

Ciudad-territorio sustentable
Procesos, actores y estructuras

Guadalupe Hoyos Castillo
Mirosława Czerny

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An analysis of the internal migratory flows which transformed Mexico State

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Resumen

Los movimientos de población de un país a la ciudad son característicos de los países del tercer mundo en la segunda mitad del siglo XX. El Estado de México -en el centro de la república- es un ejemplo agudo de este fenómeno. El objetivo de este estudio es analizar el flujo de migrantes permanentes dentro y fuera del estado y seleccionar determinadas cohortes para el análisis de variables particulares. La metodología consiste en analizar los datos originales que se toman del XII Censo General (INEGI 2000), incluyendo los factores de expansión para las variables dadas. Los resultados indican que son más las mujeres que migran que los hombres. La idea establecida de la migración de los jóvenes se cuestiona, el Estado de México está disfrutando de un bono demográfico de los inmigrantes en edad de trabajar desde el resto de la república. A diferencia del período hasta la década de 1980, los inmigrantes ahora elegir entre las grandes ciudades o pequeñas localidades, evitando las ciudades de tamaño medio.

Palabras clave: migración interna, población, movimientos.

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Abstract

Movements of population from country to town are characteristic of third world countries in the second half of the twentieth century. Mexico State—in the centre of the republic—is an acute example of this phenomenon. The aim of this study is to analyze the flow of permanent migrants into and out of the state and to select certain cohorts for the analysis of particular variables. The methodology consists of analyzing the source material which is taken from the XIIth General Census (INEGI 2000) including expansion factors for given variables. Results, more females than males migrate. Established ideas of the migration of the young are questioned. Mexico State is enjoying a demographic bonus of migrants of working age from the rest of the republic. Unlike the period up to the 1980s, migrants now choose either large cities or small localities, avoiding medium sized cities.

Key words: migration internal, population, movements.

Introduction

In the 1970s, while nations such as Great Britain and Japan increased their populations at an annual rate of 1%, most African countries grew at between 6% and 7% and those of Latin America at between 4% and 6% (Todaró, 1976). In the case of Mexico, these tendencies were particularly pronounced. Between 1930 and 1940, its population had an average annual growth rate of 1.7%. In the following two decades, this rate was maintained with annual averages of 2.7% and 3.1% respectively. This process reached its highest point between 1970 and 1980 with a rate of 3.4%. These increases, together with the great economic, social and geographic imbalances in the country, swelled the major urban zones. In 1960, 36.6% of the population lived in localities of 15,000 or more inhabitants. In 1970, this figure was 44.9%, in 1990 it was 57.4% and in 2000 it was 61%. (These are the authors' own calculations based on the data of INEGI – the National Institute of Statistics and Geography.) (INEGI 1990, 2000).

The state of Mexico was not exempt from this process. It lies in the centre of the republic and surrounds the capital, Mexico City. While its average annual growth rate between 1930 and 1940 was only 1.5%, between 1950 and 1960 it reached 3.2% and in the following decade it peaked at 7.4%. If this rate had been maintained, the population of the state would have doubled in only 9.4 years. The following three decades saw annual growth rates of 6.7%, 2.7% and 2.9% respectively. A significant part of this increase is the result of social growth i.e. migration.

Justification

In Mexico, as in the rest of Latin America, population movements have been widely related to urbanization, the job market and the infrastructure of communication. This, together with the decapitalization of the countryside, propitiated, in the 1970s, great movements of population from country to town and this resulted in enormous concentrations of people and resources in a few areas of the republic. (Unikel 1976:64-67; CONAPO 1994:47-58; 1994b:iv,3)

The aim

The objective of this study is to analyze the flows of permanent migrants who have settled in the state of Mexico in the last decade of the 20th century. The population analyzed here consists of those people who have immigrated to the state together with those members of the state's native population who have emigrated to other places in the republic. In addition, certain cohorts have been selected from both populations in order to examine particular variables: age group, gender, size of locality of origin and size of locality of destination.

Source material and methodology

The XIIth General Census was carried out by the INEGI between the 7th and 18th of February, 2000; the 14th was established as the official date. Together with the census, another questionnaire was applied to a sample of 2.2 million dwellings. The aim was to collect more information about a series of socio-demographic variables which it was not possible to include directly in the census.

This data has been put at the disposition of the public in the form of a compact disc so that any interested party can generate his own tables using the computer programmes he prefers. The data base consists of 3 archives: (a) dwellings and homes; this includes such data as place of origin, characteristics of the dwelling, number of residents and families, together with those residents involved in international migration and the number of migrants in each family (b) characteristics of the people; this includes such variables as place of residence, kinship, sex, age, date of birth, whether or not registered in the social services, place of birth, disabilities, health services, place of residence in 1995, speaker or not of an indigenous language, level of education, religion, ethnic group, marital status, economic characteristics, place of work, other sources of income, and number of children. (c) International migration; every emigrant was registered, together with their place of origin.

In this study the data were used in the following way. To analyze the total population of the state by age and sex, the information was taken directly from the census. For the remaining tables and graphs, the sample material was used together with its expansion factors in order to obtain estimations of the totals. In the case of the latter, two archives were used: those of dwellings and families. These were unified into a single archive so that they could be calculated simultaneously: that is, the socioeconomic characteristics of each person were integrated with the characteristics of his dwelling. In addition, using the methodology described, another archive was constructed in which emigrants from the state were localized in their places of destination in the republic, with the aim of obtaining the age and gender structure of this group.

Background

At the beginning of the twentieth century, the state of the republic with most inhabitants was Jalisco (1,153,891), followed by Guanajuato (1,061,724), Puebla (1,021,183) Veracruz (981,030) and Michoacan (935,808). With a population of 934,463, the second census (1900) placed the state of Mexico in sixth place by population. The census showed 49.3% men and 50.7% women (Dirección General de Estadística; 1903). Immigrants only represented 1.6% of the population while emigration was running at 14.1%. The state was losing population at that time.

