

## Urban Agglomerations and Demographic Mobility: The Case of Campinas, Brazil

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**Abstract:**

This present article discusses the complexity of the dynamics of migration in a large urban agglomeration. This complexity can be seen both in the different types of movements involved, as well as in the individual and collective characteristics of the migrants themselves. Data from a recent household survey taken in 2007 was used to analyze the spatial mobility of the population on the basis of distinct spatial delimitations and on information taken from the Brazilian demographic censuses. The author analyzes the characteristics of residential mobility (and of the individuals involved) in view of several different factors. He also presents considerations on the possible impacts and consequences of these factors in the socio-spatial dynamics of an important Brazilian metropolitan region, that of Campinas, in the State of São Paulo.

## INTRODUCTION

The process of production, expansion and consolidation of the large urban agglomerations in Brazil has been studied and analyzed from a number of different angles, one of them, of course, being the dimension of demography and, especially, migrations.

In fact, due to the historical trends of the Brazilian population, especially over the last five decades, urban growth and concentration, together with a great deal of migration among the various parts of the country, can be considered phenomena that are intrinsically related and which, even recently, have led some authors to predict significant processes of migration toward smaller towns and cities, in other words, a reduction in the "preference" for metropolitan regions as destinations for migrations.

There is indeed a preference for large cities, and this could well be one of the unique aspects of Brazilian demographic dynamics over the last three decades. Nonetheless, we are of the opinion that any real process of deconcentration in the big cities is still far in the future, especially if we include regions far from the already highly concentrated areas in the southeast of the country in our calculations. In any case, the phenomenon of large cities is still one of the most important factors in terms of greater knowledge of the characteristics and determinants of processes of spatial redistribution of the Brazilian population.

This article is a very descriptive discussion of the question of migrations in Brazil. We intend to show here that what is happening in terms of interregional migrations, especially interstate migrations, do not give us the whole picture. The dynamics of migration related to large urban agglomerations are far too complex in their characteristics for one to try to understand them only on the basis of what happens in migrations from outside these regions.

In fact, the vegetative growth of populations, which usually varies from one sub-area to another, could, of itself, easily explain differences in numerical growth between areas (as well as changes in an area's morphology). But the study of migration and, more broadly, of residential mobility, with the diversity of situations involved, would require that closer attention be paid to their role in the constitution and dynamics of a large city, or urban agglomeration. It is also true that the determinants of these migrations, as well as their impacts and consequences, can be discussed on the basis of their socio-demographic characteristics.

To analyze the spatial mobility of the population, this study takes data from two sources. The first is a household survey from 2007 that allows us to analyze the spatial mobility of the population on the basis of different spatial delimitations. The second source consists of information derived from the federal demographic censuses. The aim is to discuss the characteristics of individual and residential mobility in a number of its facets, as well as to reflect on its possible effects and consequences on the socio-spatial dynamics of an important urban area in Brazil,

namely, the Campinas Metropolitan Region.

## **I. Technical and Methodological Questions**

Although data from demographic censuses, especially from the recently released 2010 Census, is used here, the basis for the present analysis is information from a household survey carried out on 1824 households in the Campinas Metropolitan Region in 2007 using a sample of households stratified by the condition of vulnerability. In other words, the information used takes into account not only the sample's socioeconomic conditions, but also the access of the population to networks of social protection, both family and public (CUNHA et al. 2006).

The information on migration was obtained for all members of the households, and included prior place of residence, length of residence (in the municipality and in the neighborhood), and the number of times the person or family moved from one place to another. This data allowed the researchers to reconstruct in detail several stories of migration to the Campinas Metropolitan Region, from the moment of arrival in the region to the moment of interview, plus information about intramunicipal mobility.

It is thus possible to draw up a set of data on mobility not only of individuals who arrived in the region, but also of natives who moved from one place to another, for example, without leaving their municipality of birth. In other words, in comparison with the demographic censuses, which naturally will not be ignored, the data analyzed here allow for greater detail, not only of trends, but also of the characteristics of demographic movements that take place in metropolitan areas like Campinas.

With this in view, the present article uses two important angles of analysis. The first is in regard to socio-spatial diversity, and the second, to the forms of mobility identified in the region.

### **a. Vulnerability Zones**

For the first case the category known as "Vulnerability Zones" will be used. The definition of this concept was based on the notion of *vulnerability* as seen from an ecological perspective, and it served as an element of stratification for the sample studied.

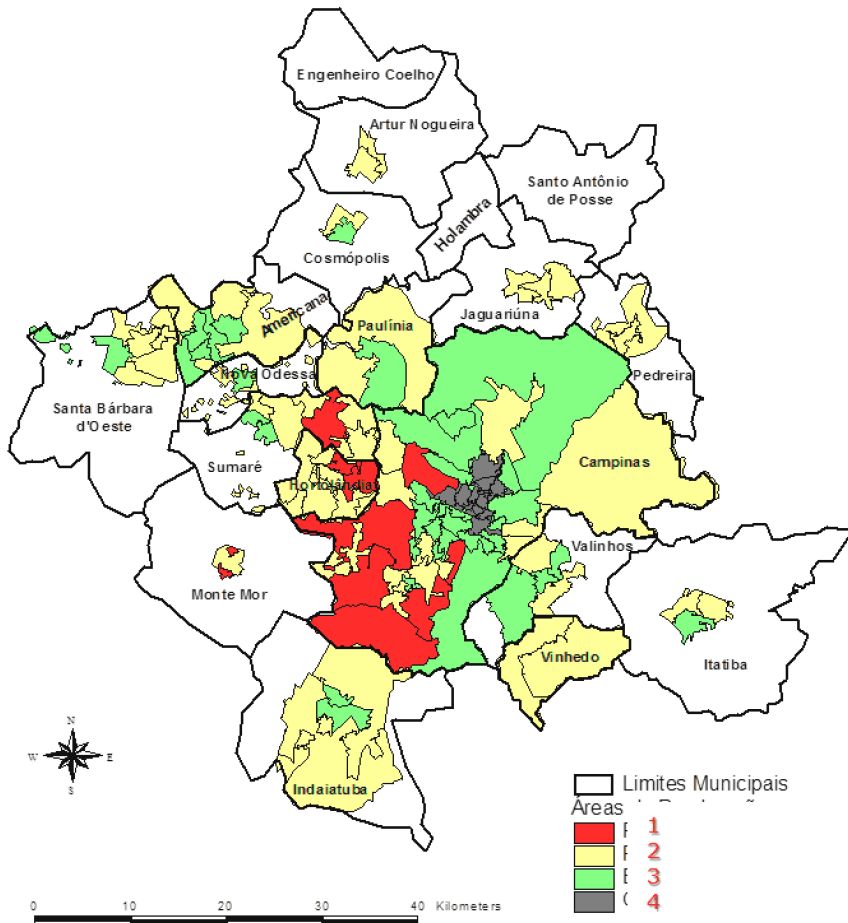
The indicators chosen were related to material conditions (physical capital), education (human capital), family composition and access to public services (social capital). In addition, four "Vulnerability Zones" in the Campinas Metropolitan Region were defined that reflect different levels of vulnerability to poverty, providing a scale that ranges from most vulnerable (VZ1) to least vulnerable (VZ4).<sup>2</sup> Map 1 shows the locations of these areas, although it can be seen that they do not represent continuous space inside the territory. Nonetheless, in each zone there are more concentrations of each of them in specific areas in the region, as is the case for VZ1 in the western

