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Migration, Occupation, and Income:¹⁹ Migrants here are defined as all individuals born outside the Metropolitan Area who arrived there for the last time when they were eleven years or over. Given the characteristics of our information, this definition is the closest to the criterion used to define a migrant according to his community of origin (where the individual spent the largest part of his formative years, taken here as the period between the ages five and fifteen). In the Mexico City Metropolitan Area the migrant population constitutes 43.5 percent of the labor force between the ages of 21 and 60. Comparative analysis of the occupational characteristics of the migrant and native population thus takes on great importance. The following analysis is based on a classification of occupations into six hierarchical levels: Nonmanual occupations including professionals, technicians, managers and proprietors, civil servants, office workers, and salesmen were grouped in three categories, upper, medium, and lower, according to a number of selected characteristics such as proprietorship, the number of paid individuals employed or the number of persons under direct or indirect authority. Manual occupations, like vehicle operators, construction, and production workers were also grouped into three categories, skilled, semi-skilled, and unskilled. With respect to manual workers, in addition to the aforementioned characteristics, the degree of responsibility in the use and operation of machinery and training requirements to perform the work were also considered.

Table 18 shows the distribution of migrant and native male labor force according to their occupational level. Slightly more natives than migrants are in nonmanual positions; but overall differences are not very great. The biggest differences appear at the lowest levels of both nonmanual and manual occupational levels and at the skilled level of the latter.

A comparison along the six levels shows that, compared to the natives, the migrant male labor force slightly predominates in the upper nonmanual level (9.7 percent as against 7.6 percent) as well as in the semi-skilled and unskilled manual ones (44.3 percent as against 35.0). Thus, among the male labor force, migrants are found disproportionately not only in lower positions such as semi-skilled and unskilled jobs in the service, production, or construction industries, or as street vendors, but also, to some extent, in the upper ones such as

¹⁹ The author wishes to offer special thanks to Humberto Muñoz, Orlandina de Oliveira, and Claudio Stern for completing the sections on Migration, Occupation and Income; Migration and Occupational Mobility; and Migration and Education in the Metropolitan Area of Mexico City.

TABLE 18

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF LABOR FORCE AGED 21-60 ACCORDING TO PRESENT OCCUPATIONAL LEVEL, SEX,^a AND MIGRATION STATUS, MEXICO CITY METROPOLITAN AREA

Occupational level	Men		Women	
	Migrants	Natives	Migrants	Natives
<i>Total</i>	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
<i>Nonmanual</i>	37.1	41.7	30.6	61.1
Upper	9.7	7.6	2.6	3.6
Medium	7.0	7.3	5.6	6.0
Lower	20.4	26.8	22.4	51.5
<i>Manual</i>	62.9	58.3	69.4	38.9
Skilled	18.6	23.3	7.6	8.2
Semi-Skilled	21.4	18.7	9.0	9.8
Unskilled	22.9	16.3	52.8	20.9

Source: Centro de Estudios Económicos y Demográficos de El Colegio de México and Instituto de Investigaciones Sociales de la Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1970. "Survey on Internal Migration, Occupational Structure and Social Mobility in the Metropolitan Area of Mexico City. Representative Sample."

a) Women represent 32.9 percent of the labor force aged 21-60, of which 18.4 percent are migrants and 14.5 percent are natives. Men represent 67.1 percent of the labor force aged 21-60, of which 29.0 percent are migrants and 38.1 percent are natives.

professionals, managers, entrepreneurs, and technicians. Quite clearly, migrants to Mexico City form an heterogeneous group and therefore must be treated accordingly.

Among migrant women, who constitute 32.9 percent of the labor force aged 21-60, the occupational distribution compared to that of natives is much greater than for males. There are twice as many native women in nonmanual positions when compared with migrants. Differences are greatest at the lower nonmanual level, with

more than twice as many natives as migrants and at the lowest level of the manual group, the unskilled manual positions, where the reverse is the case.

Nevertheless, 8.2 percent of migrant women hold medium and upper nonmanual positions (as against 9.5 percent of the natives), indicating that even though migrant women apparently constitute a more homogeneous group than men, judged by their high concentration in unskilled jobs, a small group exists whose characteristics enable them to compete with the natives for the highest positions.

The relationship between occupation and income shows that relatively more migrant male labor force members than natives are found both in occupations of average income of less than or close to the minimum legal wage, and in those positions from which the highest incomes in the overall occupational structure are derived—above \$5,500 Mexican pesos monthly (Muñoz, de Oliveira, and Stern, 1972).

To clarify the differences in occupation and income between the migrant and the native labor force, it is necessary to go into a somewhat detailed analysis of the so-called marginal occupations. These are defined as occupations which generate incomes below the minimum legal wage for a third or more of the population occupied in them and in which the average income falls below or near the legal minimum wage (Muñoz, de Oliveira, and Stern, 1972).

