Some Economic Interpretations of Case Studies of Urban Migration in Developing Countries

This paper examines selected field surveys of migrants and non-migrants in rural and urban areas in an attempt to define the motives underlying internal migration, especially rural-urban migration in the developing countries. It is an expansion of and therefore a replacement for Working Paper No. 107 of June 1971, "Migration to Urban Areas".

The author wishes to express her thanks to Bruce Herrick, who provided useful comments and editing throughout and who rewrote parts of Chapter I.

Prepared by: Pamela Brigg
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Introduction

Case studies of urban migration in individual countries have had diverse intellectual origins and goals. Yet the application of a unified choice-theoretic framework to these studies has yielded interesting and largely consistent interpretations of their empirical findings.

In the theoretical literature, use of an income maximization model has become commonplace in the examination of human capital formation in all its forms, including internal migration (e.g., Sjaastad, 1962). Yet with a few exceptions, empirical work has continued on an ad hoc basis. Fortunately, the results of many case studies, including those done in developing countries, have been presented in a form amenable to the application of such a model. At least one previous study (Herrick, 1971) has examined Latin American migration in this light. The present paper extends this work to countries in a much greater variety of economic, social and cultural circumstances.

Since this paper is itself a summary of the literature and ends with a summary and conclusions chapter, no attempt is made here in the introduction to further highlight any conclusions. The major findings and policy implications of the paper can be found in Chapter IV, especially pages 44-48.
I. Theoretical Approaches to Internal Migration

1. Economists and sociologists studying internal migration have stressed the dominance of the economic motive. Differential economic opportunities within a country, as among countries, spur individuals to change their place of residence. If markets were perfect in the economist's sense, differential economic opportunities measured by income would reflect geographical differences in the productivity of labor. A review of some theoretical approaches to migration followed by an analysis of a few econometric models of the process will serve as an introduction to this survey on case studies of migration to urban areas.

A. Ravenstein's Law of Migration

2. One of the earliest studies on internal migration was that of E.G. Ravenstein on the U.K. between the censuses of 1871 and 1881. 1/ As an economic historian he praised migration for fostering industrial growth by shifting labor from regions of low economic opportunity to those of high opportunity while raising the migrants standard of living. He formulated several laws of migration. For example, "the desire inherent in most men to better themselves in material respects," 2/ is the major impetus to migration. Distance is a negative factor. Most migration is short distance. Long distance migration involves a shift to a major center of industry and commerce. Migration occurs by stages with rural inhabitants moving to nearby urban areas and being replaced by more distant rural dwellers. Rural natives have a greater propensity to migrate than urban natives. Technology increases migration, e.g. by improving transportation and communication. And every stream of migration produces counter-stream or return migration. The push of rural poverty and the pull of attractive urban opportunities are basic to Ravenstein's interpretation of 19th century U.K. migration and have formed key elements in most subsequent theories.

B. Lee's Comprehensive Theory

3. In addition to the economic pull of cities in terms of jobs which offer higher pay, increased opportunities for promotion, better working conditions, and a change in occupation, the greater opportunities for education, entertainment, marriage and public services also need to be considered. According to Lee's comprehensive approach, the decision to migrate is consistent with "pushes" and "pulls" of poverty at the origin and of higher expected income at the destination, as well as intervening obstacles and personal factors. 3/ The volume of

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2/ Ibid., p.286 of the 1889 article.

migration varies directly with the degree of diversity among the areas and among the people included in a country and with the level of development and the rate of growth of the economy and inversely with the difficulty of surmounting the intervening obstacles. Both the volume and rate of migration tend to increase with time, as technological advance diminishes certain obstacles and increases diversity through specialization.

C. Expected Rural-Urban Income Differential

4. The push and pull hypotheses may be united into one, in which urban migration is a function of expected rural-urban income differences. Because it is difficult to quantify the non-economic pushes and pulls of migration, this wholly economic relationship is frequently chosen to explain migration. Friedlander is only one economist who has used this approach. 1/ First, he hypothesizes that migration is a function of the absolute real per capita income differentials for each skill level or occupation. Alternatively, he pictures migration as a function of relative differentials of skilled to unskilled income per capita. This alternative reflects the desire of an individual to improve his relative economic position with respect to workers in other occupations in the economy. In addition, he sees a minimum per capita income level as a prerequisite to large scale emigration. Assuming that the unskilled have the greatest incentive to migrate, the per capita income level of the unskilled must be sufficient to cover the costs of migration, e.g., transportation and length of time without employment.

5. Todaro and Harris deal in more detail with some labor market phenomena in their treatment of rural-urban migration and urban unemployment. 2/ Assuming the existence of a politically determined minimum urban wage (in the modern sector) substantially higher than agricultural earnings and no surplus labor in agriculture, the rural-urban income differential remains despite large-scale rural-urban migration and significant urban unemployment and underemployment. Statistically expected urban income is postulated to be equal to the fixed minimum wage times the proportion of the urban labor force actually employed. Migration continues until expected urban income equals expected rural income.

D. Sjaastad's Investment Approach

6. Sjaastad approaches migration as an investment in human capital. 3/ In such a framework, the individual behaves as if he compared the costs of migration with its returns, and acted on the basis of that comparison.


7. Direct outlays on migration include increased expenditure on food, lodging, and transportation. Indirect costs include earnings foregone while traveling, looking for work and training for work; such costs are a function of the distance to and unemployment rate at the destination. 1/

8. In addition to these economic costs, there are psychic costs such as the discomfort of leaving family, friends and a familiar environment. While these costs affect the volume of migration, they are not resource costs and are not included in the calculation of the net return to migration. Similarly psychic returns in the form of adventure and increased entertainment are not included.

9. The returns to migration equal the difference between the future real earnings at destination and those earnings that would be received without the move. These differences result from changes in prices, employment costs, earnings, and amenities. The increase in future real earnings is, however, not only a return to migration. It is also a return to other investments such as on-the-job and pre-employment training. Sjaastad emphasizes that migration requires complementary investments, especially in training.

10. Migration is not only a search for higher income within the same occupation, but a search for higher paying occupations. From his study of rural out-migration rates by age group in the U.S. for 1950-60 Sjaastad observes that the sharp decline in migration rates with increasing age, e.g., from 15-19 years to 20-24 years, cannot be explained by associated increases in money or non-money costs of migration. He conjectures that it probably reflects substantial increases in complementary investment costs, such as retraining, as age increases. 2/ Investments in agricultural training are apt to be completed and returns to this training in the form of earnings should rise at an early age.

11. From his study of U.S. internal migration from 1949-50 Sjaastad hypothesizes that the high marginal costs associated with additional distance reflects market imperfections that might now be interpreted in terms of information costs. A failure of migratory movements to adjust the differences in geographical economic opportunities results from friction in the flow of information. Insufficient, inappropriate or exaggerated information on opportunities for migrants for different destinations may be the problem.

E. Selectivity in Migration

12. The pattern and intensity of the selectivity of migration vary among different places and different time periods. Bogue has developed some hypotheses on migration selectivity from studying U.S. data. 3/ First, migration has historically tended to follow a series of stages. The initial settlement involves

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1/ It has been suggested that the attraction of a migrant to a particular destination is a function of distance itself and that any rate of return calculation should include distance as a factor.

2/ Ibid., pp.88-90.

more males than females. The risk and hardship are greatest during this period. Migrants tend to be young, single, mature adults. Next, whole families migrate. Finally, the migration process becomes routine and institutionalized and the number of female migrants equals or exceeds that of males. Second, migration resulting from economic growth and technological advances tends to attract better educated individuals and to span greater distances. Third, migration between two areas is a two-way process. If the two streams are unequal, the selectivity in both streams tends to be greater. Migrants to areas with a net loss tend to be married with families, older, retired individuals returning to their origins, disillusioned out-migrants of previous years, migrant failures, transients seeking employment in new economic activities in the area or victims of a recession.

13. Kuznets and Thomas in their massive study of U.S. population redistribution and economic growth from 1870 to 1950 concluded that internal migration stimulated economic growth through the process of demographic selectivity. 1/ Migration differentials by sex, age, race, ethnic background, family status, education, health, income, tradition and social status are all factors to be considered. Greater propensity to migrate seems to occur among the demographic brackets that are highly productive economically. Specialists show greater tendency to migrate. Dynamic risk-taking individuals with the capacity to detach themselves from their traditional surroundings and adapt themselves to an unfamiliar environment facilitate economic change. Discrimination among ethnic and racial groups and various levels of social status which evolve when there is great diversity in a population encourage migration. The different information, attitudes, ambitions and knowledge among different demographic groups mean different propensities to migrate.

14. While some personal factors are associated with stages in the life cycle, others are more constant throughout an individual's life. Some individuals welcome, others resist change. Further, "it is not so much the actual factors at origin and destination as the perception of these factors which results in migration. Personal sensitivities, intelligence and awareness of conditions elsewhere" 2/ enter into any evaluation of migration. "The decision to migrate ... is never completely rational, for some persons the rational component is much less than the irrational... Transient emotions, mental disorder, and accidental occurrences account for a considerable proportion of the total migrations." 3/

15. Assimilation of migrants in an urban area depends primarily on their selectivity, though the rate of job creation in sectors of high productivity and the extent of credentialism as criteria for employment are also factors. Balan considered these factors for several Latin American cities in an attempt to explain migrant native socio-economic differences. 4/ "For some large cities in Latin America the socio-economic gap between natives and migrants is large, while in others it is quite small or non-existent." Credentialism, e.g., the importance of


2/ Lee, op. cit., p. 51.

3/ Ibid.

having a primary school certificate, seems to be on the rise in Latin America while migration seems to be less positively selective. Both tend to lead to greater differences between migrants and natives in terms of occupation, income and education.

16. Rural and stagnant communities contain a large part of the population of most Latin American countries. With the improvement in transportation facilities and the reduction in mortality rates, out-migration from these areas has increased in recent decades to the extent that it has become the predominant migratory stream. Earlier migratory streams to large cities most often originated in stagnant, urban communities and were composed of individuals from higher socio-economic strata. Assimilation is much more difficult in cities where the rate of job creation in highly productive sectors is slow, such as in Buenos Aires.

F. Econometric Studies of Internal Migration

Ghana

17. Beals, Levy and Moses formulated and tested an econometric model of inter-regional migration of adult males in Ghana, using 1960 census data. The dependent variable of the Ghana model is the rate of migration measured by the percentage of males 15-54 years born in a given region i residing in another region j in 1960. Log linear regression analysis indicates that the following independent variables are all highly significant in the origin region (-), % of males who attended school in the origin region (-) and in the destination region (-), average African labor income in the destination region (+), number of males born in destination region (+) and in origin region (+), % of population residing in cities of 5,000 or more in the destination region (+) and in the origin region (+). All of the coefficients were of the expected sign except education. The highest coefficients, representing the highest elasticities, are those for income. Distance has a high negative elasticity.

18. The income an individual can expect to earn with his occupation and training influences his choice of location. Since in Ghana "the position of a given occupation in the wage structure is nearly the same in all regions", average labor income was chosen to represent economic opportunity. Distance serves as a measure of the cost of moving, of the flow and availability of information about another given region, and of the social and cultural difference between two given regions. Population size of the destination region is used as an indicator of the size of past migration which insures greater information, assistance and encouragement for the current migrants. Urbanization in the origin region reflects acclimation to the money economy and to mobility. Urbanization in the destination region indicates such benefits as superior educational opportunities, more amenities, and wider contacts. Density of population may indicate the same thing or may measure population pressure.

19. According to the 1960 census data, a larger percentage of educated than uneducated adult male Ghanaians do migrate, especially to the cities. Though the

1/ Ibid.
authors are unable to interpret the negative regression coefficients for education, they suggest that "the inconsistency may be due to the kind of definite separation of labor markets implied in the concept of noncompeting groups...a single wage or income variable is inadequate to explain behavior."\(^1\)

**Brazil**

20. As the Beals-Levy-Moses study demonstrates for Ghana, Sahota shows for Brazil that internal migration is highly responsive to earning differentials and that distance is a strong deterrent to migration. \(^2\) Sahota's model specifies both dependent and independent variables differently from Beals et al. The similarity, broadly interpreted, of their results is testimony to the robust qualities of this type of model.

21. Sahota uses two variables to measure migration: the number of male adults born in a given region \(i\) residing in another region \(j\) in 1950 and the percentage of male adult migrants from region \(i\) who reside in region \(j\). In his study, the average annual wage rate per production worker and average per capita income in both the destination and origin regions express regional income differences. Anticipating Todaro, he comments that the expected wage rate rather than the current wage rate would be the more appropriate variable, and that a cost-of-living adjustment would improve the wage estimates. Unfortunately, the appropriate data are not available. The rate of growth of per capita income from 1949-51 is used to indicate the creation of employment opportunities. Dispersion of income for the rural sector is indicated by the distribution of the ownership of cultivable land. A second measure of urbanization is included, i.e. the percentage of a state's income originating in manufacturing.

