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Migration and Development in Latin America and the Caribbean: A Literature Review with Focus on Peru and Argentina

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Abstract:

Migration and mobility within Latin America and the Caribbean have historically formed part of processes of development and nation building from the time of colonial conquest until the present day. This paper reviews existing literature with an emphasis on contemporary migratory processes and with focus in particular on Peru and Argentina. The paper argues that contemporary emigration from the region has primarily been researched in terms of in-migration to the US and Europe, leaving out the subjective experiences of the migrants themselves and the implications for the sending communities. The paper criticises some of the so-called brain drain and remittance literature for focusing too narrowly on the economic aspects of migration.

Keywords:
Latin America, Caribbean, migration, development, remittances, brain drain

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Migration and Development in Latin America and the Caribbean: A Literature Review with Focus on Peru and Argentina[i]

The population of Latin America and the Caribbean totals 534 million people or roughly 9% of the world's population (UNFPA 2004). The region accounts for 10% of all migrants worldwide, or the equivalent of 20 million people living outside of their country of birth (Martínez Pizarro 2003: 21). The numbers of persons and communities in the region who participate in international migration directly or indirectly are increasing (Martínez Pizarro 2003: 7; Pellegrino 2001: 120). The US is numerically by far the most important destination for migrants from the region (Pessar and Mahler 2003: 834) and the US-Mexico relationship has been called 'the world's single most important bilateral migratory nexus' (cf. Appleyard 1999; Castles and Miller 2003: 152). Intra-regional migration also continues to play a role. In 1993 it was estimated that some two million persons lived within the region but outside of their country of birth (Castles and Miller 2003: 147). Migration is, in short, crucially important for an understanding of the potentials for economic, political and social development in the region.

The Latin American and Caribbean region has historically been characterised by mobility, and immigration has played an important part in the region's economic development (Kritz and Gurak 1979: 409) as well as in nation building projects (see Nugent 1992). Throughout the colonial period and into the early 20th century, the region continued to attract large numbers of immigrants. From the mid to late twentieth century onwards, however, it has become a net producer of emigrants. As one of the oldest immigrant-receiving regions and an important source of emigration today, the region merits attention (Massey et al. 1998: 205).

There are obvious and important differences in migration patterns across Latin America and the Caribbean. There are also significant differences in the extent to which migration flows from different countries and areas within the region have been studied. Due to its sheer size and its importance to the rural economy in the southern US, Mexican migration has for example been studied comprehensively. While this working paper

draws on literature covering the entire region, two countries have been selected for more extensive reviews, namely Argentina and Peru. Both of these two countries have recently seen important changes in their migratory flows. Argentina has for decades formed the centre of a regional Southern Cone migration sub-system, but has now also become a country of emigration. Peru, on the other hand, has witnessed a shift from internal and regional migration (e.g. to Argentina), towards increasing international migration (to the US and increasingly Spain). Together the two countries provide interesting examples of the multiple migratory links of the region and the dynamics and processes of migration. This working paper starts with a brief overview of the history of mobility within the region and thereafter examines existing literature on contemporary migration. In the case of Peru there is a substantial body of literature on rural to urban migration, but little on international migration, whereas for Argentina the body of literature on immigration is large, while emigration, due to its relative novelty, has been less studied. The paper concludes with a proposal for future research agendas for COMPAS's 'Sending Contexts' research programme.

History of mobility in the region

Broadly speaking, mobility in the region between the colonial conquest to the present day can be divided into four partly overlapping periods: (i) immigration of settlers and administrators from the European metropolitan centres, and of African slaves in the period from Spanish conquest to independence (1492-1820s); (ii) mass European immigration, particularly from the countries of Southern Europe, from the 1850s to the 1930s; (iii) regional migration in the period between the 1930s and the 1970s; (iv) and finally emigration to developed countries from the late 20th century onwards.

