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

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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, which has declined in recent decades; non-renewal of flows, return movements and the effects of mortality having combined to reduce the stocks of immigrants. The second pattern, intraregional migration, has been fuelled by structural factors, such as unequal economic and social development, and short-term factors like the stock of migrants stabilizing in the 1980s, after doubling in the previous decade. The third pattern is that of emigration by Latin American and Caribbean nationals, mainly to the United States, where the stock of immigrants from the region more than tripled between 1980 and 2000; this third pattern has shown a great dynamism in the past decades, since emigration to host countries outside the region intensified, the destinations diversified and the percentage of women that emigrated became more significant. It is estimated that in 2000, a little over 20 million people from Latin American and the Caribbean lived outside their country of birth; this amount is equivalent to nearly 10% of international migrants in the world.

1. Main patterns in the migratory map of the population of the region

Information from the IMILA project concentrates on census data from Latin America. CELADE seeks to obtain data on Latin Americans enumerated in the censuses of countries outside of the region, especially the United States and Canada. Records of people born abroad are used to generate special tabulations that include bio-demographic characteristics —sex, age, fertility, child mortality—, as well as socio-demographic data —marital status, education and employment— of such people. In addition to providing inputs for the preparation of population projections, the information from the data bank of the IMILA project is used in numerous studies on international migration in Latin America that analyze the possible determining factors as well as the eventual consequences of migration (ECLAC-CELADE, 1999a; Martínez, 2003a, 2003b and 2000; Pellegrino, 2000, 1995 and 1993; Villa, 1996).

1.1. Immigration from overseas

From the second half of the nineteenth century to the first half of the twentieth century migrants flowed into the region in intense, albeit varied movements that had a decisive influence, both quantitative and qualitative, on the national societies in the region. This applied especially to the countries on the Atlantic coast, where immigrants who had originated mainly in southern Europe, found conditions favorable to their social and economic integration. European immigrants settled mainly in the zones most closely related to the international economic circuits which, in addition to having ample “open spaces” available for agricultural production, were undergoing rapid modernization of their productive base (Pellegrino, 2000); the economic expansion of these zones contributed to the creation of better jobs and wages than those existing in the countries of southern Europe, a fact that contributed to rapid upward social mobility.

In the years following the Second World War, Europe was the scene of a vigorous economic transformation that began in the northern and western countries and later spread —by virtue of integration mechanisms— to southern Europe. These transformations helped to retain the population in their home country. Concomitantly, the gap between the degree of socio-economic development of the European nations and that of the Latin American and Caribbean countries was widening. This led to a substantial

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 rounds ^{a/}				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)	1218990	1995149	2242268	2971888	4.8	1.2	2.8
Percentage	23.9	36.9	48.8	60.6			
Total	5092410	5406575	4592709	4907387	0.6	-1.6	0.7
Percentage	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0			

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.

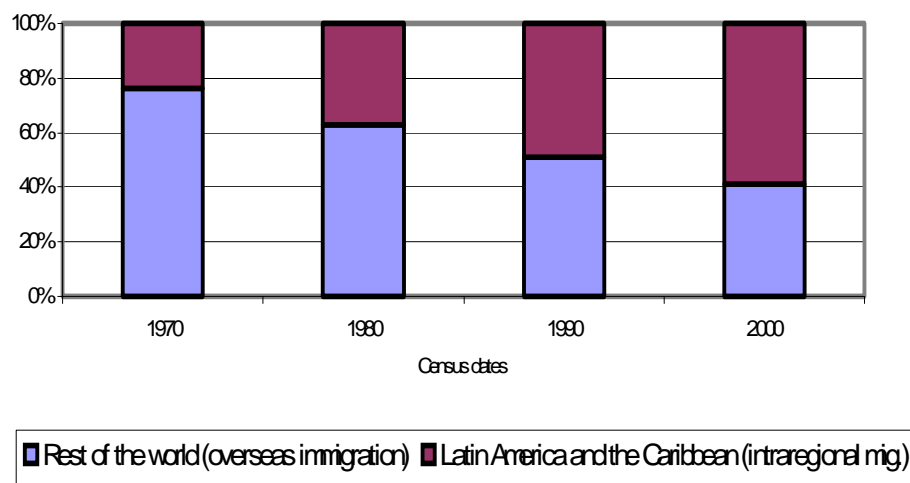
Table 2
 LATIN AMERICA AND THE CARIBBEAN: STOCKS OF POPULATION BORN ABROAD
 PER COUNTRY OF BIRTH AND SEX. 2000

Country of Birth	Born abroad				Born in Latin America and the Caribbean			
	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
Venezuela	1014318	508958	505360	100.7	752819	363115	389704	93.2
Total countries	4907387	2427272	2481084	97.8	2971888	1436214	1535674	93.5

Source: IMILA Project, CELADE.

a/ Sex ratio.

