

Internal migration pattern at local level in Colombia: an approach from the 1993 and 2005 censuses

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Abstract

This study aims to add to the discussion about different hypotheses on migration levels and tendencies already proposed in the literature, as well as to the discussion about the nature of population exchanges in space (Zelinsky, 1971; Ravenstein, 1980; Singer, 1980, et al). The scope of this study is also to show that the dynamics of internal migration in a developing country, such as Colombia, although adopting major urbanization tendencies that can be identified in other Latin American countries, has particularities which define a distinctive pattern of migration in its territory. This pattern is characterized by structural aspects concerning its political and administrative order, by an internal heterogeneity regarding its development level, and by its degree of advancement in the process of demographic transition.

1. Introduction

Colombia appears as one of the countries in Latin America that began soon deconcentration of population in rural areas (Kalmanovitz & Lopez, 2006). This, in part, was favored by the accelerated population growth, which between 1950 and 1960 drew to an average annual growth rate of 4%, and also by structural conflicts of economic and political order that would undermine the displacement of millions of peasants favoring their concentration in urban areas. The urban growth rate for the same decades came to 6.5% annual.

The examination of the literature concerning social economic and political history of the country (Safford & Palacios, 2002; Bushnell, 2007; López, 2009), on the agrarian question (Fajardo, 2010; Kalmanovitz & Lopez, 2008) and in various stages migration to previous decades (Cardona, 1970; López, 1970; Martínez, 2006) provide elements to argue that the history of migration in the Colombian case are deeply related with armed conflict and crisis in rural areas and largely has been forcefully, even from the process of conquest and colonization, and after in the "era" of mass movements linked to the processes of industrialization in the 1950s and 1960s (Safford & Palacios, 2007).

The root of these problems is related to the unequal distribution of land, the ambiguous definition of property rights in rural areas and the inability of the state and the owners to secure these rights (Kalmanovits & Lopez, 2002; Fajardo, 2010). Problems prevailing even from the time of conquest and colonization, and that partly explains why now developing a

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new process of negotiation of peace between representatives of State and members of armed insurgency groups.

The analysis of the dynamics of internal migration, five years before census 1993 and 2005, correspond to two crucial stages in recent history for the country, also mediated by the conditions of armed conflict, and that possibly impacted the intensity, nature and paths of migration.

The objective of this work is to present the changes in the pattern of internal migration from Colombia to the late twentieth and early twenty-first century from the censuses of 1993 and 2005 and discuss some economic and social elements that the country experienced during the period. The study is based on the conceptual proposition of migratory pattern Brito (2010) referred to how they articulate the migratory trajectories and the economic and social dynamics in a particular historical context. The approach to the migration pattern was made from the application of direct migration techniques for the calculation of migration indicators, taking as a reference space unity the of micro region, known as a province in the Colombian case, and considering migration five years before the census of 1993 and 2005.

The work aims to contribute to the reflection on the different hypotheses which presents the literature on the level of migration trends and the nature of the population exchanges in space, particularly for developing countries in recent history, taking as reference the Colombian case. The figures show that in Colombia, the rural peasantry not only did not end, as declared Hobsbawm (2002) in his history of the twentieth century, and that the flow of rural origin not exhausted and would charge a new momentum, also in contrast, with the theoretical predictions about migration (Zelinsky, 1976; Arango, 2003). Although the size of internal migration decreased between the two periods, the results allow to overcome some ambiguity about the relationship between "attractive areas" and how they link with the economic and social changes. The areas attractive not only correspond to the areas consolidated urban as capital cities. Others places attractive are identified, areas recent colonization linked to ancient processes of exploitation of natural resources and new ways to farm, some in areas bordering neighboring countries.

The article is structured in four chapters. In the first part it presents a reflection on the theoretical explanations about the recent migration into countries in the developing world. Chapter two discusses the economic and political context of Colombia that underlies the migratory dynamics internal to the late twentieth and early twenty-first century. In chapter three present the results of applying the indicators of migration with the help of maps cartographic and a discussion about of Colombian migration pattern change. The fourth chapter presents as considerations concluding.

