

Intra metropolitan mobility, social networks, and vulnerability: A study of the Metropolitan Region of Campinas in São Paulo, Brazil

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In the late 1960s Brazil began a process of metropolization, especially in its southern region. Migration has often been cited as one of the major reasons for the high rates of population growth in large urban areas, with most of the immigrants having come from the northeastern and southern regions of the country. This physical and demographic process has been a question of concern for various researchers in the areas of sociology, geography, urbanism, and even demography.

Notwithstanding this importance, the dynamics of these metropolitan regions has not been explored in depth in terms of the mobility of the Brazilian population, especially that which occurs in its interior. In fact, while the role of the metropolitan regions has always been stressed in studies on both statewide and nationwide migratory processes, not much has been produced regarding the internal dynamics of such demographic displacements.

Various studies in Brazil have stressed the importance of intrametropolitan migration in regions of great demographic concentration, such as São Paulo (Cunha, 1994 and Antico, 2003), Rio de Janeiro (Lago, 2000), and Belo Horizonte (Matos, 1994, and Rigotti, 1996). But many questions are still unanswered, either for lack of specific data or due to limited concern with these questions on the part of demographers.

Thus, to analyze migratory processes involving a metropolitan region means not only to consider the numerous forms of mobility that this type of urban area engenders, but also to realize that residential mobility cannot be understood only as a phenomenon related to the determinants of the labor market, but to other factors as well, such as the real-estate market, the search for better infrastructures and services, etc. Other additional elements should also be considered, such as previous experience in or knowledge about the respective region and the availability of social capital and social support networks such networks may constrain social and spatial mobility, since they

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can have a tremendous impact on family life, especially for low-income families. Neither can other demographic elements be ignored, such as family life courses and their influence on the strategies adopted for dealing with housing issues.

Based on data from a survey, the present paper was designed to analyze the dislocation of people in a particular metropolitan area in Brazil by tracing parts of the paths of individuals in the area and ascertaining what they are like. Special emphasis will be given to the influence of social networks on migratory processes, but the relations between these networks and the vulnerability of families to specific situations of poverty will also be explored. Specifically, this paper will discuss the case study of the Campinas Metropolitan Area, a region in the Brazilian southeastern State of São Paulo. This metropolitan region has a population of 2.3 million and is comprised of 19 municipalities.

Theoretical background: Spatial mobility, social networks and vulnerability

The relationships between migration – what might be termed, in a broader way, as the residential mobility of the population – and social networks has been seen as an important issue, especially in the case of international migration (Massey (1987), Tilly (1990), Boyd, 1989, and others). In fact, the role of family networks or, in a more generic way, social networks, in directing, increasing and maintaining migratory flows, is recognized as a major factor for understanding migratory processes.

Despite this recognition, there seem to be very few up-to-date studies that approach this relationship for internal migrations in Brazil. There is no doubt that such family and social networks exist and that they have strong effects not only on migratory flows but, especially, on the conditions of insertion of the migrants at their final destinations. For this reason, the positive impacts (social contacts, information, financial support, etc.) of these relationships on migrants' vulnerability deserve special attention.

The concept of vulnerability used here refers to the "incapacity of a person or a household to take advantage of opportunities available in different socioeconomic spheres that could be favorable to them in improving their overall situation or, at least preventing it from deteriorating" (Kaztman, 2000: 7). According to Kaztman, this condition results from a gap or asynchrony between what is needed to gain access to structures of opportunities² offered by the market, the State and society in general, and

² According to Kaztman and Filgueiras (2006) "Structures of opportunities are defined in terms of the opportunities in accessing to property, services and activities that influence the well-being of households. This holds true regardless of whether they use their own resources more effectively or make possible other resources that will be useful for entering into society through the existing channels" (p. 72). Also according to the authors, this expression "indicates that routes of well-being are closely related to one another. In this way, access to certain goods, services and opportunities provides resources that facilitate

the assets held by households that would allow them to take true advantage of these opportunities" (Kaztman, 2000, p. 2).

Therefore, one could also conceive of a set of conditions and/or characteristics in several different dimensions that, taken together, or even separately, could be converted into assets. This enables the population to strengthen its capacity to face risks, strictly speaking, and therefore also to face the effects of either structural or momentary events or conditions related to their well-being in general.

In this regard, one could also study mobility with the purpose of affecting the vulnerability of individuals or families, to the extent that their "capacity for geographical mobility" (Kaztman, 1999) could influence both the accumulation and the loss of assets, including social capital.

For instance, considering that housing may well represent the most difficult problem people face when they want to stay in a given metropolitan region, moving from one house to another can be one of the strategies used to deal with this need. Insofar as occupied space is a reification of socially constructed space (Bourdieu, 2003), large segments of metropolitan populations can use mobility to help overcome the limitations imposed by the land and real-estate market. Mobility can also be accompanied by the acquisition or loss of important assets such as social and family relationships or, more generally, social capital.

One could also conceive of intra-urban space in terms of situations where mobility may mean loss, as is the case of migration to the periphery. This step sometimes represents a process that leads to the deterioration of a family's living conditions, due to the distance to such areas and the lower quality of the public services offered there, as a number of studies on the effects of sociospatial segregation in Brazilian metropolitan regions have shown (Marques and Torres, 2005, Marques 2005, Cunha et al. 2009, Azevedo, 2009). Along the same line, one might study the impact of sociospatial segregation on vulnerability, based on the so-called "geography of opportunities." This approach addresses the consequences of living in determined places in terms of the limited³ access to structures of opportunities offered by the region, be it in terms of infrastructure, labor market, public policies or others (Galster and Killen, 1995).

It should be recalled that the migratory status must be related to how long they have been living in their region or municipality of destination. In fact it can often weigh in their favor not only through the greater accumulation of information and social capital, but also in terms of the quality of housing or the job market. Also important in this aspect is the stage in the family cycle and/or the individuals' life course. Therefore, the

access to further opportunities" (p. 72).

³ In the case of the population with higher buying power, this might mean increased and even improved access.

role played not only by mobility, but also by the time of residence and the individuals' and families' life courses on the vulnerability of these individuals and their families should not be disregarded. In addition, these factors may undoubtedly be influenced by other questions that may be even more important, such as the position/condition in the labor market and level of education and professional training; in other words, the person's position in the social structure.

In the specific case of housing, Kowarick (1991) shows the strong relationship that exists between access to housing and characteristics pertinent to demographic dynamics, especially the different stages in family life cycles, or life courses.

Therefore, even though it is clear that moving from one place to another can condition the degree of vulnerability of migrants, it is not easy to say what exact direction this impact is taking because it varies according to the characteristics of those involved, the contexts in which the events take place and, of course, the conditions and determinants that led to these moves.

Vulnerability is dependent on the available assets and these are the result not only of physical and financial assets and of the insertion of the respective individuals into the production system, but also of gains in social capital. It is likely, therefore, that by favoring gains in these assets (but sometimes resulting in as well), this mobility is often an essential instrument for confronting the risk of poverty.

Data and methods

The data to be analyzed were taken from a survey conducted at 1824 households in the Campinas Metropolitan Region using a stratified sample selected on the basis of general socio-economic conditions, including access to family and governmental social protection networks (Cunha et. al, 2006 and Cunha (org.), 2009).

Information on migration was obtained on all the individuals living in each household, including data on previous residence and time of residence in the municipality, in the neighborhood and in the dwelling itself, as well as the number of moves made on each level of analysis. This information enabled the reconstruction of certain details of migratory flows, from original arrival in the region (by those from other places) to the present day. Based on the hypothesis that many of the decisions about migration are defined within the family, more specific information was also collected about the details of the migratory process of the heads of households, such as information about reasons for moving, the persons who moved, social support networks at destinations, and sources of information about destinations. For this reason, many of the analyses carried out here take into consideration only heads of households. As Wood (1982) shows, there is a conceptual discontinuity between the unit of analysis to be used for understanding the phenomenon (the family) and the migratory movement

(of this individual), strictly speaking.