Seventy years later the state had risen to second place (with 3,833,185 inhabitants) surpassed only by Mexico City itself (6,874,165). This situation was maintained until 1980. In that year, the census registered a population of 7,564,335 in Mexico State, of which 38.4% were immigrants. By 1990, this entity had become the most populated in the republic with 9,815,795 inhabitants. (19.2% more than Mexico City, which had fallen into second place). Of these, 39.6% were immigrants. It seems unlikely that this situation of primacy will change, at any rate in the short or medium term. The census of 2000 gave a population of 13,096,686 inhabitants with an annual growth rate for the decade of 2.95% More than two thirds of the population consists of immigrants from other states of the republic. That is, the state acts as a magnet for immigrants.

Analysis of the census material

a) Characteristics of the populations: total population, immigrants and emigrants

The census of 2000 reports Mexico State as having 13,096,686 inhabitants. This makes it the largest entity by population (13.4%) in the republic. This despite having lost 721,921 citizens (8.6%) to other parts of the country. On

the other hand, 5,394,411 immigrants have settled in the state from the rest of the republic (an extraordinary 41.2% of the present population). See Table 1 and Graph 1.

Table 1. The state of Mexico: total population, immigrants and emigrants by age and sex

Age groups	Total population ¹			Immigrants			Emigrants		
	Sex			Sex			Sex		
	Males	Females	Total	Males	Females	Total	Males	Females	Total
0-4	729,918	705,840	1,435,759	139,431	133,284	272,715	23,026	21,462	44,488
5-9	769,937	750,645	1,520,581	194,897	187,017	381,914	30,758	29,138	59,896
10-14	725,182	707,662	1,432,845	220,986	216,949	437,935	29,504	30,524	60,028
15-19	678,606	695,798	1,374,404	264,223	266,212	530,436	31,098	39,003	70,101
20-24	631,618	682,770	1,314,388	261,229	290,377	551,607	32,203	44,399	76,602
25-29	577,428	635,172	1,212,600	264,039	302,770	566,809	32,022	38,257	70,279
30-34	505,205	554,269	1,059,474	252,615	293,266	545,882	28,925	31,896	60,820
35-39	442,892	485,097	927,989	239,758	273,919	513,677	24,076	26,254	50,330
40-44	359,594	383,282	742,876	210,684	227,874	438,558	20,406	24,336	44,742
45-49	272,633	289,613	562,246	157,407	172,092	329,499	16,769	19,657	36,425
50-54	217,322	227,141	444,464	127,336	137,893	265,229	16,135	18,640	34,775
55-59	154,759	164,415	319,175	88,162	94,818	182,980	11,526	15,021	26,547
60-64	120,912	133,935	254,846	66,458	73,379	139,837	11,182	14,262	25,445
65-69	86,406	100,787	187,193	42,743	52,318	95,061	7,997	11,932	19,930
70-74	58,946	70,403	129,349	27,881	36,300	64,181	6,686	8,963	15,648
75-79	40,220	48,434	88,654	18,594	23,748	42,341	4,808	7,092	11,900
80-84	18,318	25,406	43,724	7,706	13,029	20,735	2,597	3,973	6,571
85+*	17,315	28,804	46,119	8,041	11,974	20,015	2,826	4,568	7,394
Total	6,407,213	6,689,473	13,096,686	2,592,191	2,807,220	5,399,411	332,543	389,378	721,921

1/Source: INEGI General Census of Population and Dwelling 2000.

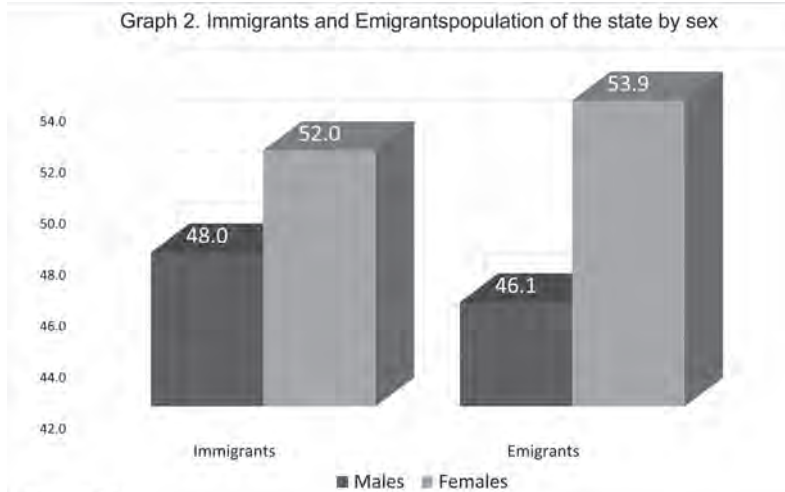
Source: The author's own calculations based on the Census Sample of the General Census of Population 2000.

NB: Foreign migrants and those who gave no place of birth are not included.

