



Migration to and from Mexico City, 1995–2000

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1. Cabrera, Gustavo (1970), "Migración interna", in *Centro de Estudios Demográficos y Urbanos, Dinámica de la población de México*, El Colegio de México, México, DF, pages 85–114; also Muñoz, Humberto, Orlandina de Oliveira and Claudio Stern (editors) (1977), *Migración y desigualdad social en la ciudad de México*, El Colegio de México–Instituto de Investigaciones Sociales de la UNAM, México DF.

SUMMARY: *This paper examines migratory flows in and out of Mexico City between 1995 and 2000, and discusses the social and economic characteristics of the individuals involved. Over recent decades, there have been changes in migratory patterns, as the earlier influx of migrants to Mexico City appeared to decrease, and to be overtaken in 1990 by net out-migration. However, figures from the 2000 Mexican census indicate that there is now relative migratory equilibrium. The city continues to be a destination for migrants from poorer states in the country, but it is also an important source of migration to the central and northern states. An examination of the characteristics of the migrants demonstrates that migratory processes are dynamic and complex, responding to a range of economic, environmental, social, cultural and political factors at both origins and destinations.*

I. INTRODUCTION

DURING MUCH OF the twentieth century, Mexico City was the main destination for the country's internal migrants, chiefly due to the concentration of economic activities, political power and the educational, cultural and health infrastructure. In the 1960s, the city experienced the greatest growth in its history, with average annual rates of more than 6 per cent, mostly due to in-migration. As a result of this explosive growth, the first studies of internal migration in the country took place, and these contributed greatly to the development of the knowledge about this complex and dynamic demographic phenomenon.⁽¹⁾

In the last decades of the twentieth century, however, the capital city's powers of attraction diminished, to the point where there was negative net migration between 1985 and 1990, the first time in recent history. Multiple factors influenced this reversal of internal migratory flows. The most notable were the transformation of the economic structure, with a more open market system and an encouragement of the assembly sub-contracting industry, and the introduction of population and economic deconcentration policies. The latter contributed to the growth of medium-sized urban centres along the northern border of the country and in its central region, and these towns offered alternative options for migrants who had traditionally headed for Mexico City. It has also been argued that the deterioration in environmental conditions led some of the population to leave the capital, mainly heading towards the medium-sized towns of central Mexico.

This reduced in-migration to the capital city led to interpretations of counter-urbanization and territorial deconcentration, which argued that

the city had reached its demographic peak and had begun a process of decrease, with the attendant advantages for one of the planet's most populated and polluted cities.⁽²⁾ However, data analysis from the 1995 population count highlighted that this negative net migration had reverted, and that it had become slightly positive as a result of the economic dynamism experienced in the nation's capital during the first five years of the 1990s.⁽³⁾

The recently available 2000 population census data, particularly that for the 10 per cent sample of the country's households that responded to an extended questionnaire, allow a follow-up investigation of the migratory flux both to and from Mexico City at a metropolitan level and an examination of the sociodemographic characteristics of the individuals involved. A preliminary analysis of the information confirms that Mexico City did not consolidate itself as an important source of migrant population. It also suggests a relative migratory equilibrium in the city that might return to its previous demographic dynamism, might recover its previous demographic dynamism, with subsequent damage to the environment and the quality of life of its inhabitants.

This paper presents a descriptive, preliminary analysis of the 2000 census sample data on the migratory flows to and from Mexico City between 1995 and 2000 and of the sociodemographic and economic characteristics of the individuals involved, with an emphasis on their migratory status and gender differences.

II. MIGRATION IN MEXICO CITY – BACKGROUND

IN 1940, 39.4 per cent of all internal migrants in the country were concentrated in the Federal District, and this increased to 41.9 per cent by 1950 (this was the decade in which the metropolization process between the Federal District and the State of Mexico began). By 1970, Mexico City (which by then included the Federal District and 11 municipalities in the State of Mexico) had absorbed 47.8 per cent of the total inter-state movements in the country. Between 1965 and 1970, in-migration involved 825,000 individuals (and out-migration 381,000), and between 1975 and 1980 in-migration peaked at about 1 million (and out-migration was 697,000). During 1985–90, in-migration decreased to 559,000 and out-migration reached almost 1 million. Net migration was positive until 1980, and from 1985 on, it became negative.⁽⁴⁾

In-migration to the nation's capital was explained on the basis of the attraction to migrants, who were mainly of rural origin, of the concentration of economic opportunities, and as a result of the industrialization model based on the substitution of imported goods, adopted since the Second World War. Underpinning such explanations were a variety of theoretical perspectives, including modernization, historical–structural, social reproduction and family survival strategy approaches.

Mexico City's transformation from a pole of population attraction to one of rejection was one of the most significant findings of the 1990 census, and led several migration scholars to estimate the magnitude of the phenomenon and to explain its causes and effects. Differences in the estimated figures and in interpretations of the changes in the migratory patterns towards Mexico City are mainly due to different city boundaries being used in the estimations, as well as the use of different theoretical and methodological approaches.⁽⁵⁾

The most important interpretations for the 1990 census findings at the

2. Aguilar, Adrián and Francisco Rodríguez (1995), "Tendencias de desconcentración urbana en México 1970–1990", in Aguilar, Adrián, Luis Javier Castro and Eduardo Juárez (editors) *El desarrollo urbano de México a fines del siglo XX*, INSEUR–NL–SOMEDE, Monterrey, México, pages 75–100.

3. Corona, Reina, Ana Ma. Chávez and Rossana Gutiérrez (1999), *Dinámica migratoria de la ciudad de México, Tu ciudad así funciona* Series, Gobierno del Distrito Federal, México DF; also Corona, Reina (1998), *La Región Centro de México ¿una región funcional urbana?* Masters thesis in urban planning, El Colegio de México, México DF.

4. CONAPO (1997), *Escenarios demográficos y urbanos de la Zona Metropolitana de la Ciudad de México, 1990–2010*. Síntesis, Consejo Nacional de Población, México DF.

5. Negrete, Ma. Eugenia, Boris Graizbord and Crescencio Ruiz (1993), *Población, espacio y medio ambiente en la Zona Metropolitana de la Ciudad de México*, Programa de

Estudios Avanzados en Desarrollo Sustentable y Medio Ambiente, *Documentos de Trabajo Series No 2*, El Colegio de México, México DF; also Corona, Reina and Rodolfo Luque (1992), "Cambios recientes en los patrones migratorios a la Zona Metropolitana de la Ciudad de México (ZMCM), in *Estudios demográficos y urbanos* No 20–21, May–December, El Colegio de México, México DF; Partida, Virgilio (1994), "La ciudad de México. Nuevo derrotero en su ritmo de crecimiento", in *Demos 7, Carta demográfica sobre México, 1994*, IISUNAM, México DF; Chávez, Ana María (1999), *La nueva dinámica de la migración interna en México de 1970 a 1990*, Centro Regional de Investigaciones Multidisciplinarias, UNAM, Cuernavaca; see reference 3, Corona (1998); and Izazola, Haydea and Catherine Marquette (1999) "Emigración de la ciudad de México ¿Estrategia de sobrevivencia frente al deterioro ambiental?", in Benítez Zenteno, Raúl and René Jiménez Ornelas (editors), *Hacia la Demografía del Siglo XXI, México DF*, IISUNAM–SOMEDE, México, DF, pages 113–135.