The first period lasted from the beginning of the European conquest in the 15th century to the independence of continental Latin American countries in the early 19th century (Cuba and Puerto Rico remained Spanish colonies

until the end of the 19th century, whereas most of the rest of the Caribbean and Belize remained colonies well into the 20th century). This period was marked by immigration from the colonial powers in the form of administrators and settlers. Those countries in the region where a plantation economy was established also witnessed migration from West Africa in the form of slaves. During this period, migration was closely linked to the demands of the colonial powers. After the abolition of first trade in slaves and then slavery itself, Indian and Chinese indentured labourers were imported to fill in the need for labour (Stolcke 1974; Vertovec 1992).

The mid-19th century to early 20th century was characterised by large scale European immigration, especially from Spain and Italy, and to a lesser degree by Asian immigration (Kritz and Gurak 1979). In this period, the building of the Panama Canal also facilitated extensive intra-regional labour migration.

During this period, migration was closely linked to nation building projects and to the racially stratified nature of the Latin American societies. National elites throughout the region, most of whom were descendants of European colonisers or immigrants, saw growing US economic and political influence as a threat to national sovereignty. In this context, national governments encouraged European immigration in order to 'whiten' the population. The white elites of the region saw a 'whitened' population as a precondition for the 'development', which would help the countries of the region to counteract US influence. At the same time, new discourses of racial miscegenation or *mestizaje* became important tropes of national identity. The *mestizaje* discourse should be seen in the context of the then prevailing ideas in North America and northern Europe of scientific racism, which advocated the inferiority of non-Anglo-Saxon peoples and the undesirability of racial mixing (Chomsky 2000; de la Fuente 1999; Graham 1990; Wade 1993). While it is clear that the *mestizaje* discourse rests on the same premises as scientific racism, namely a belief in the essentialness of race and in racial hierarchies, it does not adhere to its biological determinism. Rather, the *mestizaje* discourse stresses the possibility of social transformation (de la Fuente

1999: 41). Migratory policies (which rested on the idea of 'whitening' through increasing the European proportion of the population) and the novel construction of the Latin American nations as *mestizo* in the early twentieth century, were thus intimately linked to questions of sovereignty and the possibilities of development (Chomsky 2000: 420).

The period of mass immigration from Europe ended by the 1950s when most Caribbean and Latin American countries were facing rising unemployment. Governments therefore introduced restrictions on immigration, except in Venezuela, where the oil economy kept demands for migrant labour high (Kritz and Gurak 1979).

The period between the 1930s and the 1970s was marked principally by internal mobility, rural-urban migration and regional and border mobility, primarily of the unskilled. These migratory flows were related to processes of urbanisation, which produced a lack of agricultural labourers in some regions and hence the need for rural migrant workers (Pellegrino 2002b: 4-5). In this period the Mexico-US flow, although quantitatively greater than other regional flows, had the same characteristics of seasonal rural labour migration (Pellegrino 2002b: 5). After the Second World War, the Caribbean saw large-scale emigration to the European colonial powers, in particular the United Kingdom, France and the Netherlands. The 1970s saw the highest flow of inter-regional migration (Martínez Pizarro 2003: 24), dominated by the low skilled and men (Torrado 1979: 429). However, political upheavals and repressive regimes in the 1960s and 1970s stimulated international migration of the highly skilled, intellectuals and artists in particular, from Chile, Argentina and Uruguay (Kritz and Gurak 1979: 411). The migration of educated middle class people was viewed with some concern and literature on the so-called 'brain drain' phenomenon peaked in the 1960s (Kritz and Gurak 1979: 412; Pellegrino 2001: 114)