Graph 1. Percentages of the population of the state



Source: Table 1



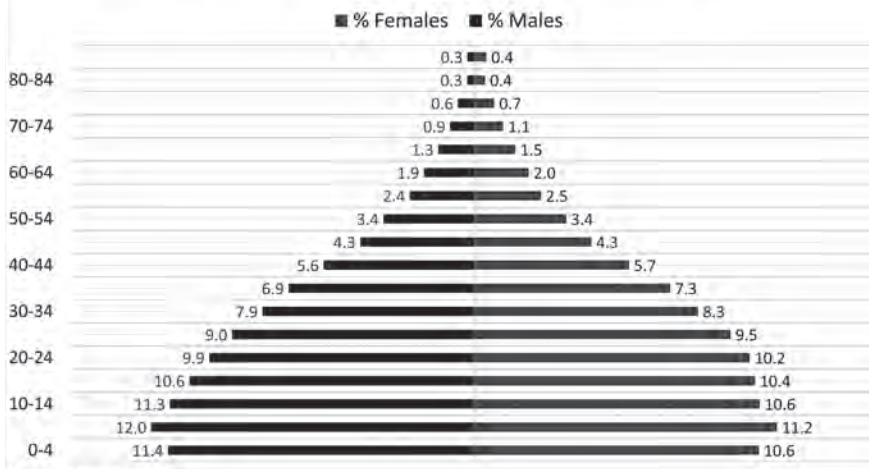
Source: Table 1

Of the present population, 48% are male and 51.1% female. The corresponding figures for immigrants are 48% and 52% and for emigrants 46.1% and 53.9%. Within these figures it is possible to isolate cohorts which are particularly interesting. For example, 60% of the state's inhabitants are over 18 (58.8% of males, 61.1% of females). Of these, 51.6% were born elsewhere in the republic (47.2% males and 52.8% females). If the population is divided by age, it is found that: those under 14 make up 33.5%, those from 15 to 64 constitute 62.7%, and those over 65 are 3.8%. Immigrants under 14 number 4.5%, those from 14 to 65 constitute 75.3% (the amphora) and those over 65 make up 20.2%. Emigrants under 14 number 8.5%, those from 14 to 65, 68.7% and those over 65, 22.8%. (These figures are based on data from Table 1).

Age group pyramids and profiles of these three populations can be found in graphs 3 to 5. The first shows the age groups of the immigrant population. It can be seen that the baseline which represents the generations born in the first five years of the 1990s is slightly narrower than that which represents the generations from 1995 to 2000. This may indicate one of two things: either an increase in births or the arrival of a large number of immigrant families with small children. Starting with the 5-9 age group, the pyramid becomes less irregular. This may also be the result of immigration. That is, the reductions in fecundity which occurred in the whole republic after the middle of the 1970s are not to be observed.

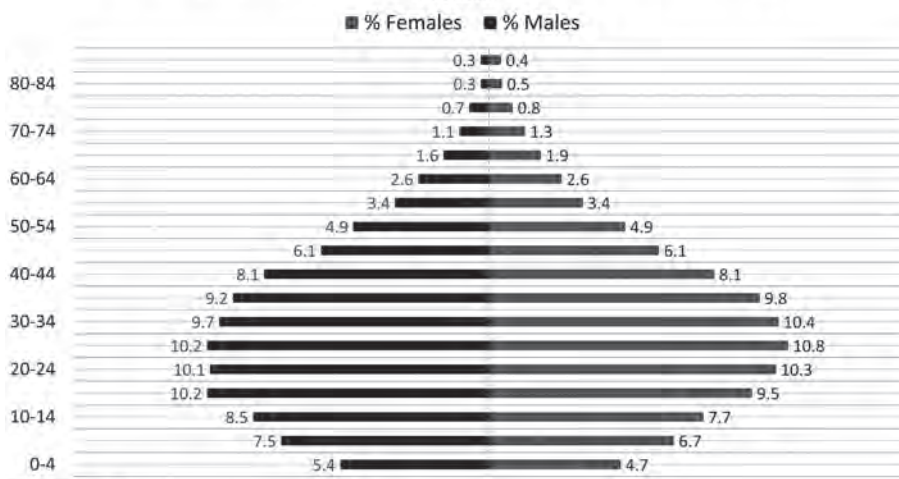
In Graph 4, the age group pyramid for immigrants can be seen. It has the shape of an amphora, narrow at the base and wide when it reaches the central ages -mostly women- and narrowing again for the older ages. Something which seems to support an idea suggested in the previous paragraph is that 13.2% of the migrants are under 9 years of age. This seems to confirm that a number of families moved into Mexico State permanently.

Graph 3. Age group pyramid of the total population of the satate



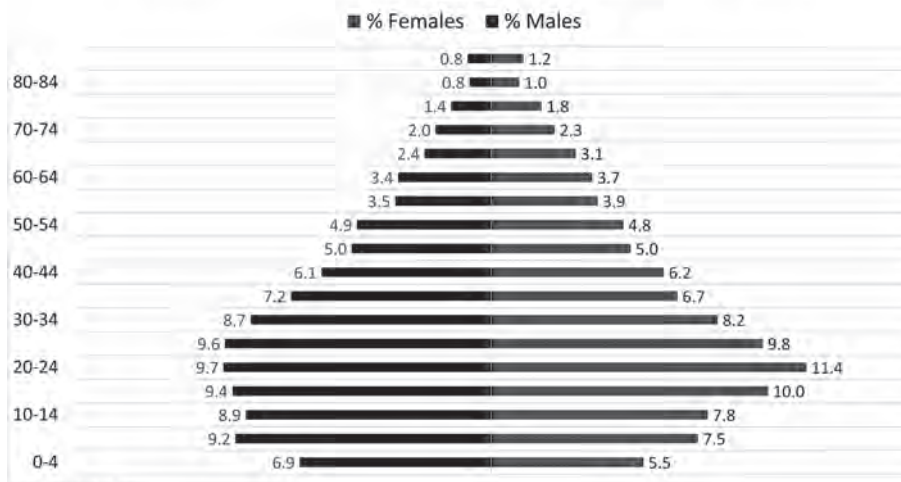
Source: Table 1

Graph 4. Age group pyramid of the Immigrant pulation of the satate



Source: Table 1

Graph 5. Age group pyramid of the Emigrant pulation of the satate



Source: Table 1

Graph 5 (emigrants) has a similar shape to graph 4, although is more irregular. Women represent 11.2% of the under 9 age group, 37.6% of those between 15 and 64 and 5.1% of those over 65. The corresponding figures for men are 11.5%, 31.1% and 3.5% respectively. There is more work to be done on these statistics because it is almost certain that many of these emigrants went to live in Mexico City.