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<sup>2</sup> For more detail on the construction and interpretation of "Vulnerability Zones," see Cunha et al. (2006) or Cunha (org.) 2009.

and southwestern section of the Campinas region, and VZ4, toward the center of the Municipality of Campinas.

Map 1  
Vulnerability Zones  
Campinas Metropolitan Region, 2007



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## b. Types of migration

The second angle consists of the four different types of migration seen in the region. They were defined on the basis of the municipality of most recent residence of the individuals:

- **External migration from another state in Brazil:** when the previous municipality of residence is not in the State of São Paulo;
- **External Migration from São Paulo State:** when the previous municipality of

- residence is in the State of São Paulo but outside the Campinas Metropolitan Region;
- **Intrametropolitan migration:** when the previous municipality of residence is in the Campinas Metropolitan Region. This case was divided into two sub-categories: natives and non-natives of the Campinas Metropolitan Region.
- **Non-migrants:** individuals who never moved from their native municipality.

Other divisions based on this classification will be obtained related to the length of residence in the municipality, or to intramunicipal mobility, all of which information is recorded on the survey questionnaire. It should be noted that, due to the size of the sample, length of residence could only be classified into two categories: under 10 years and 10 years or more.

Depending on the analysis to be carried out, the data will also be considered for the entire population or only for heads of households, so that certain considerations on the characteristics of the migrants are not affected by their offspring. This may mean direct effects (children who are also migrants) and indirect effects (children born at the place of destination). Therefore, for considerations regarding issues such as reasons for moving, types of migration, social stratification and so forth, data related to heads of households will be used on the presumption that it represents the average of what happened or is happening in the family (CUNHA and JAKOB 2011, CUNHA 2011).

Several of the characteristics to be analyzed in this study require a few comments in order to facilitate understanding:

1. **Socio-occupational categories:** This concept refers to a social stratification based on studies conducted by Portes and Hoffman (2003) that combine data on occupation, position in the occupation, and sector of economic activity, to arrive at a classification of the population according to the individuals' position in the social structure. Because of the size of the sample, not all the categories were made use of. The grouping used was aimed at separating salaried workers, employers and free lancers, on the one hand, and manual and non-manual laborers, on the other.
2. **Average age of the couple:** This indicator was used as a proxy for the family's life cycles. The categories used are aimed at detecting the moments of formation, consolidation and fragmentation of the family. The categories used were "Up to age 34," "Ages 35 to 59," and "Age 60 or over."
3. **Poverty:** the indicator used was based on the criteria for the "Poverty line" proposed by Rocha (2003). On the basis of this index for the São Paulo Metropolitan Region we created the category of "Poor" (below the poverty line) and "Not-poor" (above the line).
4. **Basic Needs Unmet:** This criterion, frequently referred to in academic circles (FERES, MANCERO 2001), is based on attributes related to the conditions of the household, and the educational level of the persons who live in it. Together with the poverty indicator, this variable will be used to reflect the living conditions of the population.

## II. Migration in the Campinas Metropolitan Region: importance and composition of the flows of migration

The dynamics of the formation and expansion of the Campinas Metropolitan Region, which is comprised of 19 municipalities and had a population of approximately 2.8 million inhabitants in 2010, closely resemble what has been seen in other metropolitan regions in Brazil. Specifically, their outstanding feature was the high rates of demographic growth, especially during the 1970s and 1980s. Considerable governmental investments were made in the area, especially after 1970. Also, the economic and demographic growth of Campinas and the surrounding region was notable, with the result that it became one of the most important hubs of industrial expansion in the interior of the State of São Paulo.

But it must be recalled that this region also underwent a serious fall in demographic growth, especially after 2002. Nevertheless, growth was never below overall São Paulo state averages (Table 1).

Table 1  
Average Annual Growth Rate  
Brazil, State of São Paulo and Campinas Metropolitan Region, 1970–2010

Region	1970/1980	1980/1991	1991/2000	2000/2010
Brazil	2.48	1.93	1.63	1.17
State of São Paulo	3.49	2.13	1.78	1.09
Campinas Metropolitan Region	6.49	3.51	2.54	1.81
Municipality of Campinas	5.86	2.24	1.5	1.09
Other municipalities in the Campinas Metropolitan Region	7.22	4.74	3.34	2.29

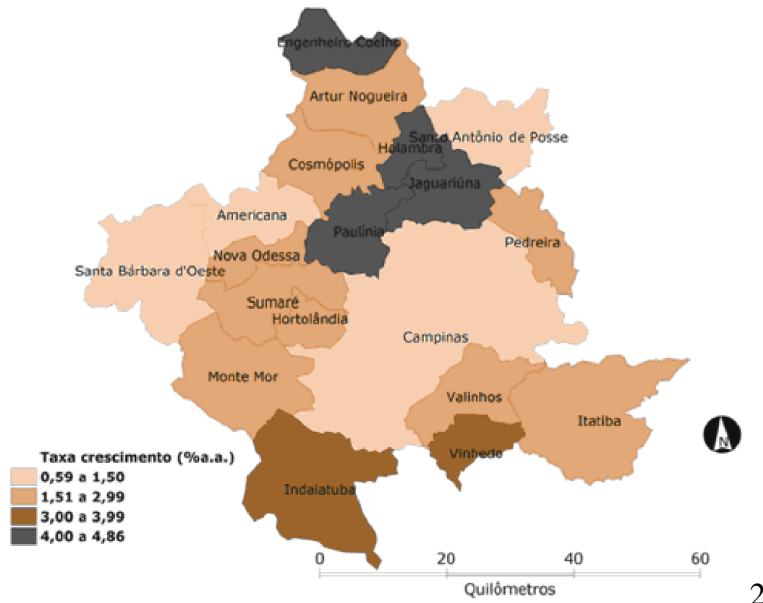
Source: FIBGE, Demographic Censuses from 1970 to 2010

As shown in an earlier study (CUNHA et al. 2006a), from the spatial point of view, based on this process of economic growth, "extensions" of the urban sprawl emerged as a classical process of peripherization, especially toward the western and southwestern sections of the metropolitan region. Other important factors included the deconcentration of industry and the growth of urban centers in other municipalities, which gradually developed their own peripheries, such as the nearby city of Americana.

