Migration to Urban Areas

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.

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# TABLE OF CONTENTS

## INTRODUCTION

1. FIELD SURVEY APPROACH TO INTERNAL MIGRATION

   - A. Field Surveys to be Discussed
   - B. Topics Covered by Field Surveys
   - C. Questions of Methodology
   - D. Inherent Problems of Field Surveys

## II. REVIEW OF FIELD SURVEYS

   - A. Summary of Latin American Surveys
   - B. Colombia
   - C. Chile
   - D. Peru
   - E. Argentina
   - F. Brazil
   - G. Mexico
   - H. El Salvador
   - I. Venezuela
   - J. Summary of Asian Surveys
   - K. Pakistan
   - L. India
   - M. Indonesia
   - N. Thailand
   - O. Korea
   - P. Republic of China (Taiwan)
   - Q. Summary of African Surveys
   - R. Ghana
   - S. Egypt
   - T. East Africa

## III. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

   - A. Who Migrates?
   - B. Why Do People Migrate?
   - C. What is the Effect of Migration on Economic Development?
   - D. Summary List of Hypotheses
   - E. Policy Actions
   - F. Methodology and Future Research

## BIBLIOGRAPHY
Several sample surveys of both rural and urban areas have been conducted, primarily by sociologists, in an attempt to study the causes of internal migration in the developing countries. This paper, which is the first part of the Economics of Urbanization Division's research into the economics of urban migration, attempts to summarize and criticize some of these surveys. A more thorough analysis was not possible due to limitations of the data. In many respects the surveys are not comparable as different sampling techniques are used and different questions are examined. Yet there is sufficient commonality to enable useful conclusions to be drawn and to provide the basis for future work.

Chapter I discusses some of the limitations of the sample survey method of studying internal migration. Chapter II identifies the highlights of the individual surveys reviewed both by continent and by country. Chapter III summarizes the findings, the hypotheses suggested by these findings and the impact of some government policies on migration. Some suggestions for future research are also made.
I. Field Survey Approach to Internal Migration

1. This paper focuses on field surveys of migrants and non-migrants in rural and urban areas. Since migration to urban centers from rural areas and migration between urban centers are the major concerns of this paper, field surveys rather than census or registration figures were surveyed. Censuses generally collect information on administrative areas, which include both urban and rural areas. Most censuses do not further classify this information into rural and urban categories, thereby preventing specific analysis of rural-urban flows. Field surveys, on the other hand, generally classify information according to urban and rural areas and so facilitate the direct study of rural-urban migration.

2. Census data lends itself to an objective approach to migration. Such an "approach undertakes to establish correlations for interrelationships between external forces and the migration event." Field survey data, on the other hand, lends itself to a subjective approach, i.e. one that "undertakes to learn from the migrant himself the motives that underlay his movement." 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. A more direct method of measuring migration is possible


2/ Ibid.
if the census includes figures on place-of-residence "x" years ago as well as place-of-current-residence. If two consecutive censuses are available, migration can be estimated indirectly by the survival ratio method. Registration figures on migration are valid and precise only for Scandinavia and the Netherlands. Recently developed country models of interregional migration indicate some of the possibilities of the objective approach to explaining migration with census data.

3. The field survey approach has other advantages besides its breakdown into rural and urban categories. "Inasmuch as migration is intimately linked with social and economic change, the explanation which is valid for one period may very easily be inadequate for a period only a few years later."\(^1\) Hence, census data quickly becomes outdated. Field surveys can be taken more frequently providing both more current information and a time series. Because surveys are less expensive and less time consuming, they afford opportunities for experimenting with new questions and for more in-depth questioning.

A. Field Surveys to be Discussed

4. This paper covers thirty-three field surveys of which thirteen cover one city, five cover a part of a city, e.g., a barrio or predominantly migrant community, three cover both the rural and urban areas of a country, two cover a part of the rural area of a country, and three cover a city and part of the rural area of a country. One covers the urban areas of a country, two others part of the urban areas of a country, another part of the rural area and part of a city, one a factory and one passengers on a ferry. These surveys date

\(^1\) Ibid., p. 27.
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, in 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 natives of the area as well as migrants. 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. Topics Covered by Field Surveys

5. "There has been little standardization of categories or reasons among the various surveys that have investigated motives for migration." 1/ "The topic seems to be essentially in its exploratory stage with meaningful categories and classifications being developed partly by trial and error." 2/ 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. Job-related reasons include moving to take a job or to look for a job. Migration


2/ UN, Methods of Measuring Internal Migration, p. II-20, (forthcoming). Partial contents were distributed at the Latin American Regional Conference on Population in Mexico City, August 1970.
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 or slack in business in the area of origin, prospects for a better job and more income, payment in cash, greater opportunities for advancement, better working conditions and entry into the labor force. Other reasons included in the surveys are: education for self or family; marriage (especially for women); joining the family; military service; attraction of 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; prestige; greater opportunities for consumption; natural disaster; death of family member; escape from political or religious discrimination or oppression or from social or class tension; rural violence; climate; expression of manliness; freedom from the dominance of family or elders and from the strict controls of a rural area; escape from punishment for crimes or misdemeanors committed; personal maladjustment; and wanderlust, restlessness and mental ill health. 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. In addition to direct questioning of migrants on


their motives for migrating, inferences on causes of migration can be made
from data on migration differentials or from a comparison of the characteristics of sending and receiving areas.

6. 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 and related facilities, educational
level and the use of other public facilities are all indicators of actual
adjustment.

7. 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 his expectations.¹/
Perceptual feelings regarding one's self, family and city rather than actual
socio-economic factors seems to be more important for satisfaction. Relative
depprivation, i.e. one's position relative to one's reference group or the
level of living expected by an individual, is important.²/
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.

¹/ Jose Pastore, "Satisfaction Among Migrants to Brasilia, Brazil: A
Sociological Interpretation," University of Wisconsin, unpublished

²/ Ibid.
C. Questions of Methodology

8. An analysis of the sampling process behind each field survey is necessary for any evaluation of the results. Unfortunately information on the sample design and execution of most of the surveys was not available, making evaluation of the survey in terms of accuracy and precision impossible. One of the main disadvantages of the sample survey approach is the occurrence of sampling errors. The standard error of the estimate should be included in the write-up of all surveys so the confidence level and interval around this estimate can be calculated. Unfortunately it was not included in any of the surveys reviewed here. Hence, nothing can be said with assurance on the basis of these sample survey results. In addition to the sampling error, these field surveys on migration are usually subject to sampling bias, either from faulty design or failure to carry out the design. For example, certain population subgroups may have been missed or the predesignated reasons may not have been exhaustive while volunteered reasons were not accepted. Other non-sampling errors, e.g. non-response or response error due to unclear questions, poor interviewing methods or memory failure of the respondent, and processing errors must also be considered. Non-sampling errors affect the accuracy of the estimates as well as sampling errors, though they cannot be quantified. However, in most cases a qualitative assessment of non-sampling error was not given. The lack of information on the sampling error meant the limitations of the results could not be determined and hence a meaningful interpretation of the results was impossible.

9. When evaluating the results of a survey, several points need to be kept in mind. First, the meaningfulness of the universe needs to be determined. Surveys are usually restricted to a particular area, i.e. a city or community.  