However, other reasons warrant analysis in greater detail of the data related specifically to heads of households. The data from the survey show that over 41% of the migrants (persons not native to the municipalities where they were living at the moment of the interview), were heads of households, and these heads of households weigh heavily in the family income. For the Campinas Metropolitan Region, the median share of the heads of households in the household income is above 65%, and 45% of them respond for over 70%.

One final element that led the researchers to consider only heads of households is that over 67% of the natives to the region are the children of migrant heads of households. In other words, migration exerts an indirect effect on the composition of the population and there is a pre-supposition that the household is the most convenient unit of analysis to be considered in studies on migration. For this reason, the use of data referring to the population as a whole could cause biases for the analysis, especially those variables that depend on what happens at the household level, such as poverty, which is one of central points of focus in this study.

Here, migrants will be considered those individuals who lived in another municipality before residing in the municipality where they were interviewed. However, the data analyzed make it possible to classify these migrants on the basis of at least two perspectives, namely:

- a) **Previous municipality of residence:** in this case, migrants were classified as "from outside," meaning those whose previous residence was in a municipality outside the Campinas Metropolitan Region; another group consisted of intra-metropolitan migrants, those whose previous residence was in any other municipality in the Campinas Metropolitan Region.
- b) **Time of residence:** from this perspective, migrants were again classified into two distinct groups: "recent" migrants (those who had been living in the municipality of current residence less than 10 years⁴ and "earlier migrants" (those who had lived 10 years or more in their current municipality).

Another notion used in this study are the so-called "vulnerability zones" (sometimes referred to as VZs). This concept is a fundamental instrument for stratifying the sample for the survey analyzed here. The concept of vulnerability zone is a basic instrument for stratifying the sample for the survey analyzed here. The definition of

⁴ The determination of 10 years of residence to characterize recent migrants may be somewhat exaggerated but, in view of the size of the sample, a higher disaggregation would be risky.

vulnerability zone, obtained from a multivariate analysis, is based on the theoretical conception to the effect that situations of vulnerability result from the lack, or scarcity, of certain types of assets that might be classified in terms of three categories of capital: physical/financial capital, human capital and social capital. These dimensions were evaluated on the basis of census data available at the intra-municipal level for small areas and involved indicators relating to the infrastructure of households, including 1) access to different types of social protection, such as income transfer and social security programs, and 2) access to education and other services involving family relationships and composition.⁵ The vulnerability zones were numbered from 1 to 4 according to their decreasing degree of vulnerability.

One last analytic category used here is poverty, considered here as risk of reference for the analyses related to vulnerability. The indicators of the poverty level to be used in this analysis include a hybrid measurement combining insufficient income, based on the poverty line (Rocha, 2003),⁶ and unmet social needs (CEPAL, 2001). A difference should be noted in that the category of unmet social needs was considered in a broader way than in the original CEPAL proposal.

Therefore the "expanded basic unsatisfied needs"⁷ brings together two sets of data: 1) that usually taken into account when studying households, such as number of occupants per room, quality of the walls of the dwelling, the existence of a water and sewer system, presence of illiterate persons, etc. and 2) new information obtained in the survey, such information having hitherto been unavailable in other Brazilian studies or databases, such as the conditions of the surrounding area, the frequency of specific public services (such as garbage collection and electric energy), and ownership or not of the dwelling.

Considering the heterogeneousness of socioeconomic conditions, especially in terms of space (Marques and Torres, 2004), a scale was established to classify the residents of the Campinas Metropolitan Region into: 1) poor (insufficient income and unattended needs), 2) "getting by"⁸ and, 3) not poor (sufficient income with few or no

⁵ For further details, see Cunha et al., 2006a.

⁶ The poverty line calculated by Rocha represents the minimum sum of money needed to fulfill needs such as housing, food, transportation and clothing. The calculations are made on the basis of data derived from the *Research on Family Budgets*, carried out and published by the Brazilian Census Office (IBGE), as well as from standards related to the minimum non-nutritional needs established by the Food and Agricultural Organization (FAO) and non-food-related needs. The sum corresponds to that calculated by the author for the São Paulo Metropolitan Region for 2008, which is approximately R\$430 (USD 200) per capita. For more details on the methodology, see Rocha, 2003.

⁷ "Necessidades básicas insatisfeitas" (NBI) in Portuguese.

⁸ Translator's note: we hope the reader will understand the grammatical weakness of this term "getting by", as it seems to most closely describe the Portuguese term "*remediáveis*" (those who are above but close to the poverty and/or have some unattended needs)

needs).

Finally, a model of logistics regression will be adjusted with “poverty” as the dependent variable. The independent variables will be of two types: 1) factors that are usually recognized as having impacts on situation of poverty, such as gender, age, formal education, type of insertion in the labor market, unemployment, etc. and, 2) characteristics described here as having a potential impact on people's vulnerability, such as the existence or indications of the existence of social networks, condition as migrant, time of residence, previous place of residence and others.

The first model will be fitted to measure the impact of condition as migrant on the situation of poverty. Next, another model fitted only for migrants will be drawn up to measure the impact that factors related to migratory histories and social networks have on the condition of poverty of the heads of households in the Campinas Metropolitan Region.

Migration in the Campinas Metropolitan Region: importance and composition of the flow

The Campinas Metropolitan Region consists of 19 municipalities and has a population of approximately 2.5 million inhabitants. The dynamics of the formation and expansion of this area are very similar to what has been noted in other metropolitan regions in Brazil. Specifically, the growth of the Campinas Region was due to very high rates of demographic growth, especially during the 1970s and 1980s (Table 1). The region received significant investments from the federal government, especially as of the 1970s, and the economic growth of the municipality of Campinas and the surrounding region was accompanied by a period of intense demographic growth, and the region soon became one of the most important areas of industrial expansion in the State of São Paulo.

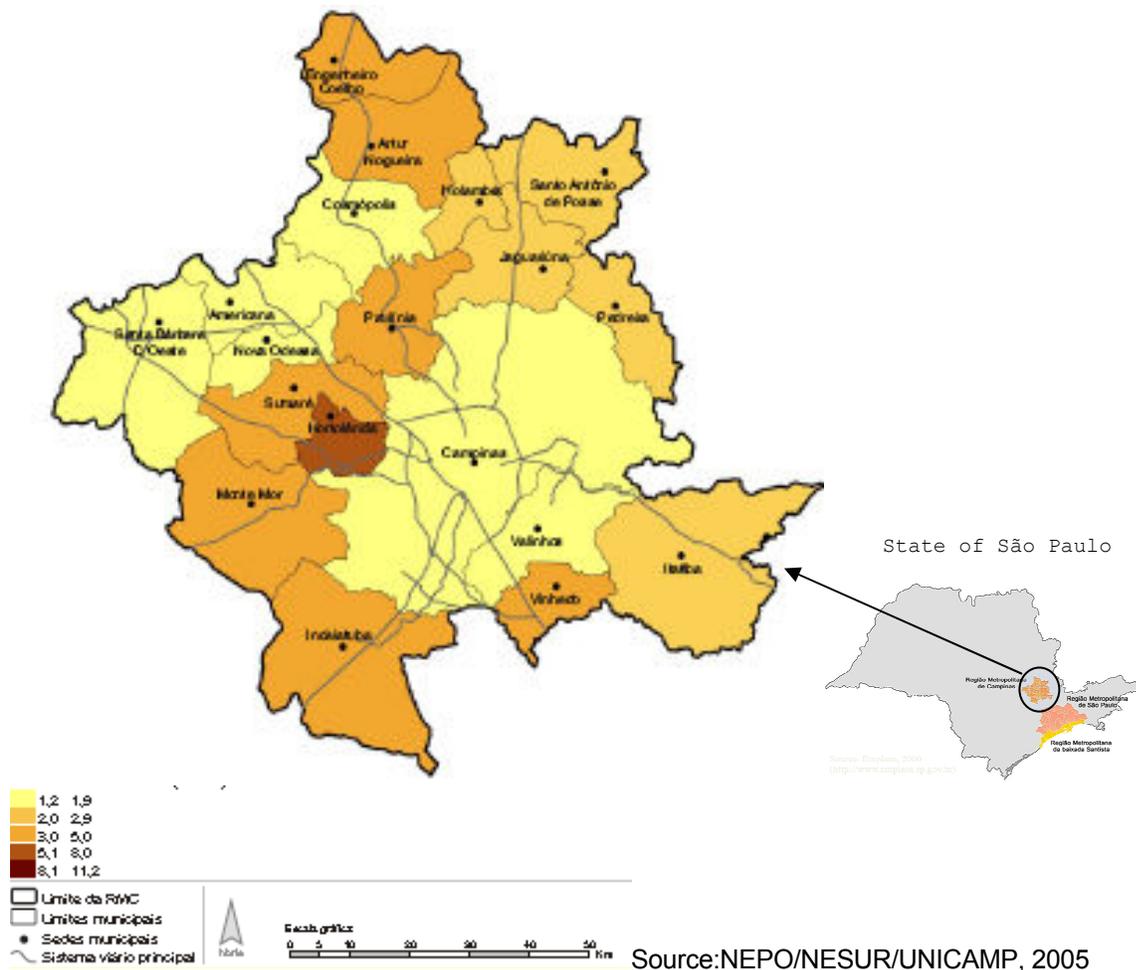
Table 1
Annual average demographic growth rate
Brazil, State of São Paulo and Campinas Metropolitan Region
1970/2000