Table 1 shows the average ages of the 3 populations. For the population as a whole it is 25.5 years, 26 for the women and 25 for the men. In the case of the immigrants the corresponding figures are: 30.6 (total population), 31.1 (women) and 30.1 (men). In the case of emigrants, the figures are: 31.6, 32.5 and 30.7. It is interesting to contrast these figures with the median ages of these populations. These are 23 (total population), 23 (women) and 22 (men.) For immigrants they are: 29 (total population) 30 (women) and 28 (men). For emigrants they are: 28, 28 and 27 respectively.

Some tentative conclusions may be drawn from these figures. First, the groups of immigrants and emigrants have similar characteristics and show important differences from the population of the state as a whole. The latter may be characterized as young: 50% are under 23 and the average age is 25.5. On the other hand, the former may be characterized as young adults: 50% of the immigrants are under 29 and 50% of the emigrants under 28. Their corresponding average ages are 30.6 and 31.6. In the republic as a whole, the average age is 25.6 years with that of men 21.1 and that of women 26. The median ages are: 22 (total population), 22 (men) and 23 (women). It can be seen immediately, therefore, that the statistics for the general population of the state reflect the national statistics but that the figures for immigrants and

emigrants do not. The number of immigrants arriving and staying in Mexico State is particularly interesting. It suggests the state may be enjoying a population bonus similar to that which the republic is often accused of exporting to the United States.

b) Interstate migratory flows

Graphs 6 and 7 present interstate migrations. In the first it can be appreciated that Mexico City provides 60.7% of the immigrant population of the state. However, in addition, there are three clearly differentiated immigrant blocks. The first consists of those states which contribute a large number of immigrants: Puebla (5.7%), Hidalgo (5.1%), Oaxaca (4.8%), Veracruz (4.8%), Michoacan (4.4%), Guanajuato (3.3%) and Guerrero (2.4%). The total number is 1,648,123 people or 30.5% of the immigrant population. The second block consists of states which contribute a moderate number of immigrants: Jalisco, Tlaxcala, Querétaro, Chiapas, San Luis Potosí, Morelos and Zacatecas. Together these total 352,208 people (6.5%). Finally, the third block consists of the rest of the states which contribute a low number of immigrants: 119,839 people (2.3%).

Graph 7 shows emigration from the state of Mexico. Mexico City receives most: 321,319 people (44.5%). This is followed by Morelos (7.8%) and Hidalgo (6.8%). After these come a block of 10 states: Michoacan, Puebla, Guanajuato, Veracruz, Querétaro, Guerrero, Jalisco, Baja California, Oaxaca and Tlaxcala. These receive 30.6% of emigrants (220,557 people.). The remaining states of the Republic contribute the other 10.3%.

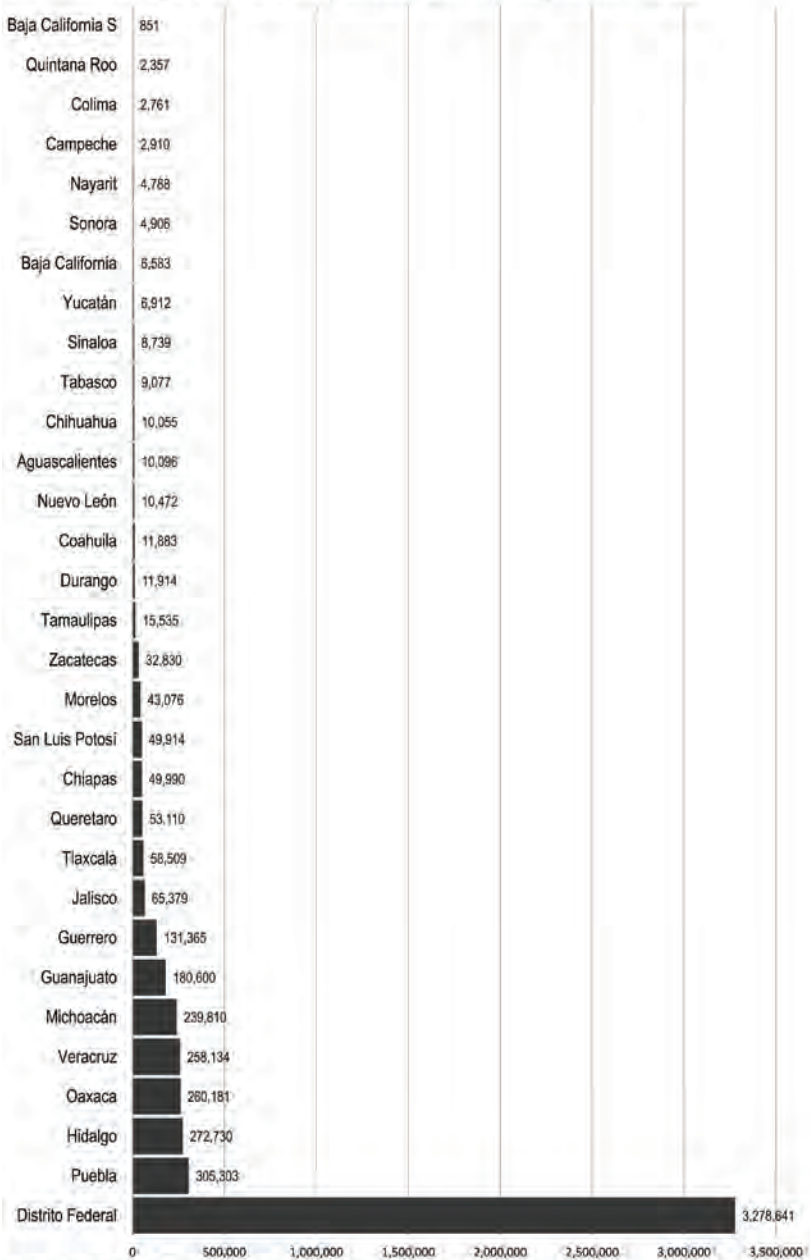
c) Migratory flows by size of locality

In table 2 the migratory flows by size of locality for two cohorts can be found: localities with a population greater than 15,000 inhabitants and those smaller than 15,000. Also included are immigrants from Guatemala, the United States and other countries, in addition to countries which have not been specified (these represent few migrants).

