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Internal Migration
In Brazil

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INTERNAL MIGRATION IN BRAZIL

INDEX

	Pág.
1. Introduction	3
2. Migration Data in Brazil	3
3. Principal Population Movements	8
3.1 Urbanization in Brazil	8
3.2 Migrations to the Agricultural Frontier	14
3.3 Interstate and Interregional Migration	16
4. The "Determinants" of Migration	21
5. Demographic and Socio-Economic Characteristics of Migration in Brazil	24
6. Concluding Remarks	31

RESUMO

Qualquer que seja a definição utilizada, o crescimento de movimentos migratórios no Brasil é indiscutível. A intensificação dessa mobilidade tem de ser analisada à luz das profundas transformações históricas que o País tem experimentado nas últimas décadas. De 1930 a 1980, observaram-se dois principais tipos de fluxos migratórios no Brasil. Uma corrente se dirigiu para localidades urbanas cada vez maiores e a outra para uma fronteira agrícola em constante expansão. A análise do processo de urbanização mostra que vários fatores estimularam a multiplicação de localidades urbanas e, paradoxalmente, a concentração progressiva da população urbana em algumas grandes cidades. Os movimentos em direção à fronteira agrícola se iniciaram na década de 30 com a ocupação do Paraná e, posteriormente, transbordaram para a faixa central do País e, finalmente, para a Região Amazônica. Com o fim das grandes fronteiras, os dois movimentos tradicionais passaram a convergir num só - a concentração urbana. Esses dois movimentos tradicionais também proporcionaram uma importante redistribuição inter-regional de população. A revisão da literatura, avaliando esses movimentos migratórios no Brasil, mostra uma grande variedade de enfoques e resultados e ilustra a dificuldade de sintetizar um processo tão amplo, que é ao mesmo tempo efeito e causa do desenvolvimento.

1. INTRODUCTION

Throughout its history and well into the 20th century, Brazil's population was predominantly located in scattered rural communities. In consonance with its export-oriented, primary economy, Brazil's few isolated cities had sprung up on the coastline as points of concentration for exploration of the hinterland and as commercial entrepôts for the shipment of produce and minerals back to the metropolis. With the redivision of international labor prompted by the Depression, internal migration was stimulated, both in the direction of the cities - where import-substituting industries were beginning to flourish - as well as towards successive frontier regions in Brazil's vast interior. These bipolar currents persisted throughout the post-war period. Only in the late 60's have movements towards the frontier abated in force and importance. In more recent years, the rural exodus, jointly prompted by the forces of agricultural modernization and rapid population growth, has led to increasing concentration of population in larger urban centers. The purpose of this paper is to describe some of the main features of these migration patterns in Brazil during the past few decades.

2. MIGRATION DATA IN BRAZIL

By comparison to most developing countries, Brazilian Census data on internal migration seem reasonably complete and accurate¹. Moreover, internal migration data, albeit of increasing diversity and depth, are available from five consecutive decennial censuses. To all intents and purposes, the first concrete information on internal migration was presented by the 1940 Demographic Census, which inquired into the place (state) of birth and place of residence of all respondents. This permitted the first description of lifetime migration flows between the various states. The repetition of

¹The discussion of migration data is based on Carvalho (1985) and Martine (1984).

the same questions in the 1950 Census made it possible to apply indirect techniques to estimate intercensal migration. Thus, a temporal dimension was added to the analysis of migration streams between any pairs of states.

The 1960 Census, in addition to place-of-birth, place-of-residence data, added on three new dimensions: 1) the spatial element in the definition of "migrant" was broadened to include the município as well as the state, 2) a third time-space element in the migration history of the respondent (i. e. - his place (state) of previous residence), was added, and 3) all intermunicipal migrants were queried as to duration-of-residence in their present municipality and state of residence.

The 1970 Census repeated the 1960 items and added on an additional question concerning the rural-urban residence of intermunicipal migrants in their previous domicile. The Census volumes published a wide array of tables referring to migration, cross-tabulated with duration of residence, age and sex, rural-urban residence (previous and present), as well as state of birth and state of previous residence. Moreover, for the first time, researchers were given access to special tabulations designed according to their own specifications.

In 1980, the Census included a question on intramunicipal (i. e. rural-urban or vice-versa) moves, both by individuals who otherwise would not have been counted as migrants, as well as by intermunicipal migrants after their change of residence across a municipal and/or state boundary. Secondly, a question was inserted concerning the municipality of previous residence, thus making it possible to identify the origin of migration streams at a more localized level than the state. Thirdly, previous place (state) of residence and duration-of-residence was asked of all respondents, thus making it possible to quantify return migration. Finally, the categories for tabulation of duration-of-residence data were altered from 0-10 to 0-9 in order to effectively cover a decennial period (instead of eleven years as in the 1960 and 1970 tabulations).

In short, the quality, coverage and relevance of migration data from the Demographic Census have improved progressively from 1940 to the present day. Not all of the modifications which have been introduced in recent censuses, however, have been adequately evaluated, leaving many doubts as to their quality and utility. (Carvalho, 1985, Martine, 1984). But, perhaps the main difficulty encountered by the researcher in the utilization of census data for studying migration - in Brazil, as elsewhere - comes from the inadequacy of space and time referents in the definition of migration. Spatial units over which migration is measured are obviously arbitrary but, even more important, rarely do intercensal periods coincide with the beginning and end of significant historical processes. Thus, tracing the impacts of relevant social, economic or political transformations on migration patterns is generally risky. In a continental-sized country such as Brazil, marked by severe climatic, cultural and socio-economic differences, and which has undergone rapid but unequal social change, such limitations are greatly enlarged.

Other direct or indirect sources of information on migration are very limited by comparison. Brazil has never had any sort of population register and the coverage of its vital statistics system is still uneven. In some of the more advanced states, such as São Paulo and Rio Grande do Sul, vital statistics information can confidently be utilized in indirect estimates of migration, particularly for the recent period, but this is not the case of other states or earlier periods.

