the 1950s and1960s, to pessimism over the next twenty years, towards more optimistic views in the following two decades. It started from the very late of 1980s, nevertheless, that relevant studies began to speak to human agency and started to examine what is under the skin of the interactions between emigration and local development at the micro level, especially in the realm of international migration (Lieten and Nieuwenhuys, 1989, De Haas 2010). This time period mostly saw works of pessimistic views which argue that emigration caused dependency of the origin country where migrant sending communities use most of the expenses for "conspicuous consumptions" (Entzinger, 1985:268) and even created a "culture of migration" where the youngsters only see their future as labors in another country, diminishing their willingness to get higher education or work locally (Massey et al. 1993). The more recent literature, for example, argues that the arrival of "migradollars" has "multiplier effects" which results in deeper investment in agricultural facilities and materials, such as seeds, fertilizers and irrigation (Durand et al. 1996:249). Thus it has been implied that at micro level, development in migrant sending communities has been increasingly representative of the migrant origins as a whole, and have become the main arena of debate with a focused spotlight on remittance spending patterns (eg. Mines and Janvry1982, Massey 1992, Durand and Massey 1992, Durand et al.1996, Taylor 1996, Orozco 2003, Gammeltoft 2002; DeWind2005).

Although this body of literature on international migration and community development is by no means new to us, scholars seem to get overly invested in the evaluation of remittance spending patterns, overlooking other forms of interactions between emigration and development in origin countries. As a matter of fact, complex interactions between migration and development require further investigation beyond the purview of remittance-use studies (Taylor 1996).

Unfortunately, since the late 1990s, few studies have actually been able to disentangle the complex interactions between migration and development in forms other than remittance use. In other words, due to its complexities and invisible ways that hard to be captured by studies directly targeted on remittance spending patterns, there is still considerable potential in studying the impact of emigration on development in origins.

On the other hand, as studies on the linkage between international migration and community development have established a stable body of literature where community is merely referring to the migration origin, scholars are risking losing sight of the impact of migration on a broader geographical scale in the origin country. Migration origin communities are nested within a rather larger regional and national market. International migration might be able to affect areas *beyond* emigration origin communities through a number of ways. Given that internal migrants from this area of Fujian, China are usually entrepreneurial in nature (Liang and Chunyu 2013), internal migration not only benefits the migrants financially, but also prospers the market of their destinations and facilitates economic communications within the national border. Being able to examine whether emigration encourages or deters internal migration gives us an insight toward unraveling the relationship between international migration and its possible influence on areas beyond the local community. The rationale is being that by means of comparing the probabilities and experiences of internal migrants who had prior emigrant family members with that of the migrants without prior emigration experiences in family, we can detect whether emigration has an adverse or positive effect on the origin country. In the context that internal migrations of various fashions meet little impediment by state policy, the optimistic picture is that individuals from emigration family are willing to join the outer market and bring business to other places in the form of internal migration after the emigration in family. The benefits brought about by

emigration have "spilled over" to other places of the country. On the contrary, a pessimistic view would expect that emigration and affluent remittances discourage individuals' ambition to migrate out internally, since they might be financially less motivated to do so.

This study, therefore, joins the debate on international migration and development from a fresh perspective which sees internal migration from the origin communities as a way of detecting the linkage between international migration and development. We further reach beyond the emigration - origin community development paradigm by investigating the internal migratory response of emigration for individuals residing in the migration origin communities. We treat internal migration as a dynamic process where migration decisions as well as experiences of internal migrants are both compared and examined.

Internal Migration in Rural China and Other Control Variables

Chinese society has witnessed a continuing trend of nationwide rural to urban migration since the 1970s. Before that age, under restricted *hukou* systems, peasants were kept still and fixed in the farm land. The year 1978 and later years saw the control of migration in China was relaxed gradually, freeing peasants to start their own businesses and reach out to work also in urban areas (Lee 1992). Since then the "floating population" (migrants without local hukou) took great momentum and drew great attention from both the media and academia. The scale of such internal migration is enormous –the floating population has reached to a number of 79 million in 2000, and as of 2010, the number of migrant workers from rural China amounts to over 221million (National Bureau of Statistics 2012) .

A recent line of theories specific for the internal migration in Chinese context is devoted to market transition debate (Wu 2006, Fan2008, Liang and Chunyu forthcoming). Cadres or their family members, representing positional power in the rural locality, see internal migration as the

second best option to staying put for the privileges they enjoyed in the local area (Lei and Lu 2005, Wu 2006). When internal migration is considered a competing event with international migration, having a cadre in the family deters individuals to migrate domestically in this area, showing the sustaining influence of positional power (Liang and Chunyu forthcoming). Regarding internal migration as a response to international migration, we examine whether being a cadre or having a cadre in the family have the same deterring effect on internal migration in such context.

New economics of migration maintain that migration is a well calculated strategy on a family basis to improve the welfare of the whole family, and decisions are usually made jointly by the migrant and the non-migrant family members (Oded and Bloom 1985).Regarding migration decisions as a household decision, we are able to operationalize the impact of international migration on internal migration by examining the possible ways individuals in households with prior emigrant(s) differ from those in households with the absence of prior emigrant(s) in terms of their internal migration patterns.