2. Theoretical considerations about internal migration in developing countries in the contemporary era

In the last quarter of the twentieth century and in this first decade of new century, one production of countless empirical and theoretical work has enriched the analysis and discussion of the different dimensions of migration. This, more than confirm its complexity, as manifested some theorists (Arango, 2003; Sánchez, 2010, Castles, 2008), brings new possibilities to study and clarify aspects of a phenomenon that is not limited, but acquires new expressions to be recognized.

In the relatively short historical period before which emerged the different theoretical approaches to migration, migration patterns changed (Lattes, 1983; Lucas, 1997; Rodríguez, 2009; Castles, 2008). Changed the causes, direction, intensity of flows, volume, type of actors and the nature of their movements, some forced, free, legal or illegal. This jointly expressed in differentiated consequences for both the places of origin and destination, according to the scale of the territories involved and the nature of its borders intranational or international.

The literature and empirical studies on migration prove both enlightening ideas about migration processes, as arguments questioning the validity, applicability and explanatory power of different theoretical postulates migration for the recent history (Castles & Delgado, 2007; Lucas, 1998). That confirms the complexity, diversity and multiple perspectives of the phenomenon (Brettel & Hollyfield, 2010; De Haas, 2008; Arango, 2000, 2003, Castles, 2007; Sánchez, 2010).

Since the early 1960s Lee (1966) was referring to restrictions of one explication teorical for to cover the different facets of the migratory phenomenon. In the 70s, for example, for Latin America, it was stressed to explain the causes of migration (Lerner, 1971; Muñoz & Oliveira, 1971) locating the answers in dependency theory, principally (Singer, 1976). But, the idea conclusive is that a single model is insufficient to incorporate the various dimensions, scales and relations of migration and this leads to need to appeal to different conceptual models.

Theoretical explanations of migration for the recent historical period, the late twentieth century and early twenty-first century, has focused substantially in addressing cross international borders (Arango, 2003; Castles, 2008; De Haas 2008; Massey, 2010) . At the literature examined can appreciate, however, an absence of discussion about the explanatory power of theories, or their approaches, to the contemporary dynamics of internal migration, beyond that which prevails between consolidated urban areas. Problem that was indeed the center of the debate in the 60s and 70s during the great migration from rural areas to urban,

around which emerged the theoretical explanations of modernization, the theoretical approach of the model and the center - periphery and the model equilibrium general of the neoclassical school.

The current discussion, or covers the phenomenon of migration as a whole, or focuses on the issue of problems involving cross international borders, leaving orphan some movements migratory that not only happens between areas urban consolidated.

For nearly three decades, from the 1960s to 1980s, the theoretical explanation of internal migration from a macro perspective at developing countries, fluctuated between: modernization theory, the historical focus structural and the neoclassical theory.

The modernization theory established in the industrialization process the cause to migration flows from rural areas to the niches of industrialization in the cities (Germani, 1971). The historical structural approach explained at uneven relationships of economic dependence among countries called the center and called peripheral countries, the explanatory power of internal migration processes (Singer, 1976). Neoclassical theory explained at regional development disparities, the cause of massive movements of population rural - urban and predict the inevitable tendency towards equilibrium through migration (Todaro, 1976).

In the context of internal migration in recent history, the late twentieth century and early twenty-first century, the study has focused the analysis of migration to urban areas and its consequences in urban areas. The advances in the literature review show a theoretical vacuum about the particulars of internal migration, in the contemporary context, for movements migratory not exclusive of consolidated spaces as urban. This contrasts with a wide production theoretical motivated to explain the causes of international migration.

Internal migration can not be considered as a matter of the past, as some authors argue (Arango, 2003). The internal migration flows are intense and not only within urban areas. Persist flows from rural areas and into the countryside with serious implications for the development and quality of life of those who participate in these flows, and other actors, as evidenced by the census figures of the Colombian case.