In Latin America, from the late 20th century onwards, the trend has been for emigration towards more developed countries, principally the US, Canada and Australia, but increasingly also Europe and Japan[ii] (Castles and Miller 2003: 150; Pellegrino 2003: 11). Violent conflicts in several Central American countries in the 1980s caused widespread displacement

of the population. The economic crisis of the 1980s, which affected most countries in the region reduced possibilities of upward social mobility for the middle classes in particular and fuelled out-migration (Pellegrino 2001: 121). Overall migratory balances of all countries have since then turned consistently negative, that is displaying a greater quantity of emigration than immigration (Pellegrino 2001: 113). For South American countries, emigration has been directed towards a number of countries apart from the US, including also Australia, Canada and Europe (Pellegrino 2002b: 9). In the case of Argentina, Israel emerged as a destination for emigrants during the economic collapse of Argentina in 2001 (Jachimowicz 2003). The tightening of immigration regulations in the US after the events of September 11, 2001, has meant that would-be migrants have had to look further away for potential destinations. In recent years, European countries especially Spain and Italy have become important destinations for migrants from Latin America (Pellegrino 2004). The extension of citizenship rights to descendants of twentieth century migrants from Southern European countries in particular mean that large numbers of Latin Americans today have access to the EU. Colonial links and a history of mobility between Southern Europe and Latin America have thus become important in directing the new flows of migrants from the region today (Pellegrino 2004). As an example, according to one Argentine newspaper, the Italian population of Barcelona increased by 123% between 2001 and 2003, due to the influx of Argentineans with Italian citizenship (Míndez 2003). Religion also plays a role in the region's migratory patterns, as Argentina's Jewish population – the fourth largest in the world – has been able to emigrate to Israel (Jachimowicz 2003). Already in 2003, however, this flow had slowed considerably (Slutzky 2004).

Intra-regional migration continues today and has a number of characteristics that sets it apart from international migratory flows from the region: it is dominated by women and consists of a number of flows in different directions, caused by a combination of factors, for example Colombians fleeing violence and seeking economic opportunities in Venezuela (Castles and Miller 2003: 146-147) or Central and South

Americans using Mexico and Central America as transit points on the way to the US. In addition, significant numbers of Guatemalans and Salvadorans live in Belize, Costa Rica has a sizeable Nicaraguan population and Peruvians continue to migrate to Chile (Martínez Pizarro 2003). Several border regions have longstanding histories of short term and circulatory migration patterns. Other notable regional migratory currents include Haitians migrating to the Dominican Republic and Dominican women migrating to work in the sex industry in Argentina (International Organization for Migration 2003). The Cuban revolution has created a number of migratory flows, primarily directed toward the US, but also to Mexico, Puerto Rico and Venezuela. Since the 1990s, Spain has also become a destination for Cubans (Berg 2004).

In general, violence and political instability have contributed to flows of skilled migrants from the region (Pellegrino 2001: 119). The repatriation of criminal youths from the US to Central American countries has caused problems of transnationally organised criminal gangs (The Economist 2004).

Scholarly Traditions and Research Lacunae

The body of literature covering the history of migration to the region from Europe is substantial. Historians in the southern European former sending countries and in the receiving countries in Latin America have produced a rich body of oral history literature and small-scale studies of migration chains and networks from particular source areas to the immigration centres of the region. This literature covers emigration from Italy, Portugal and Spain in particular to Argentina and Cuba (see e.g. Abásolo 1992; Díaz-Trechuelo López-Spínola 1991; Eiras Roel 1991; Eiras Roel and Rey Castelao 1992; Francos Lauredo 1998; Iglesias García 1988; Maluquer de Motes 1992; 1994; Morales Padrón 1992; Naranjo Orovio 1984; 1988; 1994).[iii]

Diverse national and institutional histories and differing research agendas have contributed to the creation of different traditions within historical

writing on migration, which, although they share the subject matter of enquiry, tend to define the units of analysis in different ways and also seek to explore quite different research questions. There is scant cross-referencing between Anglophone and other discourses within the field. The example of early twentieth century migration to Cuba is instructive (Berg 2004). Spanish historians for example tend to adopt the point of view of the Spanish migrants and treat migration as separate from the question of 'race' in Cuba. Much of this work has been published by regional government bodies in Spain. Consequently it focuses specifically on migration from a particular region in Spain to Cuba. They emphasise the relative powerlessness of the Spanish migrants and their reasons for migrating (see e.g. Iglesias García 1988; Maluquer de Motes 1992; 1994; Naranjo Orovio 1984; 1988; 1994). US historians on the other hand tend to see migration in the light of Cuban politics and discourses of nation and show greater sensitivity to the interrelations between ideas of 'race,' nation and immigration policies, but less sensitivity to the motivations and relative powerlessness of the Spanish migrants (as examples of this approach, see e.g. Chomsky 1998; 2000; de la Fuente 1995; 1998; 2001; Helg 1990; 1995). As a result, they tend to overlook internal stratification among the white population of Cuba. Clearly, the nation-state continues to loom large in the research imaginary when it comes to definition of the unit of analysis, and as a result migrant subjectivities and transnational practices and livelihoods have sometimes been poorly understood and researched (but see Glick Schiller et al. 1992; Olwig and Sørensen 2002).