At a community level, students of network and cumulative causation have indicated that once the migration process was initiated, what perpetuated the process was the network or the act of migration that have changed the social context within the home community and thus accelerated the movement (Massey 1990, Massey et al. 1993, Palloni et al. 2001; Fussell and Massey 2004). Migration prevalence ratio is usually employed to evaluate such networks at community level[1], though drawbacks of such approach are also discussed (Fussell and Massey

[1] See De Brauw and Jiles (2008) and Liang and Chunyu (forthcoming) for internal migration prevalence ratio used in the context of Chinese society.

2004, Munshi 2003, Krissman 2005). We will thus incorporate internal migration prevalence ratio at village level as a measure to test whether this theory also holds for internal migration as a response to emigration in the context of high emigration in this area in Fujian Province, China.

In general, the primary questions we pursue concern the selectivity of internal migration in high emigration –who are the internal migrants in such context and how the two internal migrant groups: the group with prior emigrant(s) in the household and the group without, differ in terms their probabilities of dedicating to internal migration, if any? Previous knowledge on selectivity of the general internal migrants in China mostly agrees that internal migration favors younger group, individuals with higher education and male in gender. We expect that such patterns also hold in this area of high emigration. Our next critical question to address is whether emigration prompts or discourages internal migration in this area. It is expected that emigration would in general encourage internal migration as financial and/or social capitals transferred from a broad facilitate internal migration for family members who had stayed. In the process of internal migration, it is also expected that internal migrants from families with prior emigrants tend to have been better rewarded economically, ventured to longer distances, and had higher propensity to reside in urban areas for better market opportunities.

Within the body of literature on internal migration in China, it is argued that interprovincial and intra-provincial migration warrants to be examined separately (Khan and Riskin 1998, Liang and Ma 2004). The reasons are that for potential internal migrants, better economic opportunities are usually found in a distant province; and longer traveling requires better preparation financially and psychologically. Therefore interprovincial and intra-provincial migration are treated in our study as two competing events alongside the option to stay put in order to obtain a more refined understanding of the nature of this issue. Specifically, similarities

and differences are investigated for the factors affecting the two types/processes of domestic migration respectively.

Internal and International Migration in Fujian Province, China

Fujian Province in China serves as a superb case for the aim of our study. Located on the southeast coast of China, Fujian Province serves as a major emigrant sending place since Ming Dynasty and now Fujian become the top leading immigrant-sending provinces in China (Liang 2001). Traditional destinations of emigration from Fujian are Southeast Asian countries, and yet, contemporary Fujianese emigrants mainly take the United States as the final destination of their migration as the route to the US was constructed through corporation of human traffickers, or the "snake heads." (Zhang 2008). Japan and some European countries are also important destinations as well (Pieke 2004). Albeit most of emigrants from this area were clandestine in nature, which resembled their Mexican counterparts, one fact worth noticing is that unlike Mexican emigrants who tend to engage in circular migration between the US and their home country, emigrants from this area saw international migration as one time event for the prolonged distance and time it involved in traveling. Circular migration is therefore out of the question here.

Internal migration is also a fascinating story in Fujian. According to the 2000 Chinese census and 2005 China One percent Population Sample Survey, interprovincial migrants amount to 810,576 and the number of intra-provincial migrants reach to a number of 1,284,400 in Fujian (PCO2002 and 2007). As to the destinations of interprovincial migrants, over 30 percent went to Guangdong Province, and other major destinations include Shanghai, Jiangsu and Zhejiang Provinces which are also coastal provinces in east China.

What is specifically fascinating and unique feature of internal migrants from Fujian concerns its occupation composition. Located at the southeastern costal area, it enjoyed a liberal economic policy since 1978. By 1997, Fujian ranked number seven in per capita GDP nationally. The population that migrated from Fujian province thus was majorly businessmen or sales, instead of unskilled manual labors originated from frontier areas. And yet, a large body of work on internal migration in China seems overly concerned unskilled manual labors. Another important group of internal migrants, namely entrepreneurs and skilled workers are relatively overlooked. The rather diversified occupations shared by internal migrants in this area of Fujian, especially the concentration in business (Table 3), provide us an angle to probe into other side of the rich internal migration text in China, besides the story of manual labors.

Data and Methods

The data was from a survey adopted the ethnosurvey approach used in the MMP and LAMP (Massey 1987), and conducted between February and June 2002 in mostly rural areas of Fujian Province, China. Three questionnaires were designed in the ethnosurvey: a household questionnaire used in China, a household questionnaire used in the United States and a community-level questionnaire for migrant-sending communities in China. In addition to the standard questions in the MMP survey, variables implicating Chinese context, such as cadre status ("ever been a cadre" and "year of acquiring that position") was included as well. Fieldwork was carried out in late 2002 and 2003. Details of the study design are demonstrated in Liang et al. (2008), and yet the conclusion is that it is representative of the migrant-sending communities in Fujian Province in China

In general, we will explore the internal migratory response, if there is any, of emigration in the high emigration communities in Fujian Province, China. We will look at individual traits,

family and household characteristics as well as village level characteristics to see how the timing of emigration in family influence the probability of internal migration and the corresponding internal migration patterns. More specifically, descriptive patterns on the characteristics of stayers, internal migrants with prior emigrant(s) in family and internal migrants without prior emigtant(s) in family are demonstrated. Discrete event-history analysis is then employed to predict the logged odds of individuals' internal migration over time.

