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POPULATION AND MIGRATION:  
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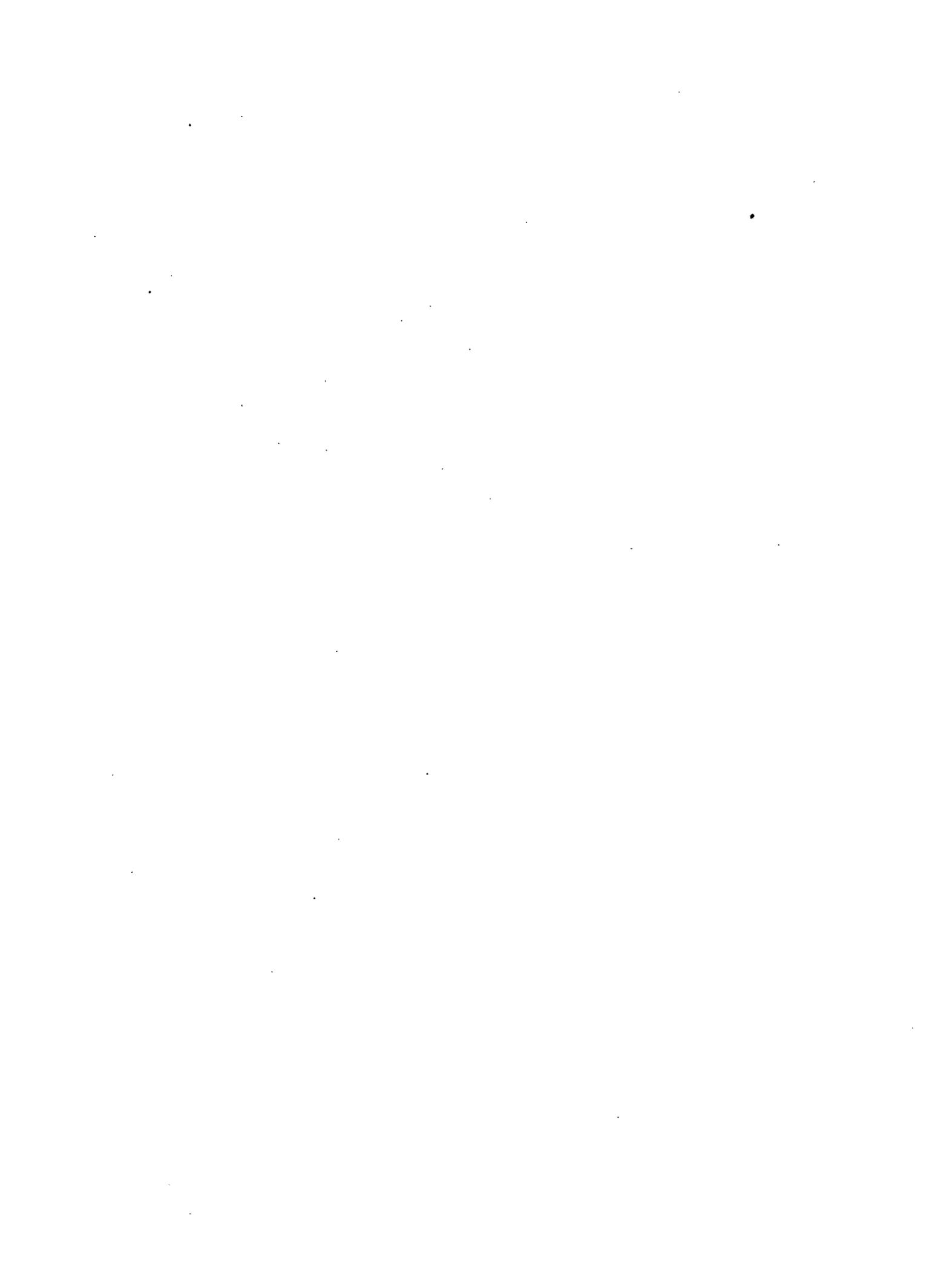
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## 1. Non native population

The author has thought it convenient to restrict the geographic covering of this work to the nine countries of Continental Latin America which are located opposite the Caribbean, from Mexico to Venezuela. Some historical or geographic data could justify this decision.