22. Unlike the Ghanaian results, the percentage of males who attended school in the destination region is positively related to migration, and the regression coefficients associated with density of population in the origin region and the percentage of the population residing in cities of 4,000 or more in the destination region are not statistically significant. The rate of growth of income has the expected sign in both the regions of destination (\(\beta\)) and of origin (\(-\)) though is significant only for the region of origin. The dispersion-of-income variable is not significant for either region. Sahota suggests that the data on income dispersion may be untrustworthy or an inappropriate proxy.

23. No hypothesis on the influence of education was made before constructing the model for Brazil. It was felt that it was not possible to predict the influence of education one way or the other. While "educated individuals are regarded as relatively more mobile and adaptable and also brighter and more alert to changing opportunities...From this it does not necessarily follow, however, that the migration rate will be relatively higher among the educated individuals. For, in general, high-income regions are also the high education

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\(^1\) Ibid., p.485.

regions. Moreover, the average incomes in (high income) destination regions may overstate the wage rates available to the less educated migrants, while the average incomes in the origin region may understate the wage rate obtainable by the more educated individuals. 1 For the older migrants, 30-59 years, the deterrent effect of the origin-region education is from two to four times as strong as the pull of the destination-region education. For the young migrants, 15-29 years, only two of the nine coefficients are significant. A strong collinearity between education and wage rate is cited as the possible cause of this. Sahota concludes "that, on the whole, the direct net effects of education on migration are not likely to be substantial." 2

24. The impact of the wage rate in the destination region on migration is about twice as great for the young group as for the older group. Two economic interpretations consistent with this finding can be offered. The difference is explainable by the existence of intercorrelation between the wage rate and education for the young group. Another complementary explanation views the young migrants as more sensitive to wage differentials than the older ones since investment in migration has a longer payoff period for young people than for old.

United States

25. An econometric model in the spirit of those already mentioned is that by Greenwood. 3 He formulated a model of migration for the U.S. based on 1960 census data. His data allowed more refinement in the specification of variables than did the Ghanaian or Brazil statistics. His dependent variable is the percentage of migrants 5 years and over from state \textit{i} who migrated to another state \textit{j} in the last five years. The variables not included in the Ghana and Brazil studies are the unemployment rate in the origin and in the destination state, a ratio of the mean yearly temperature in the principal city of the destination state to that of the origin state and the size of the migrant stock, i.e., the number of persons born in the origin state living in the destination state in 1950. This migrant stock variable can be considered a proxy for the information about the destination state available in the origin state, the encouragement from friends and relatives to migrate, the greater ease of the social transition when friends and relatives of a similar background live in the state of destination and the food and shelter provided by them until a migrant finds a job. It should be clear that each of these elements can be re-stated in terms of expected costs and returns, although Greenwood, like most authors, does not do so explicitly. The migrant stock variable is highly significant and contributes the most to $R^2$ of all the variables tested.

26. Education in the state of origin is positive and highly significant and has the highest elasticity in the regression. In the state of destination education is positively related to migration when the migrant stock variable is excluded from the regression analysis, but negative when it is included. Simple correlation coefficients suggest that current migration is positively related

1/ Ibid., p.225.
2/ Ibid., p.236.
to education in the state of origin, but past migration, indicated by the migrant stock variable, was negatively related to education in the state of origin.

27. Current unemployment at both the origin and the destination is positively related to migration if the migrant stock variable is not included. When the migrant stock variable is included, unemployment at the destination is negatively related to migration though not significant. The simple correlation coefficient between unemployment in the origin region and migrant stock, again taken to be an indicator of past migration, however, is negative while that between unemployment in the destination region and migrant stock is positive. Greenwood suggests that past migration went from low unemployment states to high unemployment states indicating that much of past migration was urban-rural migration. Unemployment in the United States tends to be open in urban areas and more disguised in rural areas. The analysis assumes implicitly that current unemployment rates are a good indicator of past unemployment.

28. These econometric models all indicate the importance of income in both the regions of origin and destination, of the distance between regions, and of the migrant stock, i.e., number of migrants from the origin region in the destination region, in determining migration. They indicate the difficulty of measuring job availability and unemployment and the ambiguity of the influence of education in interregional migration. They deal with interregional migration and therefore do not distinguish between migration to urban and that to rural areas. They do not consider the availability and quality of public utility and housing facilities.

II. Methodology of Field Surveys as Applied to Internal Migration

29. The remainder of this paper focuses on field surveys of migrants and non-migrants in rural and urban areas. Since rural-urban and inter-urban migration are the major concerns of this paper, field surveys rather than censuses were studied. Censuses generally collect information on administrative areas. Place of birth and place of current residence are often included in population censuses as well as age, sex, education and occupation statistics. Such data enable the preparation of estimates of past migration and the comparison of migration streams with the characteristics of the population of the areas of origin and destination. The economic models of interregional migration described in Part I indicate what can be done with such data. Most censuses do not classify this information into rural and urban categories. The classification of data by political subdivisions that include both urban and rural areas prevents specific analysis of rural-urban and inter-urban flows. By contrast, appropriately designed field surveys lend themselves to a direct study of rural-urban migration.

A. Field Surveys to be Discussed

30. This paper examines twenty-seven field surveys of which eleven cover one city; five cover a part of a city, e.g., a barrio or predominantly migrant community; two cover both the rural and urban areas of a country; two cover a part of the rural area of a country; and two cover a city and a part of the
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rural area of a country. One covers the urban areas of a country, another part of the rural area and part of a city, one a factory, one a ferry and one part of a town. These surveys date from 1953 to 1966. Most are household surveys. In many cases only the head of the household was interviewed. In some cases the questions asked related only to the respondent, in this case the head of the household, to others to the whole family. Occasionally the whole family answered questions. In some cases it was not clear who the respondent was. The surveys were conducted by university departments, government agencies, sociologists and economists, international organizations and research institutes. Most of the surveys included aspects of the area as well as grants. Most of the surveys had questions relating to reasons for migration and to assimilation or adjustment after migration. Seven had questions relating to satisfaction after migration.

B. Coverage of Field Surveys

31. In general, the lack of uniformity in field surveys of migration reflects the widely varied purposes for which they were undertaken. The motives behind migration provide a good example. Often attempts are made to distinguish between job-related and personal or social reasons for migrating. Frequently respondents are allowed to give more than one reason, so the sum of reasons exceeds the number of respondents.

32. Job-related reasons include moving to take a job or to look for a job. Migration as a means to changing or obtaining a job results because of unemployment in the village due to a lack of jobs, underemployment, insufficient or poor land to cultivate, a loss of or slack in business in the area of origin, prospects for a better job and more income, payment in cash, greater opportunities for advancement, and better working conditions.

33. Other reasons sometimes included in the surveys are: education for self or family; marriage (especially for women); joining the family already at the destination; military service; attraction of the city in general or specifically for entertainment, adventure and newness; more and better educational, cultural, and moral welfare services, e.g., schools, libraries, theatres, churches and sports facilities; more and better social welfare services, e.g., hospitals, asylums, savings banks and retirement pensions; natural disaster; death of family member; refuge; social and class tension; rural violence; climate; expression of manliness; freedom from elders and strict controls of rural area; personal tensions; prestige and greater opportunities for consumption.

34. The decision to migrate seems to result from a cumulation of many hopes and fears -- from the interaction of many collective forces. In some cases, economic reasons seem most important for the least developed areas within a country while other reasons seem more important for more developed areas. The well-known difficulties with respondent bias and error make the interpretation of their responses a task worthy of considerable care. In particular, closed-end surveys necessarily limit responses, emphasizing economic elements.


35. Assimilation or adjustment after migration can be expressed by various comparisons either between a migrant's current situation and that prior to migration or between his current situation and that of the natives. Unemployment, income, occupation, housing, educational level and the use of other public facilities are all indicators of actual adjustment.

36. Satisfaction before and after migration can be expressed as a general state or in terms of specific factors, e.g., income, job, housing, education, neighbors, friends, status, occupation, and public facilities. An individual is most satisfied when and where his achievements balance with his expectations. Perceptions of one's self, family, and city seem to influence satisfaction as much as objective conditions. Relative deprivation, i.e., one's position relative to one's reference group or the level of living expected by an individual, is important. 1/ An individual may evaluate his situation in terms of his actual situation in the past, his idealized situation in the past, the situation of his father, relatives, friends or neighbors in the past or the current situation of his family, friends or neighbors in either his area of origin or his area of current residence.

C. Questions of Methodology

37. No attempt will be made to comment on the technical proficiency of the surveys, i.e., on whether the sample accurately represents its universe, on whether the sample design allowed for volunteered reasons for migration or satisfaction, on whether the questionnaire was pretested, or on the suitability of the classifications chosen or the interviewing methods. Such an analysis is necessary for any complete evaluation, but unfortunately sufficient information on the methodology and execution of most of the surveys was not available.

38. While the method, execution, and accuracy of the surveys will not be discussed, the problems and questions raised by their results will. When evaluating the results of a survey, several points need to be kept in mind. First, the appropriateness of the universe needs to be determined. Surveys are usually restricted to a particular area, e.g., a city or community. 2/ If just a part of the rural or urban area of a country is sampled, questions about its representativeness may arise. Similarly when results from a survey of an urban neighborhood are generalized to the city as a whole, the same questions occur. Many of the surveys discussed here cannot be extended to generalizations about the country as a whole.

39. Second, some surveys distinguish between independent migrants who voluntarily decide to move to the cities and dependent migrants who move to accompany an independent migrant, in most cases wives and children. Others do not. Dependent or "secondary" migrants have different reasons for moving than independent migrants.


Third, some definitions of migration distinguish between long distance and local moves, while others do not. Local moves do not necessarily reflect job changes.

Fourth, the length and profundity of the interviews vary widely. Almost all the surveys reviewed were limited exploratory ones. Many failed, for example, to distinguish between job-related and non-job related reasons for moving, and further to distinguish between different types of job-related motives for moving, e.g., whether to take a job or to look for work. In many cases, the questionnaire encourages incomplete answers, oversimplifying a complex decision-making process. If only one reason for moving is allowed in an interview, an economic reason is usually given. However, Lansing and Mueller write that "we have here observed:... the occurrence of moves for non-economic factors (including sheer restlessness), probably somewhat more frequent than people's explanations of their motives would lead one to believe." A number of pre-designated reasons on the questionnaire as well as space for volunteered reasons is desirable. The category "other" found in many surveys conceals whether reasons are job-related or non-economic. When more than one reason is offered, priority should be attached to the different reasons. Mutually exclusive reasons should be included in the questionnaire and tabulations.

Rarely is a control group established where non-migrants possessing the same characteristics as migrants and living under the same conditions are surveyed. The stated reasons for moving from and for dissatisfaction with an area may be the same reasons given by non-migrants for staying. Also, much relevant information on migration has not been covered by the surveys. For example, questions on return migration, cost-of-living differences, rural wages, wage comparison, unemployment comparison and housing conditions are often lacking. Cross-classifications by age and by sex for determining propensities to migrate are not often included. The relationship between economic development and internal migration has not been revealed by field surveys. Similarly, influences such as official policies on internal migration, social structure, customs and popular stereotypes on individuals' decisions to migrate have not been covered by field survey questions.

D. Inherent Problems of Field Surveys

As mentioned earlier, the field survey method of studying migration is subject to problems of unreliable recall and emotional distortion by the respondents. It is important that a survey distinguish between recent and earlier period migrants. Those who migrated long ago are especially apt to give unreliable answers because of memory failure. Motives and satisfactions are based on exact conditions and perceptions rather than actual conditions. A migrant's or non-migrant's


2/ John B. Lansing and Eva Muller, The Geographic Mobility of Labor, Ann Arbor, Michigan, Survey Research Center, 1967, p. 88. The interpretation of a tentative statement of this sort is always difficult.


interpretation of his alternatives is subjective, not objective. People do not always have a clear-cut concept of their motives; they may tend to see them as nobler than they are. 1/ This gap between actual conditions and respondents' interpretations must be remembered. A study of migration through field surveys, as well as through other methods, is made more difficult by the lack of an overall theory of internal migration. There are still many unknowns. Migration is a complex process involving social and psychological factors as well as economic factors, though the importance of the social and psychological factors is not well defined. 2/ 44. Field surveys collect data on migration by direct questioning as well as by indirect questioning on personal characteristics. Inferences based on indirect questions need to be compared with answers to direct questions. The statements of migrants are often contradictory. Some like what others dislike about the area of destination and area of origin and vice versa. Also, stated reasons for migrating often seem to be contradicted by an individual's actual situation. Pastore reminds us that a study of feelings through survey techniques requires disguised devices in order to control instabilities in response. Satisfaction is a highly unstable concept, and is therefore difficult to measure as we lack knowledge on its determinants. 3/

III. REVIEW OF FIELD SURVEYS

45. The highlights of the surveys reviewed will be discussed here. Concentration will be on the information they provide on motives for migration and on assimilation and satisfaction after migration. An attempt will be made to show the degree to which the surveys support the various theoretical approaches to migration. The absence of data necessary to test many of the hypotheses fully is noted.

A. Latin American Surveys

46. We recognize that there are many factors involved in a decision about whether to migrate or not, that it is difficult for people to be conscious of all the factors that influence their decision, and that it is more difficult for people to reconstruct their reasons for moving if they moved many years ago. Nevertheless, the surveys of Latin American countries reviewed here support the theory that economic or job-related reasons are the most important influences on migration.

