

## INTRODUCTION: POPULATION MIGRATION AND URBANIZATION IN DEVELOPING COUNTRIES

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IT is well known to scholars that during the past forty to fifty years developing countries have experienced a large movement of population and rapid urbanization. Compared with the advanced countries of Europe where migration from the countryside and urbanization progressed along with industrialization, one sees in the developing countries urbanization taking place both with and without industrialization. Moreover the speed of this urbanization has been two to five times faster than when Europe underwent its industrial development, and it has continued for more than thirty years. This special issue has been published in order to provide a better understanding of the characteristics of this rapid migration and urbanization, and to try to categorize them. Eight countries and regions are examined, and the substantive questions dealt with include the particular characteristics of urbanization, government policies toward population migration, the change in the absolute size of the rural population, the transformation of the urban labor market due to the rapid inflow of population, and the problems of maintaining cities under the stress of rapid population expansion. The authors who have contributed to this special issue have taken up one of the above issues and analyzed it as it has affected the developing country or region of their specialization.

Three factors have combined to produce the increase in urban population. One has been the natural growth in urban population; another has been the expansion of urban administrative jurisdiction; and the third has been the inflow of population from the countryside. Strictly speaking only this third factor should be regarded as migration contributing to the increase in urbanization. In this special issue, however, we have not held to this strict definition because we were unable to separate migration-induced urbanization from the other two factors and analyze the amount that it alone contributed to urbanization. It was difficult to make such calculations from the documentary information available for the countries taken up in this study.

## I. CHARACTERISTICS OF URBANIZATION

### A. *Hyper-hyper Urbanization*

An overview of the level of urbanization in developing countries is presented in Figure 1 which graphs the rate of urbanization to per capita GNP in 1991. A number of features about the relationship between the level of urbanization and per capita GNP can be read from this figure.

First, countries with per capita GNP of U.S.\$2,000 or less have rates of urbanization that run from 10 per cent to 60 per cent. In general the rates in Africa, the Middle East, South Asia, China, and Indonesia are low, standing mostly at around 30 per cent or less.

Second, the average curve on the graph for these countries rises at an acute angle from which it can be inferred that rapid urbanization is taking place along with economic growth.

Third, the rate of urbanization in Latin America is extremely high and on a level with that in Europe and the United States. This is connected with the historical development of these countries. Large numbers of immigrants from Europe settled in these countries, and this feature itself is one of the characteristics of urbanization in Spain and Portugal.

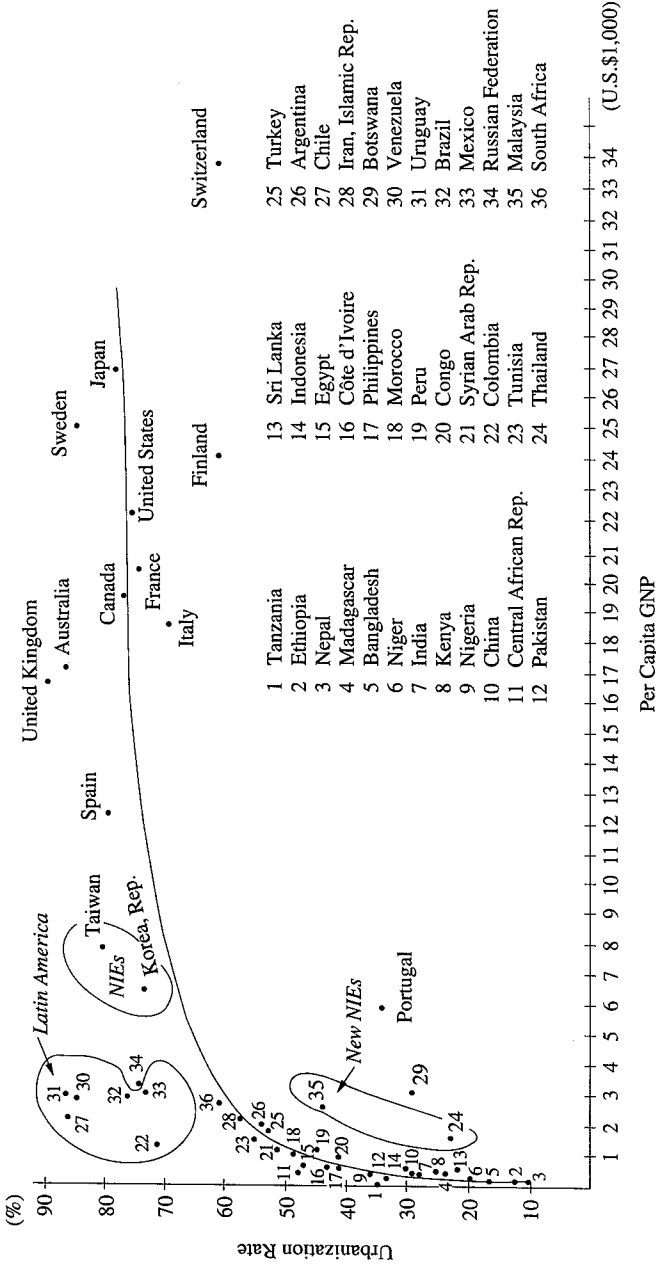
Fourth, the Republic of Korea and Taiwan, which are among the newly industrializing economies (NIEs), have extremely high rates of urbanization, standing at much the same level as in Latin America. The characteristics of urbanization in these two areas are treated in detail in this special issue.

Fifth, Thailand and Malaysia, which began their rapid economic growth about ten to fifteen years later than the NIEs, have a low rate of urbanization compared with the size of their per capita GNP (in 1991). This is due to the position of agriculture within the national economy as a whole. But even these two countries have been undergoing rapid urbanization since the 1970s.

From the data depicted in Figure 1, rates of urbanization can be divided into the following four levels: rates below 20 per cent, from 20 per cent to 50 per cent, from 50 per cent to 70 per cent, and rates over 70 per cent. There are several countries with rates below 20 per cent, and most of these are countries where genuine economic development has not yet begun. However, the pace of urbanization in these countries is extremely high, meaning that urbanization without industrialization is taking place.

