LINKAGES BETWEEN INTERNAL AND INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION: THE ILOCOS NORTE EXPERIENCE

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ABSTRACT

This paper reviews the arguments about whether internal and international migration can, or should, be incorporated in the same migration theories or models and examines the ways in which the two processes are linked in a variety of contexts. To show some illustrative empirical results, reference is made to a research project (the Philippine Migration Study) that incorporates both internal and international migration in its research design. The paper concludes that there are important linkages between internal and international migration at both the individual and aggregate levels, and that the factors influencing each type of migration are similar. It is, therefore, entirely appropriate to formulate comprehensive migration theories that include both processes. Based upon a value-expectancy framework, findings of the Philippine Migration Study confirm that a global model of migration decision making is feasible and that other important concepts in migration equally apply well in the case of both internal and international population movements.

INTRODUCTION

In the past, few studies in the area of migration have been concerned with both internal and international migration (Goldstein and Goldstein, 1981; De Jong et al., 1983). Moreover, there is a healthy debate in the literature about whether comparative studies of these two aspects of population movement are to be recommended. Some argue that international migration is simply one end of a continuum that ranges from short distance local moves to long distance moves across national boundaries and that a single theory or model can successfully encompass both types of migration. Others point to the inherent differences in the two types of migration and suggest that no single comprehensive theory of internal and international migration is possible.

This paper[1] reviews the arguments underpinning each of these points of view and examines the ways in which internal and international migration are linked in a variety of different contexts. It then describes a research project (the Philippine Migration Study) that incorporates both internal and international migration in its research design. Some illustrative empirical results from the project are included in the paper.

DIFFERENCES AND LINKAGES

The most important difference between internal and international migration is the political controls that re-

gulate movement across national boundaries. These controls, in turn, are related to the development of nation states and attempts to establish sovereignty over one's territory. The degree to which national boundaries affect population movement depends on how well defined borders are, how well developed immigration laws are, and how strictly relevant legislation is enforced. In many cases, national boundaries are quite porous, particularly when they divide a geographical area which is ethnically homogeneous. Nomadic populations, for example, often roam freely over areas they have traditionally inhabited with little regard to boundary markers.

Political controls over international migration can often be circumvented with relative ease. In Asia, many countries have well-defined borders and fairly strict immigration controls, but others either allow or have difficulty stopping wholesale cross-border movements. For example, India and Nepal have traditionally maintained an open border system and the boundary between these two countries is still uncontrolled (National Commission on Population, 1983). The presence of large numbers of Bangladeshis in India has been a source of recent tension. Malaysia has also been a magnet for illegal/undocumented immigrants. Stahl (1983) has estimated that there are 100,000-300,000 Indonesian migrants in peninsular Malaysia. He also estimated that there are 100,000 Indonesian workers in East Malaysia and 100,000-250,000 Filipinos (including dependents) in Sabah. Illegal immigration is also substantial between China and Hong Kong and between Malaysia and Singapore (United Nations, 1982). Finally, refugee movements between Afghanistan and Pakistan and between Indo-China and neighboring countries have continued unabated. All of these flows indicate that national boundaries in Asia do not always pose important barriers to international migration.

In Latin America, national borders are relatively uncontrolled and easy to cross (Kritz and Gurak, 1979). Immigration policies have not been very effective in controlling the flow of foreign workers, particularly unskilled workers. It has been estimated that Venezuela has some two million illegal migrants within its borders and that Argentina has somewhere between 580,000 and 2,650,000 illegal migrants (United Nations, 1982). Obviously the precision of these estimates is subject to question, but the order of magnitude is large in any case.

Although the United States has an unusually detailed set of immigration laws, circumvention of such laws has proven to be relatively easy. About one million undocumented immigrants are apprehended in the U.S. each year, mostly along the Mexican border. Despite the large number of apprehensions, the stock of illegal immigrants in the U.S. is estimated to be substantial, between three million and six million individuals.

In Africa, national boundaries are generally not an obstacle to potential international migrants. Only a few African countries have well articulated immigration laws and enforcement

of regulations is often lax (Adepoju, 1983). According to Adepoju (1979), "Migration across national boundaries, particularly in West Africa, was prominent prior to the attainment of political independence and the emergence of well-defined territorial boundaries; moreover, the consolidation of boundaries has had a minimal impact as most migrants move quite freely, unhindered by 'artificial frontiers'."