6. CONAPO (1987), *Encuesta Nacional de Migración a Áreas Urbanas* (ENMAU), 1986, Consejo Nacional de Población, México DF.

7. Surprisingly, the ENMAU did not document a close relationship between out-migration and the earthquake that hit Mexico City in 1985.

8. See reference 6; also Negrete, Ma. Eugenia (1990), "La migración a la ciudad de México: un proceso multifacético", *Estudios demográficos y urbanos* Vol 3, No 5, pages 641–653; and see reference 5, Partida (1994).

9. See reference 5, Izazola and Marquette (1999).

time included the reduced economic dynamism in the country's capital, related to previous economic crises and the switch to a model of economic development oriented towards trade liberalization; the growth of medium-sized urban centres that represented alternative options to the potential migrants; and the population redistribution policies that had begun decades beforehand. But perhaps the most innovative interpretation saw out-migration as a response to the poor conditions of Mexico City's environment; this was supported by the results of the 1986 National Migration to Urban Areas Survey (ENMAU).⁽⁶⁾

This survey took place in the country's 16 main cities and, among several other aspects linked to migration, captured the migratory intentions and expectations of the population. One-third of the respondents in Mexico City declared their intention to change their place of residence and, of those, nearly two-thirds added that the principal motives were the poor quality of life in the city associated with the pressures of urban life, pollution, violence and insecurity.⁽⁷⁾ In contrast, in the other cities included in the survey, only a low percentage of the interviewees declared their intention to move, and their motives related to family or work.⁽⁸⁾ Based on these findings, this new migratory flow was also analyzed through qualitative methods – focus groups – recording the views of environmental refugees and migrants.⁽⁹⁾

III. SOURCES OF INFORMATION FOR THE STUDY OF MIGRATION

IN THE ABSENCE of longitudinal data on population movements in the country, the study of migration has turned to two main types of data: first, information from population censuses and surveys of broad geographical coverage, which allow an understanding of the main tendencies of migratory movements; and second, approaches of a more anthropological nature, which provide information on the different elements relating to the migratory strategies of families.

Spatial and temporal factors stand out as the main limitations of the conventional sources of information. Regarding the spatial dimension, the population census and household surveys traditionally have incorporated questions about the place of birth and residence at a *federal entity or state level*, which considerably limits knowledge of the movements within these administrative boundaries or of the cases in which the growth of the population has spawned localities that exceed state limits; such is the case of Mexico City.

Concerning the temporality of migration, these instruments capture the place of birth and the length of residence in that location. Since 1990, a question concerning the place of residence five years prior to the census has been included. Although this practice adds to our knowledge of migratory movements, it does not record information regarding movements that have taken place throughout the life of the individuals or that were undertaken before and during the five-year period between the referred moment and the time of the census, including return migrations.

The obvious limitations of the conventional sources of information prompted the application of specific migration surveys with a broad geographical coverage (for example, the 1986 ENMAU), as well as projects of an anthropological nature that have fundamentally contributed to an understanding of the territorial movements of the population, mainly in rural areas. The latter, however, given its restricted and local character,

does not allow any generalization of its findings.

In the extended questionnaire, the 2000 census included a question on the municipality as well as the state of residence five years prior to the census, and a question regarding the reason for any out-migration.

It is worth noting that the large census sample size (more than 2 million households) guarantees the reliability of its results, which can hardly be reached by any other similar source of information. For example, the sample for the 1995 population count was far smaller (80,000 dwellings in the entire country) and this can affect any findings, specifically when performing very detailed analysis.

IV. MIGRATION TO AND FROM THE MEXICO CITY METROPOLITAN AREA 1995–2000

AS HAS BEEN mentioned, one of the main methodological problems in the study of migration at a metropolitan area level relates to the availability of information at a federal entity/state level. In addition, since the 1950s, one has witnessed the expansion of Mexico City beyond the limits of the Federal District, towards municipalities in the State of Mexico.

In order to overcome this obstacle, studies of migration at a metropolitan area level have made a number of assumptions concerning migratory behaviour in the adjacent municipalities of the State of Mexico, which do not necessarily match and which make comparisons difficult.

For the year 2000, INEGI (Instituto Nacional de Estadística Geografía e Informática de Mexico) considered 35 municipalities in the State of Mexico as part of the metropolitan area. The Population Council of the State of Mexico considered 37 municipalities to be part of this area, while other authors, on whose work the present project is based, estimated that the metropolitan area has already extended to 40 municipalities in the State of Mexico and one in the State of Hidalgo.⁽¹⁰⁾

Results from the 2000 population census at a municipal level point to a slightly negative net migration to and from Mexico City for the period 1995–2000, although this was far less than that registered for the period 1985–1990, which ranged between -0.37 and -1.9 per cent.⁽¹¹⁾ For 1990–1995, the corresponding rate was +0.3 per cent,⁽¹²⁾ and was -0.083 in the next five-year period. This appears to confirm the fact that Mexico City did not consolidate as an important source of population movement, as indicated in the 1990 census information. The city even managed to maintain a relative migratory equilibrium, as documented for the period 1990–1995. Consequently, the annual growth rate of 1.4 per cent registered for 1995–2000 is due almost exclusively to natural growth (births minus deaths).

V. ORIGIN AND DESTINATION OF MIGRANTS TO AND FROM THE MEXICO CITY METROPOLITAN AREA 1995–2000

SINCE THE 1960s, the origin of in-migrants has concentrated in almost the same nine states, located in the south and in the centre of the country (Table 2), and their importance has grown in terms of migratory flows towards the country's capital.⁽¹³⁾ Between 1965 and 1970, 72.8 per cent of in-migrants came from these states. The figure was 69.3 per cent for 1975–1980, 74.4 per cent for 1985–1990⁽¹⁴⁾ and 77.2 per cent for 1995–2000.

With respect to the destinations of out-migrants from Mexico City (Table 3), ten states (including eight of the nine mentioned above)

10. Garza, Gustavo (editor), (2000), *La ciudad de México en el fin del segundo milenio*, Gobierno del Distrito Federal–El Colegio de México, México DF; in the present analysis, the Municipality of Hidalgo (Tizayuca) is excluded due to its modest contribution to the migratory flows to and from Mexico City (less than 1 per cent).

11. See, among others, reference 5, Partida (1994), reference 3, Corona et al. (1999) and reference 5, Izazola and Marquette (1999).

12. See reference 3, Corona et al. (1999).

13. See reference 4; also see reference 3, Corona et al. (1999).

14. See reference 4, page 24.

Table 1:	Mexico City net migration, 1995–2000
In-migrants	521,183
Out-migrants	595,231
Net migration	-74,048
Yearly net migration	-14,809
Net migration rate	-0.083 %

SOURCE: Author's estimations based on data from the 10 per cent sample of the 2000 Mexican census; see INEGI (2001a), *XII Censo General de Población y Vivienda 2000. Base de datos de la muestra censal. Cuestionario ampliado*, Disco compacto, INEGI, Aguascalientes.

Table 2:	States of origin of the in-migrants to Mexico City, 1995–2000
State of origin	Percentage
México*	14.7
Veracruz	14.3
Puebla	13.4
Oaxaca	10.5
Hidalgo	8.0
Michoacán	5.1
Guerrero	4.8
Jalisco	3.5
Guanajuato	2.9
<i>Sub-total</i>	77.2
Rest of the country	22.8
<i>Total</i>	100.0

* Municipalities out of Mexico City.