Evidence supporting migrants' economic orientation appears in their responses to surveys. Whatever may be the shortcomings of these responses, they always indicate a large proportion of migration, as explained by the migrants themselves, as economically motivated....Included as "economically

1/ H.J. Heeren, ed., The Urbanization of Jakarta, Institute for Economic and Social Research, University of Indonesia, November 1955.

2/ Pastore, op. cit.

3/ Ibid.
"motivated" are moves by wives and children to join breadwinners already resident at the destination. Without dealing directly with the well-known problems of accuracy of survey response, it seems significant that so many migrants are aware of the plausibility of an economic answer, even if it lacks completeness or oversimplifies complex decision-making processes that may precede migration. 1/

47. The surveys support the theory of demographic selectivity. All of them attest to the youth of the migrants. Of course, as mentioned earlier, the expected length of their working life is longer, assuring them enjoyment of the expected greater returns from work after migration for a longer period of time. The predominance of females in much migration to urban areas in Latin America can also be interpreted by the rate of return hypothesis. Productive employment for women on farms and in small villages is rare while women have more opportunities for employment in urban areas. Most women, especially those newly arrived, work in domestic service. This accounts for the strong contrast between the occupational distributions of female migrants and natives. Many surveys have indicated that male migrants and natives are distributed similarly throughout the different occupations in urban areas (Chile, Mexico).

48. Educational selectivity of migrants is also supported by Latin American surveys. Herrick notes that "Regardless of the relation between educational attainments of urban migrants and urban natives — in some countries migrants seem better educated... in others, not quite so well -- there seems no doubt about migrants' educational superiority to the population groups from which they come." 2/

49. Many of the surveys indicate the ease with which migrants find their first job (Argentina, Chile) the existence of upward job mobility for some (Chile, Colombia) and lower measured unemployment rates for migrants than natives (Argentina, Chile, Colombia). Distance as a deterrent to migration is supported by numerous surveys. The theory of step migration is observed by some surveys, but not by others. The existence of friends and relatives in urban areas who provide migrants with information and lodging and job assistance after migration, thereby lowering the costs of migration, is overwhelmingly supported by the surveys (Argentina, Chile, Colombia, Mexico).

50. Evidence indicates that migrants enjoyed better water, electricity, medical and educational services since their move to urban areas (Argentina, Peru). Items of dissatisfaction included housing (Argentina) and services (Brazil). Migrants often eventually settle in shantytowns. Herrick notes that

Life, economic and otherwise, in the new shantytowns may be thought disordered or unpleasant by those who apply absolute standards. However, when compared either with living conditions


2/ Ibid., p. 75.
in the countryside or in the central city slums from which many shantytown dwellers emigrate, conditions in the shantytowns are relatively orderly and considerably above those in the place of origin. 1/

Mangin supports this view, "At least one source from every country surveyed stated that the squatters were more satisfied with their present housing and economic situation than with that they had had in the rural areas, small towns, and in the central city." 2/

51. It might be concluded from Herrick's analysis of survey material on migration in Latin America that although most empirical studies do not focus primarily on the economic elements associated with urbanization, this does not prevent an economic interpretation of the data presented. Economic theory is more consistent with the empirical observations than with the impressionistic vision cited by many that migration in Latin America "involves surplus agricultural workers and their families, who come from the poorest and least skilled sectors of the rural population" and results in a "concentration in the cities... of unskilled workers with little chance of finding productive employment." 3/

52. Margulis differentiates between job assimilation and social assimilation of the migrants. While about three-quarters of the migrants he surveyed in Buenos Aires read the newspaper and listened to the radio almost daily, hardly any belonged to clubs or voluntary associations and the majority associated with other migrants during their leisure time. Aspirations for one's children (technically, utility maximization over more than a single generation) may be important in spurring migration. Browning and Feindt classified Monterrey migrants and natives into six categories: 1) those who migrated less than 10 years ago; 2) those who migrated 10 to 20 years ago; 3) those who migrated more than 20 years ago; 4) natives by adoption, i.e., those who were not born in Monterrey but who lived in Monterrey from age 0-15 years; 5) those born in Monterrey whose parents were born elsewhere and 6) those born in Monterrey having at least one parent also born in Monterrey. The survey material for Monterrey indicated progressive assimilation in terms of level of education, occupation and income attained from categories one to six. Even if migrants achieve no improvement for themselves, it seems clear that the opportunity for education and economic mobility for their children is greater in an urban than a rural area. Aspirations for children rise with urban residence. Wilkening's survey of two rural areas in Brazil and Brasilia showed that urban families had higher hopes for their children in terms of education. In general, neither the rural nor urban inhabitants surveyed wanted their children to become farmers. Both agreed that a farmer had a low status and no opportunities for improving his status. Also relevant is Nelson's "analysis of (Inkeles') data (which) suggests that urban workers' aspirations for

1/ Ibid., p.77.


better jobs, housing and status do increase with longer urban residence, but
much more markedly among the skilled than the unskilled." 1/

53. Accompanying other members of the family usually follows job-related
reasons in importance as motives for migrating. Education is another frequently
cited reason. Reasons such as a better climate, personality differences, tran-
sient emotions and accidental occurrences are not indicated in these surveys;
possibly they are concealed in the category "other". Not surprisingly, Wilkening's
survey of migrants to rural areas and migrants to Brasilia as well as Elizaga's
survey of migrants from rural areas and from urban areas to Santiago suggest that
migrants to urban areas are more apt to cite education as their reason for migra-
ting than are migrants to rural areas. Educational improvement is also more often
a motive in inter-urban migration than in rural-urban migration.

54. Owing presumably to problems of definition, technological change and
the degree of diversity between the area of origin and the area of destination in
terms of positive and negative factors were not discussed by the surveys in relation
to the volume of migration. Similarly, return migration and the efficiency
of various migration streams were not covered by the surveys. 2/

55. Though the survey data on Latin America can be interpreted, as Herrick
has done, to support the economic rate of return hypothesis of migration, some
evidence is still lacking. None of the surveys indicate wage data by occupation
or skill level for both area of origin and area of destination. None provide data
on cost-of-living differences between area of origin and destination or on expect-
ed wages. Similarly none give details on all the actual costs of migration, i.e.,
transportation and additional costs for food and lodging, (above that in the area
of origin) or on the complementary training costs, i.e., those costs necessary to
prepare one for a different occupation. While some surveys examine urban unemploy-
ment, the relevant measure for job availability should also cover underemployment,
but information on the latter is absent from the surveys. Herrick describes the
foremost problem in studying the interactions between economic growth and inter-
nal migration to be the "lack of comparable regional wage data by which to measure,
however, roughly, the income alternatives facing potential migrants. This gap in
the desirable data is one of the first which should be filled by any further re-
search in this area." 3/

B. Colombia

56. According to four of the five surveys on the causes of internal migration
in Colombia referred to by William McGreevey, economic and family reasons account

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1/ John Nelson, "Urban Growth and Politics in Developing Nations: Prospects for
the 1970's", Columbia University Conference on International Economic Develop-

2/ As defined by Lee, the "efficiency" of a migration stream is the ratio of a
stream to its counter-stream.

3/ Bruce H. Herrick, Urban Migration and Economic Development in Chile, Cambridge:
or 75-85% of migration. 1/ (The fifth survey attributed 60% of migration to violence.) Since the reasons for both independent and economically dependent migrants are included in these surveys, the hypothesis of the dominance of the economic motive for the independent decision maker is supported.

57. "Economic reasons and desire for employment" (42%) and family (12%) were also the prime motivating forces in William Flinn's survey of barrio El Carmen, a shantytown on the Southwest edge of Bogota. 2/ This barrio is not typical of Bogota in that it has undergone more land improvement and addition of public services than most. Although the difficulties of respondents' accuracy may obscure the picture, the better facilities of Bogota did not appear to be strong sources of motivation. In Flinn's study, education (4%) health (4%), and better living conditions (5%), while mentioned, were not primary influences. Military Service (4%) and violence (13%) were the other specific reasons noted, while "other" unclassified reasons or "no response" accounted for 16%.

58. Dale Adams conducted 700 interviews during 1963-65 in seven rural out-migration areas and four rural in-migration areas. He concludes that "migration appears to be quite selective with respect to education and age." 3/ Migrants to urban areas were reported as better educated than the average person in the area of out-migration. Further, "Almost 80% of the individuals who migrated left the area of their birth before age 25. A large majority of the males who migrated were single when they moved out of the local area. Many of the females, however, moved because of marriage." 4/

59. A study by T.Paul Schultz, based on a sample of 131 municipalities (about 15%) of Colombia which excluded Bogota and Cali points out interesting pattern of sex selectivity. Rural-urban migration is slightly female selective while rural out-migration is not selective; thus rural-rural migration must be male selective. Flinn's study also points to age and sex selectivity in migration to Bogota. 5/

60. Adams concludes that distance is an important deterrent to migration since migrants at a great distance from industrial centers sought out local opportunities in other rural and small town communities.

61. The Flinn study also supports Ravenstein's theory that most people only move a short distance. About 67% of the in-migrants to El Carmen traveled 100 miles or less while less than 5% traveled more than 200 miles. 6/ About 78% of


4/ Ibid., p.534.


6/ Flinn, op.cit., p.23.
the migrants moved directly to Bogota without intermediate stops. These results seem to dispute the step theory. Several Colombian studies, however, indicated that the migration steps take place but that the steps are not necessarily met by the same generation and indeed, probably are not.1/ Only 8% of the migrants to Bogota surveyed by Flinn had neither friends nor relatives living in Bogota at the time of their arrival and nearly one-third received some form of aid from relatives or friends.

62. Flinn's study indicates that El Carmen was the first place of residence in Bogota for only 31% of the migrants residing in El Carmen in 1965. Of the others, 26% had first moved to other shantytowns on the fringe of Bogota and 43% had first moved to the poorer central city area.2/ The poorest migrants, i.e., those bringing the least amount of cash with them, and those without skills or relatives already living in Bogota were more apt to migrate first to the central city. Of the 43% who moved from the central city to El Carmen, several were able to secure a higher occupation during their stay in the central city than that held prior to migrating to Bogota. Just prior to moving to El Carmen 60% were employed in higher status jobs compared to 33% when they arrived in Bogota.3/ Evidence of general satisfaction on the part of the migrants living in El Carmen is reported by Flinn. "The overwhelmingly majority of these slum-dwellers (in Barrio El Carmen) stated that their housing, sanitation facilities, income, medical service, and educational opportunities for the children were better in the barrio than in their previous countryside residence. Few expressed any desire to return to their area of origin."4/

63. According to a study by R. Isaza and F. Ortega, migrants to eight of the major Colombian cities had higher labor force participation rates and lower unemployment rates than those born in the city.5/ Such findings, of course, contradict the more general (and casual) impressions of urban migrants as an "under-class" or as "marginal" persons.

C. Chile

64. Juan Elizaga in discussing the results of a survey of the population of Greater Santiago in 1962 by the Latin American Demographic Center stresses the numerical importance of migration to Santiago.6/ About 50% of the population 15 years of age or over had migrated from outside the metropolitan area.

65. Of the (economically) independent migrants surveyed 52% of the males and 56% of the females migrated for work reasons (looking for work, to obtain a better

1/ Ibid., p.25.
salary, or a transfer). About 10% of both males and females migrated for education reasons. Family problems were cited by 8% of the males and 15% of the females, while 21% of the males and 19% of the females migrated for "other" reasons or gave insufficient information. 1/ A higher percentage of those from rural areas cited work reasons while a higher percentage of those from urban areas cited education reasons. According to a cross-classification of migrants by degree of employment before migrating atc reasons for migrating some of those who declared a reason other than "looking for work" were also looking for work.

66. Migration to Santiago according to Elizaga and Herrick is selective of the young, single and female. Herrick's analysis shows that migrants to Santiago are distinctly better educated than the people living outside Santiago yet lag behind the natives of Santiago in education. 2/

67. The labor force surveys of Santiago from 1956 to 1963 and Herrick's survey of migrants in the labor force in 1964, as well as CELADE's survey indicate that stepwise migration occurs in Chile, with the majority of migrants to Santiago coming from other urban areas (about 2/3 of the migrant in 1962 had come from urban areas, i.e., places with a population of 5,000 or more). Unexpectedly, the flow of migrants to Santiago from 1958 to 1963 was steady despite changes in measured unemployment over this period. The number of explanations exist. Perhaps measured unemployment rate was an inadequate measure of the real rate. More migrants may have found work in the marginal services when jobs were scarcer, thereby increasing the real unemployment rate. 3/

68. According to the CELADE survey, "the manual workers represented practically 2/3 of male labor in Greater Santiago with almost no difference for immigrants and natives." 4/ Herrick's analysis similarly indicates only slight occupational differences between migrant and native males, with a few more migrants in the personal services or employed as self-employed owners. The existence, however, of an unfavorable income differential towards migrants was shown by CELADE survey. Both surveys indicate a lower unemployment rate for migrants than for natives. Migrants are also shown to have a lower unemployment rate than those in the labor force outside of Santiago. Migrant women have a much higher labor force participation rate than native women. Many more migrant women are manual laborers. More migrants had blue collar and professional jobs than before they had migrated.