1/ Shyrock, op. cit., p. S10.11.
If just a part of the rural or urban area of a country is covered, is it representative of other parts of a country -- or if just one part of a city is surveyed, how representative is this part of the whole city? It is only possible to generalize about the universe from the results of a simple survey. Too often the universe is a small area and it is not known how representative the universe is of a larger area of concern. Second, does the survey 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? Dependent or "secondary" migrants have different reasons for moving than independent migrants. Third, does the definition of migration distinguish between long distance and local moves? The latter do not necessarily reflect a job change. Fourth, how detailed was the questioning? Almost all the surveys reviewed were limited exploratory ones which failed to ask many relevant questions. For example, many failed 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.\footnote{Shryock, op. cit., p. S10.11.} 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."\footnote{John B. Lansing and Eva Mueller, The Geographic Mobility of Labor, Ann Arbor, Michigan, Survey Research Center, 1967, p. 88.} Fifth, are there a reasonable number of predesignated
reasons on the questionnaire as well as space for volunteered reasons? The problem is to choose predesignated reasons that are mutually exclusive and exhaustive. And finally, is the classification of reasons analytically relevant? 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.

10. Rarely is a control group established where non-migrants possessing the same characteristics as migrants and living under the same conditions are questioned. 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 and urban 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. 1/ 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. 2/

D. Inherent Problems of Field Surveys

11. The field survey method of studying migration is subject to problems of unreliable recall and emotional distortion by the respondents. 3/ It is


important that a survey distinguish between recent and earlier-period migrants. Those who migrated a long time ago are especially apt to give unreliable answers because of memory failure. Motives and satisfactions are based on expectations and perceptions rather than actual conditions. A migrant's or non-migrant's interpretation of his alternatives is subjective, not objective. People do not always have a clear-cut concept of their motives, they tend to see them as nobler than they are. People are not always aware of all their motives. 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.

Field surveys collect data on migration by direct questioning as well as by indirect questioning on personal characteristics. Inference based on indirect questions needs 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. According to Pastore, a study of feelings through survey techniques requires disguised devices in order to control instabilities in response. Satisfaction is a highly unstable concept, difficult to measure as we lack knowledge on the determinants of satisfaction.

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

2/ Pastore, op. cit.

3/ Josef Gregler, op. cit., p. 466.

4/ Pastore, op. cit.
Perception of one's own condition in relation to that of a reference group appears to be important. Subjective factors determine satisfaction with different things satisfying different strata.\(^1\)

\(^1\) Ibid.
II. Review of Field Surveys

13. 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 how the surveys support the various theoretical approaches to migration and how they do not. The absence of data necessary to fully test many of the hypotheses is noted.

A. Summary of Latin American Surveys

14. Despite the recognition 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 the surveys of Latin American countries reviewed here support the theory that economic or job-related reasons are the most important reasons for migrating. "Whatever may be the shortcomings of the surveys, they always indicate a large proportion of the movement as explained by the migrants themselves as economically motivated...Include as 'economically motivated' moves by wives and children to join breadwinners already resident at the destination."¹ Herrick supports the economic rate of return approach to migration even though it simplifies the migration process by concentrating on measurable economic factors because the response of migrants to surveys supports this approach.

15. The surveys support the theory of demographic selectivity. All the surveys attest to the youth of the migrants. 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. Employment for women on farms and in small villages is rare while women have many opportunities for employment in petty commerce and domestic service in urban areas. "Most women, especially those newly arrived, work in domestic service."\(^1\)

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).

16. Educational selectivity of migrants is also supported by Latin American surveys. "Whatever may be 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."\(^2\)

17. 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 supported by

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1/ Ibid., p. 7.
2/ Ibid., p. 6.
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). The increased circulation of mass media and visits prior to migration also decrease the uncertainty associated with moving.

18. According to Jelson's appraisal of survey material "an overwhelming majority of migrants find their situation an improvement over rural conditions." Surveys reviewed here indicated that migrants felt they had improved their standard of living (Argentina, Brazil) and the majority were satisfied with their move and wanted to stay (Brazil, Colombia, Mexico).

19. Bock and Iutaka tested several popular hypotheses about the occupational success of migrants in cities in Argentina, Brazil and Chile. They concluded that younger migrants were not more apt to be upwardly mobile, nor was the length of time spent by a migrant in urban areas a factor in upward mobility. Of those variables tested, education was found to be the most significant yet had a low predictive value. On the average, migrants experienced the same amount of occupational mobility as natives and attained only a slightly lower level of occupation than urbanites.

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There was evidence 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. "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 in the countryside or in the central city slums from which many shantytown dwellers emigrate conditions in the shantytowns are 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."\(^2\)

Herrick's analysis of survey material on migration in Latin America leads him to conclude 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 and "economic theory is more consistent with the empirical observations than with the impressionistic vision cited" \(^3\) by many that migration in Latin American "involves surplus agricultural workers and their families, who come from the poorest and least

\(^1\) Ibid., p. 11.


\(^3\) Herrick, "Urbanization and Urban Migration in Latin America," p. 2.
skilled sectors of the rural population" and results in a "concentration in the cities ... of unskilled workers with little chance of finding productive employment."  

22. Margulis' attitude was that the migrants accomplished job assimilation but not social assimilation. While about three-quarters of the migrants surveyed in Buenos Aires by Margulis 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. 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

1/ Ibid., Herrick quoting ECIA.

2/ Mario Margulis, "Migracion y Marginalidad en la Sociedad Argentina," Buenos Aires, 1968 (?).
status and no opportunities for improving his status. Also relevant is Nelson's "analysis of Inkeles' data which suggests that urban workers' aspirations for better jobs, housing and status do increase with longer urban residence, but much more markedly among the skilled than the unskilled."1/  

23. Family reasons usually follow job-related reasons in importance as cited motives for migrating. Education is another frequently cited reason. Reasons such as a better climate, personality differences, transient emotions and accidental occurrences are not indicated in these surveys; possibly they are concealed in the category "other". Browning and Feindt indicated that job-related reasons for migrating to Monterrey were not based on previous dissatisfaction with a given job but on a shortage of work due to poor agricultural conditions, discontinuation of a job, natural disaster, etc. and on a desire to improve one's position and income. 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 migrating than are migrants to rural areas as are urban-urban migrants in comparison with rural-urban migrants.  

24. In general, the surveys did not indicate what factors affect the volume of migration. Hence, 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 in relation to the volume of migration. Return migration and the efficiency of various migration streams were not covered by the surveys.  

Though the survey data on Latin America can be interpreted, as Herrick has done, to support the economic rate of return hypothesis of migration, much of the data necessary to fully support it is 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 expected wages. Similarly none provide information on all the actual costs of migration, i.e., transportation and additional (above that in the area of origin) costs for food and lodging or on the complementary training costs, i.e., those costs necessary to prepare one for a different occupation. While some surveys provide information on unemployment in an urban area, the relevant measure for job availability is one which also covers underemployment. Information on the latter is absent from the surveys. Herrick describes the foremost problem in studying the interactions between economic growth and internal 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 research in this area."  


B. Colombia

26. 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 for 75-85% of migration.1/ (The fifth survey attributed 60% of migration to violence.) Since the reasons for both independent and dependent migrants are included in these surveys, the theory of the dominance of the economic motive for the independent decision maker is supported.

27. "Economic reasons and desire for employment" (42%) and family (12%) 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. The better facilities of Bogota did not appear to be strong sources of motivation, e.g. in Flinn's study, education (4%), health (1%), and better living conditions (5%). Military Service (4%) and violence (13%) were the other specific reasons mentioned -- while "other" unclassified reasons or "no response" accounted for 16%.

28. Dale Adams concludes from 700 interviews conducted during 1963-65 in seven rural out-migration areas and four rural in-migration areas 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. "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." 1/

29. According to a study by T. Paul Schultz, based on a sample of 131 municipalities (about 15%) of Colombia which excluded Bogota and Cali, rural-urban migration is slightly female selective while rural out-migration is not selective, so rural-rural migration must be male selective. 2/ Finn's study also points to age and sex selectivity in migration to Bogota.