Figure 1
 LATIN AMERICA AND THE CARIBBEAN PERCENTAGE OF IMMIGRANT
 POPULATION PER ORIGIN 1970-2000



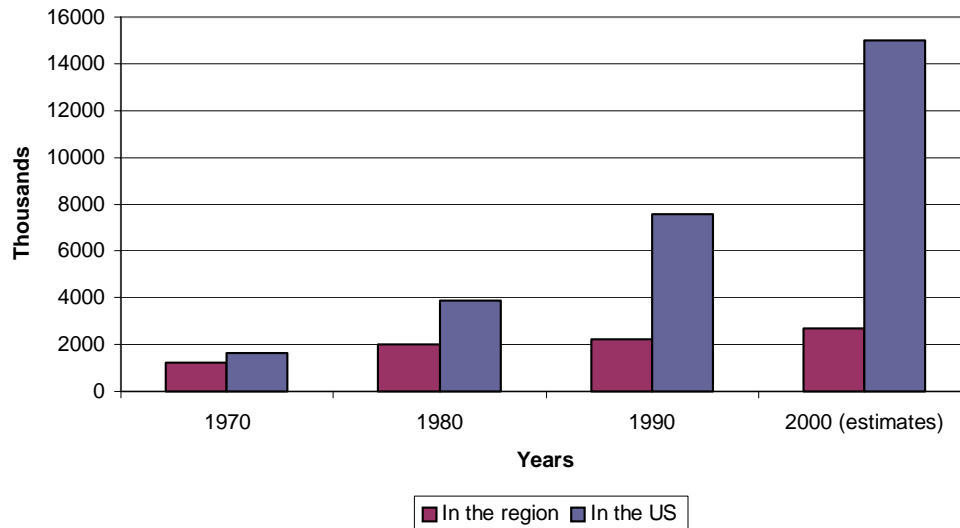
Source: IMILA Project, CELADE.

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 by socio-political developments (Pellegrino, 2000, 1995 and 1993). Thus, for example, the periods of social violence, disruption and restoration of democratic forms of government have resulted in virtual waves of exiles and return migrants between nations with common frontiers.

The interest in studying migratory flows originating from and arriving to the region has increased in recent years; the decline in flows originating outside of the region, the increase in cross-border migration and the efforts at economic integration have contributed to this rising interest. Although migration originating in the region accounted for almost 60% of all immigrants registered in 2000 (see figure 1), the stock of that year was only slightly higher than the one observed in 1990 (see figure 2). Additionally, the distribution of this stock of immigrants from the same region varied in different countries during the 1990s, increasing significantly in Costa Rica and Chile and stabilizing in Argentina and Venezuela.

Figure 2
LATIN AMERICA AND THE CARIBBEAN INTERNATIONAL
MIGRANTS REGISTERED IN THE REGION AND IN THE UNITED
STATES 1970- 2000



Source: IMILA Project, CELADE.

In the 1970s, migration within Latin America increased substantially; the persistence of structural factors in conjunction with socio-political changes brought the number of migrants to almost two million people in 1980—twice its former level. On the other hand, the migrant stock in Latin America showed a more modest growth throughout the 1980s as a result of the economic crisis and subsequent structural adjustment programs—which were particularly drastic in the principal host countries—. Following the return to democratically elected governments in many countries, the cumulative total increased to only 2.2

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 native country were concentrated in Argentina and Venezuela. Argentina has been the traditional host country of large contingents of Bolivians, Chileans, Paraguayans, and Uruguayans, as well as a significant number of Peruvians since the 1990s. In general, these groups have been drawn by job opportunities in agriculture, manufacturing, construction and services, and have become more conspicuous with the decline in European immigration. The migrants pouring into Venezuela in the 1970s, following the economic upturn triggered by the oil boom, were for the most part Colombians, followed by people from the Southern Cone forced to take refuge outside of their countries of origin.