Comparison of the proportion of natives and non-natives²⁰ making a living from marginal activities (Table 19), shows that place of birth accounts in part for present socioeconomic situations, since a greater proportion of individuals born outside the Metropolitan Area hold very poorly paid occupational positions. Of the migrant population, 28.1 percent work in such jobs as against 15.8 percent of the natives. This situation is partly due to the fact that a significant number of non-natives come from rural areas: more than 50 percent of the migration to the Mexico City Metropolitan Area originates from localities of less than 5,000 inhabitants (Unikel, 1968a). In other words, the difference in the level of socioeconomic development between country and city has a great bearing on how well non-natives fare in competition with natives for those occupational positions that require a certain amount of experience and a minimum of formal education.

This situation is confirmed by the fact that 36.1 percent of non-natives who began their occupational lives in agricultural work are now

²⁰ A distinction is made here between non-natives and migrants. The former include the population having been born outside of the Metropolitan Area of Mexico City; the latter, those who spent most of their time between the ages of 5 and 15 outside of this area.

TABLE 19

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF WAGE EARNING POPULATION AGED 21-60 BY NATIVITY STATUS^a AND MARGINAL OR NON-MARGINAL OCCUPATION GROUP, MEXICO CITY METROPOLITAN AREA

Occupational Groups ^b	Total	Non-Natives	Natives
Marginal	23.7	28.1	15.8
Non-Marginal	76.3	71.9	84.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source : Centro de Estudios Económicos y Demográficos de El Colegio de México and Instituto de Investigaciones Sociales de la Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México. 1970. "Survey on Internal Migration, Occupational Structure and Social Mobility in the Metropolitan Area of Mexico City. Representative Sample."

a) Natives and non-natives were defined according to whether or not they were born within the Metropolitan Area of Mexico City.

b) The differentiation between marginal and non-marginal occupations is based on the following criteria: proportion of individuals whose income was less than the minimum legal wage, average income, and homogeneity or heterogeneity of income distribution. Thus, those occupational groups that generate incomes less than the minimum legal wage for one-third or more of the population working in these groups, whose average income is below or in the neighborhood of the minimum legal wage, and which show an internal homogeneity in the income level, were considered marginal. Occupational groups that did not meet the above requirements were considered non-marginal.

employed in marginal occupations, whereas the proportion drops to 22.1 percent among those with a nonagricultural background. Considering exclusively the male non-native population, the proportions are, respectively, 32.6 and 16.2 percent. Thus, non-natives with an agricultural background are more likely to enter the labor force in low paying jobs.

Interesting results are obtained when we correlate the migrant's community of origin, that is where the individual spent the largest part of his formative years (the period between ages 5 and 15), and the length of time he has lived in the Metropolitan Area. Table 20 shows that marginal employment is more prevalent among recent migrants, namely those who have resided less than ten years in the city. This

proportion diminishes inversely with the time of exposure. Marginal occupations absorb 38.6 percent of recent migrants, 29.2 percent of intermediate migrants (those who have resided in the city between 10 and 19 years), and 26.4 percent of "old" migrants with 20 years or more in the city. Only 17.3 percent of those who were born outside the city but whose community of origin is the Mexico City Metropolitan Area are employed in marginal occupations. These results confirm the importance of both the individual's community of origin and his time of exposure to the city as factors determining his present occupational status and his level of income.

The female labor force exhibits an even more conspicuous

TABLE 20

PERCENTAGE OF THE LABOR FORCE AGED 21-60 EMPLOYED IN MARGINAL OCCUPATIONS, BY SEX AND MIGRATION STATUS,^a MEXICO CITY METROPOLITAN AREA

Sex	Migration Status				
	Recent Migrants	Intermediate Migrants	Old Migrants	Natives by Adoption	Natives by Birth
Men	27.1	19.5	16.7	13.8	14.8
Women	64.0	45.4	34.7	25.2	19.3
Both sexes	38.6	29.2	26.4	17.3	15.8

Source : Centro de Estudios Económicos y Demográficos de El Colegio de México and Instituto de Investigaciones Sociales de la Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1970. "Survey on Internal Migration, Occupational Structure and Social Mobility in the Metropolitan Area of Mexico City. Representative Sample."

a) Migration status as used here is defined as follows:

Recent Migrants : Born outside the Metropolitan Area, last arrival before 1959, aged 11 or over.

Intermediate Migrants : Born outside the Metropolitan Area, last arrival between 1950 and 1959, aged 11 or over.

Old Migrants : Born outside the Metropolitan Area, last arrival before 1950, aged 11 or over.

Natives by Adoption : Born outside the Metropolitan Area, last arrival before they reached 11 years.