Brazil also carries out national household surveys on at least a yearly basis since 1968. On two occasions, specific migration questions have been inserted in the supplementary questionnaire. Results, however, have not been up to expectations. Despite the large size of the sample, it is insufficient to permit generalization for any meaningfully-differentiated spatial unit, social group or migration stream.

Another innovative data source which was designed in Brazil for the purposes of analyzing migration phenomena was the Migration Information System (SIMI), implemented in 1978. This instrument aimed at providing detailed information on the fluctuations in movements and characteristics of migrants who passed through the various migration-assistance centers, which had been set up all over Brazil in the mid and late 1970's. (Minter, 1980). Obviously, the people interviewed in these centers were representative only of some of the more destitute segments of the migrant population. Doubts as to the significance of such unrepresentative data, and as to the completeness of internal coverage (i. e. - fluctuations within centers and across centers were affected by a variety of largely unknown factors) of SIMI data, led to the virtual abandonment of this system in the mid-1980's. The more interesting data which it has provided were collected in centers connected with large-scale public works and/or colonization projects where coverage was somewhat more complete over a given period of time.

3. PRINCIPAL POPULATION MOVEMENTS

There can be little question but that the absolute and relative number of persons defined as migrants by Census data has increased significantly over the 1940-80 period. According to Table 1, the number of persons who resided in a state other than that of their birth in 1940 was 3.5 million. This number increased progressively until it reached 18.3 million in 1980. This corresponds to an increase from 8.9% to 15.6% of the total native population.

The same tendency towards increased population mobility appears when one examines migration status at the municipal level - for which data are available since 1960. Thus, the number of persons who resided in a municipality other than that of their birth increased from 21.8 million in 1960 to 46.3 million in 1980, this represents a move from 31.1% to 38.9% of

Table 1 - Indicators of Internal Migration, Brazil 1940-1980

Year	Lifetime inter- state Migrants (in 000s) (1)	Lifetime inter- municipal Migrants (in 000s) (2)	Intermunicipal Migrants with less than 10 years of resi- dence (in 000s) (3)	(1) as % of Total Native Population (4)	(2) as % of Total Population (5)	(3) as % of Total Population (6)
1940	3,527	-	-	8.9	-	-
1950	5,264	-	-	10.4	-	-
1960	9,039	21,804	3,215*	13.1	31.1	18.6*
1970	13,185	30,270	4,203*	14.3	32.5	17.6*
1980	18,347	46,342	6,051	15.6	38.9	20.2

Source - Calculated from IBGE, Demographic Censuses, various years.

* - Census figures adjusted to intercensal period.

the total population. Finally, intramunicipal movements, measured for the first time in 1980, show that an additional 7.6 million persons changed their place of residence from a rural to urban area (or vice-versa) within their municipality of birth. (Not shown) Thus, at least 45% of the total population had made some relevant change of residence by 1980. Overall, interstate mobility showed a greater increase in the 1950's while intermunicipal movements grew faster in the 1970's.

The increasing geographic mobility of the Brazilian population has to be viewed against the backdrop of the profound historical transformations which the country has undergone in the last half-century. As intimated above, the 1930's mark a clear point of inflection in population redistribution. At that time, Brazil had a population of some 36 million people, mostly located in rural areas relatively near the coast of the Southeast and Northeast regions. (cf. Figure 1). From the 1930's until the 1970's, two main tendencies marked Brazilian population movements: one important stream was directed towards the growing number of ever-larger cities and, the other, towards the various successive loci of frontier expansion. Each of these will now be examined in turn, this will be followed by an overview of how these separate trends affected interstate and interregional migration².

3.1 Urbanization in Brazil

The 1929 Stock Market crash had profound effects on the future of Brazilian economic development. Agricultural prices, traditionally the mainstay of the Brazilian economy, declined drastically, breaking the backbone of coffee exports and

²The following discussions are largely based on Martine and Camargo (1984), Martine and Garcia (1987), chapter 4, and Martine (1986). Supporting data and bibliography can be found in these studies.

Figure 1 - Regions, States and Capital Cities of Brazil



freeing considerable rural manpower. Part of the population movements which originated at this time were directed to the cities, where their initial absorption was chaotic. Nevertheless, the incipient industrialization process gradually helped to create employment for the population and eventually stimulated further urbanwards migrations. The balance-of-payments problems faced by Brazil at this point prompted Brazilian entrepreneurs to initiate industrialization as a means of substituting imports. The internal market for industrial products, originally concentrated in the Rio de Janeiro-São Paulo region, rapidly expanded to cover most of the country.

Once the industrialization process was initiated, it provoked reflex actions over the entire territory. A national market was constituted and the various regions were integrated to the benefit of the hegemonic industrial region around the São Paulo-Rio axis. The necessity of articulation with regional markets provoked the creation of a national network of transport and communications, whereas the various regions had previously been oriented solely to export markets and communicated only by sea transport, the physical transfer of goods between regions demanded land transport facilities. Concomitantly, migration potential was increased as communications improved and travel between regions became more viable.

The rural-urban movements initiated in the 1930's were reinforced in the 1940's, as a result of the Second World War. The demand for various industrial products greatly increased and, given the limited installed capacity of Brazilian industry, the immediate solution was to double work shifts in order to make maximum utilization of existing equipment. Wages rose rapidly in response to this trend and thereby attracted further migratory movements. Since foreign immigration was largely curtailed during the war, additional manpower had to come from rural areas. Simultaneously, the government was making the first serious public attempts at improving the

social conditions of workers in the areas of health, sanitation, housing and education. At this time, mortality rates began to decline due to improved sanitation and to the importation of technologies directed to the control of contagious diseases.