According to the data from the two latest censuses taken by the already examined countries, from 1950, non native population (immigrants) represented, in most cases, a small proportion of total population. The highest values were registered in Venezuela (1961), with a 7.4 per cent, Panama (1950), with a 6.2 per cent and Honduras (1961), with a 4.0 per cent. These results (see Table 1) reflect the magnitude of the immigrant population that arrived in those countries during the last decades.

Census information contains serious limitations, which are widely known, but when there are several censuses available, it is then possible to deduce some results which are useful to appreciate levels and trends of international migratory streams. Censuses constitute an obliged source because of the inefficiency observed in records of movements of people through the frontiers, when used as a procedure to measure migrations.

If we observe the figures in Table 1, we could deduce that during the last intercensal period, only Venezuela and Honduras have been countries of migratory attraction. On the other hand, Costa Rica and Panama experienced an important decrease; a paralización was even observed in the case of Costa Rica from 1950 on.

It would seem unnecessary to say that the proportion of non native population expresses nothing but a final balance of immigrants that arrived and did not leave the population (either by death or emigration). For this reason it could not give indications of temporary migratory streams.

## 2. Regional migratory streams

Among the nine countries already referred to it is possible to individualize some internal streams of relative importance. Reference will also be made to some streams originated from the Caribbean peoples.

Notice: The author is a member of the Staff of the United Nations Latin American Demographic Centre (CELADE), (Santiago, Chile). His opinions do not necessarily reflect those of CELADE.

The most characteristic fact to be observed in the movements among the nine countries of the continent is that the most important streams occurred among boundary countries. The greatest volume of some of those countries seems to have occurred before 1950 -first reference date- and in some cases, as it is known, it actually occurred long before. Till 1950 without a backward limitation in time, the following movements could be mentioned, with indication of the number of the respective immigrants enumerated by the census:

	(in thousands)
- from Colombia to Venezuela	4.6
- from El Salvador to Honduras	20.3
- from Nicaragua to Costa Rica	18.9
- from the Caribbean region to Panama	17.2
- from Guatemala to Mexico	7.8
- from El Salvador to Guatemala	9.8
- from Colombia to Panama	9.5
- from Middle America (five countries) to Panama	8.9

Venezuela, Panama, Honduras and Costa Rica, in this order, were the countries that, around 1950, had accumulated the highest shares of immigrants within the region, including the Caribbean. On the other hand, the highest shares of emigrants living within the region (without including the Caribbean) were found in Colombia, El Salvador and Nicaragua.

In some cases there are inverse movements of enough importance, as compared with the main movement. Such is the case of the streams from Honduras to El Salvador and from Guatemala to El Salvador; the latter counterbalanced 50 per cent of the main stream. We do not know whether those movements occurred simultaneously or one of them became more important in the years short before 1950. Data from the latest censuses, for instance, would seem to indicate the second, in relation to the movements between Honduras and El Salvador. (See Table 2).

The movements Colombia-Venezuela and El Salvador-Honduras became stronger during the following decade (1950-1961). Taking into account by means of a gross estimation, the non native death rate and applying it to the figures in Table 2, it could be said that approximately 70 thousand new Colombians

had incorporated to the Venezuelan population and were present in the year 1961. The same could be said about 22 new Salvadoreans settled in Honduras. This means that the volume of the decade immigrants from their respective places of origin and to the destinations indicated, exceeds the volume accumulated until 1950. The movements Caribbean-Venezuela and Guatemala-Mexico, although in much lower figures, also persisted during the decade.