Since the so-called “lost decade” of the 1980s and the following “decade of lights and shadows” of the 1990s, the rate of migrant inflows into Argentina and Venezuela has decreased sharply: census data from 1990 and 2000 reveal a decline in total immigrant stock in both countries. However, inflows from other Latin American countries increased slightly; according to indirect estimates for the 1980s, Argentina and Venezuela recorded a net gain in immigration from their neighboring countries.¹ During the same period, some countries that had traditionally been sources of outflow populations, recorded an important rate of return migration. The economic upturn in Paraguay in the 1970s, associated with the construction of major hydroelectric works and an intense land-settlement program, prompted a return of Paraguayan migrants from Argentina and an increase in immigration into Paraguay from neighboring countries. In the 1990s Chile registered an important immigration from other South American countries in addition to return migration; in absolute numbers, this immigration is higher than any one received in Chile during its recent history, but its relative incidence is small (it is only equivalent to 1% of the country's population, Martínez, 2003b). In Central America, peace agreements, repatriations and democratic stability have not changed the subregional migration map. Belize and Costa Rica –with very different absolute immigrant magnitudes, but with similar relative trends and effects on the demographic, social and economic areas– are still the nodes in that map. In Belize, foreigners – mainly from El Salvador and Guatemala mainly – amount to 15% of the country's population and this number does not include temporary workers or migrants in transit (SIEMCA, 2002). Costa Rica is the host country of large contingents of Nicaraguans (who accounted for 83% of regional immigrants to this country in 2000), attracted by the demand of labor in the agricultural and service sectors; in all, immigrants from the rest of the isthmus accounted for 8% of the country's population in 2000. Mexico also became an important recipient of flows originating in Central America, especially in Guatemala and El Salvador.

Colombians accounted for the highest absolute numbers of migrants in intraregional emigration in the early 1990s and 2000s: slightly over 600 thousand and 700 thousand, respectively, were registered in the

¹ Calculations made on the basis of intercensal survival relationships by sex and age for the period 1980-1990 indicate a net balance of 147,000 and 60,000 immigrants, respectively, for Argentina and Venezuela.

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).

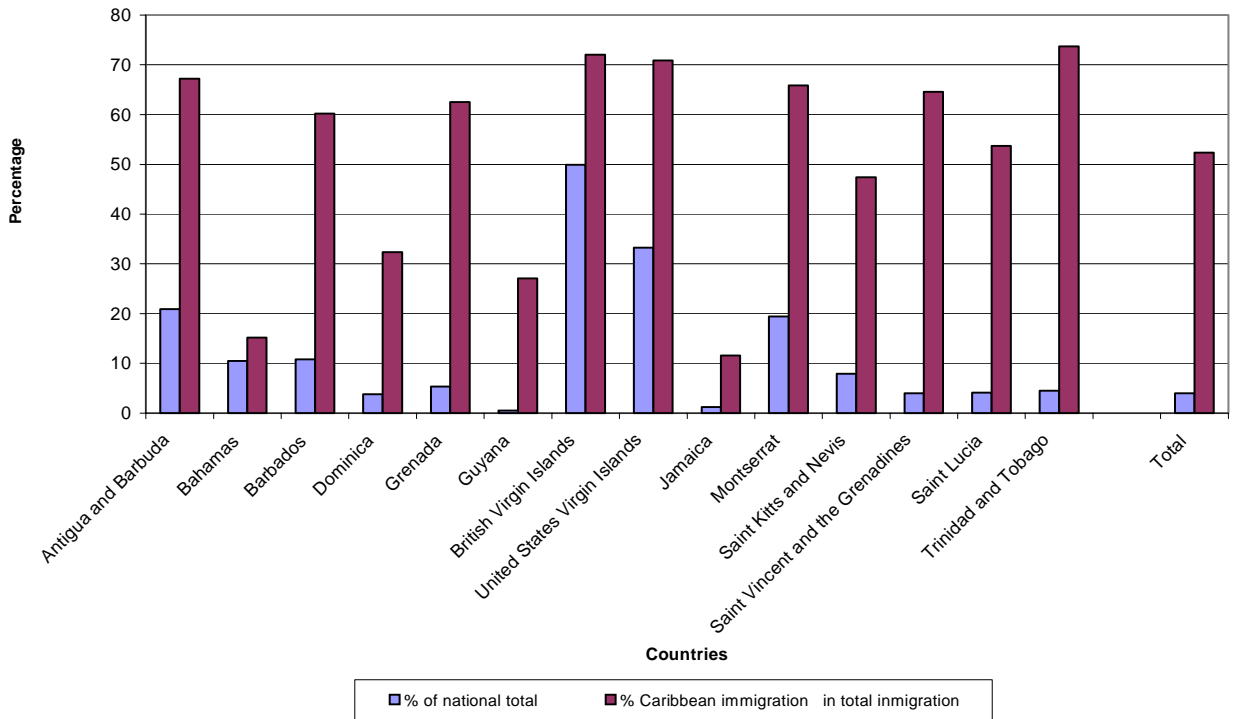
The situation described above is not common to all countries in the Caribbean. In Trinidad and Tobago, United States Virgin Islands and Barbados —which are among the five countries with the highest migrant stocks— immigrants came predominantly from the subregion; on the other hand, in Jamaica and the 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).

