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Migration and Urbanisation in São Paulo: The New Scenario¹

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Introduction

The emergency of the process of productive restructuring in international ambit has contributed at local regional and national level, to the configuration of selective urban spaces. Those spaces have presented significant transformations in economics, politics, and social terms in an effort of insertion in this global dynamic. The ways and urban process have changed in cities; the speedy of the technological transformations were intensified; the small and medium sized cities started to constitute an important part of the regional dynamism; the direction and the way of the migratory flows have changed too.

These new scenarios brings new contours to the cities, where the comprehension of the local phenomena implies the understanding of the regional phenomena, metropolitan phenomena and even those in world-wide ambit. The arising of the rearranges in the urban functions of the cities, in terms of economic activities and those of spatial redistribution of the population, constitutes fundamental element in the strengthen of the regional economies. In Brazilian case, and specifically the State of São Paulo, the territorial impacts of the processes of the economic and population deconcentration began in the 70s, took higher impulse in this new scenario, consolidating the presence of strong regions and the development of regional poles.

The formation of this new territoriality represents important transformations in its own dynamics of the population redistribution process. Reinforce, thus, the necessity of a revision of the traditional concepts, anchored in the relation between urban-rural, country-city, pulls areas-push areas, origin areas-destination areas. In fact, in the late twenty years, the urban process has been generating phenomena that demand the updating of concepts and categories of analysis understanding of the social reality. In the axis of this changing is the predominance of the urban-urban migratory flows, that is, between urban spaces. In the middle of this new direction of the migrations emerge the new kinds of population's movements; kinds that aren't captioned in its totality if based in the traditional concepts of cities, urban areas, migration etc.

In this way, one of the first changes that we can identify is related to the disappearing of the traditional concept of rural area. Nowadays the term "rural" is part and it means an extension of the urban dynamic. Its production and plantations set towards to the dynamic of the international market; alongside with service and leisure activities that

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involves nowadays the so-called rural area³. In this context, the geographic unit of analysis stops being the city (the “urban”), adopting the “Municipality” (which involves the urban and the rural area of a place). This redefinition of the space allows us identify the possible contributions of the internal movements of the population in the formation of new spatiality and in the configuration of the local, regional and national urban network.

From the understanding of this new spatial configuration the concepts of pull-push areas and origin areas-destination areas need to be revised. The urban-regional dynamic creates and recreates spaces where the circulation of goods and services, of merchandises and population make new territoriality. In this case, the links between the cities and their periphery redefine the meaning and the explanations of the departing and arrival point of the migrants (still using the traditional definition of migration being the person who changes the municipality).

In the ambit of those transformations, the predominance of the urban population has been generated the “homogenisation” of some demographic indicators – as an urbanisation degree, mortality rates, fertility rates, to different places independently of its population size. This fact reflects the importance of new ways of spatial redistribution of the population in the process of urbanisation.

Until the 70’s, the urbanisation process and the process of spatial redistribution of the Brazilian population were conditioned practically to only one way: the speed and progressive growth of the big cities and metropolis. From the 80’s on, nevertheless, you can observe that those areas present a significant decrease in their population growing rhythm, indicating other areas of reception of migrants. In the case of the State of São Paulo, the Inner part of the State⁴ registered a balance of migration higher than the metropolitan region, which presented a negative balance. In this context, the different urban-regional dynamics in the Inner part of the State keep a relevant role in the process of spatial regional redistribution of the population, where the intra-regional mobility and the Metropolis-Inner part flow guaranteed the expansion and consolidation of those areas.

Those are some points that this essay aims to present, remarking the specific of the recent urbanisation processes and spatial redistribution of the population in São Paulo, space where the processes of intra-regional mobility show more clearly. Besides, the experience of the State of São Paulo already seems to indicate possible regional arrangements in the urbanisation process, reflecting, although in a very incipient way, possible territorial impacts of the productive restructuring process. The new ways of spatial redistribution of the population and the urban deconcentration emerge, in this new scenario redefined the historic network of cities in São Paulo’s Inner part.

1- São Paulo in the National Migratory Dynamic

The economic leadership of the cities in the State of São Paulo in Brazilian scenario, along the twentieth century, meant, as a counterpart, a high population concentration. In 1900, this State already presented 12.2% of the national population, reaching, in 1970, 19.1% of the same and even responding for 21.8% in 2000, in a total of nearly 37 million of inhabitants. In a regional context, the population of São Paulo, which corresponded to 44.6% of the Southeast Region of Brazil, in 1970, concentrated more than the half of the population of the Region (51.1%) in 2000 (Table 1).

³ See Graziano da Silva (1997).

⁴ Excluded the Metropolitan Region of São Paulo.

With its trajectory of economic and population growth marked by intense migratory movements, the State of São Paulo has registered growing rates of its population higher than the national and regional average. In the 70's the Brazilian population grew at a rate of 2.5% per year and the one in São Paulo was 3.5% per year. Even though with the accented decreasing in the rhythm of the Brazilian population growth as a whole in the 80's (1.9% per year), the population in São Paulo continued with more elevated rate (2.1% per year). It has kept this tendency to the 1991-2000 period, when the growth rate of the national population had been of 1.6 % per year and the one of the São Paulo was the 1.8 % per year.

Table 1
Total Population, Annual Growth Rates and Relative Distribution
Brazil, Southeast Region and State of São Paulo
1970-2000

Áreas	Total Population				
	1970	1980	1991	1996	2000
Brazil	93,139,037	119,002,706	146,825,475	157,079,573	169,544,443
Southeast Region	39,853,498	51,734,125	62,740,401	67,003,069	72,262,411
State of São Paulo	17,771,948	25,040,712	31,588,925	34,120,886	36,966,527

(continue)

Áreas	Growth Rates (% per year)			Relative Distribution of São Paulo				
	1970/1980	1980/1991	1991/2000	1970	1980	1991	1996	2000
Brazil	2.48	1.93	1.61	19.08	21.04	21.51	21.72	21.80
Southeast Region	2.64	1.77	1.58	44.59	48.40	50.35	50.92	51.16
State of São Paulo	3.49	2.13	1.76	-	-	-	-	-

Source: FIBGE, Demographic Censuses of 1980 and 1991, Population Count of 1996. Special Tabulations, NEPO/UNICAMP.

This concentrator process of the São Paulo's demographic dynamism has its historical roots already in the turn of the XIX century (Cano, 1977). However, the recent changes in the population dynamic – due to the demographic transition and the smaller impact of the migrations- reflects themselves a lot slowly in the big population base in the State of São Paulo.

In spite of that, the reduction of the growth rates in the State of São Paulo, in the last decades, show, particularly, the changes occurred in its migratory movements⁵. In special, the decrease of the interstates movements, and the increase of its out-migration, in the 80's. The main target of national migrations, in the last 50 years, has become incapable of absorb a higher population, in the same intensity of those in past decades. Despite of that, São Paulo and specially its metropolitan area, still pull with strong attraction in the directing of the migratory flows that came from other States.

The impact of the economic crisis about employment, particularly metropolitan, in the 80's, reflected in the national migratory dynamic. The State of São Paulo, in the interstate context, had been shown an "average migratory absorption area"⁶, in the 70's, with a population gain of nearly 2 million people, going to "low migratory absorption

⁵ The alterations in the pattern of fertility also contributed to this reduction of the growing rates.

⁶ Migratory Effective Index (IEM) of 0.43. The ratio of net migration (I-E) to gross migration (I+E) is a measure of migration effectiveness. It measures the relative difference between the effective addition or loss through migration na the overall gross movement. The ratio varies from zero to one. (Shirock and Siegel, 1985).

area”⁷, in the period of 1981-1991, and decreasing its migratory balance to 1.2 million people.

Among the recent characteristics of the interstate migration to São Paulo notice that, in fact, the important decrease in its absolute volume (Table 2); in the 70’s, the annual average was 325,089 migrants, downsizing to 267,983 in-migrants, in the period of 1991-1996.

The interstate migration to São Paulo had, from 1970-1980 to 1980-1991, a reduction of more than 570 thousand in-migrants from one decade to the other. From the period of 1981-1991 to 1991-1996, the State of São Paulo experienced an annual decrease of nearly 40 thousand people in its migrant arrival. Notice, anyway, the State of São Paulo registered the higher volume of interstate in-migrants at a national level. Despite of the economic crisis, São Paulo continued being the “heart of the national economy”⁸, and thus, in the imaginary migratory, mainly to the migrants of less dynamic areas, this area will continue to carry out its pull.