It is evident, therefore, that while political controls over international migration cannot be ignored, there are significant examples in every region of the world of countries where these controls are weak or non-existent. This would seem to strengthen the case for treating both internal and international migration within the same framework. The weight of opinion also seems to be on the side of an integrated approach. However, some have argued strenuously that these different types of migration require different theoretical approaches. Whatever gains an integrated approach might yield, it is argued, are more than offset by the losses from overgeneralization. Stark (1978, 1984) has argued against the development of a global, comprehensive migration model. Speare (1974) also emphasized the differences between internal and international migration. Pryor (1981) is doubtful that any one theory can reasonably cover both internal and international migration. He argues that existing internal migration models are not even adequate for explaining internal migration, let alone international migration. He recommends that research should focus on specific subregional models "that deal with manageable data sets and limited (possibly only paired) origin-destination matrices . . . This approach could then be expanded to appropriate triads as experience is gained with theory elaboration and model specification" (1981: 128). The study described in the last part of this paper follows this latter suggestion by examining migration within a triad of geographical areas.

Pryor seems to have modified his views somewhat over time. In 1978, he concluded that, while there are some differences between internal and international migration, greater theoretical insights might be achieved by examining the similarities between these two processes. "It seems to be a matter of degree, of continuities rather than dichotomies" (Pryor, 1978). In their review of migration surveys in developing countries, Goldstein and Goldstein (1981) agree with this assessment. They argue that the lines between internal and international migration are becoming increasingly blurred and, therefore, a distinct dichotomy between these two phenomena may no longer be justified. Barclay (1958) also noted that the political status of boundaries that migrants cross were becoming less important in migration studies at that time.

A publication by the United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs (1973) recommended that all of the possible determinants of either internal or international migration should be organized into a single framework. Fawcett, Arnold,

and Minocha (1984) go so far as to suggest that there is no theoretical justification for treating international migration differently from internal migration. They base their argument on the fact that the same concepts (e.g., place characteristics, auspices, and remittances) apply equally well in the case of both types of migration. In fact, much of the argument regarding the theoretical treatment of internal and international migration hinges on whether the causes of these phenomena are sufficiently distinct to warrant separate models.

There are three principal ways in which international migration is thought to be materially different from internal migration. The first has to do with the legal constraints or political controls that govern international migration. These include primarily restrictions imposed on immigration by receiving countries and secondarily exit restrictions in effect in the sending countries. Bohning has explained the importance of legislative controls on immigration as follows:

> The definitional nexus [between internal and international migration] . . . is severed through the specificity of international migration, which derives from the fact that it is not enough that an individual wants to move – he will be shown the door unless nonutilized or underutilized land or capital articulates a demand for his labor and the political power structure has sanctions in it. (1981: 35)

As we have argued above, however, political controls on international migration can often be circumvented. Moreover, many countries (particularly those with totalitarian governments) exercise strict control over the internal movement of individuals as well. These two factors tend to lessen the distinction between internal and international migration.

The second factor differentiating internal and international migration is the greater distance that is usually involved in international moves and hence the increased importance of the cost of moving. Once again, however, the cost and distance of moves may be greater for long-distance internal moves than for short-distance international moves. The final distinguishing factor is socio-cultural differences between origin and destination areas (Fawcett, Arnold, and Minocha, 1984; Goldscheider, 1971). It is true that such things as language and customs may vary more across countries than within a country, but there are many cases in which a migrant would feel more comfortable crossing a national boundary than moving within his or her own country. Therefore, the factors affecting population movement are similar in the case of internal and international migration. International population movements tend to involve more legal constraints, longer distances, and greater cultural differences, but there are many exceptions to this rule. Hence, we see no reason why a single model cannot encompass both types of migration.

In fact, most structural explanations of human migration do not distinguish between different types of migration (Bray, 1984; Adepoju, 1983; Chapman and Prothero, 1983). Internal and international migration

are seen as resulting from the same set of fundamental causes. The capitalist penetration of rural areas leads to the creation of surplus labor and to local demands for cash which cannot be satisfied in the local economy. The economic imbalances which are caused by capitalist expansion cause rural labor to seek opportunities elsewhere, in both urban areas within the country and in the international labor market.