On the contrary, in the same period of time there would practically not have been considerable movements from the Caribbean (Jamaica) to Panama, or from Nicaragua to Costa Rica, or from Honduras to El Salvador. Finally, because of lack of census information available, it cannot be said what occurred in connection with the movements towards Nicaragua, Guatemala and Colombia.

### 3. Some characteristics of the stream

Such characteristics obviously refer to the immigration streams towards some of the nine countries considered in this document. In relation to emigration the information is partial, since the information sources were not considered in countries other than the nine already referred to.

The prevailing regional immigration originated from boundary countries, as it has been already stated in point 2. In connection with the five Middle American countries, it could be added that a very high proportion of the immigrants came from the region, including the Caribbean and consequently the contribution of the remaining countries of Latin America, of countries North to Mexico and of other continents was not very important. For instance, more than 93 per cent of the immigrants enumerated in Honduras in the year 1961, were native from the region, the same as 77 per cent of the immigrants in Costa Rica in 1963.

The composition by native region of the immigrants found in Mexico, Venezuela and, in less quantity, in Colombia, is very different. Thus, only 5 to 10 per cent of the foreigners of Mexico come from countries of the region considered (including the Caribbean). In Venezuela and Colombia, the proportion is somewhat higher than 20 per cent.

An important portion of the immigrants native from the region settled in the capital city and in frontier regions. Immigrants from boundary

countries prevailed in frontier regions, while in the capital city there was less dependence from boundary countries, as it is easily explained. The migration between frontier regions is due to causes analogous to those that motivate internal movements between short distances and within a region. Probably the type of activity (agricultural) and the social environment are, in many cases, similar to those in their native country, in spite of having crossed its frontiers. It has been found (1) that, according to the 1950 census of Honduras, 74 per cent of Guatemalan immigrants, 59 per cent of Nicaraguans but only 22 per cent of Salvadoreans lived in frontier departments. It was also found that 51 per cent of the immigrants from Nicaragua enumerated in Costa Rica (1950) lived in frontier provinces, and that 75 per cent of the immigrants from Honduras were enumerated in provinces bounding with Nicaragua (1950).

This condition would not differ much from that found in recent censuses. It must be taken into consideration that the only important movement which became stronger during the intercensal period was that from El Salvador to Honduras. In the year 1961, 26 per cent of Salvadoreans were enumerated in departments bounding with Honduras.

The characteristic that has been pointed out has been verified in the 1961 census of Venezuela, in connection with Colombian immigrants. In Tachira, which is a frontier state, 40 per cent of emigrants of that origin were enumerated; in the 1950 census the proportion was higher: 60 per cent.

The capital city is a centre of international migration and of internal movements. In Costa Rica (1950) more than half of the immigrants born in El Salvador, Guatemala and Honduras (non boundary countries) were enumerated in the province in which the capital city was located. Somewhat less than half of the immigrants born in Guatemala and El Salvador were enumerated (1950) in the department where Managua, the capital of Nicaragua is located. Finally, in reference to Venezuela (1961), 45 per cent of non native people (excluding Colombians) were found in the Federal District; only 9 per cent of Colombians were enumerated there.

It has also been pointed out (1) that some currents of a certain importance towards banana regions (as is the case of movements to Honduras) which are not necessarily frontier regions, have been originated in Middle America.

The possibilities of analysis of the demographic and social characteristics of immigrants on the basis of census data are very small. Sex affords one of the rare opportunities for comparative analysis. Two modalities could be distinguished within the main streams already pointed out, considering the latest census data: those in which male immigrants prevail and those in which a sex balance could be found. The movements from El Salvador to Honduras, from Nicaragua to Costa Rica, from the Caribbean to Panama and Venezuela and from Colombia to Panama seem to belong to the first type. As for the first two streams, the male prevalence could be due to migration of agricultural workers to regions and in conditions which are not very propitious for family movements. The migration from the Caribbean to the continent would present the ordinary characteristics of long distance international movements, in which males generally prevail.