Table 2
Volumes of Interstate In-migration and Out-migration (*)

State of São Paulo
1970-1980, 1981-1991**, 1986-1991 and 1991-1996**

Periods	State of São Paulo			
	In-migration	Out-migration	Migratory Changes	Index Effectiveness Reposition
1970-1980	3,250,889	1,287,748	1,963,141	0.43 2.52
1981-1991	2,679,157	1,497,935	1,181,222	0.28 1.79
1986-1991	1,392,796	647,991	744,805	0.36 2.15
1991-1996	1,139,638	541,760	597,878	0.36 2.10

Notes: (*) Includes inter-regional and intra-regional

(**) Includes non-natural and return

Source: FIBGE, Demographic Censuses of 1980 and 1991, Population Count of 1996. Special Tabulations, NEPO/UNICAMP.

In the context of interstate migration⁹, the best or least performance of the economy in the State of São Paulo, as well as the emergent processes of productive restructuring in the metropolitan space, are shown in the migratory behaviour of and to the State of São Paulo. Perhaps it is not so clear and directs the relation migration/industrialisation, like in the 60’s and 70’s, but remains to the interstate movements the strong relation between migration/jobs. In the period 1986-1991 arrived in the São Paulo State 1,392,196 migrants come from other States, volume that decreased to 1,139,638, between 1991-1996. The out-migration of São Paulo also had a decrease: from 647,991 people to 541,760, respectively.

In the migratory structure of the flows of arrival and departs of inter-regional migrants from and to São Paulo, the Northeast Region kept leading, in the 90’s, the biggest

⁷ IEM of 0.28.

⁸ See Pacheco (1998); Azzoni (1998), among others.

⁹ The movements included are with the States of Southeast and with other Regions

volume of migrants in the State, corresponding to 57.5 % of those who entered. In the movement of exodus of migrants, São Paulo divided its out-migration with the Northeast Region (31.3% of the total) and with the States of the Southeast Region itself (30%). It stands out that there was also an increase of the participation of the North Region of the country (from 2.5% of the total to 4.1%, respectively).

In the scenario of the Brazilian migration, the State of São Paulo, in the 1991-1996 period, remained receiving more than a half of out-migration that left the Northeast Region (around 53.0%, on both periods) and, even, from South Region (52.0%). Continued as well, on the other side, responding to the higher volumes of people who arrived to those regions. It decreased; however, the migration potentiality in the State related to the South Region and Southeast Region, increasing with Northeast Region and North Region, and keeping up with the Center-West Region its population exodus.

In the out-migratory movement of the State, the 1981-1991 period, characterised itself as the “decade of the return”, when 45.0% of the migrants that had left São Paulo were coming back to their States of birth. This population re-flow involved 669,781 people, in the 1981-1991 period, nearly half of whom (319,340 migrants) returned to the Northeastern states. By the way, from the total of the out-migratory flow from São Paulo to the Northeast Region, the proportion of migrants in the condition of return reached a regional average of 62.7%, pointing to the importance of this kind of population movement to the area in the 80’s.

In national ambit, São Paulo continued reaffirming, in the beginning of the 90’s, its centrality in the inter-region migration in Brazil. Despite of its major decrease in its population gains: from 744,850 people, in the 1986-1996 period, to 597,878, in the 1991-1996 period; that is, an absolute reduction of nearly 150 thousand people from one to the other period.

To sum up, from the new trends showed, we can say that the recent geography of the migrations, in the country, has been forming regional specificity that point to the tendency to the decrease of the in-migration to São Paulo. At the same time that, changing the course of the history, this State has experienced expressive re-flow and even populations losses. Therefore this is the one of the new faces of the migratory phenomenon to the State, it is interesting point that related to Northeast Region and following to North Region, São Paulo kept its role of national center of migratory absorption.

The directions and meanings of the in-migration and particularly of the out-migration of the State of São Paulo, afford different explanations to the phenomenon, configuring at least, four situations of the interstate migratory process in São Paulo:

- a) Absorption of population that came from the ending of the agricultural frontier of the North Region.
- b) Out-migration of the State because of the economic crisis that affected more severely São Paulo (Flows to the Northeast Region).
- c) Continuity of in-migration Northeast- São Paulo, mainly by the migratory networks pre-established.
- d) Strengthening of the migratory deconcentration from São Paulo to the direction to areas of the process of industrial and agro-industrial deconcentration of the country (Minas Gerais, Rio Grande do Sul, Mato Grosso do Sul and Goiás).

São Paulo, therefore, from one side, **expanded its migration spaces**, especially with the portion center-east and south of the country- areas where the multiplier effects

come from the deconcentration were more increased¹⁰. From the other side, reinforced with the Northeast Region and North Region its character of migratory national pole.

2- The Metropolis of São Paulo as a Looser Space

The formation of the Metropolitan Region of São Paulo was linked to the development of the national industry¹¹. After 1956, the new phase of the economy in the Country and the consequent intensifying of the urbanisation process marked the formation of the space that could be denominated as “national metropolis of the industry”. The economic history of São Paulo with the important inheritance left by the coffee complex, contributed to the advance of the process of industrialisation in this region.

In this development perspective, the spatial concentration of the production and the work force were the central elements of the process of capitalist accumulation and development.

Therefore, with the implementation of new companies took place the creation of new economic spaces, attracting the migrant population to the Capital of the State (City of São Paulo). The big center of population attraction consolidated, then its national vocation, starting to receive in the 60's, with more intensity, the internal migrants that come from the Northeast Region and other States, along with those coming from the Inner part of São Paulo, particularly the rural areas¹².

Between 1960 and 1980, the economy went through phases of expansion and deceleration, making vary the urbanisation pattern and the process of redistribution of the population in the State. In a first phase, the formation of the Metropolitan Region of São Paulo, directed and reinforced the installation of industries in this area, not considering the significant network of cities that linked around the railroad in the cities of the Inner part of the State. In a second phase, the relative deconcentration of the industrial activities from the Metropolitan Region of São Paulo, and the consequent “process of deconcentration of the industry”¹³, led to the re-emerging of the economic dynamism of the cities in the Inner part of São Paulo in the 70's. This area is characterised as a second industrial concentration of Brazil.

In this process, the Metropolitan Region of São Paulo started to divide more and more its economic and population dynamism with some regions of the Inner part of the State, nevertheless it went on standing out as the main financial center and special services in Brazil. Thus, the process of spatial redistribution of the population in the State already assumes distinct characteristics. In fact, the 70's were marked by intense population movements all over the State¹⁴, where the main intra-states migratory volumes were started up from the Metropolitan Region of São Paulo to areas more dynamic in Inner State, with the mobility of almost 500 thousand people.

In spite of the importance of these flows to the Inner cities in the process of redistribution of the population in São Paulo, it was considered that this tendency of exodus of the population from the metropolis was a lot incipient process. It is due to the big

¹⁰ See Diniz (1993) about this area of deconcentration had involved a national polygon.

¹¹ See Langenbuch (1971)

¹² In Patarra and Baeninger (1988) the migratory processes occurred in the Capital of São Paulo can be find from the end of last century until 1980.

¹³ See Cano (1988).

¹⁴ See Cunha (1987), SEADE Foundation (1993), Patarra et alii (1997), Baeninger (1992), among others.

migratory volumes coming from other States, mainly from the Northeast Region and, still in the 70's, from decadent areas of the agricultural frontier in Paraná.

In the 70's it was detected in the process of urbanisation in São Paulo important regional pull areas in the Inner cities of São Paulo State¹⁵, which, even in that moment, executed fundamental role in the process of relative deconcentration of the population. Those poles, by the way, already showed a reorganisation of the network of the cities, according to its size. In the Inner part of the State, since the dynamism generated from the pole-city (nucleus) of those regions, overflowing the administrative limits started to reach neighbouring cities resulting in the increase and strengthen of regional poles. This way, the dynamic of the cities, already in that moment, depended on much more of its closeness or link with a pole than its population size.

Besides, although the Metropolitan Region of São Paulo presented itself as a receptive of big population numbers, particularly interstates, some decades ago, in 1970/1980 we could emphasise a drop in the growing rhythm of this area. It is due to the accentuate drop of fertility rate and, probably, of the decreased migratory volume that came from the Inner of the State of São Paulo. In the 1960/1970 period, the growing rate of the metropolis of São Paulo was 5.4% per year, going to 4.46% per year in the 1970/1980 period.