Few studies to date have attempted to compare the determinants of both internal and international migration (De Jong et al., 1983). Several studies have, however, tried to infer something about these determinants by comparing the characteristics of those who move within a country with those who move across national borders. Balan (1983) reports that in Latin America migrants who are better off financially travel farther when they migrate and that those who are worse off are less likely to cross national boundaries. He finds that selectivity rules often operate differently for international and internal flows of migrants. "In extreme cases, one finds therefore that internal and international flows represent alternative opportunities for different social categories within the same or neighboring rural communities" (Balan, 1983: 16). For Mexico, Arizpe (1981) argues that internal and international migrants from rural areas should be analyzed as two separate movements. Only particular types of migrants are attracted to opportunities over the U.S. border. Arizpe found that migrants to the U.S. are less likely than internal migrants to be poor and landless, female, old, or from middle and upper income households.

Linkages between internal and international migration can also be pursued at the individual level by examining migration histories. Several different types of links have been established, including step migration and secondary migration. In some areas, internal migration is only one step in a process that leads toward eventual international movement (Goldstein and Goldstein, 1981). The order of the steps may also be reversed in some cases, i.e., residents in rural villages first move to an urban area in another country and subsequently return to live in urban areas in their country of origin. Pryor (1983) has reported evidence of this type of movement in Europe.

Gordon (1984) has demonstrated the importance of secondary migration among Indo-Chinese refugees in the United States. The official U.S. government policy is to promote the geographical dispersal of refugees, but many refugees are uncomfortable living in cold climates or in communities in which there are no sizeable Asian populations. Hence, these refugees tend to be highly mobile after their initial placement, much more mobile than the U.S. population as a whole. Forbes (1984) estimated that 45 percent of the 1975 Indo-Chinese refugees to the United States had moved to a different state by 1980. These moves tended to be toward the South and the West, particularly to California, which has proven to be a magnet for refugees.

The increase in international labor migration in the last decade, particularly in Asia, also has important implications for internal movement within the labor-exporting countries. Demery (1983) has estimated that in 1981 there were approximately 2.5 million Asians working in the Middle East. This large-scale movement of workers, primarily from rural areas, undoubtedly affects rates of internal migration in the major sending countries.

There are two principal ways in which internal migration is influenced by temporary labor migration abroad. First, rural applicants for foreign jobs (or those from small cities) generally need to travel to a major city to complete the application procedures to secure an overseas contract. The offices of recruiting agents are usually centralized in a few large cities. In the Philippines, for example, 98 percent of recruiters and contractors have their offices in Manila (Santo Tomas, 1983). Moreover, application procedures are often long and complex and filled with uncertainty. Prospective overseas workers face an enormous amount of red tape. In the Philippines, most workers applying for their first overseas job are able to depart from the Philippines within three months after applying for a job, but 27 percent have to wait for 4-6 months, 13 percent for 7-12 months, and three percent for more than 12 months (ILMS, 1983, Volume 2:60). During the application process, it is risky for job applicants from outlying areas to return home because workers who remain "on the spot" and ready to leave are more likely to get the available jobs. Because of the lengthy application procedures, the government of Bangladesh is even planning to build a hostel for overseas workers in Dhaka. Some countries, such as Thailand and the Philippines, have established one-stop processing centers to make application procedures faster and more convenient (Arnold, 1984), but the waiting time is still substantial. Moreover, many prospective labor migrants move from villages to urban areas to apply for overseas jobs, but never obtain such employment.

The other way in which international contract labor migration may affect internal migration in the sending countries involves the internal movement of overseas workers once they return to their country of origin. Several studies have raised the possibility that returning workers from rural areas may not want to return to their rural areas of origin after their overseas work is completed (Arnold and Shah, 1984; Shah, 1983; Shah and Karim, 1982; Pennix, 1982). The desire to move may be a joint result of their dissatisfaction with rural life and their experience with urban life gained when they were applying for their overseas work. Stahl describes the reasons for this process as follows:

> Much international migration takes up urban-industrial jobs in wealthy countries. Over time, these emigrants will be continually exposed to the amenities of urban life in a wealthy country, as well as to ideas and customs alien to their socio-cultural milieu back home. Upon their return these former rural dwellers may find re-integration difficult. As some

> empirical evidence indicates, they may change their view of agricultural labor, now believing it to be beneath their status . . . If a means of acquiring income other than agricultural laboring cannot be found in their rural homeland and/or if the returnee can no longer tolerate rural life, he will most likely migrate to an urban area within his own country. (1982: 889-890)

Linkages between internal and international migration are also evident at the aggregate level. We can distinguish four basic types of relationships between internal and international migration at the aggregate level. Examples of each type of relationship are given below.