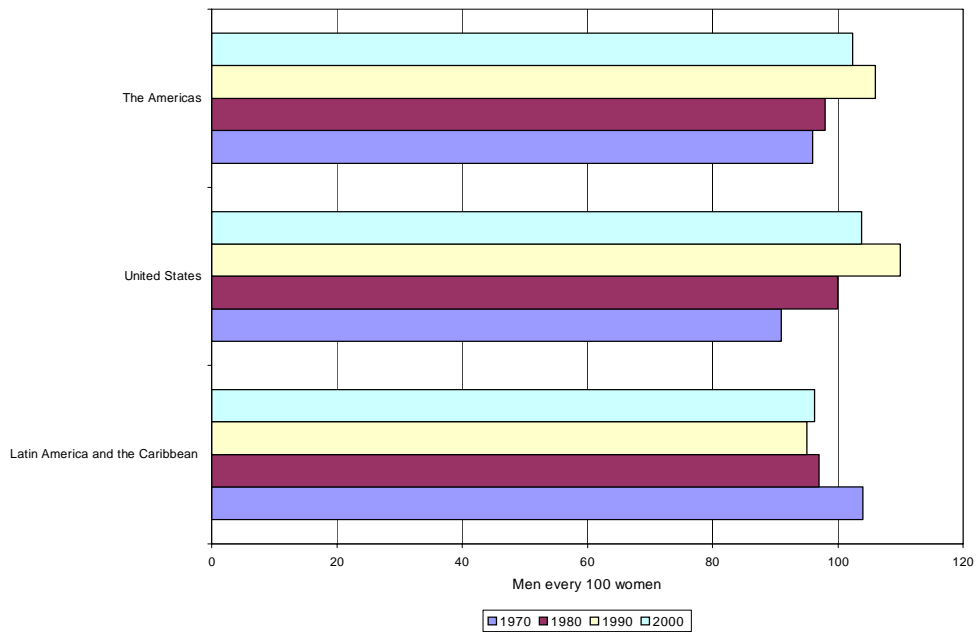
³ The Bahamas, in addition to receiving a sizable contingent of immigrants for purposes of residence, is a stop-over point for a large number of people from the rest of the Caribbean basin, in particular, Haitians.

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



Source: Mills (1997).

Figure 4
SEX RATIO IN LATIN AMERICAN AND CARIBBEAN STOCKS OF MIGRANTS PER
REGION WHERE PRESENT. 1970-2000



Source: IMILA Project, CELADE.

1.3. Emigration outside of the region

Together with the decline of overseas immigration and the relative stabilization of movements within the region, emigration to destinations outside of the region has taken prominence. Although these emigration flows are directed towards various destinations —increasing numbers of people born in the region are migrating to Canada, various European countries and Japan— almost three fourths converge to the United States. Thus, this pattern exemplifies a case of South-North migration, having numerous implications for the countries of Latin America and the Caribbean, the most noticeable being the loss of qualified human resources and the exposure of undocumented emigrants to various risks (ranging from non recognition of their human rights to deportation). This migration has also implied the organization of transnational migrant communities —which can result in further migration— and the generation of a potential for economic growth derived from remittances that emigrants send to their place of origin.⁴

a) Migration to the United States

Emigration to the United States by people born in the region, especially those from Mexico and the Caribbean, is by no means a new phenomenon⁵ —and, moreover, has fluctuated due to economic and socio-political conditions as well as to changes in the United States' immigration legislation—; what is new is the sharp increase in recent years in the number of migrants from Central and South America, that originally started to gain momentum in the middle of the twentieth century. The stock of Latin American and Caribbean immigrants in the United States doubled between 1980 and 1990, to reach a total of nearly 8,4 million people, or 43% of the total foreign population registered in the country in 1990.⁶ The information provided by the Current Population Survey of the United States puts the number of Latin American and Caribbean immigrants at 14,5 million in 2000 and 18 million in 2004. These figures account for just over half of the total stock of immigrants in this country and mean that immigration from the region increased by 100% between 1990 and 2004 (Lollock, 2001; www.census.gov). This source suggests that Mesoamericans account for 68% of the total, followed by Caribbeans who amount to 19% (see figure 5 and table 3). In particular, Mexicans accounted for more than 50% of Latin American and Caribbean immigrants; although numbering less than 1 million people, in each case, Cubans, Salvadorans, Dominicans and Colombians, were the other main groups of people born outside of the United States and informed by the Current Population Survey.