Even though, the migratory volume that had come to that area, in the 70's (2.4 million of migrants, which whom around 2 million coming from other States), pointed to the crescent population concentration.

The strong signs of new tendencies in the process of redistribution of the population in São Paulo, showed in the 70's, can be summarised like this:

- a) Significant migratory flows that starting from the Metropolitan Region to the Inner;
- b) Emergency of economic-population poles in the State;
- c) Growth of small and medium sized cities; and
- d) Lower growth rate of the Metropolitan Region of São Paulo, in the 70's, compared to the prior decade (4.5% per year and 5.4% per year, respectively).

Despite those evidences, only with the result of the 1991 Census we could verify the national predominant tendency of the 80's (lower growing rhythm of the metropolitan areas, growth of the medium-sized cities, demographic recuperation of the small areas etc.) already were clearly present in São Paulo. This way, the important is to grasp from the analyses so far made it's the meaning of the 70's, as a starting point of the process of population deconcentration in São Paulo. This relative deconcentration is conditioned two phenomena that marked the process of spatial redistribution of the population in Brazil: the urbanisation process and the internal migrations.

In this way, the 80's and the 90's watched the intensification and consolidation of the tendencies observed in the 70's. There was a significant diminution in the rhythm of the population growth of the Metropolitan Area of São Paulo. It is due to less migrants entrance who came from other States, specially Minas Gerais and Paraná, since annual average of incoming migrants from Northeast region still remained around 100 thousands migrants between 1991-1996, at the same time occurred a significant coming back migration to those States. Actually the State of São Paulo presented accented diminution

¹⁵ See Patarra and Baeninger (1989).

in the rhythm of population growth (Table 3). The changes in the process of population redistribution show important alterations in the migratory dynamic inside the own State of São Paulo.

The State moved from a growth rate of 3.5% per year, in the 70's, to 2.12% per year between 1980/1991. Reaching 1.6% per year in the 90's. The lower growth of the Metropolitan Region of São Paulo (1.9% per year in 1980/91 period against 4.5 % per year in the prior decade and 1.6% per year between 1991-2000) reflected strongly in the State rate. The Capital of the State (i.e., the city of São Paulo) registered a considerable decreasing in its growth rate of the total population, moving from 3.7% per year in the 70's, to 0.87 % per year, in the 90's.

Table 3
Total population and Population Growth Rates (% per year)
State of São Paulo, Metropolitan region of São Paulo and Inner.
1970/2000

Area	Total Population				
	1970	1980	1991	1996	2000
State of São Paulo	17,771,948	25,040,712	31,588,925	34,120,886	36,966,527
M.R. of São Paulo	8,139,730	12,588,725	15,416,416	16,581,933	17,833,511
Capital	5,924,615	8,493,226	9,626,894	9,839,066	10,406,166
Periphery	2,215,115	4,095,499	5,789,522	6,742,867	7,427,345
Inner of São Paulo	9,632,218	12,451,987	16,130,057	17,537,177	19,133,016

(continue)

Area	Growth rate (% per year)		
	1970-1980	1980-1991	1991-2000
State of São Paulo	3.49	2.13	1.78
M.R. of São Paulo	4.46	1.86	1.63
Capital	3.67	1.15	0.87
Periphery	6.34	3.20	2.81
Inner of São Paulo	2.60	2.38	1.92

Source IBGE Foundation, Demographic Censuses of 1970 to 2000, Population Count of 1996.

The Inner cities kept relative stability in its growth rate: 2.6% per year between 1970/1980 and 2.4% per year in the 1980/1991 period lowering to 1.9% per year between 1991-2000. Therefore, as much the Metropolitan Region of São Paulo as the city of São Paulo has been presenting from 80's on population growing rates lower than national average. That was 1.93% per year, in the 80's, and 1.6% between 1991-2000. The same happened with the State average (2.1% per year and 1.8% per year, respectively). Notably, however, the peripheral area of the Metropolitan Region of São Paulo showed population growth rhythm higher than the average of the State and the Inner: 3.20% per year in the 80's and 2.8% per year in the 90's, pointing an intense intra-regional mobility of the metropolitan population.

The low population growth of the Metropolitan Area of São Paulo showed in the 1980/1991 period, for the first time in the history of the century XX, a negative migratory

balance of a great magnitude. About 274 thousand people, where the city of São Paulo had the higher relative participation in this process, coming to register a negative balance of more than 750 thousand people. In this sense, the Metropolitan Region of São Paulo, and particularly the city of São Paulo, reinforcing an incipient prior tendency of “loss” of population, had turned now into a “passage-point” to a significant part of the migrant population.

This population deconcentration process of the Metropolitan Area of São Paulo is, in part, related to the economic crisis in the 80’s and to the economic recession in the 90’s. We can say that until the 80’s, the process of deconcentration of the industry of São Paulo in direction to other States and to the Inner cities of São Paulo¹⁶ was followed from important migratory flows in the same direction. Although with temporal difference, because the economic deconcentration was stronger in the 70’s. From the 90s, the process of productive restructuring has changed the characteristics of the Brazilian industry. This fact has restarted the higher relative participation of the State of São Paulo in the distribution of the national transformation industry. Therefore, due to this enormous alteration in the “spatial dimension of the Brazilian development”, the State of São Paulo had diversified and modernised its transformation industry, keeping the position of dynamic centre of the Country¹⁷. In this economic phase, in the meantime, the migratory flows to the State have been reduced, becoming more and more complex the relation between economic dynamic areas and the absorption capacity of migrant population.

Actually, the “post-modern condition” (Harvey, 1992) that seeks the Metropolis of São Paulo will tend to generate, more and more, and enormous population overflow without a loss of economic dynamism of the region. The re-definition of its role in the national scenario and the competitiveness between metropolis in the globalized world will re-affirm this area as a decision centre of the Country, especially in financial terms¹⁸, turning into only circulation area to the migrant population.

The changes in the industrial paradigm¹⁹ that express in the crescent diminution of the absorption of labour force already reveal the change of the explanation axis of migration by way of industrialisation. In the 70’s, particularly, the migratory destinations showed close relation with the industrial dynamism (including the agro-industrial) of the regions of the Inner cities of São Paulo²⁰; the empirical evidences point to, now, the necessity of changes in the approaches about the migration, in particular in São Paulo’s case.

This productive restructuring also implies in the competitiveness between the urban spaces to its insertion in this global dynamic. In this effort, Harvey (1992:267) emphasises that “the active production of places with special qualities has become an

¹⁶ See about Pacheco (1998), Diniz (1993), Negri and Pacheco (1993).

¹⁷ See the reports of the Project: **Technological Development and Competitiveness of the Brazilian Industry**. SCTDE/FECAMP/IE-UNICAMP, Campinas, 1993.

¹⁸ The recent bibliography about the process of economic restructuring shows the importance of some places (the global cities) in the international finance scenario. See Sassen (1998), Harvey (1992), Castells (1999), among others.

¹⁹ See, for instance, Benko and Lipietz (1994).

²⁰ Some studies, analysing mainly the industrial deconcentration to the Inner, affirmed that it was the first case of reversion of the polarisation in Brazil (Redwood III, 1984), process that also inserts the migration/industrialisation relation.

asset in the spatial competition between the places, cities, regions and nation. (...) Creating an atmosphere of place and tradition that acts as an appeal to the capital and to the people of the ‘right Kind’ (that is, wealthy and influents)”.

In this new phase of economic development, the most dynamic regions are “open” and absorb the qualified migrants; those are the minority. The different and distinct modalities of migratory movements, involving mainly the urban areas, breaks up with the explanation paradigm of out-migration as one of the negative social effects resulting of less economic growth and, above all, of the lack of strong industrial activities. In the relation migration/economic dynamic, the most prosperous cities (in terms of insertion in the regional, national and international market) tend to register the biggest volumes of out-migrants, either in the Metropolitan Region of São Paulo, or the Inner part of the State. Therefore, the “push factors”, to the low-income migrants, would be in more dynamic areas and the ones of “pull” in the less dynamic areas. This interpretation only makes sense, however, considering the spatial dimension as constitutive element of the own migration process; the intrametropolitan, intra-regional and of the metropolis migrations to the Inner cities gives an example of this formulation.

