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THE SOUTHERN CONE OF AMERICA AND THE MIGRATION TO THE UNITED STATES: A MIGRATION SYSTEMS ANALYSIS

By

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ABSTRACT

THE SOUTHERN CONE OF AMERICA AND THE MIGRATION TO THE UNITED STATES: A MIGRATION SYSTEMS ANALYSIS

By

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This research paper explores and explains the migratory flows from the Southern Cone of South America to the United States between 1960 and 2004. It presents a preliminary answer to questions surrounding the impacts of broad historical relations in the migration process. The main objective of this paper is to analyze changes in the migratory flows from the Southern Cone of America and their interaction with ongoing historical changes. This project makes use on two sets of information. First, secondary sources related to the recent history of the Southern Cone and the influences of the United States in this sub-region. Second, this migration is analyzed using secondary demographic data available using the Immigrant Visa category from the statistical yearbooks of the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) and the United States Center for Immigration Services (USCIS). The statistical analysis is descriptive and exploratory, comparing the data provided by the visas with historical moments.

To Cata, Emilia and very soon Camila

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INTRODUCTION

Internal and international migration has been an extremely important issue for Latin American countries since the period of national formation in the early 18th century. It was through migration that many of these nations, especially those that are located in the Southern Cone of America, fashioned their national identity and defined their culture and development policies. International migration history in this region in particular, and in the Americas in general, can be divided into three periods. These periods are defined by the number of immigrants that arrived in each period and their place of origin, in conjunction with the socio-historical processes that the new nations-states were going through and their social and economic development. The first period, from the early 18th century to the 1950's, may be called *overseas migration* and the immigrants were mainly from Europe and in some cases from Asia. The second period, *intraregional migration,* has its origins in the colonial period and is formed by migration within Latin America. The third period, *extra regional migration*, from the 1960's onwards, is comprised of individuals and families that have migrated to countries outside of Latin America, such as the U.S. and Europe.

During this third period, the U.S. tried to exert its influence more profoundly in the region. This influence has been centered in socio-economic measures, such as the Alliance for Progress; and in socio-political measures, such as the School of the Americas. As it happened throughout the developing world, is also in this period when the traditional societal structures began to change rapidly. These changes were product of

new development programs, new social movements inspired by the Cuban revolution and other social changes in the cities, product of the acceleration of urbanization. The last forty years are also related to the rise of military governments in the Southern Cone, succeeded by democratization processes in the mid eighties and nineties.

The Southern Cone is a socio-geographic term —in the broadest sense of the term 'social'— designating a geographical part of South America. It consists of at least Argentina, Chile and Uruguay (Whitaker, 1976). Other authors (Castles and Miller, 2003) include Brazil and Paraguay. This paper utilizes the more defined geographic area of Argentina, Chile, and Uruguay. In addition to being regarded as the most socially and economically developed in Latin America, these countries were the first in the region to achieve the third phase of the demographic transition[1] and were among the first to have a strong workers' movement, unions and social welfare systems. These countries were also among the major receivers of European immigration between the 1830's and the 1950's, leading to their consideration (by the western world European world and by the U.S.) as being racially more inclined towards economic development, capitalism and democracy. These countries were also the first to industrialize and to have an important majority of their population achieve literacy; they thus became the most socially and economically developed nations of the former Spanish empire[2]. Furthermore, during the second part of the 20th century, Argentina, Chile, and Uruguay had some of the most repressive and bloodiest military governments in the Americas.

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[1] The third stage of the Demographic Transition is defined by a decrease in death rates and birth rate associated to industrialization, modernization and urban life. In this stage the population might eventually decline in numbers (Cfr. Weeks, John (2005), *Population: An introduction to concepts and issues*, 9th Edition, Wadsworth Publishers, USA:

[2] According to the Human Development Index and to several econometric measures as GDP per Capita.

Since their independence from Spain, the United States has tried to influence the political and economic decisions of Argentina, Chile, and Uruguay. The influence of the United States has been much stronger since the turn of the 19th century, partly due to the decrease of the influence of European empires —specifically Britain, France, and Germany. This influence became a process of hegemonic domination after the end of the Second World War and particularly during the Cold War. During the last fifty years, the United States has exerted its influence by economic and military means. This influence has affected the political and socioeconomic destinies of the Latin American countries differentially, and the macro-socio-historical impact has helped shape migration processes from Latin America towards the United States. This migration, which has existed since independence from Spain, has had its peaks from 1960 onwards. Following some of the classical push and pull theories, it is possible to hypothesize that the socio-political and economic changes that have occurred in the region since the 1960's, have impacted migratory flows between the Southern Cone countries and the U.S.

Using a migration systems perspective and a theoretical framework based on Wallerstein's world-systems perspective this paper will *analyze changes in the migratory flows that originate in the Southern Cone of America and their interactions with ongoing socio-historical processes.* This will permit a preliminary answer to the question about the impacts of broad socio-historical relations on the migration process, and open a discussion of some hypotheses on how these structural constraints influence the migration decision making process, with specific reference to the Southern Cone of America. This research paper is divided into five sections. The first section theoretically describes Wallerstein's world–systems perspective and combines it with migration

systems to produce one analytical framework to analyze migration from the Southern Cone. The second section presents a brief history of international migration in the Americas with a specific reference to the Southern Cone. The third section gives a general overview of the historical processes where these migration flows can be set. The fourth part is a brief methodological description of the data to be analyzed, describing the pitfalls and opportunities of using immigration statistics and census data. The fifth section includes the statistical data analyses, taking into consideration the theoretical and historical setting of these migration processes.

