

Distr.
RESTRICTED

LC/DEM/R.159
Serie A, N° 255
November 1991

ORIGINAL: ENGLISH

C E L A D E
Latin American Demographic Centre

SOCIO-ECONOMIC DETERMINANTS OF INTERNAL MIGRATION
WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO LATIN AMERICA AND
THE CARIBBEAN REGION

This document was prepared by Dr. Edward G. Ebanks during his stay in CELADE while on sabbatical leave from the University of Western Ontario. The contributions of Dr. Ebanks to CELADE were made possible under the Exchange and Cooperation Programme established between the International Development Agency of Canada (CIDA) and CELADE.

**SOCIO-ECONOMIC DETERMINANTS OF INTERNAL MIGRATION
WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO LATIN AMERICA AND
THE CARIBBEAN REGION**

G. EDWARD EBANKS

**Population Studies Centre
Department of Sociology
University of Western Ontario and
Centro Latinoamericano de Demografía (CELADE)
Economic Commission for Latin America and
the Caribbean (ECLAC)**

PREFACE

Socio-economic Determinants of Internal Migration with Special Reference to Latin America and the Caribbean

Different kinds of internal migration streams are identified and for each of these a number of possible socio-economic determinants are mentioned. This is done from the perspective of the origin and the destination. Intervening socio-economic factors are also given. Recognition is given to both micro and macro approaches and a synthesis is attempted. Micro and macro socio-economic determinants are presented.

As in the case with all migration, economic motivations are paramount. Rural and urban poverty in Latin America and the Caribbean are primary reasons for the high levels of spatial mobility. Economic conditions at the origin impel people to move. Economic conditions at the destination enter into the decision making process but they seldom are of primary importance for the vast majority of internal migrants. Rural unemployment and under-employment and low wages are very strong expulsive forces. Urban unemployment and underemployment are also expulsive and repulsive; but relatively higher wage levels and the safety net of the informal sector are retentive and attractive forces.

Social motivations such as education and family play important roles in the migratory process. Individual characteristics are important intervening factors in the migration decision making and subsequent action.

Urban to urban migration is a major migratory stream. Latin America and the Caribbean consists of highly urbanized societies which are very spatially mobile. Differences in employment conditions and wage levels as well as differences along social and environmental dimensions are determinants of the urban to urban migration patterns. Rural to urban migration is large in volume and is a major contributory factor in the continued growth in the percentage of the population which live in urban areas. Urban to rural migration is small in volume but will become increasingly important as the societies reach very high levels of urbanization and especially if rural development programmes are effected. Rural to rural migration may be small in volume but is an important factor in rural redistribution of population and in opening up frontiers and new rural industries.

Rural mega projects, urban construction, and rural cash crops, many of which require seasonal labour inputs have given rise to an increasing volume of temporary seasonal and circulatory migration.

Suggestions are made concerning inputs into estimates and projections. Estimating and projecting the populations of subunits in the societies require that consideration be given to internal migration. Knowing the important socio-economic determinants of the process is essential to this undertaking.

Decentralization as a political economy process has implications for internal migration and these are considered.

"Changing Production Patterns with Social Equity" within the framework of "Sustainable Development" will affect and be affected by internal migration. This interrelationship is mentioned.

Consideration is given to the future dimensions and patterns of internal migration in Latin America and the Caribbean. The interrelationships among internal migration, population redistribution, and urbanization are considered.

Internal migration in Latin America and the Caribbean is a very dynamic process and its socio-economic determinants are always changing.

I N D E X

	Page
1. Introduction	1
2. Internal migration in Latin America and the Caribbean	2
3. Why the concern about Internal migration and its determining factors?	3
4. A framework for internal migration: its socio-economic determinants	4
4.1 A Macro Model	4
4.2 Origin	4
4.2.1 Rural to Urban migration	4
4.2.2 Rural to rural migration	6
4.2.3 Urban to rural migration	6
4.2.4 Urban to urban migration	7
4.2.5 Conclusion	8
4.3 Destination	8
4.3.1 Rural to urban migration	8
4.3.2 Urban to urban migration	10
4.3.3 Rural to rural migration	10
4.3.4 Urban to Rural migration	11
4.3.5 Conclusion	11
4.4 Determinants of internal migraton other than those associated with the destination and/or the origin	12
4.5 Summary and Conclusion: A macro level model of the socio-economic determinants of internal migration	13
5. Socio-economic determinants of internal migration: A micro perspective: Latin America and the Caribbean	14
5.1 Origin	14
5.1.1 Rural Place of origin	14
5.1.2 Urban Origin	16
5.1.3 Conclusion	19
5.2 Socio-economic determinants of internal migration: A micro perspective with reference to the destination	19
5.2.1 Rural destination	19
5.2.2 Urban destination	20
5.2.3 Micro level intervening variables of internal migration	22
5.2.4 Conclusions	23
6. A Synthesis: A Micro and Macro Framework	24
7. Internal migration: Determinants; Latin America and the Caribbean	27

7.1	Rural to rural migration	27
7.1.1	Policy considerations	29
7.1.2	Conclusions	30
7.1.3	Future prospects	30
7.1.4	Some methodological considerations. Rural to rural migration	31
7.2	Rural to urban internal migration	32
7.2.1	Macro and micro expulsive forces in rural areas	33
7.2.2	Macro and micro urban destination attractive forces: rural to urban migration	34
7.2.3	Conclusions	35
7.2.4	The future	36
7.3	Determinants of urban to urban internal migration: macro and micro perspectives	37
7.3.1	Background evidence	37
7.3.2	Urban origins in urban-urban internal migration: socio-economic determinants	38
7.3.3	Urban centres as destinations in urban-urban internal migration: socio-economic determinants	39
7.3.4	Conclusions	40
7.4	Urban to rural internal migration: socio-economic determinants	41
7.4.1	The urban origin: socio-economic determinants.	42
7.4.2	Rural destinations: Socio-economic pull factors	42
7.4.3	Conclusions	43
7.5	Final overview and conclusions	45
8.	Some methodological considerations: decentralization and determinants of internal migration	46
8.1	Introduction	46
8.2	Conceptual Issues	46
8.3	Decentralization, Deconcentration and Redistribution	49
8.4	Appropriate inputs from the set of socio-economic determinants of internal migration	50
8.5	Conclusions	53
	SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY AND REFERENCES	55

**SOCIO-ECONOMIC DETERMINANTS OF INTERNAL MIGRATION
WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO LATIN AMERICA
AND THE CARIBBEAN REGION**

1. Introduction

Why do people move? Why do people migrate?. These are perplexing questions. Attempts at answering these two questions have occupied scholars for a long time. The two questions may be the same to a great number of people. However, in the world of academia, in planning and programme offices, and in statistical offices in the political units of the world, the second question is more narrow than the first. All those who migrate, do indeed move, but not all those who move do actually migrate.

A person or a family may move across the street, but remains in the same country, the same state of that country and the same local administrative unit within the state. This is population movement but it is not considered to be population migration. A similar action that involves crossing from one political division to another is considered to be population migration. The motivation for the change of residence may be the same. The duration of time passed in the new location may be the same. Migration, then is a move or change of residence which involves the leaving of one political/administrative area and entry into another one for an extended period of time. This paper addresses the questions: Why do people move?. Why do individuals move?. Why do families move?.

The answer ought to be approximately the same for all three questions. From the perspective of this paper they are basically the same. Answers to these types of questions should lead us to an examination of the socio-economic determinants of internal migration in general. However, attention will be given obliquely to Latin America and the Caribbean.

The focus of this paper seems reasonable but immediately it brings to mind the questions: "Has it not all been done many times"? "Can there be anything new here"? These are logical concerns and may indeed prove to be the case. However, the aim of the paper is to reflect on the topic and hopefully provide a synthesis. This may or may not result in advancing our knowledge of the socio-economic determinants of internal migration but should at least summarize, in a single paper, what we know about the causes of internal migration in Latin America and the Caribbean. Hopefully, the end result will be a general framework which, with specific variants, may be applicable to the different societies and different types of internal migration and at the same time provide elements that are useful for the purpose of including demographic considerations in socio-economic planning. This could be one way of alerting the various communities to the possibility of achieving one of the major aims of the World Plan of Action; that of including demographic aspects in development planning.

2. Internal migration in Latin America and the Caribbean

Within this paper, internal migration is taken to mean population movement within a country, when that movement involves the crossing from one political/administrative sub-division to another and the taking up of residence of a nontemporary nature. In this regard we have 'inter' and 'intra' spatial/administrative units migration. Consequently, we will treat interprovincial (interstate, interdepartment), intermunicipal, interurban, among others, types of internal migration, as well as intraprovincial, intraurban and other types of intraunit migration. Once the geographic (spatial) and/or political/administrative unit of analysis is decided upon, interchange of population among them or with any other unit becomes interspatial internal migration. Movement within the unit of analysis becomes intraspatial. The significance of these population movements is a function of the size of the spatial-political-administrative unit chosen. As an example, if the unit of analysis is the state (Mexico, Brazil) or the region (Chile) or the department (Colombia, Bolivia) then interspatial migration is that population movement which takes place among these large spatial and political units. Intraspatial internal migration is movement among the subunits of these large areas. If these subunits are significant spatial-political units, then intraspatial migration may have as much significance for the movers and the relevant social aggregations as is the case with interspatial moves. When the subunits are small, intraspatial moves may no longer qualify as internal migration. This occurs when the subunits are the smallest administrative units such as enumeration districts or city blocks. Depending on the unit of analysis there may be no intraunit migration but there is always interunits migration.

When one thinks of internal migration in the context of the Third World, and Latin America and the Caribbean in particular, what jumps to mind immediately is rural to urban migration. This pattern has been dominant up to, and through the first 25 years after the Second World War in Latin America and the Caribbean as well as Africa, Asia and Oceania. In the case of Latin America and the Caribbean and certain countries of Asia that pattern of internal migration has declined in importance, giving way to urban to urban migration as the predominant aspect of internal migration.

In Latin America and the Caribbean, in line with our initial postulating with respect to units of analysis, we find, among others, the following interspatial migration flows: rural to urban, urban to urban, rural to rural and urban to rural. These broad spatial categories admit "intra" and "inter" internal migration analysis. The current predominant pattern of interunit migration in the region is urban to urban. This has followed a period of many years in which it was rural to urban migration. However, in a region where the level of urbanization is as high as it is in Latin America and the Caribbean (69%) one would expect movement of the urban to urban kind to exceed that of rural to urban. However, rural to urban is second in volume, followed by rural to rural and then urban to rural. Identification of spatial areas within urban and rural such as cities, towns and villages allows for consideration of intraunit internal migration. Movements across political/administrative units of major urban (cities) and rural (rural area of a state) areas comprise

intraspatial migration. This pattern is currently more predominant than interspatial migration.

Another dimension of internal migration takes on a temporal aspect. One can speak of permanent migration when the move is intended to establish a new residence in a new place. Temporary migration has less of a finality to the move. The move is intended for a limited duration to achieve a set goal and does not involve actually transferring one's residence. If repeated year after year at about the same temporal season it is termed "seasonal migration". Seasonal migration allows the migrant to have a foot in both the origin and the destination. Migration of a permanent nature is the predominant pattern in Latin America and the Caribbean but in some countries seasonal (temporary) internal migration is quite substantial and provides necessary labour inputs at crucial periods in the year. Seasonal migration may be rural to rural, rural to urban, urban to urban or urban to rural.

3. Why the concern about Internal migration and its determining factors?

The World Population Plan of Action (WPA) adopted in Bucharest in 1974 and reaffirmed and updated at the International Conference on Population in Mexico City in 1984 (ICP84) paid attention to the area of "population distribution and internal migration". Recommendations 36-44 are devoted to the area of population distribution and internal migration (ICP84). The governments of the Latin American and Caribbean region have frequently expressed their concerns for the high levels of urbanization, the rapid rate of urbanization, maldistribution of the rural population, the associated environmental deterioration, and the implications of the population distribution, in large part due to internal migration, for socio-economic development. The WPA exhorts governments to formulate "development policies, plans and programmes, as well as international development strategies" "on the basis of an integrated approach that takes into account the interrelationships between population, resources, environment and development" (Recommendation 1). The WPA "recommends that population distribution policies should be integrated with economic and social policies". Internal migration is a major agent in the spatial distribution of the population. The spatial distribution of the population has many implications for socio-economic development and the quality of life of the people. An understanding of the socio-economic determinants of internal migration ought to be of value in the formulation and execution of development policies involving the spatial distribution of the population.

Of course beyond policy considerations there are good reasons for understanding the motivations that lie behind human behaviour. Academics have devoted a great deal of attention to the causes and consequences of migration as a general phenomenon and to internal migration as a particular subset. There are theories of migration, laws of migration, models of migration and migration frameworks. Upon close examination of all these attempts to advance knowledge and understanding they have been found wanting. The quest for a general framework capable of explaining the decision to migrate continues.

Migration is a complex process. Internal migration is a complex process. It is possible to treat our concern for an explanation to internal migration at

the macro level. In this case we ought to seek structural determinants of the process. It is also possible to focus the examination at the micro level and seek individual level reasons for the decision to move. An attempt to treat both levels of analysis simultaneously makes the exercise even more complex. However, a full understanding may require integrating both levels of analysis.

The complexity also extends to generalizing across time, across cultures, across social classes, across countries, across types of migration and from individuals to individuals. Latin America and the Caribbean is a geographic area of some 450 million people in 1990 and can be expected to exceed the half billion mark before the end of the current century. It is made up of over 40 political units (countries and dependencies) and several cultures and races. There is much heterogeneity on any dimension one may care to mention. There seems to be an emerging consensus that the complexity of the internal migration process and the heterogeneity of the region makes it impossible to find a single general explanatory framework. However, it may be possible to find one that with modifications can be applied to individual geo-political units.

4. A framework for internal migration: its socio-economic determinants

There are several models of migration. There are those which attempt to explain inclusively all the different kinds of migration. There are others which focus on all aspects of the process. Some models are aimed at internal migration and others at international migration. There are micro models and macro models. All these models have been found lacking in some way or another. This work draws upon these efforts. The focus is on socio-economic determinants of internal migration within the context of Latin America and the Caribbean. The components of a macro and a micro model are first laid out and then a synthesis is provided.

4.1 A Macro Model

Migration takes place between an origin and a destination. Structural factors at the origin and those at the set of all possible destinations are important factors in explaining population interchanges. Added to these are those not related to only the origin or only to the destination but rather to both. The socio-economic determinants of internal migration from the different perspectives have been invariably referred to as push and pull forces and intervening obstacles/opportunities, attractive factors and repulsive factors.

4.2 Origin

Beginning with the place of origin and in the context of Latin America and the Caribbean it is useful to consider an origin (place of outmigration) specific to a kind of internal migration. Hence we will begin with migration from rural areas to urban ones.

4.2.1 Rural to Urban migration

What are the structural factors at the origin (rural area) facilitating or hindering internal migration? These could be included in a

single phrase "rural poverty" or "rural underdevelopment" relative to the urban situation. However, it is appropriate to mention the most prominent aspects of this relative deprivation:

1. The land tenure system does not lend itself to accomodating an increasing population. Where the land is held in large pieces and where the majority of the people are landless, a growing population cannot be accomodated adequately for an indefinite time. This kind of situation invariably gives rise to un-and under-employment and a declining relative standard of living. Land reform does not slow necessarily the rate of rural outmigration. When the land reform results in accomodating the parents and hence providing higher incomes, it is still likely that their children will move to an urban centre for educational purposes and there remain.

Increase in rural productivity resulting from mechanization, will not necessarily reduce outmigration. On the contrary, the lower demand for labour will likely give rise to rural outmigration.

Where the land is distributed among the people, as more workers are added to the same area of land, rural rapid population growth will lead to diminishing returns. This will result in relative rural poverty and to rural outmigration.

In sum, regardless of the land tenure system, a rapidly growing rural population will outgrow eventually the capacity of the land to accomodate the population at an adequate standard of living and therefore, the pressure is created to move elsewhere. In which case, the higher urban productivity becomes an attracting force.

Part-time or seasonal full-time rural employment in or outside of the primary sector plays a role in retaining otherwise would-be outmigrants in the rural areas.

The rate of rural outmigration and its timing is in part a function of the predominant land tenure system. The latifundia system has the capacity for motivating at an early stage in the demographic transition rural to urban migration and to attain high rates of outmigration. The small farm also facilitates the early development of the rural to urban migration. A plantation economy with paid wages will likely fall below this in volume and behind in timing. Expansion of production can absorb some of the growing labour force. However, mechanization will displace labour and result in urbanward drift of the rural population. Large scale family farms with a system of primogeniture will likely opt eventually for mechanization and therefore lead to rural outmigration. It is inevitable that a fixed supply of land will not accomodate, for too long, a rapidly growing population. The length of the period of accomodation is in part a function of the land tenure system, in part to rural employment opportunities and their responses to the demographic increase. The land tenure system at anyone point in time is either a retentive factor or an expulsive one. However, its impact is generally influenced by the presence or absence of rural opportunities for employment.

2. Rural areas traditionally have lower levels of production than urban ones. Rural wages are lower than urban wages. But urban prices are higher even

after direct and indirect subsidies. Rural educational and health services are generally lacking or inadequate. Rural amenities are poor or lacking. Electricity, telephone, television, transport, paved roads and such the like are scant and/or poor. Unemployment and underemployment levels are relatively high. Many urbanities have a poor quality of life as well, but there are many for whom it is far superior to that which is possible in rural areas. The "bright lights of the city" is symptomatic of all those things which are non-existent in the rural areas. The rural area condemns one to a life of deprivation, and for the majority one of poverty. The probability of social mobility is perceived rightly to be low or zero in the rural area. In the urban area this probability is non-zero.

3. Travel, television and the transistorized radio among others have provided rural residents with information on likely urban destinations. Even so, rural to urban migration is more a function of the expulsive forces at the origin than they are of the attractive ones at the destination. The rate of rural urban migration is a function of the expulsive forces and of the amount of available information on possible other places of residence.

4. Retentive forces: These exist at the origin. They include an adequate supply of land, cheap housing, jobs in mining, forestry, commercial agriculture, industry, construction and the service sectors as well as markets for the goods produced.

4.2.2 Rural to rural migration

The rural origin of the migrants will be structurally similar to that treated above in the case of rural to urban migration. Rural to rural migration may be seasonal migration in which the migrants respond to employment opportunities in another rural area at some point in time during the year. It may also involve a permanent move to a rural area where land is available for farming, and/or where there is paid employment in farming, mining, fishing, forestry or animal husbandry or may be even rural manufacturing. Frontier or pioneering migration may also be of this type. The structural factors at the origin play a major role in expelling the inhabitants. However, there may be a very strong attractive pull from the rural destination. As in all kinds of migration economic forces are predominant. The size of the outmigrant flow is more likely a function of the structural factors at the rural origin than the attractive structural conditions of the rural destination. Rapid population growth at the rural origin is generally associated with the size of the outflow. The volume of outmigration from a rural area is more related to the push factors than to employment opportunities at the rural destination. Migration response is generally in excess of the employment opportunities that trigger the flow of migrants.

4.2.3 Urban to rural migration

The structural conditions of an urban place that motivate urban to rural migration are of the following kinds:

1. Environmental problems, such as pollution of the air, noise pollution, dirt and grime.

2. Overcrowding and congestion.
3. Crime and violence.
4. High cost of living, including housing, taxes, transportation.
5. Urban poverty, unemployment, underemployment.