The Latin American and Caribbean immigrants to the United States are a very heterogeneous group, a trait that sometimes is lost in regional averages. For example, the average sex ratio of these immigrants shows a predominance of men, resulting from the high proportion of people from Mexico and Central America; however, the analysis of the data reveals that women are a majority among immigrants from the Caribbean and South America. Something similar happens in the case of other socio-demographic characteristics: among Mesoamericans, the economically active-age population represents the majority and their schooling profiles are clearly lower than those of Caribbeans and South Americans. In addition, participation by women in the labor market is clearly higher among Caribbeans and South Americans,

⁴ In studying these repercussions, it should be borne in mind that emigrants form a heterogeneous lot in terms of their characteristics and migratory status. For example, some are legal residents in the recipient countries and other lack the documentation required for setting up residence or entering the job market; furthermore, the emigrants counted in the censuses include temporary workers, refugees and displaced people.

⁵ The Hispanic community in the United States, made up of old and new immigrants and their descendants, constitutes at present the first ethnic minority in this country.

⁶ It should be noted that the sharp increase in the stock of Latin American and Caribbean immigrants in the United States in the 1980s was partly due to the amnesty granted under the Immigration Reform and Control Act (IRCA) adopted by that country in 1986.

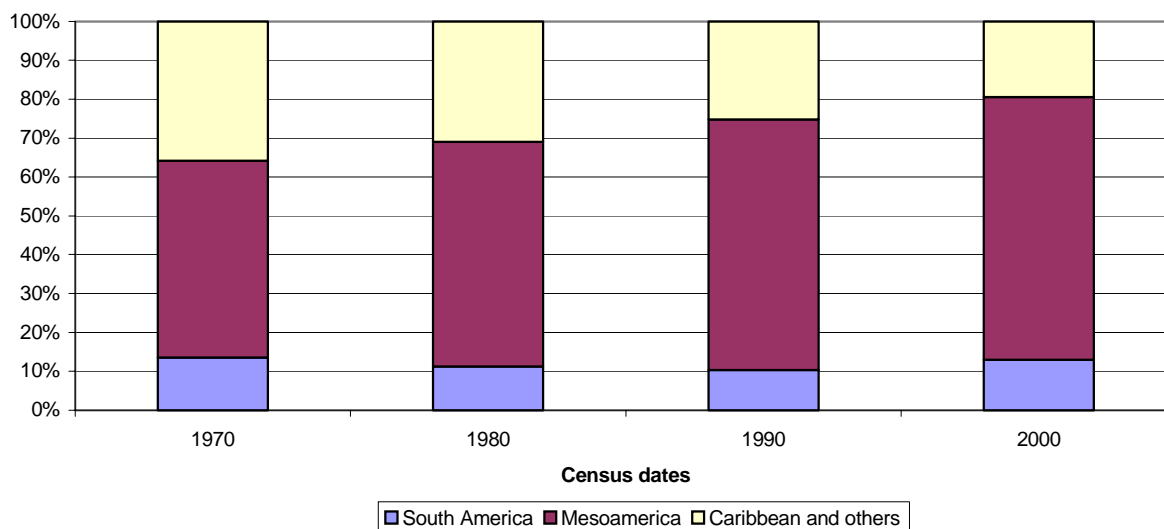
although in all groups it is higher in their countries of origin. Finally, there are more professionals among those immigrants from the Caribbean and South America (Martínez, 20003a).

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-CELADE, 1999b). Regarding Central America, emigration to the United States increased in the 1970s. The rigidities in the isthmus' economies and crisis leading to socio-political exclusion, coupled by the persistence of deep social inequalities, resulted in severe underemployment and the escalation of social violence in many countries. Emigration from Central America was extremely varied and comprised of refugees, displaced and undocumented migrants, families and professionals. In the 1990s, despite the restoration of democratic regimes, the gradual recovery of economic growth, the application of institutional reforms and the changes in the international environment, the possibilities of establishing favorable conditions to retain the population were limited by the persistence of an acute lag regarding social equity.

During the last few years, emigration of the Latin American and Caribbean population out of the region, especially to the United States has been stimulated by different factors. The opening of internal markets to world trade and the implementation of new technologies in the transportation and communication sectors, have contributed to reduce the cost of distances. Also, the scarce possibilities for the creation of steady jobs, the high incidence of poverty and deep inequalities in income distribution have an effect on people that emigrate in search of possibilities outside the countries in the region. Transnational social networks, created or strengthened during the 1980s and 90s contribute to overcome obstacles to migration. All these factors, among others, have led to a rapid response of increasing sectors of the population in Latin America and the Caribbean that react to the information received and the prospect of opportunities far away (CEPAL, 2002; ECLAC-CELADE, 1999b).

