UNITED NATIONS EXPERT GROUP MEETING ON INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION AND DEVELOPMENT

Population Division Department of Economic and Social Affairs United Nations Secretariat New York, 6-8 July 2005

INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION IN LATIN AMERICA AND THE CARIBBEAN: A SUMMARY VIEW OF TRENDS AND PATTERNS*

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^{*}This document is an extension of a paper previously prepared for OECD (DELSA/ELSA/WP2(2004)10), and presented to the Seminar *Latin America and International Migration*, organised by the OECD and the Spanish authorities (Xunta de Galicia and Ministry of Employment and Social Affairs) with the participation of the University of A Coruña, Santiago de Compostela, Spain, 8-9 June 2005.

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Introduction

This document summarizes the trends and patterns of migration throughout Latin America and the Caribbean until the early 2000s. Most of the information was obtained through the processing of census microdata available at the data bank of the Project on Investigation of International Migration in Latin America (IMILA Project), conducted by the Latin American and Caribbean Demographic Centre (CELADE) (www.eclac.cl/celade) of the Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC). The information about extraregional host countries was obtained from diverse sources.

The data reveal three broad migratory patterns. The first relates to overseas immigration to Latin America,

reduction in migratory flows to the region and simultaneously stimulated a return movement of migrants to the old continent.

Starting in the 1960s and owing to scant inflows of new immigrants, the profile of immigrants from outside the region reflected a steady rate of ageing, mortality and return migration resulting in a gradual decline in the stock of such immigrants from some four million people in 1970 to less than two and a half million in 1990 and less than two million in 2000. Due to this decline, the proportion of people born overseas in the total stock of immigrants counted in censuses in Latin American countries decreased from just over three fourths of the total amount in 1970 to a little over half of the amount in 1990 and to 41% in 2000 (see tables 1 and 2 and figure 1).

Table 1
LATIN AMERICA: IMMIGRANT POPULATION BY ORIGIN
1970 - 2000

Origin	Census roundsa/			Annual growth rates			
	1970	1980	1990	2000	1970-1980	1980-1990	1990-2000
Rest of world (immigration from overseas)	3873420	3411426	2350441	1935499	-1.3	-3.7	-1.9
Percentage	76.1	63.1	51.2	39.4	_		
Latin America and the Caribbean (intraregional migration) Percentage	1218990 23.9	1995149 36.9	2242268 48.8	2971888 60.6		1.2	2.8
Total Percentage	5092410 100.0	5406575 100.0	4592709 100.0	4907387 100.0	0.6	-1.6	0.7

Source: Estimates prepared on the basis of IMILA data banks developed by ECLAC/ CELADE. a/: For 1970, 16 countries were included; for 1980, 1990 and 2000, 14, 13 and 14 countries were included, respectively.

Country of		Born in Latin America and the Caribbean						
Birth	Total	Men	Women	SRa/	Total	Men	Women	SRa/
Argentina	1531940	699555	832385	84.0	1041117	477985	563132	84.9
Belize	34279	17517	16762	104.5	29305	14804	14501	102.1
Bolivia	95764	49299	46465	106.1	76380	38853	37527	103.5
Brazil	683769	365915	317854	115.1	144470	78800	65670	120.0
Chile	195320	94677	100643	94.1	139082	64693	74389	87.0
Costa Rica	296461	149495	146966	101.7	272591	136055	136536	99.6
Ecuador	104130	52495	51635	101.7	74363	36569	37794	96.8
Guatemala	49554	22180	27374	81.0	39515	16891	22624	74.7
Honduras	27976	14343	13633	105.2	20097	9915	10182	97.4
Mexico	519707	261597	258110	101.4	91057	43071	47986	89.8
Panama	86014	43719	43264	101.1	53322	25259	28063	90.0
Paraguay	171922	89453	82469	108.5	158276	81901	76375	107.2
Dominican Rep.	96233	58069	38164	152.2	79494	48303	31191	154.9

1.2. Intraregional migration

A characteristic feature of Latin American and Caribbean countries is the frequency of population movement across national borders, a trend deeply rooted in the historical economic and social heterogeneity of the countries in the region. Facilitated by geographical and cultural proximity, intraregional migratory movements tend to be towards those countries where production structures are more favorable to job creation and where generally, there are higher levels of social equity. In addition to structural factors, the development of this migratory pattern has been influenced both by cycles of economic expansion and contraction and b8(o)133ripoltyclestcl paerts t(P14(ae)8(l)-8egeino, 2132r000 a1995and o

million people. During the 1990s, a decade characterized by considerable economic volatility and severe social lag in most countries, the stock of intraregional immigrants reached a total of 3 million people in 2000.