WORLD-SYSTEMS AND INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION IN AN INTERCONNECTED SYSTEM

According to Wallerstein (2000; 2004), world–systems analyses arise initially as a protest against the ways in which social scientific inquiries were structured since they were conceived in the early eighteenth century. This social science clearly defined the boundaries of each of its components —sociology, economics, anthropology and political sciences— and since then all have continued to develop independently, structuring not only each field of study but also their institutional aspects, such as the departments within a modern university, professional associations and journals within specific disciplines. The argument behind this protest was very straightforward. According to Wallerstein, the "three areas of collective human action —the economic, the political and the social or sociocultural— are not autonomous arenas of social action" (Wallerstein, 2000: 1349). The structures behind this social action are not restricted to a particular discipline and are not different and separate logics; they all are part of the same "set of rules" or "set of constraints". As an answer to this criticism, Wallerstein proposed to change the focus of the analysis of social sciences by substituting the discussion over "society" by the discussion over the "historical system". The term "historical system" underlies the unity of an historical social science and defines the world system as "the fundamental unit of analysis within which all other social processes and structures should be analyzed" (Hall, 2000: 4).

From an epistemological perspective, world-systems perspective emerged from four debates that were going on in the period 1945 – 1970 (Wallerstein, 2004: 11f). These were the birth of the concepts of core and periphery in the Economic Commission for Latin America (ECLA)[3], under Raúl Prebisch; the debate over the utility of Marx's concept of "Asiatic mode of production"; the discussion among Western Europe's historians over the transition from feudalism to capitalism; and the debate about total history and the triumph of the *Annales* school in France. According to Wallerstein (*loc. cit.*), "(N)one of these debates were entirely new, but each became salient in this period, and the result was a major challenge to the social sciences as they had developed up to 1945".

The concepts of core and periphery were first developed at ECLA during the late 1950's as a way of explaining the subordinate economic relations that the underdeveloped world had with the advanced industrialized nations. These concepts of core and periphery were at the center of what became dependency theory. According to this theory, underdevelopment was not an inherent condition of the underdeveloped world. Rather, underdevelopment was originally a product of colonialism, and later of unequal international trade and historical capitalism. All the years of colonial dominance in Latin America led to economically weak states, which could not trade on equal terms with economically stronger states. This produced unequal terms of exchange where the stronger states, the core states, would produce goods with elevated aggregated value; while the rest, peripheral states, would produce raw materials to be used in the production of highly technological and capital intensive goods. The second debate was based on a theoretical discussion on the nature of Marx's concept of "Asiatic mode of production".

[3] Now Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC)

According to Wallerstein (2004), Marx had referred to this mode of production as the one that defined production relations in "high civilizations of antiquity" such as India or China. This mode of production was characterized by the existence of a large bureaucratic and autocratic empire. Stalin, however, did not like this concept since it could have been associated with the history of the Soviet Union, and eliminated it from social discourse. With the death of Josef Stalin and the XXth Congress of the Communist Party —where the party denounced Stalin, his politics and methods— the debate over this mode of production reopened, leading to doubts over the inevitable stages of development and of developmentalism as an analytic framework and policy directive.

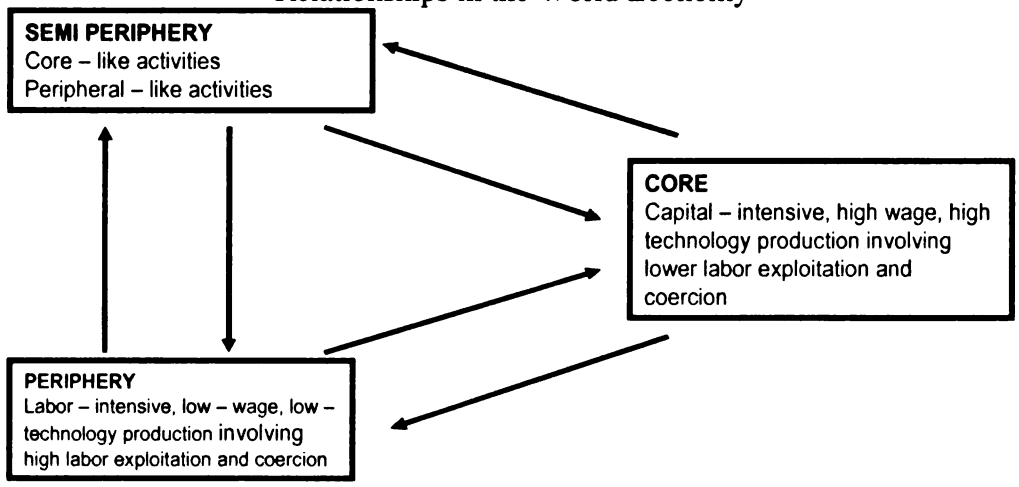
The third debate concerned the origins of modern capitalism among Western economic historians. According to Wallerstein (2004), this debate was important for four reasons. First, the question on the transition from feudalism to capitalism opened the door to questions on a possible transition from capitalism to socialism; this, obviously, had strong political implications. Second, it pushed many economists to take a more profound look at historical data, and introduced them to the work of the *Annales*. Third, the debate was centered on the empirical unit of analysis, which became the socio-historical system. And fourth, it changed the debate over Marxism from an ideological perspective to a more scholarly argument.