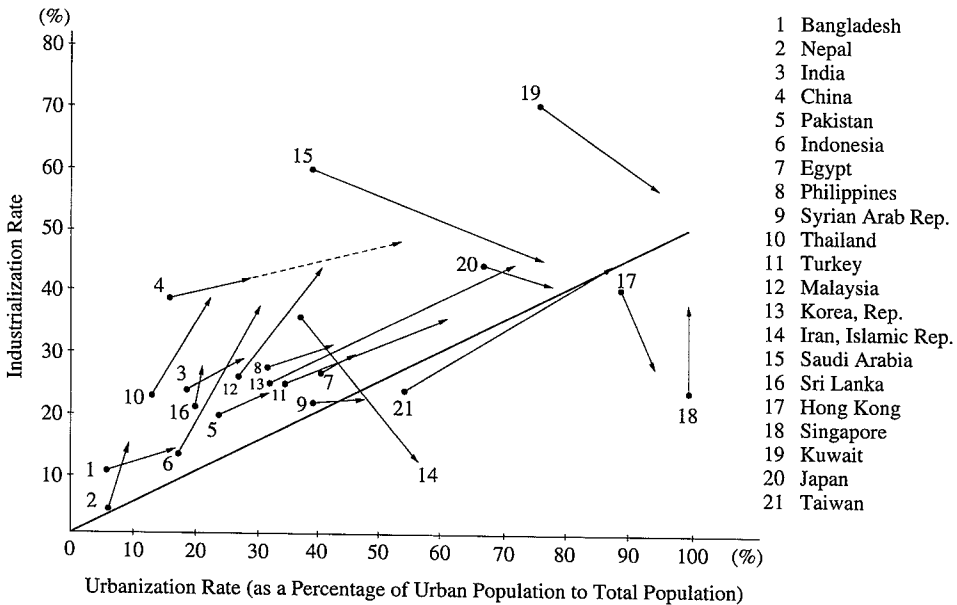
For countries with rates of 20–50 per cent, both urbanization with and without industrialization is taking place simultaneously. This fact can be confirmed by comparing the rate of industrialization with the rate of urbanization in 1965 with those in 1989. The rate of industrialization is measured by the percentage of GDP

Fig. 1. Urbanization Rates for Major Countries and Areas, 1991



Sources: World Bank, *World Development Report, 1993*, pp. 238-39, 298-99. For Taiwan, estimation was made from the employment data in *Taiwan Statistical Data Book, 1991*.

Fig. 2. Relationship between Urbanization and Industrialization Rates: Asian Countries, 1965 and 1989



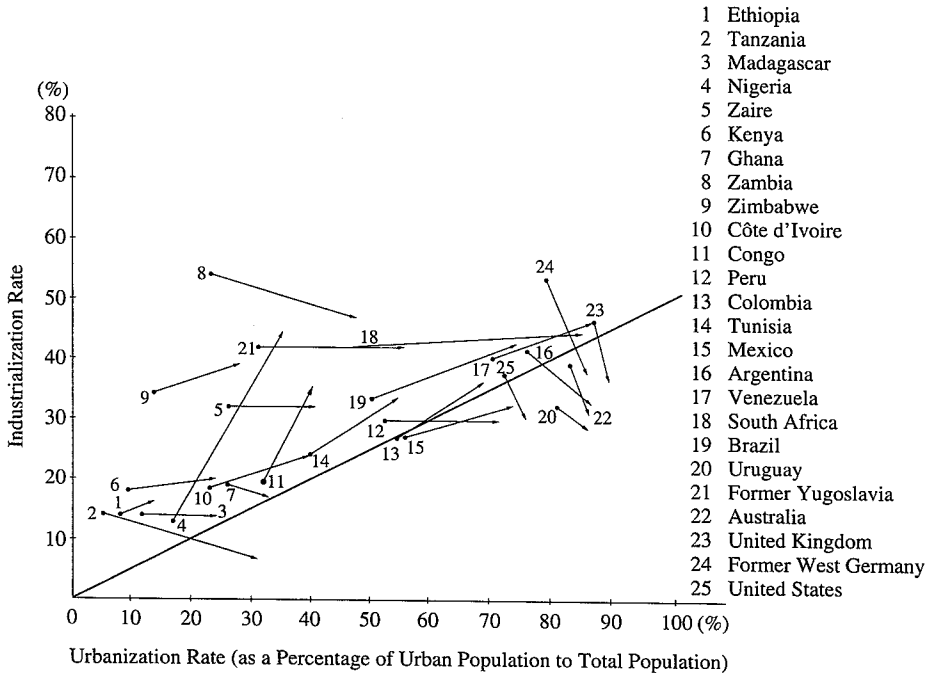
Sources: World Bank, *World Development Report, 1991*, pp. 208–9, 264–65. For Taiwan, *Taiwan Statistical Data Book, 1991*, p. 16.

- Notes: 1. The rate of industrialization shows the percentage of GDP for industry which comprises value added in mining, manufacturing, construction, and electricity, water, and gas.
2. For China a portion of the line is dotted because of the questionable accuracy of the figures provided in the data. In this graph the dotted line was redrawn based on the figures estimated by the author. The figure for Malaysia's 1989 share of the industry sector is not available; therefore the author assumed it to be 40 per cent. For Taiwan, because urban population rate is not available, the percentage of industry sector employees to total employees was used instead. It is very possible that this has made the rate of urbanization appear too high.

for industry which comprises mining, manufacturing, construction, and electricity, water, and gas. The results are shown in Figure 2 (for Asian countries) and Figure 3 (for non-Asian countries).

From the figures it can be seen that, if countries having strong mining sector are excluded, there remain very few countries with an industrialization rate of over 35 per cent. Japan, the NIEs, China, former West Germany are about the only ones. In Figures 2 and 3, the maximum value on the y axis measuring the rate of industrialization has been set at 50 per cent while that on the x axis measuring urbanization rate is at 100 per cent, and the straight line has been drawn at  $y = 1/2 x$ . Where the

Fig. 3. Relationship between Urbanization and Industrialization Rates: Non-Asian Countries, 1965 and 1989



Source: World Bank, *World Development Report, 1991*, pp. 208-9, 264-65.