Moreover, we are equally interested in discovering migrants' experiences during the migration process and after reaching destinations. Thus migrants' travel distance, income after migration, and type of destinations were examined respectively employing hierarchical linear models (HLM). HLM models were constructed taking account of the household level variables: cadre in a family prior to internal migration, prior international migrant(s) in the family and prior international migrant(s) in the family. Rather than dichotomously defining travel distance into interprovincial and intra-provincial migration as earlier research used, we innovatively measured this variable in a continuous form (in miles). In the questionnaire, both origin and destination are tracked down to a county level. For intra-provincial migration, distances were thus measured between two county centers of origin and destination; if the migration was an intra-county one, diameters of the county was used to approximate travel distances. In the case of interprovincial migration, distances between two county centers were measured provided destination counties were indicated; otherwise distances between origin and province capitals were used for the estimation. Google maps with transportation by car were utilized for the estimation and distances indicating shortest travel time were chosen among multiple options.

Descriptive Results:

Who migrated internally and to where

Table 1 shows descriptive statistics on the total survey sample with 15 years old or above. In the total sample, there are about 144 people that fall into Group1 (G1) – internal migrants with emigrant family members prior to internal migration, 891 individuals fall into Group2 (G2) – internal migrants without emigrant family members prior to internal migration.), and 8,329 individuals are those who never migrated internally (including 3,418 emigrants and 4,911 stayers) in the sample. Such a distribution presents an overall picture of migration patterns in this area – the number of international migrations exceeds internal migration over a threefold.

The table shows that compared to the internal migrants in a family without an emigrant whose age during migration concentrating on earlier age spans, their counterparts with pervious emigrations in family usually happen at a relatively older age. Especially for the age group above 45, over 10 percent of internal migrants with prior emigrants in the household falls into this age group, whereas less than 2 percent of migrants in the other group aged more than 45 years old. This age advantage at migration enjoyed by migrants without emigrant(s) in family might be due to the economic urgency of those families, whereas with remittances at hand other families could take a shrewd calculation on migration options and sent out the most capable people in the family who were usually older, when profitable opportunities showed up.

Consistent with previous literature, internal migration in this area in general favored higher educated male. This educational selectivity, however, seems to be relatively vague for migrants without emigration in family. On the contrary, the educational attainment for migrants with emigration experiences in the family fared far better. Specifically, there were 46.53 (20.14+9.72+16.67) percent of internal migrants who finished senior high or above, whereas for

the other migration group and never internally migrated people, the numbers were 23.99 (12.39+4.62+6.98) percent and 16.79 (12.55+1.99+2.25) percent respectively. Apparently, high cultural capital could effectively facilitate the success of internal migrants in their destinations in a number of ways. First, higher education was usually associated with reduced probabilities of migrants engaging in low skilled manual labor occupations and increased propensity of working in more profitable jobs, such as entrepreneurial businesses. Second, besides the option of labor market, migrants with higher education are more likely to migrate for further educational purposes. Third, provided that working in the same occupation such as business, migrants with higher education might be more apt to seize economic opportunities and turn it into high profit. Table 2 and Table 3, as explained in the later part, confirmed each of the previous point to a different degree.

The portion of being a cadre and a cadre in family for internal migrants with emigration experiences at family seemed to sit between migrants without emigration in family and never internally migrated people. It was consistent with previous studies on internal migration that cadres and their families were reluctant to move for the perks they had previously enjoyed in the locality. Once a family member migrated out of the country, it seemed that a larger percentage of cadre related people had the tendency to migrate internally. Such increased attraction from labor market outside the communities for the cadres and their family members who had prior emigrants in the family could be a sign of better economic opportunities those people were able to find.

There were about a surplus of 4.5 percent engaged in inter-provincial migration for internal migrants with emigrants at home than those without. The average travel distance for the former groups was about 100 miles more than that of the latter group. The former group was also

more likely to move to urban places (75.52 percent) compared to the latter (61.61 percent). As to the income after each group of internal migration, we can clearly see a gap between the two groups. For those who have emigrants in family, their income after first emigration averages 25,302 yuan, while for internal only migrants their income has a mean of 19,126 yuan. This primary finding suggests that for those who have emigrants in family, if they decide to migrate internally, they tend to earn a lot more than those without prior emigrants in the family. Income, travel distance and type of destination (rural\urban) were later tested with regression analysis. Eventually, the time-varying variable – internal migration prevalence ratio is added for a basic description after data expansion. Migrants with an emigrant in family tend to come from communities with higher migration prevalence than the other migrant group, followed by the never migrated ones. This finding might imply a better network shared by those domestic migrants with emigration experience in family.

Reasons of migration and occupation after migration

Table2 shows reasons of leaving for the sample with internal migrants 15 years old or above at migration. The cutting point is chosen because we assume that 15 years old is an age when he or she can make relative independent migratory choices. Over half of internal migrants move due to job related reasons or doing business for both domestic migration groups. The second largest reason, education or job training, differs by groups. For migrants with prior emigration experiences in family, 23.02 percent migrated for this reason, whereas the other internal migrants only have a 9.68 percent in this category. Other migration reasons, such as marriage or moving with family members showed an advantage for the migration group with the absence of emigration experiences in the family.