Natives by Birth : Born in the Metropolitan Area; if they lived in another place for six months or more their last return took place before they reached 11 years.

tendency to fare poorly on the occupational ladder, as can be seen in Table 20. In all migration categories, the percent of women holding low paying jobs is more than double that of men.

Indicative of the weight exercised by marginal employment on the occupational structure in Mexico City, it encompasses 23.7 percent of the labor force between the ages of 21 and 60. Of these the percentage represented by each one of the selected occupations is as follows: street vendors, 8.4 percent; unskilled service workers, 53.8 percent; unskilled production workers, 30.1 percent; unskilled construction workers, 4.2 percent; farmers and farm workers, 3.4 percent. The mean number of years of schooling attained by each selected occupational group is street vendors, 3.2; unskilled service workers, 3.4; unskilled production workers, 4.1; unskilled construction workers, 2.2; farmers and farm workers, 3.0.

In Mexico City, all types of businesses are demanding more formalized entry requirements as education becomes the increasingly important determinant of occupational positions. The increased availability of educational facilities to larger proportions of the population, on the one hand, and the increasing demand for jobs, on the other, contribute to this situation; employers can increase the educational requirements for any kind of job without having to increase the salaries offered, availing themselves thereby of better qualified personnel without increasing their costs of production. Thus, for those individuals whose level of educational attainment is low, the handicap for getting a job is greater and their chances of having to work in occupations from which they will derive very meager incomes are also increased.

Migration and Occupational Mobility: Comparisons between the occupational mobility of natives and migrants, considering both their first work experience and their present occupational positions, show that migrants manifest the same heterogeneity observed earlier as characterizing their present socioeconomic status.

Comparison of the occupational mobility of migrants and natives²¹ (Table 21) indicates that migrants who entered the labor force in the lowest occupational categories, that is, as semi-skilled or unskilled workers, tend to have less mobility than the natives who began to work at the same levels. In the unskilled and semi-skilled categories, 69.3 and 49.2 percent, respectively, of the migrants experienced upward mobility as against 75.2 and 59.0 percent of the natives.

²¹ For further details see Muñoz, de Oliveira, and Stern, 1973.

TABLE 21

PERCENTAGE OF UPWARDLY MOBILE^a MALE LABOR FORCE
AGED 21-60 ACCORDING TO MIGRATION STATUS AND OCCUPATIONAL
LEVEL OF FIRST WORK EXPERIENCE, MEXICO CITY
METROPOLITAN AREA

First Occupational Level	Total	Upwardly Mobile	
		Migrants	Natives
Non Manual			
Upper	0.0	0.0	0.0
Medium	24.9	28.4	22.0
Lower	35.8	48.5	29.2
Manual			
Skilled	41.5	46.6	39.0
Semi-skilled	54.9	49.2	59.0
Unskilled	71.9	69.3	75.2

Source : Centro de Estudios Económicos y Demográficos de El Colegio de México and Instituto de Investigaciones Sociales de la Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1970. "Survey on Internal Migration, Occupational Structure and Social Mobility in the Metropolitan Area of Mexico City, Representative Sample."

a) Upward mobility is defined as a change from a lower stratum to a higher one between first and present occupation.

In contrast, migrants entering the labor force at the skilled manual and in nonmanual occupational levels, such as skilled production workers, salesmen, and office workers, show higher upward mobility rates than the natives who entered the labor force at commensurate levels. Among those who started to work at the lowest nonmanual levels, 48.5 percent of the migrants experienced upward mobility as against 29.2 percent of the natives.

Because the characteristics of both the occupational structure and the migratory flows tend to vary through time, it can be expected that the proportion of the migrant population experiencing upward mobility is likely to vary according to the migrants' time of exposure

TABLE 22

PERCENTAGE OF MALE LABOR FORCE AGED 21-60 WHICH IS
UPWARDLY MOBILE, BY MIGRATION STATUS,
MEXICO CITY METROPOLITAN AREA

Migratory Status	Upwardly Mobile
Recent migrants (less than 10 years)	53.1
Intermediate migrants (10-19 years)	58.3
Old migrants (20 years and over)	68.8
Natives	56.7

Source : Centro de Estudios Económicos y Demográficos de El Colegio de México and Instituto de Investigaciones Sociales de la Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1970. "Survey on Internal Migration, Occupational Structure and Social Mobility in the Metropolitan Area of Mexico, Representative Sample."

to the city. The analysis of upward mobility with respect to time of exposure (Table 22) shows that mobility increases with longer exposure. Early migrants experienced a higher proportion of upward mobility than the natives (68.8 percent as against 56.7 percent). Differences between recent and intermediate migrants and the natives are minimal (53.1 percent and 56.7 percent, respectively).

Obviously time of exposure is related to the age of migrants and upward mobility is in turn related to the latter. The data in Table 23, showing for various age intervals the proportion of upward moves in the occupational structure, indicates that a larger proportion of older migrants (those between the ages of 51 and 60) have been upwardly mobile than the younger ones.