In the 80’s, the Metropolitan Region of São Paulo registered 2,636,762 migrants, which whom 48.5% had origin in other States; to the intra-State corresponded to more than the half of the migratory movement, where the intrametropolitan responded for 25% and the one with the Inner cities of São Paulo 16.4%. The city of São Paulo owes to the migration coming from other States the biggest part of its in-migratory movement (76.4% of the total), reaffirming its role of “entrance-door” of the interstate migration in the Metropolitan Area.

During the 70’s the migratory process in the State had assumed characteristics a lot peculiar. Which reflected the lower volume of migrants of the Inner cities to the Metropolitan Region of São Paulo in the 80’s. From a flow of 576 thousand people come from the Inner cities to the Metropolis of São Paulo, in the 1970-1980 period, decreased to 398 thousand, in the 1981-1991 period, decreasing the arrival of migrants in 177 thousand people, from one to the other decade.

Along with this reduction in the Inner cities in-migration in the 80’s, the strongest phenomenon of the process of urbanisation and spatial redistribution of the population was showed by the metropolitan reversion in the context of the own State. The population losses of the Metropolitan Region of São Paulo to the regions in the Inner cities reached 289,366 people.

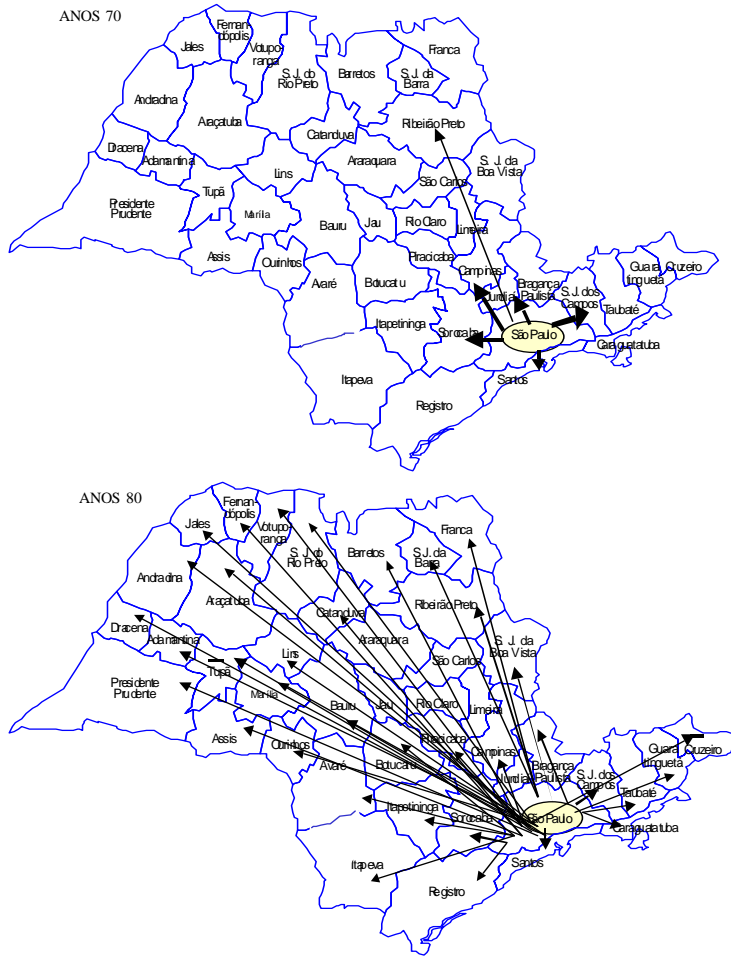
In the 70’s, in the migratory changes established with the other regions of the State, the Metropolitan Region of São Paulo registered negative balances. This fact occurred mainly with regions of its Metropolitan frontier, especially to Campinas, Santos, Sorocaba and São José dos Campos. Those areas canalised almost the half of these Metropolitan out-migrants. See that, already in this period, this process of population deconcentration gave clues of achieve far away regions to the Metropolitan Region of São Paulo, with the Government Region of Ribeirão Preto expressing metropolitan population gains. This tendency of the Metropolis-Inner flow was consolidated in the next decade with the Metropolitan Region of São Paulo loosing population to all of the regions of the States (Map 1).

The 80s showed, thus, a regional expansion *out* of the metropolitan frontier. The **expansion of the spaces of migration** doesn’t translate a version with more amplitude of the Metropolitan Region of São Paulo; the far away migratory destinations reveal new spatial patterns that are reflexes of the urbanisation process and reflect in the process of

distribution of the population. The *deconcentrated metropolis* shows the effects of the generalisation of its own urbanisation process all over the State of São Paulo, propitiating access to goods and services next to the big urban centres, even in different degrees. In this seek for the Inner, to beyond the economic considerations, already seems to be a lot present the preference for a lifestyle. About 85% of the household heads of the Metropolitan Region of São Paulo expressed their preference for living in medium cities, in the regional survey (PRAD/FAPESP/UNICAMP, 1993).

In this flow from the Metropolitan Region of São Paulo to the Inner, 67,022 people were returning to their city of birth; representing only 9.3% of the out-migration to the Inner. The exodus of population from the Metropolitan Region of São Paulo to the Inner didn't configure, thus, in the concentration of a return movement; it was about a migratory movement predominantly of non-natural people of the cities where they settle down, pointing the metropolitan character of this out-migration.

Map 1
Migratory Exchanges



Fonte: FIBGE, Censo Demográfico de 1980 e 1991, Tabulações Especiais, NEPO/UNICAMP.

Another characteristic present in the Metropolis-Inner flow refers to the fact that this flow being composed in its majority by a population with city of birth in the own State of São Paulo, suggesting, thus, an exodus of the São Paulo's population seeking Inner areas. From migrants who declared as the prior place of residence the Metropolitan Region of São Paulo, 73,7% were born in this State. This way, the metropolis didn't configure as a migratory phase to the Inner cities of the State of São Paulo. The people from São Paulo composed the higher volume of migration to the Inner regions. Discarding the hypothesis of a "transfer" of interstate migrant population from the Metropolitan Region to the Inner.

It's evident, thus, a phenomenon marked by the deconcentration of population and not by an overflowing of interstate migrants of the Metropolitan Region of São Paulo. This deconcentration of the metropolitan populations has, in fact, in its Nucleus the main origin of the exodus of the migration towards the Inner. The flow of São Paulo city's population, who exit from the Capital and headed to the Inner, corresponded to 78.3% of the total; it's

the metropolitan centre that deconcentrate either the migratory flows with other States, as already analysed, or in ambit of its own State and its region.

This migration from the Metropolitan Region of São Paulo to the Inner presents characteristics a lot peculiar, compounding a more qualified migratory flow, comparing to the interstates. It was amazing, for instance, checking that, in this process of population movement from the metropolis to the Inner, we could verify more than 40 thousand metropolitan migrants that left the urban and headed to “rural” areas of the Inner part of São Paulo. Reinforce still that in this flow 6.0% of the population had superior education, indicating a specific social and economic composition at this movement. We must mention that it’s not about a “return to the rural area”, but it’s about areas of urban expansion, where frequently are located in closed condominiums for medium-class and high-class population. By the way, the structure of education of the migrants of the Metropolitan Region of São Paulo to the Inner is marked by this specificity; especially the return migrants with movement like urban-urban, where we could find 15.6% of this population with superior instruction.

So, the migratory movements of less educational level, even though predominant, sum up with those with the presence of the migrants with high level of education, melting distinct social groups in the migration to the Inner.

In this new Inner context, the until then “national metropolis of industry” (Metropolitan Region of São Paulo) has redefining its functions improving, diversifying its service production²¹, being closer to the configuring of an international metropolis, or, very pretentiously, of the so-called global cities (Sassen, 1988). On the other hand, in terms of migratory movements, the Metropolitan Region of São Paulo has indicated some specificity present and characteristics of the global cities of the developed world, like: the crescent flow of international migrants characterised by the undocumented condition. In Brazilian’s case the recent international movements are, mainly, of the Korean, Bolivian and Colombian linked to the modern textile industry (Patarra, 1996).

This way, we have to say that at the same time that the Metropolitan Region of São Paulo intensified its out-migratory movements towards the Inner and other States, probably, will stop being considered the most important pole absorber of the national migration. Although it can continue being a great pull pole, but not of retention of the migration, resulting in the circulation of population.