The fourth debate centered on the argument on the totality of historiography brought forth by the *Annales* school as a critique to the Rankean paradigm (Wallerstein, 2004: 11). By this, they meant that every historical analysis should look at history as an integrated picture of historical changes that included all social fields. Here, the second generation of this school under the leadership of Ferdinand Braudel was to have an

extraordinary impact, specifically with the concept of *long durée* —the multiplicity of social times and his emphasis on structural time— which was going to become central to world-systems analysis.

For Wallerstein, world–system "is a an approach formulated in Marxist terms that looks at the world economy, capital accumulation, including the capital–labor relationship, and worldwide interstate relations as driving forces of historical development" (Munch, 1994: 94). This is an interdependent world where the individual is included not as a social actor, but as a subject of the changes and conditions of the world-system. The world-system is an identifiable social system which extends beyond the boundaries of individual societies or nations (Shannon, 1989:20). This social system starts from three basic assumptions: 1) there is one expanding world economy; 2) there are multiple expanding states; and 3) production interrelations, intra- and interstate politics are framed by the capital-labor relationship (Münch, 1994: 95; Hopkins *et. al.*, 1982). In this setting, for Wallerstein, the international division of exploitation is defined not by state borders but by the economic division of labor in the world (Ritzer, 2000: 291). Here, owing to dependency theory, Wallerstein defines three kinds of societies, which are structured by the role they play in the system. As it can be seen in Figure 1, there is the *core area*, which dominates the world economy and exploits the rest, a *periphery*, from where the raw materials are extracted, and finally a *semi periphery*, which is a residual category that encompasses a set of regions located somewhere between the previous two.

Figure I
Relationships in the World Economy



Source: Shannon, 1989: 29

By defining four types of world-systems, Wallerstein assumes a historical materialist approach to changes in history. Thus, the current world-economy has been preceded by two other systems; mini-systems and world-empires. In turn, this world economy will succeeded by world-socialism. Describing each of the systems, Wallerstein states that mini-systems —which, according to him, would no longer exist— were primarily very simple agricultural or hunting and gathering societies. They were characterized by a complete division of labor within themselves and a single cultural framework. World-empires were the great civilizations of pre-modern times. They emerged from world-economies since "it turns out empirically that world-economies have been historically unstable structures leading either towards disintegration or conquest by one group and hence transformation into a world empire" (Wallerstein, 2000: 75).

World-empires and world-economies share a constitutive characteristic; they both have a single division of labor and multiple cultural systems. However, it is only with the

rise of capitalism in the sixteenth century that a new world-economy takes the place of the world-empires (with the obvious interregnum of the feudal system). It is today's world-economy that was able to arise from feudalism for three reasons: geographical expansion through exploration and colonization; development of different methods of labor control for zones (e.g. core and periphery); and the development of strong states that were to become the core states of the emerging capitalist world economy (Ritzer, 2000: 292).

The specific application of this perspective to international migration relies on the idea that in "this scheme, the penetration of capitalist economic relations into peripheral, non–capitalist societies create a mobile population that is prone to migrate abroad" (Massey *et. al.*, 1993: 444). It explains why certain relations between countries produce migration flows in both directions. According to Arango (2000: 290), migration stems from unequal relations between countries in the world-system; but "contrary to equilibrium models, it reinforces the inequality instead of leading to its reduction". In this sense international migration is a result of counter flows of foreign capital to the peripheral world (Massey *et. al.*, 1993).

The common critique of the world-systems perspective is that by trying to create an all-explaining historical social science and by choosing the world-system as the analytical unit, this perspective has centered its analysis on economic relations and assumed that the interests of capital were the ones that determined the outcomes of relations in the world-system (Wallerstein, 2004; Castles and Miller, 2003). Wallerstein responds that his analysis is not based on the economic system, but in the world-system, which in its contemporary form happens to be centered in an expanding capitalist system, as was

Rome's military system in a previous era. With regard to the participation of individuals, Wallerstein points out that the social actors, just as other elements in the system, are the product of a process:

> They are not primordial atomic elements, but part of a systemic mix out of which they emerged and upon which they act. They act freely, but their freedom is constrained by their biographies and the social prisons of which they are part. Analyzing their prisons liberates them to the maximum degree that they can be liberated (Wallerstein, 2004: 21)[4].