69. The degree of pre-migration information is touched on by some of the findings. The majority of migrants had visited Santiago before moving. Most had friends or relatives in the city.

1/ Ibid., 366.
2/ Herrick, Urban Migration and Economic Development in Chile, op. cit.
3/ Ibid., pp. 69-70.
4/ Elizaga, op. cit., p. 375.
Transportation to Santiago by train, bus or truck is very inexpensive. Over 60% of the migrants in the labor force found jobs within four weeks after their arrival. This all serves to indicate that the costs of migration to Santiago were not so large. 1/

D. Peru

The major reasons for migrating reported by the heads of households in a census of the barriadas in Lima in 1956 were "economic" or job (61%), "social" or family (23%) and educational (9%). 2/ The bulk of the economically active population (88%) was employed as artisans, laborers, domestics, street peddlers, shopkeepers or stall holders. Only 3% were employed as office or professional workers. "Only 1% of the population declared themselves unemployed.... Seventy-one percent of the economically active population has stable employment, 27% has casual employment, and the position of the remaining 2 percent is unknown." 3/

E. Argentina

A survey of a working class district on the outskirts of Buenos Aires comprised of both shanties and modest houses was conducted by the Institute of Sociology of the National University of Buenos Aires under the direction of Gino Germani in 1957-58. 4/ This district differs from other working class migrant districts in Buenos Aires in that fewer inhabitants are of rural origin. Only 15% of the migrants were from rural areas; 50% were from large towns.

The main reason for migration was to find a job and better working conditions. The migrants felt they had fulfilled this desire, though they perceived their housing conditions as worse. Nevertheless, fewer than 20% regretted their decision to migrate. About 5% of the natives were unemployed, compared to 2-3% of the migrants. More of the recent migrants were unskilled. Over half the recent migrants were underemployed. 5/ Both recent and earlier migrants "state that work in the provinces was much more difficult to obtain, less well paid, less steady and more difficult... they had fewer trade-union rights, worked harder, had longer hours and had less opportunity for advancement." 6/ The average family income of the recent migrants is lower than that of earlier migrants and natives. More than half the migrant families reported difficulty in covering their expenses. The level of general and technical education is higher among the earlier migrants.

Margulis studied migration to the Greater Buenos Aires by surveying household heads in a poor agricultural region, Chilecito, in 1964-66 and then

1/ Herrick, op.cit., p.100.


5/ Ibid., p.221.

6/ Ibid., p.223.
surveying their adult relatives who migrated to Buenos Aires. 1/ Most of the migrants had moved directly to Buenos Aires. Half had moved alone. The respondents in Chilecito as well as the migrants in Buenos Aires stated almost unanimously that the main reasons for migrating were lack of work and low salaries in Chilecito. Over one-third of the respondents in Chilecito were earning a daily salary -- of these 72% were earning less than 300 pesos per day, even though the minimum legal salary was 500 pesos per day. By contrast, the family income reported by the respondents in Buenos Aires ranged from 1,000 to 1,600 pesos per day. 2/ The figures for Buenos Aires are probably distorted as there was probably a tendency to refer investigators to the relatives who were financially successful in Buenos Aires. Half of the respondents in Chilecito felt that their friends and relatives who had migrated to Buenos Aires had a better job and were generally better off economically. Over half of the migrants in Buenos Aires would return if offered work in their hometown, yet as things stand now 62% would migrate to Buenos Aires again if they had another chance, while 38% would stay in their hometown. 3/ 

75. Three-quarters of the male migrants were unskilled workers. Almost three-quarters of the migrants had gotten a job within a month of moving to Buenos Aires. As many as 87% of the migrants said they were satisfied with their work in Buenos Aires and 81% felt they had less work to do than in their place of origin. 4/ 

76. One-third of the migrants were living in a "villa miseria" or slum, 30% in a modest house in a workingman's neighborhood, and the rest in a rented room, apartment or house, hotel or pension, or as a servant in someone else's house. 5/ Sixty-two percent had running water and 88% had electricity -- an improvement over their place of origin. Eighty-five percent felt they had improved their living standards by coming to Buenos Aires; 12% felt they were worse off in terms of housing.

77. Eighty percent of the respondents in Chilecito felt that at least half of their population would migrate. The changes in the migrants noted by those in Chilecito when migrants returned to visit them were: better dress, different accent, change in customs and better educated and more culturally minded. Around 35% of the migrants studied formally after arriving in Buenos Aires. Only 10% of the migrants belonged to a club or voluntary association, 65% never or seldom went to mass, 85% never or seldom went to the cinema, but 73% read at least one paper almost every day and 78% listened to the radio.

1/ Mario Margulis, "Migracion y Marginalidad en la Sociedad Argentina," Buenos Aires, 1968 (?).


3/ Ibid., p. 172.

4/ Ibid., p. 155.

5/ Ibid., p. 152.
everyday. The migrants frequently saw people who came from the same place and the majority of their friends were from the provinces. Over 80% had friends or relatives in Buenos Aires before migrating and almost all of these first stayed with them upon their arrival. 1/ Margulis felt that the participation and interaction of migrants in urban life was limited. They generally had manual jobs and as noted in the summary above, Margulis concluded that they attained assimilation on the job but not socially. They lived among their own people, had their own sub-culture which was poorer, and resisted change and participation in city life.

F. Brazil

78. A sample of young, adult males migrating from the northeastern and eastern parts of Brazil to the State of Sao Paulo were questioned about their reasons for leaving during the 1960's. 2/ Eighty-three percent were agricultural laborers, and of these 32% had owned their land. The majority of the reasons were job-related, e.g., low wages, no work, poor farming conditions, and lack of land. Family reasons were second in importance. Several gave more than one reason. The majority had come to Sao Paulo state looking for farming jobs.

79. Wilkening surveyed migrants in Brasilia, in the rural area surrounding Brasilia, and in rural Itumbiara, a more isolated rural area in the interior in 1966. "Most of the reasons given for leaving the place of residence (by the migrants in these three areas) were of an economic nature such as lack of jobs, lack of land, not enough land, and land wearing out." 3/ Conflicts with landlords and other persons were frequently cited. "The condition of schools and medical services was a more frequent reason for moving for those going to Brasilia." 4/ Social reasons, i.e., the attraction of friends and relatives, were also very important for migrants choosing Itumbiara, while attraction of Brasilia as a place of opportunity since it was a new city was frequently cited by migrants to Brasilia. Those who settled in the rural areas more often gave job related reasons than those who moved to the city for whom social services were more influential. 5/ Like many others, Wilkening sees the influence of the family in migration as essential: by improving the economic position of the family, migration serves to improve its social position. "According to the stem-family theory, the desire on the part of the family and its individuals to maintain and improve their status is a major factor in migration. However, migration is not likely to occur unless local opportunities are limited. If asked why they move, most persons are not likely to indicate that it was because of family aspirations that they did so. Instead they are likely to indicate their dissatisfaction with existing conditions.

1/ Ibid., pp.150-171.


4/ Ibid., p.35.

or their desire to seek better opportunities. Hence, indications of reasons for moving are not likely to be a good indication of family influence." 1/

80. Contrary to what might be expected, urban Brasilia had a lower proportion of nuclear family households (58%) than the two rural areas (72%). Urban households had more relatives and friends or boarders seeking employment in the city. "The extended family is the most important source of information and assistance for migrants." 3/ The result is an "acceleration of immigration to an area for predominantly social rather than economic reasons, until the falling levels of economic opportunity discourage other friends and relatives from coming." 4/

81. With regard to satisfaction after immigration, only 16.5 percent said they would not have come if they "knew what they know now" about Brasilia, and another 6.4 percent were uncertain. "Early migrants to an area tend to have more resources and tend to settle and remain in an area, while later migrants tend to be less stable." 5/ Climate was the thing most liked by the most people after migrating to Brasilia -- followed by better job opportunities and schools, doctors and other services. Things liked least about Brasilia were transportation for those living in satellite cities and the lack of water, sewage, and other facilities in the rural and satellite areas. Eighty-three percent of the migrants to the rural areas around Brasilia felt they were generally better off and happier than in their place of origin compared to 70% in Brasilia and 52% in rural Itumbiara. Houses are similar for urban and rural migrants. "The greatest difference between rural and urban areas is in the utilities of water, sewage and electricity." 6/

82. Only 16% of the urban residents in Brasilia would be interested in returning to farming if they could buy land. There is "considerable ambiguity in the urban person's feelings about the farmer and rural life." 7/ Half consider farm work more pleasant. However, both urban and rural respondents agree that the farmer has a low status and lacks social and economic opportunities for improving his status. Both rural and urban people "are split about equally as to whether the government should do anything about keeping the farmer on the land." 8/

3/ Wilkening et.al., op.cit., p. 695.
4/ Wilkening, op.cit., p.11.
5/ Ibid., p.34.
6/ Ibid., p.31.
7/ Ibid., p.35.
Few farmers want their sons to become farmers. "Educational and occupational aspirations for children indicate the value placed upon achievement and upon status." 1/ Urban respondents had higher educational aspirations for their children than rural; rural Brasilia respondents had higher aspirations for their children than did rural Itumbiara respondents with the same jobs.

83. Pastore in his dissertation on satisfaction of male migrants to urban Brasilia showed that perceptual attitudes towards actual conditions rather than actual conditions were important for satisfaction. 2/ Perception of working conditions was extremely important especially for less developed areas of the city. Perception of city life in general was important, especially for those from the more developed areas of the city. Perception of family's improvement, i.e., wife's satisfaction and child's happiness as well as self-improvement was also important. These perceptual variables were shown to be based on reference groups. Housing and leisure facilities were found to be more important for satisfaction among the inhabitants of more developed areas. Job stability was important for all groups.

84. Migrants working as unskilled and semiskilled laborers in a medium-sized factory in São Paulo expressed dissatisfaction with their living quarters and with the lack of freedom and impersonal relationships in their work. They expressed a desire to be independent and regretted the lack of organized action on their behalf. 3/

85. According to Wilkening, "considerable circular movement occurs between rural and urban areas; among the rural Brasilia respondents almost half had had some urban experience." 4/ Most migrants had moved to several locations before settling in Brasilia and its environs. The median number of moves for migrants to urban and rural Brasilia was three.

36. Browning and Feindt of the Department of Sociology of the University of Texas analyzed life histories of migrants and natives living in Monterrey in 1965. Over 2/3 of the migrant respondents mentioned work either alone (50%) or in combination with family (12%) or education (6%) as their reason for migrating. 5/ Education was more important among the more recent migrants. Over 50% of the respondents stated that they had been satisfied with their work before coming to Monterrey. 6/ Discontinuation of the job and unfavorable agricultural conditions as well as the desire to improve their position and income were reported as economic

1/ Ibid., p.25.

2/ Pastore, "Satisfaction Among Migrants to Brasilia, Brazil", op.cit.


4/ Wilkening, op.cit., p.34.


6/ Ibid., p.10
reasons for migrating, rather than job dissatisfaction per se. 1/ Sixty percent
came directly to Monterrey. About one-fifth came with a signed contract or the
promise of a definite job.

87. An overwhelming 92% of the respondents replied that they were satisfied
with having come to Monterrey. Reasons for satisfaction were: a higher level of
living (24%), work (21%), minimum conditions for an acceptable life (19%), i.e.,
reasons (16%), and the community of Monterrey (10%). Reasons for dissatisfaction
were: disappointment with income and level of living (33%), the community (25%)
and work (14%). 2/ The authors suggest that these are the principal reasons for
people leaving Monterrey. "One of the reasons why so high a proportion of the
migrants report satisfaction with their move to Monterrey is because they are a
self-selective group. An unknown but probably substantial number who became dis-
satisfied with Monterrey left." 3/ "One-third of all migrants have experienced
return migration either to Monterrey or to another place." 4/ The survey estab-
lished the importance of this return migration. Like others we have examined,
it did not investigate its consequences.

88. Many of Ravenstein's hypotheses are supported by this case study.
"Nearly two-thirds of the migrants came from a distance of less than 40 kilometers
and the smaller the size class of community of origin the shorter the distance tra-
velled" and Monterrey draws migrants almost equally from high and low ranking zones
of the Northeast in terms of level of development. 5/ Only 8% of all migrants
completely supported the stage migration hypothesis, while 60% came directly from
rural communities.

89. Migration is selective of the single and young, though only 20% of mi-
gration has been composed of unattached individuals since before 1930 until 1965.
Of the group migration, half is simultaneous and half is "split" with different
members of the group arriving at different times. "Sixty percent of the migrants
lived for some time with relatives or friends and of the remaining 40 percent who
did not, four-fifths lived together as their migratory group." 6/ "Over the years
of heavy immigration to Monterrey a network of social contacts has arisen with
other communities in a way so that migration becomes a continuous process. One
might even go so far as to say that migration can continue to a place even after
the economic attraction fades as a result of the social network that has become
established. Of course, there is no evidence at present to suggest that economic
opportunity in Monterrey is declining." 7/ Once again, the importance of social
relationships in reducing the costs (or increasing the benefits) of migration seems
to be supported.