While the census data from 1990 and 2000 suggests a slight increase in the absolute number of migrants moving within Latin America, there are some signs of intensification in the trend towards partial replacement of traditional migration by other forms of mobility. These present traces of reversibility – since they include temporary movements for different periods that do not involve a permanent change of residence—which seem to reveal an expansion of the living spaces of a growing portion of the population, a trend consistent with the new patterns of economic development emerging in the region.

Changes in the socio-economic and political context notwithstanding, the origins and destinations of the migratory flows within Latin America have not changed substantially, revealing a consolidation of the geographical pattern of this migration. In 2000, almost two thirds of Latin Americans who were living within the region but outside of their nngrsovithinsie3(unt)8ncet tv ndin thArgrsn3(Am)1a 1 towsz sociien3(1 pat

censuses of other Latin American countries almost 90% in Venezuela; the fact that an internally displaced population seek refuge in neighboring countries has been one of the factors influencing this intense migration. Chilean and Paraguayan emigrants, with a total of almost 270 and 360 thousand, respectively - most of them registered in Argentina - shared the second place among Latin American emigrants. Notwithstanding their absolute numbers, except in the case of Paraguay, these figures account for less than 3% of the population in the countries of origin.²

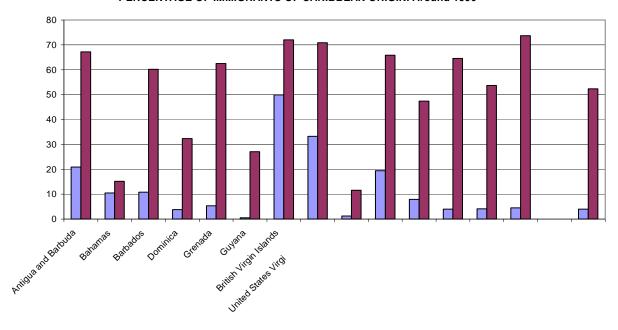
Migration within the English-speaking Caribbean Community bears a peculiar stamp: transfers of residence account for a relatively small portion of the mass movement of people. Largely encouraged by geographic proximity among the countries of the subregion, recurrent types of movement are more common (Simmons and Guengant, 1992). Some of the latter imply the immediate return to the countries of origin while others occur in stages, including a temporary stay as part of a process of transfer to a destination outside of the subregion.³ Migration within the community has escalated to new peaks as a result of the rise in the standard of living and the increase in the demand for labor in some countries fuelled in part by the strong expansion of tourist activity- and the lack of employment opportunities in others. As a result, slightly more than half of the immigrants in the Community in 1990 came from within the subregion itself and accounted for almost 4% of the total combined population of the member countries (Mills 1997).

The situation described above is not common to all countries in the Caribbean. In Trinidad and Tobago, United States Virgin Islands and Barbados –which are among the five countries with the highest migrant stocks– immigrants came predominantly from the subregion; on the other hand, in Jamaica and the Bahamas —the other two countries with the highest migrant stocks– immigrants from outside of the subregion were in the majority (see figure 3). In general, international migration exerts a fundamental impact on population dynamics in the countries of the Caribbean. Haitian migratory flows to the Dominican Republic constitute a movement that has deep historical roots, regardless of transformations in their situation; the flows registered in recent years are characterized by the high incidence of undocumented migrants, informal insertion in the labor market, a clear educational selectivity and increasing economic participation of women (Silié, Segura and Dore, 2002).