3. The economic and political context of Colombia that underlies the migratory dynamics internal to fines twentieth century and early twenty-first century

The analysis of the dynamics of migration that allow census data for five-year intervals 1988 - 1993 and 2000 - 2005 corresponds to two phases of intense political and economic transformations in the country, but which were mediated by the conditions of armed conflict, which possibly affected the intensity, nature and paths of migration flows.

In the first period, as an alternative to strengthen the democratic foundations and lead the country to peace, was promulgated the 1991 Constitution, which governs until today and that would lead to fundamental transformations in civil and democratic rights. In the same period, precisely in 1997, was initiated a negotiation process peace, that not only finished it in frustration as also paradoxically strengthened the guerrillas. That unleashed a social and political deep crisis which added to the problems of struggle against drug trafficking between the state, the drug cartels AND FARC. In economic matters would begin a policy of economic opening, but that would lead the country to the worst economic recession since the 1930s (Bushnell, 2007).

In the second period, the nation would suffer a phase of conflict set with the intensification of the violent actions of the FARC and with new actors of conflict in the struggle for control territory for illicit activities and for control of resources of the state in the hands of municipalities. In this period, the government sub Álvaro Uribe Vélez, inaugurated his "Democratic Security Policy" as part of the "Plan Colombia" in the fight against drug production and trafficking, and also as a strategy to restore public security . Meanwhile, the economy began a new phase of recovery.

What is the response of internal migratory movements in front these processes convulsed in the country, explicitly between 1988 and 1993 and between 2000 and 2005?

Changes the size of the internal migration

Between 1993 and 2005 the population grew only 1.3% and increased by approximately 6 million people. But migratory movements decreased between 2000 - 2005 with one 35% over the previous period. In both between 1988 e1993 close to 13% of the population change of residence with respect to a fixed date before, just a 6.5% did so between 2000 and 2005. This decrease does not appear to follow the trend of migration from countries in Latin America for the same periods. In other countries the changes were minimal and even increased (Busso & Rodríguez, 2009), (Table 1).

Table 1. Colombia and Latin America. Migration between political divisions - administrative decades of Census 1990 and 2000

| Country | Census year | Total population country | Second Birth | | | | According fixed date (five years before the census) | | | |
|------------|-------------|--------------------------|---|-------|---|-------|--|------|---|-------|
| | | | Greater administrative political division (DAM) | | Smallest administrative political division (DAME) | | Greater administrative political division (DAM) | | Smallest administrative political division (DAME) | |
| | | | Migrants | % | Migrants | % | Migrants | % | Migrants | % |
| Argentina | 2001 | 33.550.307 | 6.676.511 | 19,90 | .... | .... | 1.076.836 | 3,30 | .... | .... |
| Bolivia | 1992 | 6.343.514 | 875.405 | 13,80 | 1.547.497 | 25,00 | 304.894 | 5,60 | 514.945 | 9,60 |
| | 2001 | 8.169.553 | 1.241.772 | 15,20 | 2.126.486 | 26,30 | 424.671 | 6,00 | 709.248 | 10,00 |
| Brasil | 1991 | 146.095.284 | 21.622.102 | 14,80 | .... | .... | 5.012.251 | 3,80 | .... | .... |
| | 2000 | 169.200.812 | 26.056.925 | 15,40 | 62.768.192 | 37,10 | 5.196.093 | 3,40 | 15.315.242 | 10,00 |
| Chile | 1982 | 11.217.854 | 2.389.403 | 21,30 | 5.701.448 | 50,70 | 595.013 | 5,90 | 1.537.652 | 15,30 |
| | 1992 | 12.963.842 | 2.631.660 | 20,30 | 5.877.032 | 46,00 | 698.534 | 6,10 | 1.966.466 | 17,10 |
| | 2002 | 14.469.771 | 3.038.652 | 21,00 | 7.094.591 | 48,90 | 783.430 | 5,80 | 2.156.325 | 16,00 |
| México | 1990 | 80.247.241 | 13.963.020 | 17,40 | ... | .... | 3.468.508 | 5,00 | .... | .... |
| | 2000 | | 17.791.208 | 18,50 | ... | .... | 3.784.323 | 4,40 | 5.848.692 | 6,90 |
| Colombia * | 1993 | 32.132.721 | 7.241.938 | 22,54 | 12.721.377 | 39,59 | 2.394.044 | 7,45 | 4.161.864 | 12,95 |
| | 2005 | 41.174.853 | 8.396.706 | 20,39 | 14.715.391 | 35,74 | 1.454.956 | 3,53 | 2.666.142 | 6,48 |

