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POPULATION, MODERNIZATION AND MIGRATIONS

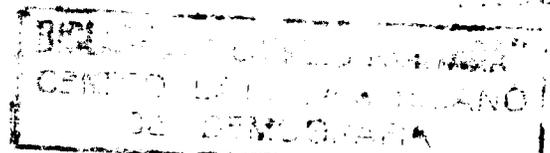
A Study of the Relationships between economic,
Social and Demographic Policies.

Omar Arguello

During the last year, a program of cooperation between CELADE and the Latin American School of Sociology (ELAS-FLACSO) has been in operation with the general aim of furthering the study of population as it relates to socio-economic factors. Within the frame of this program we propose to conduct the following research on rural population. We expect that the work to be done by the principal researcher (who is based at ELAS) will both benefit from continuous consultation with the CELADE experts on rural population and on migration and, at the same time, contribute to the better understanding of the population phenomena, suggesting some crucial categories that may become useful for demographic analysis.

Introduction

The underlying supposition of this study is that the size, proportion and distribution of population in any given society are conditioned by social, economic and demographic policies which are generally not explicit. We feel, therefore, that instead of speaking of "population tendencies" (in the fatalistic, naturalistic meaning of the term), it is more useful to consider the relationship between certain models of socio-economic development and other factors, such as demographic characteristics, that are linked to these models.



The policies in fact followed in the majority of Latin American countries clearly imply a choice (conscious or unconscious) of a concept or model of development in which industrialization by import substitution leads to one or two highly industrialized urban centers, the only poles of modernization in the society.

Within this process of development, the fruit of the model adopted, we are interested primarily in a critical approach to the notion of accelerated urbanization as the preferred way to achieve modernization.

Using the "dualist society" theories of underdevelopment as a starting point, we can distinguish in our countries on the one hand, the urban centers, and on the other, the rural regions. The importance of this basically geographic separation lies in its social implications, one of which is the popular conception of the urban zones as the only centers of modernization. This high positive valuation of the "urban world" is clearly shown, both in its greater importance in the political arena and in its central position in the theoretical concerns of social scientists. With regard to the former, the economic, social and political disparities which favor the urban populace over the rural are obvious - higher wage levels, better working conditions, better social services such as pension plans, medical assistance, better educational facilities, more leisure time and more activities to fill it, union organization, greater political influence, etc.^{1/} As for the "urban world's" importance to the social scientists, certain "privileged" topics of analysis are easily noted: student movements, working class, middle class, marginal masses, etc. In the studies of P. Heintz,^{2/} "Urbanization" (along with "Education") appears as the central variable in his explanation of the process of economic development; the works of Weffort^{3/} present the urban masses as especially "privileged" in terms of political participation. Similar comments could be made with respect to the studies of

Germani ^{4/} and of Glaucio A.D. Soares ^{5/} (with his theory that it is the hiatus between social development and economic development that leads to increased radicalization).

This popular image - exaggerated at best - of the "privileged" urban world with its economic, social and political advantages, has been widely accepted in the rural zones, where people see the cities as centers of progress and city life as a means of bettering their own situation (geographic and upward social mobility).^{6/} Hence the acceptance of this view has led to increasing internal migrations. The fact that the urban centers are unable to absorb productively the rapidly growing labor force (increased basically by these very migrations) aggravates the already less-than-idyllic situation. Naturally it is particularly those sectors with the fewest resources that are most affected - thereby making all the "benefits" enumerated above even more illusory to large sectors of the populace. And, even more serious, one finds in place of these "benefits" other less highly valued but equally "urban" (in sociological terms) phenomena such as disguised unemployment, delinquency, housing shortages, inadequate educational facilities, marginalization, etc., with all the concomitant social conflicts. (The incidence of "squatting" is only one ~~example~~.) All this, without ignoring its importance in the dynamics of social change, shows that the underlying development model does not adequately satisfy the necessities of the social actors involved.

While it is evident that modifications of the development model can be sought within the perspective of industrialization in the urban zones, this in no way justifies ignoring the rural world, despite the accusations of "traditionalism" aimed at it.

Our Object of Study.