3. Migration and Urbanisation: the configuration of new spatialities

The trajectory of the urbanisation in São Paulo State is based in the economic and urban inheritance left by the coffee complex, which has contributed decisively to the set up of the basic structure of the urban network in this State. In its expansion to the west, the coffee economy structured urban centres linked by the railway, being this articulation, afterwards, reinforced by the road network. The development of the means of transportation was the main conductor of the occupation in the Inner. The 50’s already saw a transformation of big regional centres and the configuration of the Metropolitan Region of São Paulo.

The changes occurred in the productive structure of the State, from 1960 on, influenced, in one point of view, in the subordination of the agriculture to the industry. Inserting in the agricultural world new technologies and modernisation in the pattern of

²¹ See Araújo e Pacheco (1992), among others.

production .On the other hand, there was a development more accentuated in the secondary sector. This process generated the expansion of the tertiary sector of the economy, as much it's agricultural modernisation as by the industrial expansion.

In the 70's, the movement of industrial deconcentration and the consequent development of the Inner occurred in more dynamic areas. It is due to the following factors: implementation of oil refineries in the region of Campinas and São Jose dos Campos .The consolidation of the main petrochemical pole of the Country in the coastline region. There was the implementation of PROALCOOL, with the biggest reflexes in the region of Campinas and Ribeirão Preto. Implementation of institutes of research and the big facilities in the electronic, information technology and telecommunication sectors in the region of Campinas. Implantation of the air force and military complex in the Vale do Paraíba (Cano, 1988). The industrial implant in the Inner facilitates to the set of cities of medium size of the State a place of prominence in the national scenario of the industrialisation process.

The investments in roads of transportation and communications, with the improvement, extension and duplication of the main highways, permitted an increasing of the circulation of merchandises and population in the axes of development of the State.

The interest by the flourish of some regions in the Inner conducted, already in the late 60's, to the elaboration by the State governments, from many politics of industrial deconcentration²², with the concern in develop exterior regions to the Metropolitan Region of São Paulo. Although the politics adopted weren't directed explicitly to a migratory politic, the governmental acting contributed to the directing of the migratory flows.

In this context, considering the tendencies and specificities assumed by the urbanisation processes, of redistribution of the population and of economic activities in the State of São Paulo, in the last two decades, the question of the regional context started to be more evident. It is due to the presence of distinct regional economies, bringing up question related to the reversion of the polarisation and, at the same time, those that referred to the configuration of regional poles outside the metropolitan frontiers.

The current restructuring process, from the 90's on, has been forming a **new territoriality**, where is prominent the constitution of inter and intra-regional poles and the redefinition of the roles of the metropolitan areas. In the case of São Paulo, the emergent territorial impacts give new characteristics to the urbanisation process, to the migratory movements, to the spatial reorganisation of the population, as well as define new attributions to the big metropolitan concentrations and the regional poles (Baeninger, 1992; Panizzi, 1995).

The main Inner regions that received the migratory flows with its origin in the Metropolitan Region of São Paulo also were prominent by the absorption of the migratory flows coming from near or neighbourhood regions. Configuring the formation of regional poles characterised due to its concentrator role of population flows and its economic activities, they appear as regional poles the government regions of São Jose dos Campos, Sorocaba, Campinas, Ribeirão Preto, Bauru, São Jose do Rio Preto and Araçatuba.

The pattern of urbanisation processed in the late 50 years, marked by a fast, ample and concentrated growth of the population, contributed to the metropolitan concentration. At the same time, to the expansion of the urban network with the growth of the big centres and regional subcenters, besides of the urban growth of the population in a big number of cities of different sizes (Faria, 1983). In this sense, the new ways of urban space structure,

²² For a complete synthesis of the politics of industrial deconcentration in the State, see the important study of Negri (1996).

characterised by the crescent process of territorial conurbation, made it easy the emergency of important metropolitan areas in the Inner- like Campinas and Santos. Those areas were marked by a historic trajectory of strong urbanisation and economic and population concentration. There is also the formation of urban nonmetropolitan agglomerations.

The population concentration in bigger and bigger cities of Brazil, until the 70's, led the specialists to build a national urban scenario thinking about a concentrator process. In the case of the State of São Paulo, however, the role of the small urban agglomerates (cities with less than 20 thousand inhabitants), of the cities of intermediary size and medium size, already shows a new urban-regional dynamic.

In this context, the population growing rates of the regions more prosperous of the Inner started to register superior values than those verified to the Metropolitan Region of São Paulo, even in the 70's.

From the population point of view, the regional context reflected, in great measure, the industrial or agro-industrial dynamism of the regions and their capacity of absorption of expressive interstate and intra-State migratory population. I mean, the economic dynamic of the areas facilitated the concentration of migratory flows in the regions²³ that were benefited with the process of transfer of the industry to Inner.

The two subsequent decades to the 70 didn't register the same strength of the deconcentrated industrialisation like it was in that period. Even though, "the first five years of the 80's mark a big advance in the process of the industry to Inner in the State of São Paulo" (Negri, 1996:216). This process of industrial deconcentration lost its dynamism from 1985 until the early 90's. It is due to the "loss of dynamism of the cycles of investments in the 70's, which made the economy of the Inner part of São Paulo tend to present a behaviour similar to the metropolis"(Cano et al, 1994:5). Despite the continuity of the transfer industrial to the Inner, this one was processed in a less intense rhythm, because of the loss of dynamism of the industry as a whole (Pacheco, 1998).

The new spatial dimensions of the industry in São Paulo, that signalised characteristics of the current process of economic restructuring in international level²⁴, will keep on finding in Inner part of São Paulo appropriate spaces to the development of this phase of capitalism. That recent context of the Inner part of São Paulo, along with the effects of that crisis and the process of restructuring of the economic activities in the Metropolitan Region of São Paulo marked the internal dynamics of the State. This is bringing new characteristics to the process of urbanisation and spatial distribution of the population.

Actually, the formation in the 70's of the new pattern of urbanisation in the State, that would consolidate in the next decade, ensured to the distinct urban-regional dynamics, along the 80's and the 90's, relevant role in the process of spatial redistribution of the population. In this sense, the current process of urbanisation shows through the **conformation of regional spaces marked by the sprawl of metropolitan characteristics**. In order to understand this phenomenon it is indispensable rethink the space while articulator of the place, of the local and the global, as well as consider the recent processes of metropolitan population deconcentration, of polarisation and the intra-regional mobility of the population.

In this scenario of crescent dynamism, the migration assumed great importance, reflecting its own different location of the economic, of jobs and income activities. The

²³ The regions of the Inner here analysed refer to the 42 regions of government.

²⁴ This tendency is marked by the geographic dispersion of the industrial production; see Harvey(1992); Sassen (1988); Benko (1996), among others

changes in the agricultural sector, with the intensification of the agro-industrial complexes, and the process of the transfer industry generated a new Inner. That was able to pass from a negative migratory balance in the 60's, of 454,433 people, to a population gain of 787,416 people, in the 1970-1980 period, reaching more than 1 million people between 1980-2000 (SEADE Foundation, 1993).

In the 80's and 90's, internally to the State of São Paulo, the demographic growth more significant still was represented by the urban agglomerates near the Capital or by the medium-sized cities of the urban network of its hinterland. The small localities of the State, linked to rural activities and which presented absolute reduction in their populations, had from the 80's on a higher growth than prior periods, attenuating the demographic pressure on the more urbanised areas. The internal alterations to the State of São Paulo seems to indicate, this way, a bigger retention of population in the Inner regions. Specially the small cities have been making prominent the role more significant of the urban agglomerates located outside the metropolitan area, as absorbers of migrants come from rural zones – role designated before to the metropolitan concentrations – and of urban areas, including the migrants that came from the metropolis itself.

This process of reorganisation of the population of São Paulo presents regional specificity, but shows new tendencies of the urbanisation process. The population recuperation and inversion in the tendency of the small municipalities (Table 4) present the first, and also the significant one. The population growth rate, to the class of less than 5 thousand inhabitants, registered an expressive growth, reaching 3.5 % per year, in 1991-1996 period, when still was negative (1.5% per year.) in the 80's²⁵. This category of municipalities was the one that bigger growth rhythm presented. Overcoming the growth rates of the localities with more than 100 thousand inhabitants (2.8% per year, between 1991-1996) and even the metropolitans (Metropolitan Region of São Paulo, 1.5% per year; Metropolitan Region of Campinas, 2.4% per year and Metropolitan Region of Baixada Santista, 1.4% per year).