It might also be important to note that, even with the slower growth of the region after 2000,

the territorial expansion and spatial redistribution of the population was nevertheless appreciable. As can be seen in Map 2, during this period there was significant movement of the population toward the northern part of the region, especially to the cities of Paulínia and Jaguariuna, and to the south, toward Indaiatuba and Vinhedo. Traditional peripheral areas, such as Sumaré and Hortolândia, saw slower growth.

MAP 2  
Annual demographic growth by municipalities  
2000/2010



Source: Dota, 2011

In other words, metropolitan expansion was still evident in the 2000s, even considering the slower rate of growth. But the implications of these recent trends on the process of socio-spatial segregation in the region were curious, in a sense. In the areas of greater growth, due to their characteristics and in contrast to earlier decades, there may have been an expansion of the middle- and high-income populations. The recently released data from the 2010 Census may be able to clarify this question, but it is not our central concern here.

With such intense demographic growth over the last thirty years, there is nothing strange about the fact that the component of migration and its determinants are the preponderant elements for understanding the process of expansion and consolidation of the Campinas Metropolitan Region.

According to data from the Household Survey conducted in 2007, over 50% of the population of the Campinas Metropolitan Region consisted of migrants, and this total is even higher when one includes only heads of households, in which case the percentile of migrants rises to above

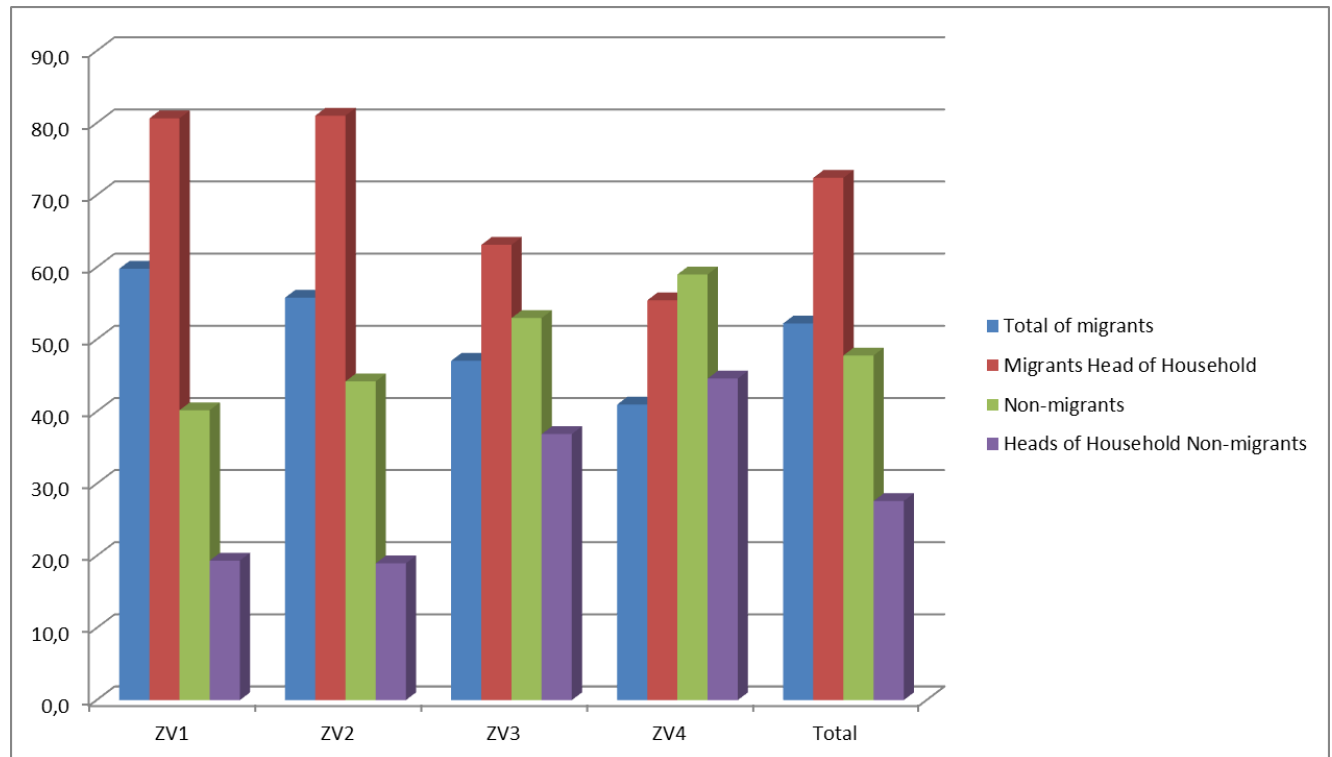


70% (Graph 1). This different way of looking at the data is important because in the former percentage, 50%, even children of these migrants who were born at the place of destination were included in the household totals. The so-called "indirect effect" of migration thus "inflates" the relative weight of natives in the resident population.

Graph 1

Resident population by Type of migration and situation of Heads of households, by Vulnerability Zone

Campinas Metropolitan Region, 2007



Source: *Pesquisa Domiciliar Projeto Vulnerabilidade*. NEPO/UNICAMP- FAPESP/CNPq, 2007

Graph 1 shows that migration is highest in the more vulnerable areas of the region. The percentages of migrants in Vulnerability Zones 1 and 2 are well above regional averages. Although, as stressed above, Vulnerability Zones do not correspond to specific parts of the Metropolitan Region, they are generally located in areas at a certain distance from the downtowns of the municipalities. In other words, migration seems to play a major role in the formation of municipal peripheries, especially in the poorest peripheries.