Note: For the definition of industrialization rate, see note 1 to Figure 2.

slope of the individual lines joining the two points marking 1965 and 1989 is above the straight line, the increase in the rate of industrialization is faster than the growth rate of urbanization. Where it is below the straight line, the opposite is true. Where it is level, there has been no increase in the rate of industrialization, and only urbanization has advanced.

From these two figures it can be seen that: (1) in East Asia urbanization has for the most part been progressing along with industrialization; (2) in Africa and the Middle East there are rather many countries experiencing urbanization without industrialization, and (3) for Korea and Taiwan (nos. 13 and 21 in Figure 2), the slant of their respective lines is not only greater than the  $y = 1/2 x$  line, their length is also the longest. In other words, industrialization is progressing, but urbanization is also advancing at an exceedingly fast pace. This is one of the characteristics of NIEs-type urbanization which will be discussed later.

Table I presents figures for the rate of urban population growth by country over ten-year intervals since 1960. From these figures urban population growth can be divided into four levels:

## THE DEVELOPING ECONOMIES

TABLE I  
ANNUAL GROWTH RATE OF URBAN POPULATION

Country	1960-70	1970-80	1980-92	Country	1960-70	1970-80	1980-92
Mozambique	6.5*	11.5*	9.9*	Sri Lanka	4.3†	1.5	1.5
Ethiopia	6.5*	4.8†	4.8†	Philippines	3.8†	3.8†	3.8†
Tanzania	6.3*	11.4*	6.6*	Indonesia	3.6†	5.1†	5.1†
Madagascar	5.0†	5.3†	5.7†	Myanmar	3.9†	2.8	2.6
Nigeria	4.7†	6.1*	5.7†	Vietnam	5.3†		
Uganda	7.1*	3.7†	5.0†	Thailand	3.6†	5.3†	4.5†
Guinea	4.9†	4.8†	5.8†	Malaysia	3.5†	5.0†	4.8†
Rwanda	5.4†	7.5*	3.8†	Singapore	2.3	2.0	1.7
Kenya	6.4*	8.5*	7.7*	China	1.0	2.7	4.3†
Ghana	4.6†	2.9	4.3†	Mongolia	5.3†	4.3†	3.9†
Zambia	5.2†	5.9†	3.8†	Korea, Rep.	6.5*	5.3†	3.4†
Morocco	4.2†	4.1†	3.8†	Taiwan	4.8†	3.6†	2.3
Congo	5.0†	3.7†	4.5†	Hong Kong	4.3†	2.6	1.4
Algeria	3.5†	4.1†	4.9†	Japan	2.4	1.8	0.7
South Africa	2.6	2.8	2.8	Egypt	3.5†	2.5	2.5
Ecuador	4.2†	4.8†	4.9†	Yemen, Rep.	3.5†	7.0*	7.3*
Peru	5.0†	4.0†	2.9	Syrian Arab Rep.	4.8†	4.1†	4.1†
Colombia	5.2†	3.3†	2.9	Turkey	3.5†	3.7†	5.6†
Chile	3.1†	2.4	2.1	Jordan	4.7†	5.5†	6.0*
Mexico	4.7†	4.1†	2.9	Iran, Islamic Rep.	5.3†	5.0†	5.0†
Argentina	2.1	2.2	1.7	Oman	6.3*	8.3*	8.2*
Venezuela	5.1†	5.0†	3.4†	Saudi Arabia	8.4*	8.3*	6.5*
Brazil	5.0†	4.1†	3.3†	United Arab Emirates	14.9*	0.9	0.4
Uruguay	1.3	0.7	1.0	Poland	1.8	2.0	1.3
Bangladesh	6.2*	6.8*	6.2*	Bulgaria	3.8†	2.1	0.7
Nepal	4.2†	8.0*	7.9*	Hungary	2.1	2.0	0.9
India	3.3†	3.9†	3.1†	Romania	3.4†	2.6	1.2
Pakistan	4.0†	4.4†	4.5†				

TABLE I (Continued)

Country	1960-70	1970-80	1980-92	Country	1960-70	1970-80	1980-92
Spain	2.6	2.0	1.1	Norway	3.5 <sup>†</sup>	1.3	1.0
United Kingdom	0.9	0.1	0.3	Switzerland	2.2	0.4	1.5
Italy	1.5	0.9	0.6	United States	1.8	1.0	1.2
France	2.4	0.9	0.4	Australia	2.5	1.6	1.5
Germany	1.4	0.3	0.5				

Sources: World Bank, *World Development Report*, 1984 ed., pp. 254-55, and 1994 ed., pp. 222-23. For Taiwan, *Taiwan Statistical Data Book, 1992*, p. 17. Because urban population statistics were not available for Taiwan, figures for nonagricultural workers were used instead. Taiwan's figure for 1980-92 was calculated based on 1980-91 data.

\* 6 per cent or higher range.

† 3-5 per cent range.

- A : 6 per cent and over—hyper-hyper urbanization
- B : from 3 to less than 6 per cent—hyper urbanization
- C : from 1 to less than 3 per cent—rapid urbanization
- D : less than 1 per cent—stagnant urbanization

These four levels of urban population growth rate were derived from the historical experiences of the advanced countries in Western Europe and of Japan. For Western Europe during its period of economic rise, the fastest rate of urban population growth was 2.5 per cent, and for most of the period it was 1–2 per cent. For Japan the rate reached 4.3 per cent in the 1920s and 6.0 per cent in the 1930s. Japan in the 1930s was moving toward a wartime economy, and industrialization for military production was moving ahead at an extremely fast pace.

From Table I it can be seen that most of the countries recording urban population growth rates of 6 per cent or more are in Africa and the Middle East. Most of the countries in these two regions are of the hyper-hyper type. In South Asia, Bangladesh and Nepal have urban population growth rates of 6 per cent or higher, and the per capita GDP for both countries is in the same range as that for the low-income countries in Africa. This means that these countries along with much of Africa and the Middle East are suffering from hyper-hyper urbanization without industrialization. In Latin America urban population growth rates of over 3 per cent came to an end during the 1970s. This indicates that when the rate of urbanization reaches 70 per cent or higher, the growth in urban population decelerates.