Most internal immigrants (5,003,890 or 92.7% of this group) settle in localities of more than 15,000 inhabitants. Only 7.3% (391,521 people) settle in the smaller localities. As might be expected virtually all immigrants from other states settle in the larger localities.

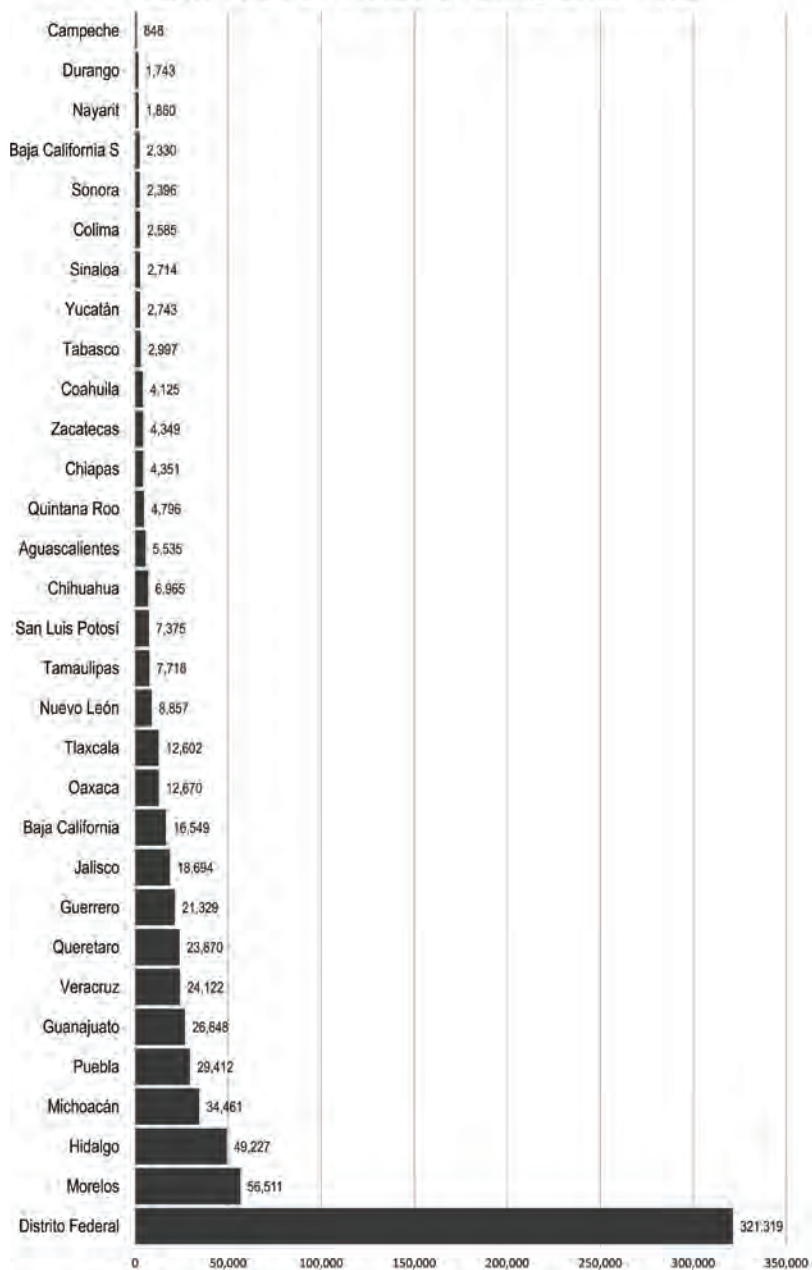
When emigrants from the state are considered, the above situation is, in general terms, repeated. 78.7% settle in localities of more than 15,000 inhabitants and only 21.3% in those of less than 15,000. However, in Michoacan and Puebla the emigrants settle in the larger and smaller localities in almost equal numbers. These findings are perhaps rather surprising. In the 1980s the medium sized cities were identified as the favourite destinations of migrants.

Graph 6. Birth states of immigrants: total



Source: Table 2, only internal migrants

Graph 7. Birth states of emigrants: total



Source: Table 2, only internal migrants

However, this study shows that they now seek to settle either in larger population units or, to a lesser degree, in small ones: a polarity of settlement has occurred. Something which may explain this development is the decline of the medium sized cities as industrial centres following the implementation of NAFTA during the Salinas administration. Small local industries have not survived.