Table 3 further explores the occupations of internal migration for the two migration groups. A much greater percentage of internal migrates with emigrants in families were students or at least studying while working compared to the other group (24.1 percent vs. 7.5 percent), demonstrating the significant impact of emigration on the educational attainment of emigration families. This finding further confirmed what Table 2 had found on migrants for educational purposes. Business owners, partners or sales constitute the largest proportion of work related migrants for both groups (22.6 percent vs. 21.8 percent), over twofold of temporary workers. Compared to the other group, a larger part of internal migrants without prior emigrants in their families migrated along with their husbands, doing housework (8.8 percent vs. 18.5 percent). Interestingly, the second group also has a higher percentage joining the military force (6.6 percent vs. 10.5 percent). As one of the major paths of upward social mobility in China alongside with receiving education, joining the military force remained an important option for those internal migrants without emigration experiences in the families, in sharp contrast with a much higher proportion of educational migration for the other group.

Key Findings

Table 4 shows discrete time survival models for interprovincial and intra-provincial migration in Fujian Province, China. The group contains those, in each time of year, who were 15 year old or above. In order to render the data more efficient after data expansion, a sample is taken with 50 percent internal migrants and 10 percent non-internal migrations, and corresponding weights were later applied in logistic regression analysis. After expanding the sampled data, we got 78,212 valid person-years. Essentially, there are eight time varying variables in these models: age, year, prior internal migrant(s) in the family, prior international migrant(s) in the family, time elapsed since the first emigration in family, whether being a cadre

prior to internal migration, whether has a cadre in a household before internal migration, and internal migration prevalence ratio at village level. The control of time dimension is tricky since the years before 1949 saw very low rate of internal migration. The strategy we employed was to group 1904 to 1948 as one category and treated 1974-1978 as the reference year span which was the latter half of Culture Revolution and low migration was exhibited. Prior internal migrant in the family was coded as a binary variable; those families without any internal migrant in family were coded as 0 till year 2003.

At village level, internal migration prevalence ratios are calculated using every respondent's year of birth and the date of his or her first internal migration. The denominator of the ratio is the number of people 15 years old or older who are alive in a given year in this village and the numerator is the number of such people who have ever migrated internally up to that year. This is a time varying variable, showing a continuing change of ratios across years.

The first model predicts the logged odds of interprovincial migration and the second model predicts that of intra-provincial migration. As to age factors, quite consistent with the pattern in most other internal migration sending regions, internal migrants concentrated in the young age spans. Gender, on the other hand, manifests differential degrees of importance for the two migration types. The odds of interprovincial migration for males are about 10.5 (exp(2.356)) times that of females, while the odds ratio is just 1.4 (exp(0.328)) for intra-provincial migrants. Hence in this area males still remain the main role in longer migration trips which involves higher risk and yet higher economic rewards. Education proves to be a significant factor that fuels the process of internal migration: the higher the education, the more likely individuals migrate internally. This is especially true for intra-provincial migration. These findings

confirmed our hypothesis about a similar selectivity in internal migration patterns with most other areas of China.

Being a cadre has no significant effect on the odds of engaging in any kind of internal migration. Nevertheless, having a cadre family member deters individual to engage in interprovincial migration, and yet this effect does not occur to the intra-provincial migrants[2]. Instead of implying a decreasing privilege of cadres in this area (by examining the international migration from this area and treating internal and international migration as competing events, Liang and Chunyu (2008, forthcoming) found continuing privilege of cadres in locality), we argue for another possibility – considering the fact that a high proportion of the migrants from this area are business people, internal migration in this area were more attractive to the local residents compared to those studied by most other cases where the "second best option theory" was derived, and where internal migrants feature unskilled manual labors mainly. Internal migration prevalence ratio, indicating the social networks and cultures that could have been existed within a community favoring internal migration, has a strong effect (13.449 and 11.938 respectively) on the chance of internal migration among individuals, implicating its significance in this rural area of China.

As to the effect of emigration experience in a family, emigration has an initial deterring effect on later internal migration for both types of migration, especially for intra-provincial migration. Yet, we also find that the longer the emigrants stayed overseas, the more likely the other family members migrated internally, at both scales. This finding confirmed our hypothesis that emigration encouraged internal migration for both processes of internal migration. This

[2] A subsample of internal migrants due to job related reasons are also estimated. The results are in general similar. The only difference is the variable of "cadre in the family" where it is not statistically significant for interprovincial migrants.

variable remains significant after controlling for educational attainment, which implies that there might be other paths through which emigration advantage could transfer into internal migration advantage. One possible explanation would be that the financial capital obtained from overseas in the form of remittances inspired other people in the family to enter into domestic business market or other profitable sectors beyond the locality. Other reasons might be that emigration of a family member transferred back new ideas and concepts that s/he learned from a broader world, thereby those staying family members is able to develop ideas on businesses, obtain better information on business opportunities and seize those opportunities which usually involves certain amount of travel from local areas. Explanations of this kind call for an engagement with social remittances theory which argues that besides financial remittances, migrants also transfer home skills and attitudes, called social remittances (Levitt 2001, Castles 2010, Levitt 2011).

Migration fee for international migrants, at the same time, was astonishingly high, and according to Liang and Chunyu (2008), the highest migration fee paid in the early 2000s was around $67,000. Hence with regard to the reasons why such encouragement to internal migration does not take into effect right after emigration, we argue that it would take at least a couple of years for those emigrants and their family to fully pay off the emigration fee before they could actually enjoy the perks. The magnitude is somewhat different for the two models as well. It seems that it was faster to recover from emigration to interprovincial migration than to the engagement of intra-provincial migration. It could be the reason that a longer trip implicated a more profitable opportunity, inspiring potential internal migrants to tap into such opportunity in a timely manner.

