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Measuring Megacephalia:
Population Concentration in the Largest City
in Each Latin American Country,
1920–90

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James W. Wilkie and Carlos Alberto Contreras, eds., *Statistical Abstract of Latin America*, vol. 29, part 1 (Los Angeles: UCLA Latin American Center Publications, University of California, 1991).

This study of the concentration of population in large metropolitan areas in Latin America, sometimes called megacephalia, examines the population of the largest city in each country of the region from 1920 through 1990, based on census estimates. I construct two time series. The first links disparate time series together to provide data on the absolute population for the twenty cities being examined. The second time series calculates the percentage of each country's population which lives in the largest city. These data illustrate the process of concentration in a single urban area.

In the first part of the essay, I define the population of a city for the purposes of this study. In the second part I discuss the sources and methods used to construct the tables and analyze the data. The latter section also presents the time series data in absolute figures and percentages (Tables A1-A3), along with graphs of the data (Figures A1-A20).

Defining the Population of a City

In his 1961 study *Megalopolis*, which examined the northeastern seaboard of the United States, Jean Gottman called for "a profound revision of many old concepts, such as the usually accepted distinctions between city and country. As a result new meanings must be given to some old terms, and some new terms must be created." Gottman advocated that we "abandon the idea of the city as a tightly settled and organized unit in which people, activities, and riches are crowded into a very small area clearly separated from its nonurban surroundings," and adopted the term "megalopolis" to describe large urban agglomerations that stretch across historical and political divisions.¹

More recent studies also treat the problem of definition, perhaps with even more sophistication than Gottman. In a work on Western Europe, Paul Cheshire and

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¹Jean Gottman, *Megalopolis: The Urbanized Northeastern Seaboard of the United States* (Cambridge: The MIT Press, 1961), pp. 4-5. Other representative works of this period include Lloyd Rodwin, ed., *The Future Metropolis* (New York: George Braziller, Inc., 1960), and Hans Blumenfeld, *The Modern Metropolis: Its Origins, Growth, Characteristics, and Planning* (Cambridge: The MIT Press, 1967).

Dennis Hay reject simple administrative definitions as meaningless and incongruent with functional definitions. Instead, they adopt the term "Functional Urban Regions" (FURs), "cores defined by concentrations of jobs and their commuting hinterlands" which are "typically very much bigger than the administrative unit bearing a city's name or even a city's built up area. They attempt to capture the sphere of influence of the urban economy." Like Gottman, Cheshire and Hay reject historical and political divisions. They emphasize, instead, functional economic relationships.²

Cheshire and Hay also provide a cogent rationale for new definitions. They cite the example of Paris, but the problem they describe there could apply to virtually any large metropolitan area:

The citizens of Paris, London, Brussels, or Milano know what their city is, so the need for an abstraction like Functional Urban Region (FUR) is not immediately apparent. The basic reason is simple. Even the citizens of a city use its name in different senses, depending on context. A Parisian may at times think of Paris as the central département of that name—largely corresponding to the area of 19th century Paris. At other times (especially if the Parisian in question is an inhabitant of, say, suburban Seine St. Denis), the continuously urbanized area, including the surrounding départements, may be included in the implied definition. At yet others, the whole Paris region—the Ile de France—may be the intended sense. It is therefore necessary to have a precise and consistent definition. . . .³

Defining the limits of a city is not a problem unique to Paris nor to the northeastern United States. It is an important issue for developing countries as well. Latin America is full of rapidly expanding urban areas that have crossed historical and political boundaries. Some of the world's largest urban agglomerations are found in Latin America. Mexico City, with some 20 million inhabitants, comes to mind immediately. São Paulo is not far behind, with over 18 million. Buenos Aires, the region's largest city until the 1970s, has

²Paul C. Cheshire and Dennis G. Hay, *Urban Problems in Western Europe: An Economic Analysis* (London: Unwin Hyman Ltd., 1989), p. 11.

³*Ibid.*, p. 14.

a population of over 11 million. Of the remaining seventeen cities included in this study, thirteen have more than one million inhabitants. Outside the scope of this study are the large metropolitan areas that are not the largest in a particular country. Rio de Janeiro, Brazil's largest city until the 1960s, is the most conspicuous example, with a population of 11 million. Besides Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo, there are twelve other Brazilian cities with more than one million people. Other countries have similar demographics. Mexico with Monterrey, Guadalajara, and Puebla; Colombia with Medellín, Cali, and Barranquilla; and Venezuela, with Valencia, Maracaibo, and Maracay. Thus, it is clear that Latin America has its fair share of large, sprawling metropolitan areas that cannot be viewed on a simply historical and administrative basis.

Mexico City is a perfect example of an urban area that cuts across the traditional historical and administrative boundaries that once defined the city. Historically, the city was founded on the spot where the Aztec city of Tenochtitlan was located. Throughout the colonial period and much of the nineteenth century, Mexico City retained its original spatial structure. It was not until the second half of the nineteenth century that the city began to expand beyond its historical boundaries. By the post-World War II period a physical and demographic explosion would make historical definitions useless.⁴

Administrative boundaries have also become obsolete. A 1941 law defined Mexico City as the capital of both the Federal District and of the republic of Mexico. The Federal District contained 1,499 square kilometers, of which only 9.1% was Mexico City proper. The remainder of the Federal District consisted of twelve "delegations." In 1971 this law was changed, an indication of the need to rethink the appropriateness of political boundaries. The area previously considered to be Mexico City proper was divided into four delegations, giving the Federal District sixteen in all. According to the new law, the boundaries of Mexico City and the Federal District were the same. But even this definition is now outdated, for Mexico City as a functional urban agglomeration has spilled across the frontiers of the Federal District.⁵

So how should the population of a "city" be defined? Luis Unikel discusses the confusion in his work on the growth of Mexico City. He points out that various terms and concepts such as "Mexico City," "Federal District," "urban area of Mexico City," and "Mexico City metropolitan area" are used interchangeably. According to Unikel,⁶ the indiscriminate use of these terms as synonyms is incorrect and makes comparative study difficult.

A brief historical look at the growth of Mexico City demonstrates the need to use a term such as "metropolitan area" rather than the historical and political definitions that no longer reflect reality. Mexico City grew slowly through the first half of the nineteenth century. After the expropriation of Church lands in 1856, however, a new real estate market opened up outside of the historical central district, which led to the first major population shift, principally by elites moving to the west. This trend was encouraged during the Porfiriato by transportation improvements that contributed to the greater integration of the country, thus making mobility easier.⁷

Unikel has provided a useful periodization for the growth of Mexico City in the twentieth century. During the first period, 1900-30, the rate of urbanization was higher than it had previously been. Throughout the early twentieth century, many middle and upper class groups moved south and west, as the central part of the city was used increasingly for bureaucratic functions. Nevertheless, growth occurred almost exclusively within the city limits. In 1930, 98% of the population lived in the city proper.⁸

The second period spans the 1930s and 1940s, when the spatial and demographic expansion of the city began in earnest. The highest demographic growth rate of the century was recorded in the 1940s. The population became much less concentrated, as the city continued to spread to the south and to the north, owing mainly to industrial expansion, but remained within the boundaries of the Federal District.⁹

Unikel designates 1950-70 as the third period of urban growth. (We can expand this range to include the present.) During the 1950s the metropolitan area of Mexico City expanded beyond the border of the Federal District into the state of Mexico. An example of this expansion is the establishment in 1957 of Ciudad Satélite, an urbanized subdivision for the middle classes. This trend accelerated during the 1960s, as a result of more industrial growth and "popular settlements." Indeed, a 1981 U.N. report estimated that slums and squatter settlements comprised 46% of Mexico City's population. The population of the squatter settlement Nezahualcoytl, for example, grew from 65,000 to 650,000 during the 1960s, and by 1975, it had reached 1.3 million.¹⁰

In view of this kind of growth in Mexico City and other large metropolitan areas in Latin America, it is imperative to measure the population of the entire urban agglomeration, not just the city proper. A city such as Caracas, which has maintained about the same level of concentration in recent decades, has crossed the border of the Federal District into the state of Miranda. And Montevideo, whose popula-

⁴Martha Schteingart, "Mexico City," in Mattei Dogan and John Kasarda, eds., *Mega-Cities* (Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications, 1988), p. 273.

⁵Luis Unikel, *La dinámica del crecimiento de la Ciudad de México* (Mexico: Fundación para Estudios de la Población, 1972), pp. 4-5.

⁶Ibid.

⁷Schteingart, "Mexico City," p. 273.

⁸Unikel, *La dinámica*, p. 10.

⁹Ibid., pp. 10-12.

¹⁰Ibid., p. 12; Schteingart, "Mexico City," p. 274; and Panayotis Psomopoulos, "Toward Megalopolis," in Ervin Y. Galantay, *The Metropolis in Transition* (New York: Paragon House Publishers, 1987), p. 39.

tion has been decreasing in relation to Uruguay's total, has spilled over into neighboring states. The data in the second part of this study measure the population of the largest city in each country in terms of metropolitan areas. In this way, the time series data reflect the functional social and economic reality of these growing urban centers.

The Data

Sources and Methodology

In his 1978 article "Determining the Population in the Largest City of Each Latin American Country, 1900-1970,"¹¹ Marshall C. Eakin defines megacephalia as "the overwhelming growth of one urban area at the expense of all others." Eakin undertook his study in response to what he called "a critical need to construct statistical time series to measure the urbanization process in Latin America." Furthermore, he adds that "without such statistics much discussion about Latin American urbanization remains mere conjecture and guesswork. . . ." Thus, in his quantitative work, Eakin provided two important sets of data and isolated a number of important trends.

First, Eakin constructed a time series of the population of the largest city in each Latin American country, based largely on data collected by CELADE and by a team of researchers led by Davis Kingsley and published in *World Urbanization, 1950-70*. This time series illustrates the absolute growth of these cities. One can see, for example, how long it takes for a city's population to double or triple. Eakin observed that from 1940 to 1970 four cities tripled in size, three quadrupled, and seven increased by at least a factor of five.

In a second time series, Eakin calculated the percentage of the total population residing in each urban area. These calculations are crucial to measuring megacephalia. The data provide some interesting results. Of the twenty cities included in the study, all but two—São Paulo, with 8.9%, and Port-au-Prince, with 9.4%—contained at least 10% of the country's population in 1970, the last year in Eakin's time series. Six of these cities contained over 20%, three of which exceeded 30%, and one of these—Montevideo—was home to more than 50% of the population. In addition, from 1960 to 1970, only two cities showed a decrease: La Paz, negligibly, from 10.8% to 10.7%, and Havana, more significantly, from 22.0% to 19.9%. All of the other largest cities increased by at least 1% during this period, indicating a continued trend toward megacephalia.

I had originally planned to simply update the Eakin study, carrying the time series forward to 1990. When I attempted to do so, however, I found it necessary to revise portions of Eakin's work for reasons discussed below. Thus,

for this study, I have maintained Eakin's data for the years 1920-40. The 1950-90 data—except in the cases of Bolivia and Cuba—come from two other sources: *Prospects of World Urbanization, 1988* and Robert Fox's article "Una base de datos para las ciudades de América Latina."¹²

I had hoped to update Eakin by using only *Prospects of World Urbanization, 1988*, which contains worldwide data on urbanization, including the twenty Latin American nations that comprise this study. Both city and national data are presented, enabling me to calculate the percentages presented in the second time series.

Unfortunately, the definition of a city is problematic. For the country data, the U.N. uses the term "urban agglomeration," which suggested to me that updating Eakin would simply involve extracting the appropriate data from the U.N. volume. I found, however, that the U.N. data were sometimes misleading. Although the term "urban agglomeration" is used consistently for every country, the term is only accurate for twelve of the twenty Latin American countries. For the remaining eight, the U.N. uses data for the "city proper." As we have seen, these definitions are virtually meaningless.