It should be added that since the 1980s, significant changes were introduced in the profiles of labor demand in the United States. These changes resulted in a generalized flexibilization in the ways of hiring workers, which might have strengthened the attraction of migrants; under such condition, the adoption of new restrictive regulations for migration seem to be working against the interest of labor demands (ECLAC-CELADE, 1999b). Paradoxically, increasing immigration trends followed the pace of successive revisions and amendments of migratory rules and policies in the United States, which have been aimed at controlling undocumented migration and the smuggling of migrants. Currently, the migration of Latin Americans and Caribbeans is a very important social phenomenon in the United States. The debate on its repercussions at different levels makes it a leading issue in that country's relation with the nations of the region (CEPAL, 2002). The organization of transnational communities, the flow of remittances and the steady increase thereof, the labor insertion of immigrants in strategic sectors of the economy and their contribution to the competitiveness of the United States are some of the significant aspects of migration to that country.

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

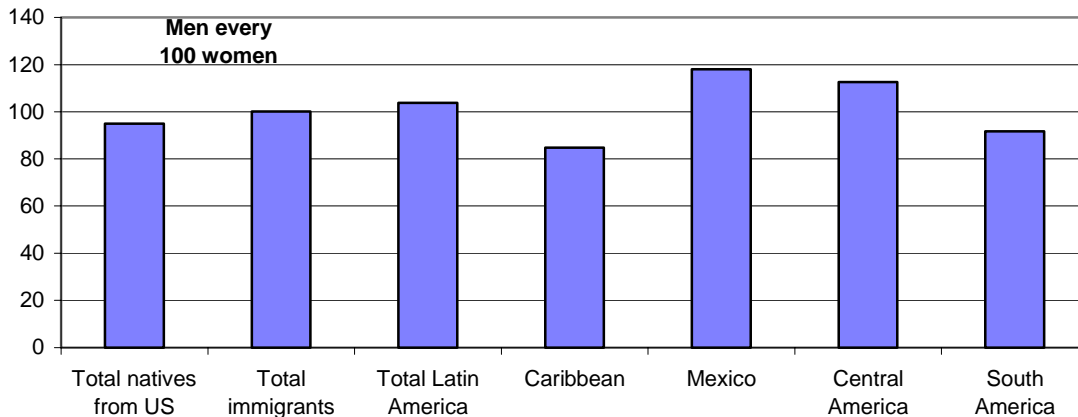
Origin	Census dates a/				Growth rates		
	1970	1980	1990	2000	1970-1980	1980-1990	1990-2000
South America	234233	493950	871678	1876000			
Percentage	13.6	11.3	10.4	13.0	7.5	5.7	7.7
Mesoamericab/	873624	2530440	5391943	9789000			
Percentage	50.6	57.7	64.4	67.6	10.6	7.6	6.0
Caribbean	617551	1358610	2107181	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.

Figure 6
UNITED STATES: SEX RATIO OF NATIVE AND IMMIGRANT POPULATION. 2000



Source: Schmidley (2001), based on the Current Population Survey, 2000.

b) Migration to other extraregional destinations

Migration to other destinations involved nearly three million people in 2000 (see table 4). Canada, some European countries (especially Spain and the United Kingdom), Japan, Australia and Israel are the most important countries of destination. In some European countries and Japan, the number of Latin Americans and Caribbean increased with the return flow of old overseas immigrants and of those who obtained recognition of their right to citizenship of the countries of origin of their relatives and ancestors.

Spain recently became the second host country of regional emigration. The 2001 census enumerated 840 thousand people born in the region, especially in South America. The majority of these immigrants are women (see table 5). Although this female predominance has been decreasing, possibly due to family reunification, women have been pioneers in this flow (Izquierdo, López and Martínez, 2002). Besides the differed return migration of earlier generations, the migration of Latin Americans to Spain offers other interpretations. For example, cultural proximity has facilitated their acceptance by the host society, as the opinion of the people shows. In addition, these immigrants play a vital role in the provision of care to elderly people and domestic service. Also, their economic participation has positive effects on the financing of the social security system in a society undergoing rapid demographic ageing. Another important factor is the role of migratory networks that have facilitated the access of new contingents within a changing and often restrictive regulatory frame (Martínez, 2003a). Several studies coincide when they point out that the qualification of Latin Americans in Spain is high; although their labor insertion is concentrated in specific sectors, their work experience and links to social and family networks allow many of these people to reach a rapid social and occupational mobility (Anguiano, 2002; Martínez Buján, 2003).

Canada has an important program for the permanent admission of immigrants based on a points system that helps their incorporation according to the ability of people to integrate themselves in the Canadian economy and society. The number of immigrants from the region has increased from just over 320 thousand people in 1986 to almost 555 thousand people in 1996. Their most distinctive characteristics are that Caribbean nationals –most of them Jamaican– are the majority and that women predominate within the group. Likewise, the United Kingdom gave priority to immigrants from the Caribbean

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

Source: IMILA Project, CELADE.