1/ Ibid., p. 12.
2/ Ibid., pp.17-18.
3/ Ibid., p. 18
4/ Ibid., p. 31.
6/ Ibid., Chap. III, p.28.
7/ Ibid., p. 54.
90. Migrants to Monterrey have also been positively selective of the populations from which they originated in terms of education and occupational position, though over time they have become less selective. 1/ Distribution of migrants by recency of migration and of natives by recency of family residence in Monterrey according to level of education completed, level of occupation and weekly income indicate a progressive adaptation phase according to length of residence in Monterrey. 2/

E. El Salvador

91. Selectivity and assimilation of migrants are analyzed by Ducoff from an ECLA survey of San Salvador in 1960. 3/ Migrants were selective of young adults and of women. Educational selectivity among migrants existed "at both ends of the scale; namely, a higher concentration among migrants of persons with very little schooling as well as of persons with high educational attainment." The migrants who arrived during the 1950's were better educated than those who arrived earlier. The proportion of migrant and native families "with incomes in 1959 of less than 2,500 colones is practically the same." 4/ Ducoff concludes "although the above data suggest no marked economic differentials between the broad categories of migrant and non-migrant population groups, it should be noted there are marked contrast within each of the three broad categories which far exceed any difference between these categories. 5/

I. Summary of Asian Surveys

92. The Asian surveys reviewed overwhelmingly support the hypothesis of the dominance of the economic motive in migration. More than half the working males who migrated cited job-related reasons for their decision to move (India, Thailand, Indonesia and Korea). In India many more migrated in order to find a job than to improve their job. Many of the working migrants were young men seeking their first job (Bombay, India).

93. Migration reasons not related to a job seem influenced by the age of the migrant. In Korea younger independent male migrants (15-24 years) often migrated for education while older independent male migrants (40 to 59 years)


4/ Ibid., p.433.

5/ Ibid., p.434.
sometimes migrated for housing and for health reasons (55 years and over). In
the majority of cases, females migrated for marriage or family reasons. Inter-
urban movers were more apt to migrate for education than were rural-urban migrants. Migrants between rural areas in India were more apt to move for non-economic and non-educational reasons.

94. Reasons given in rural areas in Thailand for not migrating included an
attachment to their home and their family and friends as well as lack of infor-
mation about opportunities elsewhere and a lack of money to pay for the move. This seems to support Friedlander's hypothesis (formulated in connection with his Puerto Rican study) that a certain minimum level of income is necessary before migration can take place. 1/ Further, the lack of information about other opportunities increases the cost of migration since the search process with its accompanying forgone income will be longer. The attraction of friends and relatives can either hold individuals in their native place or pull them towards other areas, if some of them have already migrated. As noted earlier, friends and relatives lower the cost of migration by providing room and board and job introductions. There was some feeling in Thailand that the encouragement of friends and relatives often resulted in misdirected migration, especially in certain rural-rural cases.

95. The information available in the surveys for Indonesia and Thailand indicates that migrants usually move directly from rural areas to big cities, e.g., Djakarta and Bangkok, rather than in stages as observed in some of the Latin American cases. Ravenstein's theories on distance are supported by the surveys for India. Long-distance migration tends to be more job-oriented and directed more toward big cities. Female migration tends to be more short-distance and in connection with marriage.

96. Migration in the Asian countries reviewed here is selective of young
adult males. Several men migrate along and bring their families or part of
their families later. Family migration predominates at least in some areas
(Poona, Indonesia). In Pakistan several migrants and natives in urban areas
live in extended or joint family households. Although the surveys reviewed
here did not indicate the relative level of education of the migrants in their
area of origin, the survey for Bombay indicates that the migrants had a lower
illiteracy rate than the natives and that in Karachi the percentage of migrants of
school age attending school was similar to that of the natives.

97. The labor force participation rate for migrants was higher than that
for natives in the Karachi survey indicating again the greater concentration
of males of working age among the migrants. The surveys for Karachi and Bombay
indicate lower unemployment rates for migrants than natives and similar distri-
butions of income. For Bombay there is a slightly greater concentration of
natives at both extremes of the income distribution. While migrant males in
the labor force in Karachi seem to have similar skills to the natives, migrant
females appear to be much less skilled than their native counterparts.

98. Evidence indicates that migrants as a whole do improve their occupa-
tional level (Bombay, Djakarta, Poona). There is conflicting evidence on the
unemployment rate of migrants; it fell after migration in the Djakarta survey
but rose after migration in the Poona survey. According to the Djakarta survey

1/ Friedlander, Labor Migration and Economic Growth: A Case Study of Puerto Rico, op.c.
migration was not responsive to the measured unemployment and disguised unemploy-
ment rates. Once again, the absence of data on those who left the big
cities after migrating there either to return to their region of origin or
to try another region prevents a conclusion about job and level of living
improvement as a result of migration. In this respect, the surveys on assim-
ilation of migrants are biased in that they are positively selective of the
migrant to any given area, neglecting those who do not stay.

99. Hardly any data on satisfaction after migration was available in these
Asian surveys. In Bangkok the temporary migrants complained about their low
wages and the majority stated that they preferred village life to Bangkok.

100. The same criticisms regarding lack of relevant information can be
levelled at the Asian surveys reviewed as were directed at the Latin American
surveys. Also, many of these surveys were taken during the 1950's. Changes
in the interim may therefore have made some of their conclusions out-dated.

J. Pakistan

101. The Pakistan Institute of Development Economics conducted a survey
of the household population of the Federal Capital Area of Karachi during 1959
to 1960. This socio-economic survey provides information on the assimila-
tion of domestic migrants, i.e., migrants to Karachi from other parts of Pakistan,
and international immigrants, i.e., migrants to Karachi from other countries,
primarily India. Only 17% of the population of Karachi at the time of the sur-
vey was native, 65% was international immigrant and 18% domestic migrant. The
large percentage of international immigrants in Karachi makes the city an atypical

102. The large percentage of migrants living in non-family type households
indicates that several persons migrated without their families. The high mas-
culinity ratio of 187 for domestic migrants compared to 115 for international
immigrants and 104 for natives indicates that many males migrated alone to
Karachi. 1/ The masculinity ratio by home district declines as the distance
from Karachi decreases, supporting Ravenstein's observation that female migra-
tion tends to be short-distance migration. The domestic migrants had a much
lower dependency ratio (55.3%) than natives (72.1%) and international immigrants
(72.9%), since many of the domestic migrants live without a family in Karachi. 2/
Migrants of school age (5-20 years) in Karachi were as apt to be in school as
were the natives. 3/

103. The labor force participation rate for male domestic migrants (69.2)
was much higher than that for natives (53.0) and international immigrants (50.5)

1/ I. Husain et al. Social Characteristics of the People of Karachi, Pakistan

2/ G. Farooq. The People of Karachi, Economic Characteristics, Pakistan Institute

3/ Husain, op.cit., p. 65.
while that for female domestic migrants (3.2) was very low as was that for natives (4.0) and immigrants (2.1). 1/ Domestic migrants had the lowest unemployment rate (3.2%). The unemployment rate for natives was 3.8%; for international immigrants, 3.3%. 2/

104. Proportionately more male natives were employed in agriculture (20%) than male domestic migrants (1%) or international immigrants (1%). Proportionately more male migrants (26%) and immigrants (18%) were employed in government and semi-government services than male natives (6%). And proportionately more male immigrants (10%) were employed in personal services than male immigrants (6%) and natives (5%). Female migrants appear to be much less skilled than female natives and immigrants. Sixty-two percent of the female migrants were in personal services compared to 18% of the native women and 33% of the immigrant. 3/

105. The occupational distribution of the labor force shows that the international immigrants possessed the most skills. Fourteen percent of the immigrants were professionals, technicians, administrators or managers compared to 11% of the natives and only 6% of the domestic migrants; and 22% of the foreign immigrants were clerks or skilled laborers compared to 19% of the domestic migrants and only 10% of the natives. Eighteen percent of the natives were farmers compared to 1% each for immigrants and migrants. The domestic migrants had many more semi-skilled and unskilled laborers and servants, etc. (51%) than the immigrants (24%) or natives (30%). The migrants had fewer sales workers (the bulk of which were hawkers and vendors) (2%) than the immigrants and natives (9%). 4/

106. The median income of the natives (Rs. 84.33) was similar to that of the migrants (Rs. 87.13) while the immigrants enjoyed a median income of Rs. 101.94. 5/ However, "though the immigrant worker (was) earning the highest income, the per capita income for the immigrant population as a whole... (was) much lower than the domestic migrants (Rs. 42.31 compared to Rs. 55.06). 6/ This is explained by the fact that while only 51% of the native males and 50% of the immigrant males were earning an income, 67% of the immigrant males were earners. 7/

1/ Farooq, cp.cit., pp.21-22.
2/ Ibid. The usual qualifications and doubts with respect to the reliability and interpretation of these unemployment rates apply here.
3/ Ibid., p.45.
4/ Ibid., p. 55.
5/ Ibid., p.124.
6/ Ibid., p. 125.
7/ Husain, op.cit., p.57.
107. Of all groups, natives lived under the poorest and most overcrowded conditions. "Water and electricity are available to the greatest degree in immigrant households; (domestic) migrant households come next and natives are last." 1/

K. India

108. Several surveys indicate that migration for job-related reasons has predominated in India. The thirteenth national sample survey of urban households during 1957-58 indicates that 54% of male migrants in the labor force migrated "in search of employment" or "for better employment", 8% "under transfer" on business or service contract and 7% for "other economic reasons." 2/ Thirteen percent were political refugees. While only 1% of male migrants in the labor force migrated because of "marriage", 57% of the female migrants in the labor force did so. Considering all migrants, rather than just those in the labor force, 53% of male migrants migrated "independently", i.e., on the basis of their own decision, while only 7% of the female migrants did so. Only 4% of all migrants to urban areas migrated for educational reasons. More temporary migrants (8%) came to urban areas for education than permanent migrants (2%). More short-distance migration was for marriage than long-distance migration, whereas more out-of-state migration was for job-related reasons. More of the long-distance migrants went to the big cities. Proportionately more of the migrants to big cities went for employment reasons. The 11th and 12th national sample surveys (1955-57) indicate that proportionately more migrants to rural areas went for other than job-related or education reasons than migrants to urban areas. More males migrated to big cities and towns over 30,000, while more females migrated to towns under 30,000. 3/

109. Lakdawala's survey of Bombay City primarily during 1955-56 supports the more general findings of the national sample survey, as 71% of the migrant earners in Bombay came solely for job-related reasons, e.g., insufficient land to cultivate, meager income, unemployment, insufficient employment and prospects for better employment, while 14% came for a combination of job-related and other reasons. 4/ Similarly, the Gokhale Institute of Politics and Economics' survey of Poona in 1954 indicates that 54% of the temporary immigrant families came seeking employment while 19% came on account of a transfer. Thirteen percent of the temporary migrant families came for educational reasons compared to 7% of the permanent. While the percentage of lone migration sharply increased between 1949 and 1954, as of 1954 family migration still predominated. 5/

110. Distribution of male earners by their first industry of employment after migration to Bombay shows that 40% were in processing, manufacturing and

1/ Ibid., p. 61.


3/ Ibid., pp.9, 10, 11, 23, 69, 80.


construction, 1% in primary industries, 45.1% in services and 14% unknown.
Before migrating 35% of these same migrants were employed in agriculture, 9% in processing, manufacturing and construction, 13% in services and 8% unknown; 35% were non-earning dependents. 1/ The expected shift to the secondary and tertiary sectors is evident, as is the importance of young males seeking their first job after migration. After migration to Bombay 33% of these male earners were employed at skilled and semi-skilled manual occupations, 17% at unskilled manual occupations, 37% at managerial, administrative, executive, clerical, professional, technical, financial and commercial, and medium and large-scale trading; occupations and shop assistants and 8% unknown.

111. A comparison of the occupational distribution before and after migration to Bombay is complicated by the fact that 35% of the working migrants were non-earning dependents before they migrated. Excluding this 35%, the occupational distribution of the male earning migrants in their native place was: 56% skilled and semi-skilled; 15% unskilled; 17% managerial, administrative, technical, etc.; 2% small-scale retail and shop assistant; and 10% unknown. Thus, migration resulted in a decrease in skilled and semi-skilled employment and an increase in administrative, managerial, technical, etc. Unskilled employment seems to have increased slightly. Quite clearly, the whole change in the occupational distribution cannot be attributed to the change of location, as the composition of the male earning population changed considerably with the addition to the earning population of previously non-working dependents. 2/ The evidence indicates that migrants improved their occupation during their stay in Bombay. 3/

112. The Poona Survey indicates a slight decline in the number of families employed in agriculture and unskilled manual labor after migration and a sharp increase in those employed in skilled and highly skilled occupations and as clerks and shop assistants. 4/ However, stated unemployment also rose after migration from 0.3% to 3.6%. The number attending school and not working, as well as other non-working dependents, declined.