All of these factors coalesced to promote rapid urban growth. Lacking adequate estimates of differential fertility and mortality for rural and urban areas prior to 1960 makes calculation of rural to urban flows hazardous. Nevertheless, it is probable that a net total of some 3 million migrants left rural areas for urban areas between 1940 and 1950. This amount would be equivalent to some 10% of the total rural population of Brazil in 1940. The number of cities rose from 51 to 80 in this period while the share of rural areas in the total population dropped from 69 to 64% (cf. Table 2).

The post-war period witnessed the reinforcement of the urbanization-industrialization forces. Population growth reached new heights (3.0% a year) during the 1950's. The agrarian structure was marked by a strong concentration at both extremes of the land tenure scale, in latifúndios and minifúndios, both of which are generally conducive to out-migration. In a few states, notably São Paulo and Rio Grande do Sul, incipient technical progress in agricultural production also contributed to rural out-migration. All of these factors combined to push people off the land. Meanwhile, rural-urban differentials in wages and life styles, as well as the enactment of social policies which largely benefitted urban workers, coupled with improved transport and communication services to serve as forces of attraction. All told, it can be estimated that some 7 million people migrated from rural to urban areas during the 1950-60 period. This corresponds to approximately 21% of the rural population of Brazil at the beginning of the decade. The number of cities of 20,000 or more inhabitants rose from 85 to 155 and the rural population declined to 55% of the total.

Table 2 - Evolution of Population Distribution in Brazil, 1940-1980
(in percentages)

Place of Residence	1940	1950	1960	1970	1980
Rural Areas	68.8	63.8	55.2	44.1	32.4
Localities under 10,000	12.6	12.2	12.1	9.6	10.0
" 10 to 20,000	2.6	2.9	3.4	5.3	4.0
" 20 to 50,000	2.2	3.2	4.5	5.4	6.5
" 50 to 100,000	2.0	2.5	2.7	3.5	4.6
" 100 to 500,000	4.1	4.3	5.4	6.1	11.0
" 500,000 +	7.7	11.1	16.2	26.1	31.5
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

SOURCE: Cf. Table 1

The 1960's were marked by several social transformations of import. Chief among these was the military takeover in 1964 and the imposition of a conservative-modernization model, aimed at the rapid technical upgrading of industrial and agricultural production, without provoking alterations in the highly-stratified social structure. The introduction of the Green Revolution technological package in agriculture, through highly concentrated subsidies, was part of this model. In the face of continued rapid population growth, however, such transformations provoked an intensification of the rural exodus, which persisted throughout the 1970's. The logic and the scale of agricultural production was altered, thereby pushing out small farmers of all types. Meanwhile, even in areas in which agricultural production was not directly affected by modernization, speculation in land had basically the same impact; the prospects and promises of modernization pushed up land values and expelled squatters, sharecroppers, tenants and small owners.

Meanwhile, there can be little question but that basic infrastructure in the country as a whole was being greatly improved. Some of the most spectacular changes were witnessed

in the area of transport and communications. Nationally-produced buses, trucks and cars multiplied traffic in all directions, while the communications sector witnessed dramatic improvements. Undoubtedly, the 'bright lights' of rapidly-expanding cities served to attract new migrants in this changing context.

Again, the combination of these push and pull factors served to accelerate the rural exodus. It can be estimated that rural-urban migration amounted to 12.8 million people between 1960-70 (equivalent to 33% of the population residing in rural areas in 1960) and to 15.6 million in the 1970-80 period. This latter contingent, similar in size to the total population of Australia or Czechoslovakia, was equivalent to some 38% of the total rural population in 1970.

In short, it is easy to verify that during the period for which data are available, rural to urban migrations have experienced a dramatic increase in both absolute and relative terms. It is worth noting that, despite this significant increase in rural-urban migration, it was only in the 1970's - when natural increase had started to decline - that rural areas experienced an absolute reduction. That is, Brazil's rural population decreased from 41 million in 1970 to 38.6 million in 1980. By this time, the annual pace of out-migration (1.5 million migrants) was about one-third faster than the absolute natural increase (approx. one million persons per annum) of rural areas.

As a result of such changes, the number of cities of 20,000 or more multiplied to 246 in 1970 and 393 in 1980. Cities of 100,000 or more inhabitants congregated some 43% of the total population in 1980 while rural areas accounted for only 32% of the total population at this time. Although city growth rates do not show systematic advantages of one or the other size class over the four decades under consideration, the most significant growth is occurring at the level of the largest cities and metropolitan areas. There, medium-level growth rates

produce an enormous concentration of population. Thus, for instance, in the 1970's, the ten largest cities accounted for an increase equivalent to more than two-fifths of the country's entire population growth. That is, of the country's total increase of 25.9 million persons during the decade, 43.9% accrued to 10 cities. The Metropolitan Area of São Paulo, alone, accounted for 17.2% of the country's total growth.

3.2 Migrations to the Agricultural Frontier³

The same factors which initially stimulated rural-urban migrations also promoted interiorization and occupation of new agricultural frontiers. In the early 1930's, part of the rural labour force freed by the bankruptcy of the coffee economy spread in the direction of Paraná. When agricultural prices began to recuperate in the late 30's and, especially during the 1940's, a large strip of fertile land in the north and northeastern parts of Paraná as well as in adjacent areas in Santa Catarina, São Paulo and Mato Grosso was invaded by thousands of rural families. It is estimated that close to 400 thousand migrants moved to rural areas of Paraná during the 40's. This is equivalent to some 13% of the country's rural-urban movements during this decade. During the 1950's, Paraná absorbed some 800 thousand rural migrants, equivalent to some 12% of all rural-urban movements in that decade.