The weight of migration in regional demographic growth can also be calculated on the basis of the data published by the SEADE Foundation (2011). This data shows that in the 2000s, 50.5% of the demographic growth in the Campinas Metropolitan Region was due to migratory movements from other regions. Although net migration was lower during this period than in the 1990s, when the percentage was much higher (64.7%) and less intense (net migration rate fell from 1.6% per year

to 0.9% per year), it was nonetheless significant. This is explained both by the growth in several of the municipalities, as mentioned above, and by the fact that, according to estimates of the SEADE Foundation, in the 2000s the region saw a net gain in population of more than 230,000 persons.

Migration should be seen as just one of the essential components for understanding the demographic dynamics of a region, but it is insufficient for sustaining a discussion on its importance and consequences in the process of formation and expansion of a region. In this regard, knowledge of the "nature"<sup>3</sup> of migration not only enables one to speculate on the underlying determinants. It also provides a broader conception of the impacts and consequences of this phenomenon on a region in terms of the socio-spatial redistribution and segregation of its population.

Therefore, regarding this aspect, studies already carried out on demographic censuses (CUNHA & OLIVEIRA 2001, and CUNHA et al. 2006b) have brought up at least two central issues. The first is the predominance of interstate and intrastate migration over intrametropolitan migration in the total number of migrants registered in the region. The second aspect refers to the increase of migration from inside the State of São Paulo itself during the 1990s.

Both aspects were backed up by data from the survey analyzed in this study. As can be seen in Table 2, 19.8% of the migrants counted and who stated where their previous residence had been,<sup>4</sup> said that their previous residence had been in the same metropolitan region. But over 45% of these 19.8% said that they had come from elsewhere in the State of São Paulo<sup>5</sup> and 45% from out of state.

Table 2 also shows that, in terms of length of residence, the differences are minor. In fact, since the data was derived from a sample, it might be suggesting that there were no statistically significant differences among the types of migration according to this characteristic.<sup>6</sup> In addition, the recently published data from the 2010 Census show that the profile seen in the Household Survey of 2007 did not change greatly, even though the increased importance of intrametropolitan migration was consistent with the trends mentioned above in terms of regional demographic growth (in unmistakable decline) and of a few municipalities in the Campinas Metropolitan Region that show high rates.

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3 In this article, the "nature" of migration is understood as the composition of the movements established among and between the municipalities of the Campinas Metropolitan Region and other areas, whether internal or external to the region, which result in increases or decreases in the population. In this way, the complexity of the phenomenon and its various facets in the region can be better understood.

4 The percentage of "Did not declare" reached 20% of all the migrants studied, and this rate of "Did not declare" was lower for more recent migrants (12%).

<sup>5</sup> The data also show that approximately 22% of these declared that their last residence had been in the São Paulo Metropolitan Region.

<sup>6</sup> According to the data from the household survey on the Campinas Metropolitan Region, 25.2% of all the migrants questioned had lived in the region for less than 10 years. Therefore, the other 75%, approximately, were living in the region for 10 years or longer.

Table 2

Immigrant population by type of migration and length of residence in municipality  
Campinas Metropolitan Region, 2007 and 2010

Migrant Condition	Length of residence in municipality			Demographic Census of 2010 (*)
	Under age 10	Age 10 or over	Total	
External immigrants from others States	33.1	35.9	35.1	33.9
External immigrants from elsewhere in State of SP	47.1	44.3	45.1	38.9
Intrametropolitan immigrant	19.8	19.8	19.8	27.1
Intrametrop.with external origin	9.3	7.2	7.8	-
Intrametrop. with internal origin	10.5	12.6	12.0	-
Total	100.0 (1519)	100.0 (3742)	100.0 (5261)	100.0

Source: *Pesquisa Domiciliar Projeto Vulnerabilidade*. NEPO/UNICAMP, FAPESP/CNPq, 2007, and FIBGE, Demographic Census of 2010.

(\*) In the case of the demographic censuses, the information is gathered only for migrants with less than 10 years of residence. It does not include "unknown", who represent approximately 12% of the total.

This profile of migration reflects a specific characteristic of the Campinas Metropolitan Region,<sup>7</sup> where even the so-called peripheral municipalities have external migration as one of their types of growth. But what stands out most is the second factor, namely, the predominance of “Elsewhere in the State of São Paulo” as the origin of migration. This fact shows the role of the Campinas Metropolitan Region as one of the main areas of deconcentration, not only in economic terms, but in demographic terms as well.

It is also interesting to note that, even considering only the data referring to the peripheral municipalities in the region (in other words, ignoring Campinas itself, because it would be likely to interfere in the relative weight of the intrametropolitan migration because, by definition, it is the main city in the region), the relative weight of the intraregional migration changed very little, rising from the 18% shown on Table 2, to approximately 24%.

As was shown in an earlier study (CUNHA 2011), from the point of view of the characteristics of migration, this predominance of migrations from outside the region has implications both in regard to the history of the migrants and the individual reasons that led them to move.

Also in this regard it is interesting to note the profile of migration by Vulnerability Zone, as

<sup>7</sup> This is true at least in comparison with the largest metropolitan region in Brazil, that of São Paulo, where intrametropolitan migration reaches high proportions of the populations in the peripheral municipalities (Cunha 1996).

it informs us as to whether there are socio-spatial differences in terms of the types of migration in the region (Table 3).

It is clear, then, that the most vulnerable zones in the region are those with the highest proportions of migrants. In fact, Vulnerability Zones 1 and 2 show the lowest percentages of "Non-migrants." Another aspect that stands out is the great weight of migration from other states, especially in Vulnerability Zone 1. This fact suggests that the "social peripheries" of the region are the areas where migrants most often move to. Analyzing the data from a different perspective, in other words, by verifying how many migrants of each type of migration live in each Vulnerability Zone (data not shown), it can be seen that over 75% of the migrants from outside the State of São Paulo settled in Vulnerability Zone 1 (16%) and Vulnerability Zone 2 (59%). It should be recalled that Vulnerability Zone 1 corresponded to less than 9% of the region's population at the moment of the survey. It is also interesting to note that the importance of migration in the formation of the peripheries in the region was also underscored in a study carried out on the São Paulo Metropolitan Region (TORRES 2005).