Compared with the growth rate of urban population in Europe during its period of economic rise, Table I shows that the rate for the developing countries has been two to five times faster; moreover the growth in urban population has been going on for more than thirty years.

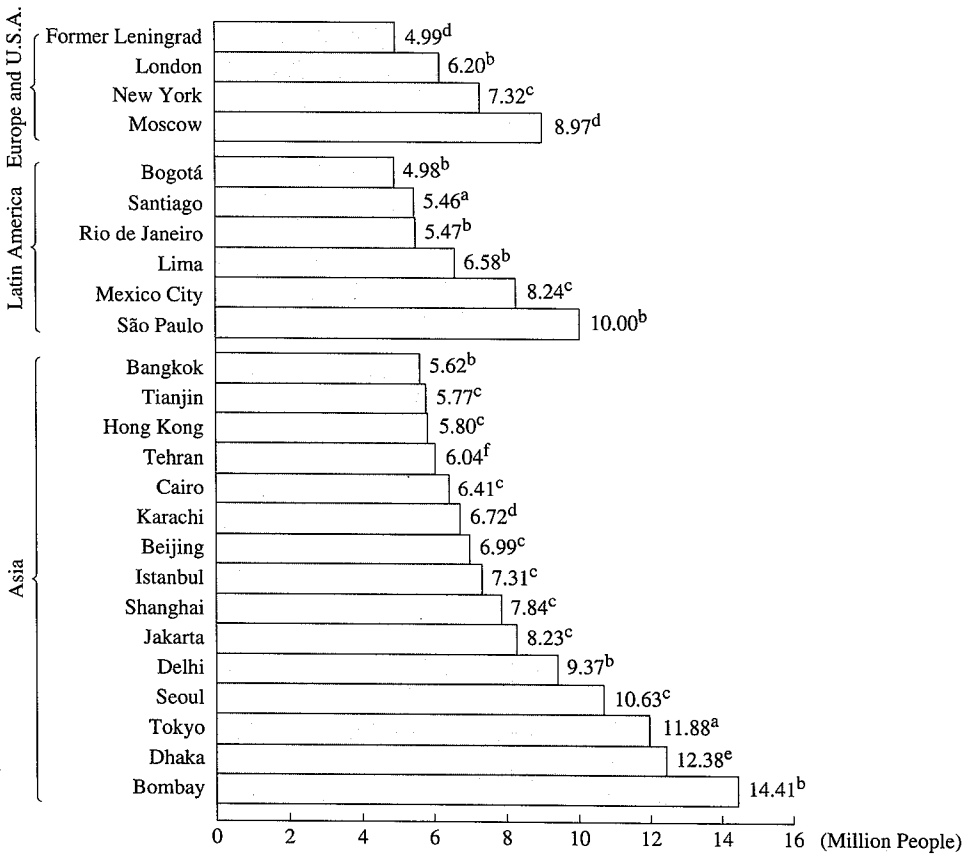
### B. *Unipolar Concentration in Urbanization*

The location of cities with a population of 5 million or more as of around 1990 is shown in Figure 4. The definition of urban population is a complicated matter, and it differs according to the country. I will not go into a detailed examination of the differences in definition here, but among the different definitions available about urbanization, such as the distinction between the population within the extended urban administrative area or population within the municipal area, I have adopted the latter stricter definition.

By around 1990 there were twenty-five cities in the world with a population of 5 million or more; twenty of these were in developing countries and the other five were in developed countries. By region there were fifteen in Asia, six in Latin America, and only four in Europe and the United States. A noteworthy point about these giant cities in Europe and the United States is that they have peaked at a population of 7 to 8 million, and they have not grown beyond this limit. In Asia and Latin America, on the other hand, there are now five cities with a population of 10



Fig. 4. The Giant Cities of the World around 1990 (Population 5 Million and Over)



Sources: Tokyo Metropolitan Government, *Sekai daitoshi hikaku tōkeihyō: Heisei 3-nen* [Statistics of world large cities, 1991] (Tokyo, 1992). United Nations and Tokyo Metropolitan Government, *Toshi keiei sekai kaigi* [World conference on urban management] (Tokyo, 1993). China, State Statistical Bureau, Chengshi-shehui-jingji-diaocha-zongdui, ed., *Zhongguo chengshi tongji nianjian, 1991* [Almanac of Chinese cities, 1991] (Beijing: Zhongguo-tongji-chubanshe, 1991).

Note: Figures for Chinese cities are of population in the city proper and surrounding suburbs; distant suburbs and provincial areas under the city's administrative jurisdiction have been excluded.

<sup>a</sup> Figure for 1992.

<sup>b</sup> Figure for 1991.

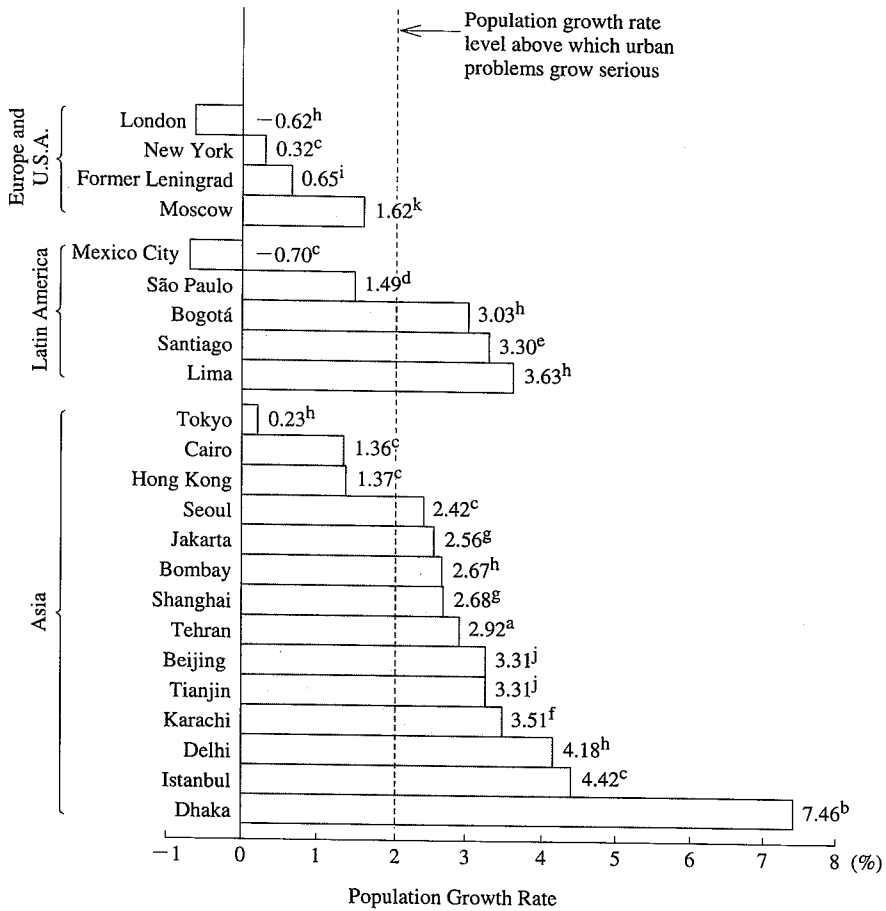
<sup>c</sup> Figure for 1990.