Source of basic data 1993 and 2005 Censuses of Colombia.
For other Latin American countries (Rodríguez & Busso, 2009., Pp. 117)

The larger size of migration between 1988 and 1993 may reflect in some way the conditions of economic instability and poor conditions of insecurity in the rural areas that the country suffered to late 80s (Busnhell, 2007; Safford & Palacios, 2011; UNDP 2011). The reservoir population in predominantly rural municipalities to the end of this decade still sustained migratory flows, which united the situation of insecurity and instability would favor migration during the 1990s and in subsequent periods. Thus, for the beginning of the 2000s the rural stock and potential migrants decreased, as the figures show the 2005 census (Table 2).

The prospect of migration according to the spatial scale.

The size and structure of internal migration changes according to the concept of migration and scale space considered (BISBORROW, 1996; RODRIGUEZ VIGNOLI & BUSO, 2009). Thanks to the availability of micro census data, was confirms that migration of scale interdepartamental is a subset of intermunicipal migration. The volume of residential exchanges between municipalities and between provinces is significant, but they are hidden when it favors the analysis between the larger scales of aggregation as departments (Table 2).

Table 2. Colombia. Size migration, based on geographical scales (Department, Province and Municipality). Census 1993 and 2005

| Census | 1993 | | | | 2005 | | | |
|------------------------|----------------------|-------|----------------------------|-------|----------------------|-------|----------------------------|------|
| | Total Population* | | | | 41.174.853 | | | |
| | Migrants accumulated | | Migrants five years before | | Migrants accumulated | | Migrants five years before | |
| Scale of migration | Total | % | Total | % | Total | % | Total | % |
| DEPARTAMENT | 7.241.938 | 22,54 | 2.394.044 | 7,45 | 8.396.706 | 20,39 | 1.454.956 | 3,53 |
| PROVINCE (Microregion) | 10.410.662 | 32,40 | 3.398.613 | 10,58 | - | - | 2.186.700 | 5,31 |
| MUNICIPALITY | 12.721.377 | 39,59 | 4.161.864 | 12,95 | 14.715.391 | 35,74 | 2.666.142 | 6,48 |

Source of basic data 1993 and 2005 Censuses of Colombia.

* without adjustment

While in 1993, 22.5% of the population lived in a different department of the department where he was born, the percentage rises to 32, 4%, when the unit of reference is the province and to 40% when the municipality. The relationship is similar to migratory movements in relation to a fixed date before of census (Tabua 2). In 1993 identified themselves close to 2.4 million people living in a department other than the one where they resided five years ago (7.45% of the total population). But if the unit of analysis is the municipality, the total amounts to 4,160,000 migrants (nearly 13%). So that for every 100 migratory movements interdepartmental occur 180 inter-municipal, relationship approaching also to movements by place of birth.

The balance of migration flows in the geographic space Colombian evidence a new pattern

The territory they occupy the Cordilleras of the Andes was historically the place where concentrated most of the population and where confluiriám the main migration flows. The other half of territory national, all south east, as pointed Busnhell (2007), would only be known by "Colombian Spanish speakers" until the beginning of this new century. This explains why even in 1993 had serious limitations with demographic information.

Recently has not only improved the data collection, furthermore they show that these areas are the setting of intense demographic processes.