Of course, the U.N. is at the mercy of each individual nation, as the data are self-reported by respective members. In his study, Eakin acknowledges that "shifting criteria for definition of a city are imbedded in the primary sources and skew the time series." I was now confronted with this very problem. Where the U.N. uses city proper data and Eakin uses metropolitan area figures, the time series I was attempting to construct would be skewed. The U.N. volume states that when metropolitan area data are not available, the city proper figures offer a close approximation. For my purposes this explanation was unsatisfactory because at times large differences exist. In the case of Montevideo, for example, the U.N. reports a population of 1,200,000 in 1990, while metropolitan area figures indicate a population of 1,363,000. This difference is crucial because of the twenty countries being examined, Montevideo had contained the largest percentage of its country's population. And even more significant discrepancies can be found in some of the Central American data. The U.N. reports San Salvador's population as 590,000 and Guatemala City's as 1,670,000. Metropolitan area data, however, indicate populations of 1,051,000 and 2,183,000 respectively.

Thus, I had to find an alternative source for the eight countries that were inadequately represented by the U.N. data. Fortunately, in his article "Una base de datos para las ciudades de América Latina," Robert Fox presents data on forty-one of the largest metropolitan areas in Latin America. His figures are based on some of his earlier works and more

¹¹Marshall C. Eakin, "Determining the Population in the Largest City of Each Latin American Country, 1900-1970," in SALA, volume 19, chapter 35.

¹²*Prospects of World Urbanization, 1988* (U.N. Department of International Economic and Social Affairs, 1989); and Robert W. Fox, "Una base de datos para las ciudades de América Latina," *Revista de Estudios Urbanos Regionales* 15:45 (Santiago, 1989), pp. 89-95.

recent 1980 census information.¹³ His 1990 figures, of course, are projections. Using Fox's consistent city population data and the country totals from the U.N., I have calculated the share of the total population living in the largest city for six of the eight "problem" countries. For two countries, Bolivia and Cuba, I have used Eakin's data for 1920-70, and the U.N. city proper data for 1980-90.

After assembling the data from the U.N. and Fox's article, I found that the Eakin series is problematic for two reasons. First, and most important, some of Eakin's 1970 data are projections, not official data. With the benefit of hindsight, I have found that some of these figures are off by a significant amount. For example, the population of Buenos Aires is overestimated. Eakin placed the Argentine capital's population at 9,400,000 in 1970. My data indicate a population of only 8,310,000, a difference of 1,090,000. In percentage terms, Eakin's data overestimate the population by nearly 5%. I also found that the population of Montevideo was overrepresented by 233,000, a significant amount, especially when expressed in percentage—6.7%. My figures attribute only 46.2% of the Uruguayan population to Montevideo, while Eakin attributed 52.9%. Despite this more than 6% decrease, Montevideo remained the most concentrated city in 1970. However, according to my data for 1970, no Latin American city can now claim more than half of its country's total population. At the other end of the scale, Eakin underestimated San Salvador's 1970 population by 345,000. My new figures give that city a 14.9% share compared with the 10.9% by Eakin, a difference of 4.0%. Other cities whose populations were undercounted by about 3-4% are Lima, Santo Domingo, Panama City, and San José.

A second problem with the Eakin study is that figures for metropolitan areas are not used consistently. According to the tables, Eakin uses city proper data for four cities—Bogotá, Santo Domingo, Port-au-Prince, and Montevideo. While he is obviously aware of the problem of defining a city, it is puzzling that city populations were not measured according to a definition consistently applied.

Thus, because of the limitations of Eakin's data, I have chosen not only to include new data for 1980-90, but also to replace Eakin's 1950-70 data with data found in the U.N. and Fox sources. By applying the same definition of a city for the years 1950-90, the numbers will now be consistent within each country.

Analysis of the Time Series, 1970-90

The absolute population figures for the largest city in each country show that these cities are not growing as rapidly as they did in the 1940-70 period which Eakin studied

(Table A1). Granted, the 1970-90 period covers only two decades instead of the three covered by the earlier period. Nevertheless, in the first period, nearly all of the cities at least tripled in size, with some growing by a factor of four or five. In the later period, only one city, Managua, tripled. Others, such as Santo Domingo and Asunción, came close to tripling, and surely will by the year 2000. Overall, eleven cities doubled their population count: La Paz, São Paulo, Bogotá, San José, Santo Domingo, Guayaquil, Guatemala City, Mexico City, Panama City, Asunción, and Lima. The remaining cities showed much slower growth. Port-au-Prince is the extreme case, maintaining a population of about 460,000 throughout the period. Besides Port-au-Prince, the Southern Cone cities—Buenos Aires, Montevideo, and Santiago—demonstrated the slowest growth rates.

In absolute terms, the largest cities grew the most. Both Mexico City and São Paulo gained just over 10 million inhabitants in two decades. The next three largest cities—Buenos Aires, Lima, and Bogotá—increased by over 3 million each. In contrast, as mentioned above, Port-au-Prince grew very little. Montevideo was the only other city to increase by fewer than 250,000. Indeed, while Montevideo's 1990 population is greater than that of 1970, the data show a slight decrease of about 10,000 from 1980 to 1990.

The percentage data on the total population in the largest cities (Table A2) show that the trend toward megacephalia has continued. In 1990, as in 1970, only one city (Port-au-Prince) had less than 10% of the total population. In 1970 that city was São Paulo with 8.4%, demonstrating that Brazil has many large cities rather than a single dominant city with respect to the population. But by 1990, Brazil's largest city had increased its share of the country's total to 12.2%. Port-au-Prince, however, decreased from 10.2% in 1970 to only 7.1% in 1990, making it the only city with less than 10% of the total population.

The number of cities with at least 20% of the country's population increased dramatically over the twenty years. In 1970 six cities—Buenos Aires, Santiago, San José, Panama City, Lima, and Montevideo—had 20% or more. By 1990 this number increased to thirteen, with Santo Domingo, San Salvador, Guatemala City, Mexico City, Managua, Asunción, and Caracas joining the group. In 1970 only Buenos Aires, Panama City, and Montevideo contained over 30% of the total population. In 1990 three others—Santiago, San José, and Santo Domingo—surpassed the 30% mark. And while in 1970 only Montevideo at 46.2% exceeded 40% of the population, by 1990 Panama City too had reached that level, with 48.6%.

An analysis of change in the percentages of the population that each city commands over time shows three distinct categories: (1) decrease, (2) little change, and (3) increase. Only Port-au-Prince and Montevideo, which decreased from 46.2% to 43.5%, belong to group 1. Group 2 includes Buenos Aires, with 34.7% in 1970 and 34.8% in 1990; Havana, with 19.8% in 1970 and 20.3% in 1990; Tegucigalpa, with 10.3% in 1970 and 10.1% in 1990; and Caracas, with

¹³The earlier works are Robert W. Fox, *Urban Population Growth Trends in Latin America* (Washington, DC: Inter-American Development Bank, 1975); and Robert W. Fox and Jerrold W. Huguet, *Population and Urban Trends in Central America and Panama* (Washington, DC: Inter-American Development Bank, 1977).

19.3% in 1970 and 20.1% in 1990. In group 3 four cities grew by more than 10%: Asunción, from 18.7% to 29.7% (11.0% increase); Santo Domingo, from 19.0% to 30.7% (11.7%); Managua, from 17.5% to 29.7% (12.2%); and Panama City, from 34.0% to 48.6% (14.6%). This gain gave Panama City the highest degree of concentration in 1990, overtaking Montevideo.

Thus, the new data presented here show that the trend toward megacephalia continues, but at a slower pace than

during earlier periods. It will be interesting to see if the trend continues through the year 2000 and beyond. As this study has demonstrated, consistent time series based on clear definitions are needed as the basis for the study of urbanization in Latin America. Now that the quantitative dimensions of urban growth in the twentieth century have been established, researchers can turn their attention to analyses of the causes and consequences of the problems created by such population growth and concentration.

Table A1
POPULATION OF THE LARGEST CITY, 20 L, 1920-90^a
(T)

	Country	Largest City	1920	1930	1940	1950	1960	1970	1980	1990
A.	ARGENTINA	Buenos Aires	1,576	~	2,410	5,130	6,690	8,310	9,880	11,580
B.	BOLIVIA	La Paz	~	~	~	300	400	500	790	1,320
C.	BRAZIL	Rio de Janeiro/ São Paulo ¹	1,158	~	1,519	3,450	4,930	8,060	12,500	18,420
D.	CHILE	Santiago	507	713	952	1,330	2,030	2,840	3,700	4,700
E.	COLOMBIA	Bogotá	144	260	356	680	1,300	2,370	3,910	5,590
F.	COSTA RICA	San José	39	89	~	180	280	440	680	1,040
G.	CUBA	Havana	466	721	936	1,081	1,549	1,700	1,910	2,090
H.	DOMINICAN REP.	Santo Domingo	31	~	71	220	450	840	1,400	2,200
I.	ECUADOR	Guayaquil	~	~	~	259	468	720	1,105	1,738
J.	EL SALVADOR	San Salvador	81	89	103	213	328	535	858	1,051
K.	GUATEMALA	Guatemala City	112	~	186	337	528	898	1,430	2,183
L.	HAITI	Port-au-Prince	~	~	~	130	250	460	460	460
M.	HONDURAS	Tegucigalpa	~	~	56	140	190	270	370	520
N.	MEXICO	Mexico City	615	1,049	1,560	2,880	4,930	8,740	13,970	19,370
O.	NICARAGUA	Managua	28	~	63	109	194	358	662	1,148
P.	PANAMA	Panama City	~	74	112	217	332	520	794	1,175
Q.	PARAGUAY	Asunción	~	~	~	200	270	440	760	1,270
R.	PERU	Lima-Callao	255	~	~	1,010	1,690	2,840	4,410	6,500
S.	URUGUAY	Montevideo	393	482	537	1,086	1,231	1,297	1,374	1,363
T.	VENEZUELA	Caracas	92	259	354	680	1,280	2,050	2,940	3,960

1. For 1920-60, Rio de Janeiro; for 1970-90, São Paulo.

a. Beginning in 1950, figures are for metropolitan area, except Mexico City, for which all figures are metropolitan area, and La Paz and Havana, for which the 1980-90 figures are for city proper only.

SOURCE:

For 1920-40: Marshall C. Eakin, "Determining the Population in the Largest City of Each Latin American Country, 1900-70," SALA, vol. 19, ch. 35.

For 1950-90: Eakin; United Nations, *Prospects of World Urbanization, 1988* (U.N. Department of International Economic and Social Affairs, 1989); and Robert Fox, "Una base de datos para las ciudades de América Latina," *Revista de Estudios Urbanos Regionales* 15:45 (Santiago, 1989), pp. 89-95.