Migration experiences

To further explore the mechanisms in such encouraging effect of emigration on internal migration, Table 5-7 probed into migration experiences of individuals in this area; more specifically, by constructing multi-level models to explore the role of prior emigration experience in the family for internal migrants on their income after migration, travel distances, and type of destination (rural\urban). This approach, to our knowledge, is rather an innovation in the studies of related area. Models for all migrants and work related migrants only were performed respectively for each table.

Table 5 reveals that after controlling for individual basic demographic characteristics, domestic migrants with emigrants in family received a much favorable income at their destinations than the other group of migrants did[3]. The findings on the income for job related migrants, as shown in the second model told a similar story. Graph 1 shows the predicted income for the two migration groups after controlling relevant factors. Another interesting finding lies in the factors of being a cadre and having cadres in households. Being a cadre oneself at some point was associated with a reduced income in their destinations but having a cadre in household had the opposite effect on income at destination. This mixed finding implicated a far more complicated mechanism behind the migration story of cadres in this area of China than a common internal migration sending region.

As demonstrated by Table 6, migrants with prior emigrants in the family were more likely to go farther in distance, and this was especially true for work related migrants. For all migrants, having a family member emigrated was associated with an increased 100 miles of travel distance; while for work-related migrants specifically, having a family member living abroad was associated with an increased distance of 152 miles. To the extent that farther

[3] There are over 30% of missing values for income, multiple imputations were thus performed and results remain very similar with the those from the original data set. Imputed models are presented as APPENDIX.

distances implicated better economic opportunities and stronger ambition on the part of the migrants, it was tempted to argue that emigration experience in the family fueled internal migration within family members and encouraged a more adventurous migration. Predicted travel distances after adjusting other factors are presented as Graph 2. Eventually, as demonstrated by Table 7, there was not enough evidence showing that having a prior emigrant in the family increased individual's chances in engaging an urban bound migration. This may be a result of an ever closing economic gap and tighter ties between rural and urban areas especially in the coastal areas which serve as major destinations for migrants from this area. Thus, we partially confirmed our hypothesis that migrants with emigrants abroad in the family tend to be favored in terms of income after migration and travel distances, but not with regard to the type of destination (i.e. urban areas).

Conclusions

Treating international and internal migrations both as dynamic processes, this paper aims to establish a fresh link between international migration and internal migration by examining the sustaining effect of international migration on internal migration from the emigration community. This angle directly tackles the impact of high emigration on origin countries in terms of internal migratory outcomes in the community. We also go beyond the discussions on international migration and development of the local communities by bringing attention to the development of places at a broader geographical scale in the origin countries than merely the emigration communities.

Our findings revealed that emigration of individuals warded off internal migration of other family members in the first few years of international migration. And yet, overtime the longer that family member stayed overseas, the more likely other household members to migrate

internally. This encouraging effect was manifested at different pace for interprovincial and intra-provincial migrations. Interprovincial migration was bolstered after one year of emigration, while it took approximately another year for intra-provincial migration to take on initiative by means of the facilitation of emigration in the family. This paced prompting impact from emigration is probably due to the high emigration fee that emigrants strived to pay off during the first few years after which the advantage of emigration for the families began to emerge.

We further found that domestic migrants with prior emigrants in the family tended to travel longer distances and were favored with better financial reward in migration than those without a family member being abroad. We suspect that such an advantage in internal migration for families with prior emigrants could be derived from two factors: financial remittances and social remittances they received from abroad. Financial remittances enabled potential business people to migrate out by covering the bases of cost and facilitating the process by putting more investment in businesses with the hope of higher profit; and it released people with academic ambition from economic constraints. Social remittances, here mainly referring to the social capital part, might affect internal migration in a number of ways. First, an ever opened world in the destination country and socialization with fellow migrants and their predecessors opened the eyes of international migrants. New insights and concepts migrants obtained from the destinations were able to be transferred back to their families remained in the origin country by means of mails, telephones calls, or emails. It is probable that the high proportion of internal migration for the purpose of study for these families was a combined fruit of such insight their family members abroad had provided and necessary financial support they had sent back. Second, new business ideas international migrants obtained from the destination could travel back home, attracting their family members at home to venture to other part of the country. Third, networks

migrants obtained from the origin and during the international migration would most probably get renewed after migrants step on a foreign land. As their networks got sustained and expanded in the destinations, information of various kinds could be shared and spread out. Business opportunities could come out by connecting these networks in emigrants' respective origins. The fact that emigration relevant families are more likely to travel farther might be a sign that they were more responsive to possible economic opportunities at a faraway place.

This study suggests the contribution of emigration to both emigration communities as well as the destination communities. By gaining more monetary return, internal migrants were able to enrich their families and expand their business by investing more. The contribution to places outside the community could be even stronger. Financial capitals were brought over and local market got prospered. Job opportunities would be generated and expanded in those destination communities. At a macro level, economic communication between the origin and destination communities within the boarders was realized. Such communication is enabled at a broader geographical level than simply the information exchange of nearby area. For instance, it is possible that business people from this area of Fujian told people of their business destination that they had farmland to rent out in their hometown, stimulating another round of internal migration to this area.

Overall, our study advocates a new linkage between international and internal migration – the impact of international migration on origin country as manifested in the outcome of migration within boarders; it also calls for a scaling up of studies from simply concentrating on emigration communities to a broader geographical area, when it comes to the discussion of international migration and development. We could and are able to move our attention beyond the local community at a micro level to see the development that emigrants contributed to their

homeland. Our findings on the income and distance advantage of migrants from emigration families over other internal migrants have taken the first step for explorations of such kind. By so doing, we argue that the picture of development in origin country after emigration should be brighter than what we can obtain from direct examination of remittance use.