1. Internal migrants may move to take the jobs of those who have gone abroad. Conde (1979) found that rural-urban internal migrants in Algeria and Tunisia were taking jobs vacated by former urban residents who had emigrated to France.

2. Immigrants may take jobs vacated by internal migrants. In Malaysia, rural-urban migration has caused labor shortages in agriculture and this has necessitated the import of illegal immigrants from Indonesia to work on the agricultural estates (Stahl, 1984). Adepoju (1983) reports a similar phenomenon in Cameroon where plantation laborers who have moved to towns are being replaced by Nigerian immigrants.

3. Emigration may serve as a complement to internal migration. This is apparently the case in Chile, where international migration has helped to ease the pressure of excess labor in rural areas and in urban areas within the country that might potentially have received the rural migrants who went abroad (Marshall, 1981).

4. Emigration (or immigration) may serve as a substitute for internal migration. In West Africa, Zachariah and Conde (1981) found an overall negative relationship between emigration and internal migration.

The above discussion indicates that there are important linkages between internal and international migration at both the individual and the aggregate levels. Moreover, there are significant similarities in the causes of each type of migration. Therefore, it would be desirable to attempt to incorporate both of these migration processes in a single study. The remainder of this paper reviews one such study in Asia which examines a migration system that includes both internal and international destinations.

THE PHILIPPINE MIGRATION STUDY

The Philippine Migration Study (PMS) is a collaborative effort of the East-West Population Institute, Honolulu, Hawaii, and the Institute of Philippine Culture, Ateneo de Manila University, Manila.[2] The study examines migration from Ilocos Norte to the principal internal destination, Manila, and the principal international destination, Honolulu (for a more detailed description of the PMS and results of earlier PMS analyses, see Abad and Cariño, 1981; De Jong et al., 1983; Gardner, De Jong, and Abad, 1985; Abad, De Jong, and Fawcett, 1981).