The stream from Colombia to Venezuela is an example of sex balance. In the one hand, and above all in relation to movements produced towards frontier states, conditions for family migration are favourable; additionally the requirements for females work in the cities of Venezuela, as is the case of San Cristobal (Tachira) is a strong stimulous for single woman mobility. Situations of balance are also found with reference to the migration from Middle America to Panama (considering the higher survival hoped for women) and in connection with the migration from El Salvador to Guatemala. The masculinity ratios of the different streams are presented in Table 3. (See Table 3).

#### 4. Demographic situation

The population of 70 million, estimated to 1950, of the nine countries considered in this work, represented almost one third of the population of Continental Latin America. Such population is very unequally distributed since half of that figure corresponds to Mexico. The Middle American countries and Panama hardly amount to 17 per cent.

Table 4 presents the intercensal annual rates of growth together with estimations of gross birth and death rates. If we accept the comparability of the figures from the two latest censuses, the result is that in most of mentioned countries the annual rate of growth reached 3 per cent, and in two cases -Costa Rica and Venezuela- it was 3.9 per cent. Such values are very high above the medium level estimated for Temperate Southamerican countries (Argentina, Chile, Paraguay and Uruguay) and above the level estimated for four Caribbean countries (Cuba, Haiti, Puerto Rico and Dominican Republic), which reaches in both cases 2 per cent.

In the absence of international movements of a certain importance, intercensal growth has to be very similar to the natural rate of growth, that is to say, the difference between birth and death rates. The possibility of estimating net international movement by difference between the intercensal and the natural rates is deduced from the above. The main difficulty in making an estimation through this method lies, as it is thought, in the mistakes contained by birth and death rates, produced by defect of registration of vital facts. By way of example, the natural rate of growth of El Salvador of 3.7 per cent and the intercensal growth of 2.8 per cent can be compared. The difference of almost 1 per cent would indicate, approximately, the emigration rate. Well, the emigration observed in the censuses taken by the countries from the region could not explain such a high rate, not even a rate of 0.5. The question is to what extent the emigration of Salvadoreans has been underestimated in the referred censuses because, among other things, a great number of immigrants (who came in illegally perhaps) did not declare their native country. Another possibility would be that the 1950 census of El Salvador had an important underenumeration.

The figures from Colombia offer another example of incoherence. While the intercensal growth is 3.3 per cent, the natural growth has been estimated in only 2.9 per cent. This second rate should be higher than the first, at least if we take into account the position of the country of emigration with regard to the region. As there are not any census data available (1964) on immigrants in Colombia yet, it could not be said with absolute certainty whether international migratory balance is positive or negative, but even in the case of the first assumption, it could hardly explain the difference + 0.4. (See Table 4).

In spite of incoherences as the above mentioned, it is a well-known fact that an acceleration in the rate of growth of all countries was observed during the decade 1950-1960, comparatively to the former decade. The rates changed from 2.3 - 2.5 to more than 3.0 per cent. It is not necessary to insist on the fact that this process is due to decrease in mortality. Such tendency has been increasing and it is probable that, up to this moment, most of countries have increased to about 3.3 per cent. The rate of Costa Rica, unaffected by international movements during the intercensal period, is an advance of what could be happening. These conditions imply a doubling of population in a period of approximately twenty years.

The fast population growth experienced by the examined countries is also being accompanied by fast changes within its geographic distribution, whose main expression is urbanization. As urbanization could not exist without internal migratory movements, the logical conclusion is that "repulsion" or "attraction" forces, or both of them have become stronger. Those "repulsion" forces, when they cannot be satisfactorily solved through the internal migration mechanism, and if certain conditions are given, determine outward movements.