<sup>d</sup> Figure for 1989.

<sup>e</sup> Figure for 1988.

<sup>f</sup> Figure for 1986.

Fig. 5. Population Growth Rate of the World's Giant Cities



Source: Same as for Figure 4.

<sup>a</sup> 1976-86.                      <sup>g</sup> 1981-90.

<sup>b</sup> 1979-88.                      <sup>h</sup> 1981-91.

<sup>c</sup> 1980-90.                      <sup>i</sup> 1984-89.

<sup>d</sup> 1980-91.                      <sup>j</sup> 1984-90.

<sup>e</sup> 1980-92.                      <sup>k</sup> 1985-89.

<sup>f</sup> 1981-89.

million or more. By 1990 Bombay had grown into a giant city of over 14 million people (which seemingly was the population figure for the extended urban administrative area).

Another important point, which can be seen from Figure 5, is that the population growth rate for the cities of 5 million or more people in Europe and the United

TABLE II  
PRIMATE CITY POPULATION TO TOTAL POPULATION AND AVERAGE ANNUAL GROWTH RATE OF URBAN POPULATION

Country	1960			1980			1990			Average Annual Growth 1960-80 (%)	Average Annual Growth 1980-90 (%)
	Primate City Population (1,000)	% of Total Population	Primate City Population (1,000)	% of Total Population	Primate City Population (1,000)	% of Total Population	Primate City Population (1,000)	% of Total Population			
<b>1. Africa</b>											
Mauritania											
Congo											
Gabon											
Libya			1,080	22.5							0.8
Central African Rep.	144	9.1	320	13.9	720	24.0			4.1		8.4
Guinea	133	3.7	820	15.2	1,596	23.0			9.5		6.9
Senegal	510	16.8	1,290	22.8	1,480	20.0			4.7		1.4
Tunisia	610	3.9	1,000	15.7	1,620	20.0			2.5		4.9
Côte d'Ivoire	194	5.2	1,030	12.6	2,142	18.0			8.7		7.6
Sierra Leone	125	5.1	380	11.5	697	17.0			5.7		6.3
Angola	222	4.6	1,040	13.5	1,700	17.0			8.0		5.0
Togo			288	11.3	504	14.0					5.8
Chad			360	8.1	741	13.0					7.5
Zambia			840	15.0	996	12.0					1.7
Algeria	880	8.1	920	4.9	3,012	12.0					5.2
Mozambique	180	2.8	1,320	10.9	1,520	10.0			10.5		1.7
Botswana					130	10.0					
<b>2. Latin America</b>											
Venezuela	1,300	17.3	3,270	21.8	4,140	39.0			4.7		2.4
Chile	1,960	25.8	3,970	35.7	4,752	36.0			3.6		1.8
Argentina	6,980	33.9	10,510	37.0	10,630	36.0			5.0		0.1
Costa Rica	30	24.4	372	29.5	952	36.0			16.8		3.5
Dominican Rep.	490	15.3	1,520	27.3	2,200	31.0			5.8		3.8
Peru	1,750	17.6	4,350	25.2	6,293	29.0			4.7		3.8
Nicaragua			700	25.3	1,014	26.0					3.8

TABLE II (Continued)

Country	1960			1980			1990			Average Annual Growth 1960-80 (%)	Average Annual Growth 1980-90 (%)
	Primate City Population (1,000)	% of Total Population	Primate City Population (1,000)	% of Total Population	Primate City Population (1,000)	% of Total Population	Primate City Population (1,000)	% of Total Population			
Mexico	5,270	14.2	14,700	21.2	20,050	23.0			5.3	3.2	
Paraguay	280	20.5	580	18.3	989	22.0			3.7	5.5	
Panama	250	21.9	650	33.2	480	20.0			4.9	-3.1(2.2) <sup>a</sup>	
Bolivia	630	20.9			1,224	17.0					
Haiti			800	13.7	1,040	16.0					
Colombia	1,270	8.2	4,310	16.7	4,845	15.0			6.3	1.2	
Honduras			440	11.9	795	15.0				2.7	
Ecuador	470	10.6			1,236	15.0				6.1(3.3) <sup>a</sup>	
El Salvador	260	10.1	410	8.6	572	12.0			2.3	3.4	
3. The Middle East											
Kuwait					1,050	50.0					
Jordan		13.3			982	32.0					
Iraq	1,030	15.0	485	36.5							
Egypt					8,857	17.0					
Syrian Arab Rep.			1,380	15.7	2,108	17.0					4.6
Saudi Arabia	180	4.4	1,110	11.8	1,937	13.0			9.5	5.7	
Iran, Islamic Rep.	1,780	8.8	5,310	13.7	6,700	12.0			5.6	2.4	
Israel			1,204	30.9	517	11.0				-8.8	
4. East, Southeast, and South Asia											
Korea, Rep.	2,430	9.7	8,890	23.3	11,128	26.0			6.7	2.3	
Japan					18,525	15.0					
Philippines	2,990	8.2	5,420	11.2	8,610	14.0					
Thailand	2,180	8.1	5,550	11.9	7,254	13.0					
Taiwan					2,708	13.3					
Malaysia	393	4.8	1,270	9.2	1,790	10.0			6.0	3.5	
Lao PDR	131	5.5	240	6.5	410	10.0			3.1	5.5	