In terms of contemporary migration from and within the Latin American and Caribbean region, the bulk of the literature focuses on *im*migration to destination countries, in particular to the US.[iv] The perspectives of those left behind as well as the implications of out-migration for the sending societies are less often addressed, or are addressed less extensively (but see e.g. Olwig 1999). Ethnographic studies of either migrant sending or receiving communities within the region are relatively rare (Massey et al. 1998: 204), except in the case of regional and rural-urban migration.

In the case of Mexico, however, a number of studies focus on the sending context.[v] As might be expected of a field with such obvious political,

economic and increasingly also security interests, research on Mexican migration to the US constitutes a contested terrain (cf. Durand and Massey 1992). The issue of estimating the number of undocumented migrants alone has generated considerable controversy since the 1930s among US and Mexican scholars, with sensationalist media reports occasionally contributing unsubstantiated figures that later appear in political debates (Durand and Massey 1992). The size of remittance flows has likewise been subject to debates between scholars where US scholars have tended to make relatively higher estimates and Mexican scholars relatively lower estimates. The crux of the problem is that remittances flow through both official and unofficial channels. Estimates are therefore necessarily dependent upon methods used and sources consulted, as well as some conjecture on the part of the researcher (Durand and Massey 1992).

Gender

A number of authors have noted a tendency towards feminization of migration, particularly from South America. Among migrants from South America and the Caribbean there is a higher participation of women in the work force than among migrants from Central America. Migrants from South America are also better educated (Martínez Pizarro 2003: 28-29). However, since Central America and Mexico still produce more migrants in absolute terms, the total migrant population from the region is dominated by men (Martínez Pizarro 2003: 28). Furthermore, among undocumented migrants, particularly to the US, of whom Mexicans are by far the largest group, men may be in the majority (Durand and Massey 1992; Martínez Pizarro 2003: 44). Interestingly however, at least one scholar found that among undocumented Mexican migrants to the US deported between 1930 and 1933, some two-thirds were women, thus challenging the also then prevailing attitude that undocumented Mexican migrants were mostly men (cited in Durand and Massey 1992: 5). Nonetheless some more recent surveys have neglected to probe the prevailing gendered

stereotypes of Mexican migration and have therefore almost inevitably produced research, which confirmed these stereotypes. Yet the US census of 1980 for example found that the undocumented population was 45% female (Durand and Massey 1992: 20).

Contemporary migration to Spain especially is dominated by women (Martínez Pizarro 2003: 53). In southern Europe in general gendered and ethnic specific niches have emerged in the informal and private care sector, due to the growing participation of southern European women in the labour market (King and Zontini 2000).

Globally, skilled migration has been rising (Iredale 2001: 8), but most often dominated by men (Iredale 2001: 15). Observers have pointed out that skilled female migrants are less likely to have their skills and qualifications recognised in the destination countries (Iredale 2001: 19). Women tend to visit their relatives more often than men do and also remit more money even though they earn less (Martínez Pizarro 2003: 54).