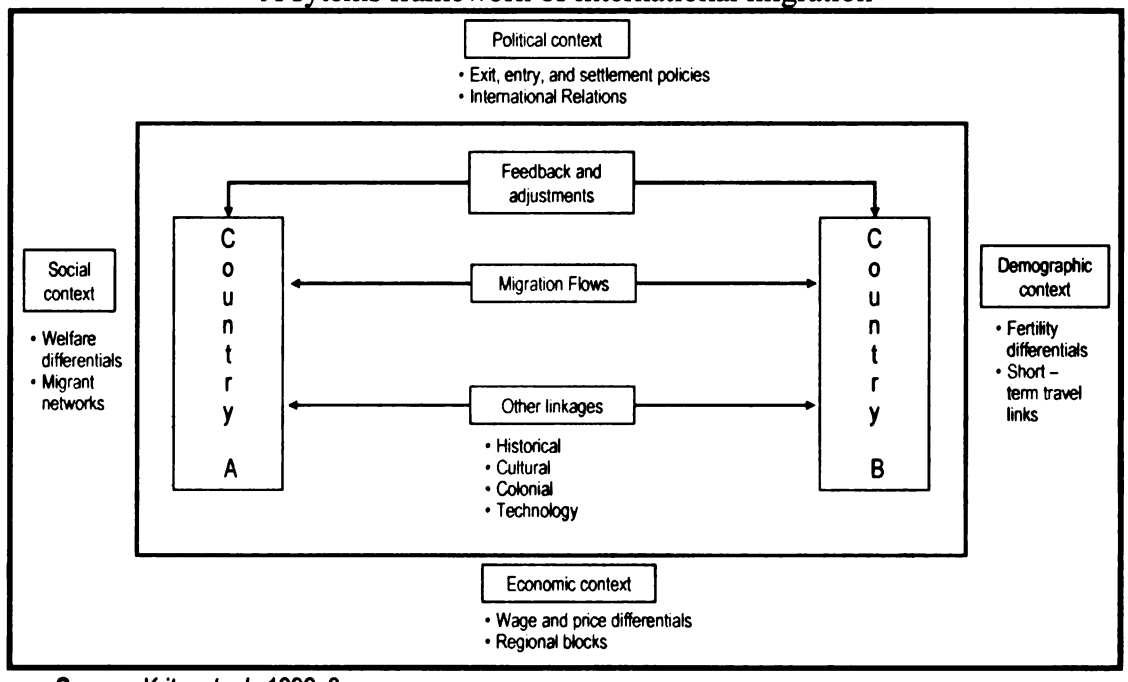
Castles and Miller (2003: 26) point out that "out of such critiques emerged a new approach, *migration systems theory*, which attempts to include a wide range of disciplines and to cover all dimensions of the migration experience", although for other authors (Massey *et. al.*, 1993) this migration systems theory is more a generalization following from previous theories such as world-systems, network theory, cumulative causation and others. For this paper, migration systems theory is considered as a thorough application of world-systems theory to the specifics of international migration, incorporating individual decisions through an analysis of migratory networks and considering the system as the unit of analysis. Within this unit several transnational exchanges and interactions take place, including migration. According to Kritz *et. al.* (1992: 1), "underlying those transnational exchanges and interactions are a range of political systems and disharmonious levels, rates and strategies of economic and demographic growth that encourage people to migrate".

[4] It is possible to observe here Marx's influence in Wallerstein: "It is not the consciousness of men that determines their existence, but, on the contrary, their social existence that determines their consciousness" (Marx, in the Preface to A *Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy.)*

At the same time, migration systems theory is a more comprehensive approach that loosely relates to the classic idea of push-pull. In the latter, migrants do not decide their migration; instead, they are constrained by structural factors that expel them from their country of origin and/or attract them to the destination country. Migration systems theory considers that these factors are present in the migration processes. However, they are just stimuli that "can be best addressed by a systems framework" (Kritz *et. al.*, 1992: 2), since the causes of international migration and its impacts must include all the dynamics associated with how the flow is initiated, its changes, and the related effects that shape migration. These authors represent migration systems as shown in Figure 2. In this analytical framework, they present all the different and interdependent relations in the system and how these relate to international migration. For them, a migratory system is constituted by at least two (but generally more) countries that exchange relatively large numbers of migrants with each other (Kritz *et. al.*, 1992).

Figure 2 shows that in a two-country system, both countries send and receive migrants. The magnitude of these flows depend on which country is relatively more developed, since the more developed country will receive more migrants and is the origin of other flows such as capital. The two key dimensions of space and time must be taken into account. Space is defined by the geographical setting, while time is essential to capture the dynamics of the flows. As Kritz *et. al.* (1992: 4) put it, "a historical perspective on migration allows one to identify the pattern of interactions between

Figure II
A sytems framework of international migration



Source: Kritz, *et. al.*, 1992: 3

migration and, on the one hand, structural conditions in the countries of origin and destination within a system and, on the other, economic and political linkages between those countries". These linkages are set in a changing relation where the contexts will set the tone for changes in the flows of migrants, through changes in policies, hegemonies, wages and conformation of networks among others.

The current world-system has defined the structure of migration from the Southern Cone to the United States. Thus, analyzing this migration by operationalizing the system through the context of a shared history, interrelations between the U.S. and the Southern Cone, and their mutual influences can provide us with a very useful tool to understand the high and low moments of these migration flows.

A SHORT HISTORY OF INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION IN THE AMERICAS

International migration in the Americas, and particularly in the Southern Cone, was defined by the nascent nations as a way to populate the vast and empty[5] domains. It was in this context that these countries promoted several policies with the objective of encouraging immigration. Argentine intellectual and politician Juan Bautista Alberdi epitomized this development strategy through his campaign slogan and government motto, "*to govern is to populate*". Greater populations would mean a thorough control of the newly defined national borders, a larger and better prepared greater army, more production and a national identity defined in opposition to Spanish and Native identities. The mixture between Spanish and Native identities was seen as the reason for the lack of development of these countries (Pellegrino, 2000). Public policies that were meant to populate the "empty" lands of the new countries were directed not only to attract immigrants, but also to bring the "precise" human resource. This meant free northern European immigrants that would increase population and technological, economic and, most important, cultural development (Alba, 1992). Of the more than 12 million immigrants that arrived to Latin America between 1821 and 1932, about half of them stayed in Argentina, a third in Brazil, and close to 800,000 in Cuba and Uruguay, with the remaining immigrants going to other countries of the region (Pellegrino, 1995). This migration had an enormous impact on the receiving societies; they helped form labor

[5] Empty is how the American governments saw their lands; which were, however, populated by natives. Their populations were that in most cases were finally decimated by the government or by the immigrants themselves.

movements and universities, increased commercial ties with their countries of origin and so on. These flows stopped right after the First World War, and briefly resumed at the end of World War II, when close to two million people came to Latin America, mainly as refugees. After 1950 this mass migration from Europe stopped and a different, equally important process emerged: *intraregional migration* (Pellegrino, 1995 y 2000; Alba, 1992; CEPAL/CELADE, 1999).