Future research could include a systematic investigation of educational influences emigration had brought about. The impact of emigration on labor forces and labor market is one important story. Yet, education is also a story critical to social and economic development in the origin countries and is inherent to international migration.

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Table1: Descriptive Statistics for Selected Variables

	Internal Migrants		Never Migrated Internally
	with Emigrant(s) in HH	without Emigrant(s) in HH	
Age at migration			
15-19	40.97	39.84	--
20-24	22.92	32.55	--
25-29	12.5	10.33	--
30-34	8.33	5.5	--
35-39	0.69	2.81	--
40-44	1.39	2.02	--
45+	10.42	1.79	--
Sex			
Male	56.94	59.33	50.94
Female	43.06	40.67	49.06
Marital status			
Married at migration	25	21.1	--
Education			
No formal education	2.08	6.42	9.62
Elementary	17.36	33.33	32.19
Junior high	34.03	36.26	41.4
Senior high	20.14	12.39	12.55
Vocational high	9.72	4.62	1.99
College and above	16.67	6.98	2.25
Cadre(before internal migration, if at all)			
Yes	2.78	1.69	4.78
No	97.22	98.31	95.22
Cadre in the family (before internal migration, if at all)			
Yes	17.36	10.27	24.73
No	82.64	89.73	75.27
Prior internal migrant in the family			
Yes	43.06	21.77	31

No	56.94	78.23	69
Destination distance			
Inter-provincial migration	30.56	26.07	--
Intra-provincial migration	69.44	73.93	--
Average distance (miles)	432.19	338.767	--
Type of destination			
Urban	75.52	61.61	--
Rural	24.48	38.39	--
Averaged annual income after internal migration (rmb)	25,302	19,126	--
Internal migration prevalence ratio (after data expansion)	0.16	0.10	0.08
Total	144	891	8,329

Table 2. Cross Tabulation of Reasons of Leaving for the Two Internal Migrant Groups

Reason of Leaving	Migrants with Emigrant(s) in HH	Migrants without Emigrant(s) in HH
Job Related Reasons or Doing Business	53.96	51.24
Education or Job Training	23.02	9.68
Residential Move	0.72	0.83
Marriage	12.23	25.03
Moving with Family Members or Relatives	0.72	1.53
Others	9.35	11.69
Total	139	847

Table 3. Cross Tabulation of Occupations for the Two Internal Migrant Groups

	Internal migrates w/ emigrants	Internal migrates w/o emigrants
Students or Studying while Working	24.1%	7.5%
Business Owners, Partners or Sales	22.6%	21.8%
Temporary Workers	10.9%	6.3%
House Wives	8.8%	18.5%
In Military Force	6.6%	10.5%
Total	137	840

Table 4. Discrete Time Survival Models Predicting First Internal Migration, Fujian Province, China

Independent Variables	Inter-Provincial Migration			Intra-Provincial Migration		
	B		S.E.	B		S.E.
Age						
15-19	3.291	**	0.699	2.550	***	0.535
20-24	1.613	*	0.702	2.138	***	0.544
25-29	1.327	+	0.730	1.440	*	0.569
30-34	0.926		0.792	0.897		0.615
35-39	0.655		0.882	0.389		0.706
40-44	0.470		0.964	-0.827		1.125
45+ (reference)						
Male	2.356	***	0.446	0.328	*	0.165
Religion	-0.261		0.188	-0.019		0.015
Currently Married	0.682		0.479	0.215		0.274
Education						
No formal education (reference)						
Elementary School	1.544	+	0.905	0.886	*	0.351
Junior high school	2.199	*	0.886	1.167	**	0.371
Senior high school	2.043	*	0.933	1.468	***	0.405
Vocational high school	1.664		1.487	2.311	***	0.497
college or above	3.061	*	1.195	1.939	***	0.531

Cadre (prior to internal migration)	0.473		0.631	0.686		1.214
Cadre in a family (Prior to internal migration)	-1.200	*	0.596	0.127		1.194
Prior internal migrant(s) in the family	-0.330		0.332	0.051		0.194
Prior international migrant(s) in the family	-0.697	+	0.359	-1.347	***	0.269
Time elapsed since the first emigration in family	0.779	***	0.147	0.876	***	0.089
Internal migration prevalence ratio at village level	13.449	***	1.741	11.938	***	1.066
1974-1978 (reference)						
1904-1948	-36.552	***	0.466	0.709		0.668
1949-1953	-37.390	***	0.426	0.497		0.633
1954-1958	0.018		1.097	1.654	***	0.336
1959-1963	-0.291		0.864	0.412		0.401
1964-1968	0.394		0.612	-0.402		0.445
1969-1973	0.544		0.546	-0.080		0.368
1979-1983	-0.848		0.714	-0.075		0.337
1984-1988	-0.463		0.584	-0.004		0.319
1989-1993	0.240		0.240	-0.650	+	0.362
1994-1998	-0.216		0.562	-0.227		0.326
1999-2003	-0.270		0.598	-0.489		0.409

Constant	-15.004	***	1.477	-11.549	***	0.715
Number of Observation	78212					
Log pseudolikelihood=	-404.569					