Table 3  
Resident population by Type of migration, by Vulnerability Zone  
Campinas Metropolitan Region, 2007

Migratory status	Vulnerability Zone				Total
	1	2	3	4	
Non-migrants	40.2	44.2	53.0	59.0	47.8
External migrants from other states	32.0	20.7	10.2	18.3	18.3
External migrants from elsewhere in State of SP	17.8	23.2	27.1	19.0	23.5
Intrametropolitan migrants	10.0	11.8	9.7	3.7	10.3
External intrametropolitan	5.8	5.0	2.8	1.2	4.1
Internal intrametropolitan	4.2	6.8	6.9	2.5	6.3
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: *Pesquisa Domiciliar Projeto Vulnerabilidade*. NEPO/UNICAMP- FAPESP/CNPq, 2007, and FIBGE, 2010 Census

### III. Main Characteristics of Migration in the Campinas Metropolitan Region

As mentioned above, observation of the socio-demographic characteristics of migrations in a region provides broader knowledge and understanding of the population and its redistribution in the territory. It also allows us to make certain inferences as to the determinants and consequences underlying the migration. Such data are more than descriptive elements of the profile of the migration. They also serve as information that often suggests or warns us about the processes and factors that may be behind the migrations.

In this study we have opted to analyze certain characteristics we consider essential in order

to better perceive the peculiarities of these migrations, especially when considered in the light of a number of aspects related to the migrants themselves. These points include age, gender, type of domestic arrangements, average age of the couple, socio-occupational category, reasons for migration, and living conditions.

In regard to age, Graph 2 clearly shows one important and specific aspect of the migrant population. In contrast to the general population and, especially, the general non-migrant population, the proportion of children under the age of 14 is much lower among the migrants. However, it should be recalled once again that in the non-migrant population, the "indirect" effects of migration are definitely present, and this would help explain this high proportion of children.

It should also be noted that there is a higher proportion of children among the intrametropolitan migrants, especially, those migrants who were born in the region, and this suggests a higher incidence of families with minor children. Also worthy of note is the high concentration of individuals between the ages of 15 and 64 among the migrants who come from outside the region.<sup>8</sup>

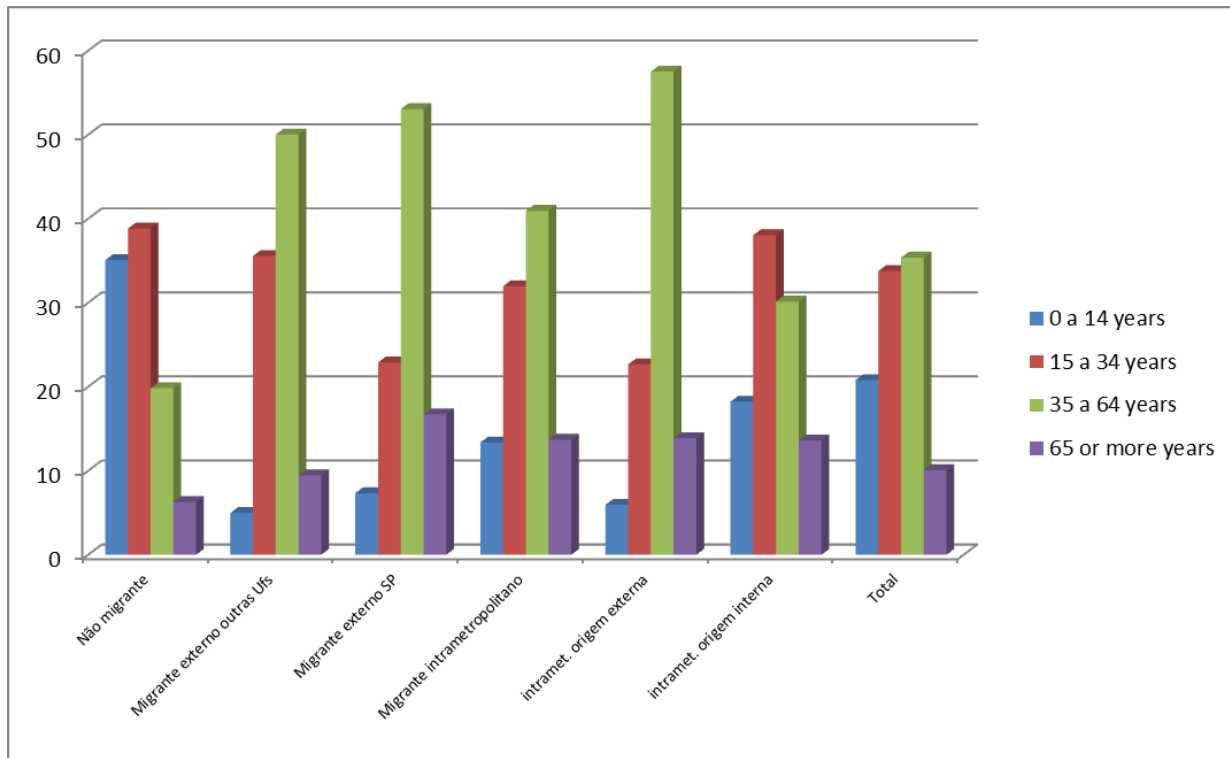
The significant differences shown between migrants and non-migrants in terms of age distribution do not apply to the composition by gender. The gender distribution of all the types of migration was very similar to that seen in the general population: 47.5% were men and 52.5%, women.

Minor differences can be seen in the variable of Type of family arrangements. A Table 4 shows, the intrametropolitan migrants show a higher rate of "Single-parent" families than do the other categories. In contrast, the external migrants from other states showed a higher proportion of "Couples with Children under Age 18." Another characteristic that stands out regarding intrametropolitan migrants is the lower proportion of families with children over age 18.

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<sup>8</sup> It would be well to remember that these data refer to age at the time of the study and therefore do not correspond precisely to the composition of the migration at the moment of arrival at destination. This figure could be ascertained only if the length of residence of the individuals were discounted. Even so, these data leave no doubt as to our position, to wit, the selective character of the migration.

Graph 2  
 Population by Age group according to Type of migration  
 Campinas Metropolitan Region, 2007



Source: *Pesquisa Domiciliar Projeto Vulnerabilidade*. NEPO/UNICAMP-FAPESP/CNPq, 2007

In any case, the data analyzed here are not conclusive as to the existence of significant differences according to Type of migration. For example, the findings show a different profile from that seen for the São Paulo Metropolitan Region (CUNHA 1994 and 1996, and ANTICO 2003), where greater predominance of families with children was seen among the intrametropolitan migrants. This characteristic was consistent with one of the main reasons for migrating, namely, the need for adequate housing.