The importance of each of these is likely to be social class related.

As in most cases the move away from the urban area is more a function of the urban conditions than of the rural attractive forces even though these may be substantial. Job opportunities in an expanding primary sector is likely to exert a strong pull on the urban unemployed or underemployed. Small numbers of urban to rural migrants are of the transfer for employment purposes kind. These migrants are generally technical, professional and administrative employees. In general, urban to rural migration is not large up to this stage in the demographic transition of Latin America and the Caribbean. However, the deteriorating quality of the urban environment and problems of crime in large urban areas along with developing good roads out of the city and the widespread use of the motor car, have and will continue to favour moving to a rural area and commuting to the urban area. However, these commuters will be nearly always of the higher socio-economic classes. High rent for housing sometimes force the poor to capture rural lands on the fringe of the city. They too become commuters.

4.2.4 Urban to urban migration

Approximately 70% of the population of Latin America and the Caribbean now reside in urban centres. In some countries the level of urbanization exceeds 80%. At this level of urbanization it stands to reason that the major migratory flow will be urban to urban. Structural conditions in an urban area are in part the major determinants of outmigration.

Early in the migration process it is likely that a significant part of the urban to urban migration will be of the type where the smaller urban areas are the sources and the larger ones the destinations. Later in the process and with the development of mega cities it is likely that the flow may be reversed. People will begin to leave the large metropolitan areas for smaller satellite cities, regional capitals, resort areas and retirement communities. On the other hand, at any point in the process of urbanization one can expect the migratory flow between any two urban centres to be two-way and the outflow indirectly proportional to the population size of the urban areas.

Structural conditions at the urban origin determining outmigration may include some or all of the following:

1. High unemployment and underemployment levels;
2. High cost of living resulting from high prices and low wages;
3. Lack of affordable housing;
4. Overcrowding of facilities and congestion;
5. Urban decay and environmental problems;
6. Disadvantage of location and poor climatic conditions;
7. Lack of amenities and infrastructures which affect the quality of life.

The significance of each of the above is likely to be social class related.

These structural conditions, among others, are determinants of the outflow of migrants. However, in urban to urban migration these expulsive factors may not be quite as crucial since the attractive forces at the destinations may be powerful determinants of the interchange. Job transfers and migration for educational purposes are also reasons for outmigration from an urban area in the case of small numbers of emigrants.

Intra-urban migration is a very important aspect of internal migration. This assumes increasing importance as the level of urbanization grows and as the urban areas grow in size and complexity. Suburbanization is an important aspect of this process. The movement of people from the central city to the suburbs can be classified as intra-urban migration. Movement from the metropolitan area to satellite towns is also intra-urban migration. Decentralization, if put in place, within mega cities will increase the volume of intra-urban migrations since the newly created municipalities will become political/administrative units which they previously were not. Hence migration between these new administrative units which before was intra-urban will now be interurban.

4.2.5 Conclusion

The socio-economic determinants of internal migration in Latin America and the Caribbean from the perspective of the origin can be conceptualized in terms of expulsive factors or forces. These factors inhibit the attainment or maintenance of a satisfactory quality of life in the current place of residence and impel the migrants in search of a destination in which there is a likelihood of achieving improvements in their lifestyles or in maintaining a threatened one. Out-migration occurs when the current place of residence is evaluated negatively compared to possible destinations.

4.3 Destination

Internal migration is a process beginning at an origin and terminating at a destination. The motivation for moving may be related to the origin, the destination, to both, or to both plus intervening factors. A destination may be evaluated as being so attractive as to result in immigration even though the origin is seen as being satisfactory. At the other end of the continuum the origin may be experienced so negatively that the decision is made to migrate and then a destination is sought. Destinations are generally seen as offering better prospects for improving one's quality of life or achieving certain social goals. The underlying assumption here is that migration is a process aimed at improving or preserving the quality of life of the movers. Socio-economic conditions at the possible places of destination are crucial determinants of the timing of the move as well as of the size of the flow.

4.3.1 Rural to urban migration

This kind of internal migration terminates in a town or city. An urban place is the destination. The structural conditions at the destination

at any point in time are significant determinants of when the migrants enter and in what numbers they enter. The retentiveness of the town or city is also dependent on the socio-economic conditions in existence.

The following are some of the prominent determinants of rural to urban migration in the context of the urban place:

1. Relatively higher wage levels: If a job is obtained the wage will be higher. The higher wage has to be seen in the context of a relatively higher cost of living. But even so, urban workers are generally better off than rural ones.
2. Greater availability of amenities such as running water, electricity, telephone, fuel.
3. More available and better educational and health facilities.
4. Availability of cultural amenities: cinemas, radio, television.
5. Better opportunities for social mobility-a more open stratification system.
6. Greater choice of consumer items (wide variety of food items, clothing, utensils, furnishing).
7. Better housing, but much more costly.
8. Access to transportation networks.
9. More open and free participation in the political process.
10. A more egalitarian worker/management relationship, better working conditions and a wider choice of job opportunities.
11. Good geographic location and good weather conditions.

These positive or attractive features must be balanced against some negative or repulsive features of some urban environments. From the perspective of the rural area the following or at least some of them, may be seen in that light:

1. Expensive: It costs a great deal more to live in a city than in a rural area.
2. Cities are more inhospitable. They are unfriendly in comparison to rural areas.
3. Urban areas are unsafe. The crime and violence rates are high.
4. Affordable housing is difficult to find.
5. Unemployment and underemployment are high.
6. Cities tend to be congested and overcrowded.
7. Urban areas may suffer from problems of environmental decay.
8. For certain ethnic and linguistic groups the urban centre may be seen as alien and one in which it is difficult to gain acceptance and become integrated.
9. Climatic conditions of the urban area may be unattractive.

Not all positive and negative features are present in the case of any single urban centre. These factors will be evaluated differently by individuals and groups. They are seen in the context of the conditions at the rural origin and the intervening factors. Conditions at destinations as well as at origins are not static. They change over time.

4.3.2 Urban to urban migration

This population flow between two cities and/or towns is determined by a number of factors at both the origin and the destination. Factors at the destination may attract or repel the migration flow. The flow will be a function of the net balance between these factors at the destination, factors at the origin and those that intervene between the origin and the destination.

The socio-economic determinants of urban to urban migration seen from the perspective of the city or town of destination may include the attractive features, among others, that are listed earlier for rural to urban migration. These attractive forces are evaluated in comparison to conditions at the origin, in this case another urban centre. Unlike the case with the rural area as the origin where things are just not present, now the comparison is in terms of relative advantage. One city is smaller than the other. There is less congestion and pollution. It is a safer city. There are more jobs. There is more and better affordable housing. The climate is better. The amenities are superior. There is less discrimination. There are more things of cultural interest. There is less air pollution. It is cleaner and more attractive. It is better run. There are better facilities and better schools and hospitals.

The repulsive forces are the ones mentioned above when evaluated negatively in comparison with the origin. For example, the town is too small and boring; or the city is too large and confusing. There is nothing interesting to do there. It is too industrial. It is too far from everywhere. It is too hard to find a job and/or wages are too low.

The socio-economic determinants of immigration to an urban destination when considered from the point of view of an urban origin are those which are likely to improve the quality of life of the movers in the short run and that of the next generation (the children).

4.3.3 Rural to rural migration

This pattern of migration may assume several forms. (1) Rural people moving in order to open up new lands (frontierward, pioneering). (2) Seasonal migration in which rural residents move to another rural area for a period of time during the year. This period is generally related to a specific rural activity which requires more labour than is currently available in the area (reaping and/or planting, fishing, forestry, mining). (3) Forced migration due to changing weather conditions, natural disasters and man-made displacements. (4) Movement from one rural area to another on a permanent basis motivated by a perceived opportunity to better one's life style.

The socio-economic determinants of these kinds of rural to rural migration from the perspective of the destination may be any subset or all of the following: (1) Employment opportunities. (2) Availability of land for purchase or rent. (3) Better access to markets and supplies. (4) Less isolation. (5) Better infrastructure. (6) Better access to health and educational facilities. (7) Better access to an adequate water supply. (8) Better climate. (9) Better worker/management relationship. (10) Higher wages.

The importance of any of the above will be a function of the conditions at the origin against which the comparisons are made and also the intervening factors. These socio-economic determinants are location specific. Moreover, they will be evaluated differently by individuals and groups.

4.3.4 Urban to Rural migration

The destination in this type of internal migration could be the same as in the case of rural to rural migration. If that is so, then the conditions at the rural destination would be those already highlighted. However, they are now seen in comparison to an urban origin and hence the results of the evaluation could be quite different. Another type of urban to rural migration is of the type in which urban residents move to the rural areas outside the cities but in commuting distance. In this case the important socio-economic determinants would include the following: (1) A relative cheap supply of land that is serviced with electricity, water and telephones. (2) Available houses. (3) Good transportation links to the city. This type of migration is mainly associated with the upper socio-economic classes in the city.

Urban to rural migration could also assume the form of urban dwellers moving to a rural area upon retirement. In this case, climate, cost of land and housing, availability of health care, and the basic amenities become important determinants.

Return migration could assume the form of urban to rural migration. In this case the socio-economic determinants of the rural destination could include the presence of family and friends, possession of land/housing or other assets, and/or promised employment. Return migration may be the result of failure to establish a livelihood in the urban area but it could also mean success in amassing, in the urban area, enough money to establish oneself back in the rural area.

The volume of the migration flow from an urban area to a rural one is generally small. However, because of conditions in the urban centres, job opportunities in a rural area can attract immigrants. Some of these opportunities could be in rural mining expansion, availability of cheap productive agricultural lands, manufacturing jobs, and jobs in the leisure industry (tourism).

The attractiveness of rural areas for urban migrants may be very significant since the urban expulsive forces could be quite strong. Urban to rural migration currently being minor could grow in importance as the urban environment in the mega cities deteriorate.

4.3.5 Conclusion

Socio-economic structural conditions at the place of destination are crucial attractive or repulsive determinants of immigration. These determinants will vary in importance from time to time. They are evaluated from the perspective of the would be immigrant and in relation to the conditions at the current place of residence and the intervening opportunities/obstacles.

4.4 Determinants of internal migration other than those associated with the destination and/or the origin

There is very little doubt, that in explaining internal migration at the macro level, that the primary socio-economic determinants from the perspective of Latin America and the Caribbean are those associated with the origin. These are for the most part expulsive in nature. The secondary determinants are those associated with the destination. When the expulsive forces motivate a move, a destination is likely to be chosen in terms of attractive elements in comparison with other alternatives. Coming third in importance are those factors which can neither be directly linked with the destination nor the origin. These are usually termed intervening variables and may facilitate the move or impede it. Hence they are sometimes referred to as intervening obstacles or opportunities.

At the macro level these intervening obstacles/opportunities in the case of Latin America and the Caribbean assume the following form:

- (1) The cost of moving oneself or one's family can be a major obstacle especially if the distance is great. This may in part explain step-migration involving short moves. Contiguous areas are the major recipients of migrants. The cost of a move comprises transportation cost as well as settling in costs.
- (2) The available modes of transportation will affect the cost of moving but it may, in addition, also be another kind of intervening obstacle or facilitator. The aeroplane is fast and cuts down on travelling time and wages lost and hence is a facilitator. However, it may be an obstacle in terms of cost, the amount of luggage one can carry, and the fear of flying is real for many. Truck travel is uncomfortable and rough on the frail and sick. Bus travel may be unavailable and/or unaffordable.
- (3) Information flows between the possible destination and the origin may be scant. Hence, would be migrants are uncertain concerning what will be encountered at the destination. If the information is available it may be a facilitator or a suppressor depending on its nature. Increasingly the mass media is bringing the possible destinations to the would be migrant and some of the portrayals are facilitators (life style, new industries, new construction projects) and others are inhibitors (protests, strikes, crimes, violence). No news concerning a destination is not considered to be good news.
- (4) Societal norms restricting migration of young people and especially young women may serve as an obstacle to internal migration of the young. Societal norms concerning the migration of spouses and parents without the other spouse or children can affect the volume of internal migration. Mothers are expected to stay with their children. Fathers are seen as essential during the teenage years of the children. Hence, there are societal norms related to life cycle phases which can inhibit internal migration. The breakdown of these norms will facilitate the process.
- (5) Love of the land and commitment to maintaining the family farm or home may depress internal migration. On the other hand new laws governing ownership and proof of ownership may mitigate this allegiance and facilitate migration.

(6) Traditionalism and all it entails will likely inhibit internal migration; while modernism ought to promote it. Intervening obstacles to internal migration ought to be on the decline as these Latin American and Caribbean countries modernize.

4.5 Summary and Conclusion: A macro level model of the socio-economic determinants of internal migration

The tempo of internal migration in Latin America and the Caribbean which has been rapid since World War II, shows no sign of abating. However, the migration process is very dynamic and is continuously changing its form and its composition. These societies are being gradually and in some cases being rapidly transformed demographically. The position of a country along the demographic transition is in some loose way related to the pattern of internal migration (Zelinsky, 1971, 1983). Internal migration plays a very important role in the spatial distribution of the population. The spatial distribution of the population has many implications for socio-economic development and well-being. The spatial transformation of the Latin American and Caribbean countries is a major concern among the governments of the region. The spatial distribution of the population is difficult to modify through socio-economic planning since the socio-economic determinants of internal migration are not well known and understood.

One approach to an understanding of the socio-economic determinants of internal migration centres on the structural conditions of the actual place of residence vis-a-vis those at the intended destination and/or competing ones. An underlying assumption is that the decision to move is taken in the context of these structural constraints and facilitators and that there are other factors which intervene in the process. Another fundamental assumption is that the primary goal of internal migratory movements is economic. That is, one migrates in order to enhance one's quality of life. The time horizon is that of the lifetime of the primary mover and his or her immediate family members. The migrants aim at improving their socio-economic conditions and hope to provide the basis for a better life for the succeeding generation.

The decision to move is made on the basis of a number of considerations. These considerations surround such issues as the structural conditions in existence which will minimize the costs of the move and maximize the benefits. There are risks involved in the migratory process. But there are factors that can minimize them. Family members at the destination, promise of a job, a place to stay, and a social welfare net, are some of these risk reducing factors.

At any point in time and with respect to the current inhabitants, there are retentive, expulsive, and neutral forces at the current place of residence which have implications for outmigration. The prospective destinations have similar socio-economic structural determinants of immigration. Independent of these two sets of determinants are the intervening obstacles /opportunities (Lee, 1966) which may have an impact on the migration process. Internal migration occurs when the net results of these forces indicate that there is a likelihood of an improvement in the standard of living for the would be movers.

An understanding of the socio-economic determinants of internal migration at any point in time and with respect to a location requires an analysis of these determinants within that specific context. Sound socio-economic planning requires an integrated approach in which the demographic factors are taken into consideration. Good population policies and programmes require the same type of complementarity. A general explanatory model of internal migration at the macro level can at best provide the structural conditions which are important determinants. Those operating in the specific context will be dependent on the culture, the special social, demographic, political and economic circumstances. This macro approach to internal migration is a useful model for accounting for the rate of internal migration and in advancing our understanding of factors which promote or retard internal spatial mobility. However, an analysis at this level alone can only be partial. A full understanding of the determinants of internal migration requires a solid link with micro explanations of the phenomenon. After all it is the individual who migrates. Hence the factors accounting for individual responses to the structural conditions are important determinants of the complex process of internal migration.

5. Socio-economic determinants of internal migration:

A micro perspective: Latin America and the Caribbean

Structural conditions in the society are at the base of the internal migration process. They are the conditioning factors. But it is individuals who migrate. Except in refugee situations or flights due to natural disasters, the decision to move is an individual or a family one. But these decisions are taken in the context of the structural socio-economic determinants of internal migration. This section explores the context in which the decision to migrate is taken. Consideration is given to the micro socio-economic determinants of internal migration focussing upon the places of origin and destination as well as on intervening factors.

5.1 Origin

Within Latin America and the Caribbean structural socio-economic conditions at the origin are primary factors determining the timing and the volume of internal migration. Whether the origin is a rural or urban one, there are strong expulsive forces. These are mainly economic in nature but there are social ones as well. The interaction between these and the individual traits or family situation will determine the timing of the move as well as the size of the outflow of persons.

5.1.1 Rural Place of origin

Rural outmigration has for a long time been very significant in Latin America and the Caribbean. This has resulted in much lower rates of rural population growth than that of urban areas. Rural rate of natural increase since World War II has been higher than that of the urban areas, yet urban areas have grown at significantly higher rates. This is an indication that rural outmigration has been adding to urban population growth while retarding that of the rural areas. In spite of this rural outmigration, the rural population continued to increase in most countries up to the middle of the 1970's. Currently in some countries such as Argentina, that have made the greatest

progress through the demographic transition, the rural population growth rate is negative and others are on the verge of becoming negative. Rural outmigration removes a significant part of the rural population increase and with it potential births that would have occurred in the short run.

The expulsive forces in the rural areas of Latin America and the Caribbean impinge on individuals and families; yet some move while others stay. The personal circumstances of the individual or family are the key indicators of the likely response to the micro socio-economic determinants of the migration process. The chronically unemployed individual is less likely to migrate than someone who was employed and who has lost his or her job. The employed individual who is barely making ends meet is likely to migrate if it is conceived that the move will result in an improvement in the quality of life. An examination of the employment situation and income levels in the rural area should provide indications of the outmigration propensities. Employment in unionized rural industries reduces the propensity to migrate. Unionized wages are generally quite competitive. Employment on rural farms, using traditional production methods, and where the labour/capital relationship tends towards the feudal, will facilitate outmigration. Obligations to the owners, such as debts, may reduce the likelihood of outmigration. Outmigration is likely to be higher from a rural area where employment is mainly agricultural and where the land is held in large plots, than in one where employment is on unionized capital intensive plantations. Jobs in mining, forestry, and rural manufacturing will retain workers in the rural areas. Increasing unemployment levels resulting from changing production methods or changing kinds of products will motivate rural outmigration. People who are used to working, are likely to migrate, when they become unemployed, if no jobs are available at the place of present residence. The likelihood of moving is affected by such personal characteristics as age and family status.

In many rural communities throughout the region small farming is prevalent. As the plots become smaller through subdivision or as they become less productive due to overuse, the farmers are likely to outmigrate from the area. Small farmers move in search of more and/or better lands or employment. Small farming is particularly dominant in less productive rural areas of the Caribbean countries and some of the circum-Caribbean ones. Agrarian reform resulting in ownership of small plots will not necessarily slow outmigration. There is a possibility that small farmers are more likely to migrate than those without lands. Sale of a small farm could provide some resources with which to migrate. An examination of the landholding situation in the rural areas will likely provide a good indication of what to expect with respect to outmigration.

Individuals or families may decide to move in order to be able to obtain needed health care facilities, educational facilities, seemingly essential amenities such as potable water, electricity, television and required housing. Those who desire these things and can afford them will move to places where they are available with the hope of being able to establish oneself and to obtain the necessary resources to continue to enjoy them.

The information networks will reach individuals and families with different intensity and will affect them differentially. This will be an important input into the decision making process. Those who evaluate the events

and conditions of the likely destination in a positive manner are more likely to migrate. Individuals also have the ability to register only those messages which are supportive of their current inclinations. Exposure to the mass media and communication networks may motivate migration for some and non-migration for others. What it will be, will depend on the individual situation and mind frame.