Meanwhile, migration to the Central-Zone frontier (composed basically of the states of Mato Grosso, Goiás and Maranhão) had begun slowly in the 1940's and grew rapidly in the 1950's. By contrast to the Paraná frontier, movement towards the Central Zone was initiated spontaneously by subsistence farmers, who came from the arid Northeast or from overpopulated agricultural areas in the Southeast, with little

³This section on frontier expansion in Brazil summarizes a discussion found in Martine (1981, 1982 and 1987), which contains an extensive bibliography on this question.

capital or technology. Several government enterprises later helped stimulate the transfer of capitalist interests to this region. First, the construction of a new capital city - Goiânia - for the State of Goiás. Later, plans for construction of a new nation's capital in Brasília stimulated road-building between the Center-West and the Southeast, as well as between Brasília and Belém in the North. Regional development thus helped stimulate some 400 thousand migrants to head towards rural areas in the Central Zone during the 1950's.

During the 1960's, movements towards the Paraná and Central Zone frontiers quickly receded. The 1970's were marked by the largest government effort ever expanded towards the promotion and organization of frontier movements. The chosen area for large-scale government-directed colonization projects was the last frontier - the Amazon region. Plans which proposed to relocate 1 million families in Amazonian colonization projects were soon shelved, however, and the total number of persons who actually moved to rural areas somewhere in the vast Amazon region, during the 70's, is probably less than 400,000.

Compared to the rural exodus of some 16 million estimated for the 1970-80 decade, the Amazonian frontier evidently does not represent a relevant alternative to urban concentration. This is particularly true when one observes that a large number of the colonists who did settle in colonization projects or in other areas of the Amazon tend to move on rather quickly. Moreover, even in the Amazon, cities now tend to grow much faster than the rural areas. Thus, it can be shown that in the first two frontier phases, population growth was largely a rural phenomenon, by contrast, some 64% of Amazonian growth during the 1970's occurred in urban areas. Moreover, six cities accounted for 40% of the Northern region's entire growth during the 1970's.

Overall then, frontier growth has practically played itself out as a concomitant alternative to urban concentration.

The number of migrants attracted to frontier regions is progressively less meaningful in terms of population absorption and the inherent frontier cycle of intensive in-migration, followed by stagnation and out-migration, is reduced in both size and duration. Meanwhile, city growth is occurring at an increasing rate even within recent frontier areas. In short, the apparently contradictory trends which marked population redistribution within the last half-century are now converging towards urban concentration.

3.3 Interstate and Interregional Migration





In order to understand what the two main redistribution trends described above have meant in terms of interstate or inter-regional flows in Brazil, it is first necessary to develop a classificatory scheme through which to regroup population movements from 30 odd regions and states into meaningful clusters. To such purposes, it appears useful to classify states into: 1) Older Areas of Settlement, 2) Stagnated Frontier Areas, 3) Current Frontier Areas and, 4) The Industrial Axis. (Martine & Camargo, 1984). Although, like most others, this scheme is somewhat arbitrary (and leaves out the recently-created Federal District), it does provide a useful tool for the understanding of migration processes.

The Older Areas of Settlement include states (as well as the entire Northeast region), which were permanently settled in the first centuries of Brazil's history, on the basis of extractive or agricultural activities. With the exception of the large and land-bound state of Minas Gerais, all of the others have much of their population located near the coast. (cf. Figure 2). Although the towns and cities of these states have received permanent large flows of in-migration, their net interchange of migrants with other states and regions has produced substantial deficits. The two largest and most permanent providers of net out-migration to the rest of the country since 1940 are the state of Minas Gerais and those in

FIGURE 2 - Types of Migration Region, Brazil



CONVENTION

-  - Early Settlement Areas
-  - Stagnated Frontier
-  - Recent Frontier
-  - Industrial Axis

the Northeast region. Both had a relatively large population in 1940 when Minas Gerais accounted for 16.4%, and the 9 northeastern states for 32% of the nation's total population. By 1980, these shares had dropped to 11.2% and 25.6%, respectively. But other relatively prosperous states, such as Rio Grande do Sul and Santa Catarina, have also suffered permanent net losses of out-migration, although on a lesser scale. Finally, the small state of Espírito Santo has also experienced permanent net losses. (cf. Table 3)

The states which are grouped here under the heading of "Stagnated Frontier Areas" involve those which experienced rapid growth from the 1940's until the late 1960's, on the basis of large-scale frontier-oriented migrations. These include Paraná, as well as those in the Central Frontier Zone - Mato Grosso do Sul, Goiás and Maranhão. Large-scale movements to the open frontiers in the 40's and 50's resulted in the absorption of a great number of migrants, most of these in rural areas. Although migrations to agricultural areas in these states dwindled during the 60's, the towns and cities of these states experienced rapid growth and, thus, the net migration flow remained high except in Maranhão, which was already experiencing an overall loss.

But perhaps the most striking feature of the data presented in Table 3 is the complete reversal in migration patterns of the states in this group between the 60's and 70's. Despite rapid urban growth between 1970-80, the net migration flow of these previously-flourishing frontier areas is now very negative. For instance, Paraná state - whose capital, Curitiba, grew at an annual rate of 5.8% - went from a positive net migration of 577 thousand in the 60's to a negative one of 1.3 million in the 70's. The reasons for this surprising and abrupt reversal are to be found in the previously-described modernization process, which was felt in all regions but had its greatest impact on the rich lands of Paraná. But even in less densely-settled areas such as Goiás, Mato Grosso do Sul and Maranhão, the frontier has come to an abrupt end.