According to the data gathered by the IMILA Project, intraregional migration has shown an increasing female predominance since the 1980s (see figure 4). This characteristic is also highlighted in the main stocks of intraregional immigrants accumulated in 2000. This is the case of Colombians in Ecuador and Venezuela (91,4 and 89,2 men per 100 women, respectively), Chileans and Paraguayans in Argentina (73,3 and 91,9 per cent) and Peruvians in Chile (66,5 per cent). However, there are important exceptions, evidenced by the male majority among Bolivians in Argentina, Argentineans in Brazil and Chile, Colombians in Panama, Peruvians in Venezuela and Uruguayans in Brazil. Variations in the gender compositions of flows are closely related to how among labor markets of countries of origin and destination, the labor demand in service areas and the effects of family reunification are related. Thus, the slight predominance of women among interregional migrants in the Caribbean, identified in the 1990 round of censuses, is related to the high incidence of jobs in the tourism sector (Thomas-Hope, 2002). The analysis of available data makes it possible to state that migration of women has specific characteristics: they not only migrate for labor reasons, but also for family and personal reasons.

² Uruguayan emigration, mainly to Argentina, is a special case: in the early 1970s, the rate of emigration was similar to the rate of mortality in Uruguay (Fortuna and Niedworok, 1985).

Figure 3
CARIBBEAN COMMUNITY: PERCENTAGE OF IMMIGRANTS IN TOTAL POPULATION AND PERCENTAGE OF IMMIGRANTS OF CARIBBEAN ORIGIN. Around 1990



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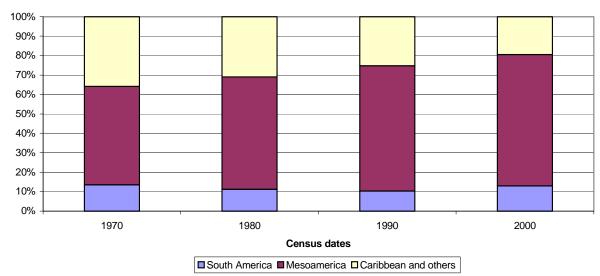
Source: IMILA Project, CELADE.

1.3. Emigration outside of the region

although in all groups it is higher in their countries of origin. Finally, there are more professionals among those immigrants from the Caribbean and South America (Martínez, 20003a).

The main factor behind Latin American and Caribbean migration to the United States lies in the asymmetries of development processes as it is clearly shown by the substantial differences in GDP per capita, wage levels and labor opportunities. In the case of Mexico, historical links with the southwest of the United States and different kinds of mechanisms to hire workers gave rise to a long-lasting system of interactions. It was since the 1960s that the permanent flow of Mexican workers created a *de facto* labor market between both countries (Bustamante, 1997); this market has been subject to the fluctuations typical of periods of economic prosperity and contraction that led to changes in the rules for the generation of jobs in the different sectors (ECLAC-

Figure 5
UNITED STATES: PERCENTAGE OF IMMIGRANT POPULATION FROM LATIN AMERICA AND THE CARIBBEAN. 1970-2000



Source: Villa y Martínez (2002), based on IMILA data. For 2000 the information was taken from the Current Population Survey. Mesoamerica comprises Mexico and Central America.

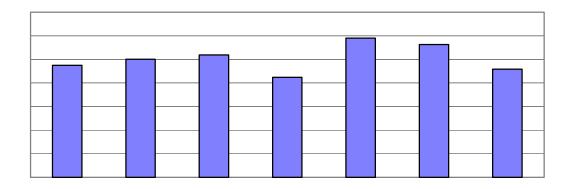
Table 3
UNITED STATES: STOCKS OF IMMIGRANT POPULATION FROM LATIN AMERICA
AND THE CARIBBEAN. 1970, 1980, 1990 and 2000

Origin		Census dates a/			Growth rates		
	1970	1980	1990	2000	1970-1980	1980-1990	1990-2000
South America	234233	493950	871678	1876000			
Percentage	13.6	11.3	10.4	13.0	7.5	5.7	7.7
Mesoamericab/	873624	2530440	5391943	9789000			
Percentage	50.6	57.7	64.4	67.6	10.6	7.6	6.0
Caribbean	617551	1358610	2107181	2813000			
Percentage	35.8	31.0	25.2	19.4	7.9	4.4	2.9
Total	1725408	4383000	8370802	14478000			
Percentage	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	9.3	6.5	5.5

Source: IMILA Project, CELADE.

a/: 2000 corresponds to the Current Population Survey.

b/: Comprises Mexico and Central America.



Commonwealth, although the policy of free admission has not been practiced for decades. In 1980, 625 thousand Caribbean were registered, but this number decreased to less than 500 thousand in 1991 (Thomas-Hope, 2002).