Facing a general tendency to marginalize the rural society both from the social and political preoccupations of those in power and also from the scientific interest of the social studies, we clearly choose to take up at the level of analysis, the modernizing potential of the rural zones, with the intention of contributing to a better social and economic organization and planning, with the demographic consequences that would follow. The results which we should obtain from this approach might contribute to a more balanced development of the society, with transformations in the agrarian structures that would permit on the one hand, a greater wide-scale modernization in the rural zones, and on the other, a better distribution of the population among urban and rural areas. This would greatly diminish the migrations toward the super-urbanized poles, which in many cases serve as a way out of difficult social situations in the rural zones that could have been confronted, perhaps in a better way, in the place where they have arisen.

We feel that our choice of the object of study has both a qualitative and quantitative importance. It should not be forgotten that in Latin America as a whole, more than 50% of the population live in rural zones. This reinforces the qualitative importance of investigating scientifically the economic conditions and social relationships involved in agricultural production, the level of education, life expectancy, family organization, the expectations with respect to change (be it based on individual "escape" with migration to the city, or based rather on a group outlet through agrarian transformations and a modernization of the local situation), why some emigrate and what conditions might favor a better ecological settlement pattern, what are the possibilities of a regional development that would encourage a more balanced advance of the whole society.

Population, Modernization and Migrations.

To put our general objective in more specific terms, we will concentrate on two variables that are closely related to each other and also to the problem of the size and distribution of the population. These two variables are: 1) modernization (or traditionalism and the problems of overcoming it) and 2) migrations. The relationship between modernization and population is based on historical evidence showing a clear link between the stage of development of a society (with its particular mode of production) and the birth rate characteristic of this state. It has been seen that the more traditional or backward stage of a society is associated with a high birth rate, and that this birth rate tends to decrease systematically in stages of greater development and modernization. This same process can be postulated at the individual level.

The second variable, migrations, is related to the distribution of population. While it is obvious that the cities to some extent generate their own population growth, the phenomenon of internal migrations in our societies is too well known to question the impact these have on the rate of urbanization. This has given rise to abundant literature on the subject of super-urbanization. The presence or absence of these migratory processes is fundamental in the determination of a balanced distribution of the population within the national territory.

The Terms of the Problem.

One should not, therefore, over-emphasize the absence of modern elements in the rural areas but rather use them as a "control" in order to test scientific hypothesis which will in turn contribute to the elaboration of demographic and socio-economic policies. This leads to the differentiation of the various social situations in the rural area, situations that depend primarily on the degree of modernity of the forms of agricultural production and on the

kind and extent of whatever agrarian reforms are applied in these zones.

We would then have four principal social situations in rural areas:

1) the "hacienda" or "fundo"; 2) the large agricultural enterprise; 3) the medium and small farms worked directly by the owner or with sharecroppers; and 4) the cooperative farms or "asentamientos".

One must also differentiate between the various types of "social actors" in the rural zone. One scheme which we will consider is that developed by Raúl Urzúa F.^{7/} It consists of: a) small rural property owners; b) sharecroppers; c) day-wage laborers; d) tenant farmers. To this we will add another group: e) cooperative farmers ("asentados"). For the purpose of our research we feel that, in addition to the above typology it is necessary to classify each of these groups of "social actors" in terms of their degree of traditionalism or modernity.

Our typology will be primarily based on the following elements:

- 1) Level of technology utilized in crop raising and animal husbandry on the farms.
- 2) Degree of acceptance of changes in the forms and tools of production.
- 3) Level of information about the possibilities of agricultural exploitation.
- 4) Family structure (extended, nuclear)
- 5) Size of Family
- 6) Level of information about family planning possibilities.
- 7) Level of education.
- 8) Opportunities of access to other levels of education.
- 9) Exposure to mass communication media.
- 10) Types of causes given by the actors which explain their situation.
- 11) View of their potential for change: fatalistic, good will, etc.

- 12) Religion: degree of freedom of will that, according to the interview, an individual has.
- 13) Level and type of aspirations.

Besides the possible statistical correlations that could be made among the different dimensions of this typology (and with other variables which we will specify further or under "additional information"), we are interested in detecting the process of asynchronous change of the individuals with respect to these factors towards a greater modernization. Our hypothesis is that there are two levels on which the process of transformation from the traditional to the "modern" type can be initiated: the psycho-social level and the social level.