30. 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. Schultz, on the other hand, concludes that distance was only a deterrent for migration between urban areas. His study indicated that inhabitants in the most isolated rural villages had a greater propensity to migrate than those in villages near cities.

31. The Flinn study also supports Ravenstein's theory that most people only move a short distance. 3/ About 67% of the in-migrants to El Carmen traveled 100 miles or less while less than 5% traveled more than 200 miles. 4/ About 78% of 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

1/ Ibid., p. 534.
4/ Flinn, op. cit., p. 23.
necessarily met by the same generation and indeed, probably are not." 1/ Only 8% of the migrants to Bogota surveyed in the Flinn study 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.

32. 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 than that held prior to migrating to Bogota during their stay in the central city. 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 overwhelming 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/

33. 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/

1/ Ibid., p. 25.
3/ Ibid., pp. 86-87.
C. Chile

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 importance of migration to Santiago.¹ About 50% of the population 15 years of age or over had migrated from outside the metropolitan area. Of the independent migrants surveyed 62% of the males and 56% of the females migrated for work reasons (looking for work, to obtain a better salary, or a transfer). For both males and females about 10% migrated for education reasons. Family problems were cited by 8% of the males and 15% of the females and 21% of the males and 19% of the females migrated for "other" reasons or gave insufficient information.² 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 and reasons for migrating some of those who declared a reason other than "looking for work" were also looking for work. 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/

The labor force surveys of Santiago from 1956 to 1963 and the survey of migrants in the labor force in 1961 by the Institute of Economics of the University of Chile (those analyzed by Herrick) as well as CELADE's


²/ Ibid., p. 366.

³/ Herrick, op. cit.
survey indicate that stepwise migration is in process in Chile, with the majority of migrants to Santiago coming from urban areas (about 2/3 of the migrants in 1962 had come from urban areas, i.e. those with a population of 5,000 or more). The flow of migrants to Santiago from 1958 to 1963 was steady despite changes in measured unemployment in Greater Santiago over this period. Possibly the hypothesis that migration is responsive to the unemployment rate does not hold -- or the measured unemployment rate was an inadequate measure of the real rate -- or more migrants found work in the marginal services when jobs were scarcer thereby increasing the real underemployment rate.¹

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."² 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 toward migrants was shown by the 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.

The majority of migrants had visited Santiago before moving. Most had friends or relatives in the city. Transportation to Santiago by train, bus or truck is very inexpensive. Over 60% of the migrants in the labor force found

¹/ Ibid., pp. 69-70.
²/ Elizaga, op. cit., p. 375.
jobs within four weeks after their arrival. This all serves to indicate that the costs of migration to Santiago were not so large.\textsuperscript{1/}

D. Peru

38. 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%).\textsuperscript{2/} Only 10% of the population over 5 years of age was illiterate. 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 percent has casual employment, and the position of the remaining 2 percent is unknown."\textsuperscript{3/} Over half the barriadas were provided with electric power and drinking water. Hardly any had sewers. Over one-third had primary schools and communal halls, over one-fourth had clinics and various medical services and churches or places to worship, almost one-fifth had sport and social clubs and hardly any had cinemas.

39. A 1967 sample survey of barriada residents in Lima by the Peruvian sample survey center indicated that about 85% of the adults were migrants.\textsuperscript{4/} The head of the average family had a primary school education and a blue-collar job which paid about $100 a month. Among the men in the barriadas 10% were

\textsuperscript{1/} Herrick, op. cit., p. 100.


\textsuperscript{3/} Ibid., p. 180.

unemployed, 45% were blue-collar workers, 25% independent salesmen or vendors and 20% office employees. Underemployment was a problem. In general, the children in the barriadas were getting more education than their parents had received. About 10% of the young adults (22-40 years) were receiving some form of formal instruction. About 40% of the barriadas had water and sewage systems; the majority had electricity. Most of the housing was self-built and self-improved. Residents expressed dissatisfaction over the too distant location of medical services, the lack of legal title to the property they occupied, and the lack of sewers, water, lights, street paving, post offices and police protection.

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. 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 felt their housing conditions were worse. Nevertheless, less than 20% regretted their decision to migrate. About 5% of the natives compared to 2-3% of the migrants were unemployed. More of the recent migrants were unskilled. Over half the recent migrants were underemployed. Both


2/ Ibid., p. 221.
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."1/ 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 Greater Buenos Aires by surveying
household heads in a poor agricultural region, Chilcoto, in 1964-66 and
then surveying their adult relatives who had migrated to Buenos Aires.2/
Most of the migrants had moved directly to Buenos Aires, half had moved
alone. The respondents in Chilcoto as well as the migrants in Buenos
Aires almost unanimously stated that the main reason for migrating was
because there was not enough work in Chilcoto and salaries were too low.
Over one-third of the respondents in Chilcoto 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. The family income of the
respondents in Buenos Aires ranged from 1,000 to 1,600 pesos per day.3/
The figures for Buenos Aires are probably distorted as there was probably
a tendency to refer investigators to the relatives more financially suc-
cessful in Buenos Aires. Half of the respondents in Chilcoto 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

1/ Ibid., p. 223.
2/ Margulis, op. cit.
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.¹

¾. 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.²

¾. 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.² 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.

¾. 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 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, 73%

¹/ Ibid., p. 172.
²/ Ibid., p. 155.
read at least one paper almost every day, 78% listened to the radio 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 while they attained assimilation on the job they did 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 2\

45. 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. 3\ Eighty-three percent were agricultural laborers, of these 34% had owned their land. The majority of the reasons were job-related, e.g. low wages, no work, poor farming conditions and land. Family reasons were second in importance. Several gave more than one reason. Many different classifications have been included so the reader can get a feeling for the answers of the respondents. The majority had come looking for farming jobs.

1/ Ibid., pp. 150-171.

2/ A macroeconomic treatment of internal migration (based on census data) and regional income growth in Brazil from 1940 to 1960 can be found in D. H. Graham's article "Divergent and Convergent Regional Economic Growth and Internal Migration in Brazil - 1940-1960" in Economic Development and Cultural Change, April 1970.

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 the lack of jobs, lack of land, not enough land, and land wearing out. 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. 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 economic reasons than those who moved to the city. This supports Stouffer's hypothesis. The influence of the family in migration is thought to be 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

1/ E. A. Wilkening, "Comparison of Migrants in Two Rural and An Urban Area of Central Brazil," Land Tenure Center, University of Wisconsin, November 1968, p. 11.

2/ Ibid., p. 35.

3/ Ibid., p. 11.
their dissatisfaction with existing conditions 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/

Contrary to what might be expected, urban Brasilia had a lower proportion of nuclear family households (58%) than the two rural areas (72%).²/ 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/

With regards to satisfaction after immigration "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. "Hence, as is so common in Brazil, many move to new places with the hope that things will be better but are then faced with worse conditions than before. So, they continue their search for better circumstances when a hopeful opportunity arises."⁵/ "Early migrants to an area tend to have more resources and tend to settle and remain in an area,


²/ Wilkening, "Comparison of Migrants in Two Rural and An Urban Area of Central Brazil," p. 29.

³/ Wilkening et al., op. cit., p. 695.

⁴/ Wilkening, op. cit., p. 11.

⁵/ Ibid., p. 15.
while later migrants tend to be less stable. 1/ 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 rural 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." 2/

49. 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." 3/ 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." 4/ Few farmers want their sons to become farmers. "Educational and occupational aspirations for children indicate the value placed upon achievement and upon status." 5/ Urban respondents had higher educational aspirations

1/ Ibid., p. 34.
2/ Ibid., p. 31.
3/ Ibid., p. 35.
5/ Ibid., p. 25.
for their children than rural; rural Brasilia respondents had higher aspirations for their children than did rural Itumbiara respondents with the same jobs.