113. The Bombay Survey indicates a lower unemployment rate (4.8%) for migrants than for natives (7.4). 5/ The distribution of family income was similar for natives and migrants, with slightly more native families at the lowest and highest levels. 6/ The average income per family for all surveyed, Rs. 268.5, was approximately the average for both natives and migrants. The migrant population had a slightly lower illiteracy rate (21%) than the native (24%).

1/ Lakdawala, op.cit., pp.178-179.
2/ Ibid., pp.186-188.
3/ Ibid., pp.189-191.
4/ Sovani, op.cit., pp.140-141 and 146-147.
5/ Lakdawala, op.cit., p.482.
6/ Ibid., p. 278.
L. Indonesia

114. Households in the most densely populated districts of Djakarta, excluding those mostly inhabited by Chinese, were surveyed by the Institute of Economic and Social Research in 1953. Three-quarters of the total were born outside of Djakarta. Eighty percent of the migrants had moved directly to Djakarta; those of urban origin had moved slightly less directly than those of rural origin. 1/ Migrants generally had smaller families than the natives, though they may have left some of their children behind. Only 39% of the migrants came alone. 2/ Over half the male migrants were married before arrival, compared to less than one third of the female migrants. Male household heads gave mostly economic reasons for migrating: 64% because of "financial pressure", "unsatisfactory position" and a desire to "improve income", 2% "for trade" and 10% for "official transfer". Study accounted for 7%. 3/ Economic reasons were relatively more important for people of rural origin while education for self or child and transfers were relatively more important for people of urban origin.

115. On the whole, male migrants improved their social position. Unemployment after migration declined from 11% to 6%. 4/ Forty-eight percent of the male migrants improved their occupations compared to 41% whose occupations remained at the same level and 11% whose occupations were at a lower level. As before, it must be remembered that this sample is positively selected, there being no data on the migrants who left the city.

116. About 30% were peasants before migrating. Many of these obtained jobs in industry, transport and street selling. During World War II, in-migration continued at the same pace, though more migrants were unemployed or street vendors (disguised unemployment) because of the less favorable economic conditions. There was no correlation between the region of origin and occupation of the migrants, but the area of settlement varied by occupation and by area of origin.

M. Thailand

117. The ILO along with government officials undertook an internal migration survey during the early 1960's. 5/ There were two surveys of Bangkok-Thonburi, one during 1962-63 of 2352 unemployed persons looking for work at the Employment Service, the other in 1963 during the monsoon season of 500 temporary migrants working mostly in the building sector at different work sites. A rural survey covered about three-fourths of the area of Thailand and collected the opinions and knowledge of local government officials, villagers, teachers, chiefs and migrants. "This survey unquestionably leads to the recognition that economic factors

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1/ H.J. Heeren, ed., The Urbanization of Djakarta, Institute for Economic and Social Research, Djakarta School of Economics, University of Indonesia, November, 1955, p. 31.

2/ Ibid.

3/ Ibid., p. 36.

4/ Ibid., p. 33.

are the primary cause of migratory movements... Thai people dislike leaving the place of origin, essentially because they appreciate the security and comfort derive from the proximity of their families and relatives." 1/

Population pressure and unfavorable climate in the form of both flooding and lack of water in the north-east, as well as the need to enlarge arable land, encourage migration. Fragmentation of land holdings induces migration, as does the lack of diversification in agricultural officers and skilled technicians to advise farmers on new techniques and new crops, which hinders the development of agriculture. Decreasing demand for an agricultural product encourages permanent migration from areas producing mainly that product. There is an absence of industrial establishments offering employment in rural areas. Small-scale home industries employ almost exclusively women, e.g. raising silk worms, spinning and weaving. In a few specific areas the threat of robbery causes migration.

118. As a result of various negative factors in the area of origin, people migrate anticipating an improvement in living conditions and better land or wage earning activity. They migrate to obtain additional income; they desire more commodities which are obtainable elsewhere. Many migrants are seasonal. They migrate to earn money and then return. They are attracted by the higher wages, especially in the south, in tin mines, rubber plantations and factories. Middlemen, usually from the same village, recruit labor and facilitate temporary migration by advancing the transportation cost as well as part of the wages to migrants' parents or wives. "Wages of 500 or 600 baht, plus food and accommodation are common and compare favorably with the 200 baht plus lodging and meals, the regular wage rate in Chantaburi, for instance." 2/

119. "The inducement of friends and relatives who moved previously... is a factor of primary importance that does not act in isolation, but is found associated with others in almost every case of migration. Unfortunately information given by friends and relatives is not always reliable and this factor is too often responsible for uneconomic and misdirected movements, principally in the case of permanent migration of farming families in search of new land." 3/

120. Students are attracted by the better educational opportunities in larger towns and in Bangkok; many remain after completing their studies because of better job opportunities. Others return to help their families farm, frequently failing to utilize the training they received in urban areas.

121. Reasons cited for staying in rural areas include a deep sentimental attachment to the place of origin, parents' objections, a lack of money for removal and settlement elsewhere, and a lack of information on other possible places to settle as well as a fear of social isolation.

122. Bangkok not only attracts the better educated migrants seeking jobs that demand their skill, but it serves as a destination for many temporary migrants seeking a target sum to take home. Almost half the men interviewed thought they

1/ Ibid., p. 79.
3/ Ibid., p. 141.
would be able to take money home. Stage migration to Bangkok was rare. Over half those interviewed found employment within three days. Only 14% spent more than 2 weeks looking for a job. "It seems certain that workers who do not find a job do not remain for long in the metropolitan area and that Bangkok is not crowded with an inert mass of unemployed persons." While finding a job was not a major complaint among the migrants, they did find low wages and the fact that they were not paid immediately irksome. Migrants most easily found jobs through introductions to employers by natives of their own regions, either friends or relatives. The same person often accommodated the migrant for a few days. "According to the informants interviewed in the North-East Zone, it seems that the proportion of workers returning home without having found any employment is extremely low." As for accommodations, 55% of the temporary migrants interviewed lived in housing provided by their employers, 23% lived with friends and relatives, 9% rented individual lodgings and 8% shared rented quarters with fellow migrants. Less than half preferred living in Bangkok to living in their villages.

N. Korea

According to a survey of Seoul, 63% of the lone male migrants to Seoul from 1961-66 came for job-related reasons and 33% came for their own education. Among male migrants accompanied by at least one other 88% came for job-related reasons and 5% for their children's education. For lone female migrants, 71% came for job-related reasons, 10% to join their families, 10% for marriage and 8% for their own education. Accompanied females came primarily to join family (46%) as well as for job-related reasons (27%) and their children's education (21%). Secondary psychological reasons were primarily for a "better life" and because of the "attraction of Seoul." Another classification indicates that independent migrant males 15 years and over came primarily for job-related reasons (73%), followed by housing (14%), education (11%), health (1%) and other (2%) reasons. Those 25 to 39 years and 60 years and over were most apt to come for job-related reasons (80-84%), while proportionately more of those 15 to 19 years (43%) and 20 to 24 years (25%) came for education. Those 40 to 59 years were more apt to come for housing reasons (17-28%) and those 55 years and over for health reasons (2-3%).

1/ Ibid., p. 73.
2/ Ibid.
3/ Ibid., p. 117.
4/ Ibid., p. 118.
5/ Ibid., p. 72.
Summary of African Surveys

124. In Africa, as in Asia and Latin America, the majority of migrants have moved for employment reasons. They are attracted by the money income and consumer goods that urban jobs provide. Skinner's survey of the Mossi who migrated seasonally from Upper Volta to Ghana shows that seasonal migration is entirely for economic reasons, i.e., for the greater income it offers. Caldwell's survey of both rural and urban areas of Ghana indicates that migrants from poorer areas place more stress on economic motivations. For many of them migration is an economic necessity. Family reasons and better facilities, as well as culture, travel and prestige were also cited in Ghana. While the lower costs and the traditional style of life in rural areas were attractive to many Ghanaians, the higher real income in terms of salary and facilities in urban areas was generally found to be more attractive.

125. The few surveys reviewed for Africa (Ghana, Upper Volta, Cairo, Mombasa, Kampala, Gwelo) showed that return migration was more prevalent than in Asia or Latin America, although the scarcity of data on the subject has already been cited. Mobility between urban and rural areas and within urban areas was very common. In fact, rural-urban-rural migration seemed to be the rule. The duration of stay in urban areas varied from a season to a few years to the employment of one's life. Permanent one-way migration was far less prevalent. Contact with rural relatives was maintained by migrants to urban areas through visits, remittance of money and assistance rendered to other relatives coming to urban areas. In 1963 one-third of the rural households in Ghana were receiving remittances from relatives living in urban areas. If a migrant returned to his village after only a season or a few years he would probably migrate back to the same city or to another city later. Evidence from Ghana indicates that almost all migrants (92%) to urban areas intend to return to their village; their goal in the city is to save enough to enable them to retire to a house of their own in their village; many return after periods as long as 45 years. Ghanaian evidence also indicates that many migrants aged 15-19 years return because of failure in the city.

126. Distance again is shown to be a negative factor. There is not much evidence of step migration (Ghana). Migration to urban areas is shown to be selective of young males (Ghana, Cairo, Kampala, Mombasa and Gwelo). Seasonal migration was more male selective than longer-term migration. Families followed males in most longer-term migration and there was evidence that longer distance and family migration were on the increase (Ghana).

127. Selectivity in terms of education seemed to vary. In Cairo the majority of migrants were poor in education and skills, while in Ghana rural-urban migration seemed to be generally selective of the better educated. In Accra migrants were more educated than the natives on the average. Education was regarded as preparation for urban jobs in Ghana. Migration in Ghana was also selective of those rural persons from larger villages and from a higher economic level. In general, in Ghana the migrants to urban areas found what they expected, though they complained about financial disappointments.

128. Traditional kin ties were strong in urban areas, both because the majority of migrants planned to return to their villages and because these family
ties served as a buffer to the strangeness of a new life and provided security in a new environment which did not offer another type of security.

129. According to the 1963 Ghana survey 1.5% of the national income was sent in cash to rural families by urban migrants, and most rural families felt therefore that migration was beneficial to them as well as to urban areas.

P. Ghana

130. The Demography Unit of the University of Ghana surveyed households in urban immigrant and rural emigrant areas in 1963. This is the most in-depth survey reviewed in this paper. Over half the urban respondents (of whom 72% were migrants) and over half the rural respondents cited economic reasons for migration to big towns, e.g., to obtain jobs, money and consumer goods. "More money and a better standard of living in the town rather than insufferable economic conditions in the village" were seen as the prime motivations. 1/

131. While employment was the major lure, it was not the only one. A "preference for town life" and "for town husbands", the desire "to become civilized, sophisticated" and to attain "prestige" as well as "to travel and enjoy new experiences", "to gain education and training" and "to join relatives" were all given as reasons. Though urban areas were regarded as more attractive on balance than rural areas, the positive and negative factors of both urban and rural areas were indicated by the respondents.

132. Village life was thought to be pleasant because of cheap and fresh food, low cost of living, free or cheap accommodation, the quiet life, the possibility of mutual help by family and friends, and the enjoyment by some respondents of farming, and the traditional and family culture. Rural and urban respondents felt people stayed in rural areas because of a satisfactory village job, the possession of a farm or land, a preference for village life, family responsibilities or ties, or the difficulty of migration due to a lack of money or education. Village life was regarded as unpleasant by rural and urban respondents because of inadequate water supplies; no work or no suitable work, especially for the educated; no nightclubs, bars, etc.; bad roads, poor transportation and poor communications; a shortage of consumer goods; poor medical, health, electrical, etc. facilities; crop failures; and the dull, uncivilized way of life. Village life was generally regarded as being more manageable, and town life more corrupting.

133. While the negative attributes of city life were thought to be primarily economic, as were its attractions, they tended to be on the expenditure side rather than the income side. The necessity of paying for everything, often at high prices, was displeasing. Specific responses about the drawbacks of city life included the high cost of living, housing and goods; a shortage of money and employment; bad housing; poor sanitation; crime; traffic and accidents; the fast, impersonal life; and excessive noise.

1/ Caldwell, op.cit., pp.88-89.
Many tribes associated social prestige with a period of town residence, especially for young men who could earn money for the bride price. As this example shows, however, social and economic motives are often mutually consistent and, thus, methodologically nearly inseparable. Social reasons for going were more important in the south, while economic reasons were more common in the north. Caldwell feels that "the rural-urban relationship will probably become more important socially and less urgent economically." 1/

While the survey questions themselves do not indicate the income differential among different regions, Caldwell cites average annual income per capita to have been $105 in the Accra Capital District in 1960, which was twice the level found in the south of Ashanti, somewhat more than that found in Volta, and almost five times than received in the north. Caldwell goes on to explain that, while costs in Accra are much higher and migrants may not attain the average wage, the real differential still exists even though it may be less than that expected by the migrants. A period of search for work, part of a period of initial unemployment, can be viewed as an investment necessary to obtain an urban job, though regular employment for all migrants may be impossible.