Migration within Latin America is not a new phenomenon. Geographic proximity has made the current national borders permeable to intraregional migrants, along with the presence of a relatively close cultural background including language, ethnic and historical connections, and (in most cases) membership in the same administrative entities during the colonial period (Pellegrino, 1995). These flows increased their participation share of the migration in Latin America as flows from overseas started to decrease between the late 1930's and the 1960's. This migratory process is closely related to an increase in economic growth, associated with changes in development and demographic policies. Originally directed to those countries with a relatively higher development such as Venezuela or Argentina (Balán, 1992), Pellegrino (1995 and 2000) and Alba (1992) consider that these population movements are a continuation of internal migrations, closely related to the movements of seasonal workers than moved between different rural areas or towards industrial areas in a neighboring country closer to their places of origin.

In the early 1960's this intraregional migration begins to decrease in importance (Pellegrino, 2000) mainly due to economic and political crises in the region. At the same time migration flows towards the United States start to increase, influenced in some cases

by the rise of military governments in many Latin American countries in the 1970's. The external debt crisis in 1982, the IMF's structural adjustment programs, and civil wars in Central America in the 1980's (Alba, 1992: 102) mark another inflexion moment in this migration process.

Economic and political changes in the Southern Cone, which began in the mid 1980's but consolidated during the early 1990's, changed the migration patterns in the region. These new patterns included new countries of reception and new areas of origin. The Argentine crisis of 2001 produced a new wave of emigrants, but this time mainly to Western Europe. This region has become an extremely important destination for new migrants from the Southern Cone, although the United States remains as the main receiving country.

THREE IMPORTANT MOMENTS: THE LAST FIFTY YEARS IN THE HISTORY OF THE SOUTHERN CONE OF SOUTH AMERICA[6]

According to Skidmore and Smith, the period between 1880 and 1990 in Latin America can be divided in five phases of modernization. These phases, with some differences in the years of applications of certain policies, or in a military *coup* are common to all the countries that are analyzed here.

For these authors the five phases are: 1) Initiation of export – import growth (1880 – 1900); 2) Expansion of export – import growth (1900 – 1930); 3) Import – substituting industrialization (1930 – 1960); 4) Stagnation in import – substituting growth (1960 – 1980); and 5) Crisis, debt and democracy (1980 – 1990). Although these phases explain fairly well the changes that Latin America went through during the 20th century, the particularities of the Southern Cone demand a slightly different definition. In the case of this region, the second half of the 20th century can be divided into three sub-periods: 1) Industrialization by import substitution and the Alliance for Progress (1930 – 1970); 2) Military Governments and exile (1970 – 1990); and 3) Democratization processes (1984 – 1992).

The relations between the Southern Cone and the United States have been the axis along which these processes have built up. In this sense, the hegemonic influence that the United States has tried to achieve in the Americas is not new, and does not start with the Cold War. This is a long term process that can be traced back to the Monroe Doctrine, the

[6] This section is base upon Garretón, 1989; Lambert,1997; Marshall, 1988; Nahum, 1999; Skidmore, 2001 and Whitaker, 1975

first Pan-American meetings, the independence of Panama and the power vacancy left by the British Empire after the First World War.

Industrialization by import substitution and the Alliance for Progress (1930 – 1970)

The economic crisis of the 1930's, which began in the industrialized countries, presented Latin American governments with the need to change their previous development policies. The new policies centered in the creation of national industries, which were intended to remove national economies from dependence on foreign manufactured products at the same time as promoting the concentration of the production for national markets. Although the new policy, known as the ISI model—an acronym in Spanish for "Industrialization by Import Substitution"—had different impacts and outcomes in Latin America, it was considered until the 1970's to be a successful development policy. Most of the countries had sustained economic growth between 1950 and 1978, achieving on average a yearly rate of 5.5% (Pellegrino, 2000: 20). At the same time, the relatively more advanced countries in the region were going through the second stage of the demographic transition, defined by low mortality, high fertility and a resulting increase in total population. This occurred simultaneously with an increase in migration from rural areas to the more developed cities, which in turn resulted in increased urbanization. The enormous social changes happening in the cities led to an increase in the migration from rural areas which in turn resulted on an increased urbanization.

At the end of this period, however, the ISI model failed mainly for two reasons. On the one hand Latin American economies did not have the market size to consume all the

production while, on the other, the model suffered from a structural dilemma that finally caused its fall. One of the pillars of this model was protection of the national industries through high import taxes. This meant that every part of the manufacturing process had to be locally produced, including machinery and its components. Replacements parts, necessary to keep the manufacturing process in operation, were too expensive to be imported and were not produced in Latin America. Factories began to close; government subsidies stopped due to lack of income and a new economic crisis began. This crisis had major effects not only in the economies of the countries but also in their social and political systems. Several democratic —or semi-democratic as in Argentina— populist governments tried to solve the economic crisis, with few positive effects. The end of foreign aid devoted to development and the increase in direct political intervention and military aid to "loyal" armed forces from the United States had a direct impact on the countries of the Southern Cone. By the end of September 1973, all the countries of the region were governed by extremely oppressive military juntas.