Table 3 - Net Interstate Migration Flows by Type of Region, Brazil
1940 - 1980

Type of Regions & States	1940-50	1950-60	1960-70	1970-80
<u>Early Settlement Areas</u> ^{a/}	-944.719	- 2 396.593	- 2.759.581	-2.562.533
Northeast Region ^{a/}	-305.805	- 1 543.620	- 1.128.331	-1.872.118
Minas Gerais	-455.045	- 549.985	- 1.226.512	-520.487
Espírito Santo	-102.020	-45.238	-66.590	- 24.177
Santa Catarina	- 13.495	-77.501	-85.211	- 29.937
Rio Grande do Sul	- 68.353	- 180.249	- 252.937	-115.814
<u>Stagnated Frontier</u> ^{a/}	558.029	1.489.561	847.500	-1.511.133
Paraná	438.557	964.922	576.606	-1.326.764 ^{b/}
Mato Grosso do Sul	-12.274	110.992	260.150	112.410 ^{b/}
Goiás	124.641	190.912	136.264	-89.040
Maranhão	7.105	222.735	- 125.520	-207.739
<u>Current Frontier</u> ^{a/}	-2.239	9.219	15.962	763.851
Northern Region ^{a/}	-2.239	9.219	15.962	587.441 ^{b/}
Mato Grosso	-	-	-	176.410 ^{b/}
<u>Industrial Axis</u> ^{a/}	388.929	767.177	1.625.964	2.980.255
São Paulo	61.864	309.676	1.050.166	2.637.486
Rio de Janeiro	327.065	457.501	575,798	342.769
Federal District	-	130.636	270.155	329.560

a/ Data refer to the sum of net interstate migration of the states which make up the group.

b/ Author's estimates

Source - IBGE, Censos Demográficos and Tabulações IBGE,
Diretoria Técnica (DESPO), Rio de Janeiro, 1984.

The Recent Frontier Area is composed of states in the Amazon region - basically the Northern region plus the recently created state of Mato Grosso. Government-oriented colonization projects, designed in 1970, aimed at a large-scale occupation of the Amazon frontier, capable of draining off excess rural manpower from other regions. Initial grandiose projects were soon shelved but the combination of government propaganda and the aspirations of land-hungry masses, pushed off the land in areas where agricultural modernization was feverishly taking place, provoked sizeable migration flows to the Amazon region. All told, it is estimated that the states in this area - who had previously experienced small migration flows - acquired close to 800,000 net migrants in the 1970's. By contrast to the previous experience of frontier regions, however, the majority of these migrants, as shown earlier, ended up in the towns and cities. There are already signs that the frontier cycle is closing rapidly in this area: consequently, it can be expected that this region will soon become a net provider of out-migrants.

Finally, the states in the area of the "Industrial Axis" have been siphoning off large and growing numbers of migrants from the rest of the country for the last half-century. The two states included in this category - Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo - have led the industrialization process since its inception in the 1930's, moreover, the Rio-São Paulo axis has benefitted most from government efforts to promote industrial modernization since the 1950's. Within this axis, all indicators point clearly to a growing polarization around the São Paulo nucleus. This is reflected in net migration data which show that São Paulo received 88.5% of the total net migration to this region in the 1970's, as compared to 15.9% in the 1940's. The growth of the São Paulo metropolitan region reflects this trend but, less known, though perhaps equally important, is the rapid growth of cities within a 200 km radius of this metropolis. A megalopolis is definitely in the offing.

4. THE "DETERMINANTS" OF MIGRATION

To decipher and reconstitute the determinants of migration in a country having migration patterns as complex and diversified as those outlined above is obviously not an easy task. Ideally, efforts directed to this purpose should study the "causes" of migration at several different levels of analysis: however, the more detailed the method and scope of study, the greater the difficulties of generalization. The previous sections attempted to synthesize the main migratory movements which have occurred during the last half-century and relate them to broad historical trends in social and economic change. Here, an effort will be made to complement this overview with a brief discussion of migration determinants at the macro and micro levels.

At the aggregate level, several studies carried out during the 1960's and 70's attempted to relate regional and sectoral wage differentials and internal migration in Brazil. Sahota used an econometric model to measure the degree of migration's responsiveness to differentials in earnings and other variables (Sahota, 1968). In the same vein, Graham and Buarque estimated net migration gains and losses for each state from 1872 to 1970 and found a significant association between relative state income and rates of migration. However, internal movements only began to reduce the differential growth between higher and lower income states after the 1950's. (Graham and Buarque, 1971). Yap used a macroeconomic model to demonstrate the contribution of labor force mobility to Brazilian economic growth through 1965. She concluded that rural to urban migration, despite its intensity, has had a positive effect on the growth and distribution of the national product. (Yap, 1973).

Several other studies based on aggregate data deal more specifically with the relationship between internal population distribution and urban growth. For instance, Da Mata attempts

to measure the association between transfers of population from rural to urban areas with differences in per capita income levels and with different rates of growth of employment opportunities. (Da Mata, 1973). Tolosa considers the impact of internal migration on interregional and personal income distribution. Employing multiple regression analysis to determine the relationship between industrialization and migration and differences in family income, he finds that intraregional migrants tend to settle in small and medium-sized urban centers while interregional movers go to larger cities and metropolitan areas. (Tolosa, 1973).

Paradoxically, the historical-structuralist school also points out the functionality of the migration process but stresses the fact that it permits the maintenance of an abundant reserve of manpower for the urban-industrial society. The size and distribution of the population over space are held to reflect, in large part, the evolution of economic organization. Hence, the structural changes which provoke the sectoral and spatial reallocation of economic activities are the principal determinants of the direction, intensity and characteristics of internal migrations. (Balan, 1973; Lopes and Patarra, 1973).

In this approach, "the market mechanisms... which create... the economic incentives for rural to urban migrations merely express the macroeconomic rationality of technological progress which constitutes the essence of industrialization." (Singer, 1973: 52). Thus, the marginalization of the migrant population is consequent upon the need to maintain the availability of a large stock of workers. The appearance of huge slums on the urban periphery is the result of structural changes in places of origin and, more importantly, of the need to maintain a large supply of workers on call. (Singer, 1973, Lopes, 1973, Garcia Castro, 1979). The case of the construction industry perhaps best illustrates this point: the construction sector absorbs large quantities of migrant workers and its salaries are basically determined by the elastic supply of labor. (Martine and Peliano, 1978, chapters 2 and 6).