Normative Paradigms: Remittances and the Brain Drain Literature

Broadly speaking, recent migration research has given precedence to the social and cultural aspects of migration when it comes to the immigrant receiving countries, while these aspects have been less well researched with regard to emigrant sending countries. When the focus has been on the sending contexts, economic aspects and the interests of nation states have been dominating. There is a relative lack of research which addresses the subjective meaning of migration for migrants and their kin and how migration is fuelled by the imagination. Kritz and Gurak identified this gap in the literature already in the 1970s:

> Relatively little research has been directed to the decision-making process which propels some persons to leave their home country while others do not. There is a growing body of research that identifies the importance at the macro level of economic factors – lack of opportunity in the sending country, wage differentials, etc. –

> but most of this research does not attempt to explain how these factors become translated to the micro level. … [M]ore attention should be directed to the determinants and consequences of emigration in sending countries … More should be learned about the characteristics of the emigrants and the implications of emigration for development (1979: 422).

Gardner and Osella's critique of studies of migration from South Asia to Europe are therefore pertinent also in the Latin American context:

> [T]here has been a startlingly northern bias in much research which, whilst focusing largely upon the places which 'receive' overseas migrants and where diasporic communities are constituted (in Europe and North America in particular), generally has little to say about the places which they leave behind. And even if there is theoretical acknowledgement that places are interconnected and that few migrants ever really do completely leave their places of origin, what this *means* in terms of cultural or social change in particular places has been little examined' (2003: vi, emphasis in original).

These gaps in the literature have a number of obvious explanations, *inter alia* global inequalities of research funding, the policy driven nature of much migration research and the methodological nationalism of the social sciences (Wimmer and Glick Schiller 2003). Leaving aside the effects of emigration on national economies and development prospects, migration literature has largely failed to engage with the question of how migration is *experienced* by the actors affected by it, i.e. not just the migrants themselves, but their families, friends and wider communities in which they take part. As Gardner and Osella have pointed out,

> migration involves far more than simple economic strategies and issues of material well-being. … migration entails *projects of transformation*, either by individuals or groups or even states, in which new identities are being forged and existing orders either challenged or in some way changed (2003: xxii).

In a similar vein, Olwig and Sørensen argue that migration can helpfully be understood through the concept of livelihood, which places emphasis

on mobility rather than place. By foregrounding livelihood, the entire social fields that migrants move within come into focus, rather than preconceived destinations or points of departure. International migration may be merely a part of already existing mobility patterns (2002). The concept of mobile livelihood is based on the assumption that 'one of the basic features of human life is mobility' (ibid.: 9). Movement in space, whether or not it involves the crossing of international borders, is therefore but one aspect of the social fields that human beings belong to and construct through their livelihood practices.

The burgeoning field of transnationalism has to some degree corrected the receiving country focus, and Latin America and the Caribbean has been dominant within this field of scholarship (Pessar and Mahler 2003: 824), most often in the form of studies between a given home country and the US as host country (cf. Mahler and Pessar 2001: 454-455). This no doubt reflects the lead of US-based scholars in the field of transnationalism. However, although the US numerically is by far the most important destination for migrants from the region, scholarship may gain important insights by also looking at other destinations and intra-regional migration (see also Pessar and Mahler 2003: 834).

To the degree that the implications of migration have been studied within a sending contexts framework, two normative paradigms have dominated the literature. One looks at the impact and development potential of remittances. Remittance flows are of obvious policy concern to receiving country governments and a growing body of literature deals with migrant sending behaviour, the means of remittance transfers and the use of remittances in migrant sending contexts (Black 2003). The Latin American and Caribbean region is the world's leading recipient of remittances (Pellegrino 2004: 46); remittances represent more than 10% of GDP in six of the region's countries (Eckstein 2003). For Mexico the flow of remittances add up to more than the total value of the country's exports, and it represents significant shares in a number of other countries, including Brazil, Colombia, the Dominican republic, El Salvador, Guatemala, Haiti and Jamaica, which together account for the lion's share of Latin American remittances (Lowell and de la Garza 2000; Meyers

1998).[vi] Even in the 1990s remittance flows from the US continued to grow rapidly in volume despite a proportionate decrease in migration. At the same time emigrant communities are increasingly asserting their voice in national politics in many countries in the region (Martínez Pizarro 2003: 7).