Comparing migrants with natives, upward mobility shows higher rates among the oldest migrants (those aged 41-60) than among the natives of identical age groups, whereas the pattern is reversed with respect to those aged 31-40 (65.0 percent as against 57.3). It may be that migrants in former decades were more selective, since they proceeded in small proportions from rural areas and hence may have been more selective with respect to educational levels achieved and other characteristics than recent and intermediate migrants.

TABLE 23

PERCENTAGE OF MALE LABOR FORCE AGED 21-60 WHICH IS UPWARDLY MOBILE BY MIGRATION STATUS AND AGE, MEXICO CITY METROPOLITAN AREA

Age Group	Total	Upwardly Mobile	
		Migrants	Natives
21 - 30	51.8	53.4	51.0
31 - 40	61.6	57.3	65.0
41 - 50	61.4	65.4	57.2
51 - 60	64.0	66.9	59.9

Source : Centro de Estudios Económicos y Demográficos de El Colegio de México and Instituto de Investigaciones Sociales de la Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México. 1970. "Survey on Internal Migration, Occupational Structure and Social Mobility in the Metropolitan Area of Mexico City. Representative Sample."

Furthermore, migrants are slightly more likely than natives to move up at almost all educational levels, when educational levels are controlled (Table 24). At the same time, however, although a certain educational level may lead to greater upward mobility, and although migrants compete quite favorably with natives of identical level, the distribution of educational opportunities is not the same for both groups. Table 25 presents the distribution of the male labor force aged 21-60 according to migration status and educational attainment. While among natives 28.5 percent did not complete primary school, among migrants the figure rises to 51.6 percent. Yet, according to data not shown here, even among the population with less than one year of formal education, more than 40 percent bettered their occupational status as compared with their first work experience.

In sum, migrants who entered the labor force in nonmanual and skilled manual occupational categories, who somehow managed to improve their educational level, and who have resided for some time in the city achieved even better occupational positions than the natives

TABLE 24

PERCENTAGE OF MALE LABOR FORCE AGED 21-60 WHICH IS UPWARDLY MOBILE, BY MIGRATION STATUS AND EDUCATION LEVEL, MEXICO CITY METROPOLITAN AREA

Educational Level	Total	Upwardly Mobile	
		Migrants	Natives
None	42.5	42.9	41.2
Primary school, incomplete	58.1	60.2	55.7
Primary school, complete	61.3	64.2	59.6
Secondary and Preparatory school	55.3	58.0	54.2
University, incomplete	59.8	63.1	58.5
University, complete	72.0	71.9	72.2

Source : Centro de Estudios Económicos y Demográficos de El Colegio de México and Instituto de Investigaciones Sociales de la Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México. 1970. "Survey on Internal Migration, Occupational Structure and Social Mobility in the Metropolitan Area of Mexico City. Representative Sample."

TABLE 25

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF MALE LABOR FORCE AGED 21-60 BY MIGRATION STATUS AND EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT, MEXICO CITY METROPOLITAN AREA

Educational Level	Total	Migrants	Natives
None	7.1	12.3	3.2
Primary school, incomplete	31.4	39.3	25.3
Primary school, complete	21.8	18.7	24.3
Secondary and Preparatory school	26.9	18.4	33.5
University, incomplete	7.6	5.0	9.3
University, complete	5.2	6.3	4.4
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source : Centro de Estudios Económicos y Demográficos de El Colegio de México and Instituto de Investigaciones Sociales de la Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México. 1970. "Survey on Internal Migration, Occupational Structure and Social Mobility in the Metropolitan Area of Mexico City. Representative Sample."

who began their working life at similar occupational levels. On the other hand, those who began to work in semiskilled and unskilled manual categories and most likely had never been exposed to any schooling, experienced fewer opportunities to move up the occupational ladder than the natives who entered the labor force in identical conditions.

Migration and Education: The foregoing analysis has highlighted the importance of educational attainment as a determinant of occupational status. It therefore seems appropriate to explore in some detail the educational differences between the native and migrant populations.

Consideration of the literacy rates of the male population in Mexico City (Table 26) shows that the difference between native and non-native illiteracy rates, based on self-reported inability to read and write, is, unexpectedly, almost nil. In both groups, only a little over 7 percent are illiterate. However, the difference is great if functional illiteracy (i.e., anyone with less than three years of school) is considered. Twice as many non-natives are illiterate when compared to the natives.