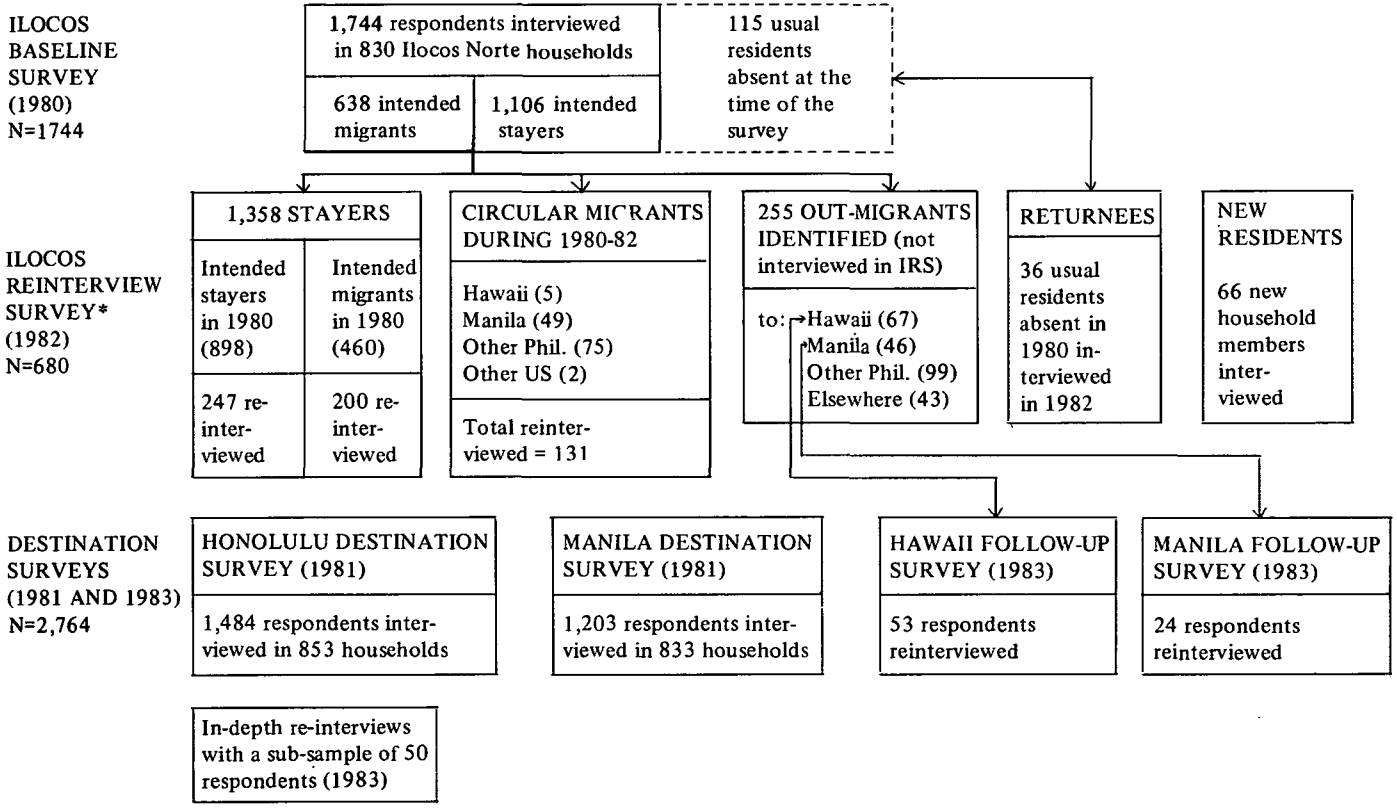
Ilocos Norte is a largely rural, resource poor province with a long his-

tory of outmigration that is largely attributable to population pressure in the region (Smith, 1976, 1981; Concepcion and Smith, 1977). Since one of the principal migration streams from the Ilocos is within the Philippines and the other is outside the country, the Ilocos presents an ideal situation for a comparative analysis of internal and international migration.

The survey design of the Philippine Migration Study is shown in Figure 1. The study consists of seven separate surveys conducted in Ilocos Norte, Manila, and Honolulu between 1980 and 1983. In all, more than 5,000 interviews were conducted in the three locations. The initial baseline survey in Ilocos Norte was conducted in 1980. After two-and-a-half years, the initial 830 households in the Ilocos Baseline Survey were recontacted to determine the migration behavior of household members since the first survey. Those who had moved to either Manila or Hawaii during this period were tracked to the destination and interviewed there. In 1981, destination surveys were conducted with Ilocano migrants in both Manila and Honolulu. Finally, in-depth re-interviews were administered in 1983 to a subsample of respondents in the Honolulu Destination Survey.

The PMS uses a single integrated model (the value-expectancy or VE framework) to explore migration decision-making for both internal and international migration. The VE framework incorporates a wide variety of different goals or values that individuals may wish to achieve or satisfy. It also determines in what location each of these goals can best be achieved. The values were selected on the basis of both theoretical considerations and a review of the literature, and they include all the factors that are expected to be related to either internal or international migration. The 28 values that were used in the Ilocos Baseline Survey represent seven basic conceptual categories: wealth, status, comfort, stimulation, autonomy, affiliation, and morality. (See Table 1 for the list of values).

Figure 2 shows the basic design of the VE question, including the first eight of the 28 value items. Respondents were first asked how important each of the values was to them personally. They were then asked about the likelihood of attaining each of the goals in each of three locations: their present place of residence (barangay), Manila, and Hawaii. A card sort technique was used for both parts of the question. The general idea behind the measure is that if a respondent rates a value as being very important *and* is more likely to satisfy that value in one location than in the others, then that value is expected to be related to migration intentions and behavior. If a value is not very important to a respondent *or* if he/she is equally likely to attain that value in each location, then we would not expect the value to affect migration. For this reason, the VE measure is employed in a multiplicative model in which the importance of each value is multiplied by its expectation in a location and then the results are cumulated over all values to arrive at an overall score for that loca-



* The Ilocos Reinterview Survey (IRS) involved recontacts with the 830 households from the Ilocos Baseline Survey to determine the migration behavior of all household members during the 2½ years since the first survey. Individual interviews were conducted with a sample of approximately one-third of the stayers and with circular migrants, returnees, and new residents.