In the period 1988 - 1993 the micro-regions located in areas of low density, specifically in the region of "Eastern Plains" and the Amazon region, as well as in the border areas in the four extremes of the country, border with Panama, Venezuela (north and south east) and

Ecuador, were attractive areas of migration, with annual rates that exceeded the 40 per thousand.

Figure 1. Immigration rates second date fixed in the scale of the province. Census 1993 and 2005

The high-density areas in the mountains of the Andes keep significant rates of immigration. These correspond to the provinces of the three major metropolitan areas: Cali, Medellin and Bogota, located on the three branches of the Cordilleras respectively (Western Cordillera, Central and Eastern) and the contiguous provinces of coffee region.

The highest rates of immigration by over 50 per thousand, was presented on the Eastern Plains of Region of Casanare and at the provinces of Guaviare, which is part of the Amazon Region.

¿What factors might be attractive to attract migrants in these areas, particularly the border areas and areas located within the Region Amazon and Eastern Plains?

The provinces that have achieved the highest rates of immigration in this period can be explained by the discovery and exploitation of oil wells Cusiana and Cupiagua, who converted to Region of Casanare in the main oil producer in Colombia (Florez, 1999)

The area corresponding to the border with Ecuador, for example, in the provinces of the Department of Putumayo, is recognized as the region of the "three golds", by the production of oil (black gold), small-scale mining of metal (yellow gold), and by plantations of coca leaf (gold blanco). Economic sectors that might be configured as sources of employment.

As migration volume went lower for the period 2000 - 2005, of rates immigration was significantly inferior in almost all the provinces of the country with respect to the period from 1988 to 1993.

Between 2000 and 2005 stand out again the provinces of Casanare and also entire area stretching from the south east region of Eastern Plains Region of Meta. But rates of immigration went even higher on the border with Panama, known as the Gulf of Uraba, in the vicinity of the border with Ecuador, again in the Department of Putumayo, and the main crossing of the border with Venezuela.

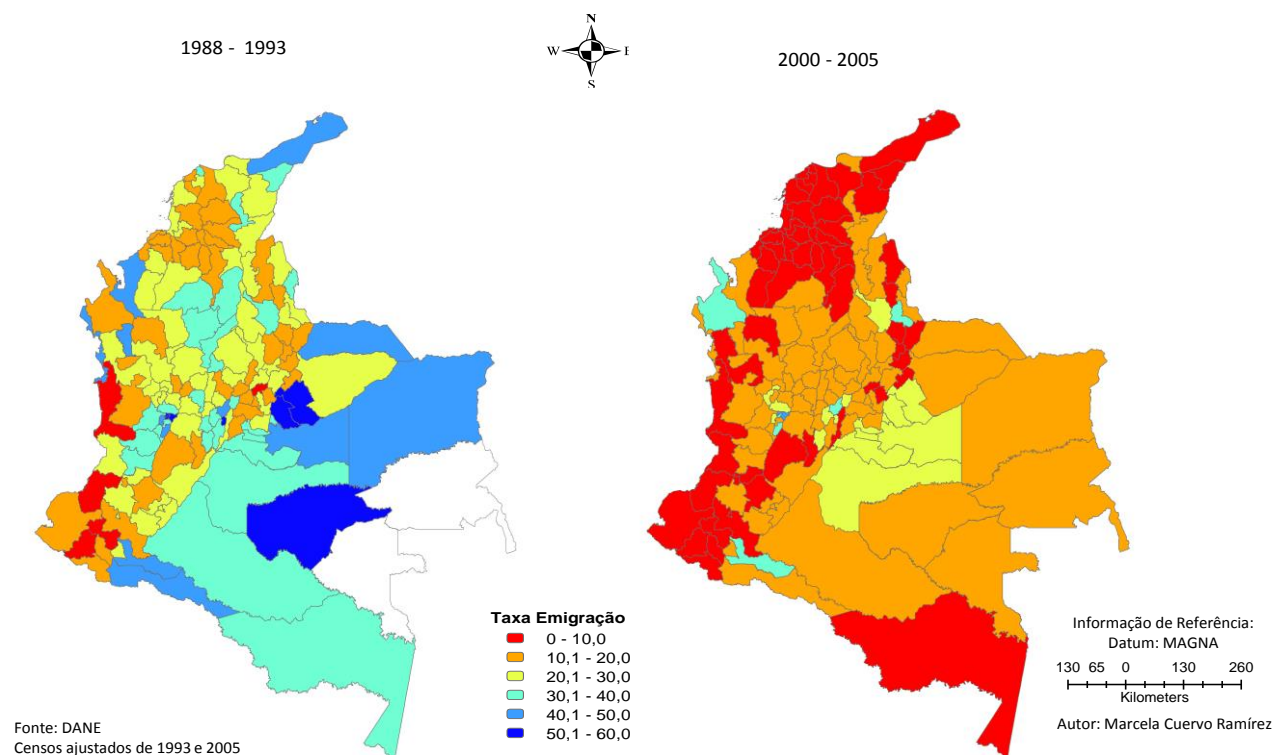
In 2000- 2005 the regions with the highest immigration rates correspond to micro-region Andean, this time to surrounding municipalities of Bogotá, in the provinces of "Sabana de Occidente" "Sabana Centro" and "Soacha".