The first of these levels includes the increase in exposure to mass communication media (principally, audio, such as radio, or visual such as television). This increase in exposure produces a phenomenon in the psycho-social dimension which might be subsumed in that which Lerner^{8/} calls "empathy", Germani^{9/} calls "movilization" and Heintz^{10/} calls "openness to change".

The second level, refers to the opening of new possibilities of agricultural exploitation by governmental institutions, and in some cases by private institutions of public welfare: new forms of land ownership, other forms of organizing agricultural production, etc. Of course, as well as being available, these forms must be known by the rural social actors. Of importance here are the contacts with organizations promoting modernization in the rural zones themselves, without migration to the city as often follows when the contacts with modernization are through the mass media. These modernizing organizations in the rural areas are farmworker unions and the private and state organizations that encourage educational, technical and structural reforms in the agrarian zones. They should influence their decisions: to take advantage of these new forms, to continue their traditional

behavior, or to emigrate towards highly urbanized centers. One example of the existence and the effects of this social level is described by Ulrich Reye^{11/} in his research of the colonization of the "Oriente Boliviano" as well as the effects of information about new possibilities that were made available by the Agrarian Reform in that country, regarding new kinds of migrations towards rural zones.

A new hypothesis related to these factors which promote change is that those on the first level (psico-social), will encourage a process of increasing INDIVIDUAL MOBILITY (something already frequently analysed in studies on modernization) which will lead to an EMIGRATION TOWARDS THE CITY, as a means to realize this goal. This, therefore, refers to geographic mobility. Factors on the second level (or social dimension) on the other hand, promote a process of REGIONAL SOCIAL MOBILITY (generally for groups) and therefore, it does not imply the use of emigration as an outlet. This is a less generalized case of mobility and can be compared to that which Germani^{12/} calls Mobility through technical innovations and in some cases, transitional mobility.

Other hypotheses which should be tested to reinforce what has been previously discussed are: a) with reference to the different social situations, we find a higher percentage of traditional actors in the "hacienda" system than in other situations; b) we find a higher percentage of traditional actors among the tenant farmers than among the rural property owners and sharecroppers. With respect to the agricultural workers, the level of traditionalism will depend on the social situation in which they are inserted. The theoretical aspect of these hypotheses is developed in the work of Raúl Urzúa F.^{13/} although it is applied to a different context.

This theoretical fundamental is based on the distinction between "non-institutionalized power" and "authority" that R. Urzúa takes from Weber.

"Authority" is found within a company with a hierarchical structure and is manifested in power, delegated from above, that grants the right to give orders to the workers of that company. "Non-institutionalized power", on the other hand, refers to that of the property owners - the big ranchers who in some way impose their will on others - on the independent producers who, even if they don't necessarily have to obey, can not easily oppose them. The basic difference is in the "degree of objective subordination" (as Urzúa phrases it) between the two categories of social actors. The dependent workers (tenant farmers and day-wage workers) have a much higher degree of "objective subordination" than the independent producers.

The small property owners and the economically most important sharecroppers, will not use the outlet of migration despite their being more modern, but will look for increased mobility by means of changes in their local areas through agrarian reforms. (Although this hypothesis is in some ways empirically verified in the work of Urzúa, we think it useful to replicate it to check the feasibility of the regional outlet).

Finally we will be able to test in rural areas the general hypothesis that forms part of the research begun by ELAS related to family size and survival strategies in lower class families. This hypothesis postulates that: in a continuum of family units from the lowest economic conditions to those of less extreme conditions, the economic contribution of children to the family is inversely related; i.e., at the lowest level of the continuum the children perform an economic role in the survival strategy of the family and are therefore wanted (and consequently, these families have many children), while at a higher level in the continuum, the children do not perform an economic role but depend on the economic resources of the family and are seen as possible obstacle to their expectations of socio-economic betterment. Thus these families tend to have fewer children.

This hypothesis is vitally important for everything related to family size and population policies. We hope to: 1) verify it for rural areas and 2) find out if the conception of the role of children in the lowest levels of families originates in rural life, their survival strategy being more appropriate to the kinds of work required in rural zones. Nevertheless, when this survival strategy persists in urban areas with other forms of labor and family organization, it can lose its original efficacy.

Stages of the project.