Numerous research efforts have also attempted to analyze migration at the more localized levels. These are generally limited to recognized destination areas and rarely deal with out-migration. Unfortunately, space limitations again prevent much more than a partial listing of such studies here. Perhaps the first survey analysis of migration to different destination areas was that carried out by Hutchinson. This research sought to distinguish the impact of varying historical contexts on the assimilation of migrants in a given city. (Hutchinson, 1963). Hogan and Berlinck later took up this concern in a sample survey of migration to São Paulo. They analyzed differential migrant motivation by social status as well as the changing profile of job opportunities in the rapidly-changing economic structure of that city. (Hogan and Berlinck, 1973). Pastore's study of migrations to Brasília showed that earlier arrivals generally enjoyed a privileged situation by comparison to latecomers. (Pastore, 1969). A more recent study of intra-urban mobility in Brasília reveals the importance of government investment in housing and in the organization of urban space on movers motivation. (Paviani and Farret, 1987).

Perlman's study of lower-class residents in Rio de Janeiro focused on migrants and their motivation, she concluded that a rather broad mixture of "push" and "pull" factors is necessary to explain the decision to migrate. (Perlman, 1977). Silva's survey study in Belo Horizonte analyzed migrant satisfaction and concluded that this city was the final stage for most of the step migrants encountered in the survey. (Silva, 1973). Merrick and Brito use the same data to determine the relationship between migration, labor absorption in the traditional sector and the distribution of income, their findings tend to contradict the widespread hypothesis that migrants go first into the informal sectors. (Brito and Merrick, 1973) The study by Silvers and Moreira on intermediate-size cities focused on the upward-mobility of different migrant groups. (Silvers and Moreira, 1974).

Duarte carried out a survey of urban migrants in the Northeastern towns. Links with kin and friends were found to be important in the decision to migrate and in the choice of destination, as well as in job-acquisition. The low earnings and inadequate working conditions of both migrants and non-migrants are highlighted. (Duarte, 1979). Finally, a study by Brody delves into the relationship between migration and mental illness in Rio de Janeiro. He finds that recent migrants, particularly from rural areas, are more likely to experience serious imbalances as a result of their difficulty of finding sustenance and adapting to the large city. (Brody, 1973). In addition to these, several field studies have also focused on seasonal migration but space limitations prevent us from looking into this more particular question here.

Despite the partial and sketchy nature of the above report, there can be little doubt that both studies using aggregate data and local surveys attest to the predominance of economic motives of migration in Brazil. The end result of the various structural changes outlined in the previous section determine the specific forms in which they affect migration. It is generally impossible to determine the precise weight of each element in the chain of events leading to the actual decision to migrate, but, their aggregate influence is unquestionable and verifiable in the varying mobility rates of different regions.

5. DEMOGRAPHIC AND SOCIO-ECONOMIC CHARACTERISTICS OF MIGRATION IN BRAZIL

Given the variety and complexity of the migration patterns described earlier, the formulation of valid generalizations as to the characteristics of migrants again tends to be hazardous. Obviously, only the sketchiest of information can be provided here.

First, as concerns sex ratio, it can be seen from census data that, of the total lifetime intermunicipal migrants to all

destinations by 1980, the ratio of men to women was .968. This ratio is somewhat higher among migrants with ten or less years of residence (.986) and much higher among lifetime migrants with a rural destination (1.119). Lifetime intramunicipal migrants to an urban destination have a sex ratio of .929. Such figures are perfectly in accordance with time-proven patterns according to which females find greater opportunities for employment in cities and men predominate in rural occupations, particularly in frontier regions. Much the same patterns are also found in the 1960 and the 1970 census data.

No such easy generalizations can be made with respect to the age composition of migrants. Differences in age structure are verifiable, not only with respect to destination, but also by origin and sex. Migrants generally tend to be older than non-migrants due to their higher concentration in working age groups. On the other hand, their dependency ratio tends to be much more favorable in all migration streams.

In migrations to metropolitan areas, migrants are concentrated in the 15-34 age groups with the modal age being found in the 20-24 category. Migrants to metropolitan areas in the North and Northeast tend to be younger than those in the Southeast. (Minter, 1976). This would appear to derive from the fact that the Southeastern metropolises, particularly São Paulo and Rio, tend to attract migrants from all over the country, while local intrastate migrants predominate elsewhere. Thus, older migrants coming to São Paulo and Rio would reflect the selectivity of more experienced step migrants.

At the other extreme, migrations to frontier regions would seem to reflect two main characteristics - migration of male adults and family migrations. For instance, the SIMI data for Rondônia, currently the busiest frontier in Brazil, show that some 62 to 75% of all migrants, between the years 1980 and 1985, were males. At the same time, the age distribution of the total migrant population is underrepresented at both extremes (0-14 and 50 and over), with a commensurate bulge in the 20-29

and 30-39 age groups. (Rondônia, 1981-1986). Examination of the age-sex composition of migrants to Paraná and Goiás, at the heyday of their frontier movements, reveals similar patterns.

The socio-economic characteristics of migrants have been the object of considerable study in Brazil, particularly during the 1970's. The overwhelming thrust of this research, however, focuses on migrants after arrival in given destination areas rather than on comparisons between movers and non-movers at the origin of migration streams. By comparing the characteristics of migrants to those of natives in selected destination areas and appraising the changes in characteristics with duration of residence, these studies purport to show how well migrants fit into their new environments. (Martine, 1979).

It would be impractical to present data on the characteristics of migrants in all or most of Brazil's complex migration streams here. We will therefore focus on those directed to metropolitan areas (MAs).