SOURCE: Author's estimations based on data from the 10 per cent sample of the 2000 Mexican census; see INEGI (2001a), *XII Censo General de Población y Vivienda 2000. Base de datos de la muestra censal. Cuestionario ampliado*, Disco compacto, INEGI, Aguascalientes.

Table 3:	States of destination of the out-migrants from Mexico City, 1995–2000
State of origin	Percentage
Mexico*	10.2
Hidalgo	9.6
Veracruz	8.6
Puebla	8
Morelos	6.3
Queretaro	6.3
Guanajuato	6
Oaxaca	4.9
Michoacan	4.9
Jalisco	4.4
<i>Sub-total</i>	69.2
Rest of the country	30.8
<i>Total</i>	100.0

* Municipalities out of Mexico City.

SOURCE: Author's estimations based on data from the 10 per cent sample of the 2000 Mexican census; see INEGI (2001a), *XII Censo General de Población y Vivienda 2000. Base de datos de la muestra censal. Cuestionario ampliado*, Disco compacto, INEGI, Aguascalientes.

attracted 75 per cent of out-migrants between 1990 and 1995,⁽¹⁵⁾ and 69.2 per cent between 1995 and 2000. Flows towards states in the country's central region have grown in the last few decades, giving way to a process of megalopolization.⁽¹⁶⁾ This could be the result of explicit population and economic deconcentration policies, specifically industrial ones, as well as of migratory responses from a population facing the environmental deterioration of the country's capital city. On the other hand, states in the south of the country that traditionally have been considered as sources of migrants are also important destinations for the capital's out-migrants; this might be attributed to return migration by migrants of rural origin. The situation is also documented for the 1990–1995 period.⁽¹⁷⁾

Because the majority of migrant flows to and from Mexico City are to and from practically the same states, it might be interesting to know what the balance of migratory flow is for each state. This changes the appreciation of the context by showing that, for example, some of the states that have recently considered themselves a central part of the megalopolization process, such as Querétaro, Morelos, Guanajuato and Hidalgo, in fact gain more population from Mexico City than they lose. It is also worth noting the importance of the states whose dynamics are associated with economic globalization processes, such as the assembly sub-contracting industry in the north and the tourist industry in Quintana Roo. It is possible that these migratory flows indicate a more urban sociodemographic profile of the migrants: older mean age, better educational attainment and incomes, and a greater response to the labour market demands in cities integrated into the global market. On the other hand, it is possible that among out-migrants, one might find middle-class families in an early stage of the family lifecycle, who are seeking to improve their quality of life in cities in the country's central area that are privileged destinations for those escaping the environmental deterioration of Mexico City but that are close enough to allow them to take advantage of what the capital city offers.

It is also worth noting that only eight states send more population to Mexico City than they receive, among them the poorest states in the country, such as Oaxaca, Guerrero, Veracruz, Chiapas, Puebla and the State of Mexico (Table 4). These states continue to lose population and are an important source of in-migrants for Mexico City. These in-migrants are typically young people in search of a job, mainly women, with low levels of schooling, and possibly of rural origin. This seems to be confirmed in an analysis of the sociodemographic characteristics of the male and female migrants.

VI. DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS OF MIGRANTS TO AND FROM MEXICO CITY

THE 2000 CENSUS sample allows an examination of the demographic and socioeconomic characteristics of the population, and a differentiation of migration status. The following describes three different groups, based on information on the state and municipality of residence five years prior to the census as an indication of recent internal migratory movements. The three groups are:

- the in-migrants, who are the population over the age of five who arrived in the Mexico City Metropolitan Area after 1995;
- the out-migrants, who left the area after 1995; and
- the non-migrants, which includes those who did not change their place

15. See reference 3, Corona et al. (1999).

16. See reference 5, Chavez (1998); also see reference 10.

17. See reference 3, Corona et al. (1999).

Table 4: Net migration by state to and from Mexico City, 1995–2000

State	Origin	Destination	Net migration
Queretaro	10,207	37,642	-27,435
Morelos	16,457	37,622	-21,165
Guanajuato	15,187	35,953	-20,766
Hidalgo	41,844	57,121	-15,277
Quintana Roo	4,888	18,378	-13,490
Baja California	5,931	19,181	-13,250
Aguascalientes	2,709	11,873	-9,164
Jalisco	18,147	25,994	-7,847
Tamaulipas	4,592	11,318	-6,726
Nuevo Leon	6,448	12,901	-6,453
Tlaxcala	10,871	16,845	-5,974
Yucatán	2,754	8,001	-5,247
San Luis Potosí	6,989	11,943	-4,954
Chihuahua	4,643	9,513	-4,870
Coahuila	2,668	5,534	-2,866
Michoacán	26,468	28,949	-2,481
Zacatecas	2,235	4,340	-2,105
Colima	1,392	2,920	-1,528
Nayarit	1,050	2,438	-1,388
Campeche	1,344	2,714	-1,370
Durango	1,782	2,601	-819
Sonora	3,075	3,770	-695
Tabasco	4,522	5,043	-521
Baja California Sur	1,269	1,146	123
Sinaloa	5,121	4,466	655
Chiapas	17,664	10,151	7,513
Guerrero	25,243	17,545	7,698
México*	76,569	61,008	15,561
Puebla	69,646	47,863	21,783
Veracruz	74,579	51,301	23,278
Oaxaca	54,889	29,157	25,732
<i>Total</i>	<i>521,183</i>	<i>595,231</i>	<i>-74,048</i>

* Municipalities out of Mexico City.

SOURCE: Author's estimations based on data from the 10 per cent sample of the 2000 Mexican census; see INEGI (2001a), *XII Censo General de Población y Vivienda 2000. Base de datos de la muestra censal. Cuestionario ampliado*, Disco compacto, INEGI, Aguascalientes.

Table 5: Ratio of male migrants to and from Mexico City, 1995–2000	
Migration status	Ratio
In-migrants	0.79
Out-migrants	0.99
Non-migrants	0.92

SOURCE: Author's estimations based on data from the 10 per cent sample of the 2000 Mexican census; see INEGI (2001a), *XII Censo General de Población y Vivienda 2000. Base de datos de la muestra censal. Cuestionario ampliado*, Disco compacto, INEGI, Aguascalientes.

of residence, including natives, as well as ancient in-migrants (prior to 1995) and return migrants (between 1995 and 2000).

In addition, given the importance of the gender dimension in the migratory phenomenon, the analysis differentiates between the sexes.

a. Structure by age and sex

One of the main characteristics of internal migration in Mexico has been the large presence of women, often linked to participation in low-skilled jobs, mainly services, such as domestic service.⁽¹⁸⁾ Although this is associated with the prevalence of rural–urban flows during the decades following the Second World War, and which continue to head for Mexico City, the growing importance of flows from the capital city to other urban destinations demands a rethink of conventional theories of migration, both in relation to its causes and its consequences, as well as in relation to the characteristics of the migrants, especially those that stress income differentials between the localities of origin and destination.⁽¹⁹⁾

According to the 2000 census sample, the ratio of males among in-migrants and out-migrants to and from Mexico City varies broadly, also in relation to the non-migrant population (Table 5). Among in-migrants there is a prevalence of women, whereas among the out-migrants there is almost an equal balance. This conforms, at least partially, to the stereotype of rural–urban migration, as dominated by women of low educational standard who arrive in search of jobs, mainly in the service sector; they might represent groups coming from the poorest states of the country. On the other hand, as previously mentioned, out-migration reflects, at least partially, family flows in which the composition by gender can be more balanced; this balance is not the case, however, with regard to age groups.