Table A2
 PERCENTAGE OF POPULATION IN LARGEST CITY, 20L, 1920-90^a
 (%)

Country	Largest City	1920	1930	1940	1950	1960	1970	1980	1990 [†]
A. ARGENTINA	Buenos Aires	17.6	~	17.0	29.9	32.4	34.7	35.0	34.8
B. BOLIVIA	La Paz	~	~	8.5	10.8	11.7	11.6	14.2	18.1
C. BRAZIL	Rio de Janeiro/ São Paulo ¹	4.2	~	3.7	6.5	6.8	8.4	10.3	12.2
D. CHILE	Santiago	13.4	16.3	18.8	21.9	26.7	29.9	33.2	35.7
E. COLOMBIA	Bogotá	2.5	3.5	4.1	5.9	8.4	11.4	15.2	17.6
F. COSTA RICA	San José	9.3	18.9	10.6	20.9	22.6	25.4	29.8	34.6
G. CUBA	Havana	16.0	18.2	19.6	18.4	22.0	19.8	19.6	20.3
H. DOMINICAN REP.	Santo Domingo	3.5	~	4.8	9.4	13.9	19.0	24.3	30.7
I. ECUADOR	Guayaquil	~	~	5.2	7.8	10.6	11.9	13.6	16.0
J. EL SALVADOR	San Salvador	6.9	6.2	6.3	11.0	12.8	14.9	18.9	20.0
K. GUATEMALA	Guatemala City	8.5	~	8.5	11.3	13.3	17.1	20.7	23.7
L. HAITI	Port-au-Prince	~	~	4.0	4.2	6.8	10.2	8.5	7.1
M. HONDURAS	Tegucigalpa	~	~	4.4	10.0	9.8	10.3	10.1	10.1
N. MEXICO	Mexico City	4.3	6.3	7.9	10.3	13.0	16.6	19.8	21.9
O. NICARAGUA	Managua	4.4	~	7.6	9.9	13.0	17.5	23.9	29.7
P. PANAMA	Panama City	14.4	15.7	18.1	24.4	28.9	34.0	40.5	48.6
Q. PARAGUAY	Asunción	~	~	8.7	14.8	15.3	18.7	24.1	29.7
R. PERU	Lima-Callao	5.3	~	7.4	13.2	17.0	21.5	25.5	29.1
S. URUGUAY	Montevideo	26.6	27.9	27.3	48.5	48.5	46.2	47.2	43.5
T. VENEZUELA	Caracas	3.3	7.7	9.3	13.6	17.1	19.3	19.6	20.1

1. For 1920-60, Rio de Janeiro; for 1970-90, São Paulo.

a. Beginning in 1950, figures are for metropolitan area, except Mexico City, for which all figures are metropolitan area, and La Paz and Havana, for which the 1980-90 figures are for city proper only.

SOURCE:

For 1920-40: Eakin, "Determining the Population in the Largest City of Each Latin American Country, 1900-70."

For 1950-90: Calculated from Table A1 and total population data in Table A3.

Table A3
 POPULATION TOTALS, 20 L, 1950-90
 (T)

Country	1950	1960	1970	1980	1990 [†]
A. ARGENTINA	17,150	20,620	23,960	28,240	32,320
B. BOLIVIA	2,770	3,430	4,320	5,570	7,310
C. BRAZIL	53,440	72,590	95,850	121,290	150,370
D. CHILE	6,080	7,610	9,500	11,140	13,170
E. COLOMBIA	11,600	15,540	20,800	25,790	31,820
F. COSTA RICA	860	1,240	1,730	2,280	3,010
G. CUBA	5,860	7,030	8,570	9,730	10,320
H. DOMINICAN REP.	2,350	3,230	4,420	5,700	7,170
I. ECUADOR	3,310	4,410	6,050	8,120	10,780
J. EL SALVADOR	1,940	2,570	3,590	4,530	5,250
K. GUATEMALA	2,970	3,960	5,250	6,920	9,200
L. HAITI	3,100	3,670	4,500	5,410	6,500
M. HONDURAS	1,400	1,940	2,630	3,660	5,140
N. MEXICO	28,010	38,020	52,770	70,420	88,600
O. NICARAGUA	1,100	1,490	2,050	2,770	3,870
P. PANAMA	890	1,150	1,530	1,960	2,420
Q. PARAGUAY	1,350	1,770	2,350	3,150	4,280
R. PERU	7,630	9,930	13,190	17,300	22,330
S. URUGUAY	2,240	2,540	2,810	2,910	3,130
T. VENEZUELA	5,010	7,500	10,600	15,020	19,740

SOURCE: United Nations, *Prospects of World Urbanization, 1988*.

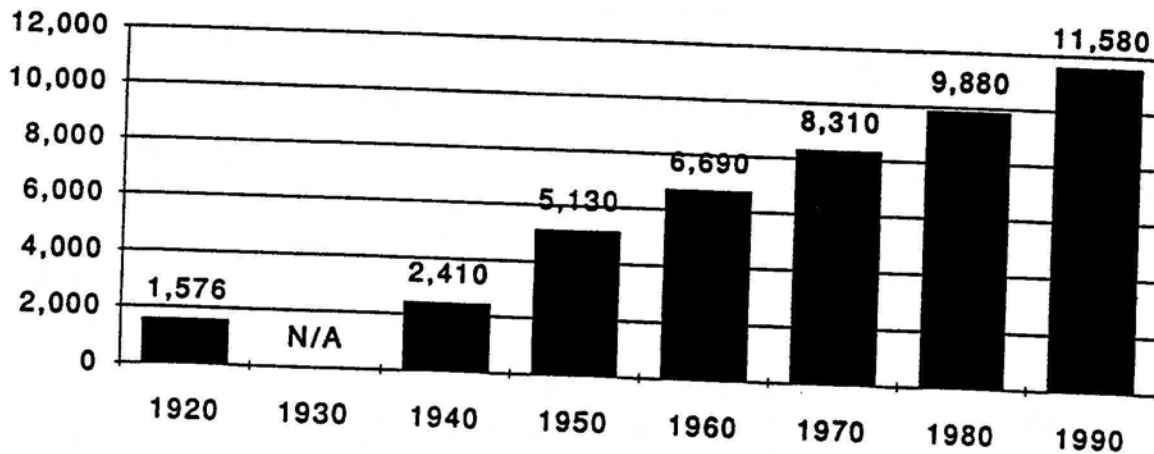
854

Figure A:1

BUENOS AIRES POPULATION, 1920-90

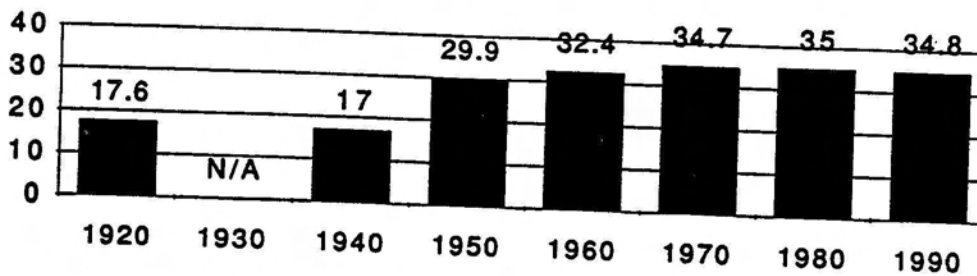
PART I. ABSOLUTE DATA

(T)



SOURCE: Table A1.

PART II. PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL POPULATION



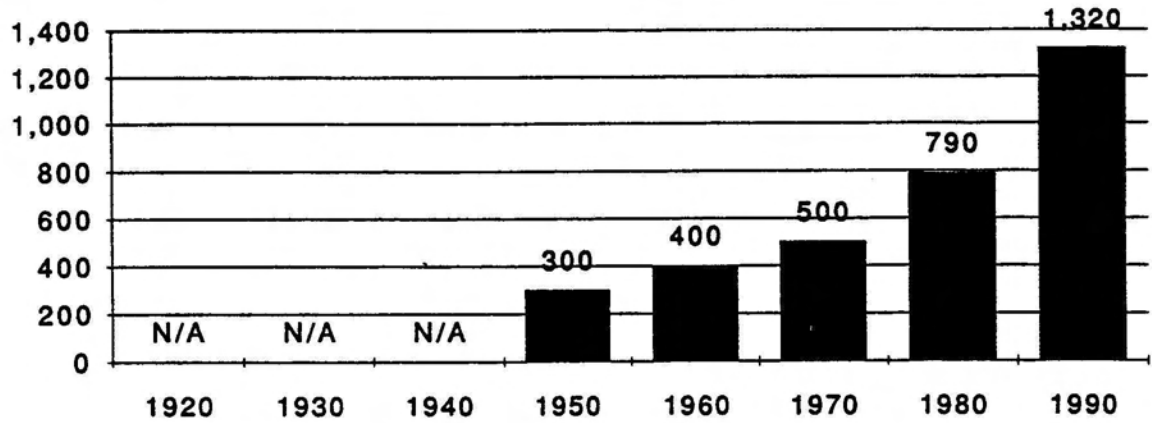
SOURCE: Table A2.

855

Figure A:2

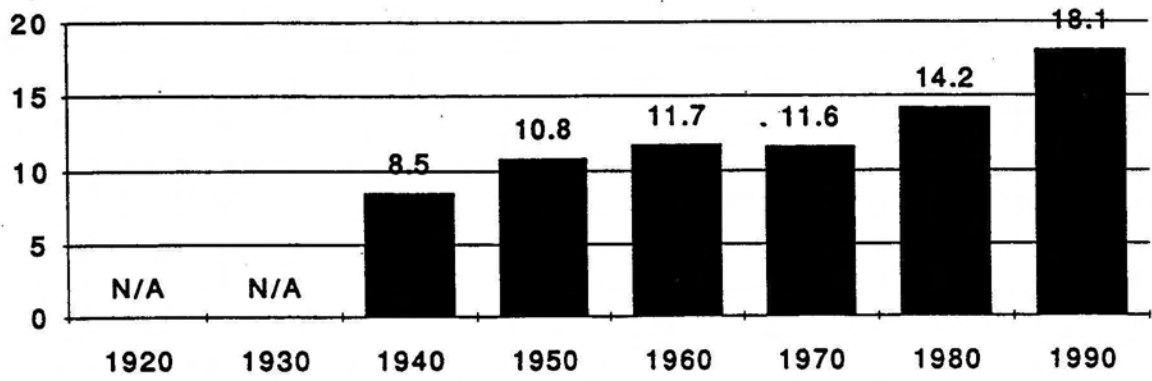
LA PAZ POPULATION, 1920-90

PART I. ABSOLUTE DATA
(T)



SOURCE: Table A1.

PART II. PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL POPULATION



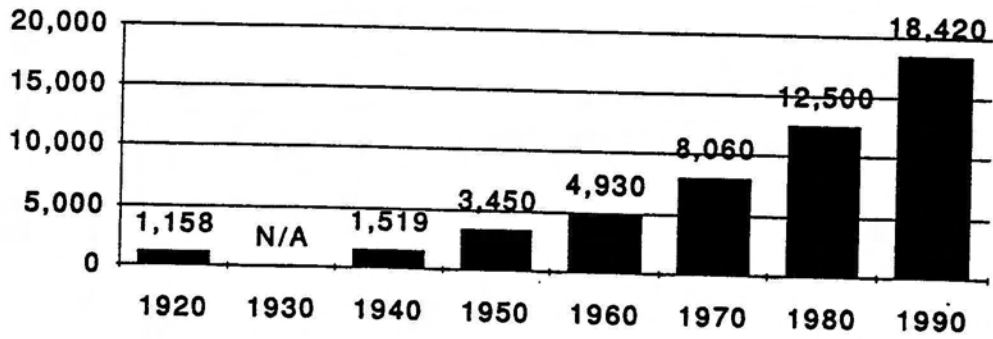
SOURCE: Table A2.