A. Phase I (Theory). The theoretical framework for this project will: a) characterize the various social systems in rural areas ("haciendas", small farms, etc.); b) characterize the different types of "social actors" according to their position in the social structure; and c) postulate the following hypotheses to be tested:

- 1) The greater the degree of traditionalism, the greater the number of children per family. Or, in other words; the greater the degree of modernity, the fewer children per family.
- 2) That there will be a greater percentage of traditional actors in the "hacienda" system than in other rural situations.
- 3) That there will be a greater percentage of traditional actors among the tenant farmer category than in the small property owners and the sharecroppers. With respect to the agricultural workers, the level of traditionalism will depend on the social situation in which they are inserted.
- 4) That there are two principal factors responsible for a greater mobility of agrarian "social actors": a) the increase in exposure to mass communication media (psycho-social level) which leads to increased migration to the big cities, and b) the presence of new social and technical opportunities and

agrarian reforms (social level) which increase regional social mobility, resulting in a wider distribution of the population and a more balanced and decentralized development.

- 5) That these two factors (at the two different levels) are the primary elements in generating a process of change in the level of traditionalism of the "social actors". This traditionalism is further influenced by other factors (education, family size, etc.), the hypothesis being that the factors change asynchronously, beginning with those mentioned in hypothesis N°1.
- 6) The less traditional agrarian social actors will migrate to the cities in greater proportion than the more traditional actors. Nevertheless, an "intervening variable" exists: the contact with rural unions or other state and private organizations that promote reforms in the agrarian zones - educational, technical and structural reforms which might open up the possibility of an upward social mobility for the whole group of actors in the region - without migrations to the city. As it will be the more modern actors who will have these contacts, the above relation will tend to decrease and even reverse itself in some cases, due to this intervening variable.
- 7) That the size of the family will tend to be smaller in cases of regional social mobility than in cases of migration to the cities; within the group migrating to the cities the number of children will tend to be reduced in those few families who succeed in integrating themselves completely into the productive system.
- 8) That in a continuum of family units of the lower class (based on economic conditions), the role of the children will be inversely related: on the lowest end of the continuum, the children fulfill an economic role in the family survival strategy. In the higher end of the continuum, however, the

children tend to diminish an individual's chances for upward social mobility.

- 9) Finally, we seek to establish additional relationships among family size and other variables such as education, occupational status, income, social participation, etc. These relationships will also be examined in the previously mentioned ELAS project and taken together will be useful in a comparative analysis of rural and urban zones.

B. Phase II. The second step will be the construction of a typology based upon the degree of agrarian traditionalism. We have mentioned the fundamental factors that will be considered in this construction. To effectively validate these - to assure ourselves that we are measuring what we really intend to measure - the sociological literature available on related themes will be reviewed, and the behavior of the variables mentioned will be observed. One example of this is the work of Feaster and Gerald^{14/}. They try to measure "traditionalism" but fail to develop a clear typology, although they do include some of the factors (such as family size) that interest us. Sociological literature also covers relevant information on population dynamics, verifying in this way the statistical relationships among the phenomena of urbanization, industrialization, social development and education, as well as recording some of the characteristic conflicts of super-urbanized zones, especially among the part of the population referred to as "marginals".

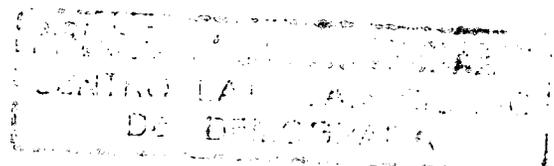
C. Phase III. Selection of a sample based on statistical criteria will be representative both of the various social situations and of the different "social actors" that will be taken as the units of analysis. This selection is of vital importance within the research, because without satisfying the necessary statistical requirements we cannot apply the association and regression coefficients. Also when attempting to use a "multivariate analysis" there is the risk of finding underrepresented cells.

D. Phase IV. Administration of the pre-test in the selected sample areas, controlling the relevance of the questionnaire items, with respect to language, to the possible alternative answers - in other words the final elaboration of the questionnaire.

E. Phase V. Administration of the final questionnaire to 800 families selected as previously described in Phase III in order to obtain data on the variables already mentioned that form part of the "typology" and on the other variables such as: occupation, income, plans for migration, its causes, reasons which prompt a person to seek a better occupation or to become more "modern" within the same rural zone, etc.