50. Pastore in his study on satisfaction of male migrants to urban Brasilia showed that perceptual attitudes towards actual conditions rather than actual conditions were important for satisfaction. 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 improvements, 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.

51. Migrants working as unskilled and semiskilled laborers in a medium-sized factory in Sao 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.

52. According to Wilkening, "considerable circular movement occurs between rural and urban areas; among the rural Brasilia respondents almost

1/ Pastore, op. cit.

half had had some urban experience.¹ 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.

53. 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 moving.² 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.³ Discontinuation of the job and unfavorable agricultural conditions as well as the desire to improve their position and income were reported as economic reasons for migrating, not job dissatisfaction per se.⁴ Sixty percent came directly to Monterrey. About one-fifth came with a signed contract or the promise of something definite.

54. 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%), family reasons (16%), and the community of Monterrey (10%). Reasons for dissatisfaction

¹ Wilkening, o. c., p. 34.
³ Ibid., p. 10.
⁴ Ibid., p. 12.
were: disappointment with income and level of living (33%), the community (25%) and work (14%). 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 dissatisfied with Monterrey left."2/ "One-third of all migrants have experienced return migration either to Monterrey or to another place."3/ While the survey established the importance of this return migration, it did not investigate its consequences.

55. Many of Ravenstein's theories 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 travelled" and Monterrey draws migrants almost equally from high and low ranking zones of the Northeast in terms of level of development.4/ Only 8% of all migrants completely supported the stage migration hypothesis, 60% came directly from rural communities.

56. Migration is selective of the single and young, though only 20% of migration has been solitary since before 1930 till 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."5/

\[1/\text{Ibid., pp. 17-18}\]
\[2/\text{Ibid., p. 18.}\]
\[3/\text{Ibid., p. 31.}\]
\[4/\text{Ibid., Chap. II, p. 30.}\]
\[5/\text{Thid., Chap. III, p. 28.}\]
"Over the years of heavy in-migration 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." 1/

57. 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. 2/ 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/

H. El Salvador

58. Selectivity and assimilation of migrants analyzed by Ducoff from an ECIA survey of San Salvador in 1960. 4/ Migrants were selective of young adults and of women. Educational selectivity among migrants existed "at both ends of

1/ Ibid., p. 54.


the scale; namely, a higher concentration among migrants of persons with very little schooling as well as of persons with high educational attainment." 1/
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." 2/ 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 that there are marked contrasts within each of the three broad categories which far exceed any difference between these categories. 3/

I. Venezuela

59. The importance of job opportunities in both pushing migrants out of rural areas and pulling them towards Cuidad Guayana is evident from the household interview survey conducted in Cuidad Guayana and in the rural sections of the two hinterland districts of Roscio and Piar in 1965-66. 4/
The job shortage in rural areas was cited as a major problem by rural-urban migrants more often than by those that stayed in rural areas. Housing was cited as a reason for staying in the country as was education by those

1/ Ibid., p. 435.
2/ Ibid., p. 433.
3/ Ibid., p. 434.
benefiting from the Vivienda rural public housing programme. Reasons cited by migrants for not choosing Cuidad Bolivar, the state capital, included the shortage of jobs and distance as well as family considerations while those for not choosing Caracas stressed distance and a lack of funds. Job opportunities, family considerations and educational opportunities were stressed by migrants as their reasons for choosing Cuidad Guayana.

60. Those who chose to remain in rural areas were generally less dissatisfied with their job, house and family relationships. While they recognized the economic prosperity of Cuidad Guayana, they also recognized the big risk of being unemployed if they were to migrate. "The majority of migrants to Cd. Guayana must endure months of unemployment after arrival, and years in miserable shanties before they succeed in getting the higher income and superior housing of the established city resident."1/

61. "The aspect of city life most regarded as a problem by rural-urban migrants is that jobs are not as plentiful nor as well-paying as they might be."2/ Employment opportunity seems to be the most important factor in migrants' choice of residence. It might be said that migrants are more modern or economic in their approach.

J. Summary of Asian Surveys

62. The Asian surveys reviewed overwhelmingly support the theory of the dominance of the economic motive in migration. Over half of the working males

1/ Ibid., p. 432.
2/ Ibid., p. 434.
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). The prevalence of different non job-related reasons in a decision to migrate seems to be influenced by the age of the migrant. In Korea younger independent male migrants (15-24 years) often migrated for education; older independent male migrants (40-59 years) sometimes migrated for housing and for health reasons (55 years and over). In the majority of cases, females migrated for marriage or family reasons. Those migrating to urban areas from other urban areas were more apt to migrate for education than those from rural areas. Those migrating from one rural area to another in India were more apt to move for non-economic and non-educational reasons.

63. 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 information about opportunities elsewhere and a lack of money to pay for the move. This seems to support Friedlander's hypothesis 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 as it implies that more time will be wasted searching for another job. The attraction of friends and relatives can either hold individuals in their

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native place or pull them towards other areas, if some of them have already migrated. 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.

64. 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 theorized. 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.

65. There is evidence that migration in the Asian countries reviewed here is selective of young adult males. Several men migrate alone and bring their families or part of their families later. Family migration predominates at least in some areas (Poona and Indonesia). There is evidence for Pakistan that several migrants and natives in urban areas live in extended or joint family households. Though 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 for Karachi the percentage of migrants of school age attending school was similar to that of the natives.

66. 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 distributions 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.

67. There is evidence that migrants as a whole do improve their occupational level (Bombay, Poona, Djarkarta). There is conflicting evidence on the unemployment rate for migrants before and after migration; it fell after migration in the Djarkarta survey but rose after migration in the Poona survey. According to the Djarkarta survey migration was not responsive to the measured unemployment and disguised unemployment rates. 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. The surveys on assimilation of migrants are biased in that they are positively selective of the migrants to any given area, neglecting those who do not stay.

68. 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.

69. 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 date back to the 1950's making them outdated.
K. Pakistan

70. 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 assimilation of in-migrants, i.e. migrants to Karachi from other parts of Pakistan, and immigrants, i.e. migrants to Karachi from other countries, primarily India. Only 17% of the population of Karachi at the time of the survey was native, 65% was immigrant and 18% in-migrant. Among the in-migrants 48% were living in nuclear family households, 18% in extended family households, 11% in joint family households and 23% in non-family type households. In comparison 61% of the natives were living in nuclear families, 15% in extended families, 21% in joint families and 3% in non-family type households. For immigrants the distribution was: nuclear 64%, extended 18%, joint 15% and non-family type 3%. 1/ Nuclear families consist of husband, wife and never-married children. Extended families consist of a nuclear family and one or more relatives, while joint families include a nuclear family and a sub-family, usually a married couple. Non-family type persons consist of those living together but not forming a family. The average size of the household was 3.4 persons for migrants, 5.0 persons for natives and 4.6 persons for immigrants. 2/

1/ I. Husain et al, Social Characteristics of the People of Karachi, Pakistan Institute of Development Economics, October 1965, p. 64.

2/ Ibid., p. 59.
The large percentage of migrants living in non-family type households indicates that several persons migrated without their families. The high masculinity ratio of 187 for migrants compared to 115 for 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 law that female migration tends to be short-distance migration.