Estimations from the rural-urban migratory movement, corresponding to the last intercensal period, demonstrate their importance. The following rates for male population of 10 years and over, up to the last census, calculated as percentage of the urban population were obtained: Panama, 1.7; Nicaragua, 1.3; Costa Rica and El Salvador, in both censuses, 0.7. They are probably even higher in Colombia and Venezuela. During the previous decade (1940-1950 approximately) the corresponding rates were estimated in 2.8 and 3.7 per cent. Although the Venezuelan rate was overestimated because of international emigration preferably orientated towards the urban area, only a few doubts remain for thinking that its value was at least 3 per cent. (2)

The effect of internal migrations, and in some cases, that of international movements was even more important in big cities. For instance, the rate was 2 per cent for the city of San Salvador, 1.0 per cent for the Metropolitan Area of San Jose (COSTA RICA) and 3.4 per cent for Bogota (1938-1951). The annual growth rate in Bogota during the following decade (1951-1964), of 6.8 per cent indicates that the migratory rate would have been even higher in the preceding decade. (2).

An indirect way of appreciating the presence and magnitude of internal migratory movements consist in examining the intercensal growth rates of population in different regions. Table 5 presents the intercensal rates of growth (1950-1960 approximately) of the main city, of the remaining cities of 20 000 inhabitants and over and of the remaining population of the country. In every case, rates result from comparing populations in the same areas in both censuses. In 6 capitals out of 9, growth rates fluctuated between 4.6 and 6.8 per cent, what does not leave room for doubt upon the influence exerted by migrations. In two cities (San Salvador and San Jose) the net effect of the migratory movement seems to be much less important than in the former cities, particularly San Jose.

The situation of the other cities of 20 000 inhabitants and over was varied. In some cases (Mexico, Venezuela, Colombia, Honduras) the mean rates are equally high or higher than those of the main nucleus. But in other countries they do not show clearly a positive migratory balance, and sometimes (Panama) they indicate a negative one. The remaining population, composed by small towns and a rural area with a diperse population, with the only exception of Costa Rica, presented rates lower than the average number of the country, from 2.3 to 2.8 per cent, what can be interpreted as the consequence of an immigratory movement. (See Table 5).

Table 5 also presents the relative distribution of population in the two latest censuses: the population of the nuclei of 20 000 inhabitants and over is considered urban. From this point of view, more realistic than census definition, the only thoroughly urbanized country would be Venezuela (47.2 per cent). The urban population of Middle America fluctuated between 15 and 25 per cent (approximately). If we think that a high proportion of population was still part of those emigration areas and there are no reasons to wait for the urbanization trends to change fundamentally during the next decades, the occurrence of important migratory movements should be deducted.

##### 5. Demographic pressure

Economic factors generally explain most of migratory movements, whether they are internal or among countries. Nowadays this is true for Latin American peoples. The same "repulsion" and "attraction" forces, which

determine internal movements would also act, sometimes even more effectively upon international migrations, if legal regulations were not in force in relation to such movements. Consequently, without taking into account the policies that interlock movility among countries, the international migrations from the region should be considered as a consequence of causes and circumstances whic are common to internal movements. A great numer of immigrants from the country and from small towns can not find in cities the better life conditions whose search motivated their movement. This inability of the most developed country regions which in some countries is stronger than in others, could indicate that under particular circumstances, the exceeding population fo some regions would be better orientated outwards.

A relative idea of demographic pressure is given by a relation between population and available resources, such as density per unit of arable land, or the agricultural produced by worker. In this document several indicators related to density and income that could reveal extreme situations of demographic pressure are commented. Of course, the idea is not to measure it.

With the only exception of El Salvador, with 116 inhabitants by square kilometer in the year 1961, the 8 remaining countries considered showed, in recent dates, low densities. Since within certain limits the urban population density does not offer an evident relation with respect to land capacity as a resort source, it is better not to consider it. The rural population density of El Salvador, of 82.4 inhabitants by square kilometer, situates this country among the world closest agricultural density regions. The density of Guatemala (24.9) could be considered moderate. As for the remaining countries of the group, it is below 20 inhabitants by square kilometer.