Well established migration links between the rural areas and some traditional destinations will facilitate further migration. It removes the uncertainty from the process, since would be migrants will be accustomed to people coming and going between the rural area and the likely destination. Moreover, friends and relatives or just acquaintances at the destination will make the move less of an adventure and a less risky proposition. Prearranged accomodation and/or a job are great risk and anxiety reducing mechanisms. Knowing the established migration streams out of a rural area can be used as an indicator of where individuals and families are likely to go and even in what numbers.

Conditions in the rural area of current residence are known to its inhabitants. The prospects for individuals and families to move up socially and to better their lot economically are known. In many cases these prospects are slim to non-existent. Resources are limited. The social structure is rigid. On the other hand there are possible destinations including urban ones offering some small prospects for improvements in one's socio-economic condition. In the rural area one is doomed to a life of poverty and dullness. In an urban area it is possible to save oneself from these dismal circumstances.

There are many retentive forces operating at the rural place of residence and until these are superceded by expulsive ones (and or urban attractive ones) the residents are likely to remain in situ. These retentive forces include the following: family obligations, obligations to a patron, attachment to one's place of birth, contractual agreements, nondisposable assets, fear of the unknown, and lack of resources for a move.

The response of individuals to the socio-economic determinants of internal migration from the perspective of the rural origin are mediated through a complex interactive process with their own personal traits and/or characteristics. These individual properties are themselves in part the results of the socio-economic environment. Personality traits determine how individuals respond to such occurrences as being out of work, living at the subsistence level, and family breakdown. Some individuals will move while others will not when faced with similar conditions. Characteristics such as education, age, family status, occupation, gender, race, ethnic identity and health status are important differential determinants of geographic mobility.

5.1.2 Urban Origin

Urban residents who make the decision to move do so under socio-economic determinants of the migration process somewhat different from those of their rural counterparts, but like them the primary motivation is improvement in one's life style. Urban poverty, unemployment, and poor urban housing are no less a reality than the rural ones. On the other hand, the urban area offers

some hope of social mobility. Wages are generally higher in urban than in rural areas. Cultural amenities and infrastructure are more plentiful and better in urban than in rural areas.

Urban areas in Latin America and the Caribbean are currently the major places of origin for internal migrants. These are highly urbanized and highly mobile societies and since on average 70 percent of the population reside in an urban place, these are the main sources of internal migration. The current dominant stream is urban to urban migration. There is some urban to rural migration but its volume is less than urban to urban or rural to urban. Individuals or families who leave an urban centre, whether for another or a rural area, are responding to a complex mix of expulsive, retentive, repulsive and attractive socio-economic forces in the urban place of origin and the possible urban or rural destinations. In this section will be discussed those socio-economic determinants of internal migration operating at the micro level and from the perspective of the urban place of origin.

Urban unemployment and underemployment vary from country to country in Latin America and the Caribbean and they are relatively high in all of them. These have been chronic problems of these developing societies. In any country at any point in time, unemployment and underemployment may be at different levels among the urban centres. Hence individuals and families can be expected to migrate in search of jobs. Differential wage levels among urban places will also motivate migration. Higher wages are attached to certain types of industry and to certain categories of jobs, and some urban centres may be deficient in high paying employment. A city or town in which unemployment and underemployment are high and wages are low relatively to what they are elsewhere will experience outmigration. Individuals and families will be dissatisfied with their current job and wage prospects and migrate. Individuals who feel that there is no job security in the present employment will likely seek security and will migrate if that is the only way of achieving it.

The lack of possibilities for promotion in one's job could be a strong motivation for changing job and this may require migrating. There are many jobs that do not challenge the individual and boredom with one's work develops. This may motivate a move in order to find a more challenging and interesting position. There are those who migrate to be out of a unionized job as well as others who migrate because they wish to be in one. One's satisfaction with the current job and perception of conditions elsewhere are powerful motivations for migration.

An urban setting will be evaluated differentially in terms of its environmental and climatic situations by individuals. Those who assess the current city or town as polluted, noisy, dirty and congested will likely seek out and move to a more congenial environment, all other things being equal. That is, these aspects of the present urban residence even though they may not be the primary motivation for outmigration, they will enter into the equation. Similarly, climatic conditions such as temperature, humidity, rainfall and amount of sunlight will enter the decision equation.

The availability and quality of the educational institutions will be important considerations for young individuals as well as families with

children. There are great variations from city to city in the availability and quality of education and facilities at all levels. This is likely to widen under certain forms of decentralization (regionalization). Students will change from one urban centre to another for postsecondary education. Families in deciding to move will give consideration to the availability and quality of the education at the current place of residence in comparison with those at the likely destinations.

Health facilities at the current urban place of residence may be evaluated as substandard. The current quality and quantity of health care and medical facilities are important for young families and senior citizens. The decision to move, may be based in part on consideration of the essential health care delivery system. A good evaluation of the medical facilities at the origin is a strong retentive factor and a poor evaluation, an equally strong expulsive force for individuals at certain life cycle stages. Since large cities are more likely to have better hospitals and clinics they will tend to exert a retentive force on otherwise would be movers. On the other hand, the lack of adequate medical facilities in small towns will serve as an expulsive force.

The lack of desired cultural institutions such as a church of one's own religion, cinemas, theatres, sport stadiums, bullrings, museums, libraries and restaurants of one's liking will likely enter the decision equation when consideration is being given to moving away. Lack of, an adequate supply of clean, safe water, sewage and garbage disposal, dependable supply of electricity, cooking fuel, adequate housing, and telephone are strong motivations for outmigration.

A politically corrupt and inefficient urban political machinery is an important consideration in outmigration. Political instability of an urban area will be a strong motivation for moving. Likewise for some, a well entrenched political apparatus will be viewed negatively.

High crime rates and much violence will be negatively evaluated. Security of person and possessions are desired by individuals and families. When an urban area becomes riddled with increasing crime and violence the quality of life is jeopardized and people migrate out.

An individual or family with none or very few close relatives in the same city will take this into consideration when the decision to move is being made. Close relatives and friends are retentive while their absence is expulsive. Integration into a network of family and friends in a city or town is a significant retentive force.

The personal characteristics of the urban outmigrant interact with the socio-economic factors associated with the origin in producing the decision to move. One's education and age, as well as family status are important associated factors of outmigration. Gender is also related to migration. People in certain occupations are more migratory than those in some others. Single persons are more geographically mobile than those with family members. One's migratory history is a good predictor of one's future migration. Knowing the individual characteristics and personality traits in combination with the

socio-economic characteristics of the urban origin ought to be of tremendous help in predicting migration behaviour.

5.1.3 Conclusion

Emphasis has been given to the micro socio-economic determinants of internal migration from the perspective of the origin. This is an attempt to answer the question: Why do people migrate? However, it is equally important to ask the question: Why do people not migrate? Answer to this question requires concentrating on retentive forces at the origin and on repulsive forces at likely destinations. From the perspective of the origin these retentive forces would include: a satisfactory life style and standard of living, integration within the community, strong family ties, satisfaction with the stratification system and social mobility avenues, and one's social and economic investments in the community.

5.2 Socio-economic determinants of internal migration: A micro perspective with reference to the destination

The decision to migrate, except in some rare circumstances, is never taken solely with respect to socio-economic conditions at the place of current residence. Even when the expulsive forces at the origin are very decisive, consideration is given to the choice of possible destinations. Where there is information on the likely destinations, the decision on where to go will be based on balancing the pros and cons of the origin and the destination. Strong attractive forces at a destination could be the main reason for moving. It is more than likely that the would be migrant has more information on the current place of residence than on any likely destination. However, there is always "the grass is greener on the other side" syndrome. In this section attention is given to the micro socio-economic determinants of internal migration with reference to the rural and urban destinations.

5.2.1 Rural destination

Individuals and families are attracted to a rural place in response to a complex array of socio-economic factors. These socio-economic determinants are evaluated in a personal way by the prospective immigrant. Information processing is an important aspect of this process.

An urban resident or a rural one who moves to a rural area would likely be aware of the socio-economic conditions in existence there. Some of these conditions will attract the would be migrant while others will be repulsive in nature and still others will be inconsequential (Lee, 1966). The primary attractive factor is usually economic in nature. The existence of jobs or the availability of productive land will be decisive factors in the decision to move. Rural jobs will appeal to rural residents and those urban ones who are underemployed or unemployed. Cheap available productive land is a strong drawing force. Farming is attractive to many people so long as it is possible to make a decent living from it. Individuals or families are attracted to rural areas when it is likely that the move will raise their standard of living.

The simple life of a rural area is idealized by many urbanities. The rural area is seen as a place where one can escape from the rat race, enjoy the open space, the fresh air and greater security of person. Rural born population who resided in an urban centre and then return to the place of birth or some other rural place may be seeking to recapture the simple life. They are returning to their roots. Some of these return to claim inheritances or to retire to the peace and quiet of the countryside.

Entrepreneurs often migrate to a rural area in search of investment opportunities which may include farming, mining, forestry, industry, transport, communication or services.

A rural area with good climate and infrastructure as well as amenities will appeal to individuals and families who may have health problems or who desire an urban way of life but in a rural setting free of pollution and contamination. Rural areas near bodies of water such as the sea, lakes and rivers are very attractive to individuals and families at certain life cycle stages.

Rural areas close to urban centres have great appeal to those urbanities who are willing and able to commute. With the pace of urbanization in Latin America and the Caribbean these rural areas in commuting distance to urban centres often eventually become incorporated into the urban area and new rural areas become desirable as residences.

Rural areas are not major destinations but they could increase in importance under appropriate government policies and programmes. Currently and into the future they will continue to be destinations for both temporary and permanent migrants in search of jobs, on transfer for employment reasons, retirement, return migration and rural to urban commuters. Rural areas have many attractive features for a large number of people. This can be evidenced by the number of urbanities who escape to their country cottages on the weekends and during holidays. Rural areas are generally idealized by those who grew up in urban centres. Those who grew up with the harsh realities of rural poverty, even when they have made it good, are less likely to view rural living through rose coloured glasses.

5.2.2 Urban destination

Currently, and for the future, cities and towns are the major destinations of internal migration streams. These urban centres are the selected places of residence for the very large urban to urban and rural to urban migratory flows. The urban centres possess those socio-economic and cultural features which make them the preferred destinations in comparison with rural areas. Families and individuals who migrate to an urban area are responding to a complex set of forces which interact with their individual situations.

The city or town of destination offers the movers a greater chance for improvement in their standard of living through greater employment opportunities and higher wages. Moreover, by gaining access to such things as medical services, educational institutions and a wide variety of socio-cultural

amenities the migrants have the possibility of changing their life styles. To the-would-be migrant currently residing in a town or city, another urban centre, or in the case of the current rural resident, the urban centre, holds out the possibility of social mobility, if not for the primary mover at least for the children and future generations.

With some 70% of the total population residing in cities and towns in Latin America and the Caribbean, it is likely that the would be rural migrant has relatives/friends in an urban centre. This serves several purposes and could be a decisive factor in the decision to move. Relatives/friends provide information. They may help in securing employment. They may provide or help to find housing. They remove much of the uncertainty and anxiety associated with a move. For the would be urban to urban migrant the same is true except that there is experience in coping with urban situations.

An urban destination may be a place of temporary residence for seasonal migrants. These seasonal migrants are responding to temporary employment opportunities for a limited period. This may be repeated annually. In this case the migrant is a resident of at least two communities and provides a link among them. Seasonal (temporary) migrants are mainly economic migrants. They are responding to job and wage improvement opportunities. They have the personal characteristics required by the urban jobs which are mainly in construction. Males are much more likely to be urban seasonal migrants than females.

Urban areas exert an attractive pull on those migrants that are required in the urban labour force. They bring with them needed skills, experience and resources. But the supply often exceeds the demand and large numbers of urban immigrants eventually seek a livelihood in the informal sector. Because of the nature of the structure of employment in urban areas, rural to urban migrants will have more women than men among them. Urban to urban migrants are less gender selective.

Young men and women of the rural areas often seek secondary and post-secondary education in urban centres. Urbanities may change urban residence for a similar reason. Also, education is positively associated with geographic mobility. The better educated are more mobile; and an urban centre is generally the destination of the better educated.

The need for medical facilities among certain sectors of the population and the unequal dispersion of these among urban centres become a motivation for migration. In a similar fashion, other facilities appeal to those with special needs or particular orientations. In many cases these motivating (attraction) factors are life cycle specific or personality specific.

Cities and towns have attractive pull for individuals and families. The strength of these attractive forces are related to the individual characteristics or the family situation. They offer an opportunity, however, slim for socio-economic advancement.

5.2.3 Micro level intervening variables of internal migration

Micro level socio-economic determinants of internal migration are generally viewed from the perspectives of the origin and destination of the migratory process and in the context of individuals and families. But there exist intervening variables which are neither origin nor destination specific. These factors are personal characteristics, personality traits, family related, resources, and information/communication. They intervene in the decision making process and may facilitate the move or hinder it.

It is recognized that migrating involves the cost of moving one's self, dependents, and in some cases one's possessions. It generally involves the costs associated with leaving the origin, transportation costs incurred in the process of moving, and settling in expenses at the destination. An individual or family requires financial resources for migrating. Possession of such resources will facilitate the move and lack of them may deter the move. This is in part the reason why it is the employed, better educated single individual who is more likely to migrate. These costs may be beyond the means of a family and may result in a family member migrating alone, at first, rather than the entire family moving all at once.

Individuals and family units have differential access to, and ability to process information on the destination. Word of mouth communication among family members will receive the most attention and will be given the most confidence. Interaction between family members at the origin and those at the likely destination is a useful input into the decision making process. Access to the mass media gives an individual or family information on possible destinations. But the same information will receive different evaluation depending on the mind set of the receiver. The better educated person is likely to have greater access to information networks and to arrive at informed opinions and decisions. Modernization expands information networks as well as the ability of individuals to access and assess information. Hence with development, the decision to migrate is likely based on a much sounder evaluation of what lies ahead.

The young individual (15-30 years) of either gender is the most spatially mobile in all societies and Latin America and the Caribbean as a region is no exception. In some migration streams, women are in the majority (rural to urban) and in others men are (rural to rural). Families migrate as well as individuals. Migration is life cycle specific. There are societal norms relating to young unmarried women leaving home and heading out on their own. There are norms relating to fathers or mothers leaving children and spouses behind especially at certain crucial stages in the family cycle. Family obligations are powerful forces in the migration decision process and these may facilitate or retard the movement of family members.

The age-sex composition of the family could be an important factor in the migration process. Mothers are unlikely to leave young dependent children. Fathers are needed, especially for the teenage years. The size of the family is relevant to the decision to migrate. Small families (wife and husband) have much more propensity to move than families with children. The cost is less and there are fewer compromises to be made. Retired couples are in some ways free

to move but in others related to economic, social and psychological investments in the communities they are not so free.

Health factors often intervene in the migratory process. Some individuals find it necessary to move in order to secure needed medical attention or to avoid potential health hazards. Others are unable to move because of physical and mental handicaps or debilitating health conditions. Relatives of sick individuals may be affected in terms of their ability to migrate.

Personality traits intervene as both facilitators and inhibitors of the migration process. There are individuals who are afraid to move. They are afraid of the unknown. Change is threatening. But there are also the innovators and the risk takers who view moving as an adventure. Highly independent individuals are more likely to move than the faint of heart. Entrepreneurs are likely to be geographically mobile. Individuals who are good at managing anxiety and trepidation, and who are adaptable and possess coping skills are likely to be spatially mobile. Successful migrants, that is, those who successfully establish themselves at a destination are likely to possess some of the above personality features.

Personal characteristics of both the achieved and ascribed types are important intervening factors in the individual migration decision making. As has been alluded to many times, such factors as education, age, family status, occupation and gender are important as explanatory variables. Race and ethnicity are important intervening variables. Blacks in Costa Rica, Colombia, Ecuador and Peru are not very likely to move in large numbers to the altiplano even though the area is destination of some migration streams. Certain indian groups are not likely to move to the area of other indian groups. Among whites there are some distinct residential enclaves. Language is not a major obstacle in Latin America and the Caribbean for internal migration. However, English speaking Central Americans are less mobile geographically than Spanish speaking ones. Native language speakers in Mexico, Guatemala and South America will include their communication ability in the official language in the migration decision making process. Religion for the majority, perhaps does not play a major intervening role in the internal migration decision making process. However, Orthodox Jews, Mennonites, Seventh Day Adventists, among others, will take into account the existence of a community of like devotees at the destination, when deciding where they will select as a destination.

Intervening factors may assume many forms. They are mainly secondary in nature to those forces operating at the origin and the destination. However, they may be sufficient to block the move or to make it possible. More often they interact with other factors in the migration decision making process.

5.2.4 Conclusions

At the micro level of analysis internal migration may be studied at either the individual or the family level. At the individual level the family status may be used as a defining characteristic. At the family level, the individual characteristics are important and families are classified by their composition of individuals. The individual decision process may or may not take place in the context of the family. The family decision to move may be taken

by a single member. Regardless of the unit of analysis, the structural conditions at the current residence and those at the intended destination plus the intervening factors will be important determinants of the decision making process as well as of the act of migrating. These determining factors are socio-economic in nature for the most part. Their impacts are felt differentially among the two actors, the individual and the family. Their differential manifestation at the micro level explains why some of the actors move and not others. The macro level socio-economic determinants interact with individual and family characteristics to produce the micro socio-economic determinants of internal migration.

Individuals and families move mainly as a result of their economic situation. However, in some cases the social factors may be predominant in the decision making process. If the economic situation of the individual and/or family determines that it is necessary to move, then there will enter into the decision making process all those other socio-cultural determinants of the timing of a move and its destination. The psychological make-up of the decision makers will interact with the micro socio-economic determinants in the decision making process.

6. A Synthesis: A Micro and Macro Framework

Internal migration can be examined at a macro level. In this case the dependent variable is measured either in terms of volume or in terms of a rate. The volume of internal migrants can be analysed as stock or as flow. The rate of internal migration can be studied as a net rate or an immigration rate or an outmigration rate. As a micro level process the unit of analysis is the "move" of an individual or a family from an origin to a destination. These individual or family actions when aggregated become the measure of internal migration at the macro level. Internal migration has its micro as well as its macro dimensions.

The socio-economic determinants of internal migration and government policies and programmes are the major explanatory factors for internal migration levels and rates. Population growth above the absorptive capacity of an area will put pressure on the residents to seek accommodation elsewhere. Actual or perceived opportunities for socio-economic betterment will induce population movements to the area in which they are located or perceived to be. Government policies and programmes aimed directly or indirectly at geographic (spatial) redistribution may be successful in motivating changes in the stock and flow of migrants. The socio-economic-demographic factors and public interventions operate through individuals and families to influence the level of internal migration.