The immigrants had a much lower dependency ratio (55.3%) than natives (72.1%) and immigrants (72.9%) since many of the in-migrants were without a family in Karachi.² Those migrants of school age (5-20 years) in Karachi were as apt to be in school as were the natives. Twenty-five percent of the male in-migrants of school age and 19% of the female in-migrants of school age were in school compared to 27% of the male natives and 16% of the female natives. More of the immigrant school-age population was in school, 46% of the males and 34% of the females.³

The labor force participation rate for male in-migrants (69.2%) was much higher than that for natives (53.0%) and immigrants (50.5%) while that for female in-migrants (3.2%) was very low as was that for natives (4.0%) and immigrants (2.1%).⁴ In-migrants had the lowest unemployment rate (3.2%). The unemployment rate for natives was 3.8%, for immigrants 3.3%.⁵

¹/ Ibid., p. 48.
³/ Husain, op. cit., p. 65.
⁴/ Farooq, op. cit., pp. 21-22.
⁵/ Ibid.
Proportionately more male natives were employed in agriculture (20%) than male in-migrants (1%) or immigrants (1%). Proportionately more male in-migrants (26%) and immigrants (18%) were employed in government and semi-government services than male natives (6%). And proportionately more male in-migrants (10%) were employed in personal services than male immigrants (6%) and natives (5%). Female in-migrants appear to be much less skilled than female natives and immigrants. Sixty-two percent of the female in-migrants were in personal services compared to 18% of the native women and 33% of the immigrants.\(^1\)

The distribution of the labor force by occupation shows that the in-migrants 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 in-migrants; and 22% of the immigrants were clerks or skilled laborers compared to 19% of the in-migrants and only 10% of the natives. Eighteen percent of the natives were farmers compared to 1% each for immigrants and in-migrants. The in-migrants had many more semi-skilled and unskilled laborers and servants, etc. (51%) than the immigrants (24%) or natives (30%). The in-migrants had fewer sales workers (the bulk of which were hawkers and vendors) (2%) than the immigrants and natives (9%).\(^2\)

The median income of the natives (Rs. 81.33) was similar to that of the in-migrants (Rs. 87.13) while the immigrants enjoyed a median income of Rs. 101.93.\(^3\) However, "though the immigrant worker (was) earning the highest income, the per capita income for the immigrant population as a whole ... (was)"

\(^1\) Ibid., p. 45
\(^2\) Ibid., p. 55
\(^3\) Ibid., p. 124
much lower than the in-migrants (Rs. 42.31 compared to Rs. 55.06). ¹/ 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 in-migrant males were earners. ²/ Of all groups, natives lived under the poorest and most overcrowded conditions. "Water and electricity are available to the greatest degree in immigrant households; in-migrant households come next and natives are last." ³/ L. India

77. 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". ⁴/ Thirteen percent were political refugees. It is interesting to note that of those in the labor force after migration, 25% came in search of employment for the first time, 9% in search of employment not for the first time and 13% for better employment. 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, not just those in the labor force, 53% of male migrants migrated voluntarily, i.e. on the basis

¹/ Ibid., p. 125.
²/ Husain, op. cit., p. 57
³/ Ibid., p. 61
of their own decision, while only 7% of the female migrants did so.\footnote{Lakdawala's survey of Bombay City primarily during 1955-56 supports 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, and 14% came for a combination of job-related and other reasons.}{1/}

Only 4% of all migrants to urban areas migrated for educational reasons.\footnote{Ibid., p. 10.}{2/} More temporary migrants (8%) came to urban areas for education than permanent migrants (2%).\footnote{Ibid., p. 69.}{3/} 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.\footnote{Ibid., p. 69.}{4/} Proportionately more of the migrants to big cities went for employment reasons.\footnote{Ibid., p. 80.}{5/} 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.\footnote{Ibid., p. 11.}{6/} More males migrated to big cities and towns over 30,000, while more females migrated to towns under 30,000.\footnote{Ibid., p. 23.}{7/}

78. Lakdawala's survey of Bombay City primarily during 1955-56 supports 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, and 14% came for a combination of job-related and other reasons.\footnote{D.T. Lakdawala et al., Work, Wages and Well-Being in the Indian Metropolis, Economic Survey of Bombay City, University of Bombay, 1963, p. 163.}{8/}
Similarly, the Gokhale Institute of Politics and Economics' survey of Poona in 1954 indicates that 54% of the temporary in-migrant families came seeking employment while 19% came on account of a transfer by employer. Thirteen percent of the temporary migrant families came for educational reasons compared to 7% of the permanent.\(^1\) While the percentage of lone migration sharply increased between 1949 and 1954, as of 1954 family migration still predominated.\(^2\)

79. Distribution of male earners by their first industry of employment after migration to Bombay shows that 40% were in processing and manufacturing and construction, 1% in primary industries, 45.1% in services and 11% unknown. Before migrating 35% of these same migrants were employed in primary services, 9% in processing, manufacturing and construction, 13% in services, 8% unknown and 35% non-earning dependents.\(^2\) The 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.

80. 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%,

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\(^2\) Ibid., p. 127.

\(^3\) Lakdawala, op. cit., pp. 178-179.
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. Proportionately this meant a decrease in skilled and semi-skilled employment and an increase in administrative, managerial, technical, etc. Unskilled employment seems to have increased slightly. All of the change in the occupational distribution can not 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. \(^1\) There is evidence that migrants improved their occupation during their stay in Bombay. \(^2\)

81. 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. \(^3\) 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 dependants declined.

82. The Bombay survey indicates a lower unemployment rate (4.8%) for migrants than for natives (7.4%). \(^4\) The distribution of family income was similar for natives and migrants, with slightly more native families at the

\(^1\) Ibid., pp. 186-188.
\(^2\) Ibid., pp. 189-191.
\(^3\) Sovani, op. cit., pp. 140-141 and 146-147.
\(^4\) Lakdawala, op. cit., p. 482.
lowest and highest levels. 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%).

M. Indonesia

Households in the densest underdistricts 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 moved slightly less directly than those of rural origin.

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. 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%.

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.

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1/ Ibid., p. 278.
2/ 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.
3/ Ibid.
4/ Ibid., p. 36.
On the whole male migrants improved their social position. Unemployment after migration declined from 11% to 6%.\(^1\) Forty-eight percent of the male migrants improved their occupation compared to 41% whose occupation remained at the same level and 11% whose occupation was not so good. It must be remembered that this sample is positively selected, there is no data on the migrants who left the city. About 30% were peasants before migrating. Many of these got 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 worse 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.

N. Thailand

The ILO along with government officials undertook an internal migration survey during the early 1960's.\(^2\) There were two surveys of Bangkok-Thornburi 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

\(^1\) Ibid., p. 33.

\(^2\) ILO, Regular Programme of Technical Assistance, Report to the Government of Thailand on Internal Migration, Geneva, 1965."
to the recognition that economic factors are the primary cause of migratory movements. Thai people dislike leaving their place of origin, essentially because they appreciate the security and comfort derived from the proximity of their families and relatives. Population pressure, unfavorable climate - both flooding and lack of water in the north-east as well as the need to enlarge farmable land encourage migration. Fragmentation of land holding induces migration, as does the lack of diversification in agricultural production. Traditional paddy cultivation predominates. The lack of agricultural officers and skilled technicians to advise farmers on new techniques and new crops hinders the development of agriculture. Decreasing demand for an agricultural product results in permanent migration. There is an absence of industrial establishments offering employment in rural areas. Small-scale home industries almost exclusively employ women, e.g. raising silk worms, spinning and weaving. In a few specific areas the threat of robbery causes migration.

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

1/ Ibid., p. 79.
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." 1/ "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. 2/ 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. Often they return to help their families farm, resulting in a tremendous waste of human resources.

87. Reasons cited for staying in rural areas range from a deep sentimental attachment to their place of origin and from parents objections to 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.