Table 2. Migratory flows of the state of Mexico by size of locality

Place of birth	immigrants to the state from places of:			Place of Residence	emigrants from the state to places of:		
	15,000 or more	fewer than	Total		15,000 or more	fewer than	Total
	fewer than	15,000			fewer than	15,000	
Inhabitants	Inhabitants	Inhabitants	Inhabitants	Inhabitants	Inhabitants	Inhabitants	
Aguascalientes	9,481	615	10,096	Aguascalientes	4,618	917	5,535
Baja California	5,833	750	6,583	Baja California	15,037	1,512	16,549
Baja California S	761	90	851	Baja California S	1,871	459	2,330
Campeche	2,609	301	2,910	Campeche	636	212	848
Coahuila	10,922	961	11,883	Coahuila	3,974	151	4,125
Colima	2,326	435	2,761	Colima	1,625	960	2,585
Chiapas	46,574	3,416	49,990	Chiapas	2,794	1,557	4,351
Chihuahua	9,301	754	10,055	Chihuahua	6,241	724	6,965
Distrito Federal	3,076,328	202,313	3,278,641	Distrito Federal	317,241	4,078	321,319
Durango	10,974	940	11,914	Durango	1,260	483	1,743
Guanajuato	168,716	11,884	180,600	Guanajuato	18,590	8,258	26,848
Guerrero	115,821	15,544	131,365	Guerrero	11,412	9,917	21,329
Hidalgo	232,859	39,871	272,730	Hidalgo	17,086	32,141	49,227
Jalisco	59,979	5,400	65,379	Jalisco	16,176	2,518	18,694
Michoacán	220,525	19,285	239,810	Michoacán	17,806	16,655	34,461
Morelos	33,521	9,555	43,076	Morelos	38,274	18,237	56,511
Nayarit	4,307	481	4,788	Nayarit	1,251	629	1,880
Nuevo León	9,657	815	10,472	Nuevo León	8,324	533	8,857
Oaxaca	246,483	13,698	260,181	Oaxaca	4,091	8,579	12,670
Puebla	281,965	23,338	305,303	Puebla	15,358	14,054	29,412
Queretaro	44,460	8,650	53,110	Queretaro	17,958	5,912	23,870
Quintana Roo	1,968	389	2,357	Quintana Roo	4,404	392	4,796
San Luis Potosi	45,771	4,143	49,914	San Luis Potosi	4,727	2,648	7,375
Sinaloa	8,169	570	8,739	Sinaloa	2,180	534	2,714
Sonora	4,380	526	4,906	Sonora	2,053	343	2,396
Tabasco	8,048	1,029	9,077	Tabasco	2,204	793	2,997
Tamaulipas	14,259	1,276	15,535	Tamaulipas	6,871	847	7,718
Tlaxcala	53,154	5,355	58,509	Tlaxcala	4,789	7,813	12,602
Veracruz	237,703	20,431	258,134	Veracruz	14,055	10,067	24,122
Yucatán	6,523	389	6,912	Yucatán	2,468	275	2,743
Zacatecas	30,513	2,317	32,830	Zacatecas	2,684	1,665	4,349
Subtotal	5,003,890	395,521	5,399,411	Total	568,058	153,863	721,921
Guatemala	661	25	686				
USA	8,155	2,321	10,476				
Otro País	17,358	678	18,036				
No especificado	55,997	18,630	74,627				
Total	5,086,061	417,175	5,503,236				

Source: The author's own calculations based on the Census Sample of the General Census of Population and Dwellings 2000.

Table 3. Net migratory balance by size of locality

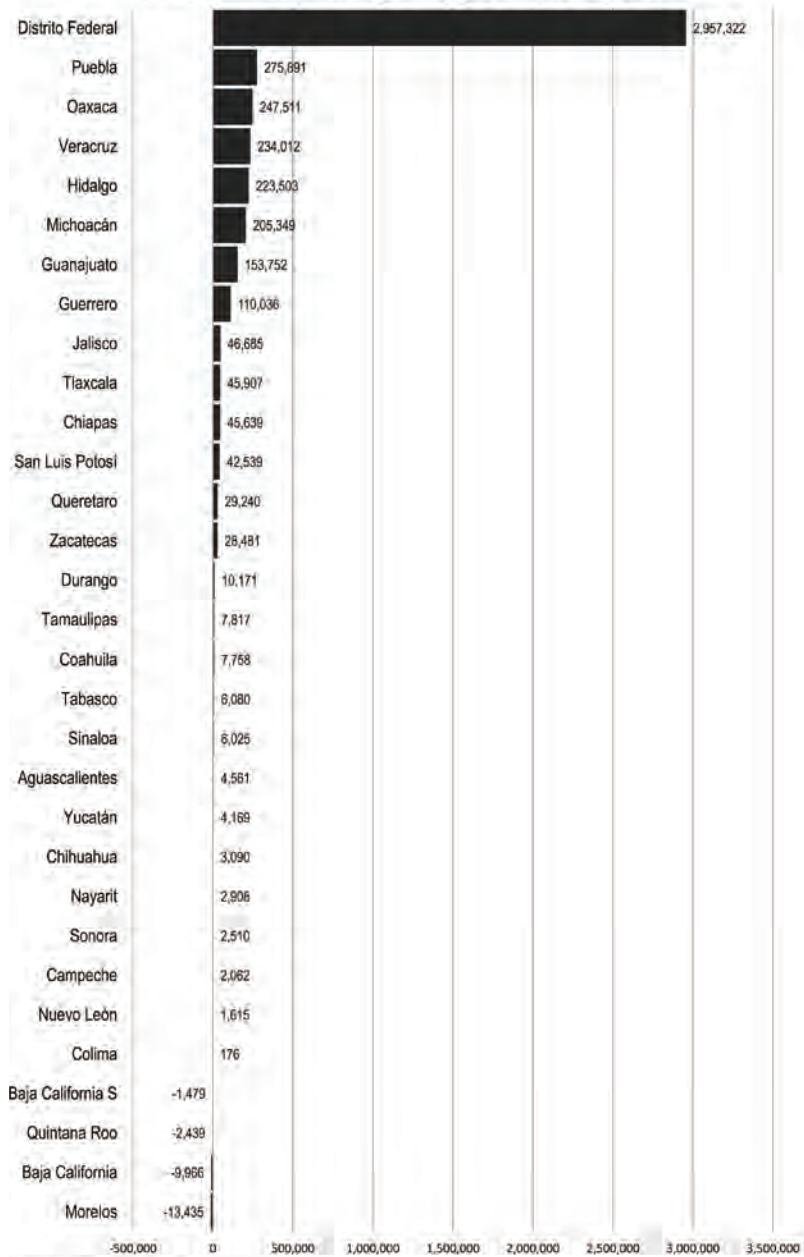
State	Net balance		
	Places of 15000 or more	Places of fewer than 15,000	Total
Morelos	-4,753	-8,682	-13,435
Baja California	-9,204	-762	-9,966
Quintana Roo	-2,436	-3	-2,439
Baja California S	-1,110	-369	-1,479
Colima	701	-525	176
Nuevo León	1,333	282	1,615
Campeche	1,973	89	2,062
Sonora	2,327	183	2,510
Nayarit	3,056	-148	2,908
Chihuahua	3,060	30	3,090
Yucatán	4,055	114	4,169
Aguascalientes	4,863	-302	4,561
Sinaloa	5,989	36	6,025
Tabasco	5,844	236	6,080
Coahuila	6,948	810	7,758
Tamaulipas	7,388	429	7,817
Durango	9,714	457	10,171
Zacatecas	27,829	852	28,481
Querétaro	26,502	2,738	29,240
San Luis Potosí	41,044	1,495	42,539
Chiapas	43,780	1,859	45,639
Tlaxcala	48,365	-2,458	45,907
Jalisco	43,803	2,882	46,685
Guerrero	104,409	5,627	110,036
Guanajuato	150,126	3,626	153,752
Michoacán	202,719	2,630	205,349
Hidalgo	215,773	7,730	223,503
Veracruz	223,648	10,364	234,012
Oaxaca	242,392	5,119	247,511
Puebla	266,607	9,284	275,891
Distrito Federal	2,759,087	198,235	2,957,322
Total states	4,435,832	241,658	4,677,490