	1970/1980	1980/1991	1991/2000
Brasil	2.48	1.93	1.63
State of São Paulo	3.49	2.13	1.78
Campinas Metropolitan Region	6.49	3.51	2.54
Campinas city	5.86	2.24	1.50
Other municipalities in the MAC	7.22	4.74	3.34

Source: FIBGE, Demographic Censuses of 1970, 1980, 1991 and 2000

As described in a previous study (Cunha et al., 2006), from the spatial-demographic point of view, this process of economic growth led to a considerable "extension" of the urban sprawl, configured as a classical process of peripherization, especially toward the western and southwestern zones of the region. In addition, related to the de-concentration of industrial activities, other neighboring municipalities, such as Americana, also saw intense growth and even developed their own peripheral areas (Map 1).

Maps 1 Yearly average demographic growth rate Campinas Metropolitan Region 1991/2000



With such intense demographic growth over the last 30 years, it is not surprising that migrations and their determinants have been among the most important factors for understanding the process of expansion and consolidation of this metropolitan region.

In fact, according to data from the survey, although more than 50.6% of the population in the Campinas Metropolitan Region were born there, this number decreases significantly when only the heads of households are considered (32%). This indicates what was mentioned above, that, due to the indirect effect of migration, the data observed for the entire population run the risk of masking the true importance of the phenomenon of migration in the constitution of the region.

From the perspective of the role of migration on regional demographic growth, in the 1990s, the most recent period for which reliable data for such an estimate is available, it is calculated that migration responded for 64.7% of the growth.

Therefore, even though the intensity of net migration underwent little reduction between during 1980s and 1990s (the average annual growth rate fell slightly, from 1.66% to 1.61%), it can still be noted that, in numbers, the region's demographic growth increased from one decade to the next in the region.

In order to have a broader understanding of regional demographic dynamics, one must see migration as one important component of demographic growth. However, this approach is insufficient to grasp the full importance and consequences of this phenomenon on the process of regional formation and expansion.

Regarding the "nature"⁹ of the migration in the Campinas Region, the studies that have been carried out, using data from the Federal Demographic Censuses (Cunha and Oliveira, 2001, Cunha et al., 2006) have made it possible to underscore at least two major questions. The first is in reference to the relative weight of interstate and intrastate migration in comparison with intra-metropolitan migration in the total numbers of migrants registered in the region. The second question is the increase during the 1990s of migrations from other regions in the State of São Paulo.

Both of these factors were backed up by data from the survey analyzed in this study. For example, considering the interviewed migrants who declared previous residence,¹⁰ less than 19% had had previous residence in the same metropolitan region.

⁹ The "nature" of migration is understood here as the composition of the migratory flows established among the municipalities of the Campinas Metropolitan Region, regardless of whether these flows occur within or from outside the region. The demographic increases or losses result from these flows, but grouped in an aggregated way, fail to do justice to complexity of the phenomenon.

¹⁰ The percentage of "did not say" reached 20% of all migrants, but was lower for the recent migrants (12%). In view of the detailed work of criticism and consistency conducted on the data, it can be deducted that this high percentage of "did not say" was due to the mistaken interpretation by the respondents as to what the term "previous residence" meant, since many seem to have confused "home" with "prior municipality. This problem seems to have been accentuated by the respondents' memories, since the rate

In contrast, over 45% of same respondents stated that they were from other places in the State of São Paulo (only 10.8% had come from the São Paulo Metropolitan Region itself, the largest in Brazil, and even in South America) and another 35% from outside the state. This distribution was virtually the same when only the data for the heads of households was considered.

In terms of time of residence, the differences are small, even though more of the recent migrants (16,6%) came from the São Paulo Metropolitan Region in contrast with the earlier ones (8,6%). This fact corroborates findings such as those of Baeninger (2004), according to whom many people and families moved from the São Paulo Metropolitan Region to the Campinas Metropolitan Region during the 1990s.

This profile of migration reflects a character peculiar to the Campinas Metropolitan Region,¹¹ where migration from outside was one of the major components of growth even of the so-called peripheral municipalities. However, what most stands out is the second aspect, namely, the predominance of migrants from within the state of São Paulo itself. This fact reflects the role of the Campinas Metropolitan Region as one of the main areas of economic and demographic deconcentration in the State of São Paulo.

It is also interesting to note that, even considering only the data referring to the peripheral municipalities (in other words, by not including Campinas itself in the calculations, as it is the large central municipality in the region and could interfere considerably in the relative weight of intrametropolitan migration), the relative weight of intra-regional migration changes very little, rising from the 18% to approximately 24%.

From the point of view of the characteristics of the migration, this predominance of demographic movements from outside the region has several implications both in regard to the history of the migrants and the individual reasons why they moved.

As for the migratory history of the respondents 46.6% had lived in more than one municipality and 17% stated having lived in more than three different municipalities before coming to that where they were interviewed (Table 2). But when classified according to most recent place of residence (intrametropolitan or from outside), this total changes significantly because, as might be expected, intrametropolitan migrants show a higher percentage of two or more moves (58.5%).¹²

In regard to the reasons why heads of households said they migrated, Table 2 shows that, even though the question of job is very important in both cases, the intrametropolitan migrants more often mentioned reasons related to housing (13.1% compared to 6.6% of migrants from outside). This fact confirms information already

for the earlier migrants was higher than that for the recent migrants (23%).

¹¹ This holds true at least in comparison to the largest metropolitan area in Brazil, the São Paulo Metropolitan Region, where intrametropolitan migration attains much higher proportions in the peripheral municipalities (Cunha, 1996).

¹² Unfortunately, the size of the sample does not allow for disaggregation by type of migration. The differences are significant to a 5% level.

collected in a number of other metropolitan regions in Brazil, that the real-estate market plays a major role in intrametropolitan migratory movements (Cunha, 1994; Lago, 2000). In fact, reasons related to housing and to jobs (this latter being higher among migrants from outside the Campinas Metropolitan Region) do not carry more weight due to the great importance attributed to the intention of "accompanying the family." This reason was given by almost one third of all the migrants and 38% of the migrants from outside. However, since almost 70% of these heads of households had lived in the municipality for 20 years or over, it is quite clear that part of their migratory history took place in the sphere of their family of origin.