856

Figure A:3

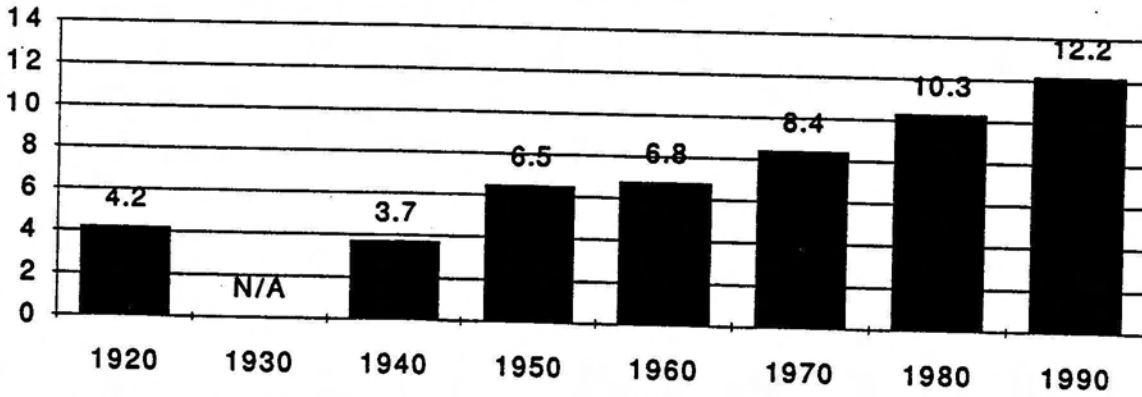
RIO DE JANEIRO/SÃO PAULO POPULATION, 1920-90

PART I. ABSOLUTE DATA
(T)



SOURCE: Table A1.

PART II. PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL POPULATION



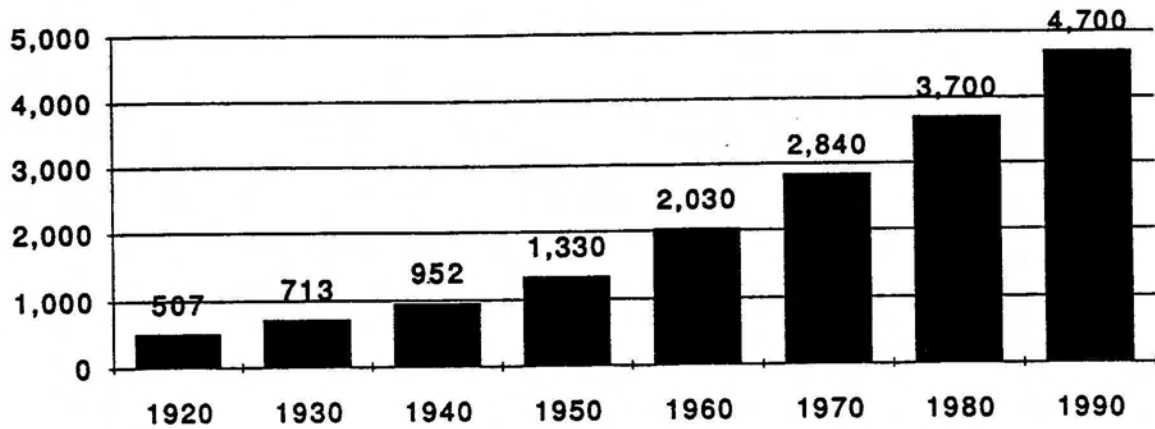
SOURCE: Table A2.

Figure A:4

SANTIAGO POPULATION, 1920-90

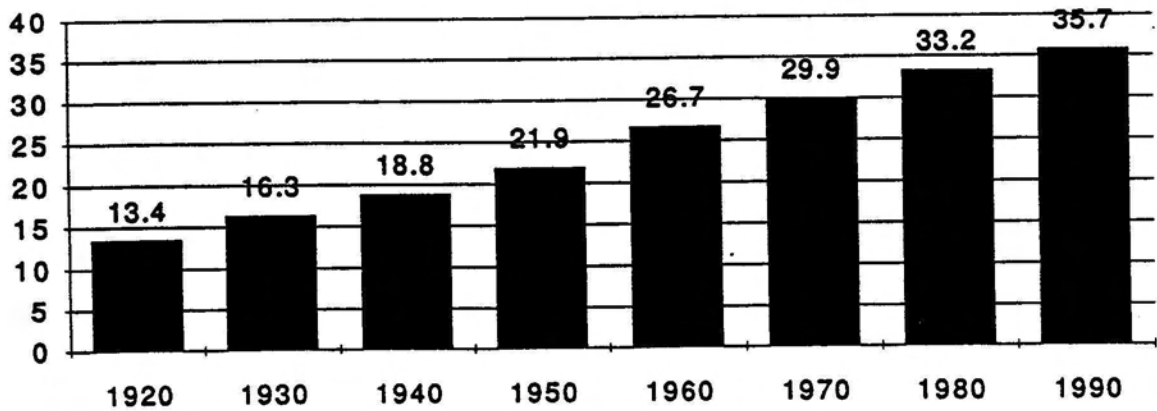
PART I. ABSOLUTE DATA

(T)



SOURCE: Table A1.

PART II. PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL POPULATION

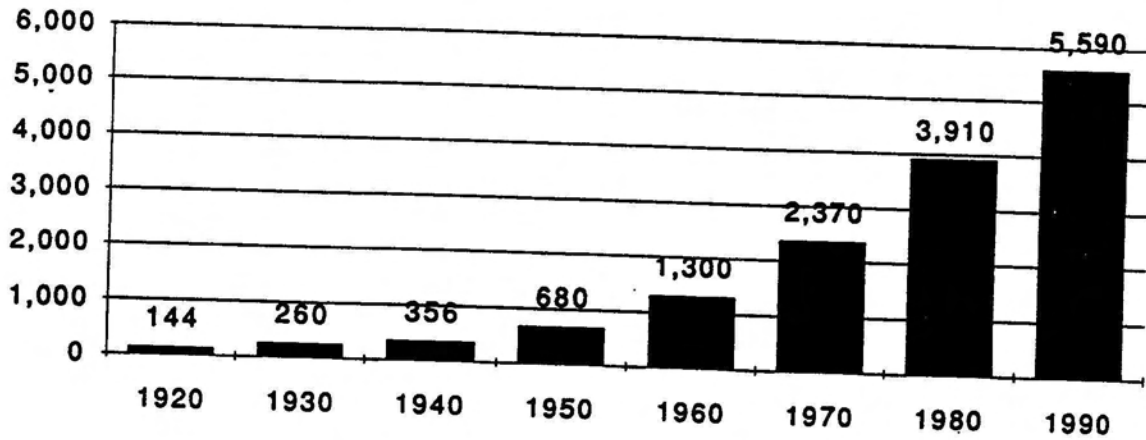


SOURCE: Table A2.

858

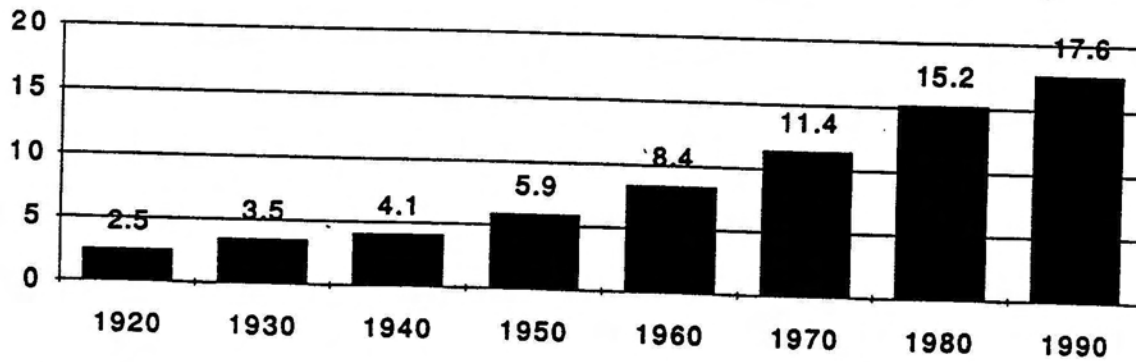
Figure A:5
BOGOTÁ POPULATION, 1920-90

PART I. ABSOLUTE DATA
(T)



SOURCE: Table A1.

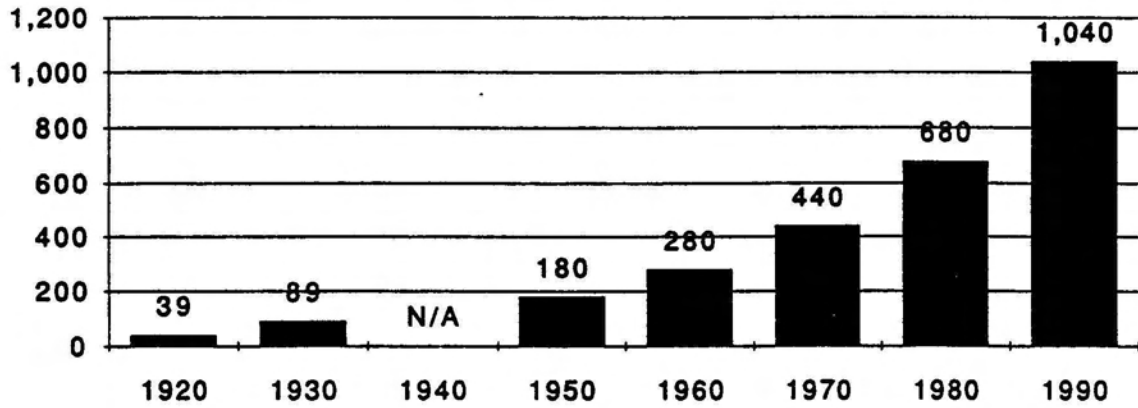
PART II. PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL POPULATION



SOURCE: Table A1.

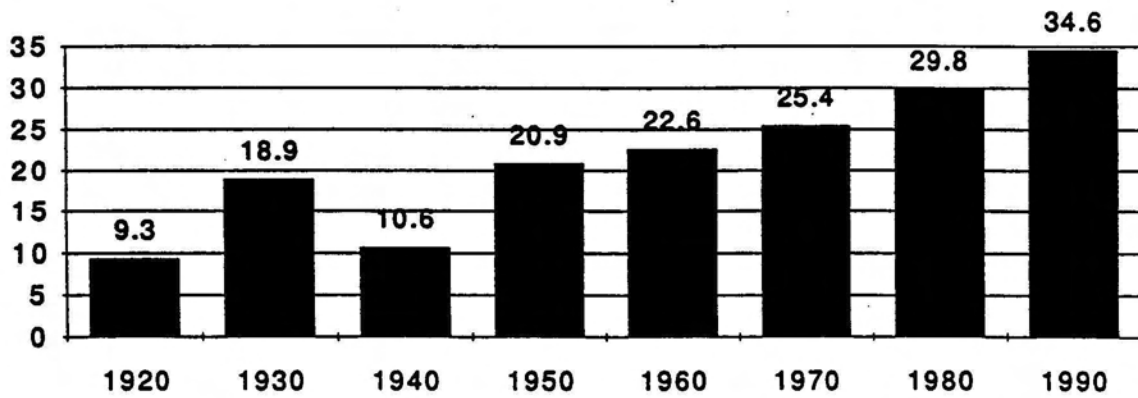
Figure A:6
SAN JOSÉ POPULATION, 1920-90

PART I. ABSOLUTE DATA
(T)



SOURCE: Table A1.