Figure 1. Survey Design for the Philippine Migration Study

Here is a list of goals or values that some people consider important. I want to know how important these things are to you personally. Please tell me if you consider these very important, fairly important or not important. (READ 1ST VALUE: CONTINUE DOWN LIST OF VALUES)			VALUES	Thinking about the future, I want you to assess how things would be if you were to stay in this barangay, you were to move to Manila or you were to move to Hawaii. For example, would you say your chances of having a peaceful life in this barangay are high, medium or low? In Manila are the chances high, medium, or low? In Hawaii are the chances high, medium or low? (CONTINUE DOWN LIST OF VALUES)											
				Barangay				Manila				Hawaii			
Very Important	Fairly Important	Not Important		H	M	L	DK	H	M	L	DK	H	M	L	DK
			1. Having a peaceful life.												
			2. Having a prestigious job.												
			3. Living in a community that is a good place to raise children.												
			4. Having a job that is not too strenuous.												
			5. Having people to rely on in times of need.												
			6. Being able to meet a variety of people.												
			7. Having freedom to do what you want.												
			8. Living near friends and relatives.												

H = High
M = Medium
L = Low
DK = Don't Know

Figure 2. The Value-Expectancy Question From the Ilocos Baseline Survey.

Table 1. Importance of Values for All Respondents

Value	Value Score	% who say that value is "Very Important"
Having a peaceful life (Comfort)	2.9	88.0
Living in a healthful environment (Comfort)	2.8	81.3
Being certain of having adequate food, clothing, and shelter (Wealth)	2.8	80.3
Having good opportunities for education for yourself or your children (Status)	2.8	79.9
Moving up in the world (Status)	2.8	78.8
Having a prestigious job (Status)	2.7	75.9
Living in a safe neighborhood (Comfort)	2.7	77.0
Saving money (Wealth)	2.7	75.0
Having people to rely on in time of need (Affiliation)	2.7	72.7
Having a regular stable income (Wealth)	2.7	69.2
Being in a pleasant neighborhood (Comfort)	2.6	66.6
Living virtuously (Morality)	2.6	63.7
Living in a community that is a good place to raise children (Morality)	2.6	63.9
Having economic security for old age (Wealth)	2.6	60.8
Living in a familiar environment (Affiliation)	2.5	58.8
Having a high income (Wealth)	2.5	58.9
Having comfortable housing (Comfort)	2.5	57.0
Having a lot of friends (Affiliation)	2.5	53.9
Living near friends and relatives (Affiliation)	2.5	54.3
Having a job that is not too strenuous (Comfort)	2.4	46.8
Having a feeling of "belonging" in the community (Affiliation)	2.3	43.2
Being looked up to in the community (Status)	2.3	43.2
Having a high standard of living (Wealth)	2.3	39.2
Practicing your religion (Morality)	2.3	42.9
Being economically independent (Autonomy)	2.3	42.7
Having freedom to do what you want to do (Autonomy)	2.3	40.5
Being able to meet a variety of people (Stimulation)	2.2	35.8
Having a variety of entertainment available (Stimulation)	1.9	22.9

Note: Value scores: Very important = 3
Fairly important = 2
Not important = 1

tion. In general, it is predicted that the respondent would want to stay in the present barangay if that location has the highest VE score or move to whichever alternative location has the highest score.

However, there are factors involved in migration decisions other than the simple desire to move. There are often factors that constrain migration even if the desire to move is great or, on the other hand, factors that facilitate migration even if the desire to move is weak. Therefore, the VE measures are imbedded in a model that also includes relevant constraints and facilitators, such as the cost of moving, the presence of relatives and close friends in alternative locations, and family pressures on migration decisions.