TABLE II (Continued)

Country	1960			1980			1990			Average Annual Growth 1980-90 (%)
	Primate City Population (1,000)	% of Total Population	Primate City Population (1,000)	% of Total Population	Primate City Population (1,000)	% of Total Population	Primate City Population (1,000)	% of Total Population	Average Annual Growth 1960-80 (%)	
5. Western Europe and Oceania										
Portugal	817*	9.3	826* <sup>b</sup>	8.4	4,680	45.0	4,680	45.0	0.1	0.1
Greece	628*	7.5	886*	9.2	3,434	34.0	3,434	34.0	1.7	1.7
Finland	453*	10.2	483*	10.1	1,400	28.0	1,400	28.0	0.3	0.3
Denmark	721*	15.7	647*	12.6	617*	12.0	617*	12.0	-0.5	-0.5
Austria	1,631*	23.0	1,516* <sup>b</sup>	20.2	1,534* <sup>d</sup>	19.9	1,534* <sup>d</sup>	19.9	-0.4	-0.1
Sweden	809*	10.8	647*	7.8	672* <sup>c</sup>	7.9	672* <sup>c</sup>	7.9	-1.1	0.4
Norway	481*	13.4	451*	11.0	1,376	16.0	1,376	16.0	0.3	0.3
France	2,790*	6.1	2,190*	4.1	8,460	15.0	8,460	15.0	-1.2	-1.2
Spain	2,260*	7.4	3,180* <sup>b</sup>	8.5	2,990* <sup>c</sup>	7.7	2,990* <sup>c</sup>	7.7	1.6	1.6
Belgium	255 <sup>c</sup>	2.8			470*	4.8	470*	4.8		
New Zealand	997*	42.0	321* <sup>b</sup>	10.3	316* <sup>d</sup>	9.4	316* <sup>d</sup>	9.4		0.1

Sources: Calculated from the following data: World Bank, *World Development Report*, 1990, 1992, and 1993 editions; Institute of Developing Economies, Statistical Research Department, *Distribution of Cities by Population Size in Developing Countries* (Tokyo: Institute of Developing Economies, 1989), pp. 47-52.

\* Figures taken from United Nations, *Demographic Yearbook*, various years. Figures without an asterisk were estimated from the percentage of primate city population to total population as given in the above World Bank reports.

<sup>a</sup> Thirty-year period from 1960 to 1990.

<sup>b</sup> Figure for 1981.

<sup>c</sup> Figure for 1989.

<sup>d</sup> Figure for 1991.

<sup>e</sup> Figure for 1961.

States has been less than 1 per cent while that for most of the giant cities in the developing countries has exceeded 3 per cent. Thus in contrast to the advanced countries where the energy to produce giant cities of 10 million or more people has been lost, such cities in the developing countries are still continuing to grow, and this growth continues to be rapid. If a city's population grows at an annual rate of over 2 per cent for over ten years, it becomes very difficult to maintain the health and quality of the city.

Table II provides figures measuring the degree of unipolar concentration of population in five regions of the world. For countries with a population of 20–30 million people or less, I have categorized as giant cities those having 10 per cent or more of the total national population. The table is arranged according to the portion of total national population that is concentrated in the primate city of the country in 1990. It can be seen that such giant cities are concentrated in the countries of Africa, Latin America, and the Middle East. Moreover, the population growth rate for most of these cities during the 1980s surpassed 3 per cent which was in stark contrast to the situation in Western Europe.

Before closing this section, I would like to comment briefly about the reverse side of unipolar concentration of population. In quite a few countries where a growing portion of the population is becoming increasingly concentrated in the primate city, the urban population in cities with 2,000–100,000 people is shrinking both in relative and absolute terms.

### C. *Decline in the Absolute Size of the Rural Population*

During the rapid growth of urbanization, the time when the absolute size of the rural population begins to decline becomes an indicator marking an important phase in measuring migration from the countryside to the cities. Among the developed countries, for France the decline began in the 1850s when the rate of urbanization stood at 29 per cent; for England it began in the 1860s when the rate was 58 per cent, for Japan it was the 1920s at 24 per cent, and for the United States it was the 1930s at a rate of 56 per cent. Although there are no discernible laws of population that say there will be a measurable fall in the absolute size of the rural population when the rate of urbanization reaches a certain level, it would be informative to see what the situation is like at present for the developing countries.<sup>1</sup>

Looking at a total of eighty-seven developing countries (thirty in Asia, thirty-six in Africa, and twenty-one in Latin America from the 1950s up to 1985), in Latin America the following countries showed the decline in the absolute size of the rural population in the 1950s: Argentina (where the urbanization rate was 65 per cent

<sup>1</sup> Calculated from Institute of Developing Economies, Statistical Research Department, *Distribution of Cities by Population Size in Developing Countries* (Tokyo: Institute of Developing Economies, 1989), pp. 47–52.

when the decline began), Chile (58 per cent), Bolivia (35 per cent), and Puerto Rico (45 per cent); and in the 1960s the countries were: Cuba (55 per cent), Uruguay (81 per cent), and Venezuela (71 per cent). In Asia the decline commenced in Taiwan in the 1960s (at around 47 per cent) and Korea in the 1970s (48 per cent). In Africa thus far there has been only one country: Libya during the latter half of the 1970s (47 per cent). In all of the other remaining countries the absolute size of the rural population continues to increase. Even though the pace of urbanization in the developing countries is advancing at two to five times the rate of that in the developed countries of Europe, there is still no indication in most of these countries that the absolute size of the rural population is starting to decline, and this point is a major characteristic of population migration and urbanization in today's developing countries.