PART II. PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL POPULATION



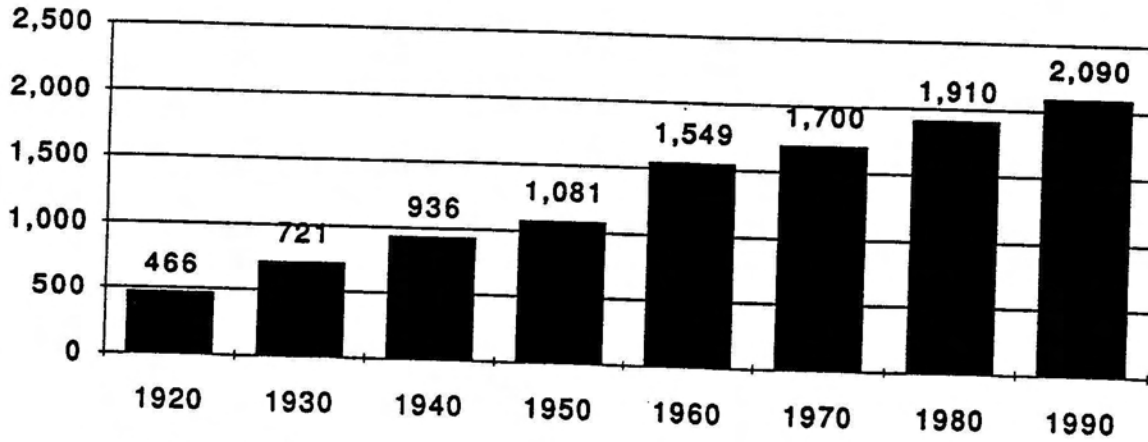
SOURCE: Table A2.

86^b

Figure A:7

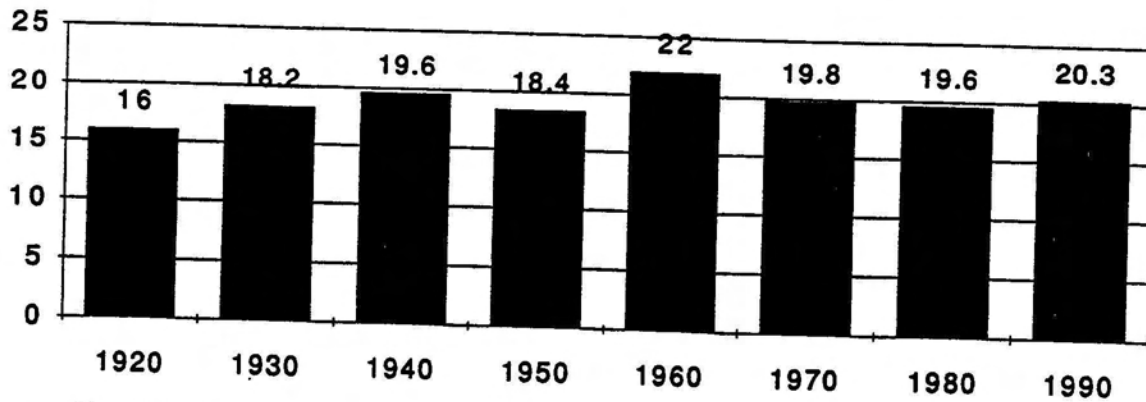
HAVANA POPULATION, 1920-90

PART I. ABSOLUTE DATA
(T)



SOURCE: Table A1.

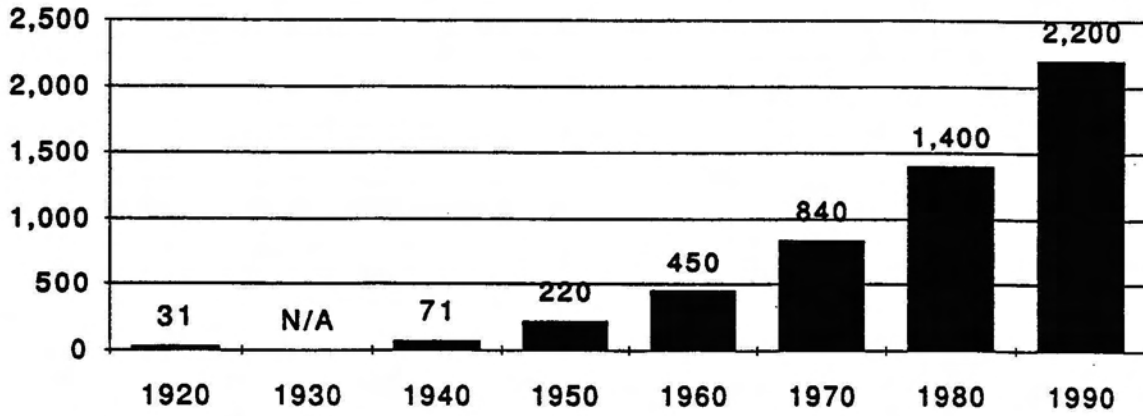
PART II. PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL POPULATION



SOURCE: Table A2.

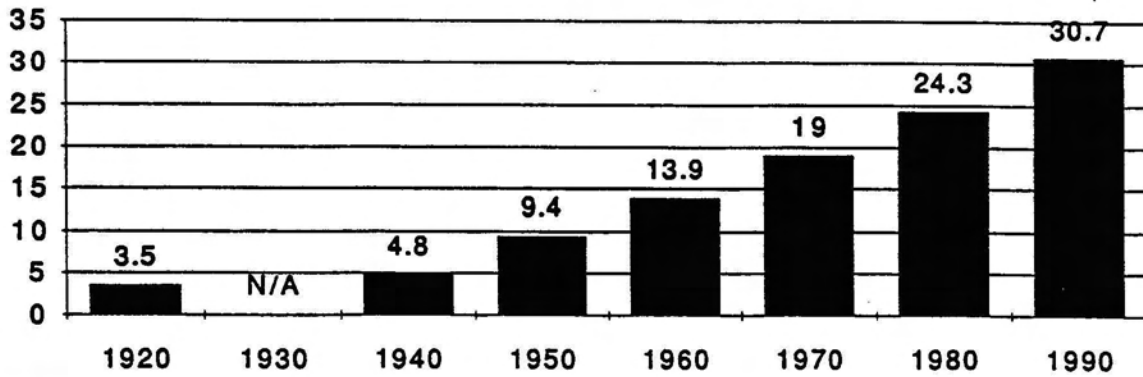
Figure A:8
SANTO DOMINGO POPULATION, 1920-90

PART I. ABSOLUTE DATA
(T)



SOURCE: Table A1.

PART II. PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL POPULATION

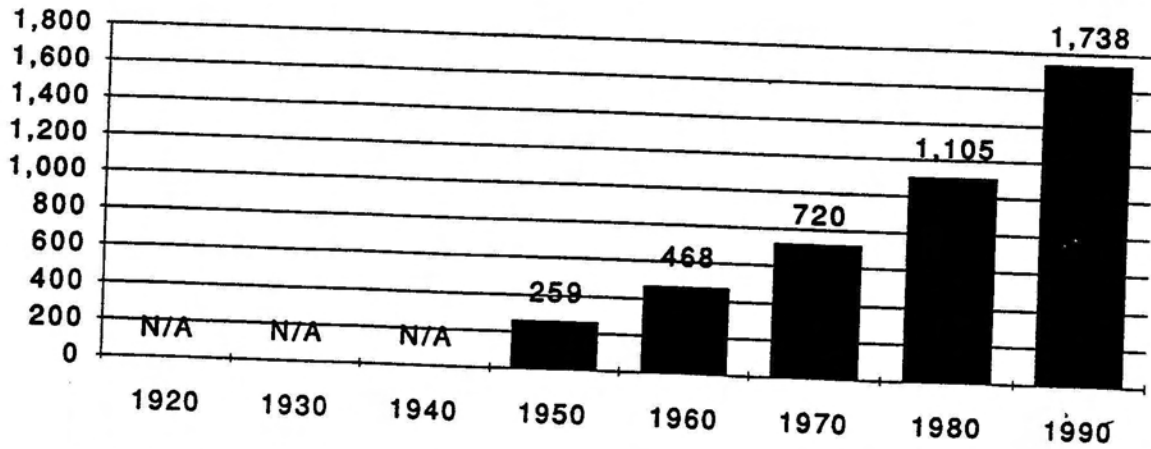


SOURCE: Table A2.

862

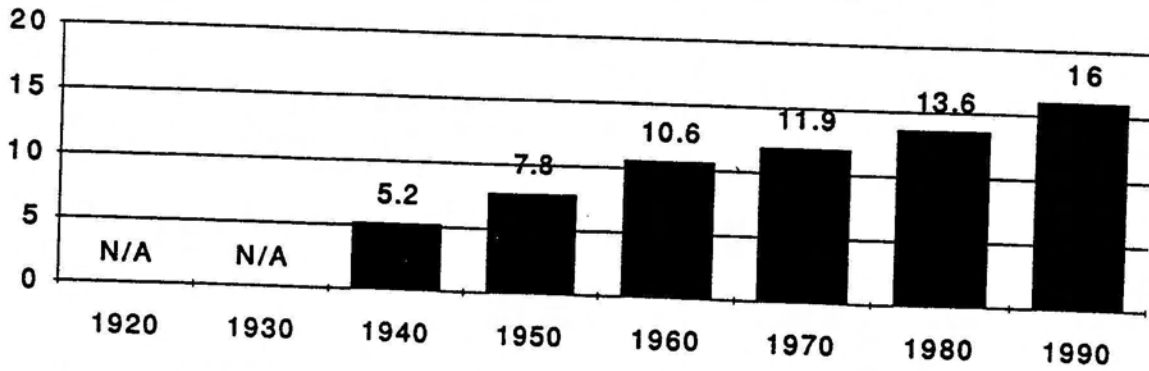
Figure A:9
GUAYAQUIL POPULATION, 1920-90

PART I. ABSOLUTE DATA
(T)



SOURCE: Table A1.

PART II. PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL POPULATION



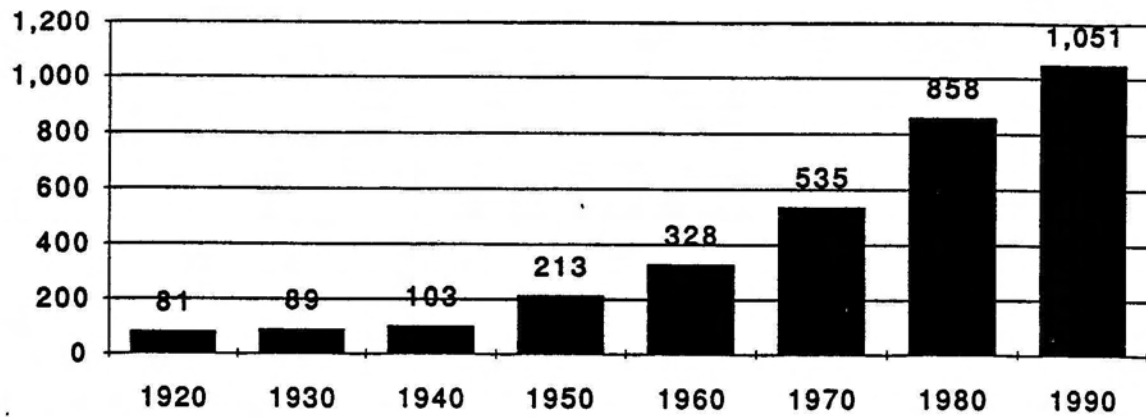
SOURCE: Table A2.