An analysis of the migrant groups' structure by age and gender (Figure 1) matches certain findings that had been documented in previous decades, even in the 1970s, in which the flows originating from Mexico City seemed to be more family related, with a dominating presence of very young groups (children) and those of ages that suggest a stage of family formation and expansion (parents).⁽²⁰⁾ In contrast, those heading towards the city show a higher concentration of young and economically active migrants, which suggests that these flows are more generally composed of individuals in search of work.⁽²¹⁾ However, and as has been documented for several decades, even this individual movement is part of migrant households' survival strategies.⁽²²⁾

The differentials in mean and median ages of the population according to migration status point to a similar direction. They indicate that in-migrants – especially women – are younger on average than out-migrants and the latter, in turn, are younger than non-migrants (Table 6).

18. See reference 1; also López, Ma. de la Paz, Haydea Izazola and José Gómez de León (1993), "The characteristics of female migrants according to the 1990 Mexican census", in *Internal Migration of Women in Developing Countries*, United Nations, New York, pages 133–153; and Szasz, Ivonne (1999), "La perspectiva de género en el estudio de la migración femenina en México", in García, Brígida (editor), *Mujer, género y población en México*, El Colegio de México–Sociedad Mexicana de Demografía, México DF, pages 167–210.

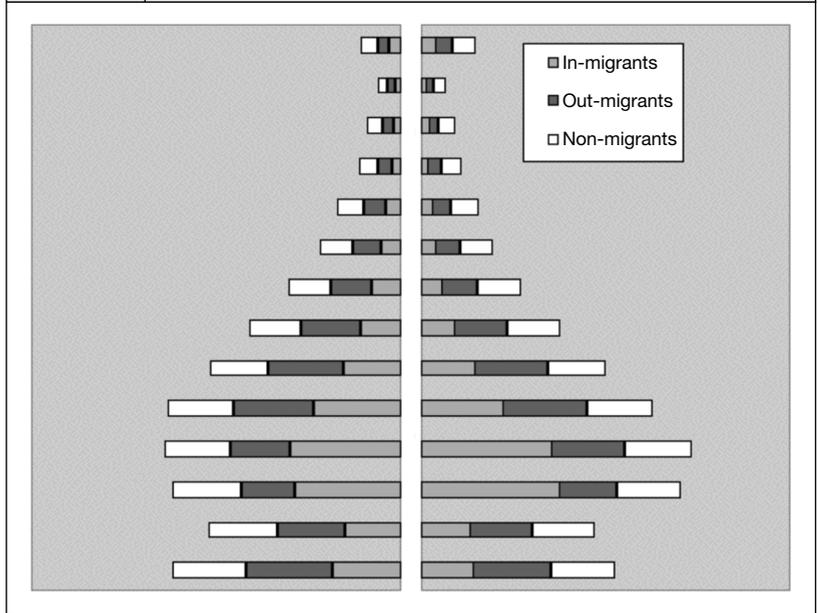
19. UN (1993), *Internal Migration of Women in Developing Countries*, United Nations, New York; also see reference 18, Szasz (1999).

20. See reference 1, Munoz et al. (1977); also see reference 3, Corona et al. (1999); and see reference 5, Izazola and Marquette (1999).

21. See reference 3, Corona (1998); also Browning, Harley and Rodolfo Corona (1995), "La emigración inesperada de los chilangos", in *Carta sociodemográfica sobre México, Demos 8*, IISUNAM, México DF, pages 16–17; see reference 3, Corona et al (1999); and see reference 5, Chavez (1999).

22. Szasz, Ivonne (1993), *Migración temporal en Malinalco. La agricultura de subsistencia en tiempos de crisis*, El Colegio de México–El Colegio Mexiquense, México DF; also see reference 18, Szasz (1999).

Figure 1: Age and sex structure of migrants to and from Mexico City, 1995–2000



SOURCE: Author's estimations based on data from the 10 per cent sample of the 2000 Mexican census; see INEGI (2001a), *XII Censo General de Población y Vivienda 2000. Base de datos de la muestra censal. Cuestionario ampliado*, Disco compacto, INEGI, Aguascalientes.

Table 6: Ratio of male migrants to and from Mexico City, 1995–2000

Migration status	Mean age	Median age
Female in-migrants	25.39	22
Female out-migrants	28.38	26
Female non-migrants	31.06	28
Male in-migrants	25.73	23
Male out-migrants	28.15	26
Male non-migrants	29.61	27

SOURCE: Author's estimations based on data from the 10 per cent sample of the 2000 Mexican census; see INEGI (2001a), *XII Censo General de Población y Vivienda 2000. Base de datos de la muestra censal. Cuestionario ampliado*, Disco compacto, INEGI, Aguascalientes.

b. Position in the household and marital status

Although the 2000 census sample allows the reconstruction of households, at this stage of the research only information at the individual level is presented which, among other things, provides the gender of the heads of households. However, before proceeding to the analysis, it is necessary to clarify that position in the household and marital status, as well as the rest of the variables included in the preliminary analysis of the census information, refer to the moment of data collection and do not necessarily correspond to the situation of the individuals at the moment of migration. The transitions in individuals' and families' lifecycles, and the variations in the socioeconomic context of places of origin and destination, influence indi-

vidual transformations between the referred moment of migration and the census data collection. This paper only discusses the sociodemographic and economic differentials of the individuals according to their migration status at the time of the census.

The gender of the head of household is an indicator often used to approach aspects such as the feminization of poverty and the empowerment of women. However, this indicator is difficult to capture through census data and surveys with a wide geographical coverage.⁽²³⁾ The 2000 census reported, at a nationwide level, that 20.6 per cent of all households were headed by women; among those in-migrating to Mexico City, this proportion was nearly the same (20.5 per cent), whereas it was lower among out-migrants (18.9 per cent), and higher among non-migrants (22.4 per cent). Although these differences are not very significant, they seem to suggest that, indeed, among out-migrants, there is a greater proportion of traditional nuclear families (meaning that they are mostly headed by men). They also suggest that non-migrant women assume the role of head of household, or at least declare this role in a greater proportion.

Concerning household heads' spouses, only 31.4 per cent of in-migrant women declared they were wives, against 39.5 per cent of out-migrants and 36.6 per cent of non-migrants; this may point to a prevalence of families in out-migration flows, as mentioned before, but it may also mean that single women are predominant in flows towards the country's capital.

The smallest proportion of household heads with children is among in-migrants (23.7 per cent overall – 28 per cent males, 20 per cent females). This increases to 34.4 per cent among out-migrants and to 42.3 per cent among the non-migrant population. The difference between in- and out-migrants may be a result of family out-migration and labour-induced in-migration. The larger proportion of non-migrants with children compared to out-migrants may reflect the fact that households in the former group are in more stable stages of the family lifecycle, and those of the latter are in the initial and formation phases.

It is interesting to point out that 26 per cent of in-migrant households include other relatives and non-kin members, compared to 14 per cent out-migrant households and 10 per cent of non-migrant households. This points to the importance of social networks for recent in-migrants, suggesting the existence of extended households.