Migrants to Brazil's nine MAs represent some 36% of all lifetime migrants and one-third of all migrants who made at least one intramunicipal move during the last intercensal period. Their significance in the overall picture thus cannot be overestimated. Special tabulations from the 1970 Census provides the basis for the following overview of such migrants.

It is commonly held that migrants are responsible for explosive urban growth as well as for their varied accompanying social problems. By extension, such problems would be attributable to the inability of migrants to compete for productive employment. The data reveal a somewhat different picture, however. Firstly, migrants constitute an inordinately high proportion of the economically-active population (EAP) in metropolitan cities. Altogether, migrants, who make up 45% of the total population of the nine MAs, constitute 62% of their EAP, with the proportion of active migrants being highest in the more dynamic industrial areas. Recent migrants, who are

supposedly the worst offenders to cities' social problems, are surprisingly well represented in the EAP: some 12% of all working males and 13% of all working females in the nine MAs have been in the city for 2 or less years, the participation of this group is equivalent to one-third that of all natives. (Martine and Peliano, 1978: Chapter 1)

Closer examination of such figures would reveal that much of these migrant/non-migrant differences in labor force participation are due to the younger composition of the migrant population. Migrants tend to have greater proportions in the 10-29 age categories and to have lower proportions attending school. Obviously, one would expect that, over the long run, this would be reflected in lower schooling, as well as inferior occupational opportunities and income levels. The data show that this is not true, however.

Educational achievement is systematically lower only among female migrants. The more developed and dynamic MAs in the Southeast region show the greatest differences between migrants and non-migrant females in this respect. Educational differences among women by migration status are indeed reflected in lower occupational and income levels. Thus, migrant women begin working much younger and tend to be overwhelmingly found, especially in the younger ages, in domestic services. Participation in this occupational category decreases rapidly with age and migration status, but generally remains much higher than among natives. As will be seen below, this occupational specialization leads to lower income levels among female migrants.

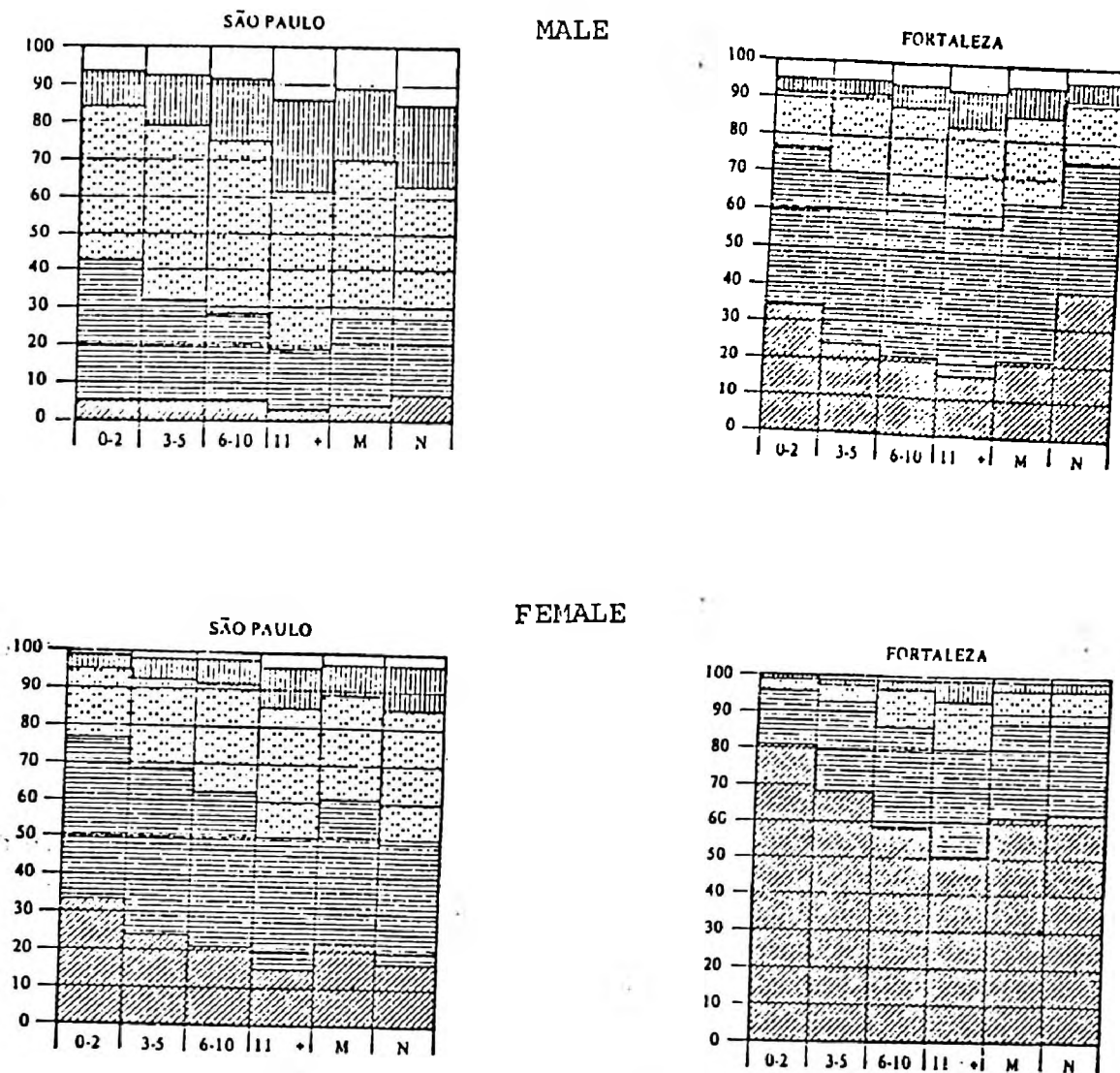
The occupational structure of male migrants to Brazil's metropolitan areas is not dominated by any such concentration. Nevertheless, a few significant patterns do emerge, particularly as concerns the evolution of migrant's occupational structure with duration of residence. The construction industry is, by far, the sector which absorbs the greatest number of migrants in all MAs. Within it, the single

occupational category which receives the greatest number of recent migrants is that of unskilled construction workers. Participation in this category recedes quickly with duration of residence. It would seem obvious that this physically-strenuous and typically underpaid job is attractive to recent migrants only because it is the easiest to obtain. However, as soon as the recent migrants acquire further skills and contacts, they will either move up to other occupations within the same industry, or else to other types of jobs. Another grouping which attracts a large number of migrants is the services category: watchmen, porters, waiters and the like. These findings also tend to contradict the commonly-held view that the informal sector is more attractive to recent arrivals. (Martine and Peliano, 1978: Chapter 2).