Figure A:10

SAN SALVADOR POPULATION, 1920-90

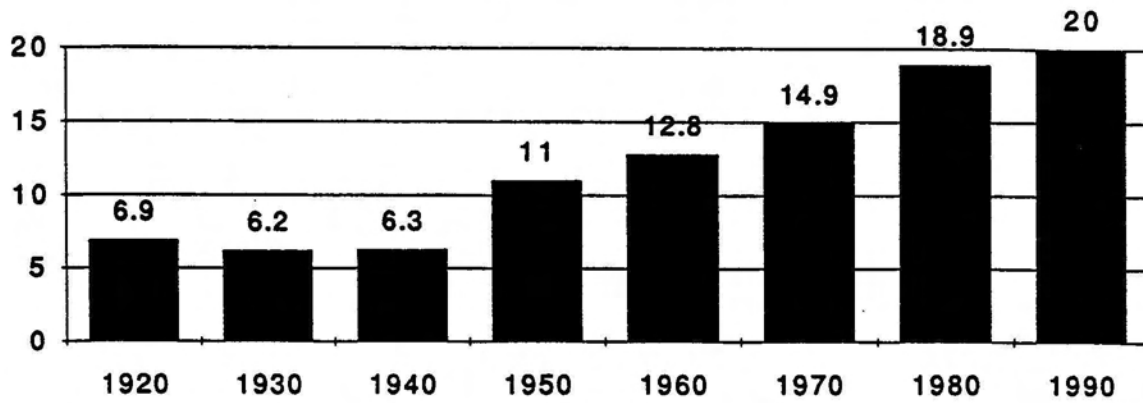
PART I. ABSOLUTE DATA

(T)



SOURCE: Table A1.

PART II. PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL POPULATION



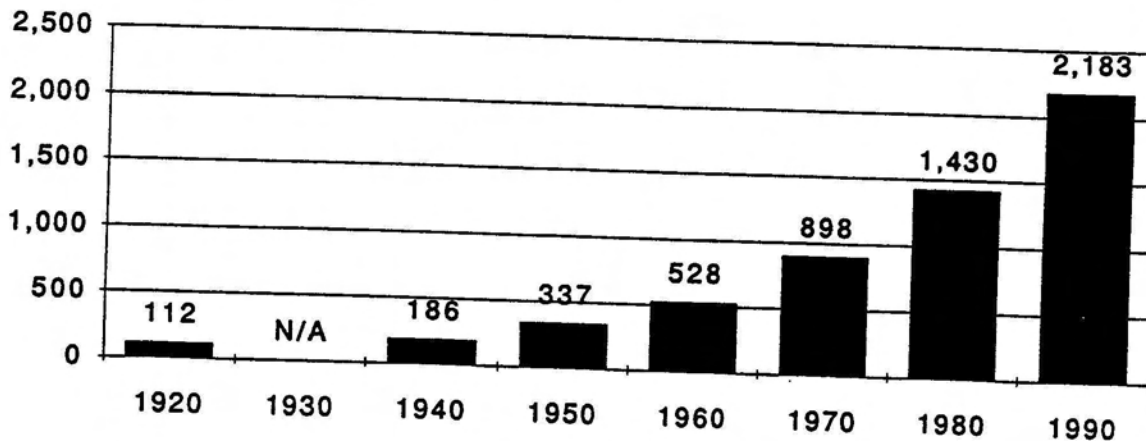
SOURCE: Table A2.

864

Figure A:11

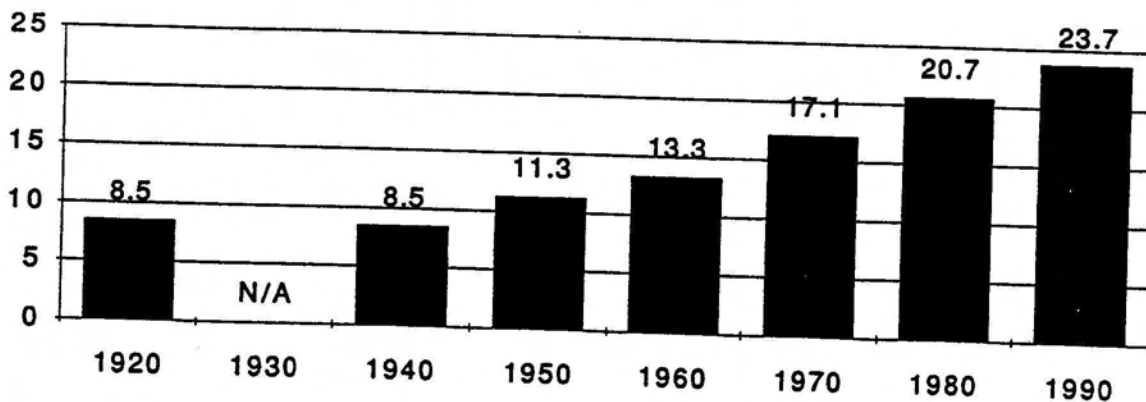
GUATEMALA CITY POPULATION, 1920-90

PART I. ABSOLUTE DATA
(T)



SOURCE: Table A1.

PART II. PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL POPULATION



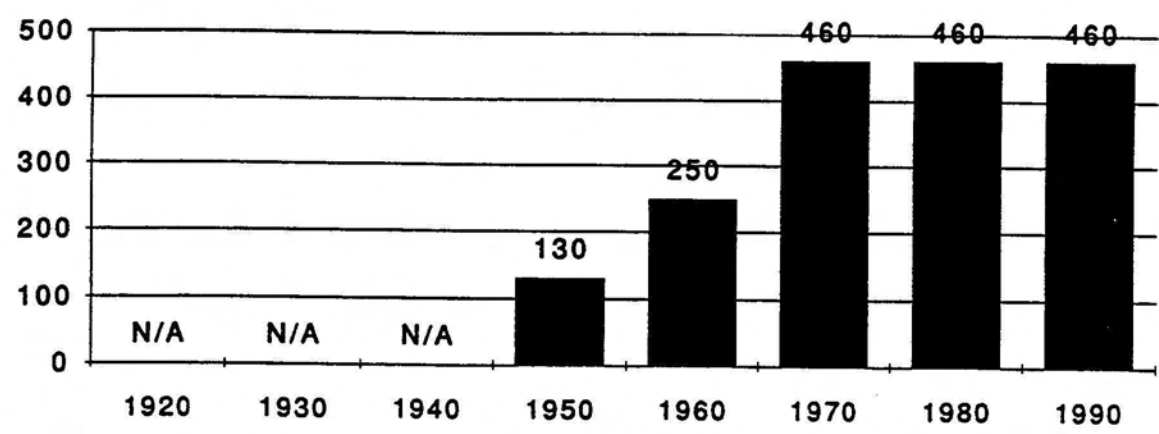
SOURCE: Table A2.

865

Figure A:12

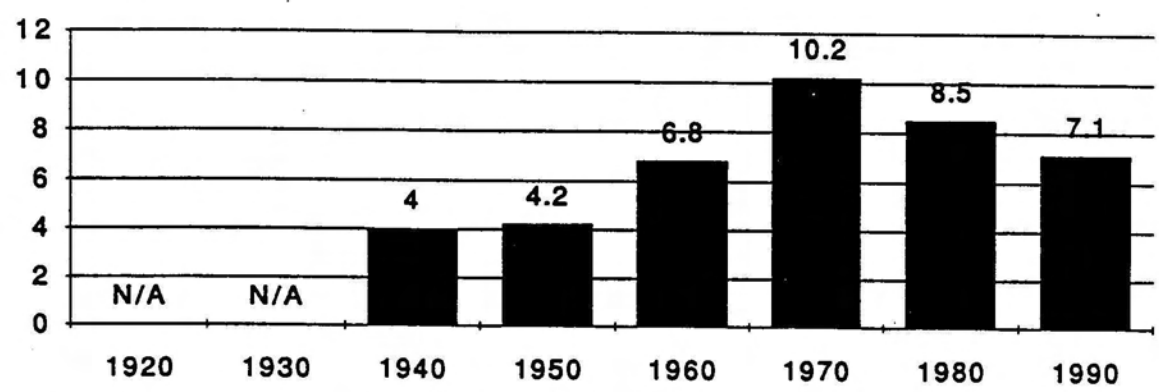
PORT-AU-PRINCE POPULATION, 1920-90

PART I. ABSOLUTE DATA
(T)



SOURCE: Table A1.

PART II. PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL POPULATION



SOURCE: Table A2.

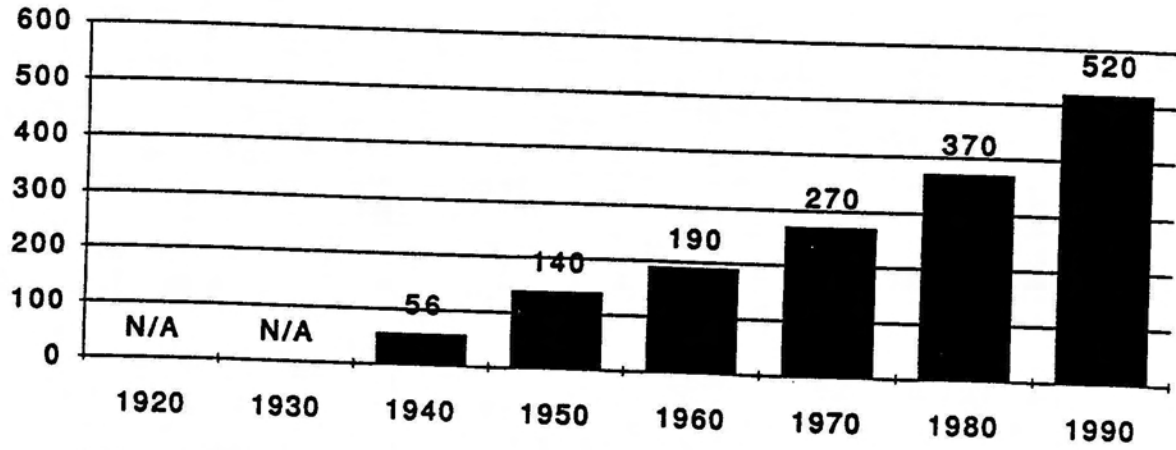
866

Figure A:13

TEGUCIGALPA POPULATION, 1920-90

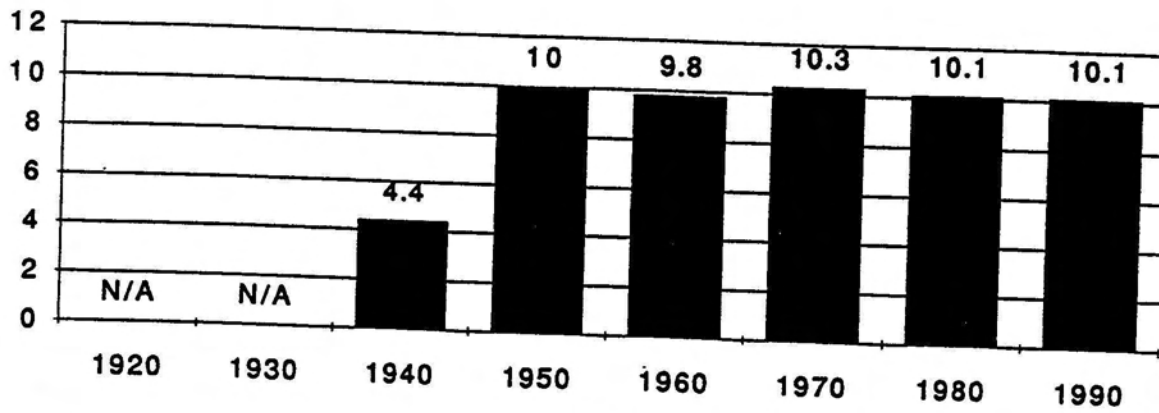
PART I. ABSOLUTE DATA

(T)



SOURCE: Table A1.