The "Sabana de Occidente" integrate industrial growth centers and other areas of residential growth of population of middle class and high from Bogota. The "Sabana Center" consolidated the production of flowers for export, principally. This sector summons significant migration of populations from lower strata. And the province of Soacha, also focus of industrial production, but mainly where populations are located in the lower strata, between them, forcibly displaced from different corners of the country (Dureau, 2000; Lulle, 2000).

In 2000 - 2005 again appear with significant immigration those provinces located in the coffee region, at the region of Risaralda and Quindio.

The provinces with the highest immigration rates correspond too at the provinces with highest rates of emigration at the two periods 1988 - 1993 and 2000-2005.

Figure 2. Emigration rates by date fixed in the scale of the province. Census 1993 and 2005



Stocktaking of provinces winners and losers 1988-1993 and 2000-2005

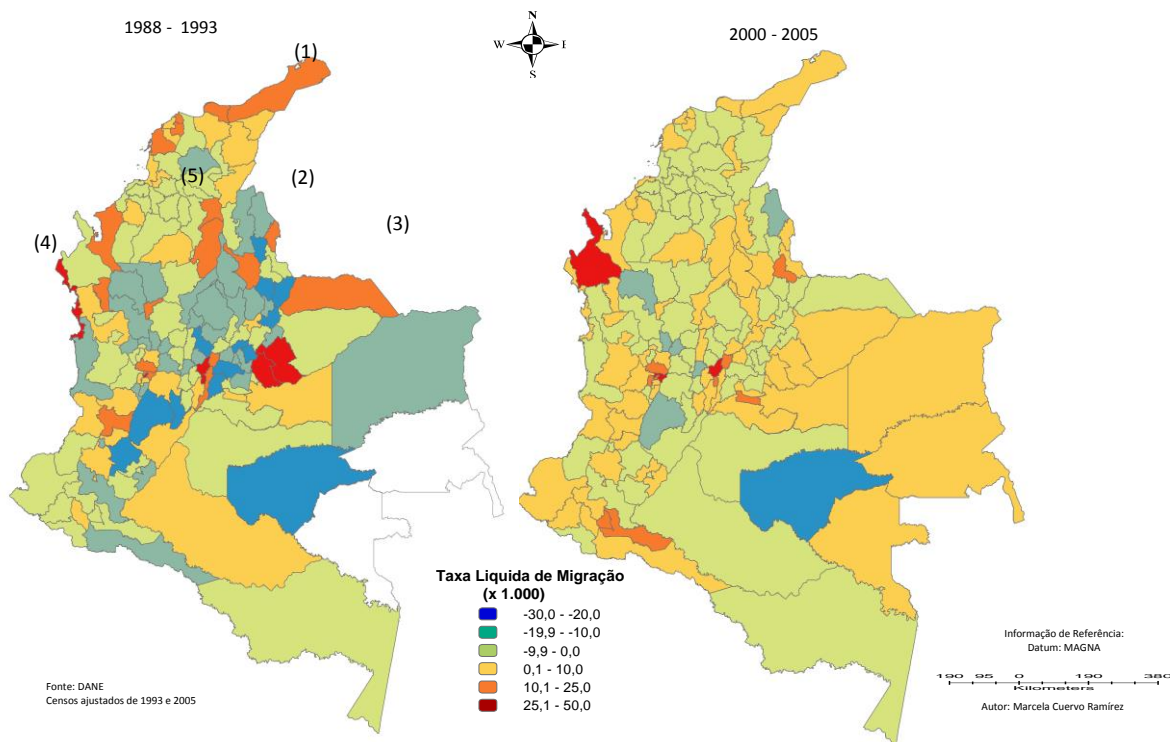
In the balance of winners and losers it observed a rupture of pattern between the two periods considered. For the period 1988-1993, at the end, the oil production provinces in the Region of Casanare became strongly winners, as will those surrounding the city of Bogotá, provinces