Table 4 LATIN AMERICANS AND CARIBBEANS REGISTERED IN EUROPEAN AND OTHER **COUNTRIES. CIRCA 2000**

Country where present	Total		
Australia	74 649		
Austria ^a	2 308		
Belgium	4 962		
Canada	575 955		
Denmark	865		
France ^a	41 714		
Germany	87 614		
Israel	78 259		
Italy	116 084		
Japan	284 691		
Netherlands	157 745		
Norway	14 937		
Portugal	25 531		
Spain	840 104		
Sweden	19 930		
Total Europe	1 811 794		
United Kingdom ^b	500 000		
Total countries with information	2 825 348		

In the case of Japan, immigration made up mainly of Brazilians and Peruvians has directly benefited from the

Source: IMILA Project, CELADE.

a: 1990 data. b: Rough estimate by Thomas-Hope (2002).

Skilled migration can be considered as one of the most important results of emigration. In specialized literature, it is frequently stated that the basis for international migration is essentially an economic one, linked to the inequality in the distribution of job opportunities, income and material living conditions between countries. This not only operates in relation to potential migrants, but also to the supply that exists in the recipient countries; both continuous technological innovation and the search for increased competitiveness—for which labor flexibility is considered a prerequisite— are a factor in attracting migrants (ECLAC-CELADE,1999b; Escobar, 1998). Thus, in developed countries, there is a growing interest in importing human capital. For that reason, measures are promoted to attract immigration; in addition, wage levels are substantially higher than those offered in the countries of origin (CEPAL, 2002, Iredale, 1998).

In many Latin American and Caribbean countries, emigration seems to have helped to alleviate tensions between population trends and job creation as well as those arising from socio-political, ethnic and religious conflicts or from acute forms of environmental degradation. At the individual level, emigration was one option for seeking employment opportunities and personal training outside of the country of birth. In this connection, this type of emigration is a source of currency – through remittances – for the home

strategy of shared governance, so their consolidation can help in the establishment of mechanisms which are binding on all parties. In order to progress in this direction, various measures need to be taken, including:

- promoting the deliberate incorporation of migration and its governance into the agenda of the international community in order to reach increasingly broad agreements on this matter;
- signing and ratifying the international instruments on the protection of migrants and also taking steps to ensure that the provisions of those instruments are effectively fulfilled;
- consolidating and extending the areas of authority on migration in the various regional and subregional multilateral agreements;
- establishing explicit bilateral agreements both between Latin American and Caribbean countries and between those countries and others outside the region which are recipients of migration flows from the region.

With regard to policies on migration, globalization will make it increasingly necessary to progress from "migration control" to "migration management" in the broad sense, which does not mean that States must give up their right to regulate the entry of foreigners and their conditions of residence, but rather that they should agree to formulate reasoned admission policies (CELADE, 1995; Meissner, 1992) which cover residence, return, family reunification, restoration of links, cross-border transit and the transit of people to third countries. A global agreement on migration policies could serve as a framework for general agreement on the international movement of people, establishing general principles and guidelines on various aspects that require international consensus (CELADE, 1995). A global agreement of this type calls for successive rounds of negotiations and means progressing from unilateralism to international consensus.

Ratification of the International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of Their Families is imperative for all the governments of the region, because of its inclusive and comprehensive nature. Likewise, on the basis of the strength deriving from the commitment thus established, those governments could also call upon the countries that receive migration from the region to ratify that instrument as well.

limitations affecting their own horizontal commitments (such as the requirement that foreigners must be registered in professional associations and their subjection to certain provisions of the laws on migration); the integration agreements are a suitable option for progressing in this respect.

Bilateral agreements cover matters of mutual interest for countries, such as cross-border transit, circulation of workers, social security, and the recognition of courses of study and professional qualifications; although the negotiation of these agreements is usually less complicated than in the case of multilateral agreements, the aspects covered are dealt with in greater depth. Although there are many examples of bilateral agreements in the region, many are not operational or are currently out of date; redoubled efforts should therefore be made to renew their validity. To this end, countries should seek to strengthen their arrangements for bilateral dialogue, following the principle of seeking policy convergence —such as the harmonization of rules and procedures— on international migration.

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