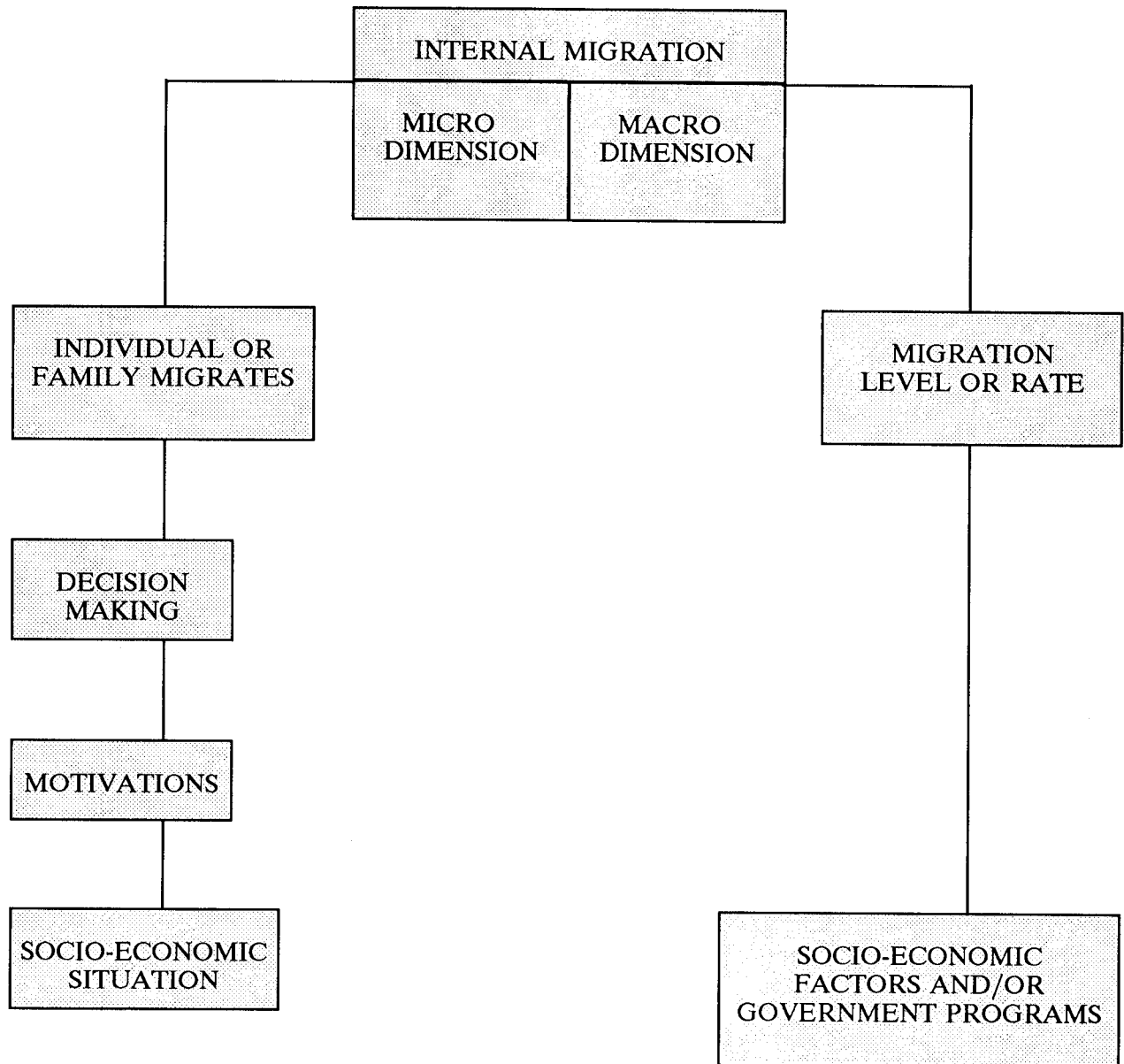
Unemployment at an origin affects the individuals and families who are residents there. Employment opportunities somewhere else become a motivating force for individuals and families. Social actors are motivated towards improving their standard of living (quality of life). This may involve making a decision to stay in the current place of residence or moving somewhere else. If the decision is to move, then another decision is required relating to the destination and the timing of the move. These individual or family actions comprise the flow of migrants.

Internal migration as a behavioural process has its micro and macro aspects that are intertwined (Figure 1). Internal migration can be approached from many angles within both the micro and macro perspectives. Many studies have examined the socio-economic determinants of the flow of internal migrants. Others have dealt with the stock. These studies are concerned with the end result of the micro behavioural process. Micro level studies have been devoted to examinations of all aspects of the migration process from the point of view of the people who make the decision to move and do so. Both the macro and micro approaches are instrumental to our understanding of internal migration. The macro sets the stage, the micro portrays the action.

Government policies and programmes with respect to the spatial distribution of the population are informed by data on flow and stock of internal migrants. Knowledge of the specific socio-economic-demographic determinants of the stock and flow allows for manipulation of these in order to achieve desired goals. However, the social actors must be taken into consideration if these policies and programmes are to be successful. After all it is people who move. Consideration then, ought to be given to those micro socio-economic variables which determine the probability of migration and the timing of the event.

The growing interest in decentralization (regionalization) in Latin America and the Caribbean ought to require giving consideration to the socio-economic determinants of internal migration. Decentralization could affect the flow and stock of internal migrants. It is likely to do so if it results in regional disparities. Therefore, an understanding of the socio-economic determinants of internal migration will help in anticipating the likely spatial impacts of decentralization on population distribution. Decentralization can be used to slow down the internal migration process since it could mean the removal of inequalities among sub-regions. Consideration of the micro and macro socio-economic determinants of the spatial distribution of the population from the perspective of the subregion will provide a sound basis for planning.

Figure 1: Internal Migration: A micro-macro process



7. Internal migration: Determinants; Latin America and the Caribbean

Introduction

The previous sections of this monograph have speculated on the macro and micro determinants of internal migration both in general terms and in the context of Latin America and the Caribbean. This section will focus upon these determinants in the specific context of the region. It will draw upon published research findings and data from secondary sources as well as personal observations. Determinants may change over time and they may be space specific. They vary across cultures, societies, social groups and other aggregations. The determinants are of many kinds, social, economic, demographic and psychological. This section will draw upon the available empirical evidence for portraying the current situation and then 'crystal ball' the near future. This will be done along the lines set out in the previous sections. That is, the different internal migration streams will be given attention from the micro and macro perspectives in the context of origin, destination and intervening dimensions. However, the discussion will not separate the macro and micro components as was done in the previous sections.

7.1 Rural to rural migration

Migration from one rural area to another in the same country has always been a feature of the demographic process in Latin America and the Caribbean. It is still a significant demographic feature and it will continue to be in the foreseeable future. Its volume and feature change over time in response to social, economic and demographic changes. As the societies become more and more urbanized the volume and importance of rural to rural internal migration among the other migratory streams will diminish. At an urbanization level of 70 percent or higher, the size of the rural population will be declining and hence there will be successively fewer people who may qualify as potential or actual rural to rural migrants. By 1990, in Latin America and the Caribbean the level of urbanization was estimated as ranging between around 20 percent (St. Vincent and the Grenadines) and 90 percent (Venezuela); Table 1, using U.N. figures). By subtraction, the percentage of the population living in rural areas was between 80 and 10, in 1990. Approximately 70 percent of the population live in urban areas.

The 20th century, and especially the first 70 years have witnessed a rapid increase in the size of the rural population in the region. The unequal geographic distribution of the population in combination with the unequal distribution of productive agricultural lands have provided the structural conditions for the expulsion of segments of the rural population. They move in search of opportunities which could maintain or improve a threatened standard of living. This has manifested itself from the perspective of migration from one rural area to another in such forms as: (a) frontier-ward and pioneering migration in countries such as Brazil, Ecuador, Mexico, Bolivia, Paraguay, Costa Rica, Panama and Venezuela (U.N. ICP 1984, Population, Resources Environment and Development; Alegre, 1977; Schmink, 1984); (b) Seasonal rural to rural migration of a temporary nature in countries such as those above but also in others. In Central America seasonal migrants rotate among the reaping of coffee and other

highland crops and such lowland crops as sugar, cotton and bananas. This pattern can be found in countries such as Colombia, the Dominican Republic, Jamaica, Ecuador, Peru, Bolivia and Brazil. Some seasonal rural to rural migration takes place in most countries of the region, but its composition and volume are in part related to the geography of the country and the main rural economic activities (Díaz Aldana (1985); Goza (1989); Peek and Antolinez (1980); Aramburu (1984); CSUCA (1976); Giraldo (1978); Laite (1983); Miró and Rodríguez (1980); Urzúa (1978); Veiga (1980)). (c) Rural to rural migration of a permanent nature but not to a frontier region. When there is a limited supply of productive land in one rural area and on which there is a rapidly growing population; and when there is available land and/or paid employment in another rural area; then the stage is set for rural to rural migration. This kind of internal migration can be seen in such countries as Mexico, Colombia, Guyana, Belize, Guatemala, Peru, Ecuador, Chile, Argentina, Brazil, Paraguay, among others. The expulsive structural conditions, based among other things, in the land tenure system, are operant; and such attractive forces as an expanding commercial agriculture, development of mining, and the availability of productive lands, are playing their parts (Aramburu (1984); Bilsborrow and Fuller (1988); Conroy (1977); Hornby (1980); Miró and Rodríguez (1980); Urzúa (1978); Veiga (1980); Lattes (1984); Peek and Antolinez (1980)). Rural poverty, scarcity of land, lack of employment opportunities, and other socio-economic factors are structural determinants of rural outmigration. The presence or prospect of opportunities for maintaining or improving the quality of life are strong attractive forces and are crucial in the choice of one location over another.

Rural to rural internal migration is driven mainly by economic motivation. There are strong economic expulsive forces. Rural residents whose livelihood is derived solely from the agricultural outputs of their own labour on their own plots of land and who exist close to the subsistence level are very vulnerable to climatic, and other environmental conditions and to market forces. Small farmers throughout the region are exposed to these expulsive forces. The marginal productivity of small farm agricultural labour is low. Rural to rural internal migration among small farmers is also in response to availability of productive agricultural lands elsewhere, to paid jobs in the primary sectors (mining, forestry, commercial agriculture) and to opportunities in services and the informal sectors in certain rural areas. Small farmers who have supplementary incomes from part-time jobs, seasonal jobs or from commerce are less prone to respond to the repulsive and attractive forces. The Haitian, Mexican, Ecuadorian and Guatemalan small farmers who have other sources of income to supplement their farm outputs are less likely to move to another rural area even if there are substantial attractive forces being exerted.

Rural wage labourers are likely to move when they are made redundant if there does not exist alternative sources of employment. They will also migrate if their wages are low relative to those existing in alternative rural locations and if jobs are available. In sum, rural wage labourers are likely to move to another rural area when the likelihood of maintaining their current standard of living is threatened or when there is a distinct probability of improving it. Low wages in non-unionized agriculture or other primary sectors on the altiplano of countries such as Colombia, Costa Rica, Mexico, Ecuador and Guatemala have served as expulsive forces, and unionized higher wages in the lowlands as

attractive ones. Capital intensive agriculture expels workers since machines tend to displace labour. This happens when latifundios change their mode of production. But the establishment of this kind of agricultural production in sparsely populated areas attracts labour from other rural areas. This can be seen in the expansion of the cotton industry in the Department of Cesar in Colombia (Giraldo (1978); Conroy (1977)), sugar and cotton expansion in lowland Guatemala (Díaz Aldana (1985)), and soybean production in Brazil and Paraguay.

Rural to rural migration motivated by a strong attractive force from such economic pursuits as development or expansion of mining activities (Guyana, Jamaica, Brazil, Colombia, Chile, Venezuela, Mexico) and resort areas (Jamaica, Dominican Republic, Mexico, Venezuela, Costa Rica) may quickly transform the rural destination into an urban one. Temporary rural migrants during the infrastructure development stage often remain and are joined by their families.

The primary decision in rural to rural internal migration, except in cases of displacements due to man made or natural forces, is economically motivated. Accompanying family members or those joining at a later stage may be motivated by other factors. Rural origins and destinations in the same country are perhaps not that much different, except in economic terms, as to make a move worthwhile.

7.1.1 Policy considerations

Economic policies and the accompanying programmes can be powerful tools for redistribution of the rural population. The following kinds of programmes should be successful in redistributing the rural population and in so doing accomplish rural development and national development goals as well as integrating rural women in the development process:

- (1) Land distribution. Where the land supply is adequate; make productive land available in adequate amounts to all those who desire it without regard to gender. Current rural residents could be given highest priority. Women and other target groups may be given special consideration.
- (2) Credits should be made available to those who take up residence in the targeted areas. These should be soft loans with low interest rates and long amortization periods.
- (3) Accessibility to markets ought to be ensured in the new place of residence. Fair prices for products ought to be guaranteed.
- (4) The development of social and cultural amenities in the targeted area ought to be given high priority. Access to educational and health facilities as a minimum should be provided. Water, electricity, good roads, mass media communication networks and transportation in and out will enhance the chances of success of the distribution programme.
- (5) Adequate and affordable housing at a destination is a drawing card as well as a retentive force. A successful distribution programme is likely to be one which has planned for the housing needs of the new arrivals.

(6) Employment opportunities at the destination which pay good wages will always be a strong motive for moving and staying. Development projects which provide good paying jobs at the destination will serve to redistribute the rural population.

7.1.2 Conclusions

Rural to rural internal migration keeps people in the rural areas. With the current levels of urbanization in the countries of Latin America and the Caribbean, it makes sense to retain as far as possible a sizeable rural population. All countries in the region regardless of their level of urbanization face serious urban problems. These urban problems assume forms such as: (1) Urban poverty (all countries). (2) Lack of adequate housing (all countries). (3) Lack of, or poor, urban infrastructure (roads, electricity, potable water, waste disposal). (4) High unemployment and underemployment levels (all countries). (5) Urban social pathologies (crime, violence) -all countries, but especially those with large urban agglomerations (Brazil, Mexico, Colombia, Peru). (6) High urban primacy and mega cities create problems of economic, political and management nature (Mexico, Argentina, Brazil, Haiti, Jamaica, Uruguay, Chile). (7) Urban environmental problems are real and very serious (Mexico City, Lima, Buenos Aires, Santiago). Air pollution is a major problem, but there is contamination of soil and water also.

It is possible to produce as much food as needed for national consumption and more with a small rural population (5 to 10% of the total population) e.g. North America and Western Europe. However, this requires much capital and agricultural lands and crops that facilitate extensive use of farm machinery. This is achievable in some Latin American and Caribbean countries (Argentina, Uruguay, Brazil, Venezuela, Paraguay, Cuba, The Dominican Republic, Colombia, Ecuador, Guyana) under appropriate orientations and reorientations of the factors of production. However, even for these countries and more likely for the others, national food production is more assured with a larger rather than a smaller rural population. Medium size farms are generally more productive (per hectare, per worker) than large farms. Farmers grow most of their own food and urban dwellers very little. The large adverse commodity trade balance in many countries is in part a result of large food imports.

Rural to rural internal migrants can be instrumental in the development of rural resources. They open up new agricultural lands and expand production in already settled areas, exploit mineral resources, develop fishing and forestry industries, and establish resort areas. In many cases rural to rural migration is a result of strong expulsive forces at the origin. When the destination is another rural area, then, in addition to the resultant rural development, would-be further pressure on the urban environment is diverted. The promotion of rural to rural internal migration in the case of most Latin American and Caribbean countries makes good economic sense.

7.1.3 Future prospects

Rural to rural internal migration will continue to evolve as the countries of Latin America and the Caribbean enter and proceed into the 21st century and as they continue their passages through the demographic transition.

Countries with the largest proportions of their population residing in rural areas in 1990 (mainly some Caribbean ones, Central American ones, Bolivia and Paraguay) are not likely to experience a decline in their rural population in the 20th century (Table 2). At the same time the volume of rural to rural migration may be small unless there is governmental action aimed at effecting rural redistribution of the population. Rural attractive forces are weak. Most rural areas are experiencing strong expulsive forces.

Countries currently (early 1990's) experiencing declines in their rural populations (some Caribbean ones, those of the Southern Cone, Venezuela, Brazil) are expected to continue doing so. However, they have the potential to retain the rural population while experiencing rural to rural internal migration. To realize this potential will require governmental policies and programmes which directly or indirectly promote rural population redistribution. There can be policy options favouring rural to rural migration in opposition to those with rural to urban foci.

With the expressed concerns of governments with respect to the uneven distribution of the population and with a growing regional interest in the decentralizing of policies and programmes as well as population deconcentration, rural to rural internal migration will continue to be a feature of the demographic process. Even if push factors diminish there will be rural to rural internal migration since pull forces will come into effect. The economic motivation for rural to rural migration will always be present.

7.1.4 Some methodological considerations. Rural to rural migration

Most current censuses are capable of providing lifetime migration (place of birth and place of current residence) and migration in the last five years (current place of residence and whether there was a move in the last five years). Using census data only, it is not possible to assess return migration, seasonal migration, circular migration, step migration and other migration patterns. Recognition of this shortcoming has led to field surveys for the study of migration. Recording migration histories is one approach to establishing migratory patterns. Information can be obtained directly from the respondents on themselves but they can also supply information on very close relatives (siblings, parents, children). Population registers are useful sources of migration data. However, these do not exist in Latin America and the Caribbean. Reasons for moving may be inferred from census and population register data but field surveys can obtain the motivation for moving directly from the respondents. In order to understand why people migrate it is necessary to obtain from them their reasons for moving. Researchers who study rural to rural internal migration at the macro level rely heavily on census data. Micro level studies generally resort to field study data (sample survey data, anthropological field studies). Researchers sometimes confine their studies to political divisions of the national territory. In which case, the findings may be useful to the policy makers and planners.

The countries of Latin America and the Caribbean are subdivided into geopolitical subunits with varying degrees of responsibility for planning and implementing programmes. In general, financial resources flow from the central government to the subunits. One rational way of dividing the pot among the

claimants is on the basis of the size and composition of the population. Since censuses are at best every 10 years and government transfers are annual, there is a need for good population estimates. Good planning also requires realistic population projections. Rural to rural internal migration may be a major factor in the growth or decline of the geopolitical unit. Hence for planning purposes the volume and composition of the in and out migration streams should be taken into consideration in making estimates and projections for the sub-units.

The structural factors that determine rural to rural migration have been presented. These can be manipulated in order to achieve desired ends. Land distribution, irrigation, mining activities, provision of jobs, wage disparities and affordable housing can all be manipulated and will yield rural to rural migration results. The volume of in or out migration can be controlled within bounds through control on the motivating factors.

The size of the current population, its rate of growth, its age-gender composition, educational levels, family and household composition are all relevant in making estimates and projections. Estimates and projections for geopolitical unit A, should not ignore the demographic structure of the populations in the other geopolitical units and especially the contiguous ones. These estimates and projections ought to include considerations of size, age-gender composition, rate of growth, and such socio-economic correlates of internal migration as education, employment situation, wage and price differentials, housing stock and quality, transportation links, communication links, family links across boundaries, past pattern of rural to rural migration and current household composition.

7.2 Rural to urban internal migration

Rural to urban internal migration is a major migratory flow in Latin America and the Caribbean. Throughout the 20th century this kind of migration has been of great importance in redistributing the population. The high level of urbanization in the region is partly a result of this population movement (Alberts, 1978). But as the societies reach high levels of urbanization (70 percent or higher) the relative contribution of this flow to the continuing growth of urbanization is diminished. The outflow is still large enough to continue the decline in the rural population but the numbers are small in comparison with the large urban population into which the flow occurs. The importance of this migratory flow in redistributing the population varies across the countries. In general, it is correlated negatively with the level of urbanization (a low level of urbanization is accompanied by a high flow of migrants from the rural areas towards the urban ones and vice versa). Rural to urban migrants currently (1990's) make a small contribution to the urbanization process in Argentina, Venezuela, Chile and Uruguay but a large one in the cases of Haiti, Guatemala, Costa Rica and Ecuador (Tables 1 and 2).

Rural to urban migration is predominantly permanent migration but there is some temporary moves as well. There is seasonal migration from the rural to the urban areas in many of the countries. Some rural to urban moves are to the large urban centres, while others are to medium size and small urban centres.