Table 4  
 Heads of Households by Type of migration, according to Type of domestic arrangements  
 Campinas Metropolitan Region, 2007

Type of migration	Type of domestic arrangements						Total (N)
	Person alone	Couple alone	Couples with children under 18	Couple with children 18 or older	Single-parent	Others	
Non-migrants	18.5	19.7	32.4	15.2	13.1	1.1	100.0 (359)
External migrants from other states	10.9	19.6	39.6	14.0	13.7	2.1	100.0 (303)
External migrants from elsewhere in State of SP	10.4	26.3	31.4	22.6	9.1	0.1	100.0 (348)
Intrametropolitan Migrants (*)	15.7	21.1	33.8	11.8	17.6	0.0	100.0 (133)
Total	13.6	22.1	34.0	17.0	12.5	0.8	100.0 (1143)

Source: *Pesquisa Domiciliar Projeto Vulnerabilidade*. NEPO/UNICAMP-FAPESP/CNPq, 2007

(\*) In this case, because of the sample used, it was not possible to de-aggregate between external and internal migrants

It is true that, as indicated in the first part of this study, the character of migration in the Campinas Metropolitan Region is unusual, since its peripheral areas are strongly affected by external migration. This might help explain why intrametropolitan migration in the Campinas region is different from that seen in other metropolitan regions, especially that of São Paulo. Specifically, migrants find it very difficult to settle in the Municipality of Campinas itself because of the local legislation, which discourages the construction of low-income housing projects (CAIADO & SILVEIRA 2006). This legislation has been in place for decades, and its existence certainly explains, at least partially, the different character of migration in the Municipality of Campinas.<sup>9</sup> A more detailed analysis of the 2010 Census, recently published, is sure to give new leads on this question.

As is the case for Age structure, Type of migration is different according to the Life cycle of families. The data in Table 5 show that external migrants from other states are quite different from those in other categories. They tend to be much more concentrated in the phase of consolidation of their families, whereas the other groups tend to show higher concentrations of family arrangements in the fragmentation phase. No significant differences were seen for the beginning of the families'

<sup>9</sup> And it certainly also explains the more than one hundred occupations in the municipality.

life cycle.

Table 5  
Average age of couple, in families of Heads of households, classified by Type of migration.

Type of migration	Couple's average age (*)			
	Under 35	35 to 49	50 or over	Total
Non-migrant	21.2	30.1	48.7	100.0 (461)
External migrants from other States	21.2	39.3	39.5	100.0 (439)
External migrants from elsewhere in State of SP	17.6	28.7	53.7	100.0 (471)
Intrametropolitan migrant (general)	16.0	33.8	50.1	100.0 (176)
Intrametropolitan / external origin	16.5	34.0	49.5	100.0 (105)
Intrametropolitan / internal origin	15.5	33.6	50.9	100.0 (71)
Total	19.3	32.5	48.2	100.0 (1547)

Source: *Pesquisa Domiciliar Projeto Vulnerabilidade*. NEPO/UNICAMP- FAPESP/CNPq, 2007

(\*) For single-parent families, only the age of the head of household is taken into account.

In other words, based on the demographic variables analyzed up to this point, some significant differences can be seen among the types of migrants, and between migrants and non-migrants. Non-migrants, although very different in terms of age structure (implying many more children), do not differ significantly from intrametropolitan migrants in terms of domestic arrangements and life cycle. This finding brings up a discussion on an aspect that affects people's lives in general, and those of these migrants in particular, namely, that prior experience in the Campinas Metropolitan Region may have had decisive consequences on their living conditions (CUNHA 2011).

It is true that the characteristics analyzed up to this point, especially life cycles, are probably influenced by the length of residence of the migrants. Unfortunately, for reasons of the sample, it was not possible to conduct an analysis that would de-aggregate the heads of households according to this variable. But a closer look at these data suggests that, even taking into account a possibility of a higher error of the sample, there would apparently be no great difference in the findings obtained for the migrants as whole. However, a more conclusive response can only be obtained by analyzing the census data. This process has already begun and should soon be available to complement the present study.

One variable that would make it possible to understand a little more about the specificities of the migration in the Campinas Metropolitan Region is Reasons for migrating. Obviously, one of the main reasons reported by the heads of households for leaving their previous municipalities of residence was the problem of employment, but the analysis also shows that, in the case of intrametropolitan migration, another reason appears more often: the problem of housing.<sup>10</sup> This

<sup>10</sup> The possibilities included in this category are the lack of housing, or inadequate housing, and rent prices. It is also



result is in line with findings for other metropolitan regions, even though the percentages of housing problems are not as high in other places, which is an indication of the importance of employment.

Table 6  
 Heads of households by Type of migration and Reasons for leaving the municipality of previous residence  
 Campinas Metropolitan Region, 2007

Type of migration	Reason for leaving previous municipality				
	Job	Housing	Accompany family	Other	Total
External migrants from other states	44.9	5.5	46.2	3.4	100,0 (325)
External migrants from elsewhere in State of SP	45.8	6.5	43.8	3.9	100,0 (288),0
Intrametropolitan migrants	45.5	18.4	36.1	0.0	100,0 (123)
Total	28.3	14.0	53.4	4.3	100,0 (746)

Source: *Pesquisa Domiciliar Projeto Vulnerabilidade*. NEPO/UNICAMP- FAPESP/CNPq, 2007

It should be noted, however, that other another reason for migrating was mentioned by a high percentage, namely, "Accompany the family." Even considering that we are analyzing only heads of households, this result clearly shows the situation of these heads of families at the moment of migration. In other words, many of them were not yet heads of families and lived with their original families. In other words, this high percentage of "Accompany the family" is clearly fallacious because the great majority of those who gave this answer had lived in the municipality for well over 10 years.

This observation leads us to the conclusion that, in fact, the main reason for migrating, whether from other regions or from other municipalities in the Campinas Metropolitan Region, is related to the possibility of employment, even though, as mentioned above, in the case of intrametropolitan migration, the housing factor is also significant. This characteristic of the Campinas Metropolitan Region may help researchers understand why the profiles by Type of family

interesting to note that the reasons for choosing the current municipality of residence (also measured in the study) are somewhat different, more often associated with the factors mentioned above, namely, the price of both houses and lots, or the rental rates.

arrangement and by Life cycle do not show great differences in internal migrations, as one might expect on the basis of findings from other cities.

In any event, intrametropolitan migration clearly shows its specificities, especially when one takes into account that better knowledge of the area could imply advantages over other migrants. Although indirectly, Table 7 suggests that this is the case, as it shows that it was exactly the intrametropolitan migrants who had moved less often inside their municipalities of residence at the moment of the study.