The Latin American countries had already attained high rates of urbanization in the 1950s. The conditions in the countries of this region were different from those of Taiwan and Korea, both of which are NIEs. Taiwan began genuine industrialization at the beginning of the 1950s and Korea began likewise at the end of the 1950s. From 1963 Taiwan entered the stage of high economic growth with 9 per cent and higher real growth in annual GNP; Korea did likewise from around 1970. Within about ten years from the start of their high economic growth, the size of the absolute rural population began to decline. It was mentioned earlier and shown in Figure 2 that the increase in the rate of industrialization and the rapid growth of urbanization have been one of the characteristics of NIEs-type urbanization. The indication of a decline in the absolute size of the rural population can be added as a second characteristic.

#### D. *The Formation of a Stratified Labor Market in the Big Cities*

A stratified urban labor market is a multi-level labor market where there is no mutual movement of the labor force between the levels. There is no mutual movement within the labor force, either in the long term or the short term, between the labor market for managerial and technical personnel and the market for general manual laborers, and between the market for general manual laborers and that for informal sector jobs. And because the labor market is stratified, the residential areas of the labor force are also stratified. A sort of zoning of residential areas according to job stratum spontaneously takes form. This is frequently closely connected with differences in language, religion, race, and living standard, and is a cause for social and political discord. The greater the ethnic, religious, and racial diversity, the more serious the problems of discord become.

One question is whether this stratified labor market is moving in a direction that will break down or further intensify stratification. Factors working to break down the stratified labor market are the speed of industrialization, the formation of new industries, and education (particularly the spread of primary and secondary educa-

tion). With faster industrialization, greater formation of new industries, and faster spread of education, the possibility is greater that the stratified market will break down. The reverse will intensify the stratification. Urbanization without industrialization, in particular, intensifies stratification of the labor force.

One of the factors for judging whether or not the stratified labor market is breaking down is whether efforts are being made to deal with the squatter areas that house the lowest workers of the labor market and with the poor living environment of urban low-income settlements. Up to the 1980s the large cities of the developing countries, with the exception of those in China, experienced substantial formation and expansion of slums and squatter settlements. In China from the mid-1950s onward slums disappeared and were unseen again until the 1980s due to government controls on the movement of the population. This will be treated in detail in the Kojima's paper in this special issue.

Among the developing countries, those that have largely dealt with the stratified labor market are Singapore, Taiwan, and Korea. All three are NIEs. The major factors for Singapore's success have been its large-scale urban planning and government housing policy. In Korea it has been due to high economic growth as well as government housing policy. By the time of the Seoul Olympic Games in 1988, the problem of a stratified labor market had by and large been dealt with. The NIEs have realized high economic growth, have successfully introduced new industries, and have promoted primary and secondary education, all of which have contributed greatly to breaking down the stratified labor market. This is a third characteristic of NIEs-type urbanization.

With the exception of the NIEs, the big cities of all other developing countries are experiencing an intensification and expansion of the stratified labor market. This has led to the rampant development of cluttered low-income residential areas promoted by illegal urban developers on the peripheries of the big cities.

The above four points characterize urbanization in the developing countries. In Section II we will look at how these characteristics exhibit themselves in the analysis of the countries dealt with in this special issue, and endeavor to classify urbanization by type.

## II. THE CLASSIFICATION OF URBANIZATION

### A. *Government Controlled Urbanization*

The vast movement of population and urbanization that has been seen in the developing countries over the past thirty to forty years has been a spontaneously generated phenomenon. This great flow of people into the urban areas has been close to irresistible as though following some inexorable law as pointed out in the first section. However, there are three countries which have felt compelled to re-



strain this torrent and have used the power of the state in an effort to hold it in check. These three have been China, South Africa, and the Islamic Republic of Iran.

Developments in China are analyzed by Kojima in the first paper. Government control over population movement in China began from 1952 soon after the victory of the communist revolution in 1949. It started with a policy of forcing people to migrate from the cities out to the countryside and to remote regions. The targets of this forced migration were the soldiers and government personnel of the defeated Chiang Kai-shek regime along with urban unemployed and a portion of the excess rural labor force. Initially the policy had the political objective of removing those elements that opposed the rule of the Chinese Communist Party and the social objective of aiding the unemployed. From 1961 until the start of the 1980s the objective changed to that of maintaining order in the cities as China found itself totally isolated internationally. During this period it became impossible for the urban economy to support even the natural growth of the urban population because the various government controls barely maintained the daily lives of the urban population.

During the 1980s economic reforms and market-opening policies were adopted, the people's commune system was terminated, and government controls over the urban population gradually lost effectiveness. By the 1990s great numbers of peasants were flowing from the countryside into the cities reaching an annual rate of 6–7 per cent of China's total population. The government is still attempting to impose regulations in an effort to maintain social order in the cities, but it will not be long before these efforts lose all effectiveness. Already a quasi-informal sector has begun to take form in the cities, and stratification of the labor market has begun to appear.

Developments in South Africa are analyzed in the second paper by Ogura. From the end of the nineteenth century, the white controlled government in that country followed a policy of racial segregation. The objective was to prevent blacks from living in white residential areas so that they could be used for work at the low end of the labor force. But with the development of the mining industry which employed large numbers of blacks, the segregation policy fell into crisis, and from 1948 the government adopted a policy of Apartheid under which it sought to confine blacks to 9 per cent of the country's total area.

However, the policy of restricting blacks from white areas caused an upsurge of black workers having to commute to the white areas. These workers crowded into settlements that arose along the borders around the white areas. These border settlements developed into substantial urban areas, and growth in the total black population added further impetus to this urbanization. Finally in 1991 the Population Registration Act was abolished which brought down the Apartheid system.

In China and South Africa, state controls on population movement largely ended

in 1990, and it can be expected that the cities in these two countries, like those in virtually all the other developing countries, will come to suffer from the problems generated by over-urbanization.

Iran's case is analyzed in the third paper by Kanō. The situation in that country differed from China and South Africa. There the peculiar circumstances of revolution and war were used to carry out quasi-government controls on migration.