Differences also exist in attainment of various educational levels. Compared to the natives, more than twice as many non-natives have not completed their primary training (low educational level); by contrast the percent of natives with middle and high educational levels is significantly higher than that of non-natives. Thus, 41.4 percent of the male natives have finished their primary schooling or have attended secondary school without completing it as against 27.3 percent of the male non-natives; 16.2 and 9.5 percent, respectively, have completed their secondary school or have attended preparatory school without completing it; and 18.4 and 12.3 percent, respectively, have completed preparatory school or have gone beyond it. But also noteworthy is that a significant proportion of migrants have attained high educational levels, confirming once more the heterogeneity of the group.

TABLE 26

LITERACY RATES AND EDUCATIONAL LEVEL OF THE NATIVE AND MIGRANT POPULATION^a OF MEXICO CITY, BY SEX, 1970, MEXICO CITY METROPOLITAN AREA

	Male Population		Female Population	
	Non-Natives	Natives	Non-Natives	Natives
<i>Literacy</i>				
Illiterate ^b	7.4	7.3	21.2	8.6
Literate with less than four years of schooling	28.6	11.0	28.7	11.6
Subtotal	36.0	18.3	49.9	20.2
Literate	64.0	81.7	50.1	79.8
Total percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
<i>Educational level^c</i>				
Low	50.9	24.0	63.7	26.2
Middle low	27.3	41.4	23.9	41.3
Middle high	9.5	16.2	7.4	22.0
High	12.3	18.4	5.0	10.5
Total percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total number	894,281	856,893	1,284,561	1,040,139

Source : Centro de Estudios Económicos y Demográficos de El Colegio de México and Instituto de Investigaciones Sociales de la Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México. 1970. "Survey on Internal Migration, Occupational Structure and Social Mobility in the Metropolitan Area of Mexico City. Representative Sample."

a) Includes only the population which were not attending any schools at the time of the survey and were six years of age and over. Natives are persons born in the Mexico City Metropolitan Area.

b) Illiteracy is based on self-reported inability to read and write regardless of the years of schooling completed.

c) Educational level includes only formal education for the population aged 12 years and over. The levels are defined as follows: Low - no schooling or incomplete primary; Middle low - incomplete secondary; Middle high - complete secondary and incomplete preparatory; High - complete preparatory and some or complete university training.

Though the patterns among the female population are similar, the inequalities in educational attainment between native and non-native women are much greater. The disparity is most striking with respect to those who are illiterate and those who have achieved only a low educational level: The proportion is two and a half times greater among women born outside the Metropolitan Area than among natives. *Per se*, the figures are impressive: of non-native women, more than 20 percent are illiterate and just under 50 percent are functionally illiterate, over 60 percent have not completed their primary schooling. Great differences can also be observed at the higher educational levels. While almost one-third of the native female population have finished their secondary schooling or have gone beyond it, this is true of only 12.4 percent of the non-natives.

The data in Table 26 clearly indicate greater differences between female natives and migrants than between male natives and migrants, whether judged by literacy or education. Since it is unlikely that males and females originate in localities very dissimilar in size or characteristics, it may be that a combination of two other factors account for this disparity. First, the differences between urban and rural illiteracy rates are probably greater for the female than for the male population. In addition, large cities probably exert a differential attraction for the migrant population of each sex in terms of their educational level. Most males who migrate to the city do so in search of work, while a large proportion of female migrants probably move for other reasons. Given the minimal requirement of literacy for entering most positions in the labor market, most male migrants will remain in the city only if they can fulfill this requirement. Conversely, a considerable proportion of the females who move to the city find work in the domestic services, where no particular educational credentials (not even literacy) are required.

Earlier analysis has shown that among several factors determining the heterogeneity of the migrant population, a decisive one is their locality of origin. This factor affects their educational level as well (Table 27). Surprisingly, for both males and females, the proportion of illiterates — both in absolute and functional terms — between the non-natives born in rural localities and those born in large urban centers are very similar. It is individuals who were born in small and middle sized cities who have the lowest illiteracy rates.

A similar trend characterizes the various educational levels. The distribution of the population by educational level is "better" among those born in small and middle sized cities than among those

TABLE 27
INDICATORS OF EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT^a OF THE NON-NATIVE POPULATION OF THE MEXICO CITY METROPOLITAN AREA, BY SEX AND SIZE OF LOCALITY OF BIRTH, 1970

	Locality of Birth of Non-Natives		
	Rural	Small and Medium Urban	Large Urban
<i>Males</i>			
<i>Literacy</i>			
Total percent	100.0 (491,418)	100.0 (334,007)	100.0 (133,460)
Illiterate	9.2	4.1	9.1
Functionally illiterate	32.7	21.5	31.1
Literate	58.1	74.4	59.8
<i>Educational Level</i>			
Total percent	100.0 (434,423)	100.0 (329,269)	100.0 (130,569)
Low	60.8	37.2	52.7
Middle low	26.4	29.1	25.0
Middle high	5.8	14.3	9.9
High	7.0	19.4	12.4
<i>Females</i>			
<i>Literacy</i>			
Total percent	100.0 (685,134)	100.0 (449,011)	100.0 (206,850)
Illiterate	24.1	15.4	24.0
Functionally illiterate	32.9	23.1	26.4
Literate	43.0	61.5	49.6
<i>Educational level</i>			
Total percent	100.0 (642,578)	100.0 (439,115)	100.0 (202,868)
Low	74.4	49.8	60.1
Middle low	18.1	31.2	26.7
Middle high	5.3	10.3	7.6
High	2.2	8.7	5.5