Source: The author's own calculations based on the Census Sample of the General Census of Population and Dwellings 2000.

NB: The net migratory balance excludes the USA, other countries and unspecified data.

Table 3 and Graph 8 complement Table 2 and Graphs 6 and 7 because they contain the net migratory balances by size of locality together with the total net balance. As will be appreciated, in both kinds of locality Mexico State shows negative net migratory balances¹.with Morelos, Baja California, Quintana Roo and Baja California Sur. These last two may be considered cases of equilibrium. In the remaining states-except Colima and Nayarit, which may also be considered to be in equilibrium -the net migratory balances are positive. Mexico City is the outstanding example, followed at a great distance, by Guerrero, Guanajuato, Michoacan, Hidalgo, Veracruz and Oaxaca.

Graph 8. Net migratory balance Total



Source: Table 3

d) Patterns of places of origin and places of destination of migration by age group, gender and size of locality

Table 4 and Graphs 9 and 10 shows the structures of the migrant population by age group and gender together with two cohorts of localities where they settle. As can be seen, this, apart from being an explanation of Graph 4, is another form of representation of the same phenomena: the migratory pattern of the state in the graphs can be seen reflected in the movements of the cohorts to the localities.

Table 4. Immigrants to the state by size of locality: age groups and gender

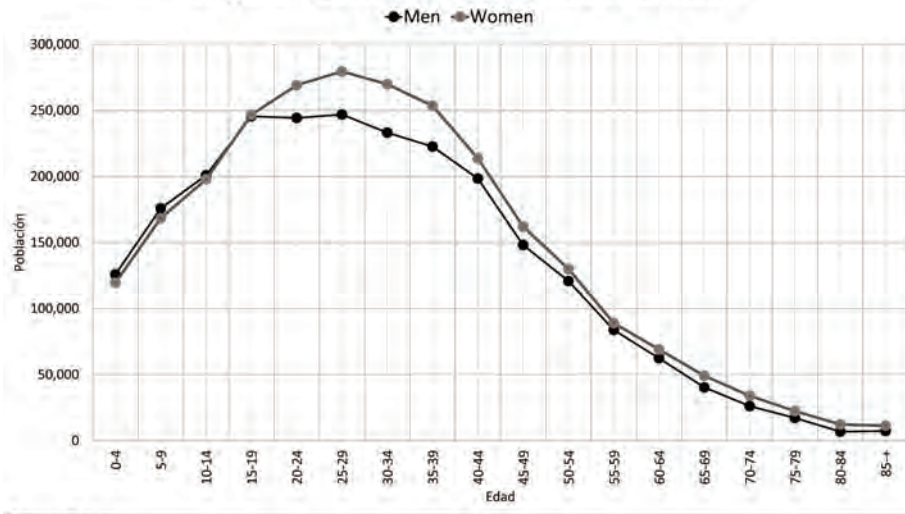
Age groups	Places of 15000 inhabitants or more			Places of fewer than 15000 inhabitants		
	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women	Total
0-4	125,886	119,662	245,548	13,547	13,624	27,171
5-9	175,794	168,449	344,244	19,105	18,570	37,675
10-14	200,891	197,893	398,784	20,098	19,058	39,155
15-19	245,574	246,719	492,294	18,649	19,493	38,142
20-24	244,310	269,124	513,434	16,919	21,253	38,172
25-29	246,902	279,486	526,388	17,136	23,284	40,420
30-34	233,174	269,824	502,998	19,442	23,443	42,885
35-39	222,613	253,565	476,177	17,145	20,354	37,500
40-44	198,383	213,693	412,076	12,299	14,180	26,479
45-49	148,075	162,078	310,153	9,331	10,013	19,344
50-54	120,827	129,890	250,718	6,507	8,001	14,509
55-59	83,802	88,979	172,781	4,359	5,838	10,197
60-64	62,379	68,997	131,376	4,078	4,382	8,460
65-69	40,334	49,095	89,429	2,409	3,223	5,632
70-74	26,144	33,980	60,124	1,736	2,321	4,057
75-79	17,192	22,393	39,585	1,402	1,355	2,756
80-84	6,845	12,264	19,109	861	765	1,626
85-+	7,313	11,359	18,672	728	615	1,343
Total	2,406,440	2,597,450	5,003,890	185,751	209,770	395,521

Source: The author's own calculations based on the Census Sample of the General Census of Population and Dwellings 2000.

