

Introduction

Migration has been, is and will continue to be a topic of great importance for many countries in the years to come. It is through migration that the world has come to be as diverse as we know it. Due to the fact that political, social, and economic production has become mobile, population “flows rather than territory are becoming a defining feature” of society (Bourne, 2014, 248). This is evident through the research lead by the United Nations in 2014 which demonstrates the changing order of society. In the research it is stipulated that by 2050 the urban population is expected to be equal to a 90 per cent of the world’s population (DESA, 2015, 1), as opposed to 2014 in which 54 per cent of the population lived in urbanized areas (WHO, 2016). In the case of Mexico we can see that migration is a topic constantly present in its internal and external policies, demonstrating that it is of a high level of importance. There may be a misconception that the main topic within Mexico’s agenda is based on international migration, but it is also due to internal migration that the country has changed and it will continue to do so as the population distribution shifts. These population flows have resulted in establishing certain demographic trends within the country and have shaped both social order and economic aspects.

Migration is a process that refers to the movement of one or various individuals from one geographical location to another, having the common movement which involves sending and the receiving locations (Todaro, 386,1980). Depending on the regions of origin as well as the destination, migration may be classified into four different groups, these four groups may be the following: rural-rural, rural-urban, urban-urban, and urban-rural (Sobrinho, 2010, 14). In this paper we will be focusing on the group of rural-urban migration. This kind of migration is known to contribute to the reduction of poverty as well as economic development (IMO, 2005, 5). Rural-urban population flows are referred to as the process of urbanization in which it is described as follows:

Shift in a population from one that is dispersed across small rural settlements in which agriculture is the dominant economic activity towards one where the population is concentrated in larger, dense urban settlements characterised by industrial and service activities (DESA, 2015, 1).

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The phenomenon of migration occurs on a daily basis in Mexico; in recent years the population mobility within the country has evolved to show a higher concentration in more metropolitan areas in a drastic manner, a trend that may be explained through “urban migration”. Today we can see the shift in Mexican population reflected through the following statistics: currently, 79% (2014) of the population is concentrated in metropolitan areas, in contrast to a 75% of population in 2000 that lived in the rural cities/regions (WBG, 2016). This tendency is not a situation singling out the mobility of Mexican population; on the contrary it is a phenomenon occurring in many countries around the world. Some authors highlight certain causes for urban migration on characteristics such as “work income, the availability of public goods” (Messina & Lahav, 2006,16) and as explained by Curran, “higher wages and vast opportunities for employment” (Curran, 2003, 290). Since the development of cities is what generates labour demand, it can be stated that there is a degree of interdependence between the migration/population flows and economic development. Because it is through population flows and migration that receiving cities have the capacity to sustain their economic and infrastructure growth/development. Either way we to keep in mind that development and economic growth (positive outcome) can only occur when the city has both, a good economic growth as well as trust in the government, only then can we expect migration to truly complete the development process within such city (Castles & Miller, 2014, 78).

The process of development can be explained through a dynamic process that triggers growth “advancement, empowerment and progress, with the goal of increasing human capabilities, enlarging the scope of human choices, and creating a safe and secure environment where citizens can live with dignity and equality” (International Organization for Migration, 2015). Another way in which this can be explained is through the definition given by the World Bank, stating that it is a concept that encircles all of the aspects of an individual’s well-being. With this we can assume that when talking about developed or globalized cities we are referring to those which theoretically pose better probabilities of reaching improved living conditions.

Population flows and mobility are said occur to a certain extent due to poverty, which ends up pushing people out o a region into another determining population dynamics and distribution (UNFPA, 2014). This too defines the modernization/development of specific cities within Mexico. This migration is further discussed by Castles and Miller explaining that population dynamics and distribution are connected to social inequalities, this is what

further triggers high numbers of population to move whilst seeking better living conditions (Castles & Miller, 2014, 12). Due to the industries that establish and develop in large cities, there is an increase in labour demand that is then fulfilled by immigrants. In recent years there has been an increase in the “importance of the tertiary (service) sector” leading to a high demand of both low and high-skilled labour (Castles & Miller, 2014, 35). This aspect is reflected in the Mexican economy since when looking at the total GDP in 2014, 66.27 per cent was contributed by service sector (INEGI, 2015). The importance of the service sector is reflected in the amount of the labour demand by areas such as Monterrey, thus requiring a specific type of labour which is mainly but not exclusively low-skilled labour. This low skilled labour may concentrate within *maquilas*, the service sector, as well as informal labour. It can be seen in the Consejo Nacional de Población (CONAPO) data that the majority of internal migration in the recent years consists of a population that has not fulfilled its primary school studies, data which reinforces the importance of low-skilled labour migration that has contributed to the demographic changes specifically based on rural-urban migration. Likewise, we see that the more a city develops and industries settle and grow, the more labour opportunities it creates, representing a diversification of the economy and professional growth possibilities for migrants.