With regard to marital status, 45 per cent of in-migrants were single (nearly the same percentage for both genders) at the time of the census, compared to 31 per cent of out-migrants and 37 per cent of non-migrants. The ratio of married (and co-habitants) was 48 per cent among in-migrants, 45.6 per cent among out-migrants and 43.5 per cent among non-migrants but, as previously mentioned, changes in marital status might have taken place after migration.

VII. REASONS FOR MIGRATION

ONE OF THE main innovations of the 2000 census was the inclusion of a question about the causes of out-migration. This question resulted in a high rate of unspecified answers, that is, the question remained unanswered or was answered as "don't know". This was partly because nearly two-fifths of the in-migrants and one-third of the out-migrants to and from Mexico City were under the age of 20 at the time of the census; they

23. See, among others, Chant, Sylvia (1997), *Women-headed Households. Diversity and Dynamics in the Developing World*, Macmillan Press, UK; also López, Ma. de la Paz and Haydea Izazola (1994), *El perfil censal de los hogares y las familias en México*, Monografías Censales de México, INEGI-IISUNAM, Aguascalientes; and de Oliveira, Orlandina, Marcela Eternod and Ma. de la Paz López (1999), "Familia y género en el análisis sociodemográfico", in *Mujer, género y población en México*, El Colegio de México-Sociedad Mexicana de Demografía, México DF, pages 211–271.

24. Corona, Rodolfo (2000), "Medición de la migración interestatal", in *Carta sociodemográfica sobre México, Demos 13*, IISUNAM, México DF, pages 8–9.

25. See reference 24.

26. See reference 8, Negrete (1990); also see reference 5, Corona and Luque (1992); see reference 5, Partida (1994); see reference 21, Browning and Corona (1995); see reference 5, Izazola and Marquette (1999); see reference 3, Corona (1998); see reference 5, Chavez (1998); and see reference 24.

were no older than 15 when they migrated, which means they possibly moved with their families. The high proportion of unspecified answers might also be attributed to the fact that the person in charge of answering the questionnaire did not know the reasons that led the migrants to change their place of residence. Although both situations limit the quality of the information, they provide certain clues as to why the population migrated.⁽²⁴⁾

If one assumes, as Corona has proposed,⁽²⁵⁾ that unspecified answers were distributed homogeneously throughout the sample, one might be able to mention the fact that nearly half of the in-migrants declared labour-related motives as a reason for migration (36 per cent were looking for a job, 11.3 per cent had changed workplace), while only 28 per cent of the out-migrants said the same (12.1 per cent were looking for a job, 16 per cent had changed workplace).

With regard to family motives (family reunions and marriage), 29 per cent of the in-migrants gave these as a reason for migration, compared to 36 per cent of the out-migrants.

The difference in health- and security-related motives is noteworthy: 3.4 per cent of in-migrants declared having changed residence for health motives, violence and/or insecurity, compared to 16 per cent of the out-migrants. This replicates the aforementioned findings of the National Migration to Urban Areas Survey in 1986.⁽²⁶⁾

These findings challenge the assumptions in conventional theories of migration that explain population movements as a function of income and job opportunity differentials between the zones of origin and destination. There are other factors influencing migratory decisions, which are often as important as the purely economic.

VIII. SOCIOECONOMIC CHARACTERISTICS

a. Educational attainment: differences by migration status and gender

ONE SIMPLE INDICATOR of the educational level of the population is the mean years of schooling, which emphasizes spatial and temporal differentials.

In the last few decades, this indicator has shown great improvement at the national level, having risen from an average of 3.4 years in 1970 to 7.6 years in 2000 among the population aged 15 years and older, although with great differences between gender, states, localities and population groups. Table 7 includes the average years of educational attainment of

Table 7: Mean years of educational attainment of migrants to and from Mexico City by gender, 2000			
Migration status	Total	Male	Female
National population	7.60	7.80	7.30
In-migrants	8.40	9.04	7.94
Out-migrants	9.52	10.01	9.05
Non-migrants	9.11	9.47	8.79

SOURCE: Author's estimations based on data from the 10 per cent sample of the 2000 Mexican census; see INEGI (2001a), *XII Censo General de Población y Vivienda 2000. Base de datos de la muestra censal. Cuestionario ampliado*, Disco compacto, INEGI, Aguascalientes.

Table 8: Labour force participation rates in Mexico City by gender and migration status, 2000	
Gender and migration status	Economic participation
Female (national)	31.3
Female in-migrants	46.1
Female out-migrants	32.7
Female non-migrants	36.7
Male (national)	71.5
Male in-migrants	78.4
Male out-migrants	75.3
Male non-migrants	71.5

SOURCE: Author's estimations based on data from the 10 per cent sample of the 2000 Mexican census; see INEGI (2001a), *XII Censo General de Población y Vivienda 2000. Base de datos de la muestra censal. Cuestionario ampliado*, Disco compacto, INEGI, Aguascalientes.

the population according to migration status to and from the Mexico City Metropolitan Area, where one can clearly see the educational disadvantage for in-migrants, especially women, and the better conditions for out-migrants. The latter received 9.52 years of education, compared to 9.11 years for non-migrants and 8.4 years for in-migrants; there was more than a year's difference between those arriving and leaving the capital, and less than six months between out- and non-migrants. Differences by gender are smaller among the non-migrants, which might suggest less gender inequity, although still not an ideal situation, among the natives and those who stay in the city.

b. Labour force participation: differences by migration status and gender

Given their greater responsibility for domestic labour, economic participation among women is generally lower than among men, although in the past few decades it has increased substantially.⁽²⁷⁾ At a national level, the census reported a labour force participation rate of 71.5 per cent for men and 31.3 per cent for women.⁽²⁸⁾ Overall, the migrant population reports higher participation rates due to the fact that one of the main causes for migration is the search for a job. In-migrants to Mexico City of both sexes reported higher labour-force participation rates than both out-migrants and non-migrants, as well as the rest of the national population.

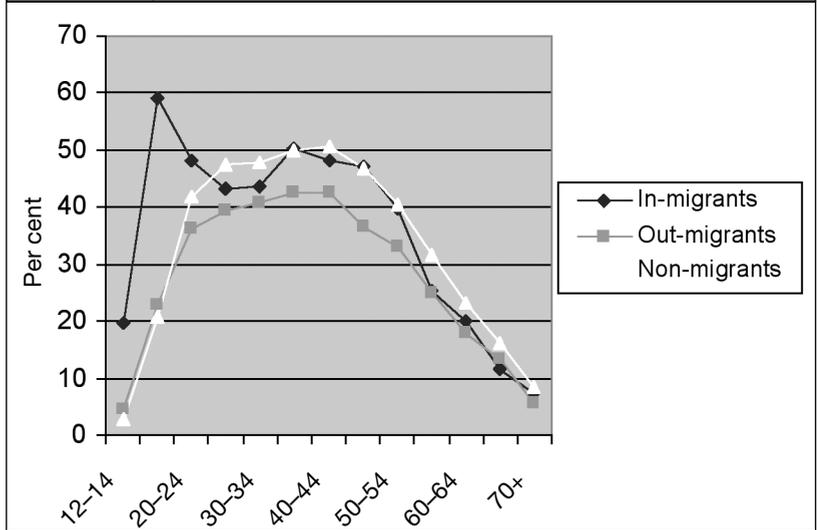
Census data show that migration status also influences labour-force participation by age group, particularly among women. Female in-migrants have a greater participation at an earlier age, especially between the ages of 15 and 19, with nearly 60 per cent declaring they had a job. The rate decreases for the reproductive years and then increases again, suggesting traditional gender roles and/or a lack of support in raising children. Female non-migrants reported a higher economic participation from the age of 25 onwards and female out-migrants registered lower rates in almost all age groups (Figure 2). This last situation might be due to the prevalence of traditional nuclear families in the early stages of the family lifecycle in those leaving the city.