Table 7

Heads of households by Type of Migration, according to the Number of moves from one neighborhood to another in the municipality of current residence  
Campinas Metropolitan Region, 2007

Type of Migration	Number of intramunicipal moves					
	0	1	2	3	4+	Total (N)
Non-migrant	13.8	23.5	33.1	19.4	10.1	100 (441)
External migrants from other states	19.7	24.2	28.8	15.7	11.7	100 (432)
External migrants from elsewhere in SP State	17.8	31.3	24.6	15.0	11.2	100 (464)
Intrametropolitan migrants	26.6	35.6	15.6	16.1	6.2	100 (172)
Total	18.3	27.9	26.8	16.5	10.4	100 (1509)

Source: *Pesquisa Domiciliar Projeto Vulnerabilidade*. NEPO/UNICAMP- FAPESP/CNPq, 2007

In fact, over one fourth of the intrametropolitan migrants stated that they had not moved to any other neighborhood after arriving in the municipality of current residence. This rate of one fourth was a good deal higher than that of other residents in the region, especially the non-migrants. In other words, it is very likely that this result shows that the more "once-and-for-all" character of this type of move may be related to prior experience in the region, and even to assets accrued during the experience.<sup>11</sup>

And what can be said about socioeconomic characteristics and their specificities according to Type of migration? The demographic indicators, with the exception of age, tell us little about the specificities of each type of migration, whereas the differences among social levels provide much

<sup>11</sup> It would be well to remember that some of the intrametropolitan migrants are natives, a fact that would seem to make things easier for them, because of their better knowledge of the region and of the social networks that are available.

more information.

In the first place, it is evident that, at the time of the survey, over half (approximately 60%) the migrants, regardless of type of migration, were in the categories of either Manual laborers, Unemployed, or In unstable occupational positions. Table 8 shows that intrametropolitan migrants are in worse situations than either the non-migrants or the external migrants, in the sense that they show much higher percentages of "Unemployed or in unstable working conditions." These intrametropolitan migrants also show lower percentages of non-manual laborers and much lower percentages of higher categories in the social scale.

Clear differences can also be seen in the degree of mobility of residents of the Campinas Metropolitan Region according to their position in the social structure. As Graph 3 shows, the profile of spatial mobility among the "Non-manual laborers" is very different from that of the "Manual laborers" and of the "Unemployed or precariously employed," because these latter groups show greater intermunicipal mobility. Persons at the top of the social pyramid also show less mobility, although they comprise a significant proportion of the category of "Four or more municipalities" of previous residence, a fact that may be related to the characteristics of the types of profession they exercise, especially the most highly qualified.

Table 8  
Heads of households by Type of Migration, according to socio-occupational category  
Campinas Metropolitan Region, 2007

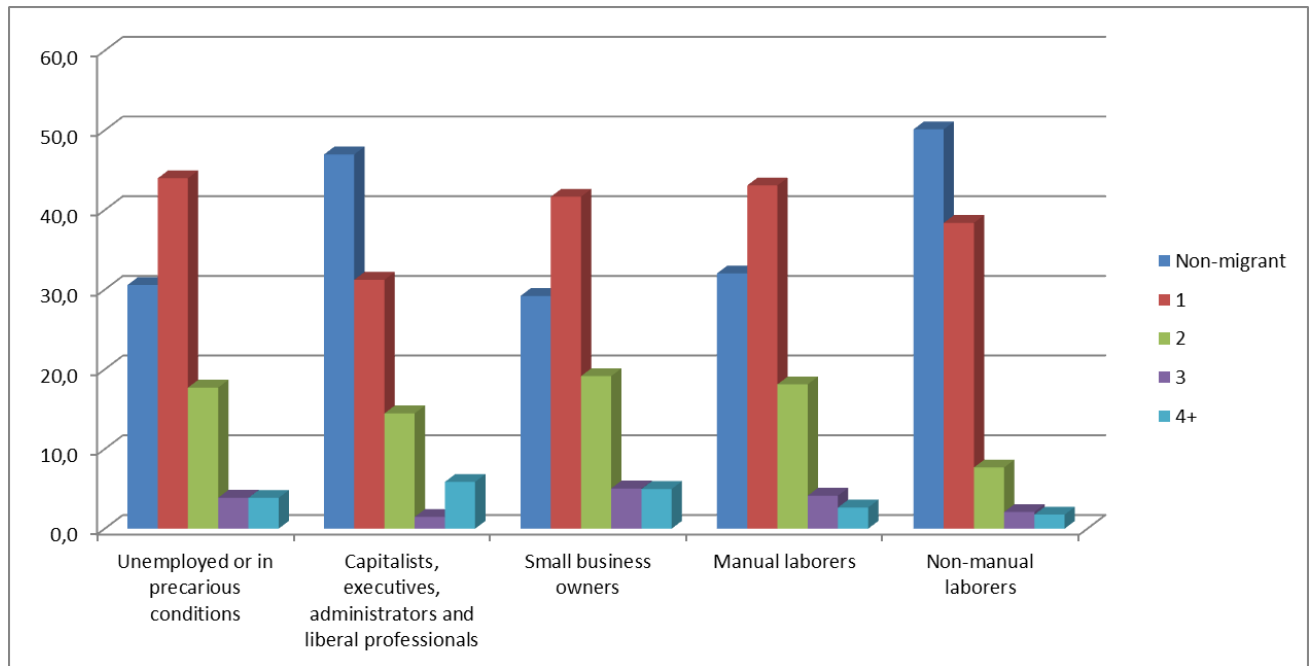
Type of migration	Socio-occupational category						Total
	Unemployed or in precarious conditions	Capitalists, executives, administrators and liberal professionals	Small business owners	Manual laborers	Non-manual laborers	Undetermined	
Non-migrants	7.9	10.0	20.4	45.1	14.9	1.7	100.0
External migrants from other	8.5	6.0	21.8	52.6	9.8	1.3	100.0
External migrants from elsewhere	7.7	8.3	24.0	49.9	9.5	0.5	100.0
Intrametropolitan migrants	16.8	5.7	19.5	50.1	6.0	1.9	100.0
Total	9.1	7.8	21.8	49.3	10.7	1.2	100.0

Source: *Pesquisa Domiciliar Projeto Vulnerabilidade*. NEPO/UNICAMP-FAPESP/CNPq, 2007

(\*) In this case, due to sample, it was not possible to de-aggregate between external and internal migrants.