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

In the case of Japan, immigration made up mainly of Brazilians and Peruvians has directly benefited from the provisions adopted in the 1990s that made it easier to obtain an entry and temporary stay visa for direct Japanese descendants (*dekasseguis*) of immigrants that arrived in Brazil and Peru in the first decades of the twentieth century (*nikkei*). In 2000, more than 300 thousand non-native residents in Japan were Latin Americans (Brazilians accounted for more than 80% of the total). The majority of these immigrants are men who work in the manufacturing industry, although there is a progressive increase of female participation (Martínez, 2003a).

Table 5
SPAIN: STOCKS OF RESIDENT POPULATION BORN IN LATIN AMERICAN AND THE CARIBBEAN
PER COUNTRY OF BIRTH AND SEX. 1991 and 2001

Country of birth	Total		Men		Women		SRa/	
	1991	2001	1991	2001	1991	2001	1991	2001
Mesoamerica and the Caribbean	42880	131383	18544	50467	24336	80916	76.2	62.4
Cuba	24059	50753	10659	22185	13400	28568	79.5	77.7
Dominican Rep.	7080	44088	2331	13264	4749	30824	0.0	43.0
El Salvador	...	2754	...	1014	...	1740		58.3
Honduras	...	3498	...	1212	...	2286		53.0
Mexico	11776	20943	4980	8899	6796	12044	73.3	73.9
Other countries	7045	9347	2905	3893	4140	5454	70.2	71.4
South America	160499	708721	75185	324943	85314	383778	88.1	84.7
Argentina	53837	103831	25486	51690	28351	52141	89.9	99.1
Bolivia	...	13184	...	5987	...	7197		83.2
Brazil	13673	33196	6048	12224	7625	20972	79.3	58.3
Colombia	...	174405	...	73099	...	101306		72.2
Chile	...	18083	...	8468	...	9615		88.1
Ecuador	...	218351	...	106601	...	111750		95.4
Paraguay	...	2113	...	822	...	1291		63.7
Peru	...	53621	...	22164	...	31457		70.5
Venezuela	42344	67150	20116	31526	22228	35624	90.5	88.5
Uruguay	...	24626	...	12291	...	12335		99.6
Other countries	50645	161	23535	71	27110	90	86.8	78.9
Total Region	203379	840104	93729	375410	109650	464694	85.5	80.8

Source: Instituto Nacional de Estadística, at www.ine.es.

a/ Sex ratio.

2. Exploring migration beyond statistics

2.1 Some impacts of migration

Persistent economic tensions, exacerbated by a deep and prolonged crisis, the short-term effects of the structural adjustment programs –which seriously affected labor markets– and the adverse social conditions derived from the long-lasting incidence of poverty and inequality may have contributed to the diversification of demographic and socio-economic characteristics of Latin American and Caribbean migrants. No less important was the impact of the serious socio-political convulsions and violence leading, in some cases, to the militarization of conflicts, and the rupture of the rules of peaceful coexistence in society. Another significant factor was the change in the policy-making provisions of the host countries, which, whether deliberately or not, had an effect on the qualitative make-up of migratory flows.⁷

⁷ The rigorous application of these rules seem to have given greater visibility to undocumented immigration, having resulted in an increase in family reunification; it may have also led to some itinerant and recurrent movements' becoming definitive transfers.

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 communities and, moreover, makes it possible to establish links that favor the incorporation of technology and productive investment. Notwithstanding the above, one of the effects of emigration is erosion of human capital, which can have a negative impact on the economic and social development of the countries of origin. In some cases, emigration may have also meant an increase in economic dependency with respect to external savings-remittances. Similarly, on the individual level, emigration can be a source of instability, frustration and discriminatory treatment.

Countries of immigration have faced problems, such as that of undocumented immigrants, a situation arising from the legal regulations governing their entry and stay in the country; this usually causes difficulties in the condition of individuals and in relations with the immigrants' countries of origin. Moreover, in some of the receiving countries negative perceptions arise vis-à-vis the costs of the use that immigrants make of subsidized social services such as health, education and social security. Even so, these countries benefit from immigration in a number of ways, including the availability of cheap labor or the employment of highly skilled people trained elsewhere and thus investment by the receiving country is unnecessary. In the United States, immigration of undocumented Latin American and Caribbean nationals seems to have given the country the necessary labor market flexibility to consolidate the competitiveness of its economy (Escobar, 1998; ECLAC-CELADE, 1999b); the sustained demand for cheap labor, even in periods of recession, is interpreted as a demonstration of the functionality of that immigration (Bustamante, 1994). The immigration to Spain reveals a historical relationship with the metropolis, a fact that may suggest the possibility for the countries in the region to work together towards the exercise of a common responsibility in the governance of international migration.

2.2. Governance of international migration⁸

The governance of current migration is a necessity for all countries, and its bases go beyond the merely quantitative dimension, since they involve recognition of the fact that migrations are part and parcel of social, economic and individual processes and acceptance of the need to progress towards more objective and modern forms of management (Mármora, 1997).