Source: Centro de Estudios Económicos y Demográficos de El Colegio de México and Instituto de Investigaciones Sociales de la Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1970. "Survey on Internal Migration, Occupational Structure and Social Mobility in the Metropolitan Area of Mexico City. Representative Sample."

a) For a definition of the concepts used, see note for Table 26.

originating in large ones, although in the latter more persons are in the upper educational levels than among those born in rural localities. However, the differences with respect to educational level are less prominent for females than for males; for instance, among literate women with less than three years of schooling, the disparities between the three types of localities are minor in comparison with those found among the male population.

No definitive explanation is available to account for this pattern of educational achievement by size of place of origin. It is possible that, in general, educational opportunities might be greater in small and medium localities; that larger cities, among which are included the metropolitan areas of Guadalajara and Monterrey as well as some of the cities bordering on the United States, may not be able to cope with the increasing demand exercised on their educational systems by their tremendous population growth, and hence that educational opportunities are comparatively fewer. Albeit, we also know that the bulk of the migratory flow is formed by single persons or recently married childless couples who make few requirements on the educational system; and that in relative terms, these large cities have a large amount of financial resources precisely to meet these growing requirements.

Another hypothesis would be that the migrants from these small and medium urban localities to the capital want to pursue higher studies and facilities are not available in their native towns. They naturally select Mexico City, knowing that elsewhere they may not find such a variety of educational facilities. Correlatively, the population born in large towns need not resort to migration in order to pursue higher studies since there are preparatory schools in these towns and, in many, universities as well.

Finally, a third hypothesis is that proportionally more movement of population with a low educational attainment occurs between the large provincial towns and the capital city. These movements could help to explain the relatively high rates of illiterate and functionally illiterate migrants proceeding from large towns. While there are other factors directly related to occupational, rather than educational, opportunities to account for the differences, it is probably the combination of all the aforementioned factors that is significant.

Data on educational differences between migrants to Mexico City according to their time of arrival (Table 28) show that in absolute terms the more recent male migrants have somewhat better education than those who migrated ten or twenty years ago. However, it ought to be taken into account, first, that the age structure of these recent migrants is necessarily "younger" and, secondly, that the "market value" of a certain number of years of education diminishes

TABLE 28

EDUCATIONAL LEVEL AND MEAN NUMBER OF YEARS OF EDUCATION OF THE MALE POPULATION AGED 21-60, BY MIGRATION STATUS, MEXICO CITY METROPOLITAN AREA

Educational Level ^b	Migratory Status ^a		
	Recent Migrants	Intermediate Migrants	Old Migrants
Low	43	46	52
Medium	37	34	2
High	20	20	46
Total Percent	100	100	100
Mean number of years studied	6.0	6.0	5.5

Source: Centro de Estudios Económicos y Demográficos de El Colegio de México and Instituto de Investigaciones Sociales de la Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1970. "Survey on Internal Migration, Occupational Structure and Social Mobility in the Metropolitan Area of Mexico City, Representative Sample."

a) For definitions, see notes for Table 20.

b) For definitions, see notes for Table 20.

through time, especially in a country like Mexico undergoing rapid technological change. On this basis, it is likely that in relative terms, recent migrants are probably worse off than those who arrived earlier. The most important factor in this trend is probably the increasing weight that migrants from rural origins have in the composition of migrants to Mexico City.

Socio-Political Aspects of Migration in the Mexico City Metropolitan Area (MCMA): A study completed in 1972 by Muñoz, de Oliveira, and Stern (1972) conservatively estimates the people living in low income settlement zones of the MCMA at 2 million. Newcomers to the MCMA find accommodation mainly in *tugurios* or *vecindades* (slums), old tenement house neighborhoods in the center of the city or commercial sections outside of the central area; the *colonias de invasores*, *ciudades perdidas* or *paracaidistas* (squatter settlements)

whose origin is attributed to squatting, illegal subdivisions, or organized invasions of large tracts of open land on the fringes of the city; the *colonias proletarias* (working class districts), areas of single family self-built homes, lacking services.