NB: This includes foreigners and those who did not specify their place of birth.

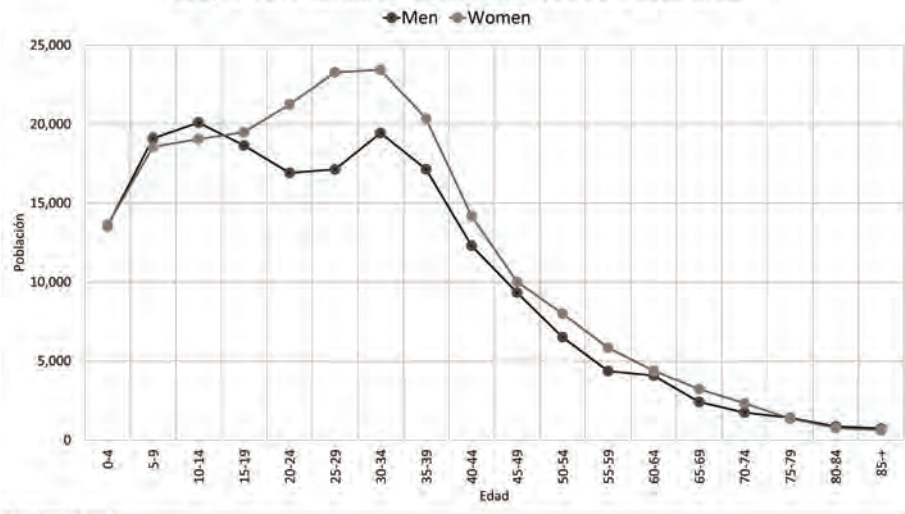
Perfectly defined tendencies can be seen in both graphs, although that which corresponds to localities of 15,000 or more inhabitants is clearer.

Graph 9. Places of 15000 inhabitants or more



Source: Table 4

Graph 10. Places of fewer than 15000 inhabitants



Source: Table 4

Conclusion and discussion

The data presented here, from the Census of 2000 or from its data base, have been used to examine the characteristics of the demography of the state of Mexico which is, at present, the zone which is, at present, the zone of greatest attraction of population in the republic. (There are, of course other such zones which will in the future be important: Baja California and Quintana Roo are two examples.)

This investigation casts new light on four aspects of Mexican migration studies

First, it demonstrates the existence of gender selection (which goes against received opinion). Male migration is surpassed by that of females in almost all age groups. Second, it makes a reappraisal of the migration of the young in Mexico State. This does not follow the pattern suggested by demographers who have studied the phenomenon in the developed world and tried to generalize their conclusions. The general model of migratory behaviour for each age group established by (Rogers 1975: 146-147) and cited by (Pimienta 1999: 29-32) states that: "The regularities observed in the pattern of migration are unsurprising: young adults show the highest rates of migration because they have fewer ties to their community, their children are not normally at school and they are not, generally, the owners of the places where they live. Rather, they tend to be renting their dwellings and as they have not acquired seniority in their workplace, this is not yet an important consideration for them. Given that children move as part of the family, their migratory pattern is a reflection of their parents' pattern. Consequently, as younger parents have smaller children, the geographical mobility of these children is greater than that of adolescents. Finally, the small bump which appears between the ages of 62 and 65 shows migration after retirement".

According to this view, migration in early childhood should be greater than that later in childhood. However, Table 4 and Graphs 9 and 10 show a completely different situation. In these, migration can be seen as a curve which grows from left to right in childhood, exactly the opposite of the idea suggested in the model. There are three possible explanations of this phenomenon. One is that what is happening here is permanent migration in which the child migrates with the whole family during the early years of his life. Another is that one of the parents or both migrate without small children as a strategy to ensure the survival of the family. Still another is that children in their later childhood (probably from the age of 12 onwards) migrate on their own in order to help their parents with the economy of the family. (Pimienta, 2001)

Third, it has been shown that most migrants are of working age, both women and men. The former are both more numerous and slightly older than the latter. Many immigrants to the state are in the over-18 age group and this has contributed to a relative but slight ageing of the population. For example, the over 65 age group comprises 3.8% of the total population, 4.5% of immigrants and 8.5 of emigrants.

Graphs 9 and 10 show a very clear pattern of migration which, although comparable in general terms to the theoretical models, does not reproduce them. Some parts of the curves do not display the tendencies the theory predicts. Moreover, the behaviour of the over-65 age group also differs from the expected pattern.

Fourth, for some time the idea of a demographic bonus has been under discussion i.e. that the form of the population pyramid follows that of an amphora. This means that most of the population is of working age and there are only a small number of people in the ages of economic dependence i.e. small children and those of retirement age. It could be said that the state of Mexico (and its neighbour Mexico City) were early beneficiaries of this bonus because most of the migrants to these entities are of working age. It would be well worth examining, on another occasion, the demographic symbiosis between Mexico City and Mexico State. 16 municipalities of Mexico State have such a close relationship to the city that they are considered part of the urban zone (esp. "conurbado") and the governments of the two adjoining political units collaborate to finance and built infrastructure (e.g. the new railway line) which will serve the citizens of both.

The social, economic and public policy implications of this investigation are important. That 41.2% of the present population of Mexico State are immigrants who have settled in the state from the rest of the republic gives pause for thought. It is of great importance to analyze these population flows which have immense consequences for planning, allocation of resources and the welfare.

In demography a net migratory balance is defined as the difference, in a given area, between the number of immigrants and the number of emigrants. This may be positive or negative. If the number of emigrants is greater than that of immigrants (a positive difference) it is considered a zone of expulsion. If the balance is zero. It is considered to be in equilibrium.

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