7.2.1 Macro and micro expulsive forces in rural areas

Rural poverty, manifesting itself in such ways as living at the subsistence level with insufficient food, inadequate clothing and poor and deficient housing, is a major determinant of rural outmigration. High rural unemployment level, seasonal employment, low wages, low agricultural productivity and low prices for products are some of the major contributing factors to rural poverty. Rural poverty has to be seen in relative terms but it is an ever present phenomenon. It is worse in Haiti than Colombia; worse in Colombia than Barbados or Puerto Rico; worse in El Salvador than Costa Rica; worse in Northeastern Brazil than in Southern Brazil; worse in Limon than in Guanacaste in Costa Rica. Urban poverty is just as stark or even worse than rural poverty, but the hope of avoiding urban poverty or insufficient information on its nature make the move from a rural area to an urban one seems rational (Oberai (1989); Pessino (1988); Araujo and Franco (1977); Castiglioni (1989); Bilsborrow (1987); Peek (1980); Shaw (1974); Shaw (1976); McDevitt (1986); Gaude (1976); Zuñiga Ide (1976); Villa (1981)). Hardship conditions in rural areas expel significant numbers of residents, the majority of whom move to urban centres.

Rural poverty is in part explained by unequal distribution of the means of production and in part by growing populations. However, reduction in the unequal distribution of land through agrarian reform does not necessarily slow rural outmigration especially under conditions of continued high natural increase of the population. Under a more even distribution of the land there may still be insufficient land to maintain or attain a reasonable standard of living. Moreover, aspirations for social mobility are generally associated with urban residence (Matos Mar (1981); Torrealba (1983); Matos Mar (1978); Mauro and Unda (1984)).

In addition to agrarian reform, other changes have been underway in the rural economy of Latin American and Caribbean countries. The mechanization of large scale commercial agriculture has displaced workers in Mexico, Colombia, Costa Rica, Brazil, Argentina, Uruguay (Miller (1988); Prates (1980)). The change from latifundios to capital extensive cash crops has made the need for labour less. The rapid expansion of beef production for external markets in Argentina, Brazil, Colombia, Venezuela, Costa Rica and Guatemala has reduced the need for labour. Beef production has been increasing in most countries of the region and in all cases, it lessens rural employment opportunities.

Structural conditions related to rural distribution of resources, rural production methods and changing emphases have produced the context for the expulsion of population. The pressure to outmigrate is compounded by population increase. Individuals and families finding themselves in economic dire straits without possible in situ solutions may react by moving to an urban centre. The individuals and families who move are generally different from those who remain (Schroten (1987); Schoemaker (1977)). The better educated rural residents may likely possess more information on the urban situation and may be more confident in the possibility of maintaining or improving his or her standard of living. Young people are likely more open to risk taking; they are less burdened by a large family; and more likely to be better educated. The move to an urban area is made easier by some disposable assets or available funds. Lack of strong

emotional ties in the rural area makes it easier to migrate. Certain personality traits relating to independence, drive and initiative are facilitators of taking up one's rural roots and moving to an urban centre.

7.2.2 Macro and micro urban destination attractive forces: rural to urban migration

In previous sections it has been argued that urban centres in Latin America and the Caribbean are chosen as destinations by rural migrants because they are perceived as offering opportunities to maintain or enhance one's standard of living or quality of life. It has been posited also that rural to urban migration is more a function of the expulsive forces operating in the rural areas than it is of the attractive forces in existence in the urban centres. Directly and indirectly, rural outmigrants have made major contributions to the population growth of the cities and towns. The importance of this contribution tends to decline as the countries make their way through the demographic transition. Hence the proportion of the growth due to rural origin immigrants (direct effect) and that due to the fertility of these first generation urbanites (indirect effect) vary over time. The post World War II period of the 20th Century has witnessed the growth and decline of the part played by rural outmigrants in the urbanization process. At different times and for different countries the contribution of rural to urban migrants to the growth of urbanization has been estimated at levels ranging from 20 percent to 80 percent for certain cities and towns (Raczynski (1981); Alberts (1977); Urzua et al (1982)).

Rural to urban migrants have, in the main, economic motives for selecting their urban destination. These economic motives relate to employment, wages, and occupational mobility, that are instrumental for maintaining or achieving a certain standard of living (Macisco (1975); Arguello (1980); Elizaga (1975); Todaro (1978); Ordoñez Gómez (1977); Alberts (1977); Castillo Tristan (1982)). Men are more likely than women to give as the primary motive for moving the desire to secure a job and earn higher wages. Both men and women will often mention education, for themselves or their children, as a reason for moving from a rural to an urban place. Women, more than men, are likely to give family related reasons for moving.

Jobs in the formal sector of the economy and the safety net of the informal sector are attractive forces at work in urban centres. The available educational facilities is a prime attractive force. But there are many others that play a role in making one urban centre more attractive than others. These may not be primary but they may enter into the decision making process in selecting a destination. The amount of information on the structural conditions existent in the potential urban destinations maybe a crucial factor in deciding on the destination as well as the timing of the move. In Latin America and the Caribbean in the 1990's radios are very widely distributed. Since most radio stations are urban based, they put out much information on urban conditions. Televisions are found wherever there is electricity. Electricity supply is very widespread. Television like radio diffuse information on urban conditions. The signals emanate from the urban centres. Rural residents are likely to have urban relatives who provide information on urban conditions. Rural areas except for the very remote ones, are linked by roads to one or more urban centres.

There is likely to be at least weekly bus and truck links between the rural and urban areas. Information on urban conditions are diffused by a variety of means to rural populations. Knowledge of these conditions play a part in the rural to urban migratory flow. In Latin America and the Caribbean mass media diffusion of the urban areas' situations can encourage or discourage rural to urban migration depending on the mind set of the receivers and the nature of the transmitted message.

An assessment of the existing knowledge in rural communities would be informative and useful in forecasting the likely volume and direction of future rural to urban migratory flow from the communities.

There is very little known about how migrants view such urban infrastructures as housing and local transportation. These can certainly be used to encourage or discourage rural to urban migration. Restricting the supply of cheap urban housing and making local urban transportation costly are repulsive forces. The opposite ought to be attractive forces. In Latin America and the Caribbean there is much variation among and within countries on these two factors. Their role in rural to urban migration is not documented. Rural origin immigrants invariably find solutions to these problems. Shanty towns on any available land near to one's work is one approach adopted by immigrants to the problems of unaffordable housing and high transportation costs.

This section has highlighted the available evidence on urban destinations with respect to urban destination determinants in rural to urban migration in the context of permanent migration. There is growing evidence of seasonal migration in which rural migrants to urban centres view their sojourn in a town or city as temporary. They are temporary residents in the city doing jobs in construction and other sectors for part of the year but they return to the rural areas in which they are viewed as permanent residents. The timing of the moves and the duration of the stays are related to the urban labour needs and to commitments to rural farming activities mainly surrounding the sowing and the reaping of crops (Saez and Mauro (1980); Pachano (1981); Mauro and Unda (1984); Aranda Baeza (1982)). The expansion of highly capitalised commercial crops with seasonal labour needs (rice and other cereals, soybean, fruits, cotton) and booms in urban construction combine to provide the conditions which make it possible for seasonal rural to urban migration. Men are more likely to be seasonal rural to urban migrants than women since domestic service and other service sectors which are primary areas of employment for women do not lend themselves to seasonal migration, in the same way construction does (Aranda Baeza (1982); Bustamante (1978); Elton (1978); Jelin (1979); Young (1986)). Seasonal rural to urban migration is motivated by urban employment paying relatively high wages and by the seasonal nature of rural wage labour and rural small farm activities.

7.2.3 Conclusions

Rural to urban migration in Latin America and the Caribbean has for long been considered a major force in the redistribution of the population and in the rapid growth of the urban population. Its importance has been lessened for those countries with 70 percent or more of the population living in cities and towns. However, rural to urban migration in these highly urbanized

countries is still very important when viewed from the perspective of the rural areas. The decline in the rural population is due mainly to outmigration since there is no evidence of below replacement fertility among the rural population. The large urban population is not as significantly positively affected by the entering rural migrants as is the smaller rural population from which they are departing. But urban population growth in these highly urbanized Latin American and Caribbean countries is above the national average and since urban natural increase is below, rural immigration is still playing a significant role in the redistribution of the population between rural and urban areas.

Many of the countries of the region have levels of urbanization well below 70 percent (Table 1). For these countries rural to urban migration is a major factor in the redistribution of the population between the rural and urban areas. The rural population is increasing at below the national average growth rate but is still growing. The urban population is growing well above the average for the country as a whole but the rate of natural increase of the urban population is less than that for the whole country. Rural residents moving to the urban centres and their subsequent fertility are major factors in the urban population explosion.

The socioeconomic determinants of rural to urban migration are both structural and behavioral. They relate to the urban centres, the rural areas, and to the movers themselves. The primary motives for rural to urban migration are economic but educational and familial reasons for moving into a town or a city from a village or farm are not inconsequential.

It may be possible to stem the tide of rural to urban migrants by designing rural development projects which raise the standard of living in the rural areas as well as enhance the quality of life. Retaining the rural population makes good economic sense under the present circumstances in Latin America and the Caribbean. Urban planning and urban development planning can be directed at repelling would be rural to urban migrants and/or diverting them away from certain urban centres toward others. Promoting the location of industries in rural areas and/or in certain urban centres will have an impact on the volume and/or pattern of rural to urban migration. Job opportunities and decent wages are strong attractive forces. Urban planning which promote or restrict accessibility to affordable housing and to essential necessities will impact on internal migratory flow and pattern.

7.2.4 The future

As with mortality and fertility, rural to urban migration will be present always. However, the volume, pattern and composition of the streams will change along with changes in the socio-economic and demographic parameters. Rural to urban migration is amenable to policy and programme interventions. It is an area in which the feasibility of integrating socio-economic factors and demographic variables in development planning can be explored.

The ability to predict the future with respect to rural to urban migration is heavily dependent on the current place of the country in the demographic transition, the rural/urban distribution of the population, the likely policy/programme initiatives of the government in the interim, along with the

current level of development. The predictive equation could include age/gender distribution, education, occupation, family composition among others. One could develop a profile of individual characteristics which portray different propensities to move urbanward in the case of rural residents. Also an assessment of structural conditions at the rural origin in light of our knowledge concerning structural determinants of outmigration, would identify outmigration propensities. Urban areas could also be profiled in terms of their likely attractive potential for rural residents. In this way there would be information on likely outmigration sources and destinations, the volume, the composition of the streams and the patterns. Plans could be made for modifying these in desired ways and hence achieve socio-economic development ends.

In summary, without policies and programmes directly or indirectly aimed at redistribution of the population through rural to urban migration, the current trends are likely to continue with slight variations here and there. The end result is likely to be high levels of urbanization in all countries and decreasing rural populations. For some countries, this may not be an insurmountable problem but rather an instrument of their development; but for others it may be a real challenge with unsure outcomes; and for others still, it may mean an obstacle to their socio-economic development. It all depends on their resources and their responses to the challenges.

7.3 Determinants of urban to urban internal migration: macro and micro perspectives

In the highly urbanized region of Latin America and the Caribbean geographic mobility is increasingly being associated with movements among towns and cities and within them. Population movements within a geopolitical urban unit (intra-urban migration) is likely greatest in volume among the many types of spatial mobility. However, within the strict sense it is not internal migration. Its causes are many; and the economic motivations may assume different forms and less importance. Population movements among cities and towns (inter-urban migration) is the focus of this section. This section is about the evidence concerning the causes of urban to urban migration in the region. The attractive forces at an urban destination may assume different forms and/or take on differential strengths for would-be outmigrants at other urban origins than they do for those at rural origins. The latter has been examined in a previous section. The expulsive factors of urban origins are of interest in this section also.

7.3.1 Background evidence

Urban to urban internal migration is now considered to be the major migratory flow in the countries of Latin America and the Caribbean. Its full significance is not discernable from the current censuses. An examination of place of birth cross-tabulated with current residence misses those rural born who have moved one or more times among urban centres, urban moves in between the place of birth and the current residence, and also, return migration among urban-born people. Spatial mobility in the last five years also misses return migration in that period among urban residents. Omitted also are all moves in the five year period except the most recent. However, it does provide data on recent urban to urban exchanges in population. Urban to urban migration is of

interest to researchers and planners alike because of its significant role in population redistribution in the highly urbanized countries of Latin America and the Caribbean.

Urban to urban migration does not affect the level of urbanization or the rate of urbanization but it does modify the urban landscape. For Latin America and the Caribbean it has often been documented that rural to urban migration invariably ends in urban to urban migration. Rural residents move in many cases first to a near town or city but eventually some of these people move on to other towns and cities. Large numbers come finally through this step-migration process to the capital city or a major urban agglomeration (Raczynski (1981); Alberts, (1977)). It has been shown that the rapid growth of the major metropolitan centres during the 1970's and 1980's (Table 3) was due in large part to urban-urban migration. The large metropolitan areas of Santiago, Buenos Aires, Sao Paulo, Rio de Janeiro, Lima, Mexico City and others grew at rates that were possible only with the combined effects of natural increase, rural to urban and urban to urban migrations. During the 1980's and into the 1990's the middle size cities are the ones that grew and are expanding most rapidly (Tables 3 and 4). Their rates of growth indicate a major urban to urban migration contribution. There are likely contributions from both the smaller urban places and the larger ones. Middle size cities such as Campinas, Goiania and Manaus in Brazil, Pueblo de Zarago in Mexico, and Maracaibo in Venezuela are growing at rates indicative of a major contribution from urban to urban migration. Cities that are smaller than these such as Popoyan and Cúcuta in Colombia, Temuco and Concepción in Chile, Puerto Vallarta and Vera Cruz in Mexico, and Santa Cruz in Bolivia are growing rapidly with a significant urban to urban internal migration contribution.

The size of such cities as Mexico City, Buenos Aires, Sao Paulo, Rio de Janeiro, Santiago, Bogota, Lima and Caracas and their accompanying urban problems of unemployment, infrastructures overload and environmental decay have awakened interest in ways of slowing urban population growth, managing mega cities, deconcentration and decentralization. An understanding of the socio-economic determinants of urban to urban internal migration could be very instrumental in coming up with solutions to some of these problems.

7.3.2 Urban origins in urban-urban internal migration: socio-economic determinants

Small urban centres, middle size ones, and large urban agglomerations are all centres of outmigration. Urban centres differ in terms of their sources of economic activities. Large and very large urban agglomerations offer employment in a variety of sectors such as manufacturing, transport, communication, trades, commerce, services, the informal sectors etc. Santiago (Chile); Mexico City, Santo Domingo, San José (Costa Rica), Medellín etc. have broadly based and complex occupational structures. Middle size urban centres as well may offer a wide variety of occupational choices. Small towns and cities are less complex in their occupational structures. Some cities are one or two industry specific cities plus complementary services e.g. Puerto Vallarta (Mexico), Montego Bay (Jamaica), San Fernando (Trinidad), Maracaibo (Venezuela), and Manizales (Colombia). Lack of occupational choices is a push factor. Cities and towns differ in terms of levels of unemployment and

underemployment. Unemployment and underemployment levels are related to wage levels. High unemployment and underemployment levels and low wages are strong expulsive forces. These differentials operate to impel people from cities of all sizes (Urzua, (1980); Jardim, (1982); Centro Paraguayo de Estudios, (1975; Alberts, (1975). Economic reasons are paramount for outmigration from cities and towns towards other towns and cities.

In addition to economic motives, there are socio-cultural reasons for moving away from an urban centre and entering another. People move for family reasons. Spouses and children accompany their spouses and parents when they move or are transferred. Others move also to be near relatives. People move for educational reasons. Cities and towns without universities are centres of outmigration for the young who seek post-secondary education. Guadalajara with limited post-secondary offerings will see some of its young people leave for Mexico City where they will at first be seen as temporary residents but many of whom will become permanent ones. All cities and towns in Jamaica loose their post-secondary young people to Kingston. This is true of many cities and towns in Peru with respect to Lima. The cultural amenities of cities such as Santiago, Buenos Aires, Rio de Janeiro and Guadalajara are attractive forces for residents of other less endowed cities. Lack of these in a city or town is, however, an expulsive force for only small elite groups and even for them only of minor importance, being overshadowed by the economic considerations. Lack of sporting facilities is an expulsive factor for other sectors. Absence of a soccer team, horse racing etc. are expulsive in nature for some people.

Housing stock scarcity, poor quality and cost are strong expulsive forces (adequate supply, good quality, relatively cheap are retentive). Low cost local transportation and its adequacy are positive factors (United Nations, (1991); Balan, (1981); Corona Vasquez, (1988); Falario, (1979); Merrick and Graham (1979).

In summary, urban centres as origin have within them expulsive forces. The strength and the nature of these forces determine the net migration rate since they become repulsive forces for would-be immigrants. The degree of population retention associated with an urban centre is a result of the positive forces it exerts on its residents. These retentive forces are also likely to be attractive forces for non-residents. Through planning, it ought to be possible to make an urban centre a retentive one, an attractive one, or an expulsive one. A single centre can be both retentive and attractive. A single centre may be retentive for some of its residents and expulsive for others. Macro level socio-economic determinants of urban outmigration can be manipulated to achieve, through micro actions, socio-economic-demographic consequences.

7.3.3 Urban centres as destinations in urban-urban internal migration: socio-economic determinants

Urban centres are attraction poles for residents of other urban centres but they also repel some people. Urban centres that are growing above their rate of natural increase are the ones whose retentive powers and attractive forces transcend their expulsive and repulsive forces combined. The rapid growth of middle sized cities during the 1980's and into the 1990's is an indication of their net internal migration gains signifying their retentive and

attractive nature (Tables 3 and 4) . The large cities are growing somewhat slower but still growing due in part to net internal migration gains. The rate of growth of the large metropolitan areas are low only relative to that of the medium sized ones, but they are still recipients of the largest net number of migrants. Their base populations are so large that a large number of migrants result in a low rate of net internal migration. For example, a net gain of 1 million migrants in the case of Mexico City in 1990 when its population is approximately 20 millions would give a net migration rate of 50 per thousand. If Guadalajara had received in that same year 250,000 net migrants its net migration rate would have been 78 per 1000 of its 3.2 millions 1990 estimated population. Urban centres gain immigrants from other cities and towns, likely in proportion to the size of the origins and inversely related to the distance between them.

In Latin America and the Caribbean migration into cities and towns are of much more concern than outmigration from them since they are nearly all net gainers of population. Port-au-Prince, Haiti seemed to have been an exception during 1970-85 (Table 3). However, the data accuracy is questionable. The size of the city in 1990 (Table 4) is 1 million compared to its 1985 figure of 0.52 million (Table 3). The former is more believable than the latter. It could not have grown by 0.48 million between 1985 and 1990 without major reclassifications and annexations, especially if it was growing negatively between 1970 and 1985 (Table 3). Urban concentration is a concern of governments and the continued growth of cities into massive agglomerations poses many problems and challenges for governments.

Urban centres as destinations for residents of other cities and towns signify the strength of their attractive pull in comparison to the retentiveness of the origins. Economic forces, dealt with throughout this paper, exert their pull on the residents of cities and towns. Family reasons are also applicable, as too are the host of socio-cultural motives given in previous sections (Alberts, (1975; Cassanovas and Rojas, (1988); Jardim, (1982; United Nations, (1991; Villa and Alberts, (1978); Raczynski, (1982); Urzua, (1980); United Nations, (1984); Balan, (1981); Arguello, (1981).