of industrial production, areas for the floriculture, and the and the provinces of the coffee region, which also dominates tourism services. In summary, those who sustain work sources.

Others provinces with positive balances are consolidated as well, although to a lesser extent, the provinces border areas with Venezuela: from the north on the peninsula of Guajira (1), the main border crossing in the city of Cúcuta and its metropolitan area (2), and in the provinces of Arauca, also petroleum production region (3).

In the same period, net positive migration rates are observed in the coastal boundaries with the Pacific in Panama (4); at the provinces of the Middle Magdalena Valley (5); and in cities Barranquilla and Santamarta at the Caribbean coast.

Figure 3. Net migration rates by date fixed in the scale of the province. Census 1993 e 2005



In contrast, in the provinces of the Department of Putumayo close to the equator, where high immigration and emigration are high, the balance is negative.

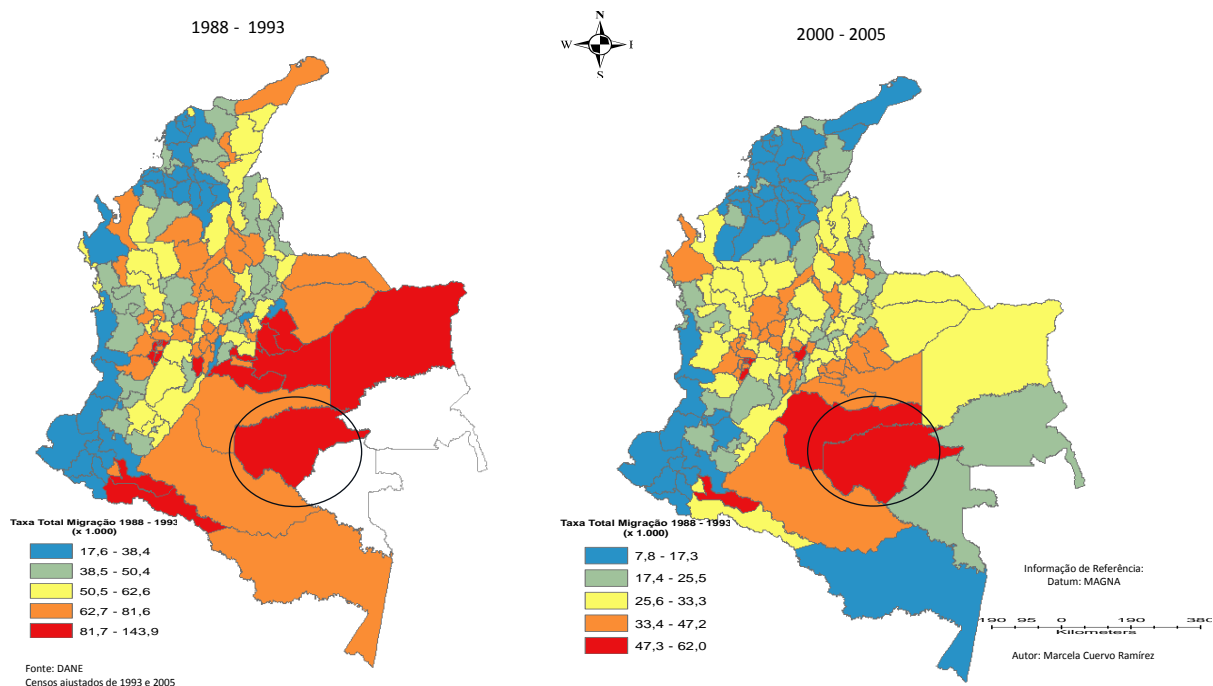
Areas that in the past decades have been characterized by intense population density on the ridges of the mountains Andes (Central and Eastern), become strong expellers. Among them, the provinces of the of Boyacá and Cundinamarca.