The role of the United States in this period is principally marked by the *Alliance for Progress*. This was a program established by President Kennedy in the 1960's to promote development and social justice in the continent through loans targeted to rural areas. The Alliance for Progress can be easily understood as a second stage of the good neighbor policy. This U.S. foreign policy was designed to deter and oppose the spread of communism and the Cuban revolution in other Latin-American countries. This program had different results depending on the country, with Chile the country that received the greatest share of loans. Its chief problem was that it consisted mainly of nondiscretionary aid. This meant that economic resources were poorly used to buy expensive and

monopolized agricultural equipment and to pay high interest on loans obtained in U.S. banks. The Nixon era during the late 1960's produced a decline in official support to the Alliance for Progress, and foreign policy changed to provide more military support and direct support to right wing politicians and paramilitary groups. By 1970 it was clear that the Alliance had failed, and it was never implemented again.

Military support, such as educational exchange between military schools and equipment sales, had as an objective the indoctrination of Latin-American militaries in U.S. policies; it started in the 1950's with the founding of the "School of the Americas". Its objective was to train Latin American militaries in counter-insurgency, antiterrorism and anticommunist ideologies. From this education center emerged many officers that later helped to lead military coups and direct secret police. They designed what became *Operation Condor*, a joint effort of the military forces of the Southern Cone to eliminate left wing dissidents in any country of the region without regard to their nationality. This had deeper consequences for the countries of the Southern Cone and represents a much more direct influence than the good willed "Trojan horse" of the Alliance for Progress.

Military governments and exile (1970 – 1990)

By the end of 1973, each country of the Southern Cone was under a military government. These dictatorships were the most repressive and bloody that ever existed in the continent. Although it is not possible to prove that the United States government directly participated in the coups, it has been proven that the U.S. gave direct support to the militaries of these countries, provided support for anti-government propaganda, and helped eliminate terrorist groups such as the Uruguayan Tupamaros.

The military governments in power in the Southern Cone during the 1960's, 1970's and 1980's felt that they had an historical project; their leaders portrayed themselves as the new liberators, always comparing themselves with the founding fathers of these nations. In all the countries under study, military governments were politically active and can be defined as right wing populists. They saw themselves as destined to save their countries from the claws of Marxism and moral, social and economic decadence. Even if they were not supported by the United States at the moment of the coups, they were later tolerated and even applauded by the U.S., at least until the early 1980's.

Besides being regimes of torture and killing, these dictatorships were also responsible for the biggest political exile in the continent. More than 230,000 Uruguayans, (roughly 8% of the total population in 1975), 400,000 Chileans (close to 4.5% of its population in 1970)[7], and a minimum of 500,000 Argentineans (more that 2.1% of the total population in the early 1970s) had to leave their countries during the military governments. A significant number of these exiles never returned to their countries of origin.

During this period, these countries also experienced the crisis of external debt. It began in Mexico in 1982 and rapidly spread to the rest of the continent. In every country in the region unemployment soared, poverty increased and social discontent rose. The 1980's have been called the "lost decade" due to the lasting impact of this crisis in the development of Latin America. This economic crisis, the lack of support of the government of the United States to the military dictatorships after 1980 and specific internal political problems led to the beginning of the democratization processes. Argentina and Uruguay in 1984 and Chile in 1988–1990 began to democratize their

[7] cf. Stern, 2004

institutions, and free elections were allowed again. However, several constraints were placed by the military to avoid being judged for crimes against humanity. Some of the countries of the Southern Cone have been able to take these people to court, while others have presented amnesties as a way to protect their democracy.

Democratization processes (1984 – 1992)

The democratization process in these countries has been a permanent struggle between maintaining and changing the economic and social structures inherited from the military governments. This struggle has lead to processes of creating a new national identity, in order to cope with the human rights abuses of the dictatorship, economic crisis and migration. In the case of Uruguay, the economic crisis that destroyed the first military government is said to remain unsolved. More than a third of Uruguayan youth live abroad. Argentina's economic system collapsed in the year 2000, producing new waves of migration. Chile's economic growth has produced at least three new forms of migration; transnational executives, tertiary education students and those that do not fit or that are left out of economic growth. With regards to immigration, all the countries implemented return policies in order to recover some of their exiled populations, with varying success. Argentina has maintained its position as the main receiver of immigrants in the Southern Cone, despite high levels of unemployment and recurring economic crises. Chile has began to receive new migration flows, especially from neighboring countries, pulled by an over-publicized socio-economic tranquility and stable political order.

METHODOLOGY AND ANALYTICAL PROPOSAL: FLOWS FROM A HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

As mentioned before, the goal of this study is to analyze the changes in migration flows from the Southern Cone to the United States with relation to macro socio-historical processes occurring close to the moment of migration. The data presented in this paper is composed of second-hand statistical data, namely people admitted as immigrants from the countries under study.

This data originates from the annual reports and annual yearbooks of the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) between 1960 and 2001, and after 2002 of the Department of Citizenship and Immigration Service (USCIS). Detailed information for the selected countries was only available for the years 1962 to 1978, since after this year the INS decided to include only the data for the ten most significant countries of origin, and so the countries of the Southern Cone do not appear as separate entities but as a category labeled "other countries". Another difficulty is that the data distinguishes between several different kinds of travelers to the United States, namely visitors, refugees, internationally adopted orphans and admitted immigrants. This last group is key to the analysis presented here and is defined by the INS (1997) as:

> An alien admitted to the United States as a lawful permanent resident. Immigrants are those persons lawfully accorded the privilege of residing permanently in the United States. They may be issued immigrant visas by the Department of State overseas or adjusted to permanent resident status by the Immigration and Naturalization Service in the United States.