In summary, urban centres gain population from other cities and towns in relation to the advantages they offer relative to the origins and also in light of the perceived benefits. The quest for a higher standard of living or retention of a threatened one, drive urban residents towards other cities and towns. However, other quality of life enhancing factors do play significant roles in responding to the pull of possible urban destinations. Among these are environmental factors such as levels of pollution and contamination, climate, physical location and accessibility to other valued resources and facilities.

7.3.4 Conclusions

Urban to urban internal migration was the most significant migratory flow for most countries of Latin America and the Caribbean during the 1980's. It will become even more voluminous during the 1990's and promises to retain its primary role in the spatial redistribution of the population into the 21st century. Policies and programmes will increasingly be directed towards it,

under such initiatives as population deconcentration, decentralization, and halting the expansion of mega-cities. It can be directed in ways that could reduce urban primacy—a feature of some Latin American and Caribbean countries.

High levels of urbanization is here to stay. Latin America and the Caribbean already the most urbanized area in the "South" will become even more urbanized. The urbanized countries of the Southern Cone and Venezuela are close to the upper limit of urbanization. All other countries have potential for further increasing theirs' and there seems to be no way of preventing them moving towards high levels. Accepting the inevitability of high levels of urbanization, efforts to modify its rate of growth, the pattern of its distribution across the national landscape, the distribution across city size and the demographic social and economic characteristics of cities and towns can be partly achieved through manipulation of the urban to urban migratory flows. Hence knowledge and understanding of the socio-economic determinants of urban to urban internal migration will be of immense use in integrating demographic variables into development planning.

Full understanding of the dynamics of the decision making that goes into moving from one urban area to another is absent. The solution lies in having access to more data than are normally available from censuses. Field Surveys (sample or census) in which motives for moving are explored are crucial to attaining this understanding. Projections and estimates of the population of any urban area should be informed by the results of these studies. However, even with our current knowledge and understanding we can conclude that the nature of the jobs and employment markets, wages, relative cost of living, housing availability and costs, and information, communication and transportation links among urban centres should be inputs into the estimates and projections. The accuracy of the estimates and projections are crucial to deconcentration and decentralization programmes.

7.4 Urban to rural internal migration: socio-economic determinants

Among migratory flows in Latin America and the Caribbean, urban to rural is the least known and perhaps the smallest in volume. However, it is safe to predict that it will increase in volume. The stage is being set for urban to rural migration; in that the level of urbanization is high and increasing and Latin America now has a large number of very large cities. These very large cities are experiencing pollution and contamination problems, high unemployment and underemployment, high cost of living, housing shortages and accompanying high cost, transportation problems, urban pathologies such as crime and violence, and shortages of important commodities (electricity, water, fuels). One reaction to these problems is to move to another town or city where the irritants are less. Another solution is urban to rural migration.

Urban to rural migration may assume different forms: 1) Urban born moving permanently to a rural area. Some urban born people romanticize the rural rustic life. Others seek an urban life-style in a rural setting preferably in close proximity to an urban centre. 2) Urban born who move temporarily as seasonal migrants and/or circular ones to perform certain jobs (agriculture, mining, fishing, resorts, recreational). Their bases, that is their permanent residences, remain in a town or city, but they respond to short term job

opportunities in rural areas. 3) return migration. Rural born people who previously migrated to a town or city return to their place of birth or some other rural area. Urban residents who retire to a rural area form a subcategory of the first group. Construction workers on mega projects such as dams, highways, ports, resort areas, mining etc. comprise a subcategory of the second. Former rural residents who return from their current urban residence for specific purposes for an extended period may fall in either the second or the third depending on the circumstances.

7.4.1 The urban origin: socio-economic determinants

The expulsive forces existent in urban centres which have been specified in previous sections are those which are operant in this case. However, the reasons for selecting a rural area rather than an urban one may be partly a result of different experiences or perceptions. In other words, there may be an interactive effect between the urban push factors and the rural pull ones that is different than that between the interaction of urban push and urban pull forces. Considerations must be given to the type of urban-rural migration as identified above, since each of the three main types and their subcategories may experience the urban push forces differently and respond in unique ways.

What are the socio-economic determinants existent in a mega city such as Mexico City which expel its residents toward a rural area, rather than toward another city or town? Some Mexico City residents are undoubtedly forsaking the world's largest city, because of air pollution, water contamination, congestion, high cost of desired housing, high cost of consumer products (food, drink etc.), high unemployment level, higher underemployment level etc. Those seeking a rural area can find it in some of the high plateau departments, in the mountains, on the lowlands, and on the Caribbean or Pacific coasts. The same could be said in terms of expulsive factors for cities such as Sao Paulo, Buenos Aires, Santiago, Lima and Bogota. However, even smaller cities have potentially expulsive forces which point people in the direction of the rural areas. Most of the primate cities of Latin America and the Caribbean qualify as areas of expulsion and some of those leaving are choosing rural areas.

7.4.2 Rural destinations: Socio-economic pull factors

The socio-economic determinants at a rural destination have been speculated upon in previous sections. However, there are likely differences in attractive factors between rural to rural migrants and urban to rural migrants. From the perspective of the resident of San José, Costa Rica or Kingston, Jamaica, the coastal areas of Guanacaste or the highlands of Manchester respectively, may assume attractions which are lacking for the rural residents of other parts of these countries. The urban residents see life in these rural areas as unhurried, the air is clean, crime and violence are low, the cost of living is low, and there is a chance for an improvement in the quality of life. For some of these urban residents a move to a rural area represents a return to the simple life they once knew or that of which they have dreamed.

There are now possibilities of enjoying the best of both worlds in many countries. One can in certain areas of most countries of the region enjoy the security of a rural setting while living an urban life style. Rural areas not

too remotely removed from urban centres are now served with electricity, good public transportation, running water, indoor plumbing, garbage removal, reliable source of cooking fuel, good television reception, daily newspapers, good radio reception, mail delivery, and the telephone. Urban medical services are sometimes only minutes away by car or public transportation. This type of rural community encourages commuting for those in the higher income levels. Unfortunately rural commuting areas soon become bedroom towns.

Rural development projects such as opening up of new lands, irrigating farm lands, mining industry, forestry, and other primary sector industries will be attractive to urban residents who seek jobs and higher incomes. Rural areas exerting a strong economic pull will attract urban residents since there are many in the cities and towns whose involvement in the urban economy is marginal. Moreover, high wages such as those in rural mega projects are a strong economic motivation.

7.4.3 Conclusions

Migration is nearly always a two-way stream. Latin America and the Caribbean has been experiencing massive rural to urban migration. The counter stream of urban to rural migration is less pronounced. However, our prediction is that it will assume increasing importance. This is predicated on the worsening urban capacity for providing a decent style of life for the growing numbers of residents and the deteriorating urban socio-cultural and physical environments. It is also predicated on the rural areas becoming more and more urban in life style and providing an economic livelihood for those urban to rural migrants. Close examination of the major urban centres in Latin America and the Caribbean will reveal many factors which are likely to serve as expulsive forces. Concurrently, it may be seen that the attractive forces in the rural areas are not plentiful and not very strong. Under the present rural conditions the absorptive capacity of the rural areas is well below the potential supply of urban origin immigrants. Any massive flow of urban and/or rural residents into a rural area, inevitably will transform the rural area into an urban one.

Urban to rural migration is destined to become a significant feature of the societies in the region. It is related to the level of urbanization. North America and Europe are experiencing significant urban to rural migration flows. Argentina, Uruguay, Chile and Venezuela, four of the most urbanized countries of Latin America can be expected to experience relatively more urban to rural migration than countries such as Bolivia and Guatemala. Highly urbanized areas of some countries such as the Meseta Central of Mexico, the Cauca Valley of Colombia and the Central East Coastal area of Brazil are perhaps experiencing significant urban to rural migration.

The integration of population factors into socio-economic development planning has some potential for increasing urban to rural migration. However, high levels of urbanization are here to stay. Latin America and the Caribbean will become more and more urbanized. Well laid plans and programmes which provide economic motivations for urban to rural migration, while at the same time providing an urban life style in a rural setting, could increase the flow of people from urban to rural areas. This could serve to develop the rural

economy and at the same time slow the urbanization process. Redistributing the population on a large scale from the urban towards the rural areas through plans and programmes directed at achieving this goal is costly and beyond feasibility for most countries. These programmes are risky and are unlikely to achieve substantial redistribution of the population but they could have significant economic pay-offs through rural development and the exploitation of rural resources.

Rural development projects in which the demographic consequences are planned for and anticipated are advisable. An example could be a rural development project involving the distribution of irrigated agricultural lands with easy farm credit schemes, assured profitable markets, reasonable and adequate housing, a modern urbanlike life style, and good communication and transport links to nearby urban centres. Urban residents could be given preferential treatment or fed with positive propaganda concerning the programme. In this way an urban response could be encouraged and successful establishment in the rural area could be facilitated. It is not enough to recruit migrants; their success should be facilitated, which will enhance the probability of permanent residence by the ex-urban residents.

Mega projects such as dam construction (Brazil, Argentina, Paraguay), iron ore and bauxite mining in Brazil and Venezuela, coal mining in Colombia and Chile, petroleum mining in Mexico and bauxite mining in Guyana and Jamaica could be planned in such a way as to entice workers from designated urban areas. Reasonably priced project houses for individuals as well as families could ensure that the attracted urban residents establish new residences in the rural areas around the projects.

Urban deconcentration will likely become a feature of the Latin American and Caribbean demographic scene. It will assume the feature of families leaving the large metropolitan centres for the suburbs and smaller cities and individuals moving towards the central city to replace them. But as part of this process, under the condition of high levels of urbanization, will come urban to rural migration. But this is in part cancelled out by rural to urban migration and consequently the level of urbanization will continue to rise but much more slowly after about 75 percent.

The pattern and level of urban to rural migration may be affected by programmes of decentralization. Economic development plans favouring rural development as discussed above will have an impact on urban to rural migration. If government decentralization plans result in rural areas expanding the demand for labour then urban to rural migration flows will increase. If the decentralization programmes favour urban areas then urban to rural migration could decrease in volume. Understanding the socio-economic determinants of urban to rural migration will make it possible to anticipate the impact of decentralization programmes on these migratory flows.

Governments in the region have often devised plans for the decentralization of industries, factories, projects etc. with the goal of redistributing the population and in particular removing some of the pressure from the major cities. They have often not been successful, especially when they require the cooperation of private companies. Estimating and projecting

the population flows from the urban areas in response to these decentralization initiatives are perhaps not too difficult and could be made with a great deal of accuracy. These estimates and projections should take into consideration the number of jobs created, the housing availability, restrictions on the establishment of make-shift housing and the setting up of informal sector economic activities, information flows between the urban centres and the decentralized rural projects and the transportation links and costs, among others as identified earlier.

Field studies and good records are essential in obtaining the needed data for the estimates and projections without which plans and programmes become risky, and the evaluation of the impact of decentralization on urban to rural migrations made difficult or impossible.

7.5 Final overview and conclusions

In this seventh section an attempt was made to portray, using very wide brush strokes, the socio-economic determinants of internal migration in Latin America and the Caribbean. Recognition must be given to the fact that the current spatial distribution of the population has important links to past regimes of internal migration. Speculations were made concerning the likely future developments. Each section has its own conclusions and therefore there is no need to repeat them here.

The high level of urbanization, the over-concentration of the population in small areas of the national physical space and within those areas in very large urban agglomerations are in part the consequences of internal migration. But the spatial mobility of the population is a response to the structural conditions in the societies. This paper treats the socio-economic dimensions of these structural forces and the individual responses to them. People move for a host of individual reasons. They make decisions to migrate within the context of their individual and/or family situations. This is a response to the socio-economic structural forces impinging on the individual and/or family. Economic motives are the strongest among migration generating forces. Individuals and families are impelled to migrate when they are given or perceive the opportunity to improve their quality of life or to maintain an accustomed-to standard of living.

The relationship of labour to the production process in Latin America and the Caribbean has within it strong forces for uprooting the population. It has played a historical role in the redistribution of the population across the physical space. This relationship changes over time and with it come changes in the pattern, composition and volume of internal migration. The land tenure system, the use of land and the kinds of farm products have been instruments in the population redistribution. The method of developing natural resources and their conversion into products have had a part to play in the migratory flows. The developments of industries and services have influenced internal migration.

Governments' economic and social policies and programmes have had direct and indirect roles in the spatial distribution of the population. There is public concern with respect to the over-concentration of the population. There are expressed interests and action taken in the decentralization of governmental

functions, industries and services. An intended consequence of this is population deconcentration through internal migration. Knowledge of the socio-economic determinants of internal migration could be instrumental in anticipating the demographic response to decentralization programmes. This is an area in which it is possible to integrate population factors into socio-economic development planning in accordance with recommendations of the World Population Plan of Action.

8. Some methodological considerations: decentralization and determinants of internal migration

8.1 Introduction

Taking it as a given, that decentralization is likely to remain in place in countries where it now exists and will perhaps become a reality in others, it is important to consider the relationship between it and population redistribution. It is also taken as given that internal migration is a major vehicle of population redistribution. It follows that if decentralization will lead to population redistribution through internal migration, then knowing the determinants of internal migration will help in identifying those micro and macro variables which ought to be included in models aimed at estimating and projecting the populations of the sending and the receiving areas. These socio-economic determinants of internal migration in Latin America and the Caribbean have been presented in much detail in earlier sections. In this section a much more parsimonious list is given in recognition of the need for simple models utilizing available data or easily obtainable ones.

8.2 Conceptual Issues

There is no pretense here that the author knows much about decentralization as a 'political' process, its extent among Latin American and Caribbean countries, and its likely adoption regionwide. It is assumed that all of the following could qualify as decentralization.

(1) At one extreme, decentralization means a federal system. Among federal systems there is variety in the extent of decentralization. The Canadian model is one in which the provinces have their own elected parliament and a lieutenant governor. The provinces have powers of taxation (property, sales, income, licenses). They have legislative powers. The provinces have their own laws, courts, and police forces. They have jurisdiction over resources, roads, health, education and social services. Each province has its own first minister (Premier) and its cabinet. Some provinces have their own trade representatives in some foreign capitals. The municipalities within the provinces have their elected mayors and city councils, elected school boards, own civil service and police force. The city councils have jurisdiction in administering some of the social welfare services, the schools, fire fighting, police, public transport, hospitals, sanitation, water, sewage and electricity. The city councils can pass laws and bye-laws and raise taxes (property). At the national level there is the federal government and the federal court system, federal laws, (which takes precedence over all other laws), federal police, armed forces, external relations, trade, powers of taxation, native people affairs, citizenship, etc. The Mexican and Brazilian federal systems are less decentralized than the

Canadian one and come close to the American federal system. The Mexican and Brazilian states have much less policy making and taxation powers than the Canadian provinces.

(2) There are many countries in the region in which the states, departments or provinces are primarily administrative units, for a limited number of programmes. They have no powers of taxation or legislative power. This is decentralization of administration and is justified mainly on the grounds of efficiency in service delivery.

(3) Decentralization is sometimes taken to mean getting industries established in areas other than the main commercial, industrial and administrative ones. The goal here is in part decentralization of the population and/or slowing down the rate of growth of the population of large urban agglomerations.

(4) Decentralization is said to occur when the central government transfers ministerial offices or departments to areas outside the capital city. This is viewed as bringing the central government nearer to the people, boosting the local economy and deconcentrating the population of the capital city through transfer of public servants and their families.

(5) Decentralization of a form, can be seen in the transferral of the capital city from a main metropolitan area to a smaller city or a new city, as in the cases of Brazil, Nigeria, Pakistan, proposed for Argentina, and Belize (for reasons other than size of the former capital). Placing the legislative function of the government in one city and the administrative in another, is yet another form of decentralization (Chile, Holland, Union of South Africa).

(6) The division of large urban agglomerations into municipalities is also seen as decentralization. In this case a mega city is subdivided into municipalities which are responsible for certain clearly defined administrative and/or legislative functions (Santiago, Chile and Toronto, Canada).

(7) Regionalization is a kind of decentralization. The regions of Chile and those of the Province of Ontario, Canada are designed to carry-out administrative functions assigned to them by their respective central governments.

Some of the smaller countries such as Barbados, Trinidad-Tobago, Guyana, Haiti and Jamaica are highly centralized. The central government runs the country. There is very little decentralization.

Decentralization can be viewed as an exercise in democracy. It could be a process in which the central government is sharing powers with the sub-units of the country under the philosophy of giving power to the people. That is letting the people decide what they want, how they want it delivered, and how it will be paid for. On the other hand it may mean administrative ease for the central government. In this case the decisions are made centrally and the central government collects the taxes and raises funds to pay for the administration of the programmes, which are implemented at the local level by local units.

In summary, there is a wide variety of decentralization arrangements with widely differing powers and functions. Some of these are exercises in democracy while others are designed for administrative conveniences. Some are put in place to reduce disparities in opportunities and access to goods and services. Some of those that have been instituted for reasons other than reducing economic disparities may accentuate it. An accentuation of disparities among political units has the potential to promote internal migration. Reducing disparities in opportunities, goods and services among geopolitical units ought to reduce internal migration. It is not likely that an effective decentralization programme will have no effect on internal migration. It is not migration neutral.

Decentralization which has as its goal deconcentration of the population is a likely approach in many Latin American and Caribbean countries. These countries are either faced with or soon to experience massive concentrations of the population in one or more mega and/or primate cities or urban centres. Governments are concerned with this demographic phenomenon. It creates problems of urban management, supplying amenities and infrastructures, protecting the physical environment, avoiding urban pathologies, unbalanced growth in the economy, congestion and poverty, to name a few. Discouraging further population growth in these cities and or reducing the size of the population are seen as desired goals and decentralization as a vehicle to accomplish them.

Deconcentration of the population of an area, and in most cases this means an urban agglomeration, signifies getting people to move away and settle in less congested areas such as smaller cities, towns and rural districts. This can be accomplished through decentralization programmes which encourage migration out of, as well as diverted away from the mega city. This involves an integration of socio-economic factors and demographic variables in planning for development and change. Achieving population deconcentration is made easier through programmes of economic decentralization but the reverse is also possible.

Population deconcentration is a part of population redistribution. Population redistribution means changing the proportionate distribution of the population among geopolitical units. Population redistribution can occur when the proportion of the population living in urban centres increase and results in a decline in the percentage rural. Population redistribution occurs if the geopolitical units experience a change in their percentage of the national population. Population redistribution among geopolitical units of the country is an ongoing process resulting from differential rates of natural increase and/or differential rates of population growth. This latter involves internal migration.

In the case of Mexico one could conclude that deconcentration of the population of the Mexico City urban agglomeration would be a good thing. This could mean getting people to move out of the Federal District into the urban areas in the state of Mexico or getting people to move away from the urban agglomeration known as Mexico City. In both cases we have population redistribution. But population redistribution could be in terms of reducing the percentage urban in Venezuela. This could be achieved by urban to rural migration. It could be achieved over a longer time span if rural to urban migration could be reduced to zero and if a higher rate of natural increase in

the rural areas than in the urban ones is maintained. Brazil, it can be argued, needs population deconcentration (reducing the size of the population of the urban agglomerations of Rio de Janeiro and Sao Paulo) and redistribution (moving people inland away from the Atlantic seaboard). Lima, Buenos Aires and Bogotá could (and maybe are) undergo deconcentration. Decentralization policies are possible vehicles.