Nevertheless, such figures have a very limited value. Only utilizabile and available lands, which sometimes vary a lot in relation to the whole surface of the country should be considered. The possibilities of enabling new lands for farming seem to be very limited in El Salvador. One of its manifestations is the fact that more than 60 per cent of the country surface presents densities over 100 inhabitants by square kilometer, and that in the remaining 40 per cent, densities are over 50 inhabitants by square kilometer. On the other hand, the moderate density of Guatemala is due to the fact that one third of its territory (excluding the department where

the city of Guatemala is located) presents densities which vary from 25 to 50 inhabitants by square kilometer. The situation is more favourable in the other countries.

A relatively low agricultural density can be joined to a very unequal distribution of exploitations according to size, which is a decisive example of demographic pressure. The recent agricultural census of El Salvador indicates that 47 per cent of agricultural exploitations had less than 1.5 hectares. In the corresponding census of Panama, 20 per cent were smaller than 2 hectares, and in Colombia (1951 census) one third of the farms had less than 2 hectares. With the exception of a few intensive cultivations (vegetables, etc.), an exploitation of less than 2 hectares of land, is insufficient to provide productive work during the whole year for an agricultural worker and his family.

Slow population growth in regions where general density is high constitutes a symptom of demographic pressure, which is due to an excessive relative density. It has been found (1) that in Middle America, the regions which presented the highest density (excluding big cities) increased with rates lower to those in the regions of low density. The same phenomenon is observed in Venezuela. The Andean region (Tachira, Merida, Trujillo, Lara, Yaracuy) where the most ancient settlements and those of highest rural density are located presented, during the last decades, relatively low population growth compared to the average number of the country. States with a very low density instead have increased with rates which are about or above 5 per cent per annum (Anzoategui, Monagas, Portuguesa, Cojedes). There is no doubt that this differential growth is due mainly to internal migration movements from regions of scarce resources to other of more abundant resources.

If the present situation presents symptoms of demographic pressure in some countries or country regions, the short term prospects are more disturbing. The same occurs with density if population increases at rates higher than 3 per cent. Although agricultural density increases at a lower speed as a consequence of urbanization, in a great number of regions the main possibility to increment agricultural resources seems to be the increasing of productivity by lack of new lands.

The problem of incrementing productivity and of creating, at the same time, productive work for most of the population in non agricultural activities is similar to that in agricultural activities. If population increases at a high rate, the same should be hoped from productive resources or from a combination of them. The agricultural product by worker during the period 1955-1961 was estimated in 390 in 1950 dollars (ECLA), for Latin America, and the product by non agricultural worker, in 1 340. As a result of these products by worker, the mean income per inhabitant was approximately 420 dollars in 1961 (3). With the exception of Venezuela, the remaining countries from the group considered showed an even lower income per capita that year. Specifically, the mean income for four countries (Guatemala, Honduras, El Salvador and Nicaragua) was between 250 and 290 dollars.

The income per capita of the countries under discussion, apart from being low, has increased very slowly in recent years. This situation is due to the exceptional population growth, more than to the fact that the actual income rate of those countries is unusually low, as it could be deduced from the following figures. According to calculus made by ECLA, during the period 1948-1949 till 1959-1960, the increase of gross internal produce doubled the demographic one in Nicaragua (6.0), Mexico (6.1) and Venezuela (7.3), which means, in these cases, an increase in the produce per capita of approximately 3 per cent per annum. In three other countries, produce and population increased, on the average, at a similar rate and consequently, the produce per capita would have stayed stationary: El Salvador (3.3), Honduras (3.5) and Guatemala (3.7). Finally, in three other countries (Colombia, Panama and Costa Rica), where the internal produce rate was approximately 4.5, the increase per capita would have been, on the average, only moderate, from 1 to 1.5 per cent per year.

## 6. Prospects and conclusions

An analysis of recent fertility and mortality trends in the already mentioned countries would lead to accept that the demographic growth would continue to exist at rates of 3.3 per cent or even higher. A slight increase seems more probable than a decrease in that trend.