+p<.1 *p<.05 **p<.01 ***p<.001

Table 5. HLM Predicting Income after Internal Migration, Fujian Province, China

Independent Variables	All Migrants			Work Related Migrants Only		
	B		S.E.	B		S.E.
Age at migration						
15-19	-0.381		0.443	-0.215		0.427
20-24	-0.193		0.422	-0.076		0.408
25-29	-0.306		0.411	-0.330		0.378
30-34	0.330		0.436	0.186		0.412
35-39	0.040		0.482	-0.166		0.446
40-44	0.297		0.507	0.568		0.465
45+ (reference)						
Male	-0.091		0.134	0.169		0.145
Married at migration	0.732	**	0.237	0.476	+	0.244
Education						
No formal education (reference)						
Elementary School	1.041	**	0.368	1.354	**	0.397
Junior high school	1.550	***	0.360	1.688	***	0.389
Senior high school	1.761	***	0.385	1.957	***	0.410
Vocational high school	1.308	**	0.479	1.350	*	0.529
College or above	1.904	***	0.488	2.505	**	0.621

Prior international migrant(s) in the family	0.853	***	0.216	0.577	**	0.206
Cadre	-1.333	***	0.183	-0.884	***	0.207
Cadre in household	0.560	+	0.297	0.701	*	0.310
Constant	7.081	***	0.553	6.942	***	0.560
Number of Migrants	605			451		
R Square						
Within	0.289			0.156		
Between	0.200			0.171		
Overall	0.215			0.168		

+p<.1 *p<.05 **p<.01 ***p<.001

Table 6. HLM Predicting Travel Distance, Fujian Province, China

Independent Variables	All Migrants			Work Related Migrants Only		
	B		S.E.	B		S.E.
Age at migration						
15-19	-283.438	*	113.148	-459.140	**	144.560
20-24	-351.673	**	110.796	-524.300	***	138.334
25-29	-197.274	+	108.665	-250.218	*	126.839
30-34	-434.483	***	116.763	-454.668	**	137.270
35-39	-322.343	*	137.980	-412.084	**	154.873
40-44	-52.296		148.432	-150.392		159.822
45+ (reference)						
Male	342.274	***	35.009	235.559	***	56.031
Married at migration	82.398		64.696	-4.248		88.853
Education						
No formal education (reference)						
Elementary School	208.802	**	76.599	338.215	*	138.685
Junior high school	211.199	**	76.824	349.332	*	137.105
Senior high school	189.706	*	86.038	233.173		146.360
Vocational high school	51.375		105.783	271.453		190.026
College or above	216.370	*	96.044	95.414		218.703

Prior international migrant(s) in the family	100.369	+	51.856	151.603	*	73.728
Cadre	21.084		54.442	9.931		79.057
Cadre in household	60.668		72.180	143.154		116.220
Constant	220.743	+	127.752	337.951	+	197.654
Number of Migrants	972			499		
R Square						
Within	0.253			0.125		
Between	0.134			0.143		
Overall	0.154			0.144		

+p<.1 *p<.05 **p<.01 ***p<.001

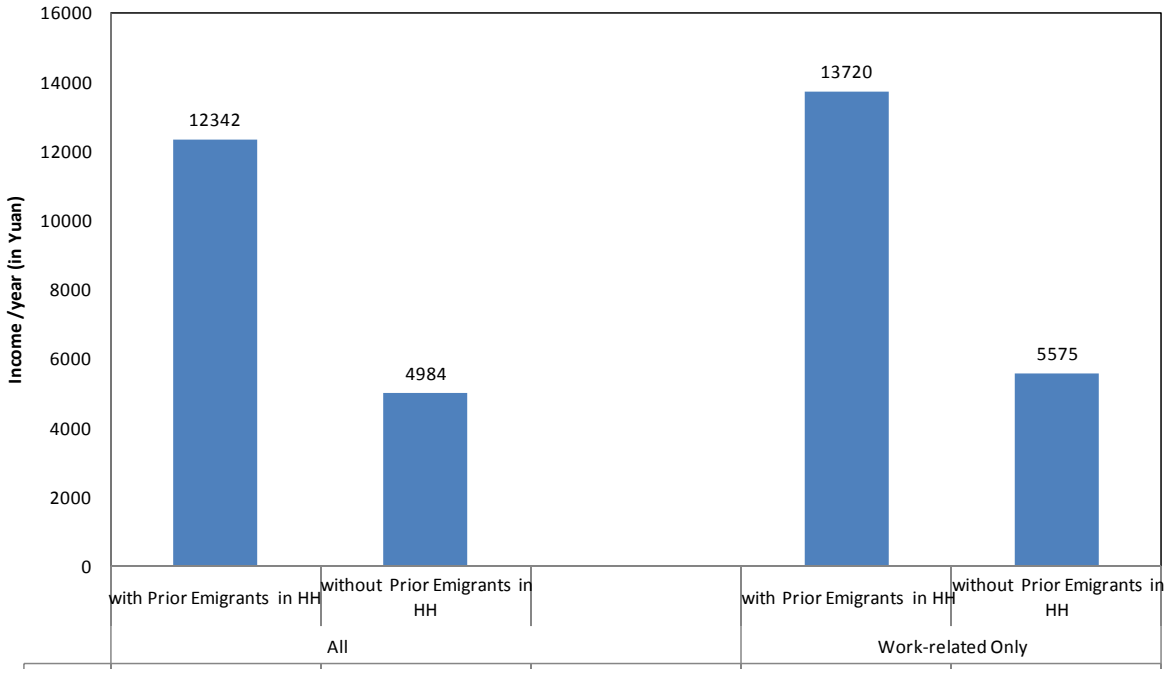
Table 7. HLM Predicting Destination as Urban Areas, Fujian Province, China