Graph 3

Economically active resident population by Number of municipalities where they had lived and by Socio-occupational category  
Campinas Metropolitan Region, 2007



Source: *Pesquisa Domiciliar Projeto Vulnerabilidade*. NEPO/UNICAMP-FAPEESP/CNPq, 2007

Note: Excludes the category of "Undetermined"

The most unfavorable situation of migrants, especially those who came from outside the State of São Paulo, is clearly characterized in Table 9, which shows that this group showed higher percentages of inadequate housing conditions and higher proportions of persons living below the poverty line. This is much more visible when compared to the situation of non-migrants, since the intrametropolitan migrants, although better off in terms of housing, nonetheless show high levels of poverty.

Table 9

Heads of households by Type of migration according to Housing conditions and Poverty  
Campinas Metropolitan Region, 2007

Type of migration	Housing conditions			Condition of poverty		
	Satisfied households	NBI Households	Total	Not poor	Poor	Total (N)
Non-migrants	85.5	13.2	100.0 (458)	83.6	16.4	100.0 (357)
External migrants from other states	79.0	20.6	100.0 (436)	67.9	32.1	100.0 (312)
External migrants from elsewhere State of SP	86.3	13.6	100.0 (470)	75.4	24.6	100.0 (332)
Intrametropolitan migrants	87.9	12.1	100.0 (176)	69.0	31.0	100.0 (121)
Intrametropolitan migrants, external origin	87.2	12.8	100.0 (105)	65.6	34.4	100.0 (75)
Intrametropolitan migrants, internal origin	88.8	11.2	100.0 (71)	73.4	26.6	100.0 (49)
Total	84.4	15.1	100.0 (1540)	75.2	24.8	100.0 (1125)

Source: *Pesquisa Domiciliar Projeto Vulnerabilidade*. NEPO/UNICAMP-FAPESP/CNPq, 2007

This result suggests and reinforces the argument sustained in this article to the effect that, although intrametropolitan migrants consist mostly of persons from low-income sectors and are largely motivated by the need for jobs and housing in the periphery of the region, they seem to benefit from their "prior experience" in the metropolitan area. They thus attain better housing than migrants who moved in from other states and, in most cases, settled immediately in the periphery. Consistent with the idea of the importance of "prior experience in the region," the same data lead to the conclusion that migrants from other places in the State of São Paulo seem to be in worse financial situations than those who were born in the region.

Of course this condition reflects in many ways the length of residence that the persons in the region have had. For example, the data show that the proportion of poor persons, or of persons living in inadequate housing, is much higher for migrants who have lived in the region for shorter periods of time.

But the data from this research show that the profiles of migrants according to length of residence do not differ greatly, and this leads to the conclusion that a possible effect of composition should be discarded (Table 10). More exactly, there is no reason to think that the condition of poverty of external and intrametropolitan migrants was due to the higher percentage of more recent migrants in these categories.

Table 10

Migrant population by Length of residence in the municipality, according to Conditions of poverty, and Housing

Campinas Metropolitan Region, 2007

Length of residence in municipality	Poverty line (*)			Basic needs		
	Not poor	Poor	Total (N)	Households - basic needs met	Households – Basic needs	Total
Under age 10	55.9	44.1	100 (616)	74.1	25.9	100,0 (853)
Age 10 or over	71.8	28.2	100 (1266)	83.4	16.6	100,0 (1858)
Total	67.2	32.8	100 (1882)	80.8	19.2	100,0 (2711)

Source: *Pesquisa Domiciliar Projeto Vulnerabilidade*. NEPO/UNICAMP-FAPESP/CNPq, 2007

### Final Considerations

We can see that, from a morphological point of view, the processes of expansion of the various metropolitan regions (also termed urban agglomerations) in Brazil show similar characteristics. Nonetheless, this study would seem to indicate that this does not hold for the underlying processes of migration, especially their causes and consequences.

In other words, it is true that phenomena such as the expansion of urban sprawls, the emergence and consolidation of "poor" and "affluent" peripheries, and the consequent redistribution and socio-spatial segregation of the population, are present in all these areas. Nonetheless there is no reason to presume that the processes of migration involved are similar.

The case of Campinas, for example, contrasts in a number of ways with what the author has seen in regard to the nearby São Paulo Metropolitan Region. The difference is especially evident in the compositions of migration in the municipalities of these regions, in terms of origins and, maybe for this very reason, in terms of the characteristics of the migrants themselves.

It is clear that the determining factors of the migration to these areas, a question that is not taken up in this study, could help us understand these differences. Especially in the case of Campinas, investigations into its strategic position as the most vital economic hub in the interior of the State of São Paulo (including technologically), on the one hand, and aspects related to its zoning legislation and real-estate market, on the other, could help us better understand its specific characteristics.

In this regard, the characteristics and complexity of the spatial mobility of the population in the Campinas area suggest the importance of the economic dynamism of the region for understanding its processes of formation, expansion and consolidation. The limited importance of intrametropolitan migration in this process, despite its growth between 2000 and 2009, shows that the specificities of the legislation on the occupation of the soil play a decisive role.

The data analyzed here also suggest that, even if "Prior experience" in the metropolitan area does not solve all of a family's social problems, at least it seems to make things easier in facing the housing problem. In fact, even though intrametropolitan migrants seem to be in more precarious situations concerning jobs, they are better off in terms of housing. For this reason, there is need for more detailed investigations into the mechanisms that lead to this reality, especially those related to the role of social networks and public policies. Also, of course, we will have to pay more attention to the implications of the levels of social vulnerability of the migrants.

One further point must also not be forgotten, namely, the role of migration in the formation and growth of some of the areas in the region. As has happened in other areas in Brazil, the poorest outlying areas of the Campinas Metropolitan Region are home to great numbers of migrants, many of whom have little or no experience in the region. Therefore, these citizens have numerous needs. Their problems are related not only to their social condition, but also to the inadequate infrastructures in the areas they live in. Such failings are clearly linked to the lack of social capital represented both by the social relationships existing and by the lack of action on the part of public authorities.

Even though this text is basically descriptive, we hope that it will open up pathways for a better understanding of the complexity of the migration that is going on in a region with so many possibilities, as is the case of Campinas. Unfortunately, the data used, although abundant from the point of view of the alternatives for visualizing the phenomenon, must be supplemented not only by qualitative research, but also by a more robust set of data that will make it possible to consider the characteristics of the migrants in greater detail, but also investigate the behavior of the municipalities in the region. Fortunately, this important task is already underway.

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