88. Bangkok not only attracts the better educated seeking jobs that demand their skills, but many temporary migrants seeking money to take home. Almost half of the men interviewed thought they would be able to take money home. 3/ Stage migration to Bangkok was rare. Over half those interviewed

2/ Ibid., p. 141.
3/ Ibid., p. 73.
found employment within three days. Only 14% spent more than 2 weeks looking for a job; 8% gave no answer. "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." 1/ Finding a job was not a major complaint, rather it was the low wages and the fact that they were not paid immediately. 2/ Migrants most easily found jobs through an introduction to an employer by a native of his own region, either friend or relative. 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." 2/ 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 lodging and 8% shared rented quarters with fellow migrants. 3/ Less than half preferred living in Bangkok to living in their village.

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 while for male migrants accompanied by at least one other 88% came

1/ Ibid.
2/ Ibid., p. 117.
3/ Ibid., p. 118.
4/ Ibid., p. 72.
for job-related reasons and 5% for their child's education. For lone female migrants, 71% came for job related reasons, 10% to join their family, 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 child's education 21%. Secondary psychological reasons were primarily for a "better life" and because of the "attraction of Seoul."\(^1\) Another classification indicates that independent migrant males 15 years and over came primarily for job-related reasons (73%), followed by housing (11%), 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 (17-20%) and those 55 years and over for health reasons (2-3%).\(^2\)

P. Republic of China (Taiwan)

90. According to a survey of recent native male migrants of working age to Taichung City and of non-migrants from the surrounding, primarily rural area in the fall of 1967 three-quarters of the migrants cite job-related reasons for moving.\(^3\) The reasons for not moving were also largely job related. Many self-employed non-migrants had incomes higher than the average city income.

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adjusted for cost-of-living differences. Many had not moved because they lacked
the necessary skills for urban employment or knowledge of suitable, available
jobs. Others lacked sufficient money to pay the cost of moving.

91. Migrants in general were more highly educated than non-migrants. They
were less likely to have been farmers before moving than non-migrants. If they
had lived on farms before moving they were more apt to have lived on prosperous
ones.

92. Though 13% of the migrants had been unemployed before moving compared
to 2% of the non-migrants, many migrants were probably looking for their first
job and most of these unemployed got jobs shortly after arriving in the city.

93. Migrants who had been farmers had generally earned less than both non-
migrants and migrants in other occupations yet more than non-migrant farmers.
Forty percent of the migrants changed occupations, the net shift was mainly
from farming to sales and service work and to skilled and unskilled labor. The
median family income for migrants increased slightly after migration, but because
they lived in smaller families in Taichung City, income per adult equivalent
increased 150 NT$ per month, from 440 NT$ to 590 NT$ per month. The average
increase in the cost of food and housing per adult equivalent was only 40 NT$
per month. The cost of moving cited by migrants ranged from 10 to 500 NT$.
About one-half of the migrants gained substantially in terms of income after
moving, about one-half broke even and about one-half lost substantially.

94. Friends and relatives were declared to be the main sources of job
information despite the availability of newspapers and public and private
employment service agencies. More migrants than non-migrants had relatives
living in the city prior to migration. One third of the migrants with close
relatives at their place of origin regularly remitted part of their income.
95. According to various regression analyses of the survey findings, "the variables with the strongest effect on the probability of moving are the location of parents, the cost of moving (negative effect), and unemployment at the place of origin."\(^1\) "The expectation of a higher or lower income in the city had less effect on migration than either the cost of moving or the location of parents."\(^2\)

Q. **Summary of African Surveys**

96. As indicated by the Asian and Latin American surveys the majority of migrants migrate for employment reasons. They are attracted by the money and consumer goods that urban jobs provide them. There is evidence in Skinner's survey of the Mossi who migrated seasonally from Upper Volta to Ghana 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 these 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 in Ghana, the higher real income in terms of salary and facilities in urban areas was generally found to be more attractive.


\(^2\) Ibid.
97. The few surveys reviewed for Africa (Ghana, Upper Volta, Cairo, Mombasa, Kampala, Gwelo) showed that return migration was of tremendous importance. 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 years of one's life. There was not much evidence of permanent migration. Contact with rural relatives was maintained by migrants to urban areas through visits, remittance of money and assistance of other relatives coming to urban areas. In 1963 one-third of the rural households in Ghana were receiving money 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 (92%) migrants 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 45 years. Ghanaian evidence also indicates that many migrants aged 15-19 years return because of failure in the city.

98. Reference to two general discussions of temporary migration seems relevant here despite the fact that this is intended to be a summary of field survey information. Walter Elkan claims that circular migration, i.e. migration from rural to urban areas and back again, etc. has been typical of East Africa.1/  

Migrants have been target workers with specific objectives in terms of a certain quantity of consumer goods, clothes or money. The money could be saved for taxes or to buy a farm. Urban Wages were traditionally not high enough to support a family in the city. The disadvantages of temporary migration included wasted time and wasted transportation cost, the unwillingness of employers to train the migrants and separation from the family. The advantages included the possibility of accumulating capital in rural areas as migrants returned their savings to the farm. However, according to William Vogel, urban wages have risen in East Africa during the 1960's and urban jobs have become more scarce while the prices of primary products have fallen making farming less profitable than during the 1950's. Vogel claims that permanent migration has increased tremendously as migrants are reluctant to leave their urban jobs once they have them as they fear they will not be able to secure them again.

99. Distance again is shown to be a negative factor and 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).

100. 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 and in the case of Accra migrants at the time of the survey (1963) were more educated

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on the average than the natives. 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.

101. 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.

102. According to the 1963 Ghana survey 1.5% of the national income was sent in cash to rural families from migrants in urban areas and the bulk of rural families felt that migration was beneficial to them as well as to urban areas.

Q. Ghana

103. 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 which 72% were migrants) and over half the rural respondents cited economic reasons for migration to big towns, i.e. 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/ 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

1/ Caldwell, op. cit., pp. 88-89.
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. Village life was thought to be pleasant because of cheap and fresh food, its low cost of living, free or cheap accommodation, its quiet life, the possibility of mutual help by family and friends, and of enjoying farming, and its traditional and family culture.1 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 in migrating due to a lack of money or education.2 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 night-clubs, bars, etc.; bad roads, poor transportation and poor communication; a shortage of consumer goods; poor medical, health, electrical, etc. facilities; crop failures and its dull uncivilized way of life.3 Village life was generally regarded as being more manageable and town life more corrupting.

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 a high cost was displeasing. Specific responses to what makes city life

1/ Ibid., p. 99.
2/ Ibid., p. 91.
3/ Ibid., p. 102.
unpleasant included the high cost of living, housing and food, a shortage of money and employment, bad housing, poor sanitation, crime, traffic and accidents, the fast, impersonal life and the excessive noise. Many tribes associated social prestige with a period of town residence, especially for young men who could earn money for the bride price. Migration to urban areas was greatest from the economically more developed and more rapidly developing south. 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." Urban children were more apt to be in school.

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 or Ashanti, somewhat more again than that found in Volta, and almost five times that found in the north." Caldwell goes on to explain that while costs in Accra are much higher and while migrants may not attain the average, the real differential still exists even though it may be less than that expected by the migrants. The real differential exists not merely in cash incomes, but in the standard of living. Initial unemployment may be part of the investment necessary to obtain an urban job, though regular employment for all migrants may be impossible. Distance as a negative factor to

1/ Ibid., p. 96.
2/ Ibid., p. 106.
4/ Ibid., p. 205.
migration is evident by 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 migrated, at least seasonally. Step migration was not very important in Ghana.\(^1\) Caldwell feels that factors encouraging rural-urban migration are growing, i.e. the high birth rate and the decline in infant mortality, the spread of education and the concentration of more "relatives" in town.

\(^{1}\) Caldwell feels that factors encouraging rural-urban migration are growing, i.e. the high birth rate and the decline in infant mortality, the spread of education and the concentration of more "relatives" in town.