Estimations for Middle America and Panama indicate that the population of that region, of 12 million in 1960, would almost duplicate in 1980. In the case of El Salvador, for instance, it means to wait for some 240 inhabitants by square kilometer for that near date (4).

Even considering the most favourable assumption of a fast decrease in the natural rate of growth, due to radical changes in reproduction patterns, and this fact does not show visible evidence, the population in working ages will continue to observe a rate similar or higher than the present for the next 15 or 20 years. This fact is very significant because the creation of productive work constitutes one of the most critical aspects of socio-economic development. Two examples give an idea about difficulties which are presented even in situations which would seem favourable in relation to such problem.

In Puerto Rico, high unemployment and underemployment rates were registered during the last decade. This occurred while its demographic growth was being highly reduced by migration out of the island and the income per capita was increasing.

Venezuela offers another example of the inability of a national economics, well endowed of resources, to absorb satisfactorily the offer of urban employment and to solve the situation of rural underemployment (5). These experiences lead to think about (Puerto Rico) the hoped for effects of a decrease in the population rate of growth and about (Venezuela) the capacity of a country with abundant natural resources to absorb manpower and consequently, in the last case, non qualified workers from other countries.

The author thinks that the basis of a regional policy concerning migrations, capable of relieving demographic pressure in the most affected areas, could not depend on the isolated development of each one of the remaining countries. It should be based on some form of cooperation for the development of particular aspects of economics, particularly through the exploitation of natural resources where they are more abundant, including unexplored areas at present. Countries of potential emigration should contribute with technical and financial resources to development programmes located in countries of potential immigration. Such a plan would profit from the support of the international organizations which are concerned about the development of the region.



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A P P E N D I X

Table 1  
NON NATIVE POPULATION

Country	Year of last census	Population (last census) (in thousands)	Non native percentage, around	
			1950	1960
Mexico	1960	34 923	0.7	0.6
Guatemala	1964	4 284 <sup>a/</sup>	1.1	<sup>b/</sup>
El Salvador	1961	2 511	1.0	0.6
Honduras	1961	1 885	2.4	4.0
Nicaragua	1963	1 536	1.0	0.9
Costa Rica	1963	1 336	4.2	2.6
Panamá	1960	1 076	6.2	4.2
Colombia	1964	17 485	0.4	<sup>b/</sup>
Venezuela	1961	7 524	4.1	7.4

<sup>a/</sup> Provisional figures.

<sup>b/</sup> No information available.

Table 2

IMMIGRANT POPULATION BY COUNTRY OF ORIGIN  
(in thousands)

Country	Census year	Non native	Non native, from other American countries (except U.S.A. and Canada), by order of importance					
			1° (x)	2° (x)	3° (x)	Others from Middle America (excl. Panama)	Others from Caribbean	Others from America
México	1950	182.7	7.8	2.6(+)				5.6
	1960	223.5	8.7	3.8(+)				13.4
Guatemala	1950	30.3	9.3	6.3		1.0		
	1964 <sup>a/</sup>							
El Salvador	1950	19.3	9.3	5.1		1.4		
	1961	15.7	6.7	3.4	0.5	1.3		
Honduras	1950	32.7 <sup>b/</sup>	20.3	2.8		0.9		
	1961	51.2 <sup>b/</sup>	38.0	4.5	3.6	0.3	0.3	0.4
Nicaragua	1950	10.2	5.2	1.1		0.9		
	1963	13.1 <sup>c/</sup>						
Costa Rica	1950	33.3	18.9	3.9(++)	2.1	1.5		
	1963	35.6	18.7	2.1(#)	3.3	1.3	0.7(+)	0.8
Panama	1950	50.0	10.4(%)	9.8	4.4	4.9	6.8	1.3(*)
	1960	44.2	9.5	7.1(#)	3.7	3.2	5.5	1.2(*)
Colombia	1951	45.5 <sup>b/</sup>	9.1	5.9(*)	1.3	0.7		
	1964 <sup>a/</sup>							
Venezuela	1950	208.7 <sup>d/</sup>	46.0	3.8(+)	3.7(**)	2.1 <sup>e/</sup>	4.2	1.3(*)
	1961	556.9 <sup>d/</sup>	106.4	7.5(+)		5.1 <sup>e/</sup>	9.1	3.1(*)

a/ No information available.

b/ Population of foreign nationality.

c/ No information available by country of origin.

d/ Data from a census sample.

e/ Including Panama.