Table 2
Migrants heads of households according to previous municipality of residence and according to number of and reasons for changes in municipality
Campinas Metropolitan Region
2007

Number of and reasons for moving from one municipality to another		Migrants according to prior residence (*)		
		Intrametropolitan migrants	Migrants from outside the metropolitan region	Total
Number of moves from one municipality to another (**)	Only 1 move	41.5	55.8	53.4
	2 or more moves	58.5	44.2	46.6
n		(165)	(893)	(1058)
Reasons for moving from one municipality to another (**)	Housing questions	13.1	6.6	7.7
	Job questions	28.3	32.1	31.4
	Accompany family	31.0	38.4	28.8
	Other reason	27.6	22.9	32.0
n		(146)	(733)	(879)

Source: Pesquisa domiciliar projeto vulnerabilidade. NEPO/UNICAMP- FAPESP/CNPq, 2007

(*) Does not consider migrants with undeclared place of residence

(**) Does not consider "did not say"

In other words, the data analyzed up till the present show that most of the migrants who live in municipalities in the Campinas Metropolitan Region had no prior experience in this region. This factor may have implications in their form of insertion in the region (in terms of housing and employment, for example), in the existence and density of their social networks and, consequently, in their acquisition of social capital.

But in regard to intra-municipal mobility, over 84% of the heads of households living in the Campinas Metropolitan Region had moved at least once and 58% had moved more than twice. This total is very significant, even though no similar data for Brazil in general is available from other studies that would permit an adequate standard for comparison (Table 3).

Table 3
Heads of households by migratory condition and by most recent residence, according to numbers of intra-municipal moves
Campinas Metropolitan Region, 2007

Migrants by time of residence and last origin (*)	Number of intramunicipal moves (*)					n
	None	One	Two	Three	Four or more	
Recent migrants	32.1	29.9	23.9	8.0	6.2	(287)
Earlier migrants	13.0	25.5	31.2	17.3	13.0	(1042)
Non-migrants	14.0	24.2	33.0	19.5	9.4	(438)
Intrametropolitan migrants	26.8	35.9	15.7	15.3	6.3	(171)
Migrants from outside the Campinas Metropolitan Region	18.6	28.1	26.5	15.3	11.4	(895)
Total	16.1	25.9	30.5	16.4	11.2	(1767)

Source: Pesquisa domiciliar projeto vulnerabilidade. NEPO/UNICAMP - FAPESP/CNPq, 2007

(*) excludes "did not say"

Important differences were seen in comparisons between migrants and non-migrants, on the one hand, and internal and external migrants, on the other hand. For migrants and non-migrants the situation shown by the data was within what might be expected. In other words, it is clear that time of residence in the metropolitan region is an important factor in defining the degree of "housing mobility," which, as discussed above, may be one of the consequences of social mobility.

It can also be seen that internal migrants move much less in the intra-municipal sphere than migrants from outside do. This fact also reinforces the hypothesis that prior experience in the region may have beneficial effects on heads of households and their respective families, in terms of solutions for housing, for example.¹³

¹³ Twenty-five percent of the internal migrants said they were previously familiar with the municipality,

From the point of view of reasons for moving within the same municipality, as could hardly fail to be the case, reasons related to housing were a top priority for 60% of the heads of households. Specifically, most of the respondents (41.9%) said that their reason for moving was to buy a home. However, it should also be noted that when migratory condition and time of residence of the migrants in the municipality were controlled, in contrast to the responses of the total sample of heads of households, including both "older" migrants and "non-migrants," recent migrants did not state that the purchase of a house or land on which to build a house for the family was the main reason for coming. Many of them stated "other" reasons.

But on the same Table 4 it can also be seen that, based on the responses to the question about why the respondents chose the neighborhood or district where they now live, the question of access to a house was without a doubt that which most prevailed, even for the recent migrants. In fact, for almost 40% of this group, the reason declared was related to financial aspects of the neighborhood or district where they had chosen to live. This position is also compatible with the fact that these migrants most often mentioned rent prices among the reasons for moving (17%).¹⁴

It should also be noted that proximity to work and/or relatives¹⁵ represents a high percentage of the replies concerning the reasons for choosing the neighborhood or district, especially for recent migrants. This suggests how important social networks are in processes of residential mobility of the population.

Table 4 also makes it clear that the "non-migrants" least often stated the matter of housing, especially the price of housing and physical proximity to certain conveniences as reasons for choosing a neighborhood or district. The responses of this group were generally related to the search for better infrastructure and quality of living. This shows another differential feature that the condition as migrant can imprint on the history of individuals in the region and, especially, in the same municipality. It also seems to indicate the greater ability of "non-migrants" to choose, in comparison with the migrants, especially those recently arrived in the municipality.

compared to only 14% of migrants from outside.

¹⁴ In this case the data should be analyzed with care, due to the limited number of cases involved.

¹⁵ These alternatives are separated in the questionnaire but, because of the number of cases involved, it was not considered wise to consider them in a disaggregated way.

Table 4
Heads of households according to reason for intramunicipal move, according to
condition as migrant
Campinas Metropolitan Region, 2007

Nature of the reason	Reasons declared	Condition as migrant			Total
		Recent migrant	Earlier migrant	Non-migrant	
Reason for moving from neighborhood of prior residence	Bought land and built in present neighborhood	3.6	20.9	15.2	18.0
	Bought a house in present neighborhood	24.7	41.4	49.1	41.9
	Rent was too high	17.1	8.5	7.1	8.9
	Other	54.6	29.2	28.6	31.2
	N	(103)	(668)	(295)	(1066)
Reason for choosing current residence	Neighborhood is cheaper to live in	39.8	46.5	28.8	41.5
	Near work or relatives	38.2	31.6	29.5	31.7
	Better infrastructure or quality of living	22.0	21.9	41.7	26.9
	N	(101)	(668)	(295)	(1064)

Source: Pesquisa domiciliar projeto vulnerabilidade. NEPO/UNICAMP - FAPESP/CNPq, 2007

Demographic mobility and socioeconomic and demographic conditions

The data analyzed here show that the intensity of the inter- and intra-municipal mobility in the Campinas Metropolitan Region is significant. In fact, the heads of households in the Campinas Metropolitan Region stated that they had lived in an average of over two previous municipalities. But intra-municipal mobility is even more intense, showing an average of 5 moves,¹⁶ although this mobility shows a variability that depends on individual characteristics, as can be noted in Table 5.

In terms of family per-capita income, there was a great difference between the higher-income respondents and the others, especially those in the poorest demographic strata, who show a lower percentage of persons who had never moved. But these latter groups did not show statistically significant differences from the heads of households who were earning average per-capita family incomes of between one and four minimum wages. In other words, the major differential noted in inter-municipal mobility seems to

¹⁶ In view of the great variance shown among the variables, the medians for the number of previous municipalities (equal to 1) and for intramunicipal moves (equal to 2) were also calculated.

apply only for strata of the population with much higher earnings.

As for occupation and education, there is less mobility among those heads of households who perform non-manual occupations and those with the highest educational levels. These results are totally compatible with the behavior described above in relation to family per-capita income. In other words, the data make it clear that persons of lower socioeconomic levels are the most mobile, and this difference is much more notable at the critical extremes of the distribution.