Balanço da migração total

The census show the emergence of a "giant forgotten". One half of Colombian territory, corresponding to areas of vast regions of "Eastern Plains", the Amazon Region, and isolated areas at the extremes of the country, both at the border with Panama, Venezuela and Ecuador, were provinces with the migration movements expressive. Although, in the balance of inputs and outputs, some losing population, at the period 1988-1993.

Other areas of ancient urban consolidation in the Andean mountain ranges, such as metropolitan areas, particularly the municipalities contiguous to major cities, also showed significant rates of total migration, this trend continues between the two periods.

Figure 4. Exchange Migration Total second date fixed in the scale of the province. Census 1993 and 2005



The behavior of the provinces of the central part of the Colombian Amazon (highlighted in circle) must be supported on secondary sources and recent literature. In principle are presupposed census coverage restrictions that would alter the migration rates, which stand as high expulsion and high immigration in the period 1988-1993. The information from the 2005 census, confirm a singular behavior for this provinces which again a significant amount of total migration, but explained by high emigration.

This territory corresponds to recognized "distension area" that during the government of Andrés Pastrana (1999 - 2002) the State granted the FARC as part of the agreements "a negotiated peace", but that ended in frustration for country. A territory of more than 40,000 kilometers that would be the scenario of peace talks, but the guerrillas used as a base for subversive activities and place-holding hostages (Bushnell, 2007).

4. Final considerations about change migratory pattern migratory

The biggest source of internal migrants, in terms of absolute values, were the smaller municipalities, mostly are predominantly rural counties. The proportion of immigrants was higher in the period 1988-1993, distributed nearly 15% of its population to other counties in this period. Between 2000 and 2005 distributed surroundings of 6.6%. This confirms the trend of concentrating population in the most densely populated areas from previous decades and, therefore, the reduction of "reservations" demographic in the smaller municipalities.

The main capital cities, those that concentrate metropolitan areas, predominantly urban and population sizes exceeding 500,000 inhabitants, some decreased their net migration rates significantly between the two periods, and in other cases they became expellers. The municipalities surrounding the capital cities were the largest recipients migrants in both periods. And capital cities, the largest in size and the most densely populated areas of the country, were the lowest gains in relative population in the last period. Their net rates approached zero or became negative.

This behavior suggests that the surrounding municipalities of the capital cities in metropolitan areas continue sheltering immigrants from the interior who have not directly absorb the capital, or that possibly also come from the same cities capital cities for various reasons (price home, basic services, among others) (DUREAU, 2000) and (Lülle, 2000).

However, before pointing Colombia as a predominantly urban country, what the figures suggest is that persists a force concentrating the population in urban areas consolidated. But while still persists a resistance of the population which is located in rural areas, the which reached in 2005 nearly 11 million people distributed in over 1000 cities, and continues to contribute to migration.

In Colombia not exhausted migratory flows from rural areas, by contrast, despite its smaller size compared to the intercity migration, they continue being considerable both to the border areas and within the same areas rural.

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