This excludes from the analyses those people that entered the United States as visitors and overstayed their visas, undocumented immigrants and other non-regulated immigrants. A third problem is that, since the data only show admitted immigrants, it is not possible to confirm that they are still residing in the country and have not left. On the other hand, this visa data is available for each year, thus facilitating an analysis of *migratory flows* and permitting a comparison of this data with the socioeconomic and political situations that are occurring in a specific area of the world, to determine how they affect migration trends to the United States.

Historical events and personal decisions in international migration

International migration flows and stocks only provide information on when the immigrants and foreign born arrived, their numbers[8] and characteristics. It is not possible to know why they decided to migrate or how this decision was made. The historical framework presented above can help the researcher hypothesize as to which events produced an effect that led the individual or family to migrate. Assuming that the theories presented here are valid and can explain international migration, a macro explanation of migration from the Southern Cone to the United States can be attempted by analyzing the data provided in relation to previous historical processes occurring during the arrival of immigrants.

It is not possible to know how long the migrant planned or anticipated their move before finally arriving in the United States. It is possible, however, to assume that people

[8] With the permanent problem of how to count undocumented workers; something that it is not included in this paper.

endured the historical events that affected their decision to migrate for some time[9]. This paper assumes that this period lasts for between one and two years. This means that events that happened in a determined year can be compared with the immigration counted two years after in the host country. This premise is supported by the following argument: except in a refugee situation where lives are in danger, people take some time to make such an important decision. It might be assumed that on average the decision making process takes around a year, and also that government officials take some time —perhaps around six months— to provide the documentation that will allow the immigrant to enter the United States. To solve this, I will analyze the flows, measured as the number of people admitted in the United States with an immigrant visa, as well as the absolute and relative changes in the number of immigrants admitted over one and two year periods. Absolute changes are defined as the arithmetic difference between two periods, and relative change as the percentile change with relation to the previous year.

Considering these premises, arguments and the theoretical and historical backgrounds described, I will analyze the flows of immigrants with relation to the three historical periods presented above.

[9] Unless it is a very specific humanitarian case

MIGRATION FROM THE SOUTHERN CONE TO THE UNITED STATES FROM THE 1960'S: A SYSTEMIC ANALYSIS

In general it is possible to conclude from the data analyzed that the historical events did have impacts on the migration flows. The economic crisis and military governments caused a steady increase in migration from the Southern Cone countries to the United States. It should be pointed out that there is a steady, background level of migration that might have other or older origins, and in critical periods this migration is increased by people that respond to different crises by migrating.

As we observe in Table 1, the selected countries represent only a small portion of the total migration to the United States during this period. People from Argentina, Chile and Uruguay have a maximum share of 1.99% in the five year period between 1960 and 1964 and a minimum of 0.49% in the period 1995 – 1999. Compared with other regions, North America and Europe have historically the greatest percentages of immigrants with maximums of 51.7% (1990 – 1994) and 55.91% (1953 – 1959) respectively. Comparing the selected countries with the remaining countries of South America, it is possible to observe that, in the 50 year period under analysis, the participation of the selected countries decreases from 26.8% to 8.8%. This is clearly explained by increases in other countries such as Colombia, for example. If we compare the total numbers, the migration from the selected countries increases around 14,000 immigrants in the period (from 14,073 to 28,728); this 100% increase is particularly small compared with the South

Table I

United States (1953 – 1979): Immigrants admitted by country or region of birth

	Place of birth	1953 - 1959	1960 - 1964	1965 - 1969	1970 - 1974	1975 - 1979[2]	Years 1980 - 1984
Country of Birth	Argentina	10,537	21,192	20,423	11,355	14,391	11,286
	Chile	3,536	5,843	5,793	5,069	10,799	10,410
	Uruguay	...	1,23[illegible]	2,294	3,062	4,574	3,959
	Total Selected Countries	14,073	28,269	28,510	19,486	29,764	25,655
	Other South America	38,419	71,862	90,709	85,188	132,190	158,970
Region of Birth	South America	52,492	100,131	119,219	104,674	161,954	184,625
	North America[1]	600,498	552,367	754,693	717,835	891,484	868,449
	Africa	11,080	11,756	21,710	34,336	51,291	73,858
	Asia	114,011	112,349	249,739	572,157	918,362	1,347,705
	Europe	994,619	636,114	638,466	478,687	368,266	330,933
	Oceania	6,001	6,200	10,887	15,714	20,869	19,299
	Unknown	143	96	22	10	2	77
	Total	1,778,844	1,419,013	1,794,736	1,923,413	2,412,228	2,824,946

[1] From 1962 to 2004 North America included Canada, Mexico, Central America and the Caribbean

[2] In 1977 the fiscal year used to count the admittance of immigrants changed from June 30 to September 30.