Low income settlement zones are considered a source of widespread anxiety among the public sector and the wealthy elite who fear that the "... swelling masses of urban poor will prove politically destabilizing" (Nelson, 1969). A recent study by Saúl Trejo (1974) estimates that 40 percent of the labor force in the Federal District is unemployed or underemployed (4.9 percent and 35.2 percent, respectively). Such unemployment, underemployment, and poorly paid jobs are especially the lot of migrants, particularly of the newcomers. This situation breeds a form of behavior in which political action may become one of the few practicable channels through which migrants may exert political pressure to improve their level of well being.

The interest of a number of scholars in the potential for civil disorders, which the political participation of marginal populations might produce, has led to considerable research on this topic. Although squatter settlements have been the central focus of most of the investigations completed in the MCMA, generally by foreign students, almost all types of urban settlement zones populated by migrants have been the subject of research. For example, Cornelius (1971a; 1971b; 1973a; 1973b; 1973c) conducted his surveys in three squatter settlements, one working-class district, and two public housing projects. Larissa Lomnitz (1973) completed her survey in a squatter settlement and Susan Eckstein (1972) conducted hers in a central district, in a working-class district, and in a public housing project.

In Mexico City, there exist practically no formal organizations through which the migrant poor can articulate what they perceive to be their self-interests (Cornelius, 1973d). In general, cross-community political action has been instigated by opposition parties. Contrary to expectations, attempts to aggregate demands across communities have been few and have rather served to illustrate that the most deprived are the most ardent supporters of the official party (Partido Revolucionario Institucional, PRI). The same occurs at the national level where the official party's strongest support at the polls comes from the poorest states (Eckstein, 1972; Segovia, 1974).

The process of politicization at the level of the community depends not only on the perception by the individuals of objective needs particularly susceptible to satisfaction through political action, but also on community based organization support to carry through this action. The range and frequency of opportunities for political involvement varies widely from one community to another. Involvement in

local politics reflects neither the age of the community nor the length of residence of migrants in the MCMA.

The propensity of community residents towards any type of formal voluntary group organization is directly associated with their level of income and post-elementary educational achievements (Cornelius, 1973a). Although some scholars contend that involvement in local political matters is powerfully shaped by what could be expressed as "the nation's political culture," the Mexican experience shows that communities with a less deteriorated income distribution participate more actively than the more impoverished ones.

"To the extent that norms defined by leaders stress high resident participation in community problem-solving..., leadership plays a key role in the generation of cooperative political activity (Cornelius, 1973d). Susan Eckstein (1972) has observed that the more active the community leaders (e.g., those who most frequently visited the offices of government institutions or government officials), the greater their influence upon political participation among community residents.

At the individual level, close relationship between community residents and local organizations influences individual attitudes and behavioral predispositions towards politics. If no politically oriented organizations exist within his community, the individual's interest in politics will depend upon the degree of politicization of those within his immediate social environment. The acquisition of political learning will be speedier and more intensive if the individual cultivates personal relationships, usually through *compadrazgo*,²² with "natural" charismatic leaders.

There is considerable variation in the process of politicization at the individual level not only because conditions vary from one community to another and within each community, but also because what the individual feels to be his uppermost concerns may differ sharply from the set of needs and problems perceived as salient by the community and its leaders. The government, in fact, structures relations in such a way that deeply felt needs are diverted into demands which can be solved at minor political and economic costs, a process in which leader or *caciques* have "... assist(ed) the regime in minimizing demands from followers for expensive urban improvements and services which tend

²² *Compadrazgo* is the relationship established by acting as a godfather for a child at baptism. In socio-political circles, however, the terminology is extended to the relationship between candidates to a political, social, or economic position and their sponsors.

to load the political system *beyond* its responsive capabilities..." (Cornelius, 1972a).

In the MCMA, even in communities where self-help efforts are most deeply ingrained, the long-term trend appears to be towards increasing dependence upon governmental assistance. Residents of the most recently established squatter settlements exhibit a greater propensity towards self-help efforts than people in the long established communities (Cornelius, 1973d).

Individual interest in participating in politics is affected by the political system outside of the community, particularly if the resident does not belong to any community organization. The combination of external political influence and psychological factors support Nelson's contention (1969) that the migrants resident in low-income settlement zones have already been exposed to a process of politicization in their community of origin. The social context, political organizations and leadership to which the migrant is exposed in the MCMA has the effect of strengthening his political awareness.

Seemingly, the migrant's radical, passive, or mediated political attitude is not correlated with his knowledge, usually almost nil, of the urban political system. Nor does there seem to be a mutual relation between the length of exposure to the urban environment and increased political knowledge. According to Cornelius (1973d), only 12 percent of migrants with twenty or more years of residence in the MCMA were well acquainted with the urban social structure. Over 65 percent were unaware that such a structure even existed.