The basic results of the VE questions in the Ilocos Baseline Survey are shown in Tables 1 and 2. The values are each scored on a three-point scale, where 3 represents a very important value or a high expectancy, 2 represents a fairly important value or a medium expectancy, and 1 represents an unimportant value or a low expectancy. The most important values are concerned with comfort, wealth, and status (Table 1). Values related to affiliation and morality were also rated as important, but less so than the previous categories. Of least importance are the values concerned with autonomy and stimulation, values which might not be expected to be of paramount importance in a largely rural society.

Table 2 indicates that, despite the complexity of the VE questions, respondents were able to distinguish different locations as being relatively good places or bad places to achieve different goals. Manila was not highly regarded by Ilocanos in most respects and there was not a single value on which Manila ranked higher than both alternative locations. Relative to the other values, however, Manila is seen as being a good place for educational opportunities and entertainment. As might be expected, Hawaii rates very well on items having to do with wealth and status but is a relatively poor place to satisfy one's desire for affiliation. Comfort, affiliation, and morality were seen as being most easily achieved in the present barangay.

Several PMS analyses have explored the utility of the VE framework for explaining migration intentions and behavior (De Jong et al., 1983; Gardner, Cariño, and Arnold, 1981; Gardner, De Jong, and Abad, 1984). These studies conclude that a comprehensive value-expectancy framework can successfully encompass both internal and international migration decision making. The VE measures have been found to be significant predictors of migration intentions in both cases, but they appear to be less important in explaining actual migration behavior over a short period of time.

In addition to the above model, two other concepts have been developed within the framework of the PMS study that can be applied to both internal and international migration, namely, "shadow households"

Table 2. Expectancy of Achieving Each Value in Home Barangay, Manila, and Hawaii

Value	Expectancy score			Percent who say that expectancy of achieving value is "High"		
	Barangay	Manila	Hawaii	Barangay	Manila	Hawaii
Having a peaceful life (Comfort)	2.3	1.8	22.	33.0	7.2	30.8
Living in a healthful environment (Comfort)	2.5	1.9	2.3	48.4	12.2	38.4
Being certain of having adequate food, clothing and shelter (Wealth)	2.2	2.0	2.3	30.5	18.2	39.9
Having good opportunities for education for yourself or your children (Status)	2.2	2.2	2.4	29.9	32.7	43.2
Moving up in the world (Status)	2.0	2.0	2.5	17.6	16.1	51.9
Having a prestigious job (Status)	2.1	2.0	2.3	18.6	16.5	38.3
Living in a safe neighborhood (Comfort)	2.4	1.8	2.2	46.6	12.6	25.2
Saving Money (Wealth)	2.0	1.9	2.4	17.7	15.1	48.8
Having people to rely on in time of need (Affiliation)	2.5	1.8	2.0	52.2	10.5	19.2
Having a regular stable income (Wealth)	2.0	2.1	2.4	17.7	19.2	46.5
Being in a pleasant neighborhood (Comfort)	2.5	1.8	2.0	52.7	10.7	18.1
Living virtuously (Morality)	2.2	2.0	2.2	26.8	14.2	26.0
Living in a community that is a good place to raise children (Morality)	2.3	1.9	2.3	33.7	13.5	33.5
Having economic security for old age (Wealth)	2.1	1.9	2.3	25.6	10.6	34.3
Living in a familiar environment (Affiliation)	2.5	1.8	1.9	54.2	8.9	13.6
Having a high income (Wealth)	1.9	2.0	2.4	12.5	18.5	51.3
Having comfortable housing (Comfort)	2.2	1.9	2.2	23.7	11.7	31.5
Having a lot of friends (Affiliation)	2.5	1.9	2.0	53.4	15.2	17.5
Living near friends and relatives (Affiliation)	2.5	1.8	1.9	53.4	10.5	16.4
Having a job that is not too strenuous (Comfort)	1.9	1.9	2.1	14.8	11.8	24.4
Having a feeling of "belonging" in the community (Affiliation)	2.2	1.9	2.0	25.3	10.4	17.4
Being looked up to in the community (Status)	2.2	1.9	2.0	24.2	9.8	15.7
Having a high standard of living (Wealth)	2.0	1.9	2.2	12.8	11.9	31.6
Practicing your religion (Morality)	2.2	2.1	2.1	29.0	21.1	23.0
Being economically independent (Autonomy)	2.1	1.9	2.1	24.1	16.6	28.3
Having freedom to do what you want to do (Autonomy)	2.2	1.9	1.9	33.0	12.1	17.3
Being able to meet a variety of people (Stimulation)	2.1	2.0	2.1	25.3	19.0	27.5
Having a variety of entertainment available (Stimulation)	1.6	2.3	2.4	7.4	40.1	50.4