(+) Cuba

(++) Territories and dependencies of the United Kingdom.

(#) Jamaica

(\*) Ecuador

(\*\*) Trinidad, Tobago and Granada

(x) Except contrary indication, one of the countries appearing in the first column of the table.

Table 3

MASCULINITY RATIO OF MIGRANTS, ACCORDING TO CENSUSES AROUND  
1960 (MAIN STREAMS)

Destination country	Country of origin	Migrants (in thousands)	Masculinity ratio
Venezuela	Colombia	106.4 <sup>a/</sup>	99.6
Honduras	El Salvador	38.0 <sup>b/</sup>	113.3
Costa Rica	Nicaragua	18.9 <sup>c/</sup>	136.2
Panama	Caribbean countries	17.2 <sup>d/</sup>	115.0
Venezuela	Caribbean countries	16.6	118.5
México	Guatemala	8.7	93.3
Guatemala	El Salvador	9.9 <sup>e/</sup>	94.1
Panama	Colombia	9.5	131.7
Panama	Middle America	8.9	93.5

a/ Data from a census sample.

b/ People of foreign nationality.

c/ 1950 census.

d/ 1950 census. According to the 1960 census, immigrants were only 12.6.

e/ 1950 census.

Table 4

BIRTH, DEATH AND INTERCENSAL GROWTH ANNUAL RATES

Country	Intercensal growth (per cent)	Mean rates per 1 000 <sup>a/</sup>		
		Period	Birth rate	Death rate
Mexico	3.0	1955-1959	45.9	12.5
Guatemala	3.0	1955-1959	49.1	19.9
El Salvador	2.8	1955-1959	50.0	13.2
Honduras	2.9	1955-1960	45-50	15-20
Nicaragua	2.9	1955-1960	45-52	12-17
Costa Rica	3.9	1955-1959	50.0	9.6
Panama	2.9	1955-1960	39.5	9-13
Colombia	3.3	1955-1960	43-46	14-17
Venezuela	3.9	1955-1960	45-50	10-15

a/ Miró, Carmen A., La población de América Latina en el siglo XX. CELADE, Serie A, N° 49, 1965.

Table 5

LEVEL AND TREND OF URBANIZATION

Country	Intercensal rate of growth <sup>a/</sup>			Percentage on population of country			
	Main nucleus	Other nuclei of 20 000 and over	Remaining population	Main nucleus, around		Other nuclei of 20 000 and over around	
				1950	1960	1950	1960
Mexico	4.6	4.7	2.3	11.8	13.9	26.4	33.6
Guatemala	4.6	3.1	2.6	10.2	13.4	11.2	b/
El Salvador	4.1	3.5	2.5	8.7	9.9	15.6	17.7
Honduras	5.6	8.6	2.6	5.3	7.1	-	11.5
Nicaragua	5.7	2.7	2.5	10.4	15.3	15.3	23.1
Costa Rica	3.7	-	3.9	22.6 <sup>c/</sup>	22.0 <sup>c/</sup>		
Panama	4.1	1.2	2.5	24.0	27.3	30.4	35.0
Colombia	6.8	5.5	2.3	5.8	9.7	24.1	33.1
Venezuela	5.4	6.0	2.8	12.3	14.6	31.6	47.2

a/ Comparing the same nuclei, according to size at first census (around 1950).

b/ No information available.

c/ Metropolitan Area of San Jose.