Founded in 1979 following the Iranian revolution, the Islamic Republic of Iran advocated the securing of equity and justice, and in its development plans starting in 1983 were the following stipulations: restraint of population growth, restraint on migration to the big cities, dispersion of population to regional cities with populations of 250,000 people or less, the fostering of small cities. To realize these policy stipulations, the government introduced economic measures for dispersing industries to regional cities and bringing public services to the villages.

The result of these efforts was that by 1986 Tehran's population growth rate had dropped sharply from that of ten years earlier, a rectification of unipolar concentration of population. At the same time there was a significant increase of population in regional and small cities. However, there was only mild decrease in the rate of migration from the countryside into urban areas indicating that only the urban destinations of this movement had changed.

The government is now facing a new problem arising from the country's economic stagnation. The government's future policies to activate the economy will deeply affect its policy relating to population migration.

The failure to control migration has already come about in China and South Africa. But even when their medieval residency-control policies were being enforced, there was a substantial amount of illegal migration. The illegal return to the cities of rusticated youth during the late 1970s in China and the crowded black settlements on the outskirts of white residential areas in South Africa are examples of such illegal movement. Government controls over this movement failed and finally broke down. These countries can now be expected to experience the same overpopulated cities common to the rest of the developing countries.

#### B. *NIEs-Type Urbanization*

The fourth paper by Hashiya analyzes this category of urbanization, and it was dealt with to some extent in this Introduction (in Section I). The characteristics of NIEs-type urbanization can be enumerated as follows.

(1) Urbanization has been rapid and accompanied by industrialization. This has been the most common characteristic, and its realization has been due to sustained high economic growth.

(2) The absolute size of the rural population began to decline fifteen to twenty years after industrialization began and five to ten years after the beginning of high

economic growth of 9 per cent or more. This has been a rare phenomenon among developing countries.

(3) The stratified labor market of the urban informal sector has been overcome. Here the government's forceful urban planning and housing policy have played a role.

(4) The national economy has been built on the textile, electrical, and electronics industries, and because of this the ratio of females migrating to the cities has been high. This is in marked contrast with other developing countries where population movement has been mainly made up of temporary migrant labor composed primarily of males.

### C. *Over-urbanized Type*

Over-urbanization can be seen in most of the developing countries. In the cities a stratified labor market exists which sharply separates the formal and informal sectors. Thailand and the Philippines in Southeast Asia (Nakanishi's paper) and Colombia in Latin America (Hataya's paper) are taken up as examples of this type of urbanization. The nationwide informal sector labor market is analyzed for the first two countries; for Colombia the examination is limited to low-income settlements (most of which are squatter areas) in the capital, Bogotá.

A close examination of slum areas in the Philippine and Thai capitals shows that differences in home regions determine which migrants become temporary migrant workers and which become permanent residents in the slums. In the Philippines migrants from relatively wealthier regions tend to stay in urban areas only temporarily as seasonal laborers, while those from poorer regions tend to stay in urban areas permanently and reside in slums. It is interesting that the migrants forming these categories in the Philippines are the reverse of those forming the same categories in Thailand. Nakanishi assumes this phenomenon is due to socioeconomic differences between the Philippines where the plantation/latifundia system predominates, and Thailand where owner farmers predominate. But a more important point is that the penetration of the commercial economy has been stronger in the labor market of the Bangkok slums. Coupled with this has been the spread of education, and now a certain fluidity has begun to appear in the labor market. If the Thai economy experiences the sort of high economic growth that the NIEs have experienced, the informal sector can be expected to contract.

Over-urbanization is the most common type among the developing countries, but it is likely that there are other countries where the informal sector and urban labor market are beginning to undergo change like that seen in Bangkok. For this reason, Nakanishi's comparison of the Philippines and Thailand will be of interest to other researchers working in this area.

The paper by Hataya looks at the growth of low-income settlements populated by squatters in Bogotá. In 1960, illegally developed areas made up 18.1 per cent of

total new-area development in the city; in the 1980s this had increased to 33.7 per cent or one-third of all newly developed areas. This was due to the unscrupulous activities of illegal developers and to the demand for inferior but low-cost housing coming from the vast flow of migrants crowding into the city. In response to this illegal growth, the government has periodically legalized residency in squatter areas outside of the city limits. This has worked as a mechanism expanding the range of the stratified labor market.

The situation that Hataya describes in her paper is still ongoing in the big, already overpopulated cities of the developing countries. Their experience stands in marked contrast to that of the NIEs.

#### D. *South Asia-Type Urbanization—High Migration But Low Urbanization*

It was mentioned in Section I above that India stands out among developing countries for its very low rate of urbanization. The growth rate of its urban population, as can be seen in Table I, has been in the 3 percentile range over the past thirty years which puts it in the low group among developing countries. In a number of the states there are places where over-urbanization can be seen, but in relative terms urbanization is on the low side. The seventh paper, by Shinoda, uses data from India's 1971 and 1981 censuses to describe the particular features of migration and urbanization in that country.

One of the reasons that India ranks as a low-urbanized country is because of the rather high minimum population limit it sets for classifying a concentration of settled population as an urban area. It sets the minimum limit at the rather high level of 5,000 people which statistically would make its urbanization rate look lower than that for countries where the minimum is set at 2,000 or 3,000 people. Another reason is because India's rural population continues to grow at a high rate. But even when these are taken into consideration and compensated for, India still remains grouped with the developing countries having a low rate of urbanization.

Despite this however, the country does not have a low rate of population migration. The rate is actually rather high, but because the rate of migration between villages is high, that going to the urban areas appears low. The government's energetic promotion of development policy has contributed to this high rate of inter-village migration.

In summing up the above observations, it appears that the small group of nations that once attempted to control population movement will soon be joining the category of the over-urbanized. The NIEs-type of urbanization came about as a result of historically high and long-sustained economic growth and strong government controls, circumstances which could be extended to very few other developing countries. With the Indian-type of urbanization and in rural Asia where there is high population pressure on the land, ultimately a large number of people will be

compelled to move out of the countryside. Thus we can expect that in due course the primary migration of people will shift from that between villages to that flowing into the cities. As the twentieth century passes into the twenty-first, we can expect over-urbanization to expand and to inflict on urban society conflicts and contradictions even greater than those of the past.