Most of the countries of the region actively participate in intergovernmental forums on migration, which shows their political will to agree on a concerted strategy in this matter. Such forums —especially the Regional Conference on Migration and the South American Conference on Migration— form the core of a

⁸ Based on CEPAL (2002).

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.

Multilateral consensus initiatives include integration blocs, intergovernmental forums on migration, and other mechanisms of a subregional nature. The integration blocs —MERCOSUR, the Andean Community, the Central American Integration System, the Central American Common Market, and the Caribbean Community— have already made substantial progress towards extending their field of operations beyond specific agreements on matters of trade and are beginning to advance in matters connected with their social agenda, which must include specific recognition of the importance of migration. In this sense, the subregional integration agreements offer opportunities that must be taken, since they represent particularly suitable spaces for dealing with migration as a vital component of partnerships between members whose asymmetries are smaller than in the case of developed countries. The main intergovernmental forums on migration are the Regional Conference on Migration —set up in 1996 by the countries of North America and Central America— and the South American Conference on Migration, which was established more recently and is made up of 11 South American countries.

The participants in these forums must maintain an ongoing exchange of experiences in order to gain a full understanding of the phenomenon of migration and strengthen the benefits derived from it. Action must also continue to be promoted in order to address common problems and make determined progress towards the achievement of consensus, forms of cooperation —as for example in the areas of

management and legislation— and binding commitments, with their fulfillment being evaluated in light of each country's needs. The governments of the region must give their fullest backing to these initiatives, which should be copied by the Caribbean countries. There are also other subregional-level mechanisms (such as the Puebla-Panama Plan, the South American Community and the Rio Group) which emphasize concern with matters of migration; in this case links should be established with the appropriate specialized forums (the Regional Conference on Migration and the South American Conference on Migration), which can provide fundamental background information for debates and initiatives which complement their own fields of operation.

Another area of multilateral initiatives is the Summit of the Americas. In the Declaration of Quebec City, signed in April 2001 in Canada by the heads of 34 States of the Americas, countries recognize the economic and cultural contributions made by migrants to receiving societies as well as to their communities of origin and commit themselves to ensure dignified, humane treatment with appropriate legal protections, defense of human rights, and safe and healthy labor conditions for migrants, as well as to strengthen mechanisms for hemispheric cooperation to address the legitimate needs of migrants and take effective measures against trafficking of human beings. The Plan of Action includes explicit commitments on migration, human rights and equity, which the countries assume as their responsibility for the coming years. This Plan calls for the strengthening of cooperation among States to address, with a comprehensive, objective and long-term focus, the manifestations, origins and effects of migration in the region; it also provides for close cooperation among countries of origin, transit and destination in order to ensure protection of the human rights of migrants (www.summitamericas.org).⁹

The multilateral agenda of the region must include efforts to systematically address questions of migration in other processes, such as those relating to cooperation programs between the European Union and Latin America; it is worth recalling that these programs include six areas recognized as having close links with migration: development, the environment, democracy, regional integration, education and humanitarian aid. The Ibero-American Summit of Heads of State and Government is likewise a suitable forum for the consideration of these matters, as at its eleventh meeting (held in Lima in 2001) it not only recognized the contribution made by migrants both to their countries of origin and of destination but also declared that it is necessary to strengthen bilateral and multilateral dialogues in order to address the question of migration in an integral manner and take measures to ensure equal treatment for migrants, fully respecting their human rights and eliminating all forms of discrimination that affect their dignity and integrity (www.oei.es).

Likewise within the context of multilateral initiatives, the countries of the region must make a determined effort to secure a review of the conditions and limitations that, under the terms of the General agreement on Trade in Services, affect the temporary movement of qualified personnel. The aim is to secure genuine, effective liberalization of labor markets by eliminating the factors that restrict such movement: the imposition of standards regarding qualifications which favor the mobility of people among the developed countries but hamper that of nationals of developing countries is a restriction which is incompatible with the opening of markets. In this respect, the World Trade Organization could be an appropriate forum for promoting more flexible movement of qualified personnel at the global level, benefiting from the comparative advantages that the Latin American and Caribbean countries have in various specific branches (such as construction and tourism). Within the region, a new appraisal must be made of the

⁹ Among other actions included in the Plan of Action are: establishment of an inter-American program for the promotion and protection of the human rights of migrants, including migrant workers and their families; cooperation and exchange of information among States concerning trafficking networks, including the development of preventative campaigns on the dangers and risks faced by migrants; and the establishment of linkages with subregional processes, such as the Regional Conference on Migration and the South American Conference on Migration (www.summit-americas.org).

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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