Table 5
Heads of households by socioeconomic characteristics, according to number of municipalities of prior residence
Campinas Metropolitan Region, 2007

Characteristic	Category	Number of municipalities of prior residence			n
		None	One	Two or more	
Average per-capita family income (*)	Up to 1 min. wage	18.4	44.1	37.5	(92)
	1 to 3 min. wages	25.9	40.3	33.7	(457)
	3 to 5 min. wages	25.9	38.7	35.4	(379)
	5 min. wages or more	60.2	25.8	14.1	(408)
	Total	24.8	40.9	34.3	(1336)
Occupation (*)	Non-manual	26.1	41.4	32.4	(565)
	Manual	18.8	51.7	29.5	(496)
	Total	22.7	46.3	31.0	(1061)
Age	Under age 34	27.2	48.8	23.9	(340)
	35 to 49	23.4	47.3	29.2	(560)
	50 or over	21.9	37.6	40.5	(924)
	Total	23.2	42.4	34.3	(1824)
Schooling	0 to 3 years	11.3	38.4	50.3	(362)
	4 to 7 years	19.5	42.0	38.5	(572)
	8 to 10 years	23.4	46.9	29.7	(304)
	Over 11 years	33.9	43.3	22.9	(571)
	Total	23.1	42.6	34.3	(1809)

Source: Pesquisa domiciliar projeto vulnerabilidade. NEPO/UNICAMP - FAPESP/CNPq, 2007

(*) Responses of "did not say" were not considered

But, it is interesting to note that, in the case of intra-municipal moves, the situation described above is again seen only in the case of the variable family per-capita income

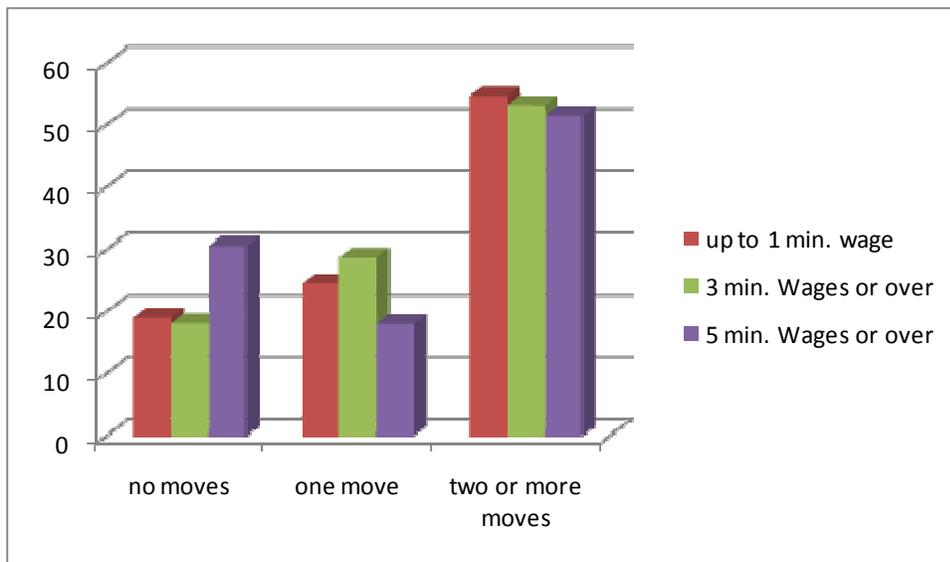
and to a lesser degree, age. In fact, in regard to both formal education, including the critical extremes of the distribution, and occupation, the data show insignificant variation.

In the case of age it can once again be noted that the younger heads of households (23.3%) tend to be found more often in the category of having made "no" intra-municipal moves than among those who are over age 50 (16.3%). But it should be recalled that, even in the case of the younger respondents, not even one-fourth of the individuals declared no mobility at all.

As shown in Graph 1, below, regarding income, although the percentages are practically identical between rich and poor, there is a notable difference between these two income strata in terms of immobility (no moves), since the higher-income heads of households (5 or more times the minimum wage) are at least 10 percentage points higher in having made "no moves" than the poorer groups.

The conclusion that can be come to on the basis of this data is that, even considering the existing differences, intra-municipal moves do not seem to be an exclusive phenomenon of any particular social group.

Graph 1
Heads of households by socioeconomic characteristics, according to the number of intra-municipal moves
Campinas Metropolitan Region, 2007



Source: Pesquisa domiciliar projeto vulnerabilidade. NEPO/UNICAMP - FAPESP/CNPq, 2007

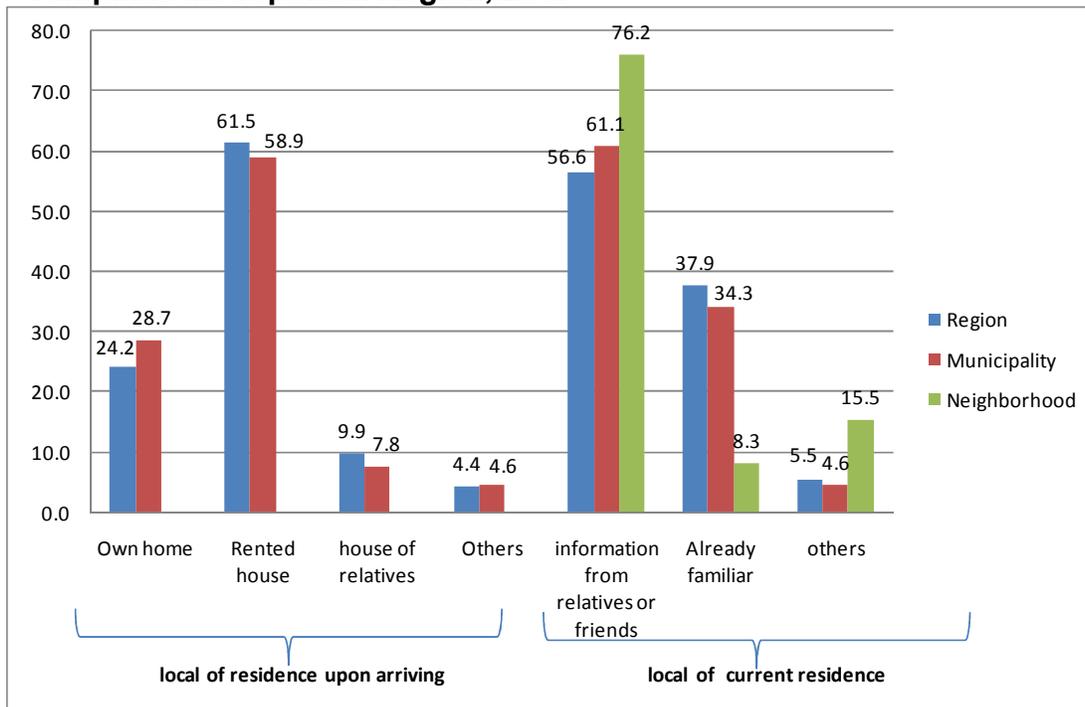
The next section seeks to investigate some of the assets that could be altered or affected (for better or for worse) by intra-municipal migration, and the effects of these changes on the condition of poverty of the heads of households in the Campinas

Metropolitan Region.

Mobility and its consequences on gains or losses of assets: social networks and housing

In the case of the Campinas Metropolitan Region, the importance of social networks on the migratory processes described above can be seen according to different nuances depending on how one looks at the question. On the one hand, Graph 2 shows that only a small proportion of the heads of households resorted to living at homes of relatives or friends upon arrival in the region or in the municipality of residence at the moment of the survey. The graph also shows that information provided from relatives and friends is essential for choosing a place to live, especially in terms of neighborhood, or district. Seventy-six percent of the heads of households stated that they used this source of information.