Table 4
Evolution of the Population according to Classes and Sizes of the Municipalities
State of São Paulo
1980-1996

Classes of Size (Inhabitants)	1980(*)		1991		1996		Growth Rates (% per year.)	
	Municipalities Numbers	Population	Municipalities Number	Population	Municipalities Number	Population	1980-1991	1991-1996
	< 5,000	152	527,434	132	447,470	164	530,847	-1.48
5,000 to 10,000	119	836,603	111	766,697	117	826,384	-0.79	1.51
10,000 to 20,000	113	1,567,897	118	1,664,811	112	1,553,562	0.55	-1.37
20,000 to 50,000	81	2,505,173	88	2,812,850	99	2,986,671	1.06	1.21
50,000 to 100,000	25	1,590,345	35	2,532,673	38	2,696,639	4.32	1.26
More than 100,000	17	3,054,650	22	4,662,681	25	5,359,340	3.92	2.82
MR of São Paulo	39	12,591,436	39	15,470,500	39	16,576,426	1.89	1.39
MR of Baixada Santista	8	961,243	9	1,220,249	9	1,309,263	2.19	1.42
MR of Campinas	18	1,407,297	18	2,010,994	22	2,281,754	3.30	2.56
Total	572	25,042,078	572	31,588,925	625	34,120,886	2.13	1.55

Note: (*) the territorial base was compatible with the one of 1991.

Source: FIBGE, Demographic Censuses of 1980,1991 and Population Count of 1996. *Apud* NESUR-IE/UNICAMP, 1998.

²⁵. We must consider that the increasing of cities in this category (32 localities from 1991 to 1996) contributed to rise the volume of population in this range of size.

In the subsequent category (5 thousand to 10 thousand inhabitants) also had an important population growth, passing from -0.8% per year, in 1980-1991 period, to 1.5% per year, between 1991-1996. Yet the 10 thousand to 20 thousand category presented an oscillation, registering a negative rate in the last period (1.4% per year). It's still prominent that the expressive reduction in the growing rhythm of the municipalities between 50 thousand to 100 thousand inhabitants (from 4.0% per year, in the 80's, to 1.3% per year, in the 1991-1996 period). And in the class of more than 100 thousand inhabitants (from 4.0% per year to 2.8% per year, respectively), besides the reductions in the growing rates of the three metropolitan areas of the State.

Utilising the morphology and hierarchy of the urban network (IPEA/IBGE/NESUR-UNICAMP) of the State of São Paulo in 2000 we apprehend that: 1) the metropolis involved 67 municipalities of the State, corresponding to about 22 millions of inhabitants. 2) The urban agglomerates, totals 48 municipalities and 3,8 million people. 3) The urban centres added 9 localities and concentrate 1.8 million of inhabitants. Along with those spatialities, another 521 municipalities, that are more than 8 million people, composed the urban network of São Paulo, integrating the dynamism of the other regions of the State (Table 5).

Table 5
Population as per Urban Region Network
State of São Paulo
2000

Urban Region	Number of Municipalities	Total Population 2000	Relative Distribution (%)	Annual Growth Rate 1996-2000 (%)	Urbanisation Grade (%)
<10thds inhabitants in 2000	291	1,374,458	3,72	1.34	74.99
10-20 thuds	105	1,469,440	3.98	1.48	78.41
20-50 thuds	91	2,760,919	7.47	1.73	86.91
50-100 thuds	31	2,120,884	5.74	2.05	89.45
100-300 thuds	3	340,121	0.92	2.48	90.35
Sub-total	521	8,065,822	21.82	1.73	84.14
Metropolis (SP, CPS, BS)	67	21,641,198	58.4	2.01	96.15
Nucleus	3	11,791,864	31.90	1.39	94.58
Periphery	64	9,849,334	26.64	2.78	98.03
nonmetropolitan agglomeration	48	3,806,402	10.30	2.37	94.94
Urban Centers	9	1,768,358	4.78	2.01	96.65
State of São Paulo	645	36,966,527	100.00	2.02	93.41

Source: IBGE Foundation, Preliminaries results of Demographic Census of 2000.

Notice that even adopting another re-cut to the urban network in São Paulo (not being the region of government) it is possible apprehend the positive growing rates of the cities sit outside of the big urban concentrations. To those nonmetropolitan municipalities we can observe a gradual growing rhythm of their populations that go from a ground of 1.3% per year to the cities with less than 10 thousand inhabitants, in the 1996-2000 period.

And, with slightly elevations in these growing rates in the classes of the subsequent sizes, reach 2.5% per year in the category 100 thousand-300 thousand inhabitants. The same tendency can be verified about the urbanisation degree, from 75% to 90.3%, in the respective category of sizes of municipalities. So, only the municipalities with less than 20 thousand inhabitants not belonging to the metropolitan areas and urban agglomerations grew, in the last five years, at a rate lower than the State average: 1.6% per year against 2.0% per year. Those localities had, even though, an expressive demographic recuperation.

Adopting again the region of govern, it is possible apprehend another specificity of the current urbanisation process in São Paulo, that is: the lower population growth of the nucleus and the higher growth in its periphery areas, where exactly predominate the small municipalities.

The regional nucleus of the Inner and their peripheral areas raised to very closed rates: 1.6% per year and 1.7% per year respectively, in 1991-1996 period. Distinct situation from prior decades, when, for instance in the 70's, the nucleus grew at a 3.0% per year and their peripheries 2.1% per year. The growth of those regional peripheries implies a concentration of the urban network all over the State, whose effects can be verified in the reversion of the tendency of the small cities, before unable to retain their population. In this new regional reality, the characterisation of the State urban network cannot aggregate the cities in terms of size, far from their regional context.

As a matter of fact, the complex set of economic-spatial changes experienced by the Inner part of São Paulo has contributed to the strength of the distinct regional economies. From one side, it has been occurring the population dispersion in the State. On the other hand, it has occurred a rearrange of the ways of spatial distribution of the population in the ambit of each region. In this context, are incorporated to the urban system, which expands, small cities and those of intermediary sizes; at the same time, the medium-sized and the big-sized cities have been presenting a decreasing in their rhythm of population growth. The historic urban network of the Inner was redraw in multiple ways.

We can say that the 80's and the 90's were marked by the dispersion of the migration in the Inner part of São Paulo, dispersion associated to recent process of urbanisation and the spatial redistribution of the population, with the consolidation and emergency of the regional poles. In reality, the expansion area of urban influence of specific pole, allowed migratory movements more related to the dynamism of the regions, prevailing, probably, the intra-regional and inter-regional movements nearby, i.e., short distance movements, directing the diversification of population moves.

This way, the migratory movements of the 70s were much more concentrated and related to the deconcentration dynamic. This dynamic was based on the development, expansion and transfer of the industry - a new spatial configuration of the migration and urbanisation point now to new inter-relations between the urban systems, the urban hierarchy, the pool of cities, the cities themselves and their periphery and the social phenomena.

In this context, the understanding of the new spatial formats of redistribution of the population is associated to the inter-regional growth. As territorial dimension of the urbanisation process, as well as to the regional intra-urban - as local expression of social process, where similar metropolitan phenomena are occurring, although, in another space, another time and another scale. These phenomena are already more visible, particularly in the regional poles and its respective areas of influence, indicating a **dispersion of the polarisation sprawl** of the urbanisation process and the population redistribution.

This new way of urbanisation brings new styles to the dynamic of the cities, since such integration depends much more from the demands coming from specialities urban-regional than of its population size. So, in the new format of polarised urbanisation, the big city or the main city must be understood taking into account the links established with the cities in the periphery. Reaching sometimes other regions, that became regional spaces, since the urban complex overflow the cities, connecting themselves of an integral manner. Inside this new regional configuration, the mobility intra-urban appears as one of the main elements of formation and consolidation of such urban spaces.

4 – Regional Dynamic and Migratory Attraction

The power of the regional poles in the Inner context, from the point of view of the migratory dynamic, is sustained by three basics flows. The first one refers to the ones originally from the Metropolitan Region of São Paulo, that promoted, and in the 90s, the expansion of the migratory spaces of the State. Secondly, the migratory chain among the govern regions. The third flows are those that has being occurred in the intra-regional context. This last has been diversified more and more, and they contribute to the urban expansion of the area of influence in the region.