Distance as a negative factor is evident in the fact that the percentage of the rural population which had never migrated increased with the distance from the major urban centers, except for those over 250 miles away where the special economic problems of the north meant many had previously migrated, at least seasonally. Step migration was not very important in Ghana. Caldwell feels that factors encouraging rural-urban migration are growing, e.g., high birth rates and the decline in infant mortality, the spread of education, and the concentration of more "relatives" in town.

Age and education have largely determined propensity to migrate. Migrants to urban areas have been predominantly between 15 to 29 years of age. Most young people emigrated when they finished their education and were looking for their first job. There was a greater tendency for the literate, especially those literate in English to migrate. In Ghana education has been regarded as a means of preparation for urban occupations. Middle school leavers were sufficiently literate to want town jobs. The 1963 rural-urban migrant stream contained a high proportion of young, educated persons with qualifications certainly exceeding on average those of the general Accra population. Almost three-fourths of the rural respondents planning migration for the first time were school children or dependents.

Rural-urban migration has also been male selective, especially from more isolated and traditional areas. Seasonal migration, which was much more common from subsistence areas, was especially male selective, the ratio in this case being more than 2:1.

1/ Ibid., p. 170.
139. Households above the average economic level in rural areas were more apt to migrate. More were planning migration, more actually migrated, more were apt to keep their children in school, more were apt to have family members in town and more were apt to have permanent returnees who had raised the economic level of the family. Craftsmen and those with skilled trades were more apt to migrate. Larger villages produced a significantly greater proportion of rural-urban migrants, whose economic and educational levels were apt to be higher. Those with family members in urban areas were more apt to migrate. Over half the urban migrants stayed with family or friends after first arriving. As many as four-fifths of urban migrant households gave some help to relatives coming from the villages.

140. The influence of the urban areas on rural areas appears to be substantial. About one third of rural households received money from town. Half these households felt migration and the resulting remittances were essential to the rural areas. In 1963 cash receipts of rural areas from urban areas amounted to over $8 million, or 1.5% of the national income — excluding spontaneous gifts and goods. This inflow of money encouraged new activity, trade and the arrival of more lorries. It also helped to ease urban-rural strains.

141. Two-thirds of migrants found town life to be as they had expected. Of the other third, several found it better than they expected. Curiously enough, in answer to another question, only about half the urban respondents found "town life as satisfactory as they had hoped." In any case, three-fourths claimed to have had financial disappointments. These disappointments were related to the socio-economic distance over which the migrant had travelled, i.e., they were greater for poor, traditional, un-educated migrants. Most had an idea of town life before migration, many from a previous visit. Most people travelled to town by lorry. The majority had saved enough of their own money to cover travel expenses. Most of the rest had received a gift or loan from relatives. Some borrowed from a present or future employer. Migration has been becoming increasingly long distance. with wives and children accompanying or following shortly after the male breadwinner. Caldwell feels that migration has been increasingly motivated by ambition or whim rather than economic necessity, although economists usually have difficulty distinguishing objectively among "ambition", "whim", and "need".

142. Responses in the rural survey indicated that 73% had never migrated (92% of those hoped to migrate), 4% had migrated seasonally, 12% were "long-term absentees" (either currently in town or intending to return to town), and 8% were permanent returnees.

143. The importance of return migration is evident. As many as 92% of urban migrants intended ultimately to return to their home village. Of those 90% expected to own a house there and 22% already owned a house there. Indeed, of all persons over 65 years of age who migrated to town for long periods, 79% had returned permanently to their villages. The majority of urban migrants reported that they had more good friends in the village. Personal relationships with those in the village were maintained. Periodic visits, remittances, gifts, and sharing of experience helped to maintain the ties and along with the savings a migrant brought with him upon returning helped him to earn respect. The highest
priority of urban migrants was to establish a base in their rural home areas to return to; saving made this possible. Many returned after 45 years of age. There was also a high percentage of return among the youngest age group of independent migrants (15-19 years of age), predominantly failures. There was some indication that unemployment was rising in 1963. 1/

In another Ghanaian study Skinner interviewed about 9,500 seasonal migrants from Upper Volta at Ghana's Yeji ferry upon their return home in 1954. 2/ While 83% of these worked on farms and only some of the others worked in towns, their case is interesting because of the extent of rural-to-rural migration in West Africa. These Mossi migrants were usually men aged 16-30 years. They left home for 5 or 6 months, the dry season at home, in search of work in Ghana or the Ivory Coast, making every effort to save as much money as possible. Only about 20% of these seasonal migrants did not return at the end of the season; these may not have realized their economic goal or may have decided to earn still more money. None of the respondents gave any other than an economic motive for their seasonal migration. Their families did not encourage them to migrate. "Almost all the Mossi queried stated that, if they were able to find work in their own home areas, they would not migrate." 3/

Q. Egypt

An unpublished survey of Cairo indicates that more than one-third of Cairo's permanent residents are migrants, most of whom are from rural areas. 4/ Some are bright young people who came in search of education or better job opportunities. These are easily assimilated into the city's culture. The overwhelming majority, however, are "non-selective" migrants, i.e., the "have-nots" of the village who "ruralize" parts of the city once they cannot adapt to a city culture. Migration to Cairo has been male selective. Migrants tend to stay initially with friends -- relatives and then later find more permanent lodgings in the same area, so migrants from one village tend to be clustered together in one part of the city.

R. East Africa

The importance of family and tribal ties after migration is evident in the surveys for East Africa. A survey of Mombasa, Kenya (in the late 1950's?) indicated a great amount of contact, e.g., visits and remittances, between urban and rural family members. 5/ Marriage was still within the tribal group. An urban migrant's status and security in old age were still very much dependent on his standing in his village.

1/ The observations in the preceding paragraphs have all been drawn from or influenced by the Caldwell study, op.cit. I cite the work as a whole to avoid the fatiguing task of footnoting each sentence in the text with its particular reference in Caldwell.


3/ Ibid., p.66.


147. Gutkin's survey of the all-African parish of Mulago in the peri-urban fringe of Kampala, Uganda (1956-58) concentrates on rural-urban-rural mobility also. 1/ Some twenty-five tribes were represented in this parish. There was considerable mobility in and out of the parish as well as within the parish. Most of those from a distant tribe were without their family. They frequently severed their urban ties to return home for awhile. Many of the migrants worked in government and business offices in Kampala; others worked in Mulago in shops, the hospital or in other services. They were largely "target workers" who had come for a specific amount of money and/or certain skills. They would return home whenever their agricultural or other economic activities demanded them.

148. While in Mulago, those males from a distant village were tied to a "non-kin associational network." Friends from their tribe, work or neighborhood participated with them in beer drinking clubs, recreational associations or credit clubs. These associations provided assistance in finding a job and living quarters when necessary.

149. A survey of Gwelo, Southern Rhodesia, (in the late 1950's?) indicates the same pattern: "Typically, a man leaves his tribal area to seek work in town. He may or may not bring his family with him. After a varying period in town, he returns to the reserve whether he has accomplished his goals or not. At some later time he may return to the same or a different town. The circulation between town and rural areas may continue for the greater part of a man's life. There is also considerable occupational and residential mobility within a single town." 2/ People are drawn to those towns where their kin are. Traditional kin ties to persist in town because they "operate as the primary social and psychological buffers in the system of urban relations in which no new security devices have as yet replaced the traditional ones...(and because) invariably a man in Gwelo looks forward to returning to his kind and reserve permanently." 3/ Migration appeals to young men, as status is based much more on age in rural areas. The majority of Africans in Gwelo were employed as unskilled laborers and domestics and lived in specially designated areas outside the town proper.

IV. Summary and Conclusions

A. Who Migrates?

150. Internal migrants are not simply a random sample of the general population. Young adults in their teens and twenties have a higher propensity to migrate than do persons in other age groups, especially from rural to urban areas. 4/ They often migrate after finishing their education or as they enter the labor force.


3/ Ibid., p. 131

Ravenstein claimed, on the basis of his studies of England, that females were more migratory than males and that they predominated in short-distance migration. As noted in our survey above, systematic proof for low income countries is not available to support such a contention. Furthermore, it is generally recognized that sex selectivity varies more than age selectivity.

Three historical stages for rural-urban migration, observed in the United States by Bogue, might possibly be extended to describe the experiences of other countries. In the first stage, more males than females migrate, migration is seasonal or residence at the destination lasts only a year or two. During a second stage, more families migrate and more migrants intend to stay for several years or until they retire, if not permanently. Finally, during the third stage, more females migrate. Some evidence suggests that a significant amount of return migration exists at all stages.

The evidence on the balance between lone and family migrants and unmarried and married migrants is fragmentary. However, it has been hypothesized that there are many more lone migrants than migrants who are family heads and that the lone migrants tend to be younger.

Rural inhabitants with personal contacts, i.e., friends and relatives in the city, are more apt to migrate. A certain minimum income level is necessary to cover the costs of moving before migration can be considered. It has been hypothesized that dynamic, risk-taking individuals are more apt to migrate, as are members of ethnic, religious or social groups which suffer discrimination.

It has been hypothesized that rural-urban migration occurs in steps, with many migrants moving from rural areas to small cities and eventually to large cities. The evidence on this seems somewhat ambiguous, in large part because empirical verification requires the collection of detailed residence histories from the migrants. This hypothesis may well be demonstrated more over generations than by an individual.

B. Why Do People Migrate?

The greater the difference between urban and rural areas in wage, social service and infrastructure opportunities, the greater the flow of migrants from rural to urban areas tends to be.

Differential economic opportunities are frequently expressed in terms of income levels and job availabilities, or more specifically wages and unemployment rates. It must be kept in mind that many urban workers earn less than


3/ Rates of employment growth, the size of total employment, the actual number of jobs created, and ratios of past migrants to total population can also be used as indicators of job availability.
the legislated "minimum" wage and that the expected wage, or average wage and unemployment rate, vary according to occupation or skill level. Todaro suggests that the expected urban wage for a potential rural-urban migrant equals the minimum urban wage rate adjusted by the percentage of the urban labor force employed.1/

The absence of data on wages and the methodological and empirical difficulties of measuring unemployment rates for various occupations in cities and rural areas within a developing nation impedes meaningful comparisons. Data on the minimum urban wage and the minimum agricultural wage are available; and estimates of income per capita or income per worker are frequently available for different regions, if not for different cities. These types of wage data are notably absent from sample surveys, however, as are meaningful unemployment data.

Sample survey evidence supports the hypothesis that the majority of independent migrants (excluding dependent wives and children) more for job-related reasons. Those from the relatively poorest agricultural regions and seasonal migrants are more apt to migrate out of economic necessity than those from more developed agricultural or urban areas. Many migrants come to urban areas because they could not get a satisfactory job in their area of origin; many of these are new entries into the labor force. Other migrants come to get a better job, to benefit from better working conditions and to enjoy superior opportunities for promotion. A few are transferred by their firms. Each of these situations is compatible with the hypothesis that migration is a response to economic forces (or forces that can be so interpreted) by persons who act as if they were maximizing the present value of future expected income streams.

An economically motivated decision to migrate is based on a comparison of expected future real income differentials, where "income" is broadly defined. In calculating expected income after migration, the anticipated cost of moving must be deducted. This would include actual transportation costs, increased room and board expenses and the income forgone during the time it takes to move and find a job. Friends and relatives not only provide information about job possibilities but help to lower the cost of migration by providing free room and board, job introductions and general adjustment assistance. Some applied migration models use distance as a proxy for the costs of migration, e.g., the cost of moving, the lack of information and the social and cultural differences which make adjustment more difficult. If complementary investments in training, either on-the-job training or pre-employment training, are necessary to make migration economically attractive, then any increase in future income after migration must be attributed to both the migration investment and the training investment. If the migrant must bear the cost of training himself, his access to the necessary funds must be taken into account.

Migration to join family and friends seems partially to explain the increasing trend of internal migration over time. Technological advance may also explain this tendency if it increases regional specialization, thereby increasing the differences between areas.

162. One might conjecture that the availability and quality of different types of education influence migration. However, the evidence is rather ambiguous. One hypothesis claims that greater availability and higher quality of primary education facilities in rural areas discourages rural-urban migration, while the opposite holds for secondary education. The conceptual difficulties lie in the question of the intergenerational welfare maximization—the migrant may be acting so as to raise his children's incomes rather than his own, in the incompletely understood causal links among formal education, "native" ability, and income; and in the uncertain division between consumption and investment expenditures for education.

163. The availability and quality of health facilities and housing are less frequently cited in sample surveys as reasons for migrating, but this may merely reflect the closed-end nature of such surveys rather than the "real" causes of migration. Certain evidence suggests that health services and housing are relatively more important for middle-aged and older migrants.

164. Some African surveys concluded that freedom from elders and social prestige were prime reasons for young adult males migrating to cities. In Colombia, avoiding rural violence was a major factor. Political instability in certain parts of a country can encourage out-migration. Very little evidence supports the hypothesis that rural-urban migrants primarily seek better entertainment facilities, although, once again, the surveys examined were at best imperfect instruments from which to make such a determination. While a favorable climate is appreciated by migrants after moving, it does not seem to encourage much migration. Lee hypothesizes that transient emotions, mental disorder, and accidental occurrences account for much migration, but does not go on to test these conjectures. 1/

C. What is the Effect of Migration on Economic Development?

165. In the absence of external economies or diseconomies, if migration does in fact shift labor from regions of low economic opportunity and therefore low marginal labor productivity to regions of high economic opportunity and high marginal labor productivity, then internal migration does foster economic growth. As out-migration reduces labor supply, other things being equal, wages tend to rise in the sending area. However, if unemployment or underemployment is high, wages may remain unchanged while surplus labor declines and per capita income (taken simply as a quotient) rises.