Graph 2
Migrant heads of household by place where they resided upon arriving in the region and municipality of current residence
Campinas Metropolitan Region, 2007

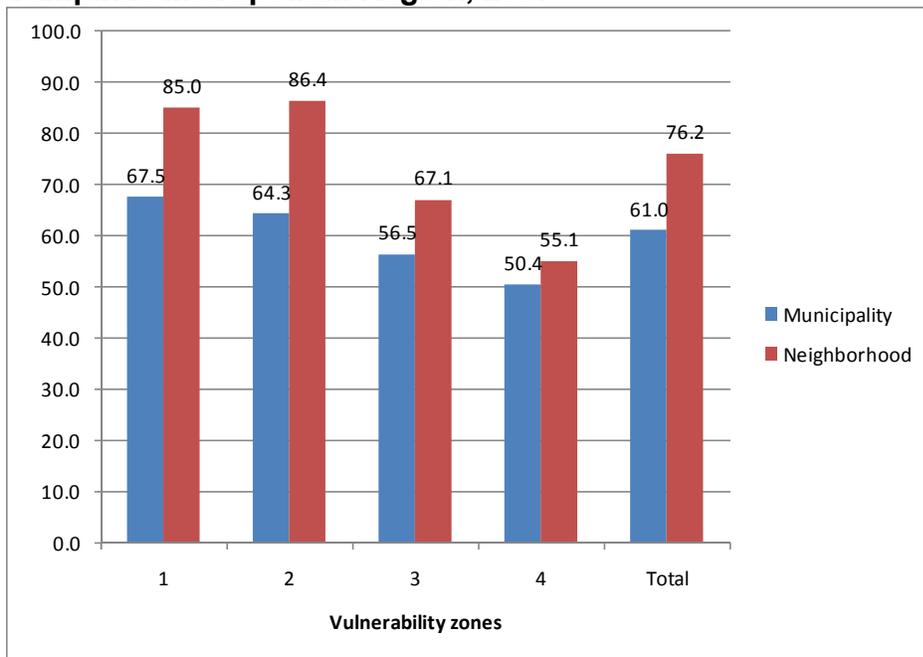


Source: Pesquisa domiciliar projeto vulnerabilidade. NEPO/UNICAMP - FAPESP/CNPq, 2007

More interesting yet is to see that the role of social networks as a factor that influences the choice of certain places tends to become more important as the poverty

and vulnerability of the region where the household is located increase. Graph 3 brings out this fact very clearly by showing that, in more vulnerable zones (Vulnerability Zones 1 and 2), the percentage of use of these mechanisms is very high, especially in the case of individuals involved in intra-municipal mobility. Over 85% of the residents of Vulnerability Zones 1 and 2 obtained information on the neighborhood or district through their social networks, whereas only 55% of those who live in Vulnerability Zone 4 used these networks. In these latter cases, other mechanisms, such as advertising in the media, publicity flyers and printed material distributed by real estate brokers (that reach over 23% of the residents living in these areas) took on considerable importance.

Graph 3
Heads of households who moved from a municipality or neighborhood and who used information from relatives and/or friends, by vulnerability zone
Campinas Metropolitan Region, 2007



Source: Pesquisa domiciliar projeto vulnerabilidade. NEPO/UNICAMP - FAPESP/CNPq, 2007

However, the simple fact of having information provided by family or friends does not guarantee that, after moving, the individuals or their families will be able to turn these relationships into effective assets to face difficulties or needs that come up. In this regard the survey sought to investigate several impacts that such displacements had on the life of these people. In order to avoid going further into this question at the moment, only two aspects will be discussed: 1) relationships with family and, 2) relationships with the neighbors.

The investigation into the impact that moving from one municipality to another has on relationships with relatives or neighbors shows that for over 56% of the heads of household, relationships with relatives increased, and for almost 48% of the sample relationships with neighbors were specifically mentioned as having improved. It is also interesting to note that a major difference was noted in terms of gains in help from relatives and neighbors among intrametropolitan migrants and those from outside. Intrametropolitan migration apparently brought fewer advantages in terms of relatives and neighbors.

These findings are interesting from the point of view of the impact of migration on the acquisition (or loss) of social capital. But this result was to some degree expected because prior experience in the metropolitan region seems to be an aid in accumulating social capital. The data from the survey also indicate that this previous experience is not necessarily linked to how long the individual lived in a given area. In this case, it is clear that the heads of households who had been in the area for the longest time stated more frequently that they improved their relationships with relatives (59%) and neighbors (50%), as compared with recent migrants, whose percentages were considerably lower (46% and 38%, respectively). In other words, it seems that having had previous experience in another municipality in the same metropolitan region may bring gains in important assets that aid in facing adverse situations or at least in acquiring the means to do so (through relationships, in this case).

As was discussed above, moving from one residence to another can also have an effect on the acquisition (or loss) of physical assets, as is the specific case of housing. In fact, as Table 6 shows in regard to the condition as homeowner, all the heads of household stated that their situation in terms of housing was better than at the time of the interview when they first arrived.

Table 6 shows once again the apparent advantage shown by the intrametropolitan migrants, since they showed much more favorable situations than the migrants from other places at the time of arrival in both the region and the municipality. If one can consider, as was done above, that prior experience in the region helps explain this situation, it is hard to find a convincing explanation as to why some intrametropolitan migrants (specifically, those who had also lived outside the region), are better off, by being homeowners upon arrival in the region.

Table 6

Migrant homeowner heads of households, classified by time of residence and prior residence, according to their status of property upon arrival in the region and the municipality.

Campinas Metropolitan Region, 2007

Condition as migrant (*)	Current homeowner	Status of property			
		Owned	Rented	Other	n
		Upon arrival in region			
Intrametropolitan migrant	74.0	46.1	43.7	10.2	(116)
Migrant from outside Camp. Metrop. Reg.	73.4	28.7	56.8	14.5	(621)
Recent migrant	43.1	50.9	37.1	12.0	(129)
Earlier migrant	79.4	26.1	59.2	14.7	(785)
		Upon arrival in municipality			
Intrametropolitan migrant	74.0	55.7	34.9	9.4	(121)
Migrants from outside Camp. Metrop. Reg.	73.4	32.4	55.3	12.3	(561)
Recent migrant	43.1	43.8	44.4	11.9	(112)
Earlier migrant	79.4	33.5	55.3	11.2	(734)

Source: Pesquisa domiciliar projeto vulnerabilidade. NEPO/UNICAMP - FAPESP/CNPq, 2007

(*) Does not consider those migrants with prior residence not declared (20% of the cases)

In terms of length of residence, it is very interesting to note that, upon arrival in either the region or the municipality, the recent migrants presented a higher proportion of homeowners than earlier migrants, even though the percentage of earlier migrants who owned their present home is much higher than that of the more recent arrivals. But this result is consistent and was expected because longer periods of time undoubtedly work in favor of the accumulation of assets.

The data analyzed here suggest that at least for the earlier migrants migration had a significant impact on the improvement of the quality of their housing, at least in regard to one of the important aspects of this question, namely, their condition of being homeowners. The exception to this general trend is the group of migrants most recently arrived in the region or municipality who, as migrants, have not yet had time to make much progress socioeconomically.¹⁷

¹⁷ In fact, especially in the case of Brazil, a move to a home owned by the occupants does not necessarily mean an improvement in the conditions of construction of the house and in environmental quality. For the lower-income population, the price for building or buying their own home generally requires them to live

Mobility and poverty

Considering the general lines of the AVOS approach (assets, vulnerability and opportunity structures) proposed by Kaztman and Filgueiras (2006), it can be said that vulnerability to poverty would seem to be related to the availability of the assets that individuals can count on, namely, their families and households.

Up till now in this article the focus has been to show that spatial mobility can contribute to the accretion or loss of some of the assets mentioned in the paragraph above. Mobility is therefore an important strategy in configuring such assets, whether they be more tangible (such as housing or jobs) or intangible, (such as social relationships).

In this section the emphasis will be on an evaluation based on the fit of a logistics model with the “situation of poverty” as the dependent variable. The question is whether the “situation of poverty” was or was not significantly affected by the condition as migrant or by gains or losses in social capital. For this purpose, it was obviously necessary to also control the “conditions of poverty” variability through several variables that are recognized as important in conditioning these situations.

Table 7 shows the relationship between a number of sociodemographic variables and poverty. Although these data are influenced by the fact that the poor in the Campinas Metropolitan Region represent a little over 8% of the heads of households, it is very interesting to note that certain attributes seem to have great influence on this condition. Being a recent or outside migrant, being young or a manual laborer, having faced unemployment during the 12 months preceding the research and, finally, living in Vulnerability Zone 4, apparently have strong influence on poverty.