The new levels reached by the urbanisation process in those areas, with the diversification of activities and urban consume, contributed to the continuity of the dynamism of such regions (Ebanks, 1994).

The characterisation of these regional poles according to the situation of the nucleus as for the internal processes of spatial redistribution of the population allows us understand better the role that they have in the urbanisation process and the process of deconcentration of the population in São Paulo. Therefore, besides the inter-regional migratory movements, the intense **intra-regional mobility** also constitutes one of the specificities of the process of reorganisation of the population in the urban–regional space. With the presence of regional subcenters, indicating, thus, a differentiation more and more complex of the urban space **inside** their own regions. It's from those subcentres that has been forming new spatiality in the morphology of the urban network in São Paulo, particularly the nonmetropolitan urban agglomerations, spaces where the urbanisation and the migration contribute to new socio-spatial formations.

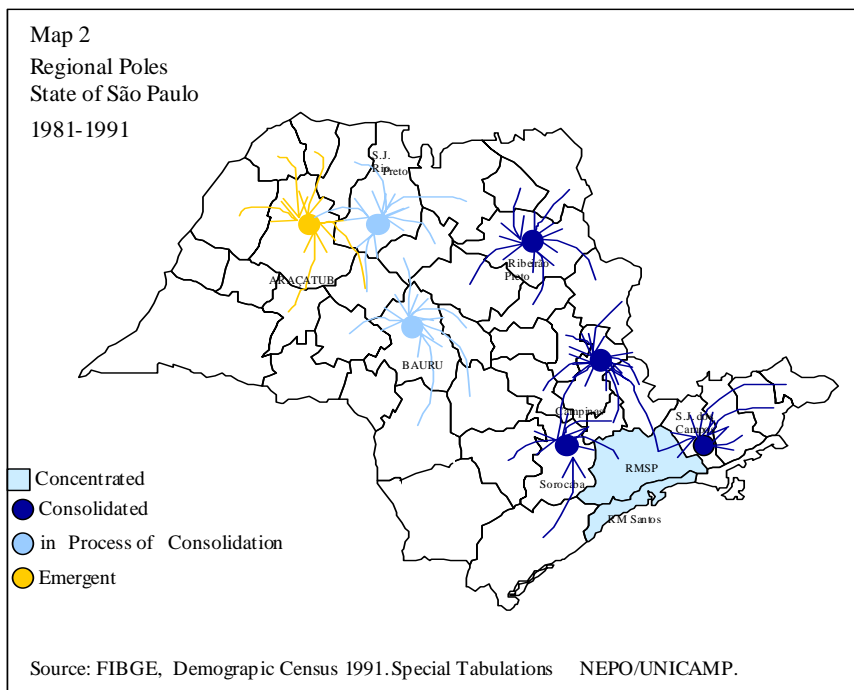
The regional poles, in the Inner of São Paulo State, can be classified according to the processes of internal redistribution of their populations in the following way²⁶: concentrated regional pole, consolidated regional pole, regional poles in process of consolidation and emergent regional pole (Map 2).

This way, those regional agglomerations perform a fundamental role in the spatial redistribution of the population. Lending new characteristics to the urbanisation process, with the population recuperation and inversion in the tendency of the small cities and with the decreasing in the growing rhythm of the medium-sized and the big-sized cities. We can say that the recent migratory configuration resulting in the space already is, once, much more the effect of an internal redistribution of the population than the absorption of new interstate migratory population, as occurred in the 70's (Map 3).

It's important to still point out that the geographic localisation of the agglomeration cited above has been forming urban expansion axes in the Inner. Making evident the consolidation of urban-regional spaces, which was extremely favoured by the improvement

²⁶ See Baeninger (1999).

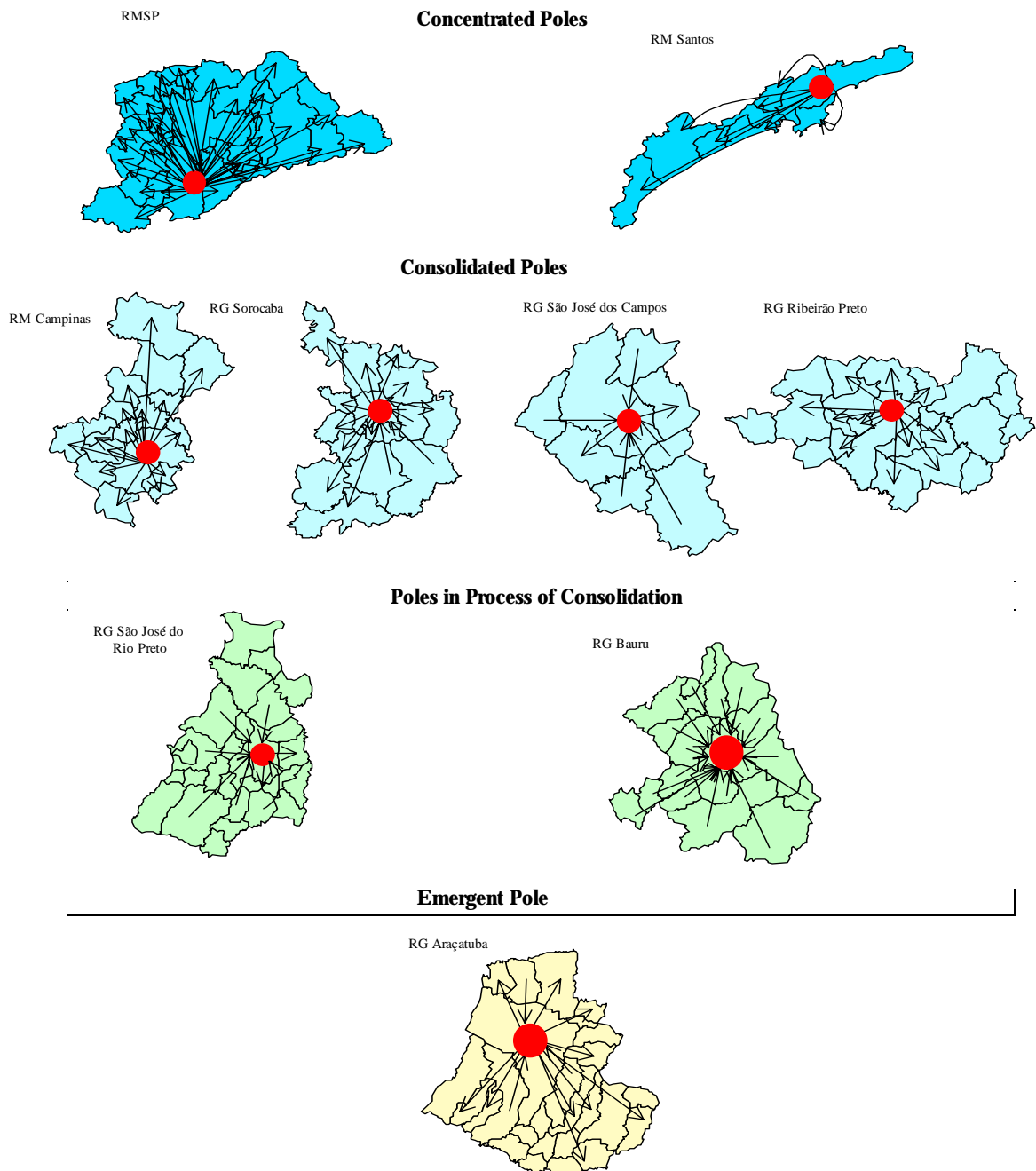
of the road network and the telecommunications. The regional poles of Campinas, Ribeirão Preto, São José do Rio Preto, along with their respective agglomeration areas, constitute consolidated axis, concentrating 38% of the population of the Inner part of the State. In those regions, it's expressive the agricultural production linked to a modern agro-industry that produces sugar and alcohol, meat, orange juice and soy. Besides that, especially in Campinas high technology industries are located connected to top-notch national industry, like petrochemical, telecommunications, paper etc.