Note: Expectancy scores: *High expectancy of achieving value* = 3
Medium expectancy of achieving value = 2
Low expectancy of achieving value = 1

and "competing auspices" (Caces et al., 1985). The first concept defines households in terms of commitments and obligations rather than simply in terms of actual residence. The idea is that persons who have moved out of a household may still have their principal commitments to their former household and they may still be considered as household members. All individuals whose principal commitments are to a particular household, but who do not physically reside in that household, are considered to be members of the shadow household. This concept is designed to cover both internal and international migrants, although in most cases it is undoubtedly more significant for short-distance internal migrants.

In the migration literature, the term "auspices" usually refers to the presence of individuals (usually relatives or friends) in a destination who can provide a migrant with information and support. The concept of "competing auspices" arises from the fact that prospective migrants often have auspices available in more than one potential destination. In general, it is hypothesized that "intentions to move from point X to point Y are, *ceteris paribus*, positively related to the presence and strength of auspices at point Y and negatively related to such links at any other point Z" (Caces et al., 1985). Preliminary empirical results from the PMS suggest the importance of viewing migration in the context of such social networks and confirm the basic utility of the two concepts introduced above for both internal and international migration decision-making.

The Honolulu Destination Survey contains information on the migration history of immigrants who were born in the Ilocos regions. Of the 1,448 Ilocano respondents whose first international move was to Hawaii, 929 (or 64.2 percent) moved directly from the Ilocos without any intervening moves. In all, 198 (or 13.7 percent) moved directly from the Ilocos but they had previously moved internally within the Philippines and returned to the Ilocos. The remaining 22.2 percent were living elsewhere in the Philippines just before they moved to Hawaii (even though they were all born in the Ilocos). The majority of these step migrants (209 respondents) were living in the Metro Manila area; 38 were living in other Philippine cities; and 74 were living elsewhere in the Philippines.

Some additional data on step migration are available from the Manila Destination Survey. Manila residents who were born in the Ilocos were asked about their future migration intentions. Over half (51.0 percent) stated an intention to move out of Manila sometime in the future and 80 percent of these had a particular destination in mind. The majority of those with a destination in mind expected to move back to the Ilocos, but more than one-third (34.8 percent) expected to move outside of the Philippines, primarily to the United States. These data, then,

provide further evidence of the important links between internal and international migration at the individual level.

CONCLUSIONS

This paper reviewed the arguments about whether internal and international migration can, or should, be incorporated in the same migration theories or models. The conclusion is that these two types of migration are inextricably linked and that it is entirely appropriate to formulate comprehensive migration theories that include both processes. Although international migration is more often constrained by political controls, distance and cost factors, and sociocultural differences between the origin and destination areas, these constraints often operate in the case of internal migration as well. Under these circumstances, international migration can be viewed as one end of a migration continuum, rather than as an entirely separate phenomenon.

The linkages between internal and international migration are illustrated by reference to the Philippine Migration Study, which examines an integrated migration system. The study is based on a value-expectancy framework of migration decision making that is applied to migration both within the Philippines and to an international destination. The findings confirm that a global model of migration decision making is feasible and, in addition, that two new concepts in the migration field ("shadow households" and "competing auspices") are applicable both within a single country and across national boundaries. Additional studies would be useful to test the viability of the value-expectancy model and related concepts in a variety of different contexts.

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[2]Co-investigators for the Philippine Migration Study are Ricardo G. Abad, Institute of Philippine Culture, Ateneo de Manila University; Fred Arnold, James T. Fawcett, and Robert W. Gardner, East-West Population Institute, Honolulu, Hawaii; Benjamin V. Carino, School of Urban and Regional Planning, University of the Philippines; and Gordon F. De Jong, Pennsylvania State University. Funding for the PMS has been provided by the National Institutes of Health (Grant no. R01-HD13115); the Population Center Foundation, Manila; and the East-West Population Institute.

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