It remains controversial whether remittances overall have a positive or a negative impact on the economy of the remittance receiving country and on migrant producing communities within the country, and whether the money could be put to more productive use. Many studies agree that remittances are primarily spent on household expenditure, the construction of homes and consumption (cf. Black 2003; Martínez Pizarro 2003: 19; Meyers 1998). Meyers points out that a number of studies have found that remittance money is spent in much the same way as other income, which is not usually seen as 'unproductive' or indeed 'wasteful' (Meyers 1998). Durand and Massey argue that since many migrants originate in communities in which investments may prove highly risky because of infrastructural and other deficiencies, it may make economic sense *not* to invest remittances in productive enterprises (Durand and Massey 1992: 27). Also, since many migrants are young adults, they are likely to be in the process of establishing families, a life course period when household income is more likely to be channelled towards home improvements, food, education, medical care, etc. in any case (Durand and Massey 1992: 28).

The question therefore remains whether the focus on remittances is too narrow and whether it is helpful for researchers to argue over the effects of remittances without making it clear that what is good for individuals or households may not be good for states and vice versa, and that remittance flows may have unintended consequences both for states and society (Eckstein 2003). It is also clear that *time* is an important factor in assessing the impact of remittances and that diachronic and historically informed studies are needed. Questions that still need further research include how gender, age, life cycle and generation interact with remittance sending and spending; what remittance sending and spending

mean to people who are involved in international migration and how it influences ideas of agency, personhood, household and gender.

A further problem with the remittance literature is a tendency to reduce migration to primarily an economic phenomenon (cf. Martínez Pizarro 2003: 18) thereby overlooking the cultural, political and social aspects of migration. As Massey et al. have argued, traditional explanations for migration 'need to be modified to give more weight to non-pecuniary factors and also to expectations, necessarily subjective, about the future' (Massey et al. 1998: 9). With regard to the study of remittances, Pessar and Mahler have called for research that deals with 'questions of decision making over the use of remittances; stratification in local communities caused by differential remittance reception; and how households and individuals are affected by remittance reception, based on qualitative studies that take into account class, ethnicity, gender and political participation' (2003: 817). Eckstein's work shows that in Cuba, increased household reliance on remittances has led to a widening of economic inequality, whereas most studies in market economies have shown that remittances can help to reduce earnings differentials (2003: 24). The work of Mahler (2001) on El Salvador shows how access to transnational practices and communication is gendered and thus impinges differently on men and women. On this basis, she argues that remittance reliance may exacerbate gendered power structures. What both of Eckstein and Mahler's studies and others of similar approach have in common is that instead of focusing on externally defined parameters for measuring the effect or consequences of remittances within sending context societies, they argue for an appreciation of migration and remittances as multi-faceted phenomena with sometimes contradictory and unintended outcomes for different actors, such as migrant households and the state respectively.

The second paradigm within emigration literature which is of interest to this paper, concerns the so-called 'brain drain' phenomenon, which first surfaced in the literature in the 1960s, particularly with regard to Argentina. 'Brain drain' literature and its newer incarnation as 'brain exchange' literature, like much of the remittance literature, tends to omit

the point of view and subjective experiences of migrants in favour of a macro political/economic perspective (Albornoz et al. 2002a; Albornoz et al. 2002b; Iredale 2001; Pellegrino 2001; 2002a; 2002b; Pellegrino and Martínez Pizarro 2001). Some of the brain drain literature makes questionable assumptions regarding the motivations of highly skilled migrants and their supposed lack of kinship or other network ties in the sending communities. Thus Pellegrino maintains (2002b: 20) that highly skilled emigration as a rule differentiates itself from unskilled migration as it is initiated as an individual decision and involves no commitment to a family left behind. Meyers however, cites research which found that all types of migrants including the highly skilled remit money, which is usually seen as an indicator of continued kinship ties to the homeland (Meyers 1998). Probably the most serious critique of the 'brain drain' literature however, is that it looks at the impact of emigration almost exclusively from an institutional point of view. The early 'brain drain' studies tend to follow a normative approach and situate the phenomenon within the dependency theory paradigm (Luchilo et al. 2004). The impact of a high incidence of emigration of highly skilled personnel or the most talented students from a relatively poor country to relatively richer countries should not be trivialised. Yet the alarmist tone of much of the 'brain drain' literature and its lack of historical scope has resulted in studies that are relatively less illuminating with regard to the motivations and factors influencing this kind of migration. Policy recommendations are therefore likely to be misguided or ineffective.