In the case of men, differences are far smaller, but in-migrants do show higher rates of participation at younger ages, and non-migrants at adult

27. García, Brígida, Mercedes Blanco and Edith Pacheco (1999), "Género y trabajo extradoméstico", in García, Brígida (editor), *Mujer, género y población en México*, El Colegio de México-Sociedad Mexicana de Demografía, México DF, pages 273-316.

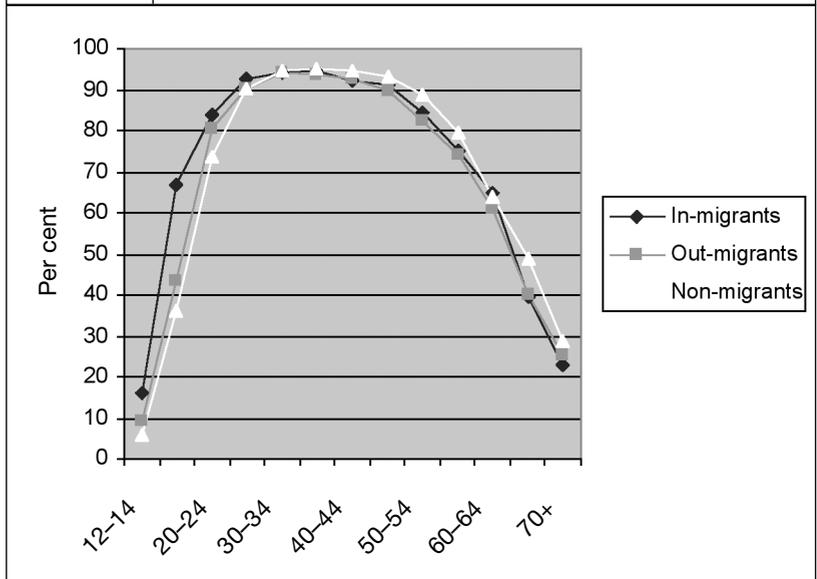
28. INEGI (2000), *XII Censo General de Población y Vivienda 2000. Tabulados de la muestra censal. Cuestionario ampliado*, INEGI, Aguascalientes, November.

Figure 2: Female labour-force participation rates by age and migration status to and from Mexico City, 2000



SOURCE: Author's estimations based on data from the 10 per cent sample of the 2000 Mexican census; see INEGI (2001a), *XII Censo General de Población y Vivienda 2000. Base de datos de la muestra censal. Cuestionario ampliado*, Disco compacto, INEGI, Aguascalientes.

Figure 3: Male labour-force participation rates by age and migration status to and from Mexico City, 2000



SOURCE: Author's estimations based on data from the 10 per cent sample of the 2000 Mexican census; see INEGI (2001a), *XII Censo General de Población y Vivienda 2000. Base de datos de la muestra censal. Cuestionario ampliado*, Disco compacto, INEGI, Aguascalientes.

ages – starting at the age of 35 – which shows a later incorporation into the labour market (Figure 3).

c. Sector of economic activity: differences by migration status and gender

Economically active women worked mainly in the service sector, followed by commerce and industry. However, it is worth mentioning the differences relating to migration status. Female in-migrants have a greater presence in the industrial and service sectors than out-migrant and non-migrant women, and have a smaller presence in commerce. Female out-migrants' behaviour is similar to that of the non-migrants, although a small number of them worked in farming and stock-breeding activities, which might be due to return flows towards rural communities, as is also suggested by Corona et al. for the period 1990–1995.⁽²⁹⁾

Male in-migrants, on the other hand, mainly find jobs in the industrial sector, followed by the service sector, whereas most out-migrants and non-migrants work in the service sector. Also, as in the case of women, a small proportion of out-migrants declared that they worked in the farming and stock-breeding sector, which might be due to return migration to rural communities.

d. Labour situation: differences by migration status and gender

Among economically active men and women, a great majority work as employees or workmen; however, the proportion is greater among in-migrants and smaller among out-migrants. Self-employed workers represent one-fifth and one-quarter of out-migrants and non-migrants, respectively, but only one-tenth of in-migrants. This might suggest that, unlike what previous studies have traditionally reported about the prevailing self-employment of in-migrants, they are quite involved in wage-earning jobs, formal or informal. It is necessary to perform more detailed analyses of the available information; however, it seems that the migration status imposes certain limits on the autonomy of the labour force. On the other hand, 6.5 per cent of female out-migrants declared themselves to be unpaid family workers, compared to 0.7 per cent of female in-migrants and 3.1 per cent of female non-migrants. Although these proportions are small, it is possible that they reinforce the idea of return migration toward rural communities. Figures for unpaid working family men were even less significant (2.6 per cent, 0.8 per cent and 1.2 per cent, respectively).

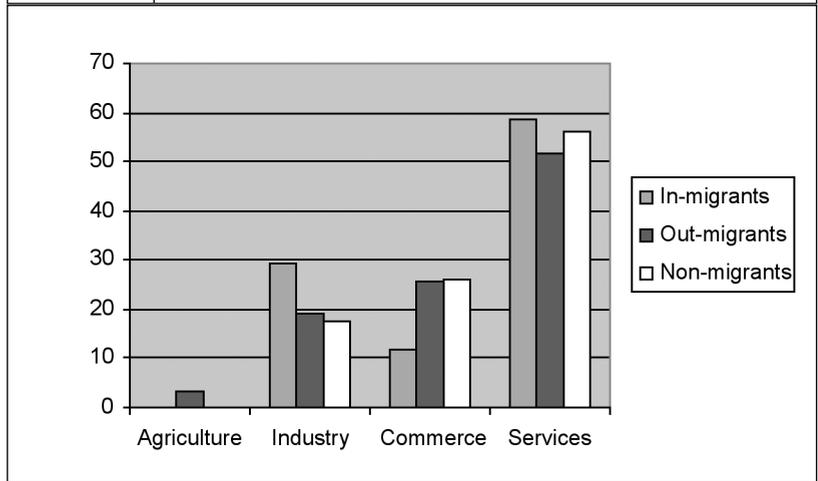
e. Labour hours per week: differences by migration status and gender

An indicator of the labour conditions of the economically active population is the number of weekly working hours. Information from the census shows that the 40-hour week is far from being the reality for the economically active population in Mexico City. Even though women report working fewer hours than men, given their domestic responsibilities none of the groups of women worked less than an average of 40 hours a week, with the non-migrants being closest to this limit. If this labour burden is added to domestic work which, according to certain studies, can reach an average of 48.75 a week for women and 13 for men over the age of 20,⁽³⁰⁾ then one can effectively see a doubling of the working week for women, part of which is not remunerated despite its importance for the reproduction of the labour force.