PART II. PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL POPULATION



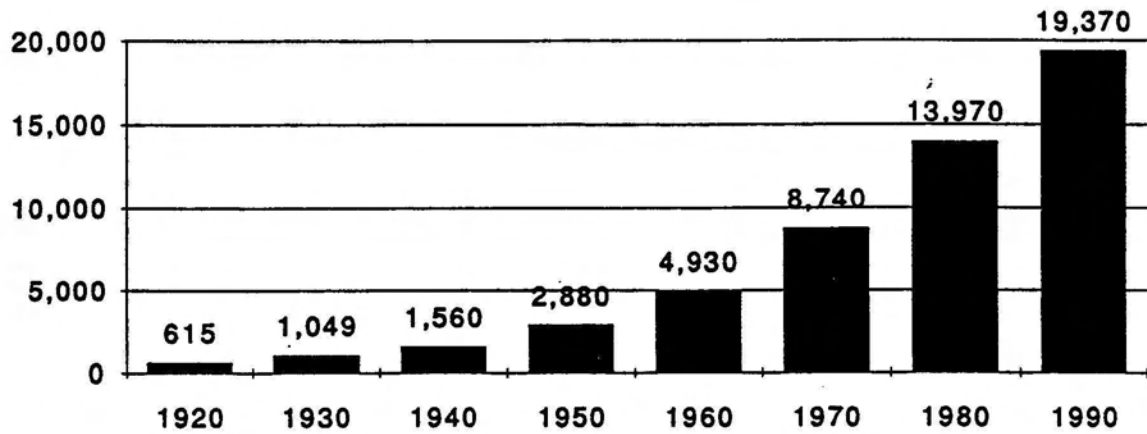
SOURCE: Table A2.

Figure A:14

MEXICO CITY POPULATION, 1920-90

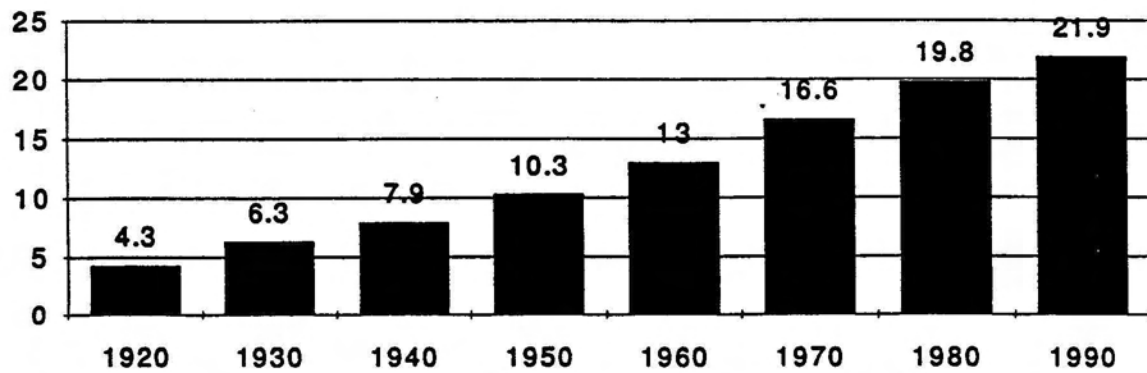
PART I. ABSOLUTE DATA

(T)



SOURCE: Table A1.

PART II. PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL POPULATION

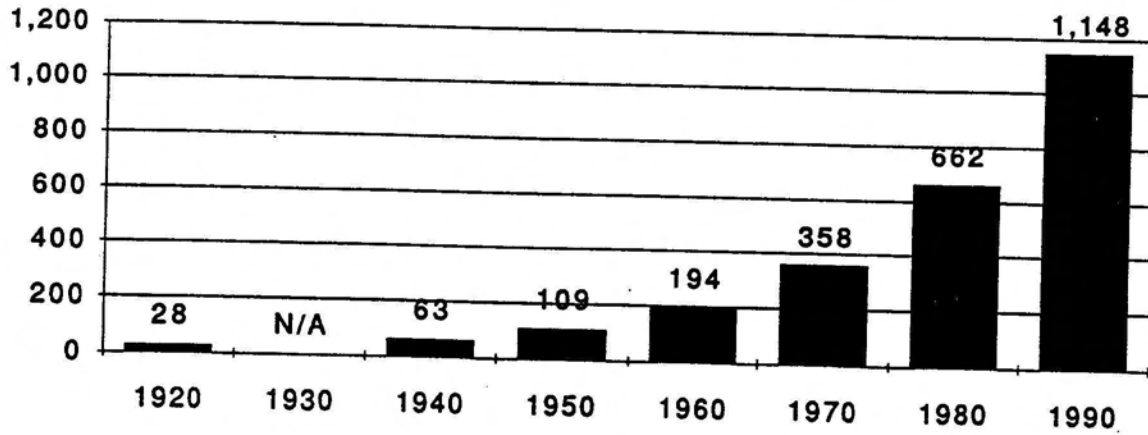


SOURCE: Table A2.

868

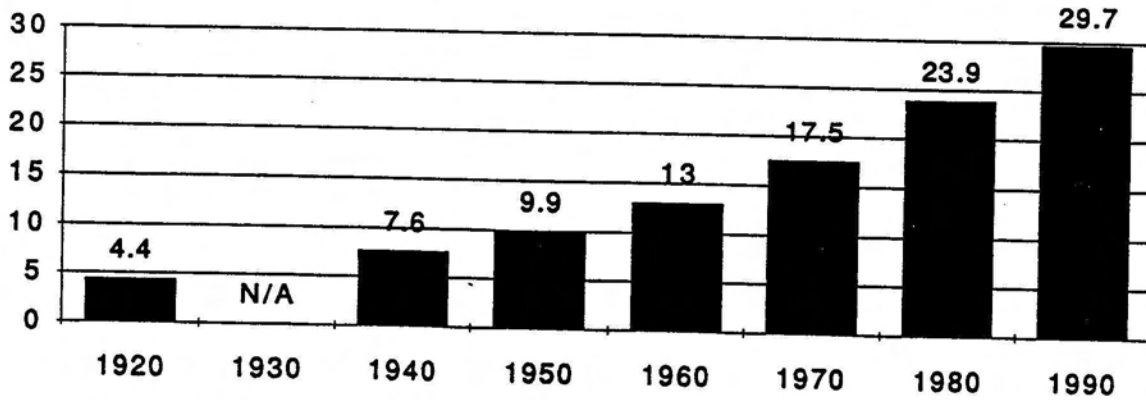
Figure A:15
MANAGUA POPULATION, 1920-90

PART I. ABSOLUTE DATA
(T)



SOURCE: Table A1.

PART II. PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL POPULATION

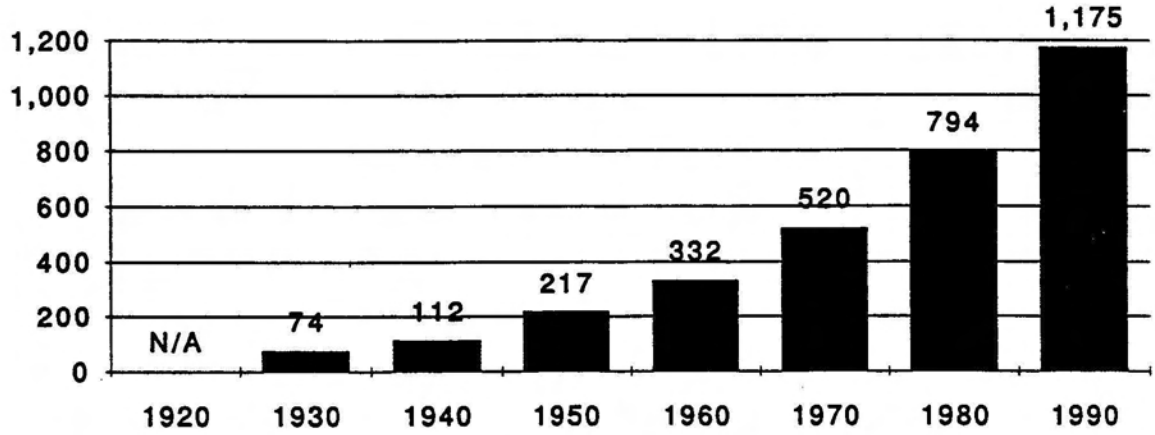


SOURCE: Table A2.

869

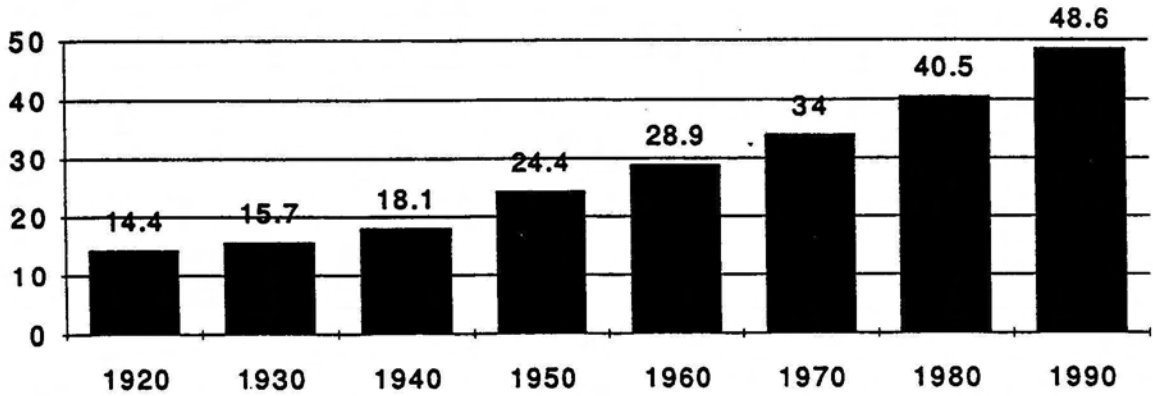
Figure A:16
PANAMA CITY POPULATION, 1920-90

PART I. ABSOLUTE DATA
(T)



SOURCE: Table A1.

PART II. PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL POPULATION



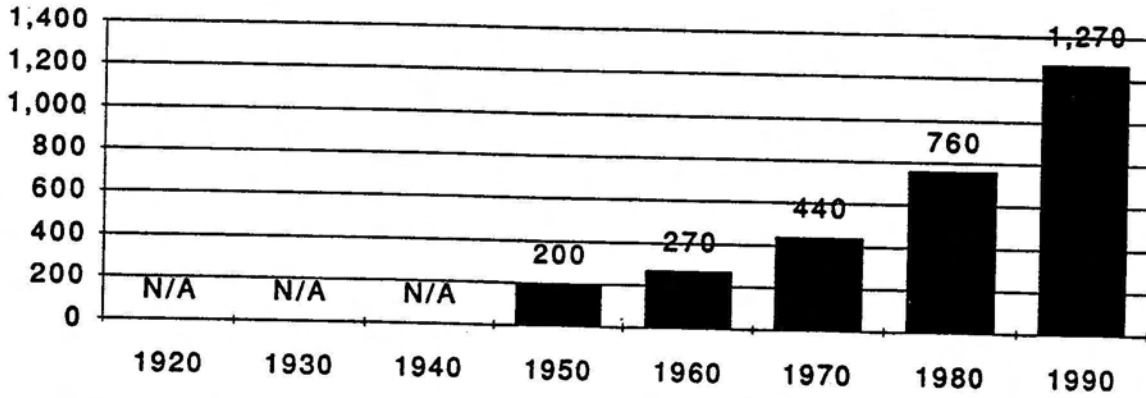
SOURCE: Table A2.