F. Phase VI. Processing of the data collected in the rural zones:
a) codification, key-punching of IBM cards, data analysis using the latest statistical methods (Lazarsfeld's multivariate analysis, Boudon's causal analysis, multiple regression analysis); b) preparation of computer programs for the multiple regression analysis and use of the computers; c) as a methodological tool for the analysis of the process of change from a traditional to a modern pole, a Guttman scale, based on the data gathered, will be constructed.

G. Phase VII. In order to verify hypotheses which postulate certain characteristics for those persons who have already chosen migration as an individual outlet for an upward mobility, we will use another ELAS research project (mentioned earlier) which includes data on lower class families, especially in the marginal populations where the largest concentration of migrants is found. The results of this study pertaining to family size and survival strategies will be verified in the rural areas by the data from our project. This will be a way of multiplying the benefits in each of the projects.



H. Additional Information. We will examine additional data related to our basic purpose that has been collected in rural areas for other projects, such as: income, size of family, educational possibilities and social participation, etc. Data will be also collected in urban marginal populations, making it possible to realize a comparative study with the rural areas.

Abstract of the Proposal.

This study implies a reversal of the usual research strategy that considers characteristics of population to be "natural tendencies". It takes the position that such characteristics (size, distribution, growth) are the consequence of socio-economic facts that are very often implicit and the conditions of which are very seldom the object of scientific inquiry. These facts, in turn, are crucial to the success of a population policy: if they remain unknown and uncontrolled, any policy will be unrealistic and even contradictory and dangerous.

The purpose of this study is, therefore, to throw some light into the social structure of rural population and its change possibilities. We propose to investigate the psico-social and social factors that make possible a socio-economic modernization of the rural population without implying the process of mobility towards urban-industrial centers.

We propose to develop a typology with regard to "agrarian modernity" based on family units. The data for the establishment of this typology will be collected in the field in Chile in such a way as to allow for both a correlational and inferential analysis of the dynamics of rural population change. Specific hypotheses related to changes in family size will be proposed. Use will be made of survey techniques for the data collection. The theoretical frame and the research design will be constructed with a view to future comparative studies of other Latin American societies.

An overall duration of 24 months is expected for the project, beginning August 1st, 1971. The total cost of the project is estimated to be US\$ 82.140 out of which an amount of US\$ 41.580 is requested of the FORD FOUNDATION.

The principal investigator will be Professor Omar Arguello of the Latin American School of Sociology (ELAS-FLACSO) whose address is:

Escuela Latinoamericana de Sociología (ELAS)

Casilla 3213

Santiago de Chile.

NOTES

- 1/ Positive correlations among urbanization and the following variables are generally recognized: industrialization, education, number of hospitals' beds, and other indicators of social development.
- 2/ Peter Heintz: Paradigma Sociológico del Desarrollo, edited by FLACSO, Santiago de Chile, 1965, p. 14.
- 3/ Francisco C. Weffort: "Clases Populares y Desarrollo Social" in Revista Paraguaya de Sociología, N° 13, Paraguay, December 1968.
- 4/ Gino Germani: Política y Sociedad en una época de transición. Paidós, Bs.As. 1962.
- 5/ Glaucio A. Dillon Soares: "Desarrollo Económico y Radicalismo Político", in La Industrialización en América Latina, edited by Joseph A. Kahl, Fondo de Cultura Económica, México, 1965, page 516.
- 6/ Juan C. Elizaga: "Migraciones a las áreas metropolitanas de América Latina", Centro Latinoamericano de Demografía (CELADE), Santiago de Chile, 1970, p.14.
- 7/ Raúl Urzúa: La Demanda Campesina, edited by Nueva Universidad. Catholic University of Chile, p. 108.
- 8/ Daniel Lerner: The Passing of Traditional Society, The Free Press, New York, 1958, p. 47-52.
- 9/ Gino Germani, op. cit. p. 150-151.
- 10/ Peter Heintz, op. cit. p. 8
- 11/ "Aspectos Sociales de la Colonización del Oriente Boliviano", in Aportes, July 1970, N° 17, p. 50.
- 12/ Gino Germani: "Estrategia para estimular la movilidad social", in Desarrollo Económico, Bs. As. October-December 1961; vol. I, N° 3.
- 13/ Raúl Urzúa, op.cit. p. 64-73.
- 14/ "Measurement and Determinants of Innovativeness among Primitive Agriculturists", in Rural Sociology, September 1968, page 339.