The typical resident of low-income settlement zones in the MCMA is an easily mediated individual. His support of governmental institutions seems to increase with his involvement in the formal organizations and informal webs of contacts which constitute the social structure of his community. Nor is the large electoral support given to the official party significantly affected by governmental performance with regard to community improvements, which vary widely from one settlement to another and may range from total neglect to systematic assistance. Rather, mediatization seems to take place when community organizations develop into pressure groups, at which point they tend to be absorbed by extra-community political groups (Eckstein, 1972).

During the formation stage of a marginal community, individual and group attitudes seem to be strongly influenced by the efficacy achieved in gaining tangible benefits rather than symbolic reassurances. However, as Cornelius (1973d) says, symbolic gains and reassurances may aid "in very important ways" the process of mediatization by drawing off the attention of community members toward unimportant developmental problems. In subsequent stages, experience shows that

demand-making falls off sharply once some of the benefits being sought have been granted (Cornelius, 1973d). Examples of community organizations which disintegrated once their demands have been partially met are quite common. Likewise, the influence of community leaders tends to abate as petitions for recognition of tenure rights elicit positive responses from the government since control over land distribution is the main source from which community leaders or *caciques* derive their power.

The existence of a process of radicalization in low-income settlements in the MCMA has been verified only in very peculiar circumstances. However, as it occurs in such countries as India, Peru, and Chile (Nelson, 1969), radicalism may occur sporadically because of governmental inaction in satisfying demands. Experience shows that once demands are fully or partially met, this circumstantial process of radicalization gives way to another of mediatization, although some authors (Nelson, 1969) question the concept that the aspirations-achievement gap necessarily winds up into a process of radicalization among marginal populations.

In general, protest tactics are not viewed by the typical migrant poor as an adequate means of problem solving. The fact that only 9 percent of low income zone residents interviewed by Cornelius (1973d) supported this type of approach while almost 50 percent asserted the efficacy of "working through personal connections with public officials," demonstrates the absence of a process of radicalization.

In Mexico City, the authorities have learned that a fair treatment to representatives of low income groups produces satisfactory results whatever the final response of the government may be to their demands. The Mexican experience has shown that a necessity to resort to protest tactics can be largely eliminated by fostering the perception that the political opportunity structure is relatively open. The migrants' choice of a representative system as a strategy of goal attainment is based on its efficacy, albeit partial, as demonstrated in the attainment of many of the modest goals.

Migrants' demands upon government are usually aimed at satisfying very concrete needs affecting all members of the community of residence. It has been found that even after many years of residence in the MCMA, most of the demands emanating from the migrant population are aimed at securing very specific needs. Of all personal petitioning for government assistance, the need for security of land tenure ranked first (65 percent), followed by water supply (11 percent), postal service (4 percent), street pavement (3 percent), electricity (2 percent), schools, public transportation, sewerage, and garbage collection (1 percent) (Cornelius, 1973d).

Despite the major changes and many problems which migration usually represents, migrant populations express a growing satisfaction with their decision to move. Seemingly, lack of basic services and low level living of the migrant poor are in no way worse than living conditions in the rural areas or among the masses of urban-born poor. Actually, while 41 percent of recent migrants, i.e., with two or less years of residence in the MCMA, are satisfied with their decision to migrate, after four years of residence this figure almost doubles (Cornelius, 1973d). In Stern's words (1974), " ... undoubtedly, as bad as conditions in the cities may be, (migrants) are *much better off* in the urban areas than in the countryside."

High Primacy in Mexico: Among the various manifestations of urbanization, high primacy, or "macrocephaly" (see Table 16 and Figure 2) has occasioned more concern than any other to the Mexican government. Erroneously, the responsibility for this situation has been wholly placed on one single city, Mexico City, when it ought to be regarded just as one of the many features of Mexico's system of cities and, in general, of its development model based more on economic growth than distribution.

Because of its explosive population growth, the Mexico City Metropolitan Area exercises an ever-increasing demand upon the country's overall resources in order to meet the growing requirements of its native population plus those of an additional 37.6 percent of migrant population, that is some 3.3 million people. The non-active population living in the Federal District reached its peak percent of the total in 1950 when, according to the population census, they constituted 46.6 percent (2.2 million inhabitants) of the MCMA total population. Over the next 20 years, this proportion gradually decreased to only 34.7 percent in 1970. This decrease has been due to the fact that larger volumes of migrants now move to that part of the Metropolitan Area which belongs to the State of Mexico. In addition, non-native residents of the Federal District have moved to contiguous areas of the State of Mexico. If socioeconomic conditions in the province — caused by structural factors that affect the whole country — had not prompted the migration to the MCMA of over 3 million persons, this city would not have used up such a large share of the country's resources and, very likely, its per capita product would be even superior to its present level. Inversely, it may be argued that rural migration to Mexico City would have been far less voluminous had those resources which the Metropolitan Area spent to satisfy the necessities of its growth been invested elsewhere in the country.

The foregoing discussion raises some questions that have no