8.3 Decentralization, Deconcentration and Redistribution

Decentralization can be taken as a political economy process. It is put in place to achieve political and/or economic ends. As a process in democratization it may or may not involve economic changes. As an economic approach to development it may or may not have much political implications. Decentralization as an economic process has implications for population redistribution involving under certain approaches deconcentration of the population of high density areas. Decentralization could be adopted as a means to achieving population deconcentration and redistribution.

Population deconcentration and redistribution policies and programmes may be used as means to the achievement of political and or economic goals. Policies and programmes that are aimed at reducing the population of the Central City of Buenos Aires, and increasing that of the outskirts of the Greater Buenos Aires Metropolitan Area, if successful may involve families moving away from the central city and young and single individuals moving in to replace them, but in smaller numbers than those departing. This would then change the demographic composition, and this in turn would have implications for the economy and the political process of the core as well as the suburbs and satellite cities. Population redistribution between urban and rural areas has many social, political and economic consequences. The policies and programmes aimed at achieving population deconcentration and/or redistribution may indirectly achieve decentralization goals since with changes in the distribution of the population are likely to come changes in the political balance of power and in economic activities.

Decentralization at the level found in Canada has the potential for economic disparities among the geopolitical units since the geopolitical units (provinces) have different amounts and kinds of resources, and capacities for creating wealth. The extent of these economic disparities can be lessened in part, through transfer payments from the central government to the subunits. With freedom of population movement among the sub-units, the geographic distribution of the population and with it the political balance of power are continuously changing. Decentralization is an indirect instrument of population redistribution in this case. Censuses in Canada are taken every five years, in part due to the necessity for good and up-to-date demographic data for purposes of transfer payments from the Federal Government to the Provincial ones and from the Provincial Government in each province to the municipal governments as well as the distribution of seats in parliaments. During the intercensal years, estimates of the population of these geopolitical sub-units are undertaken by the Federal Government and some of the provincial governments also. The need for reliable estimates and projections of the population is recognized by all levels of governments. With censuses every ten years, Latin American countries with a federal system or any system with transfer payments based on population

size, and distribution of parliamentary seats on the basis of population size need good population estimates. For planning purposes, all governments need good population projections.

Decentralization at the administrative level in which the geopolitical sub-units merely administer the programmes that are set and financed by the central government is not likely to have a major impact on population redistribution. This type of decentralization could reduce disparities in the standard of living among the geographic units and therefore remove the primary motivation for internal migration. On the other hand if the central government favours one sub-unit over another and/or the political 'string pulling' results in unequal distribution of power, then resources will flow in unequal quantities to the sub-units. This may result in disparities in economic opportunities and rewards. These disparities will motivate population redistribution through internal migration.

Municipalization is a form of decentralization. The devolution of power for decision making and administration from the city to a set of municipalities has the potential to develop inter-municipalities rivalry. One municipality may put in place incentives for attracting business and institutions. Another may restrict the supply of housing to discourage expansion. Still another may create a safer, cleaner environment. This type of intermunicipality rivalry may be good and healthy but there may emerge differences among them in the quality of life. Differences among municipalities along dimensions which motivate internal migration will result in population redistribution. This type of redistribution could include deconcentration of the population away from the core towards the periphery but also the reverse. Since the central government or some central body may be required to provide funds to these local units on the basis of population size, good census figures, estimates and projections are required. The input from internal migration is a major challenge to demographers and statisticians who make population estimates and projections. But an assessment of the internal migration motivating forces within the municipalities could be useful in improving the validity of these figures.

In summary, decentralization, population redistribution and deconcentration are interrelated in intricate ways within which internal migration plays a crucial role. The nature of these interrelationships is a function of the specific mix of factors. The socio-economic determinants of internal migration can be taken into consideration in order to create estimates and projections of the population specific to the conditions surrounding the process of decentralization.

8.4 Appropriate inputs from the set of socio-economic determinants of internal migration

Population data are necessary in the process of socio-economic planning and in the delivery of services. These data are obtainable from a variety of sources, for example, the census, population registers (non-existent in Latin America and the Caribbean), sample surveys, vital registration systems, estimates and projections. The last two of these, viz population estimates and projections, are the focus of this subsection. Decentralization may require that there is always a reliable estimate of the population. These form the

basis for the distribution of resources and representation on national legislative bodies. Estimates are generally provided for each intercensal year. Population projections are forecasts of the population based on estimates or actual measurements of the current demographic situation and under different sets of assumptions projected into the near future. The United Nations system generally develops a high, a medium and a low variant based on three sets of assumptions relating to net migration, fertility and mortality.

Estimating annually the population of each geopolitical sub-unit requires in the first case an estimate of the total population. The total population of a country in the year (t) is equal to the population in the year (t-1) plus the births in year (t), minus the deaths in year (t) plus or minus the net international migration. The population of year (t-1) may itself be an estimate or a census derived figure. The births and deaths of year (t) may be estimates or actual figures derived from a vital registration system. At the level of the country the net international migration (discounting undocumented departures and arrivals) is obtained from migration statistics. Recognition should be given to the quality of the data obtained from these different sources. Undocumented migration should be estimated. All the above figures are generally of dubious validity.

Having made an estimate of the total population one could assume that there has been no change in the proportionate distribution in the current time span (in most cases one year) and distribute the total population among the sub-units in proportion to the previous time span distribution of the national population. This of course ignores differential rates of natural increase among the sub-units. Ignored also is the differential effects of both international and internal migrations on the population size of the geopolitical sub-units. This approach may yield invalid estimates but some estimates are better than none, and for planning and management purposes they may be sufficiently accurate.

Good population estimates of the geopolitical sub-units are more likely if they are made for each of these sub-units separately and then summed and compared with the estimate of the total population. An estimate for each sub-unit will include data inputs on net internal migration. Knowledge of the socio-economic determinants of internal migration could be instrumental in providing the net internal migration input into the estimates. The actual process of doing this is very complex and is not dealt with here. The goal is to identify a parsimonious list of socio-economic indicators which may be informative in providing an internal migration input.

Geopolitical unit A will experience net positive internal migration if it has the lowest unemployment level, the lowest proportion of its population in the informal sector, the highest average wage level and in relative terms the lowest consumer price index. Any one or any combination may give rise to positive migration. The size of this net migration figure can be estimated by looking at the increase in the housing stock and changes in the household per unit density. Both of these are obtainable from official figures and or surveys. Other indicators of net internal migration are changes in school enrollment (how many new records are transferred in and out among the school age population), changes of address in relationship to anything which requires an

up-to-date address. Planning restrictions on new houses and also restrictions on density of occupancy can be used to restrict immigration.

Geopolitical Unit B will be an area of negative net migration (net migration loss) if it is opposite of Unit A on the features given. On the other hand if it is in an indeterminate position, that is, opposite on some and not on others, its net migration position will likely be indeterminate also.

Units at the two extremes as in A and B are likely to have predictable outcomes and the difficulty becomes one of estimating or measuring the net gain or loss. Those that are in intermediate positions will experience net gains or losses in accordance with the mix of circumstances and the alternative destinations that exist for the migrants when the decision to move is being made.

One approach that could be useful in making estimates as well as projections is that of developing community profiles utilizing the socio-economic determinants of internal migration with specific reference to the community. High rates of natural increase are associated with net migration loss and low levels with net migration gain. But there are exceptions. Core areas tend to be low on natural increase but high on net migration loss at some points in their demographic transition. Communities with a high proportion of old people may be low on natural increase and low on net migration gain or loss. Communities with the characteristics of A and B should be predictable on net migration positions. Communities with young age profiles, high educational levels and a limited supply of jobs in the formal sector are prime candidates for out-migration. Places with good educational institutions, a good supply of decent and affordable housing and a reasonable cost of living index will be centres of net migration gains.

Profiling all the geopolitical units in the above ways, or ways more appropriate, taking into consideration the context, will identify the possible net gainers, net losers and the migration neutrals. Estimating or projecting the net migration gain or loss based on this classification is quite difficult. Here one has to resort to censuses, sample surveys and records of different kinds and sources. Any kind of record of address changes which give the new and the old can be useful in this task.

At the level of the individual, it is possible to compose profiles of those with high, medium and low propensities to migrate internally. These individual profiles when aggregated and viewed in the context of a measure of central tendency may be taken as a community profile. A female between 18-22, single, with secondary education and a relatively low paying job is a prime candidate for migrating if it is difficult to obtain a better paying job in the present community. Young (18-24) single males with secondary or technical education who are unemployed or lowly paid have high propensities to migrate. Couples with one or two children of secondary education age, and where the couple has a high propensity to migrate profile in the case of the wage earner(s), will likely migrate in order to provide the children with a good education, if it is not available in the present location.

Profiling communities in terms of infrastructure, occupational composition, and environmental quality etc., ought to provide indications of their likelihood of being net gainers or losers of internal migrants. Communities with a reliable electricity supply, an adequate clean supply of water, telephones in ample supply, good local transportation, good mass media structure, clean air and clean streets ought to be net gainers of internal migrants.

Population projections like population estimates include inputs based on assumptions with respect to net internal migrants. These inputs are the same as discussed above with respect to making estimates but instead of in the short term, they are made for future years, extending up to 25 or more. Projections are important inputs into plans extending into the future. One approach could be to extend the estimates of net internal migration into the future, a second is to assume a decline in the net migration rate, and a third is an assumption of an increase in it.

On the other hand if one knows the socio-economic development plans of a community, these could be useful inputs in projecting the future course of internal migration. Future developments in decentralization may be anticipated and internal migration consequences deduced. As an example, knowing that a city such as Santiago, Chile has 33 municipalities, and knowing the capacity of each for expansion, likely directions in urban land use, likely policies on encouraging commercial and industrial establishments, etc., it may be possible to make realistic assumptions concerning internal migration with respect to each municipality and project the resultant net migration rate into the future.

The approach that is adopted in taking net internal migration into consideration when making estimates and projections of the population ought to be time and space specific. The available macro and micro data may play decisive roles in determining the internal migration inputs. The quality of the estimates and projections depends upon the validity of the base figures, the quality of the data inputs, the validity of the assumptions made and the reliability of the technique used. In spite of the caution that must be exercised in using estimates and projections for planning purposes, their applications are crucial to the success of the venture.

8.5 Conclusions

Decentralization as a political-economy process requires valid estimates and projections of the current and future populations of the geopolitical sub-units. These estimates and projections are necessary for planning and management purposes. A necessary input into these estimates and projections is information on net internal migration. The reverse is also of interest. Net internal migration figures may be affected under various decentralization approaches and outcomes. In which case decentralization systems or scenarios are considered for their likely impacts on the stock and flow of internal migrants and hence population redistribution.

Micro and macro profiles of individuals and communities in terms of migration propensities are possible. These may then be used as the basis for providing the internal migration inputs into estimates and projections of the

population of the geopolitical sub-unit of interest. These micro and macro profiles ought to be specific in time and space. The characteristics employed in designing them ought to be derived from the relevant set of socio-economic determinants of internal migration. Factors that comprise the set of economic motives for internal migration are the best for designing community profiles. In which case each factor is measured by an appropriate index of central tendency. Individual characteristics which maximize the chances of successful economic integration at the destination are the most informative in designing micro profiles.

Improvements in the efficacy of the internal migration inputs into population estimates and projections for geopolitical sub-units are difficult to obtain but are urgently need, if indeed decentralization as a politico-economic vehicle is here to stay and likely to expand. Decentralization is intimately interwoven with population redistribution.

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY AND REFERENCES

- ALBERTS, JOOP
(1975) **Migración en áreas metropolitanas de América Latina: un estudio comparativo**, Segunda parte. Santiago, CELADE, marzo, p. 112.
-
- (1977) **Migración hacia áreas metropolitanas de América Latina: un estudio comparativo**: Santiago, CELADE, p. 278.
- ALEGRE, HERIBERTO
(1977) "Colonización en el Paraguay: El Eje Este". *Revista Paraguaya de Sociología*, Vol. 14, N° 38, enero-abril, pp. 135-155.
- ANDRADE, GILBERTO OSORIO DE
(1979) **Migraciones internas e o Recife**, Recife: Instituto Joaquim Nabuco de Pesquisas Sociais, p. 100.
- ARAMBURU, CARLOS
(1984) **Migraciones como estrategia del campesinado altiplánico**. Quito, Centro de Investigaciones Ciudad, p. 28. Seminario sobre Migraciones Temporarias en América Latina, Quito, noviembre.
- ARANDA BAEZA, XIMENA
(1982) "Migraciones en el Valle de Putaendo", pp. 135-158, en Aranda Baeza Ximena, FLACSO, **Participación de la mujer en la agricultura y la sociedad rural en áreas de pequeña propiedad**, Santiago, FLACSO, p. 261.
- ARAUJO, JOSE EMILIO G; FRANCO ALBERTO
(1982) "Algunas políticas agrarias que pueden retardar el crecimiento poblacional urbano", pp. 63-69, abril; en Naciones Unidas CEPAL/CELADE (Costa Rica) **Migraciones Artículos seleccionados**. San José: CELADE, abril.
- ARGUELLO, OMAR
(1980) "Migración y pobreza en el área metropolitana", pp. 123-144, en Arguello, Omar, **Pobreza y desarrollo: Características socio-demográficas de las familias pobres en Venezuela**, Santiago, CELADE, junio, p. 161.
-
- (1981) "Migraciones: Universo teórico y objetos de investigación", *Notas de Población*, Año IX, N° 25, abril, pp. 25-68.
- BALAN, JORGE (Ed.)
(1981) **Why People Move: Comparative Perspectives on the Dynamics of Internal Migration**, Paris, UNESCO, p. 342.
- BILSBORROW, RICHARD E.; FULLER, RICHARD
(1988) "La selectividad de los emigrantes rurales en la sierra ecuatoriana", **Estudios demográficos y urbanos**, Vol. 3, N° 2, mayo-agosto, pp. 205-290.

- BILSBORROW, RICHARD E, et. al.
 (1987) "The Impact of Origin Community Characteristics on Rural-urban Outmigration in a Developing Country", **Demography**, Vol. 24, N° 2, pp. 191-210.
- BUSTAMANTE, FERNANDO
 (1978) "La migración femenina en Chile: Algunas hipótesis sobre sus causas y características", en Covarrubias C., Paz; Franco, Rolando, **Chile: Mujer y sociedad**, Santiago, Chile, UNICEF, pp. 205-227.
- BUTTERWORTH, DOUGLAS; CHANCE, JOHN, K.
 (1981) **Latin American Urbanization**, London, Cambridge University Press, XI, p. 243.
- CARVAJAL, MANUEL J.; GEITHMAN, D.T.
 1974) "An Economic Analysis of Migration in Costa Rica", **Economic Development and Cultural Change**, vol. 23, N° 1, pp. 105-122.
- CASANOVAS SAINZ, ROBERTO; ROJAS ROSALES, ANTONIO
 (1988) **Santa Cruz de la Sierra: Crecimiento urbano y situación ocupacional**, CEDLA/CIDCRUZ, La Paz, Bolivia, p. 84.
- CASTIGLIONI, AURELIA H.
 (1989) **Migration, urbanisation et developpement: Le cas de L'Espirito Santo - Brasil**, Institut de Demographie, Université Catholique de Louvain, Bruxells, Belgium, p. 226.
- CASTILLO TRISTAN, DIMAS
 (1982) **Migración y movilidad socio-ocupacional en la región metropolitana de Panamá**, Santiago, CELADE, p. 68.
- CELADE Boletín Demográfico, Número especial 1, 1976 (abril). Características y tendencias de la distribución espacial de la población de América Latina, Santiago de Chile, ILPES, Documento CPRD-B/33, 1986, Boletín Demográfico, Año 17, N° 34, 1984, julio, Notas de Población, Año 9, N° 25, 1981.
- CENTRO PARAGUAYO DE ESTUDIOS SOCIOLOGICOS
 (1975) **Las migraciones internas**, Santiago, CEPAL, p. 157.
- CONROY, MICHAEL F.
 (1977) "Las migraciones a las áreas rurales en Colombia: Un análisis exploratorio de flujos contrarios", en CLACSO, **Migración y desarrollo: Estructura agraria, desarrollo regional, migraciones entre áreas rurales y entre países limítrofes**, México, pp. 189-230.
- CORONA VASQUEZ, RODOLFO
 (1988) "Movilidad geográfica: búsqueda de bienestar", **DEMOS, Carta demografía de México**, pp. 7.

CSUCA. PROGRAMA CENTROAMERICANO DE
CIENCIAS SOCIALES

- (1976) "La migración estacional", pp. 1-22, en CSUCA, Población, desarrollo rural y migración interna en Centro América, San José, Costa Rica.

DIAZ ALDANA, ERWIN ROLANDO

- (1985) Guatemala: Migración interna, 1976-1981, por sexo y grupo étnico, Santiago, Chile, CELADE, p. 25.

ECONOMIC COMMISSION FOR LATIN AMERICA AND
THE CARIBBEAN (ECLAC)

- (1983) "Development, Life-styles, Population and Environment in Latin America", in U.N. International Conference on Population, 1984 (ICP 1984), Population, Resources, Environment and Development, New York, 1984, pp. 403-432.

ELIZAGA, JUAN C.; MACISCO, JOHN J.

- (1975) Migraciones internas. Teoría, método y factores sociológicos, Santiago, CELADE, p. 615.

ELIZAGA, JUAN C.,

- (1975) "Estudio de la migración al Gran Santiago (Chile), en Elizaga, Juan C. y Macisco, John, Migraciones internas. Teoría, método y factores sociológicos, Santiago, CELADE, p. 615.

ELTON, CHARLOTTE

- (1978) Migración femenina en América Latina: Factores determinantes, Santiago, CELADE, p. 84.

FALARIO, EVANGELOS M.

- (1979) "Determinants of Internal Migration in Peru: An Economic Analysis", Economic Development and Cultural Change, Vol. 27, N° 2, pp. 327-341.

GAUDE, J.

- (1976) "Causes and Repercussions of Rural-urban Migration in Developing Countries: A Critical Analysis", World Employment Programme Research Working Paper, WEP/10-6/WP10, Geneva, International Labour Office, 1976.

GAUDE, J. with PEEK, P.

- (1976) "The Economic Effects of Rural-urban Migration", International Labour Review, Vol. 11, N° 3, pp. 329-338.

GIRALDO SAMPER, DIEGO

- (1978) Desarrollo de la agricultura comercial y población: estudio de la zona algodonera del César, Bogotá, Asociación Colombiana de Facultades de Medicina, abril, p. 146.

HORNBY, WILLIAM F., JONES, MELVYN

- (1980) Introduction to Population Geography, London, Cambridge University Press, p. 168.

JARDIM, ANTONIO DE PONTE

- (1982) "Elementos para a comprensao das migracoes na regio metropolitana de Recife", *Boletín Demográfico*, Vol. 13, N° 4, pp. 75-111.

-
- (1990) *De trabalho das capitais do centro-oeste 1980*. IBGE/DPE, Rio de Janeiro, p. 98.

JELIN, ELIZABETH

- (1979) "Domestic Servants in the Latin American Cities", *Development Digest*, Vol. XVII, N° 1, January, pp. 67-74.

LAITE, JULIAN

- (1983) "Circulatory Migration and Social Differentiation in the Andes", Geneva, OIT, p. 46.

LATTES, ALFREDO E.

- (1984) "Territorial Mobility and Redistribution of the Populations: Recent Developments", en U.N. *Population Distribution, Migration and Development*, New York, pp. 74-106.

LEE, EVERETT S.