Throughout the 80's, an emergent axis came to add to this consolidated axis, that includes basically the recent poles (Bauru, Araçatuba and Presidente Prudente) along with Sorocaba. This axis, actually, is constituted by the set of cities located in the influence area of the Tietê-Paraná Canal. Having as a starting point the region of Campinas and going towards the west of the State; 35% of the Inner cities compose this vector, concentrating almost 6 million inhabitants (37% of the Inner population). So that, the extension of this Canal, which role is to promote the connection with the membership-countries of MERCOSUR, represents an important energiser impulse. Especially to the small cities (with less than 20 thousand inhabitants), that corresponds to 72% of the total of the locations sit in the influence area of the Hidrovia in the State of São Paulo.

Map 3

Intra-Regional Migratory Moviments : Regional Poles, 1981-1991



Source: FIBGE, Demographic Census 1991;
NEPO/UNICAMP.

This way, the consolidation of poles and the configurations of expansion economic-population axis contributed to the growth of the small cities in counterpart to the big agglomerations. The articulations of the local level with the regional and metropolitan are factors that implies the comprehension of the regional phenomena and their rearranges to the definition of their own and current characteristics. Emerge, in this process, the competitiveness among the urban spaces searching for lures for new investments and specialised labour force, characterising an Inner marked by ruptures with the prior pattern. The correlation with kinds of polarisation or of hierarchy of urban centres assumes new characteristics. The traditional urban poles start to divide their hegemony with old areas of influence compounding a set of agglomerations; the polarised areas enlarge and get more complex. There is an articulation among areas that seek access to technological innovations, consolidating an exchange network and establishing a regional competitiveness pattern in scales that range since local activities until those of metropolitan ambit.

The scenario of the spatial mobility of the population has been presenting a variety of modalities. With implications more determined in the configuration of the spaces and in the structuring of the cities and their networks, where the conformation of urban-regional spaces offers a new approach to the understanding of the process of spatial distribution of the population.

In this sense that we question the capacity of the analyses anchored only in the economic factors retain all the explanations of the migratory phenomenon. The classic factors of population pull-push inside an urban-regional context, as well as the definition of origin and destination of determined flow, don't have the same meaning that those terms represented. It was a matter of analyses the big rural-urban movements that marked the growth and the concentration of the population in metropolitan areas. Other dimensions started to compound the explanations of the phenomenon, which can be better comprehended and apprehended considering the new ways of configuration of the space.

The politic dimension had constituted important element in the formation of selected urban spaces, particularly those of deconcentration of the economic activities, contributing to the directing of the migratory flows in this direction.

The strengthen of regional economies has been pushing movements of intra-regional²⁷ population, those seems not connected to interpretations like pull-push, but yet the variety of determinations of the social life- among them the economic, although not the only- that are inserted in the decision for a migration. The choosing process, at individual level, started to have a relevant role. When the multiple forms of interaction of regional spaces has pointed out new modalities of populations movements. Where, for instance, the change of job doesn't imply necessarily a change of residence, and vice-versa. Thus, the relation migration-job, sometimes simple, has presenting crescent complexity.

This way, we can say that, from the 80's on, the migratory movements changed direction, composition and way. From big movements of long distance, particularly the interstate rural-urban movements that prevailed until the 70's, changed to the urban-urban movements more restricts to the inter and intra-regional dynamics. From a migration

²⁷ Refer to the movements in the ambit of the own regions of government.

predominantly of the poverty, today the migratory flows involve also the middle-class. In this context, the spatial dimension started to represent another meaning to the population movements, emerging new configurations of the migratory phenomenon, exceeding even the traditional definition of migration (Villa e Rodriguez, 1994).

The transformations that verified in the more dynamic urban areas of the State of São Paulo have been configuring a **polarised urban network**. Throughout the 80's, despite of the crisis that came all over the national territory, the dynamic of São Paulo gained contours more and more clear, with the strengthen of regional centres and subcentres, where were created conditions of absorption of work force, retaining a population that potentially would migrate. In the apparent picture of homogenisation spatial, the local specificities allowed the adequate responses to the moments of the crisis point the ways to the construction of distinct economies and regional dynamics.

In a population dispersion context predominate the intra-urban movements and, at the same time, a regional concentration. In this ambit, the commuter movements (daily movement between the city of housing and the city of working) of the population has been constituted as a kind of intra-regional mobility.

5. Spatial Deconcentration: reversion, inversion or new polarisation?

The strong changes in the patterns of population redistribution and of the economic activities has been resulting in complex processes of spatial deconcentration, also denominated as reversion of the polarisation (Richardson, 1980), facilitating the localisation of industrial activities and of people to beyond the metropolitan areas. In fact, in the case of São Paulo, the reduction of economic opportunities and, at the same time, the governmental politics inductors of deconcentration towards the Inner reflected in the low rate of demographic growth verified to the more important metropolis of the Country.

The discussion about the reverse polarisation, however emphasises the deconcentration of the population and economic activities, in reality seems to be directed to the economic factors and stuck to the idea of the migration-job relation. Redwood (1984:35) says “the reversion of the polarisation implies in the redistribution of the population in the interior of the national urban hierarchy. It's, once, strictly associated with the spatial distribution of the economic activities through the time, particularly in the context of a country in development where the people tend to follow their job”.

In fact, that seems to be the predominant tendency in a first moment of the implantation of the economic deconcentration process (Diniz, 1993). We can say that the 70's were marked by a reversion of the industrial polarisation that was accompanied by an incipient process of population deconcentration; the example of São Paulo is enough clear in this sense, when the beginning of the process of industrialisation of the Inner, in the 70's, that promoted significant metropolitan migratory flows to the Inner.

The impacts of this process and the socio-spatial development that followed involved different phases and ways. This ways has conducted to the agglomeration and to the dispersion. Involving areas and disseminating a new urban to the territory of São Paulo. This fact has indicated a possible inversion of the polarisation or a tendency to the re-concentration of the industry of the modern production of services and high technology (Diniz, 1993; Cano, 1995). São Paulo wouldn't receive again bunches of migrants towards those poles. Because the jobs of low qualification will be a lot reduced.

The dispersion of the populations, of the migration, of the economic activities means today, a new polarised context. So, in order to understand how the consolidation and the emergency of the regional agglomerations in the 80's and the 90's took place, possibly the dynamic force of the process of industrialisation of the Inner is not that clear, like in the 70's. Even the recurrence of this process creates communication mechanisms and homogenisation of some ways of life, that make the relation more complex, sometimes direct, between industrial concentration and migratory movements, allowing that other dimensions have importance in the decision of migrate.

In this way, the regional context reflecting the urban inter-relations and the social processes, start to have a relevant role in this decision, sometimes affecting the chains and the volume of internal migrants (Ebanks, 1993). Besides, the commuter movements of the population reinforce the urbanisation process, increasing the range of options in the preference structure between the living and the working sprawl in the Inner.

6. Final Considerations

The emergency of new ways of spatial structuring reassure tendencies, phases and complex economic-social processes verified, through the last thirty years, in the State of São Paulo, besides already announce the first impressions and impacts of the beginning of the process of productive restructuring of São Paulo. The conditions imposed today to the insertion of the urban spaces in the "third industrial revolution" find positive factors in this territory. The demands needed "will show, preferably, in a reduced number of urban areas more developed like, for instance, the areas near the Metropolitan Region of São Paulo, some points of the Inner (like the region of Campinas) and a few urban spaces from the rest of the Country" (Cano, 1995:129).

The processes of urbanisation and industrialisation in the State of São Paulo, along with the first steps of a process of productive restructuring, formed new contours to the distinct urban-regional economies. The configuration of those areas "outside" the metropolitan frontiers (cases of Ribeirão Preto, Bauru, São Jose do Rio Preto) seems that the big urban concentrations near the Metropolitan Region of São Paulo (as Campinas, São José dos Campos, Santos e Sorocaba) don't constitute the periphery of a megacity. The governmental politics and the internal forces of the regions determined, in grand part, the recent economic and population development of these agglomerations. I mean, the configuration of these spaces involved not only political forces but also economic ones.

It's prominent that, inside those regional poles that exist in the new transformation processes are occurring in the cities. This phenomenon reaches since the metropolis until far away regions. That concerns the expansion of the urban poverty, increasing of the violence, increasing of the informal activities, reinforcement of the socio-spatial fragmentation. So, from one point of view, this current urbanisation trend allows to "expand the frontiers of the population dispersion" (Gottdiener, 1993), on the other hand, it doesn't exempt the "California of São Paulo State" from the metropolitan dilemmas.

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