This study addresses the following question of the investigation: To what extent is internal migration triggered by the economic development/growth of receiving cities (concerning the globalized cities) in particular the case of Monterrey? The period that will be assessed in this work is that from 2000 to 2015.

Through the question stated, we can establish that the hypothesis will be the following: Domestic migration to the metropolitan area of Monterrey is triggered by foreign direct investment as part of a larger process of globalization, increasing the availability of well-paid jobs. This produces increasing flows of labour migration specifically into the tertiary sector of the labour market. And when relating this to globalization we must not forget the global division of labour, diversifying the activities within a city (O’Brein, Williams, 2010, 255). Thus we will see that there is both an individual benefit and a collective one as well, individually it will be reflected on job availability and salary, while collective benefit will be reflected on the cities infrastructure.

In the past decades, there have been different waves of migration responsible for Mexico’s population distribution. These migration waves have resulted in different cities’

modernization processes and globalization. These waves will be categorized into two primary waves within this work: the first from 1950 to 1990 during its agricultural development and the implementation of Import Substitution Industrialization (ISI), the second wave is marked by the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA). Rural-urban migration has been a big determining factor on the population concentration in Mexico, especially in more recent years, as it has determined the socioeconomic order as well as certain demographic aspects. Looking at the migration trends, we can observe that most of it is composed by low-skilled workers, which may translate to people seeking jobs with higher incomes than those acquired from agricultural labour.

The first phase of migration that we will talk about is from 1950 to 1990, with a specific movement of population based on the settling and growth by different big cities such as Mexico City and Guadalajara amongst others. The growth of the different cities was mainly reflected in labour opportunity/employability, specifically based on the extraction of primary resources. The growth of certain cities began to shift towards a concentration of locations which had mining or agriculture based economies, such as Zacatecas as well as the cities mentioned before. As president General Lazaro Cardenas implemented more land reforms to boost the agricultural sector, migration shifts began to show even more, this phenomenon makes an appearance around the world in different degrees and was known as the Green Revolution (Sonnenfeld, 1992, 31). But the growth of the agricultural development was not sustainable for long and families began to experience difficulties and small-land holding families had to migrate, beginning what can be seen as a “rural out-migration” (Sonnenfeld, 1992, 42). This population migrated with the intent to seek for other forms of income such as in manufacturing industries or *maquilas*. Not only was the migration triggered by the lack of sustainability of the agricultural market, but there was also a growth of disparities in relation to income creating a bigger economic gap. As economic industrialization continued to develop, more companies and services began to settle in places like Mexico City or the Northern part of the country (due to their convenient geographical location next to the United States of America). The implementation of the Bracero program began a pull motion in population flows to the north of the country, at the same time triggering the rural-urban migration. With jobs being offered to Mexican immigrants many decided to move up north and settle for a bit before going to the USA. The settlement location (cities) in part where chosen due to the facility to services that where already implemented, this is where the second migration wave begins to occur

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(Corrales, 2005, 5). But the program did not last long, by 1962 the program was terminated and the internal migration grew even more, having as a characteristic being of rural-urban type (OECD, 107, 1998).

The second wave of migration started in 1992; this began with the signing of the NAFTA agreement, which was signed by Mexico, USA, and Canada. In this agreement the countries aimed to eliminate tariffs on goods and services that were exchanged between the three countries, coming into effect in 1994. This wave was crucial in changing the Mexican economy. Mexico would no longer have competitive prices in comparison to products from the United States. This went to damage the agricultural opportunities that Mexico once had (due to the high subsidies from the government to the American agricultural market). At this point changes in the economy seem in place, Mexico had to discover which were its strengths in order to maintain its economy and boost its growth. As NAFTA began developing, Mexico tried establishing programs that would protect the agricultural market. Except these measures failed, causing the following 6 years after NAFTA for Mexico to enter a period of “mediocre economic performance” (Esquivel, 2008, 5). This period was one in which economic disparities grew in a large degree, causing an economic restructuring demonstrated through both internal and international migration. *Maquila* based economies began to shift the population concentration which had previously started with the Bracero program but had not had such a strong impact as the years following the implementation of NAFTA. Population numbers gathered by the National Institute of Statistics and Geography (INEGI, 2015) demonstrate that although there has been a constant increase in urban population, in the data we can observe that the increase was larger during the 20 years pre-NAFTA rather than post-NAFTA.