PROJECT BUDGET

to be financed by:

	<u>Item Total</u>	<u>ELAS-FLACSO</u>	<u>FORD FOUNDATION</u>
I. PERSONNEL			
1.1. Project Director and Principal investigator for 24 months	38.800	19.400	19.400
1.2. Two research assistants for 24 months	24.360	12.180	12.180
1.3. One project secretary typist for 24 months	8.480	8.480	
II. RESEARCH EXPENSES			
2.1. 800 survey interviews with rural family heads (at US\$5. each)	4.000		4.000
2.2. Coding, IBM key-punching and computer-time for analysis	1.500	500	1.000
2.3. Report - publications	2.500		2.500
2.4. Materials, books and misc.	500		500
2.5. Transportation and travels (rural areas)	2.000		2.000
TOTALS I and II	US\$ 82.140	40.560	41.580

To be requested of the FORD FOUNDATION.....US\$41.580.-

WORK SCHEDULE

1. August 1, 1971. Start of the Project and beginning of Phase I.
2. October 1, 1971. Beginning of Phase II: Construction of a typology of agrarian traditionalism.
3. November 1, 1971. Beginning of Phase III: Selection of a sample based on statistical criteria.
4. January 1, 1972. Beginning of Phase **IV**: Administration of the pre-test in the selected sample areas; final elaboration of the questionnaire.
5. March 1, 1971. Beginning of Phase V: Administration of the final questionnaire to 800 rural families selected.
6. July 1, 1972. Beginning of Phase VI: Processing of the data collected in the rural zones.
7. November 1, 1972. Report preparation of Phases IV, V and VI.
8. February 1, 1973. Data analysis of Phase VII and final report.
9. July 30, 1973. Project ends.

CURRICULUM VITAE

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STUDIES

1955-1960 Law School of the "Universidad Nacional de Buenos Aires", Argentine. Obtained title in October, 1960.
1962-1967 Graduate studies of Sociology at the Department of Sociology of the "Universidad Nacional de Buenos Aires", Argentine. Degree received in August 1967.
1968-1969 Post-graduate studies in Sociology at the Latin American School of Sociology (ELAS) subordinated to the Latin American Faculty of Social Sciences (FLACSO). Master in Sociology in December 1969, with qualifications for teaching and research at postgraduate level.

WORKING EXPERIENCE

1962: Assistan in Sociology of Knowledge ("Lógica"), at the "Facultad de Arquitectura y Urbanismo" at the "Universidad Nacional de Buenos Aires".
1966: First Assistant in Methodology and Social Investigation in the Department of Sociology at the "Universidad Nacional de Buenos Aires".
1967: Researcher in "Fundación Bariloche", Argentine, in the investigation "Structural tensions and Economic development" executed under the direction of Dr. Peter Heintz.
1969: Professor "ad honorem" in Theory of Sociology at the Latin American School of Sociology (ELAS), in Santiago - Chile.

- 1969: Realization of the investigation "Policy and Student Movements". Paper presented at the Latin American Congress of Sociology, in Mexico City, 1969.
- 1970: Professor in Sociology of Development at the Latin American School of Sociology (ELAS) in Santiago - Chile.
- 1970 - 1971 Vice-Director of the Latin American School of Sociology (ELAS).
- 1971: Professor of Rural Sociology at the Latin American School of Sociology.

PUBLICATIONS:

- 1) Structural Tensions and Development Models. Published in "BULLETIN" of the University of Zürich, No. 7, 1968. Also published in the 'Boletin' of the Bariloche Foundation, Argentine, No. 7, 1968.
- 2) Policy and Student Movements. Published by ELAS, Santiago - Chile, 1969 and in the "Revista Mexicana de Sociología" (in print).
- 3) Movimientos y Estructura Social, published in ELAS, Santiago - Chile, 1970.
- 4) Datos Comparativos de las Provincias Argentinas: Indicadores Demográficos, Económicos, Políticos y Sociales, 1947-1960. In collaboration with Manuel Mora y Araujo and others. Published by the Department of Sociology, Bariloche Foundation, Argentine, 1970.