To sum up, while the remittance and 'brain drain' literature deal with the sending contexts of migration, in much literature 'migration' really means 'immigration'.[vii] This bias reflects that research agendas have been set by governments and funding bodies in the immigrant receiving countries and that research therefore to a large degree reflects the concerns of the North. It therefore leaves out the perspectives of those left behind as well as the implications of migration for the sending societies more broadly. The remainder of this paper is concerned with brief reviews of the literature on migration from Peru and Argentina.

Peru: Emerging Migratory Patterns and Historical Antecedents

To date there are few studies of international migration from Peru. However, the country has a history of rural to urban migration movements which have been extensively studied, particularly in the light of capitalist penetration, regional development of the rural areas and racialised hierarchies of power and status (Favre 1977; Long and Roberts 1984; Paerregaard 1997; Smith 1989). Apart from migration induced by poverty and insufficient educational and work opportunities in rural zones, the political violence of the 1980s and early to mid 1990s also contributed to large scale displacements of people from rural areas to provincial cities and the capital, Lima. Yet rather than inducing mass migration of a hitherto sedentary population, the conflict in many cases forced people to give up well established livelihood strategies which had included patterns of seasonal mobility between rural areas, villages and provincial towns. The civil war made this pattern unsustainable and pushed people to settle more permanently in one place (Sørensen 2002). A number of recent studies have linked the extensive history of internal migration to the now growing flows of international migration (Paerregaard 1997; 2002a; 2002b; Tamagno 2002). Both Paerregaard and Sørensen thus argue that current transnational migratory practices can be understood as extensions of already existing mobility patterns. These patterns are moulded by kinship networks and clientelistic relationships that traditionally have ensured a labour supply for the large haciendas by recruiting among Peru's rural population. The structure of patron-client relationships can be traced back to labour practices of the nineteenth century which placed rural workers in exploitative relations with their patrons (Paerregaard 2002a). Sørensen argues that the long standing pattern of internal rural to urban mobility has thoroughly blurred distinctions between traditional and modern, rural and urban and internal and international that studies of migration have often taken for granted (2002: 27).

The immigration to Peru of Japanese workers in the nineteenth and early twentieth century was reversed in the 1990s when Peru's economic crisis combined with labour shortages in Japan opened the possibility of labour migration from Peru to Japan for descendants of Japanese migrants

(Paerregaard 2002a; Takenaka 1999). The main destinations for Peruvian migrants are the US, Japan, Spain, Italy and Argentina.

Argentina: Country of Immigration and Emigration

Argentina was for long the centre of a Southern Cone sub-system of migratory flows from neighbouring countries, in particular Chile, Uruguay, Paraguay, Bolivia, Brazil and Peru in descending order of importance, which persisted even in the 1980s when the Argentine economy was in decline (Massey et al. 1998: 199). However, since the economic and political collapse of 2000-2001 large numbers of people have also started to emigrate from Argentina. It is estimated that over a quarter of a million people have left Argentina in the past three years (Jachimowicz 2003).

Although Argentina historically has been a country of immigration, emigration has surged in periods of economic and political instability. During the dictatorship of Juan Carlos Onganía (1966-1970) and later the military dictatorship (1976-1983), intellectuals and political opponents left the country, whereas in the 1980s, the spiralling economic crisis propelled the decision to leave for the middle and upper middle classes. The economic collapse in 2001 fuelled another exodus (Clarín.com 2004). Overall however, Argentina has experienced a rise in emigration since the 1960s, mostly of highly qualified and professional migrants (Pellegrino 2002b: 3).