870

Figure A:17

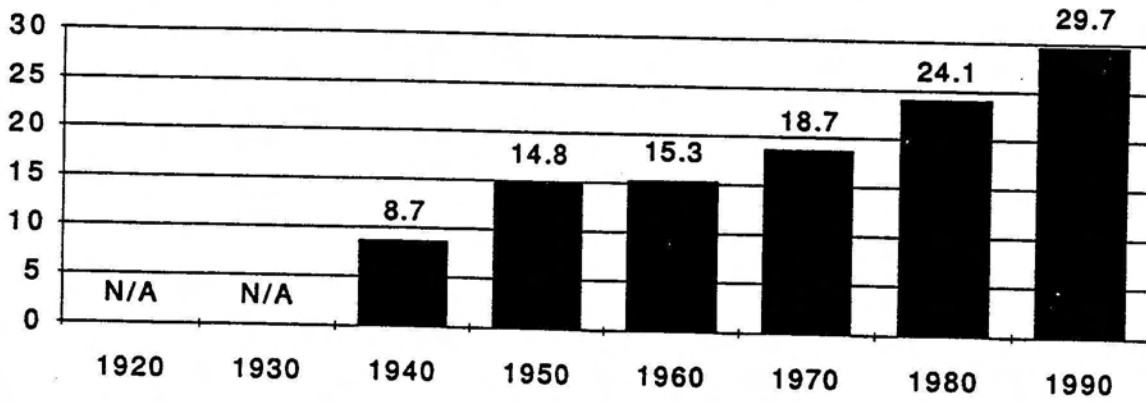
ASUNCIÓN POPULATION, 1920-90

PART I. ABSOLUTE DATA
(T)



SOURCE: Table A1.

PART II. PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL POPULATION

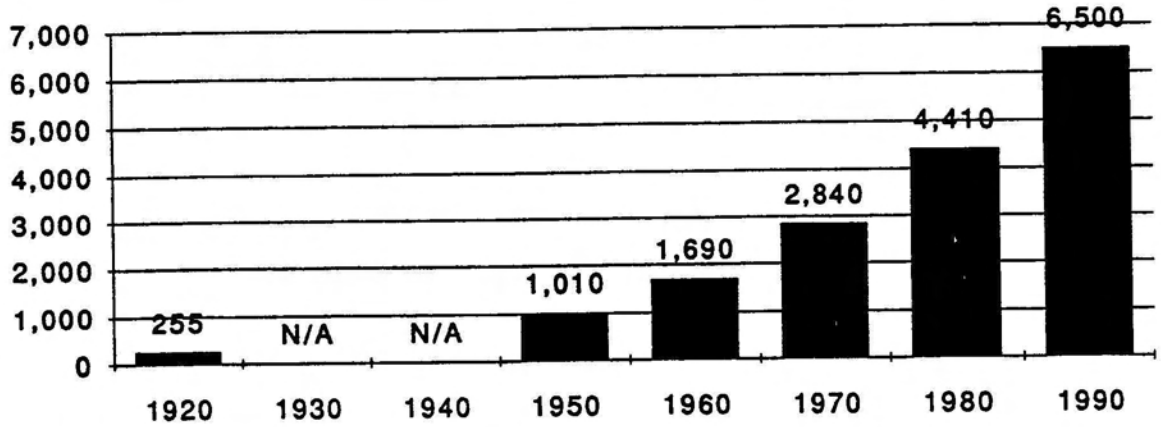


SOURCE: Table A2.

Figure A:18

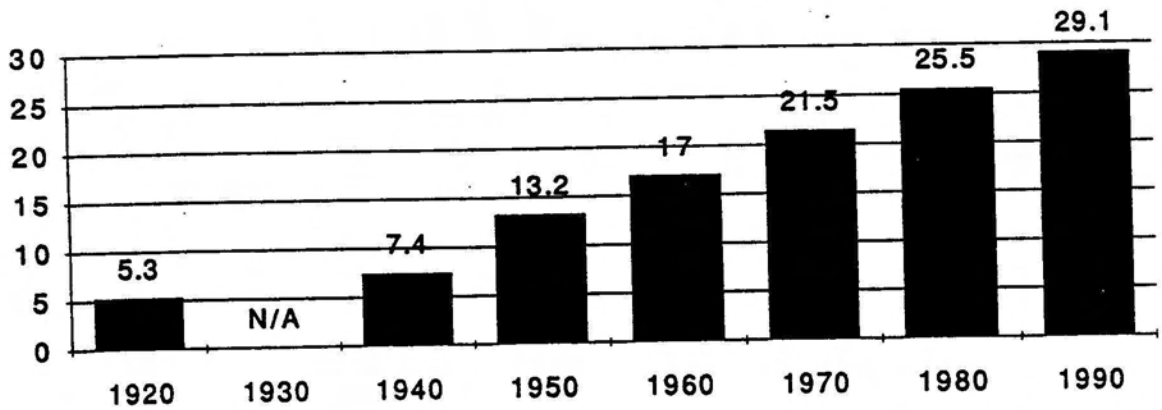
LIMA POPULATION, 1920-90

PART I. ABSOLUTE DATA
(T)



SOURCE: Table A1.

PART II. PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL POPULATION



SOURCE: Table A2.

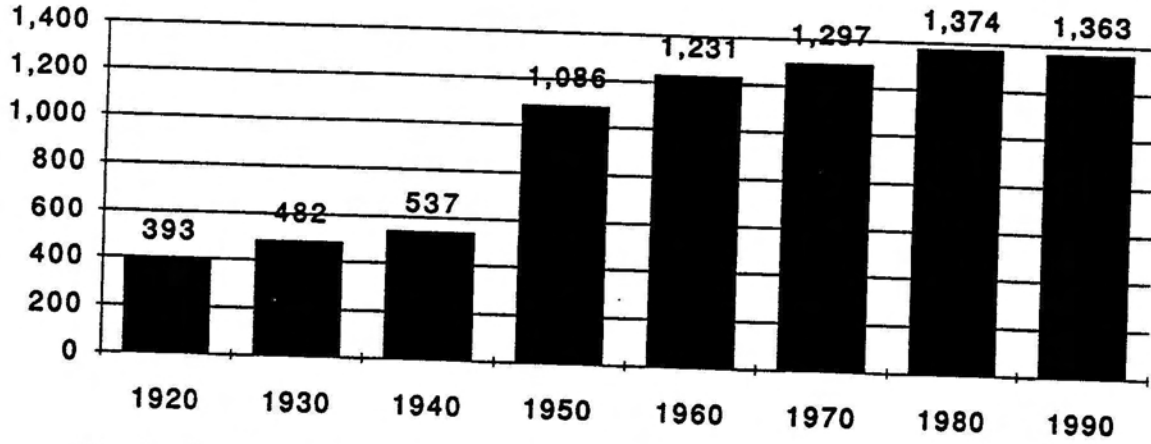
872

Figure A:19

MONTEVIDEO POPULATION, 1920-90

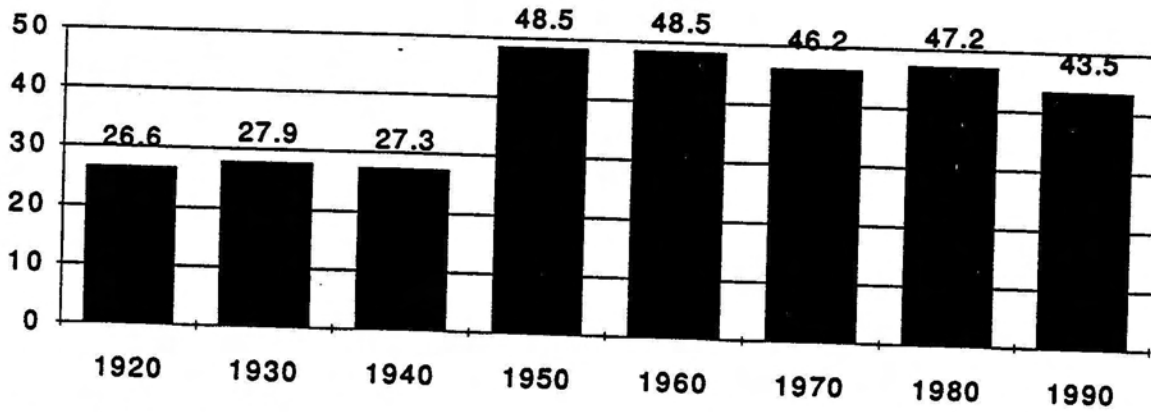
PART I. ABSOLUTE DATA

(T)



SOURCE: Table A1.

PART II. PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL POPULATION



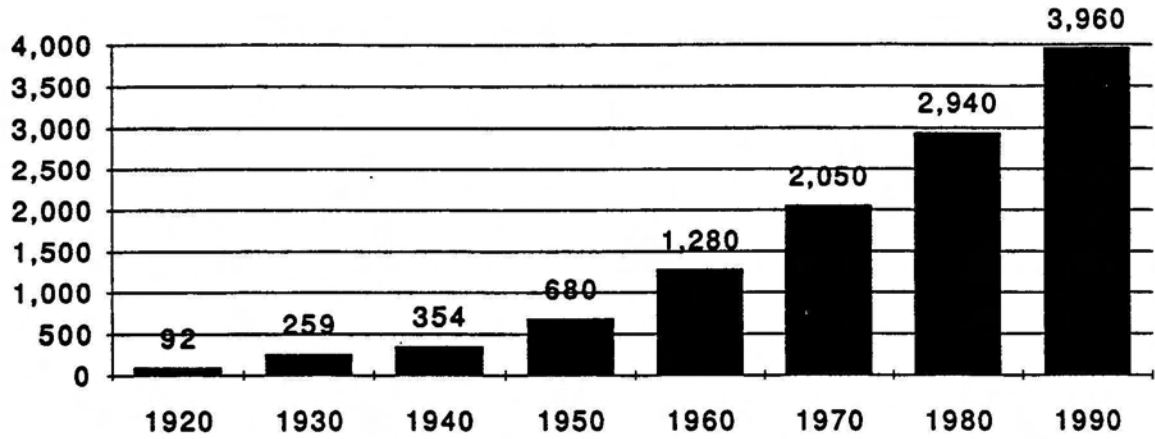
SOURCE: Table A2.

Figure A:20

CARACAS POPULATION, 1920-90

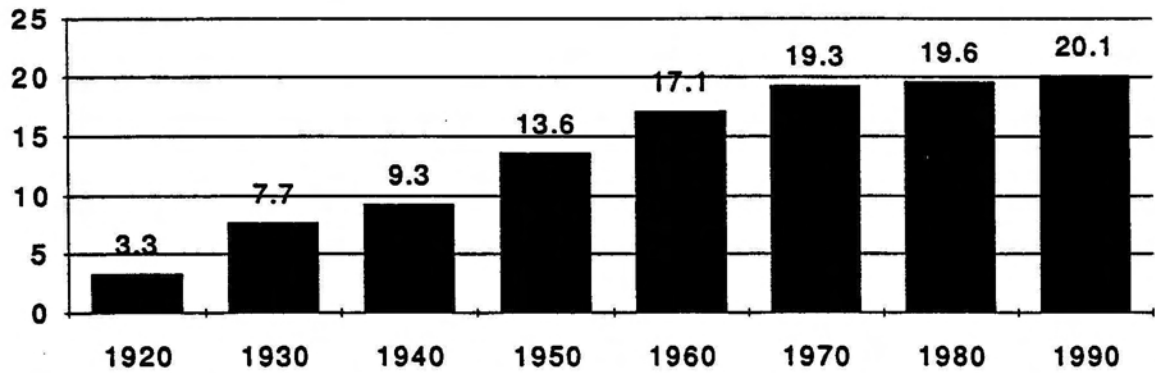
PART I. ABSOLUTE DATA

(T)



SOURCE: Table A1.

PART II. PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL POPULATION



SOURCE: Table A2.