\(^{2}\) Age and education have largely determined propensity to migrate. Migrants to urban areas have been predominantly between 15 to 29 years of age.\(^2\) Most young people left 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.\(^2\) 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."\(^{3}\) Almost three-fourths of the rural respondents planning migration for the first time were school children or dependents.

\(^1\) Ibid., p. 21.
\(^2\) Ibid., p. 84.
\(^3\) Ibid., p. 60.
\(^{3}\) Ibid., p. 124.
107. 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/ "Of male migrants in urban areas...43% were married prior to migration. Almost exactly half of this number...were accompanied by their wives at the time of migration....Of the married migrants who were not accompanied by their wives, two-thirds later sent for them." 2/

108. 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. 3/ Craftsman and those with skilled trades were more apt to migrate. Larger villages produced a significantly greater proportion of rural-urban migrants, their economic and educational level was apt to be higher. 4/ Those with family in urban areas were more apt to migrate. Over half the urban migrants stayed with family or friends after first arriving. 5/ As many as four-fifths of urban migrant households gave some help to relatives coming from the villages.

1/ Ibid., pp. 126-127.
2/ Ibid., pp. 126-127.
3/ Ibid., p. 83.
4/ Ibid., p. 57.
5/ Ibid., p. 130.
109. The influence of the urban areas on rural areas appears to be substantial. About one-third of the rural households received money from town.1/ Half of 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.

110. Two-thirds of the migrants found town life to be as they expected, of the other third several found it better than they expected.2/ Curiously enough in answer to another question only about half of the urban respondents found "town life as satisfactory as they had hoped."3/ In any case, three-fourths claimed to have had financial disappointments.4/ These disappointments were proportional to the socio-economic distance from which the migrant came, i.e. they were greater for the poor, traditional, poorly-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 their travel expenses, most of the rest received a gift or loan from relatives, some borrowed from a present or future employer.5/

1/ Ibid., p. 168.
2/ Ibid., p. 121.
4/ Ibid., p. 171.
5/ Ibid., p. 135.
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.

111. Responses in the rural survey indicated that 73% had never migrated (9% of these 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).1/

112. The importance of return migration is evident. As many as 92% of the urban migrants intend ultimately to return to their home village, of these 90% expect to own a house there, 22% already owned a house there. Indeed, of all persons over 65 years of age who migrated to town for long periods 79% of them had returned permanently to their village.2/ 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 the urban migrants was to establish a base in their rural home area 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 1963.3/

1/ Ibid., p. 49.
2/ Ibid., p. 199.
3/ Ibid., p. 126.
Skinner interviewed about 9,500 seasonal migrants from Upper Volta at Ghana's Yeji ferry upon their return home in 1954. While 83% of these worked on farms and of the others only some 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."

S. 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. 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 since they cannot adapt to a city culture. Migration to Cairo has been male selective. Migrants tend


2/ Ibid., p. 66.

to stay initially with friends or 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.

T. East Africa

115. 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. 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.

116. Gutkind'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. 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 a while. While in Mulago many migrants worked in government and business offices in Kampala; others worked in the Mulago Hospital or in shops and services in Mulago. They were largely "target workers" who had come for money and skills but returned home whenever they worked or whenever their agricultural activities demanded them.


2/ Peter C. W. Gutkind, "African Urbanism, Mobility and the Social Network," The City in Newly Developing Countries: Readings on Urbanism and Urbanization, pp. 389-400.
117. 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.

118. 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 time later 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."1 People are drawn to those towns where their kin are. Traditional kin ties persist in towns 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 because7 invariably a man in Gwelo looks forward to returning to his kind and reserve permanently."2/ 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.

2/ Ibid., p. 131.
III. Summary and Conclusions

A. Who Migrates?

119. Internal migrants are not a random sample of the general population. Proportionately more rural natives migrate than urban natives. Young adults in their teens and twenties have a greater propensity to migrate than other age groups, especially from rural to urban areas. They often migrate after finishing their education or as they enter the labor force. Ravenstein claims that females are more migratory than men and predominate in short distance migration. While this is generally accepted, systematic proof is not available to support it. Furthermore, it is generally recognized that sex selection varies more than age selection. Bogue has hypothesized that there have been three stages to rural-urban migration historically and that during the first stage more males than females migrate. During this stage more migration is seasonal or for only one or two years. During the second stage of migration more families migrate and more migrants intend to stay for several years or until they retire, if not permanently. During the third stage more females migrate. There is evidence to suggest that there is a significant amount of return migration at all stages.

120. 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.

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121. There is evidence that both the better educated and the less-well educated migrate to cities. Migrants tend to be of high quality relative to the population of their place of origin if they are moving primarily in response to plus factors at their place of destination and if the obstacles they must overcome in moving are great. They tend to be of low quality if they are responding primarily to minus factors at their place of origin. The more qualified migrants tend to move greater distances. One hypothesis is that over time migration in the less developed countries becomes less selective in terms of education and wealth.

122. 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. 1/

123. 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.

B. Why Do People Migrate?

124. 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.

125. Differential economic opportunities are frequently expressed in terms of income and job availability or more specifically wages and unemployment

It must be kept in mind that many urban workers earn less than the minimum wage and that the expected wage or average wage and unemployment rate vary according to occupation or skill level. Todaro claims that the expected urban wage for a potential rural-urban migrant = the minimum urban wage rate x the percentage of the urban labor force employed.  

The absence of data on wages and unemployment rates for various occupations for various cities and rural areas within a developing nation prevents actual comparisons. Data on the minimum urban wage and the minimum agricultural wage are available; and frequently estimates of average per capita income or average worker income are available for different regions, if not for different cities. This type of wage data is notably absent from sample surveys, however, as is reliable unemployment data.

Sample survey evidence supports the hypothesis that the majority of independent migrants (excluding dependent wives and children) move 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 job in their area of origin; many of these are new entries into the labor force. Other migrants come out of ambition: to improve their job, to benefit from better working conditions and to enjoy superior opportunities for promotion. A few are transferred by their firms.

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1/ 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.

128. A decision to migrate is based on a comparison of expected future real income if one migrates to that if one does not. In calculating expected income after migration the anticipated cost of moving must be deducted. This would include actual transportation cost, increased room and board expenses, and the income foregone during the time it takes him to move and find a job. Friends and relatives not only provide much needed 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 obstacles to 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 feasible, 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 accessibility to the necessary funds must be taken into account.

129. Migration to join family and friends seems to partially explain the trend of internal migration to increase relatively over time. Technological advance also explains this tendency. It reduces certain transportation and communications obstacles and increases regional specialization, thereby increasing the differences between areas.

130. There is evidence that the availability and quality of different types of education influences migration. The evidence is rather ambiguous. One hypothesis claims that the availability and quality of primary education facilities in rural areas discourages rural-urban migration while the availability and quality of secondary education facilities in rural areas encourages rural-urban migration.
The availability and quality of health facilities and housing are less frequently cited in sample surveys as reasons for migrating. Certain evidence suggests that they are relatively more important for middle age and older migrants.

There was some evidence from surveys in Africa that freedom from elders and social prestige were prime reasons for young adult males migrating to cities. In Colombia there was evidence that an escape from rural violence was a major factor. Political instability in certain parts of a country can encourage out-migration. There is very little evidence to support the hypothesis that rural-urban migrants primarily seek better entertainment facilities. While there is some evidence that 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. ¹/

What is the Effect of Migration on Economic Development?

If internal 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 works to reduce the labor supply, other things being equal, wages tend to rise in the sending area. However, if un- or underemployment is high, wages may remain unchanged while surplus labor declines and per capita income rises.

If the region suffers from underemployment or 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 with their newly acquired techniques and savings. However, if a low income region of out-migration with growth potential must compete with higher income regions for skilled labor and capital, its growth may suffer.