During the 1960s, the emigration of highly skilled personnel, caused concern that a 'brain drain' was in the making (cf. Pellegrino 2002b: 9f). This concern reappeared after Argentina's economic collapse in 2001-2002 (see e.g. Albornoz et al. 2002a; Albornoz et al. 2002b; Luchilo et al. 2004), when the number of Argentinean academics in the US went up by as much as 31% (Albornoz et al. 2002b: 4). Argentinean migration to the US is disproportionately biased towards the highly skilled when compared to other Latin American countries (Albornoz et al. 2002b).

Future Research Agendas

Migration is a multi-faceted and ambiguous phenomenon with cultural, economic, political and social implications for individual actors, social groups and states. From this follows that generalisations or predictions about the relative negative or positive impacts of migration on development need to be carefully set against the particularities of history, socio-political contexts *and* the subjective meanings ascribed to migration in a specific time and place.

This working paper and the research project of which it is intended to form part, proposes a new approach to migration by focusing on *the social production of migrants*. This approach looks at why people migrate the way they do, how they prepare themselves for migration, and the growth of a culture and institutional infrastructure that sustains migration. Related to these processes are questions of the links between migration and development, i.e. how migration may be harnessed to promote local development, or conversely inhibit development. The role of remittances and the political involvement of migrants with their home communities are obviously important in this context. Intrinsic to this approach is a historically informed analysis of the changing patterns of migration dynamics. Qualitative, diachronic studies are important to reveal long term trends, patterns of cyclical, seasonal or repeat migrations as well as motivations, decisions and trajectories of individuals and households and gender perspectives.

Notes

[i] This working paper provides a preliminary review of literature on migration and development in Latin America and the Caribbean, with particular focus on Peru and Argentina. The paper will feed into a proposed research project within the 'Sending Contexts' research programme at COMPAS.

[ii] Of Latin American migrants to Japan, Brazilians constitute a clear majority, mainly in the form of Japanese-Brazilian return-migrants (Martínez Pizarro 2003: 34).

[iii] For an overview of the literature by Spanish historians on the subject published in the 1990s, see Mörner (1995).

[iv] The literature is very extensive, but for some examples see (Agostinelli 1995; Alvarez and Collier 1994; Babb 2003; Bailey et al. 2002; Borjas and Freeman 1992; Bray 1987; Britton 1997; Bustamante 1997; Camara and Van Kemper 1979; Curran and Rivero-Fuentes 2003; Durand and Massey 1992; Durand et al. 2001; Fitzgerald 2004; Georges 1990; Glick Schiller and Fouron 1999; Goldring 1995; 2002; Gomez 2003; Goza 1994; Guarnizo and Diaz 1999; Guarnizo et al. 1999; Itzigsohn et al. 1999; Kidd 1970; Laguerre and Friedman 1999; Landolt et al. 1999; Levitt 2001; Marcelli and Cornelius 2001; Massey et al. 1994; Massey and Zenteno 2000; Menjivar 1994; Mohar 2004; Mountz and Wright 1996; Pessar and Grasmuck 1991; Popkin 1999; Roberts et al. 1999; Robotham 1998; Sana and Massey 2000; Wilson 1999; Wilson 1998; Wood 2000). These examples do not include the growing field of Latina/o studies.

[v] Again this literature is too extensive to cite in full. For some examples see (Adelman et al. 1988; Basok 2003; Castillo 1994; Cohen 2001; Cornelius 1989; 1990; Escobar Latapí et al. 1999; Escobar-Latapi 1999; González and Escobar 1990; Martin 1999; Mines 1981; Rosenblum 2004).

[vi] Following significant outflows from a number of South American countries in the 2000's, including Argentina, Ecuador and Peru, the list of countries may be changing.

[vii] See e.g. Appleyard's review article of fifty years of 'international migration policies' (2001). Pessar and Mahler (2003) insist on using the term 'immigrant' to cover both immigrant, emigrant and refugees as the immigrant/emigrant to them denote a one-directional conceptualisation. However, their approach may likewise be criticised for focusing exclusively on immigration.

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