As mentioned above, in the survey used in this study, only migrants (both internal and those from outside) responded to the questions intended to identify the acquisition of social capital or actions related to such capital. The second part of Table 7 shows the behavior of these migrants according to levels of poverty for some of the variables selected in this regard. The variables were “help from relatives or friends to obtain money or for taking care of children,” and “the impact (increase or decrease) that migration had on the possibilities for receiving help from relatives or friends.” The choice of these variables is justified since one can consider that these forms of material and human support could constitute effective assets due to their impact, for example, on the solution of very urgent problems – such as monetary loans – or on more structural questions such as the possibility of finding a job for the women outside the home.

Table 7
Heads of household by sociodemographic variables and condition of poverty

farther away from work and general services in areas without infrastructure and in substandard housing from the structural point of view. Space does not allow us to go into this point further here.

Campinas Metropolitan Region, 2007

Variable	Category	Hybrid poverty level			n
		Poor	"Getting by"	"Not poor"	
All heads of households					
	Total (*)	8.03	28.40	63.57	922
Condition as migrant: time of residence	Non-migrant	3.9	19.3	76.9	(241)
	Recent migrant	21.6	22.4	56.1	(91)
	Earlier migrant	7.9	32.6	59.5	(590)
Condition as migrant: prior residence	Intrametropolitan migrant	8.4	34.5	57.1	(83)
	Migrant from outside Metrop. Reg.	10.3	33.1	56.6	(447)
Sex	Male	8.6	28.7	62.6	(678)
	Female	6.3	27.4	66.3	(244)
Age	Up to age 34	12.4	30.7	56.8	(134)
	35 or older	7.5	28.1	64.3	(788)
Schooling	0 to 3 years	9.9	37.4	52.7	(223)
	4 to 7 years	8.8	30.5	60.7	(292)
	8 years or more	6.5	21.5	72.0	(400)
Occupation	Manual	11.3	31.0	57.7	(374)
	Non-manual	6.9	29.3	63.8	(418)
Unemployment during the last 12 months	Was not unemployed	5.7	27.3	67.0	(829)
	Unemployed during last 12 months	34.0	39.1	26.8	(89)
Vulnerability zone	1	36.5	40.0	23.5	(300)
	2	7.8	35.4	56.8	(271)
	3	2.1	19.6	78.3	(216)
	4	0.0	6.5	93.5	(135)
Migrant heads of households					
Who do you go to when you need money	No one	3.9	24.7	71.4	(248)
	Relatives and friends	15.0	38.1	46.9	(335)
Who do you ask to take care of your children?	No one	5.0	28.6	66.3	(129)
	Relatives and friends	24.1	35.9	40.0	(176)
Help or backing from relatives	Increased	11.1	30.8	58.2	(254)
	Stayed the same or fell	10.9	28.2	61.0	(149)
Help from neighbors	Increased	12.3	30.5	57.2	(220)
	Stayed the same or fell	9.3	28.8	61.9	(190)
Upon arrival, went to live in	Own house or rented house	8.9	32.0	59.1	(501)
	House of relatives or friends	14.0	31.3	54.7	(89)
Number of previous municipalities	1	10.4	30.7	59.0	(338)
	2 or more	8.8	33.1	58.1	(324)

Source: Pesquisa domiciliar projeto vulnerabilidade. NEPO/UNICAMP - FAPESP/CNPq, 2007

(*) considers only those cases with declarations in the variables used for determining the poverty variable

The data here show that poor people seem to appeal more often to channels of social capital. Although the poor represent only 8% of the population of the Campinas

Metropolitan Region (see first line of Table 7), those who appeal to relatives and friends when they need to borrow money represent 15%. The percentage is even higher when the need is to take care of children (24%). But this situation is not seen in the case of the impact of migration. Specifically, the numbers of those who said they increased the possibility of obtaining help are in proportion to their relative share in the total population. This suggests that the use, increase and potential gains in social relationships brought by migration would not seem to be specific or, much less, restricted, to the poorest sectors of the population.

However, one must recognize that, considering only those heads of households classified as "poor," the percentage of those who said they had improved their social relationships with migration was quite high, above 60% in terms of both relatives and neighbors.

To conclude this investigation, a multivariate analysis was carried out in an attempt to model the "condition of poverty" variable using the variables analyzed on the preceding pages as dependent variables. It must also be mentioned, however, that, in view the high degree of correlation found in the "formal education" and "occupation" variables (in the case used here, "manual occupation and non-manual occupation") and due to the high percentage of cases without response for this last variable, it was decided not to consider it in the models to be fitted.

Chart 1 summarizes the results of the models¹⁸ for predicting the dichotomous variables "poor" and "not-poor" (1 and 4), "poor" and "getting by" (2 and 5) and "getting by" and "not-poor" (3 and 6). In addition, Models 4, 5 and 6 were fitted taking into account only the heads of households who were migrants, since the most of the information used in these models was collected only for this sub-group.

In the case of Model 1 (which contrasts the situations of "poor" x "not-poor") the odds ratios show that being younger (under age 34), less educated (less than 8 years of schooling), not having had any income for some period during the last 12 months, and being a recent migrant implied, for the heads of households, a much higher probability of being "poor" rather than "not-poor." Of the variables that proved to be statistically significant in the model, the variable which stood out most clearly was that of not having had any income for some period during the 12 months preceding the moment of the survey. In this case, the chance that the head of the family would be "poor" was 27 times higher if the individual went up to 6 months or more without income. It is important to note that to be a recent migrant matter if one considers the risk of to be "poor" rather than "not poor".

In the case of Model 2 ("poor" x "getting by"), only two variables were seen to be

¹⁸ All six fitted models were seen to be suitable, in accord with the standards used (H-L Test, Nagelkerke R² and Cox and Snell R²) as well as the percentages of the correct estimates reached by them (over 70%).

significant: again, lack of income during the last 12 months, which increases threefold the chance of being "poor" rather than "getting by," and unemployment, which increases this chance by 2.4 times for heads of households. This result compared with that obtained in Model 1 would suggest that unemployment (not significant in Model 1) would only have influence to distinguish socioeconomic situations that are closer to one another, such as "poor" and "getting by." In other words, the condition of "not-poor" does not seem to suffer any impact from a situation of unemployment, at least on the short term.

The last model fitted for all the heads of households in the Campinas Metropolitan Region compares the situation of "getting by" with that of "not poor." In this case, being young, having low formal education, not having a regular income during the preceding year, and early migrant would seem to be conditions that imply greater chances for heads of households to be "getting by" rather than "not poor." In addition, in this model, for the first time, the variable related to the place where the individual lives (Vulnerability Zone) appears as significant, and this might indicate that living in Vulnerability Zones 1 or 2 increases the individual's chances of "getting by" rather than "not poor."

Considering the construction of the variable related to condition of poverty, the "getting by" group are those who show deficiencies either in their financial situation or in housing (but not both because, in this case, they would be classified as "poor"). The "getting-by" group would be placed exactly in Vulnerability Zones 1 or 2, where the possibilities of showing these difficulties are higher.

Lastly come Models 4, 5 and 6, fitted only for migrants, where the attempt was to grasp the impact on distinct situations of poverty not only on the variables used in the preceding models, but also on others related to the role of social networks. Unfortunately, with the exception of one of them, and even then for a variable with lower statistical significance, was it possible to obtain some indication in this direction.

So in Model 4 ("poor" x "not-poor"), once again, age, formal education (in this case only for less than 4 years of schooling), and irregular income during the year, appear highly significant as elements that have an impact on the condition of "poor." Also in this case, shorter time of residence appears as an important variable even though its significance is statistically lower (10%).

In the model that contrasts "poor" and "getting by" (Model 5) the finding related to education was inconsistent with expectations. The model indicated that those with more schooling – 8 years or more – would have greater chances of being poor than those with between 4 and 7 years of school). Nonetheless, irregularity of income and, once again, unemployment, appear as important for being classified as "poor" rather than "getting by." Maybe this unexpected result could be explain because the reduced number of case (the smallest of the six models fitted).