- (1966) "A Theory of Migration", *Demography*, Vol. 3, N° 1, pp. 47-57.

LEWIS, G.J.

- (1982) *Human Migration: A Geographic Perspective*, Croom Helm, Great Britain, p. 220.

MACISCO, JOHN J.

- (1975) *Migrants to Metropolitan Lima: A Case Study*, Santiago, CELADE, agosto, p. 135.

MARTINE, GEORGE R.

- (1975) "Migrant Fertility Adjustment and Urban Growth in Latin America", *International Migration Review*, Vol. 9, N° 2, summer, pp. 179-191.

-
- (1980) "Migraciones internas en Brasil: Reflexiones sobre correspondencia entre problema, investigación y política", pp. 539-568, en Villa, Miguel; Alberts, Joop *Redistribución espacial de la población en América Latina*, Santiago, CELADE, p. 586.

MATOS DE MAR, JOSE; MEJIA, JOSE MANUEL

- (1978) *Unequal Development, Agrarian Reform and Migration in Peru*. S.L.: S.E., p. 40. *Symposium sobre Migraciones Internas y Desarrollo*, Cuernavaca, 18-21 septiembre.

-
- (1981) "Temporary Work, Seasonal Migration and Land Reform in Peru", pp. 269-294; en Balán, Jorge (ed). *Why People Move: Comparative Perspectives on the Dynamics of Internal Migration*, Paris, UNESCO, p. 342.

- MAURO, AMALIA; UNDA, MARIO
(1984) **Migraciones temporarias de los obreros de la construcción en Quito**, Quito, Centro de Investigaciones Ciudad, p. 20.
- MCDEVITT, THOMAS; BILSBORROW, RICHARD E.
et.al.
(1986) **Combined Multi-level Modelling and Polytomous Logit Estimation of Rural-urban Migration in a Developing Country**, Chapel Hill, NC, Carolina Population Centre, p. 47.
- MERRICK, THOMAS, W.; GRAHAM, DOUGLAS H.
(1979) **Population and Economic Development in Brazil:1800 to the Present**, Baltimore, MD: John Hopkins University Press, p. 385.
- MIRO, CARMEN A.; RODRIGUEZ, DANIEL
(1980) "Los estudios de Centroamérica", pp. 111-132, en Miró, Carmen A., Rodríguez, Daniel, **Capitalismo, relaciones sociales de producción y población en el agro latinoamericano**, México, Colegio de México, PISPAL, mayo, p. 168.
- OBERAİ, A.S.
(1989) "Determinantes y selectividad de la migración", pp. 25-35, en Oberai, A.S., OIT, **Migración, urbanización y desarrollo**, Ginebra, OIT, p. 75.
- ORDOÑEZ GOMEZ, MYRIAM
(1977) "Migración y desempleo en las ciudades colombianas", **Empleo y desempleo**, Vol. 2, N° 3, mayo, pp. 72-88.
- PEEK, PETER; ANTOLINEZ, P.
(1980) **Labour Migration in the Sierra of Ecuador: Causes and Incidence**, Geneva, OIT, august, p. 42.
- PEEK, PETER
(1980) "Pobreza urbana, migración y reforma agraria en el Ecuador", **Notas de Población** N° 23, agosto, pp. 47-84.
- PEEK, PETER; STANDING GUY (Eds.)
(1982) **State Policies and Migration: Studies in Latin America and the Caribbean**, London, Croom Helm, p. 403.
- PACHANO, S.
(1981) "Campesino y migración: Algunas notas sobre el caso ecuatoriano", Capítulo 8, en **Economía campesina y empleo**, PREALC, Santiago de Chile.
- PESSINO, CAROLA
(1988) "Sequential Migration: Theory and Evidence from Peru", Chicago, Illinois, University of Chicago, p. 50.

PRATES, SUZANA

- (1980) "Organización de la producción rural y emigración", en CLACSO, **Migración y desarrollo**, México, Consejo Latinoamericano de Ciencias Sociales, p. 562.

RACZYNSKI, DAGMAR

- (1981) "Naturaleza rural-urbana y patrones geográficos de la migración interna", Colección Estudios CIEPLAN, N° 5, julio, pp. 85-115.

-
- (1982) "Origen, destino y composición socio-demográfica de la migración interna", Santiago, CIEPLAN, p. 15.

ROSSATO, RICARDO

- (1979) "Migracoes internas no Rio Grande do Sul", pp. 125-187, en Associacao Brasileira en Estudos Populacionais. **Anais Primeiro Encontro Nacional de Estudos Populacionais**, Sao Paulo, p. 654.

SAENZ, ALVARO; MAURO, AMALIA

- (1980) **Migración laboral en el área de influencia de Quito**. Centro de Planificación y Estudios Sociales, Quito, Ecuador, p. 107.

SCHMINK, MARIANNE; WOOD, CHARLES HOWARD (Eds.)

- (1984) **Frontier Expansion in Amazonia**. Gainesville, Florida: University of Florida Press, p. 502.

SCHOEMAKER, JUAN FRANCISCO

- (1977) Algunas características demográficas y socio-económicas de los migrantes internos del Paraguay, 1972, Asunción, Paraguay, Dirección General de Estadística y Censos, p. 36.

SCHROTEN, HERMAN

- (1987) "Migración interna en Guatemala durante el período 1976-1981", **Notas de Población**, Año 15, N° 43, pp. 47-97.

SHAW, R. PAUL

- (1974) "Land Tenure and the Rural Exodus in Latin America", **Economic Development and Culture Change**, Vol. 23, N° 1, October, pp. 123-132.

-
- (1976) "Land Tenure and the Rural Exodus in Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica and Peru", Gainesville, Florida, University Press of Florida, p. 180.

SIMMONS, ALAN et. al.

- (1977) **Social Change and Internal Migration: A Review of Research Findings from Africa, Asia and Latin America**, International Development Research Centre, Ottawa, Canada, p. 128.

SIMMONS, ALAN B.

- (1984) "Migration and Rural Development: Conceptual Approaches, Research Findings and Policy Issues", en United Nations, **Population Distribution, Migration and Development**, International Conference on Population, pp. 156-192.

TODARO, M.P.

- (1976) **Internal Migration in Developing Countries**, Geneva, International Labour Office.

-
- (1978) **Internal Migration, Urban Population Growth, and Unemployment in Developing Nations: Issues and Controversies**, New York, N.Y., Population Council, December, p. 25.

TORREALBA, RICARDO

- (1983) Migración rural-urbana y los cambios en la estructura del empleo: el caso venezolano, pp. 109-140; en Suárez, María Matilde; Torrealba, Ricardo y Vesuri, Hebe (eds.) **Cambio social y urbanización en Venezuela: Estudios recientes**, Caracas, Monte Avila Editores, p. 320.

UNITED NATIONS

- (1980) **Patterns of Urban and Rural Population Growth**, New York, pp. 30-33.

-
- (1984a) **Report of the International Conference on Population**, Mexico City, 6-14 August, New York.

-
- (1984b) **Population Distribution Migration and Development**, Proceedings of the Expert Group on Population Distribution, Migration and Development (Hammamet, Tunisia, 21-25 March 1983), New York, N.Y.

-
- (1991) **Population Growth and Policies in Mega-Cities: Mexico City**, Population Policy Paper N° 32, New York, p. 34.

URZUA, RAUL

- (1978) **Social Science Research on Population and Development in Latin America**, Mexico, International Review Group of Social Science Research on Population and Development, December, Vol. 13, p. 152.

-
- (1980) "Distribución espacial de la población en la América Latina: Determinantes y consecuencias", **Notas de Población**, Año VIII, N° 2, abril, pp. 9-48.

URZUA, RAUL; ATRIA, RAUL;

BRAVO, ROSA; DI FILIPPO, ARMANDO

- (1982) **Desarrollo regional, migraciones y concentración urbana en América Latina: Una investigación comparativa**, Santiago, CELADE, p. 266.

VEIGA, DARILO

- (1980) **Socio-economic Structure and Population Displacements: The Uruguayan Case**, Montevideo, Centro de Informaciones y Estudios del Uruguay, March, p. 50.

VILLA, MIGUEL; ALBERTS, JOOP

- (1978) **Redistribución espacial de la población en América Latina**, Santiago, CELADE, p. 586.

VILLA, MIGUEL

- (1981) **Distribución y redistribución espacial de la población de Panamá**, Ciudad de Panamá, Ministerio de Planificación y Política Económica, enero, p. 115.

WHITEFORD, MICHAEL B.

- (1978a) "Women, Migration and Social Change: A Colombia Case Study", *International Migration Review*, Vol. XII, N° 2, Summer, p. 236-247.

-
- (1978b) **The Forgotten Ones: Colombian Countrymen in an Urban Setting**, Gainesville, Florida, University of Florida, Centre for Latin American Studies, p. 143.

YAP, LARENE Y.L.

- (1977) "The Attraction of Cities", *Journal of Development Economics*, Vol. IV, pp. 239-264.

YOUNG, GRACE ESTHER

- (1986) "Incorporating an Analysis of Gender to the Study of Migration: The Case of Peruvian Migration Patterns", *Migration News*, N° 2, April-June, pp. 26-31.

ZELINSKY, WILBUR

- (1981) "The Hypothesis of the Mobility Transition", *Geographical Review* 61 (1971), pp. 219-249.

-
- (1983) "The Impasse in Migration Theory: A Sketch Map for Potential Escapes", in P. Morrison (ed.), **Population Movements: Their Forms and Functions in Urbanization and Development**, Liege, Ordina Editions.

ZUÑIGA IDE, JORGE

- (1976) **Síntesis de una investigación socio-demográfica del éxodo rural en la Provincia de Coquimbo** (Chile, *Notas de Población* N° 10, abril, pp. 111-138.

Table 1
PERCENT URBAN: LATIN AMERICA AND THE CARIBBEAN

Country	PRB 1990	UN 1990	UN 1985
80 + % PRB 1990	%	%	%
Guadeloupe	90	49	46
Uruguay	87	86	85
Argentina	85	86	85
Chile	84	86	84
Venezuela	83	91	88
Martinique	82	75	71
66-79% PRB 1990			
Bahamas	75	59	58
Brazil	74	77	73
Cuba	72	75	72
Peru	69	70	67
Colombia	68	70	67
Puerto Rico	67	74	71
Mexico	66	73	70
Surinam	66	48	46
50-65% PRB 1990			
Trinidad and Tobago	64	69	64
Antigua and Barbuda	58	32	31
Nicaragua	57	60	57
Ecuador	54	57	52
Netherland Antilles	53	55	53
Dominican Republic	52	60	56
Panama	52	55	52
Belize	50	52	50
33-49% PRB 1990			
Jamaica	49	52	49
Bolivia	49	51	48
Saint Lucia	46	46	44
Saint Kitts-Nevis	45	49	45
Costa Rica	45	54	50
Paraguay	43	48	44
El Salvador	43	44	43
Honduras	42	44	40
Guatemala	40	42	40
Guyana	33	35	32
< 32% PRB 1990			
Barbados	32	45	42
Haiti	26	30	27
St.Vincent and the Grenadines	21	21	18

Sources: 1) PRB 1990: 1990 World Population Data Sheet of the Population Reference Bureau, Inc. Washington D.C. 20005.
2) U.N. 1990, 1985: United Nations: Prospects of World Urbanization 1988. New York, 1989.

Notes: 1) The PRB figures for Guadeloupe, Martinique, The Bahamas, Surinam, Antigua-Barbuda, are high relative to those of the UN. In the author's view those of the UN are more believable.
2) Barbados PRB figure is low relative to that of the UN. The author believes that the UN figure is more realistic.

Table 2

YEAR IN WHICH THE RURAL POPULATION BEGAN
DECLINING OR IS PROJECTED TO BEGIN

Before and up to 1975

Argentina 1955, Chile 1955
Martinique 1965, Trinidad-Tobago 1965
Uruguay 1970
Venezuela 1975, Brazil 1975

1976 - 2000

Cuba, Barbados, Guadeloupe, 1980
Dominican Republic, 1990
Bahamas, Jamaica, Surinam, 2000
Mexico, Colombia, 2000

2001 - 2025

Costa Rica, Panama, Guyana, 2005
Peru, 2010
Ecuador, 2025

2026 and later

All other countries

Source: United Nations (1989). *Prospects of World Urbanization, 1988.*
Population Studies # 112. New York, 1989.

Table 3

**SOME LATIN AMERICAN URBAN AGGLOMERATIONS:
SIZE AND RATE OF GROWTH 1970-2000**

Agglomeration	Population (in millions)			Average annual rate of growth (%)	
	1970	1985	2000	1970- 1985	1985- 2000
Mexico City (Mexico)	8.74	16.65	24.44	4.30	2.56
Sao Paulo (Brazil)	8.06	15.54	23.60	4.38	2.79
Buenos Aires (Argentina)	8.31	10.76	13.05	1.72	1.29
Rio de Janeiro (Brazil)	7.04	10.14	13.00	2.43	1.66
Lima/Callao (Peru)	2.84	5.44	8.78	4.33	3.19
Bogota (Colombia)	2.37	4.74	6.94	4.62	2.54
Santiago (Chile)	2.84	4.23	5.58	2.66	1.85
Caracas (Venezuela)	2.05	3.51	4.79	3.59	2.07
Belo Horizonte (Brazil)	1.59	3.17	5.01	4.60	3.05
Porto Alegre (Brazil)	1.52	2.68	3.94	3.78	2.57
Recife (Brazil)	1.78	2.68	3.57	2.73	1.91
Guadalajara (Mexico)	1.51	2.66	3.89	3.77	2.53
Monterrey (Mexico)	1.23	2.43	3.75	4.54	2.89
Salvador (Brazil)	1.14	2.18	3.39	4.32	2.94
Brasilia (Brazil)	0.53	1.77	3.66	7.90	5.03
San Jose (Costa Rica)	0.44	0.84	1.47	4.36	3.70
Havana (Cuba)	1.74	2.00	2.30	0.89	0.96
Santo Domingo (Dom. Republic)	0.84	1.81	3.02	5.12	3.43
La Paz (Bolivia)	0.52	1.04	2.03	4.70	4.42
Sucre (Bolivia)	0.05	0.10	0.21	4.32	4.60
Quito (Ecuador)	0.50	0.99	1.86	4.45	4.18
San Salvador (El Salvador)	0.33	0.51	0.82	3.00	3.12
Guatemala City (Guatemala)	0.67	1.67	2.56	4.61	4.31
Port-au-Prince (Haiti)	0.46	0.44	0.55	-0.30	1.55
Tegucigalpa (Honduras)	0.27	0.52	0.75	3.28	3.65
Kingston (Jamaica)	0.53	0.60	0.75	0.91	1.49
Managua (Nicaragua)	0.38	0.80	1.53	5.03	4.28
Panama City (Panama)	0.35	0.42	0.57	1.22	2.08
Asuncion (Paraguay)	0.44	1.01	1.91	5.50	4.29
San Juan (Puerto Rico)	0.70	1.30	1.87	4.13	2.40
Montevideo (Uruguay)	1.17	1.19	1.25	0.10	0.33

Source: United Nations (1989). *Prospects of World Urbanization, 1988*, United Nations, New York, N.Y. 10017. Tables 6 and A-10.

Table 4

LATIN AMERICAN URBAN AGGLOMERATIONS WITH 1990
ESTIMATED POPULATION OF ONE MILLION OR MORE

Agglomerations	Country	Population (millions)		Rank		Annual Growth Rate % population		Population in 1990 as % of	
		1990	2000	1990	2000	1985- 1990	1995 2000	Total	Urb- an
Barranquilla	Colombia	1.0	1.3	270	253	2.2	2.2	3.1	4.4
Belem	Brazil	1.0	1.2	267	257	2.0	1.8	0.7	0.9
Belo Horizonte	Brazil	3.6	4.7	50	48	3.5	2.4	2.4	3.2
Bogota	Colombia	4.9	6.4	36	32	3.2	2.6	14.7	21.0
Brasilia	Brazil	2.4	3.7	90	71	6.3	3.9	1.6	2.1
Buenos Aires	Argentina	11.5	12.9	8	12	1.4	1.0	35.6	41.3
Cali	Colombia	1.6	2.0	162	157	2.7	2.4	4.7	6.7
Campinas	Brazil	1.7	2.4	143	123	5.2	3.4	1.1	1.5
Caracas	Venezuela	4.1	5.2	40	43	3.0	2.2	20.8	22.9
Cordoba	Argentina	1.1	1.3	236	248	1.5	1.3	3.5	4.1
Curitiba	Brazil	2.0	2.7	115	111	3.9	2.7	1.4	1.8
Fortaleza	Brazil	2.1	2.7	108	116	3.0	2.2	1.4	1.9
Goiania	Brazil	1.7	2.5	139	122	5.2	3.3	1.1	1.5
Guadalajara	Mexico	3.2	4.1	63	61	3.1	2.3	3.6	4.9
Guayaquil	Ecuador	1.7	2.4	141	128	4.2	3.4	15.8	28.2
Havana	Cuba	2.1	2.3	106	134	1.0	0.9	19.8	26.4
La Paz	Bolivia	1.2	1.9	204	175	4.4	4.1	16.9	32.9
Lima	Peru	6.2	8.2	29	28	3.1	2.5	29.0	41.3
Managua	Nicaragua	1.0	1.5	274	214	4.6	3.9	26.1	43.7
Manaus	Brazil	1.2	1.9	211	169	6.3	3.9	0.8	1.1
Maracaibo	Venezuela	1.1	1.5	232	229	2.8	2.2	5.8	6.4
Medellin	Colombia	1.6	1.9	157	164	1.8	1.9	4.8	6.9
Mexico City	Mexico	20.2	25.6	1	1	3.1	2.1	22.8	31.4
Monterrey	Mexico	3.0	3.9	71	65	3.6	2.5	3.4	4.6
Montevideo	Uruguay	1.2	1.2	215	259	0.2	0.3	38.7	45.3
Naucalpan	Mexico	1.2	1.7	216	197	4.6	2.9	1.3	1.9
Port-au-Prince	Haiti	1.0	1.5	264	217	3.9	3.9	15.8	56.1
Porto Alegre	Brazil	3.1	4.0	65	64	3.1	2.2	2.1	2.8
Pueblo de Zarago	Mexico	1.3	1.8	199	189	4.5	2.9	1.4	2.0
Quito	Ecuador	1.2	1.8	202	186	4.2	3.4	11.7	20.9
Recife	Brazil	2.5	2.9	85	103	1.4	1.4	1.7	2.2
Rio de Janeiro	Brazil	10.7	12.5	12	16	1.8	1.5	7.1	9.5
Rosario	Argentina	1.1	1.2	250	261	1.3	1.2	3.4	3.9
Salvador	Brazil	2.4	3.1	88	93	3.2	2.3	1.6	2.1
San Jose	Costa Rica	1.0	1.4	272	230	3.8	3.2	33.7	71.6
San Juan	Puerto Rico	1.4	1.7	183	198	2.4	1.6	39.9	54.0
Santiago	Chile	4.7	5.6	38	37	2.1	1.6	35.9	41.8
Santo Domingo	Dom. Republic	2.2	3.0	99	99	4.0	2.9	30.7	50.9
Santos	Brazil	1.2	1.5	212	222	2.6	2.1	0.8	1.1
Sao Paulo	Brazil	17.4	22.1	3	2	3.2	2.1	11.6	15.4

Source: United Nations, Urban Agglomeration Chart, 1990, Population Division, United Nations, New York, N.Y. 10017, U. S. A.