29. See reference 3, Corona et al. (1999).

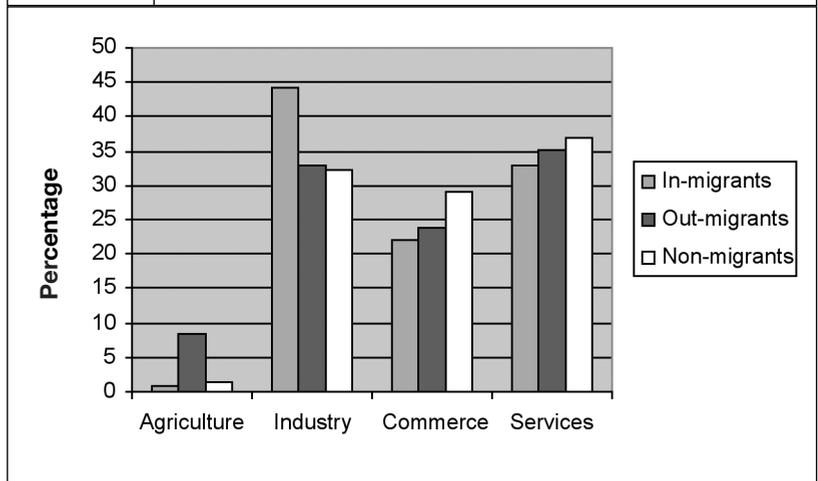
30. INEGI (2001b) *Mujeres y hombres en México*, INEGI, Aguascalientes.

Figure 4: Sector of economic activity of female working migrants to and from Mexico City, 2000



SOURCE: Author's estimations based on data from the 10 per cent sample of the 2000 Mexican census; see INEGI (2001a), *XII Censo General de Población y Vivienda 2000. Base de datos de la muestra censal. Cuestionario ampliado*, Disco compacto, INEGI, Aguascalientes.

Figure 5: Sector of economic activity of male working migrants to and from Mexico City, 2000

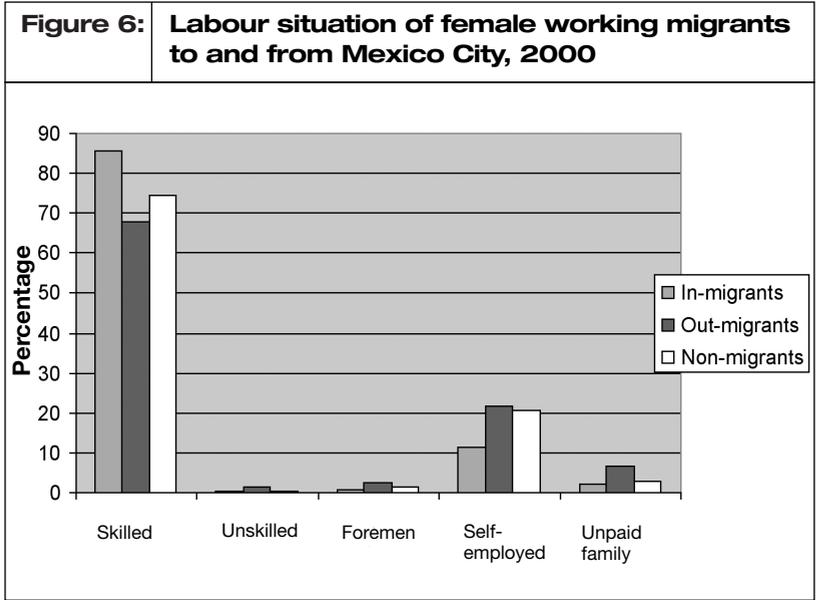


SOURCE: Author's estimations based on data from the 10 per cent sample of the 2000 Mexican census; see INEGI (2001a), *XII Censo General de Población y Vivienda 2000. Base de datos de la muestra censal. Cuestionario ampliado*, Disco compacto, INEGI, Aguascalientes.

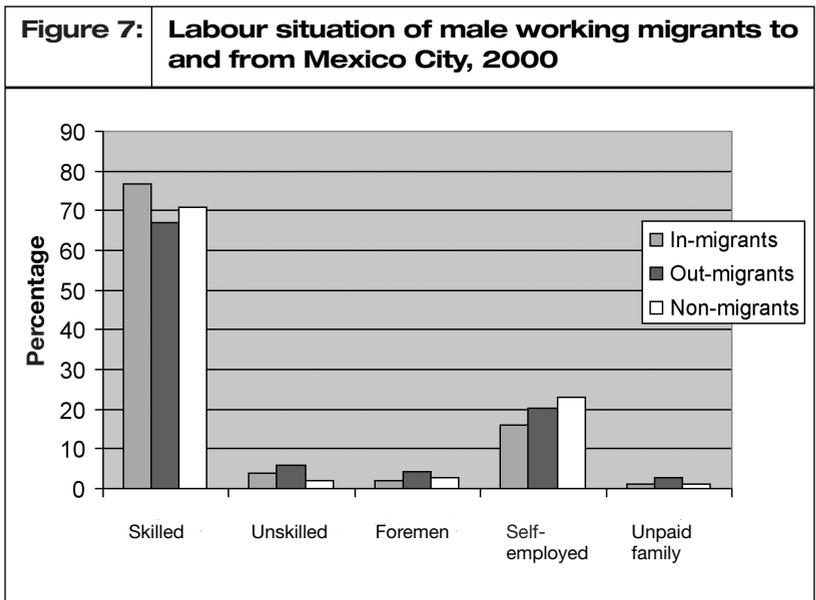
Data point out that, generally, in-migrating women and men work more hours per week than out-migrants who, in turn, work more than non-migrants, even though among these last two groups the differences were smaller. However, the most important differences, as had been suspected, are between men and women, even though differences among the members of each sex themselves are noteworthy. This suggests unequal situations according to migration status: the difference between migrant and non-migrant women is more than six hours; the difference

between migrant and non-migrant men is slightly more than four hours.

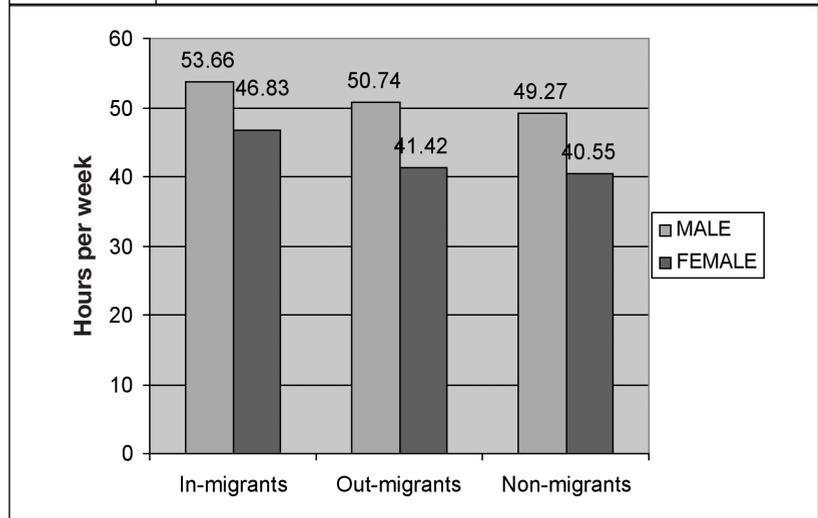
It is worth mentioning that 60 per cent of in-migrant women worked more than 40 hours a week, whereas only 50.9 per cent of out-migrants and 44.1 per cent of non-migrants did the same. Among men, these figures reached 75.1 per cent, 70.3 per cent and 65.4 per cent, respectively.