Regardless of the data presented by INEGI, the idea is that the more industrialised the city is, the more people this city will need in order to cover all the labour demand of the different industries. Thus we see a change in the labour markets in various cities that boost the economy of certain markets, forcing outward migration of the less industrialized cities. Causing a large amount of the government resources to focus in specific cities, in order to create an infrastructure which would attract foreign investment. We can observe this in the rapid industry development in cities such as Queretaro, Tijuana and Monterrey amongst others. Some ways in which the development has been shown is through the population growth as well as from diverse services that are offered in these cities. The same way in which migration can be seen in different periods when looking at

development we cannot disregard its context and history. The real turning point towards industrialization for Mexico is considered to be in 1880's, under president Porfirio Díaz. It was a period in which capital investment numbers grew rapidly and government spending was specifically directed to development and modernization. The key aspects of this development lied on features such as communication and transportation services as well as the fact that domestic trade was encouraged, all of which were concentrated on the northern and centre parts of the country. A change was seen after the creation of the Mexican Bank (1925) and the national commission of Roads and Irrigation, which open way to the ISI policy. Still, the following years specifically post-WWII the industry continued to be to a certain extent protectionist, opening way only to small industries within the country. The depression in 1938 and the situation during and after the war only reinforced the ISI and allowed the manufacturing industries to develop (Alvarez, 1999, 2414).

Rapid industry development and population seem to have a strong relation present even though there is no specific literature that outlines the relationship between migration and the economic framework of a city such as trade, or in this case the foreign direct investment or trade (Rivera, 2006, 31). As the global cities continue to grow there has been a new trend in their geographical aspects which have resulted in an economic agglomeration. An economic agglomeration is when the companies, firms and people locate close to each other in what is called industrial clusters, this is done with the intention of reducing transport costs as well as benefiting from the closeness of the services of the neighbouring companies (Glaeser, 2010, 1). This phenomenon began to grow rapidly in the north of Mexico with the settlement of *maquilas* and followed by other different industries in order to fulfil the industrial needs, concluding in some of the largest cities in Mexico, such as Monterrey (cities that greatly contribute to the country's annual GDP). Latest information coming from INEGI established that in 2015 Nuevo Leon contributed a 7.4% of the annual Gross Domestic Products (GDP) (INEGI, 2016).

The economic order has changed through the years creating a structure that requires "collaborative relationships between firms and other organizations" (Fromhold-Eisebith, 2004) thus agglomerations and clusters have developed. Such structures within states and cities make regions such as Monterrey, Mexico City, etc. major economic contributors to the country. This phenomenon can be seen in Mexico though the implementation of industrial parks in which companies establish within cities allowing the different required services to be close to each other. With a diversification of the economy and the idea that

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there are certain trends which demonstrate that some of the triggers are based on the labour required by specific industries. With this being said the migration to big cities is believed to be a rational choice of people, and for the same reason this might appear as a “mass phenomenon” (Messina & Lahav, 2006, 16). In studies based on the 21st century (Acosta, Reyes, y Solis, 2015) the level of employability is higher amongst the recent immigrants, jobs which are centred in activities of low and medium skills, demonstrating labour as a main topic.

For this study it is important to take into account data that is presented by INEGI, showing that the population distribution in Nuevo Leon between rural and urban is 5% and 95% respectively. This can be reflected with the idea that the population is equal to 5119504 (equivalent to 4.3% of the total population of Mexico). Their economic activities are distributed in the following way: 0.65% primary activities, 38.42% secondary activities, and 60.93% tertiary activities. All of this information reflects the latest data published by INEGI which reflects Nuevo Leon in 2014.

In order to prove the hypothesis previously stated, this work will consist of three chapters. In the first part of chapter II will concentrate on establishing what are the bases for a city's development are. Then I will go on to assess the trend of development and industrial growth that has occurred over more recent years (2000 to 2015) in Monterrey in order to see how much this city has changed. We will take into account foreign direct investment as well as other aspects that will be explained together with the different such as how state's GDP compares to Mexico's GDP. For this we will be using the labour input as well as the capital input.

Then, Chapter II will assess the flows of internal migration that there has been in the country during the period of 2000 to 2015. To then compare and cross-reference the data of Monterrey. As well as to see the

Next, in chapter III we will put together both aspects of development and economic growth together with the flows of internal migration. Development and migration will be seen together in order to see the correlation between the two aspects being evaluated in this paper.

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Finally, though all of the information assessed together with the context of Monterrey's growth we will be able to see to what extent the economic development seems to be responsible for internal migration specifically to Monterrey.