Independent Variables	All Migrants			Work Related Migrants Only		
	B		S.E.	B		S.E.
Age at migration						
15-19	1.041		0.981	1.692		2.165
20-24	-0.342		0.950	2.191		2.102
25-29	-0.720		0.939	0.605		1.843
30-34	-1.026		0.991	-1.001		1.987
35-39	-0.634		1.169	1.091		2.411
40-44	0.777		1.389	2.559		2.447
45+ (reference)						
Male	3.369	***	0.496	1.248		0.805
Married at migration	1.483	*	0.583	0.598		1.488
Education						
No formal education (reference)						
Elementary School	3.111	***	0.874	10.731	***	1.974
Junior high school	3.545	***	0.887	10.443	***	2.009
Senior high school	5.345	***	1.082	12.185	***	2.183
Vocational high school	7.310	***	1.404	9.235	***	2.435
College or above	8.604	***	1.548	9.120	*	3.751

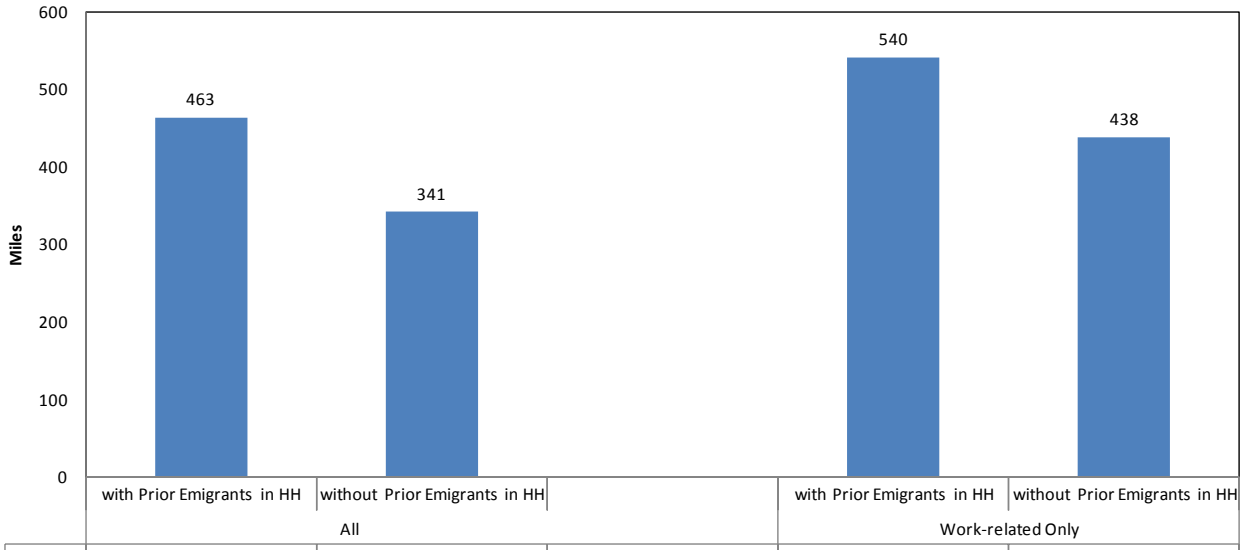
Prior international migrant(s) in the family	0.542		0.473	-0.157		1.030
Cadre	0.450		0.521	1.061		1.391
Cadre in household	-0.076		0.688	-1.169		1.570
Constant	-5.145	***	1.305	-4.661	+	2.758
Number of Migrants	938			477		
Log Likelihood	-432.733			-210.493		

+p<.1 *p<.05 **p<.01 ***p<.001

Graph1. Predicted Annual Income after First Internal Migration (Converted into 2004 yuan)



Graph2. Predicted Traveling Distance for First Internal migration (in miles)



APPENDIX. HLM Predicting Income after Internal Migration-Imputed

Independent Variables	All Migrants			Work Related Migrants Only		
	B		S.E.	B		S.E.
Age at migration						
15-19	-0.501		0.455	-0.179		0.485
20-24	-0.370		0.415	-0.037		0.455
25-29	-0.334		0.408	-0.324		0.417
30-34	0.160		0.429	0.160		0.432
35-39	0.098		0.498	-0.080		0.486
40-44	0.400		0.527	0.540		0.516
45+ (reference)						
Male	-0.290		0.175	0.131		0.163
Married at migration	0.759	**	0.270	0.538		0.252
Education						
No formal education (reference)						
Elementary School	0.996	**	0.353	1.164	**	0.398
Junior high school	1.635	***	0.371	1.547	***	0.387
Senior high school	1.808	***	0.368	1.824	***	0.421
Vocational high school	1.204	*	0.444	1.178	+	0.599
College or above	1.638	***	0.385	2.211	**	0.638
Prior international migrant(s) in the family	0.750	**	0.261	0.601	*	0.240

Cadre	-0.927	***	0.204	-0.793	***	0.215
Cadre in household	0.373		0.263	0.679	*	0.332
Constant	7.314	***	0.607	7.064	***	0.587
Number of Migrants	984			507		
Imputations	10			10		

+p<.1 *p<.05 **p<.01 ***p<.001