In-migration works to reduce the relative wages of those categories of labor with which the migrants compete and to increase the relative wages of complementary categories of labor. Unless migrants tend to be of higher quality than the natives of a region of in-migration, income per capita of the in-migration region tends to decline in the short run. Migrants tend to leave low income stagnant regions for high income or low income regions where income is growing. Both processes tend to reduce regional income disparity (measured in terms of per capita income) in the short run. In the long run however, regional income disparity may increase if income per capita tends to rise in the growing regions for reasons of regional superiority.

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 income and the region's growth rate from declining.

If sufficient capital and skilled labor are not available to train the migrants and to employ them in productive jobs, marginal service employment expands. Under such conditions the marginal productivity of migrants is zero or negligible and migrants are a drag on growth. 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.

138. Rural to urban migration can facilitate economic development in the long run by breaking down the traditional values and customs and replacing them with modern ideas.

139. Rural-urban migration can lead either to a reduction or an increase in regional income disparities. It has been hypothesized that opportunities in medium size cities, e.g. with a population of around 500,000, and small cities, e.g. with a population of around 50,000 are being overlooked by rural-urban migrants in the developing countries. This increases income disparities between the largest cities and the medium and small size cities.

D. Summary List of Hypotheses

140. The prime motive for migrating from rural to urban areas is economic, the 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.

Combining (a) and (b), rural-urban migration continues until expected urban real income equals expected rural real income; i.e. until the average or minimum wage x the percentage employed for 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) Migration costs include transportation expenses, food and lodging expenses beyond those which would have occurred without migration and income foregone during the transition.

(e) 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.

(f) A minimum per capita income level is a prerequisite to cover the costs of migration.

(g) Cost-of-living adjustments must account for payments in kind and imputed housing costs.

(h) Generally, rural-urban migrants have better public services than those living in the rural areas they left.

(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.
1h1. Distance is generally a deterrent to rural-urban migration.¹/
   (a) Most migration is short distance migration.
   (b) Long distance migration tends to be towards large cities.
   (c) Long distance migration is more common than medium distance migration.²/
   (d) 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.³/

1h2. The quality and amount of information 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.

1h3. There are non-monetary reasons for migration including improved family status, proximity to other family members or friends, marriage opportunities, entertainment facilities, physical security, climate, and satisfaction of certain emotional needs, e.g. for adventure, escape, change. Over a long period of time non-monetary reasons for migrating become more important.

¹/ Schutz'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 Schutz's study, reflected a much greater economic deprivation in these isolated areas and a relatively inexpensive means of transportation.


³/ There is much evidence in the surveys reviewed here that seems to refute this hypothesis. Though it has been suggested that the stages may be made by different generations.
Satisfaction after rural-urban migration is based on perception of one's own and family condition in relation to some reference group.

(a) Improvement in job stability is important to all groups.
(b) Housing and leisure facilities are important for migrants living in more developed areas.

Certain agricultural policies and investment decisions affect the volume of rural-urban migration, including 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.

The following table indicates several of the forementioned hypothesized determinants of rural-urban migration. An attempt has been made to show how strongly each determinant influences rural-urban migration and how much is known among investigators on this subject. A set of elasticity determinants is implied. Any empirical case study would have to deal with the analytical difficulties associated with multicollinearity which this table ignores. This is merely my judgment based on this survey.
## Determinants of Internal Migration

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Influence on Rural-Urban Migration</th>
<th>State of Knowledge of Investigators</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Strong</td>
<td>Moderate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. ECONOMIC MOTIVE</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Real Per Capita Wage</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Differential</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Job Availability</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Costs of Migration</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Relative differential of skilled to unskilled income per capita</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minimum per capita income level</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public Services</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Housing</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secondary Education</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary Education</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. DISTANCE</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. INFORMATION</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. NON-MONETARY REASONS</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Status</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family-Friends</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marriage</td>
<td>x(^1/)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Entertainment &amp; &quot;lure of the city&quot;</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Physical Security</td>
<td>x(^1/)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Climate</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Psycho-Emotional</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^1/\) 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.
E. Policy Actions

147. In the past governments of many developing countries have tended to follow certain 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.2/ 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 criterion" has been used to indicate that existing wages have not been sufficient. At other times, a "capacity-to-pay criterion" has been used to indicate that existing wages have not been equitable. Governments have been under pressure to reduce intra-urban wage differentials by raising the lowest wages.

148. Until just recently governments have favored public and social service investment in urban areas; similar type investments have been neglected in rural areas.3/ At times governments have engaged in deficit spending in order to provide jobs for urban unemployed. This has had an inflationary impact on prices and wages and has encouraged further migration.


2/ Ibid.

3/ Ibid.
Warriner emphasizes agricultural unemployment rather than the rural-urban income differential as the main explanation for rural-urban drift.\(^1\) She argues that any income is attractive since unemployment is the problem and the probability of finding work is greater in urban areas than in rural areas. Her general view differs from Thormann's also, in that she claims the volume of rural-urban migration is excessive enough to tend to lower urban wages to the level of rural wages. \(^2\)

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 have further encouraged such substitution. The result has been rising unemployment in the cities of many developing countries.

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. \(^3\) Thormann proposes that minimum wage 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

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2/ Ibid.

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.

152. Todaro and Harris have suggested that rural-urban migration be reduced by restrictive measures. Djakarta has recently adopted this 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 in the past.

153. Thormann, Frank, H. Turner, Lewis, Warriner, etc. have proposed increases in investment in rural areas for infrastructure, public and social services. 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.

154. Elkan has proposed ways to increase the supply of skilled labor and thereby reduce the need for the substitution of capital for labor. He suggests that training be treated as an allowable expense in calculating the tax on firms or that government levy industry to pay for a government sponsored training program. 1/

1/ Elkan, op. cit.
J. Turner proposes that governments 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. He proposes that governments provide only a minimum level of infrastructure and public facilities.

According to Fei and Ranis, employment must grow more rapidly than population if surplus labor is to decline and industrialization to take place. The fulfillment of this "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

Census data are useful in an objective study of migration, e.g. a study of how the volume varies with the diversity of characteristics of various regions. They are usually more accurate than survey data. However, census data are quickly out-of-date and so surveys are needed to secure current data. Also, censuses frequently do not classify data according to rural and urban categories. Census data provides no information on seasonal migration. Survey data are useful in a subjective study of migration. It is possible to collect much more data in a survey and to try out experimental and exploratory questions. A major problem is selecting a meaningful sample. Frequently, the sample design and method have been ill conceived. Often only the results are written up. When the method of sampling and limitations of the results are not also written up, no certainty can be attached to the results. Questionnaires may

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be too long or not geared to priority requirements. The construction 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 are often different, 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 the potential weaknesses of the survey method several authors have proposed various types of surveys in order to shed light on the rural-urban migration issue. 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 a population from 20,000 to 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.¹ Roussel suggests "double-run" surveys

¹ Warriner, op. cit., p. 451.
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.¹/ He suggests concentrating on the population 15-30 years as they have the greatest propensity to migrate.

159. Both W. A. Lewis and Herrick suggest that wage data by occupation or skill level receive top priority in rural and urban household surveys. This 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. Questions on expected wages and expected ease in finding a job in urban areas should be asked of rural inhabitants planning migration. Such will enable a comparison of actual and expected income differentials. The actual costs of migration in terms of transportation, additional food and lodging expenses, income foregone 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 should be asked of rural-urban migrants. Questions on differences between the quality, cost and availability of public services and social services should be directed to rural-urban migrants.

160. Other questions of paramount importance which 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 effect on migration of various government policies related to land reform, agricultural credit, agricultural extension, agricultural markets and 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 need to be determined.


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