With regards to other occupational mobility patterns one finds, in most of the MAs, a growing proportion of migrants in middle-level occupational categories as duration of residence increases. This is generally true, for instance, of occupations in the transport and communications sectors, in the mechanical and metallurgic industries, as well as among office workers and middle-level merchants. (Ibid). These data definitely indicate that the occupational profile of male migrants improves considerably with duration of residence. Whether or not this is attributable to upward mobility or to selective remigration is a point which will be discussed below.

The income structure of various migrant groups clearly reflects their respective participation in the occupational structure. Figure 3 presents data on income by migration status for the economically-active populations of São Paulo and Fortaleza, the richest and least-developed (respectively) of the Brazilian MAs. Therein, it can be seen that, although income levels are clearly higher in São Paulo than in Fortaleza, and among males than females, incomes improve dramatically with duration of residence among both male and female migrants in both MAs. It is interesting to note, however, that in São Paulo, natives tend to be better off than

Figure 3 - Income Distribution of the Economically Active Population by Migration Status and Sex: Metropolitan Areas of São Paulo and Fortaleza, Brazil, 1970.



Income Classes (in Cruzeiros)



Source: Martine and Peliano, 1978, Chapter 4

Note: M = Total Migrants and N = Native Population. (All Data Standardized on the Age-Sex Composition of Brazil's Population)

migrants, in Fortaleza, the reverse is true among male migrants while among the female population, the situation of natives and total migrants is identical.

Upon reviewing the different studies of migrant-native differentials in various other areal units of Brazil, it was found that the patterns stated above were almost universal. More specifically, the comparisons between natives and total migrants were, on the whole, inconclusive, but the situation of migrants always improved drastically with duration of residence. The most interesting question raised in this context is whether the regular improvement in migrants' socio-economic situation by duration of residence is due to upward mobility or to the selective out-migration of the lowest and least-capable migrant strata. An attempt to resolve this question led to the conclusion that "the significant improvement in the socio-economic conditions of migrants by length of residence, observed in most Brazilian studies, is attributable in large part to the selective retention of the more privileged segments of the migrant population and to expulsion of those less prepared to compete for the reduced number of employment opportunities in the urban labor market." (Martine, 1979: 37).

The question of remigration from metropolitan areas brings up the broader issue of repeat and return migration. Duration of residence data from the three latest censuses show that migrants with two or less years of residence accounted for 28% of all intermunicipal migrants in 1960, 25% in 1970 and 23% in 1980. Migrants with up to one year of residence made up 13%, 12% and 11%, respectively, of all migrants in each of these censuses. In short, recent migrants account for such a disproportionate amount of all migrants that their size can only be explained through high rates of repeat migration. One attempt to quantify this phenomenon stated that - "once the migratory process has been initiated, the probability that the migrant will move again is relatively high (58%), when compared to the equivalent probability among migrants who remain for more than a year in the municipality." (Gomes et alii: n. d.)

The prevalence of repeat migration has also been documented in a number of field surveys, whether in urban areas, modern agricultural regions or frontier zones. (Mougeot, 1980; Silva, 1986; Gonzalez and Bastos, 1973).

Many researchers in Brazil have automatically associated repeat migration with return migration, but the two are clearly separate phenomena. The number and proportion of people who actually return to their place of birth is, according to aggregate evidence, relatively small in Brazil. The 1980 Census showed that only 4% of the total migrant population could be defined as return migrants (i. e. - had returned to their state of birth). Whether or not this is due to deficiencies in the data (since they only permit analysis of return migration at the level of the state of birth) or to the real difficulties of migrants in returning to their place of origin - either because of the distance factor or the scarcity of jobs - is difficult to determine.

In proportionate terms, the Northeast region was the most affected by return migrants. A field study of return migrants to five communities in the Northeast concludes that the majority were unsuccessful in their attempts to obtain better jobs. Two-thirds had left home originally without a clear notion of the job market. Nevertheless, return migration is not linked to economic motives since the migrants are well aware that the job market is even worse in the Northeast than elsewhere. The most common motives given for return migration were saudades (roughly, "homesickness") and illness. In both cases this is interpreted by the author as a return to an established local network of relationships within which important problems have customarily been dealt with (Scott, 1986).

6. CONCLUDING REMARKS

The foregoing pages focused on the broad historical changes which have occurred in Brazilian society during recent

decades and their impacts on the spatial mobility of population. In a country as diversified and dynamic as Brazil, the task of analyzing and summarizing such trends is not an easy one. Internal migration patterns, inasmuch as they mainly constitute a response to changes in the spatial distribution of economic opportunities, are at once the result and cause of development. Supposedly, a more efficient economic and internal allocation of the labor force results from migrations. Yet, the cold figures on population redistribution patterns belie considerable upheaval in the lives of millions of people. Moreover, the apparent rationality of the process is placed in doubt by the current convergence of the two traditional redistribution patterns into a marked tendency towards metropolization and conurbation. These are some of the issues which public policy - whose role has only been indirectly mentioned here - will have to face with increasing vigor in coming years.

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