Chart 1

**Logistic models having poverty as the dependent variable
Campinas Metropolitan Region, 2007**

Variable	Fitted model					
	For all heads of households			Only for migrants		
	Poor x Not poor	Poor x "Getting by"	"Getting by" x Not poor	Poor x not poor	Poor x "Getting by"	"Getting by" x Not poor
Model	1	2	3	4	5	6
Constant	0	0	0,057***	0	0	0,056**
Sex						
Female	1.067	1.235	0.935	0.769	1.149	0.608
Age						
Up to age 34	2.174*	1.155	2.362***	4.683**	1.147	3.872**
Schooling						
Less than 4 years	3.613***	1.345	3.046***	4.311**	1.757	4.472***
From 4 to 7 years	2.135*	1.064	2.007***	1.452	0.392*	4.464***
Without income during the last 12 months						
Six months or less	27.372***	3.727***	2.028	24.738***	4.112**	2.414
Between 7 and 12 months	9.526***	3.673**	2.977**	6.552**	7.265**	2.674
Condition as migrant 1						
Recent migrant	5.341***	1.313	1.613	-	-	-
Earlier migrant	1.48	0.724	1.488*	0.211*	0.544	0.596
Condition as migrant 2						
Intrametropolitan	0.866	0.836	1.307	-	-	-
From outside Camp. Metrop. Reg.	-	-	-	0.549	1.316	0.376**
Place of dwelling						
VZ1	1.00E+09	3.00E+09	11.336***	1.00E+09	1.00E+11	30.944***
VZ2	1.00E+08	6.00E+08	4.687***	9.00E+07	4.00E+10	9.238**
VZ3	1.00E+07	2.00E+08	1.659	0	205.129	1.611
Current unemployment situation						
Unemployed	0.615	2.430*	0.933	0.474	3.738*	1.067
Not EAP	0.509	0.522	0.767	0.684	0.374	1.085
Number of intermunicipal moves						
Fewer than 2	-	-	-	1.616	0.954	2.150**

Chart 1 (cont.)

Variable	Fitted model					
	For all heads of households			Only for migrants		
	Poor x Not poor	Poor x "Getting by"	"Getting by" x Not poor	Poor x not poor	Poor x "Getting by"	"Getting by" x Not poor
Model	1	2	3	4	5	6
Relationships with relatives						
Did not increase	-	-	-	1.302	1.751	0.914
Relationships with neighbors						
Did not increase	-	-	-	0.929	0.681	1.44
How did you hear about the municipality?						
Others	-	-	-	0.594	1.231	0.658
Place of first residence upon arrival in the region						
House of relatives or friends	-	-	-	1.183	1.092	0.988
Others	-	-	-	4.00E+08	0.165	5.289*
Included in the sample	533	333	638	196	152	228
Total sample	651	404	785	458	338	566
% of correct predictions	89.7	71.5	75.1	87.8	73.7	76.3
Cox Snell R ²	0.431	0.237	0.224	0.497	0.295	0.296
Nagelkerke R ²	0.667	0.328	0.31	0.701	0.4	0.399
Hosmer and Lemeshow Test	5.664	7.355	3.906	3.091	5.864	7.596
(p-value)	-0.685	-0.499	-0.865	-0.929	-0.662	-0.474

Source: Pesquisa domiciliar projeto vulnerabilidade. NEPO/UNICAMP - FAPESP/CNPq, 2007

- Statistically significant at 10%. ** Statistically significant at 5% level.
- *** Statistically significant at 1%.

Finally in Model 6, which considers the dichotomy between "getting by" and "not poor," a number of variables seen as significant arose, namely, age, formal education, type of migration, location of the household, number of inter-municipal moves and place of first home in the region. In this group, three variables that were not included in any of the other five models should be mentioned.

The first of these variables is related to type of migration (from outside or intrametropolitan), the odds ratio of which indicated that being an intrametropolitan migrant would increase one's probability of "getting by" rather than being "not poor." This result counters one of the original hypotheses for this study, which predicted that previous experience in the metropolitan region could be a favorable factor.

The second of these variables refers to the number of moves in the municipality. According to expectations, it shows that the chances of "getting by," rather than being "not poor" increase with less mobility.

Finally the "location of first home in the region" variable has a significant effect on the chances of "getting by" rather than being "not poor" when the first home was neither a rented house nor the home of relatives or friends. Even though this result has a statistical significance level below 10%, it does suggest that more substandard housing¹⁹ upon arrival could have negative effects on migrants' lives.

Closing remarks

The main reason for this study was, on the basis of data from a survey especially designed for this purpose, to explore aspects related to the history of individuals in the Campinas Metropolitan Region, not only from the perspective of their previous spatial mobility to or within the region, but also in terms of the motivations, sociodemographic characteristics and implications of this mobility in terms of gains (or losses) of assets, either tangible, such as housing, or intangible, such as social relationships.

The study shows that migration from outside the Campinas Metropolitan Region is what basically sets the pace of the demographic growth of its municipalities. This does not mean, however, that intrametropolitan mobility is negligible. It was also seen that intra-municipal mobility is very intense in the region and is not limited to any specific social strata. As for reasons, employment (especially for migrants from outside) and housing are seen to be the main issues that still motivate many of these individuals, in different ways.

Although the length of time of residence (and as a consequence, age) strongly influences the migratory profile of individuals and their motivations, the analyses carried out show that other factors are also important, such as income, formal education, and occupation.

The fitted logistic models that contrast different situations of poverty for the total of heads of households and only for migrants show, first of all, that, as was expected, the variables of age and formal education were significant in most cases for predicting situations of poverty. Age failed to be a relevant variable only for predicting the condition of "poor" in contrast to "getting by."

It is also in this dichotomy that the models show the fewest number of statistically significant variables. Regular income and unemployment at the moment of the survey seem to be the factors that most affect the vulnerability of people for falling into the

¹⁹ The "others" category of this variable includes situations such as lent homes, boarding houses, living quarters at jobs, and occupied land. This aggregation was necessary to obtain statistical representativity.

category of "poor."

The "condition as migrant" is an attribute that was expected to have a decisive impact on vulnerability to poverty. But it was seen more strongly in only a few of the models, especially those two that use the dichotomy between "poor" and "not poor" as their dependent variable. That is, condition as migrant seems to be much more important for predicting situations of great social differences (such as "poor" and "not poor", and "getting by" and "not poor"). But it is not a good predictor for situations of greater proximity to social privation, as is the case of "poor" and "getting by."

Unfortunately, it was not possible to show any significant impact of the variables related to the action of social capital on the condition of poverty. As it was seen during the analysis, it was not possible to perceive differences between "poor" and "not poor" in terms of the existence (or non-existence) of these elements. A possible explanation for this result may be that the indicators used here (in fact, those available in the survey) were not the most adequate or, which may be more significant, that these issues cannot be effectively addressed in cross-section type studies. But the fact remains that it was not possible to come to any conclusive findings on the impact that these dimensions have on poverty.

One aspect nonetheless stands out: the descriptive analysis shows that the poor make greater use of strategies involving help, interaction and interventions of channels related to their social relationships, be they related to family, friends or the community.

Obviously, wages and/or stable jobs are peoples' most important sources of assets. But, due to the great social inequality existing in Brazil and the constant crises in the country's labor market, there is need to continue investigating in depth the concrete role of social capital on poverty, perhaps with new data and research methodologies.

It is essential to recall that thinking in this direction does not, under any circumstance, mean relieving the State of its grave responsibilities by transferring to families and communities the greater portion of responsibility in the elimination of this disaster of poverty that hovers over the Brazilian landscape. The intention here is simply to identify possibilities that might tend to mitigate this question as long as governments (around the world), planners and legislators fail to face this problem in a serious and competent way.

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