SOURCE: Author's estimations based on data from the 10 per cent sample of the 2000 Mexican census; see INEGI (2001a), *XII Censo General de Población y Vivienda 2000. Base de datos de la muestra censal. Cuestionario ampliado*, Disco compacto, INEGI, Aguascalientes.



SOURCE: Author's estimations based on data from the 10 per cent sample of the 2000 Mexican census; see INEGI (2001a), *XII Censo General de Población y Vivienda 2000. Base de datos de la muestra censal. Cuestionario ampliado*, Disco compacto, INEGI, Aguascalientes.

Figure 8: Weekly working hours, migrants to and from Mexico City, 2000

SOURCE: Author's estimations based on data from the 10 per cent sample of the 2000 Mexican census; see INEGI (2001a), *XII Censo General de Población y Vivienda 2000. Base de datos de la muestra censal. Cuestionario ampliado*, Disco compacto, INEGI, Aguascalientes.

f. Income: differences by migration status and gender

31. Cortés, Fernando and Rosa Ma. Rubalcava (1994), *El ingreso de los hogares en México*, Monografías Censales de México, INEGI-IISUNAM, Aguascalientes.

32. See reference 18, Lopez et al. (1993).

Income earned for a job is a fundamental variable – particularly in the market-dominated urban context – when analyzing socioeconomic conditions in the population according to migration status. Despite the limitations of the information provided by the census concerning this matter, several studies have proved its relevance.⁽³¹⁾

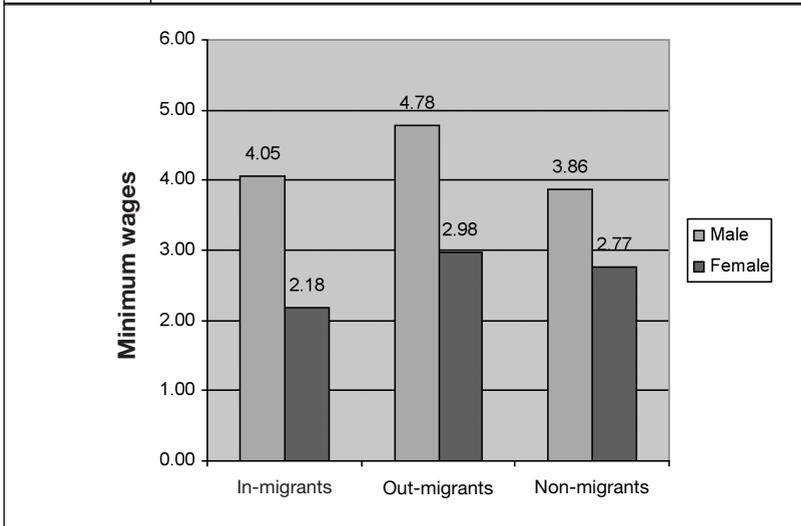
The situation for female in-migrants is clearly disadvantageous, as has been described.⁽³²⁾ However, one must consider that a proportion of these in-migrants engage in unskilled jobs and, thus, this inequality lies in the type of occupation in-migrants engage in. It is worth mentioning that male in-migrants report greater average remuneration than non-migrants, and this might be explained as a function of longer average working days, as it is hard to assume that in-migrants actually have occupations with a better hourly remuneration. Out-migrants reported the best average income. Differentials by gender also affect women in-migrants more, and the smallest differences recorded have been among non-migrants. It has been documented that there is wage discrimination against women in Mexico, even when employed in the same jobs and working the same hours as men.⁽³³⁾

33. See reference 30.

Figure 9 highlights the unequal income distribution in Mexico, specifically in the country's capital. In order to gauge the population's living conditions, an arbitrary limit of two minimum wages was set. This can give an indication of the situation of poverty among the population, although an awareness of individuals' job income – particularly as exposed by censuses – is not sufficient to become acquainted with households' living conditions.

As shown in Table 9, in all cases, more than half of women received less than two minimum wages. Among female in-migrants, this proportion increased to almost four-fifths of employed women; among their out-

Figure 9: Mean income as multiple of minimum wage by gender and migration status, 2000



SOURCE: Author's estimations based on data from the 10 per cent sample of the 2000 Mexican census; see INEGI (2001a), *XII Censo General de Población y Vivienda 2000. Base de datos de la muestra censal. Cuestionario ampliado*, Disco compacto, INEGI, Aguascalientes.

Table 9: Proportion of working migrants earning less than two minimum wages by gender and migration status, 2000

Gender and migration status	Percentage
Female in-migrants	78.4
Female out-migrants	61.3
Female non-migrants	57.8
Male in-migrants	53.5
Male non-migrants	47.9
Male out-migrants	44.7

SOURCE: Author's estimations based on data from the 10 per cent sample of the 2000 Mexican census; see INEGI (2001a), *XII Censo General de Población y Vivienda 2000. Base de datos de la muestra censal. Cuestionario ampliado*, Disco compacto, INEGI, Aguascalientes.

migrant counterparts, the proportion was three-fifths. On the other hand, slightly more than 50 per cent of male in-migrants received less than two minimum wages; also, differences were not as dramatic among the men's different migratory groups.

In the case of the aforementioned variables, one finds important gender differences. Women, in general, and in-migrants in particular, find themselves at a great disadvantage if one considers that it is they who spend most time on domestic activities. In addition, some, particularly those of rural origin, are obliged to send their remittances to the families they left behind, thus reducing their available resources for daily subsistence.

Differences by migration status are also noteworthy, particularly between female in-migrants and non-migrants, as has been documented for several decades now.

IX. PRELIMINARY CONCLUSIONS

CERTAIN PRELIMINARY CONCLUSIONS can be drawn from the information presented in this paper.

The 2000 population census indicates that Mexico City did not consolidate its role as an important source of internal migrants – which had been documented in the 1990 census; rather, it points to a migratory balance whereby the city continues to be an important destination for migrants from the poorer states of the country as well as the origin of migrants to the central and northern states. The greatest presence of migrants from Mexico City in bordering states points to a process of megalopolization rather than one of population redistribution throughout the country.

Mexico City can be seen as a mosaic of diverse migratory situations, among which in-migration seems to be dominated by the young, mainly women with poor levels of education seeking better working conditions in the large metropolis. This group experiences more precarious working conditions, such as longer working days with generally lower salaries, than those of non-migrants and out-migrants. Nevertheless, a smaller, relatively under-represented group of professional workers – with better-paying jobs, of course – are also included among in-migrants.

Out-migrants, on the other hand, seem to be best represented by young families in search of better living conditions, with higher levels of education and, generally speaking, better working conditions and salaries. However, the out-migrating population also includes groups with poor levels of education, long working hours and low wages, which may suggest migrants returning to their poor rural origins.

This preliminary analysis demonstrates that migratory processes towards large cities such as Mexico City are profoundly dynamic and complex. They respond to a range of economic, environmental, social, cultural and political factors at both origins and destinations. It is critical that all of these elements be incorporated into an explanation of these demographic phenomena. Interpreting migration exclusively as a response to income differentials, environmental conditions, or to social and family networks in the zones of origin and destination is insufficient for the development of formal knowledge concerning the population's territorial mobility and the impacts of this mobility. Instead, it is imperative that an in-depth analysis of census information be undertaken, with attention to new units of analysis and to the relationships between a range of variables.