166. If the origin region suffers from underemployment or if migration is only seasonal, total income should not be reduced even temporarily by out-migration. Migrants who return to their native low-income regions tend to stimulate production. On the demand side, part of their earnings made while away are now spent. On the supply side, they lower costs by the application of improved techniques learned elsewhere. Their savings may also be capitalized in their region of origin, most plausibly in the form of new tools or increased inventories. However, a rural "brain drain" may strip a region of its valuable human resource base, the importance of which for the economic development of a capital-short region should never be underestimated.

167. Immigration acts to reduce the relative wages of laborers with whom the migrants compete and to increase the relative wages of complementary workers. Unless migrants are more productive than the natives of a region of immigration, income per capita at the point of destination tends to decline in the short run. Migrants tend to leave low income regions for high income ones, or for ones where income is growing. Both processes tend to reduce regional income disparities (measured in terms of per capita income) in the short run.

168. Whether per capita income declines and the extent to which it declines in a region receiving migrants depends in part on the availability of capital. An additional inflow of capital may prevent per capita incomes and the region's growth rate from declining.

169. If sufficient capital and skilled labor are not available to train the migrants and to employ them in productive jobs, they will occupy themselves elsewhere. Under such conditions, the marginal productivity of migrants can be very low. 1/

170. Rural-urban migration can facilitate economic development in the long run by breaking down traditional values and customs and replacing them with modern ideas. Whether such a process of purposive breakdown and replacement is a desirable one is not considered here, although the authors' inclinations should be clear.

D. Summary List of Hypotheses

171. The primary motive for migrating from rural to urban areas is economic, taking the form of an expectation of greater real income because of better employment opportunities.

(a) Migration is a function of the absolute real per capita income differentials for each skill level or occupation.

(b) Migration is a function of the job availability differentials for each skill level or occupation.

(c) Combining (a) and (b), rural-urban migration continues until expected urban real income equals expected rural real income; i.e., until the wage adjusted for employment probabilities at each skill level is equal in rural and urban areas, after adjustments for cost-of-living differences have been made and after the costs of migration have been deducted from expected urban real income.

(d) Cost-of-living adjustments should include consideration of payments in kind and imputed housing costs.

1/ Slawinski claims that there has been a shift in underemployment from rural to urban areas in Latin America during the '50's and early '60's. He describes the failure of the dynamic productive sectors to absorb the increase in the non-agricultural labor force and the decline in average labor productivity in miscellaneous services and government services from 1950-62. See his "Structural Changes in Employment Within the Context of Latin America's Economic Development," Economic Bulletin for Latin America, October 1965.
(e) Migration costs include transportation expenses together with food and lodging expenses beyond those which would have occurred without migration, and income forgone during the transition.

(f) Besides being a function of absolute wage differentials mentioned above, migration is a function of relative differentials of skilled to unskilled income per capita. An individual attempts to improve his relative economic position with respect to workers in other occupations.

(g) Owing to the lack of creditworthiness (in conventional terms) of the act of migration, a minimum per capita income level is a prerequisite to cover the costs of migration.

(h) In the context of "full income," better public services in cities serve as an additional force to attract migrants.

(i) Squatter settlements generally provide better housing and services than rural areas or than center city slums.

(j) Migration is a function of the quality and availability of educational facilities.

172. The volume of migration is a function of distance between origin and destination. 1/

(a) Most migration is short-distance migration.

(b) Long-distance migration tends to be towards large cities.

(c) Migration tends to occur in stages with inhabitants of isolated rural areas migrating to rural areas near cities while inhabitants of rural areas near cities migrate to cities. 2/

173. The quality and amount of information about opportunities at the destination directly influences migration.

(a) The more friends and relatives of rural inhabitants living in urban areas the greater the volume of migration tends to be.

(b) The rate of migration accelerates over time as the stock of recent migrants in urban areas increases.

174. "Non-economic" reasons for migration include improved family status, proximity to other family members or friends, marriage opportunities, entertainment facilities, physical security, climate, and satisfaction of certain emotional

1/ Schultz's study of Colombia does not support this hypothesis, though many other studies do. Possibly the greater propensity to migrate to urban areas from the very isolated rural areas, indicated in Schultz's study, reflected a much greater economic deprivation in these isolated areas and a relatively inexpensive means of transportation.

2/ Some evidence in the surveys reviewed here seems to refute this hypothesis. It has been suggested that the stages may be made by different generations.
needs, e.g., for adventure, escape, change. As economic development proceeds toward affluence, non-monetary reasons for migrating may become more important.

175. Certain agricultural policies and investment decisions affect the volume of rural-urban migration. These include land reform, diversification in agricultural production, agricultural credit, agricultural extension courses, the curriculum of secondary schools in rural areas, investment in rural infrastructure, investment in industries in small towns and rural areas, irrigation or settlement projects, and training programs in urban areas.

176. The following table indicates several of the aforementioned hypothesized determinants of rural-urban migration. On the basis of this survey, the strength of each determinant is evaluated impressionistically. A set of elasticity coefficients is implied. Any empirical case study would have to deal with the analytical difficulties associated with multicollinearity which this table ignores.

E. Policies for Migration

177. Governments of many developing countries have tended to embrace policies which have encouraged both migration from rural to urban areas and an increase in urban unemployment. 1/ The minimum urban wage for unskilled labor has tended to rise much faster than the minimum or current agricultural wage. As a result, the income differential between urban and rural unskilled workers has been increasing. Small groups of urban wage earners have often succeeded in pressuring companies or the government into raising their wages. Often a "minimum-needs" or a "capacity to pay" criterion has been used to indicate that existing wages have not been sufficient. Governments have been under pressure to reduce intra-urban wage differentials by raising the lowest wages.

178. Until recently, governments have favored public and social service investment in urban areas, particularly major urban areas; similar investments have been neglected in rural areas. At times, governments have engaged in deficit spending in order to provide jobs for the urban unemployed. This had had an inflationary impact on prices and wages and has encouraged further migration.

179. The existence of a relatively high minimum urban wage in the modern sector has encouraged employers to substitute capital for labor. Tax incentives to firms for capital expenditure and tariff reductions on capital goods have also contributed to such substitution. The result has been rising unemployment in the cities of many developing countries.

180. Several authors have made policy suggestions which attempt to deal with this situation. Thormann, Frank, and H. Turner, among others, suggest that the unskilled minimum wage rate be held constant or else be prevented from increasing as fast as rural incomes. 2/ Thormann proposes that a minimum wage


Determinants of Internal Migration

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Influence on Rural-Urban Migration</th>
<th>State of Knowledge of Investigators</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Strong</td>
<td>Moderate</td>
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1. **ECONOMIC MOTIVE**

Real Per Capita Wage Differential

Job Availability

Costs of Migration

Relative differential of skilled to unskilled income per capita

Minimum per capita income level

Public Services

Housing

Secondary Education

Primary Education

2. **DISTANCE**

3. **INFORMATION**

4. **NON-MONETARY REASONS**

Status

Family-Friends

Marriage

Entertainment & "lure of the city"

Physical Security

Climate

Psycho-Emotional

1/ These reasons are rated weak because they are not important for all migrants. However, in certain individual cases they have a strong influence on migration.
fixing criterion be based on "living standards elsewhere in the economy", in particular those of small land-holders or subsistence farmers. Todaro and Harris suggest that jobs be created by government subsidies to firms. Firms would hire up to the point where marginal labor productivity equalled that which would exist in rural areas at full employment. The government subsidy would equal the difference between this marginal labor productivity and the minimum wage.

181. Todaro and Harris have also suggested that rural-urban migration be reduced by restrictive measures. Djakarta recently adopted such a policy. All inhabitants must carry ID cards specifying their address and employment. Those without a place to live or a job are liable to eviction. Such a policy has been questioned on both equitable and practical grounds. Attempts to implement this policy have met with limited success to date.

182. Increases in investment in rural areas for infrastructure and public and social services have also found their advocates. Investment in industry in small towns might provide farmers with jobs during the off season. Land reform, better agricultural price policies, more agricultural credit and extension services have been proposed to halt some of the migration. In some way, the terms of trade for rural areas need to be improved.

183. Elkan has proposed ways to increase the supply of skilled labor and thereby reduce the need for the substitution of physical capital for labor. He suggests that training be treated as an allowable expense in calculating the tax on firms or that government tax industry to pay for a training program. Thus, he would favor the investment in human capital, taking the form of training, as an adjunct to physical capital formation.

184. Governments could allow migrants, as well as others living in squatter settlements, legal title to the land they occupy as an incentive for them to build their own houses and improve their own community. Under such circumstances governments might provide only a minimum level of infrastructure and public facilities.

185. According to Fei and Ranis, employment (by which they mean urban modern-sector employment) must grow more rapidly than population if surplus labor is to decline and industrialization to occur. The fulfillment of their "critical minimum effort criterion" indicates that governments need to implement policies of birth control as well as those that favor innovations with labor using-bias.

F. Methodology and Future Research

186. Census data are useful in an objective study of migration. They show how the volume of migration varies with the diversity of characteristics of

1/ Among them, Thorman, Frank, H.Turner, Lewis, and Warriner.

2/ Elkan, op.cit.

3/ This follows a suggestion of J.Turner, op.cit.

various regions. They are usually more accurate than survey data. However, census data are provided only at decennial intervals and, even then, with a publication lag of years.

As a result, surveys are used to secure current data in categories specifically aimed at studying migratory phenomena. It is possible to collect more data in a survey than in a census and to try out experimental and exploratory questions. A major problem is selecting a meaningful sample. In some empirical studies, the sample design and method have been ill conceived. Often only the results are described, leaving the reader in the dark on technical issues of sampling and technique. Questionnaires may be too long or not geared to priority requirements. The wording of questions and order of their presentation may ignore the socio-psychological make-up of the respondents. The field work may lack adequate supervision, organization and administration. As a result, coverage, planning and execution are often inadequate. Also, the definitions, concepts, standards and methods may vary, making it impossible to compare the results of different surveys. For migration surveys, it is important to distinguish between independent and dependent migrants, long distance and local moves (the latter may not reflect a job change), and migration for job-related and non job-related reasons.

Despite these potential weaknesses of the survey method, several authors have proposed additional surveys in order to shed light on the rural-urban migration phenomenon. Macisco suggested several issues for survey study in the forthcoming UN publication, "Methods of Measuring Internal Migration". These include pioneer vs. mass migration, return and repeated migration, selectivity variance according to the stage of migration, the social mobility of rural-urban migrants and the distribution of different types of migrants within a given metropolitan area. He suggests more studies of smaller urban areas, e.g., those with populations between 20,000 and 100,000, panel studies of migrants in urban areas over a period of time and lifetime histories of particular types of migrants. The retrospective data of lifetime migration histories are especially subject to bias because of errors of recall, lack of knowledge and the attrition of cohorts over time. Warriner suggests making case studies of settlement projects in various areas. Roussel suggests "double-run" surveys of out-migration areas with a six-month separation in order to compare the characteristics of those who left with those who did not and in order to obtain an up-to-date measure of migration. He suggests concentrating on the population 15-30 years of age because they have the greatest propensity to migrate.

Both W.A. Lewis and Herrick suggest that wage data by occupation or skill level and geographic region receive top priority in rural and urban household surveys. These data would also seem to be the most relevant to the Bank. To be meaningful, wage and income data by skill level or occupation should be cross-classified by the number of hours worked for a selected period, e.g., day, week, month, or year, for each member receiving any income in a household. Knowledge of household size will enable a comparison of household per capita income.


The number of hours worked should give some indication of underemployment. Questions relating to open unemployment should also be asked. In order to compare wage and income data in rural and urban areas, the survey should include questions which will enable calculation of the rural-urban cost-of-living difference, e.g., prices of basic goods and goods produced for self consumption. To enable a comparison of actual and expected income differentials, questions on expected wages and expected ease in finding a job in urban areas should be asked of rural inhabitants planning migration. The actual costs of migration in terms of transportation, additional food and lodging expenses, income forgone after leaving a rural job and before securing an urban job, and complementary training costs should be asked of migrants in urban areas. An estimate of the costs of return migration could be obtained from rural-urban migrants. Questions on difference between the quality, cost and availability of public services and social services should be directed to rural-urban migrants.

190. Other questions of paramount importance that do not lend themselves to the survey approach so easily are rural-urban differences in the marginal productivity of labor by skill level and the effects on migration of various government policies related to land reform, agricultural credit, agricultural extension, agricultural markets, urban training programs and various private and government investments. In addition, the social return to migration, the change in agricultural and non-agricultural output induced by migration, and the effect of migration on national unemployment and underemployment remain largely undetermined.


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