... No data available

Source: U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service, Annual Yearbook, Table 14 (1962 – 1978), Table 13 (1979 – 1981), Table IMM 1.3 (1982 – 1984), Table 3 (1997 – 2004)

Table II

United States (1985 – 2004): Immigrants admitted by country or region of birth

	Place of birth	Years				Total[3]
		1985 – 1989[2]	1990 - 1994	1995 - 1999	2000 - 2004	
Country of Birth	Argentina	12,081	18,345	9,086	17,306	146,002
	Chile	11,623	12,246	7,015	8,648	80,982
	Uruguay	3,668	4,418	2,022	2,774	28,005
	Total Selected Countries	27,372	35,009	18,123	28,728	254,989
	Other South America	198,771	287,350	229,168	297,772	1,590,399
Region of Birth	South America	226,144	322,359	247,291	326,500	1,845,389
	North America[1]	1,471,535	3,126,192	1,403,915	1,749,098	12,136,066
	Africa	95,688	153,653	220,496	273,995	947,863
	Asia	1,367,523	1,704,705	1,260,655	1,532,038	9,179,244
	Europe	333,031	712,197	579,102	710,498	5,781,913
	Oceania	19,890	27,081	21,959	27,143	175,043
	Unknown	86	148	2,340	10,554	13,478
	Total	3,513,896	6,046,335	3,735,758	4,629,826	30,078,995

[1] From 1962 to 2004 North America included Canada, Mexico, Central America and the Caribbean

[2] There is no data available for 1985. Data for 1985 was calculated as an average of the period 1983 – 1987.

[3] Total is the sum of tables I and II and does not implies that the mentioned number of immigrants are today residing in the U.S.

... No data available

Source: U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service, Annual Yearbook, Table 14 (1962 – 1978), Table 13 (1979 – 1981), Table IMM 1.3 (1982 – 1984), Table 3 (1997 – 2004)

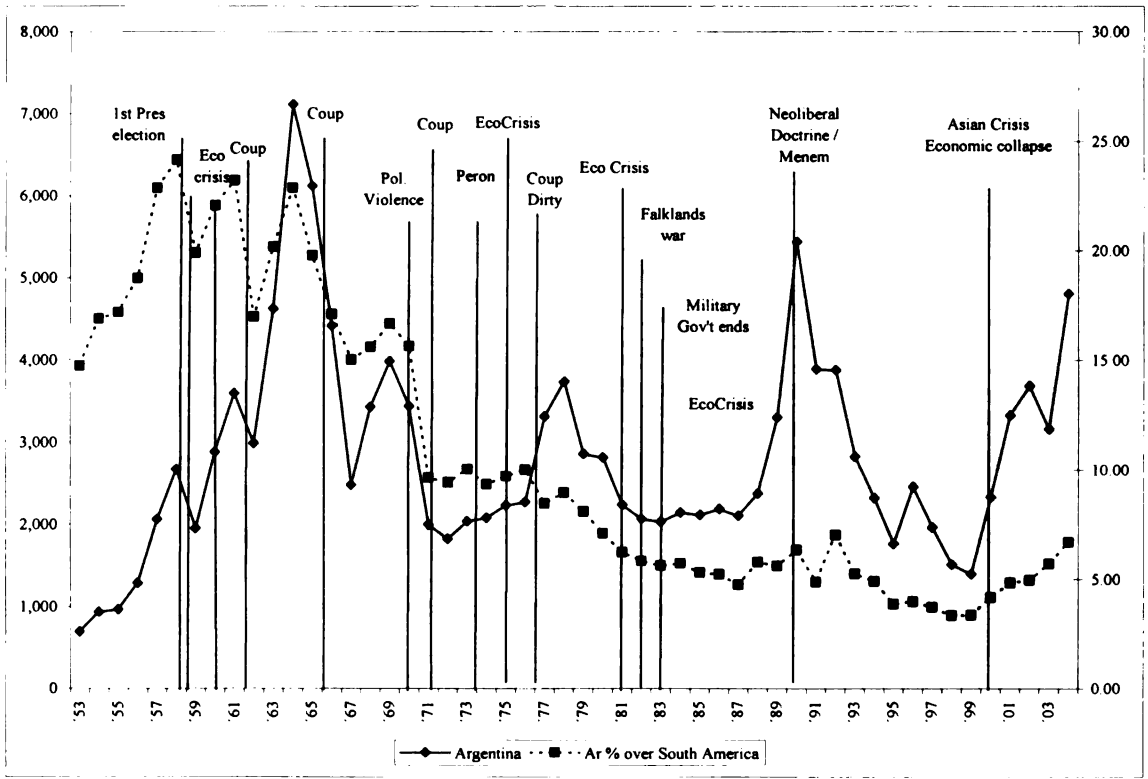
American increase of close to 240 000 immigrants in the same period (from 38,419 to 297,772); a growth of 600%. In general, the number of immigrants admitted increases in the United States from over 1.7 million to 4.6 million; every region of the world increases its number at least four fold, except for Europe which shows a reduction of almost 200,000 immigrants every five year period, with a minimum of close to 330,000 immigrants admitted in 1980 – 1984.

The case of Argentinean immigrants admitted to the United States differs from those of Chileans and Uruguayans, although it is possible to clearly see the effects of sociopolitical changes and economic crisis. In the first place, a continuous political and economic crisis takes place in the period studied. It is possible to count a minimum of nine military coups and economic crises between 1959 and 1990. This leads, second, to some interesting migratory flows. There are sharp increases in the total number of migrants from Argentina in 1964, 1977, 1990 and 2001. The first two coincide with military coups and the others, with economic crises. The number of sociopolitical crises does not, however, result in a continuous increase of emigration, at least from the analysis of those admitted[10]. From the original sharp increases in the 1960's, there is a reduction in the yearly number of admitted immigrants, which can be explained by a smaller number of visas given or by a sort of resilience towards crisis that reduces the need to migrate. Since it is not possible to prove or disprove the first assumption, we will focus on the second.

[10] From this source it is not possible to know how many Argentineans requested a visa and were denied.

Figure III

United States (1953 - 2004): Total immigrants admitted from Argentina by year and percentage of immigrants over total South American immigrants.



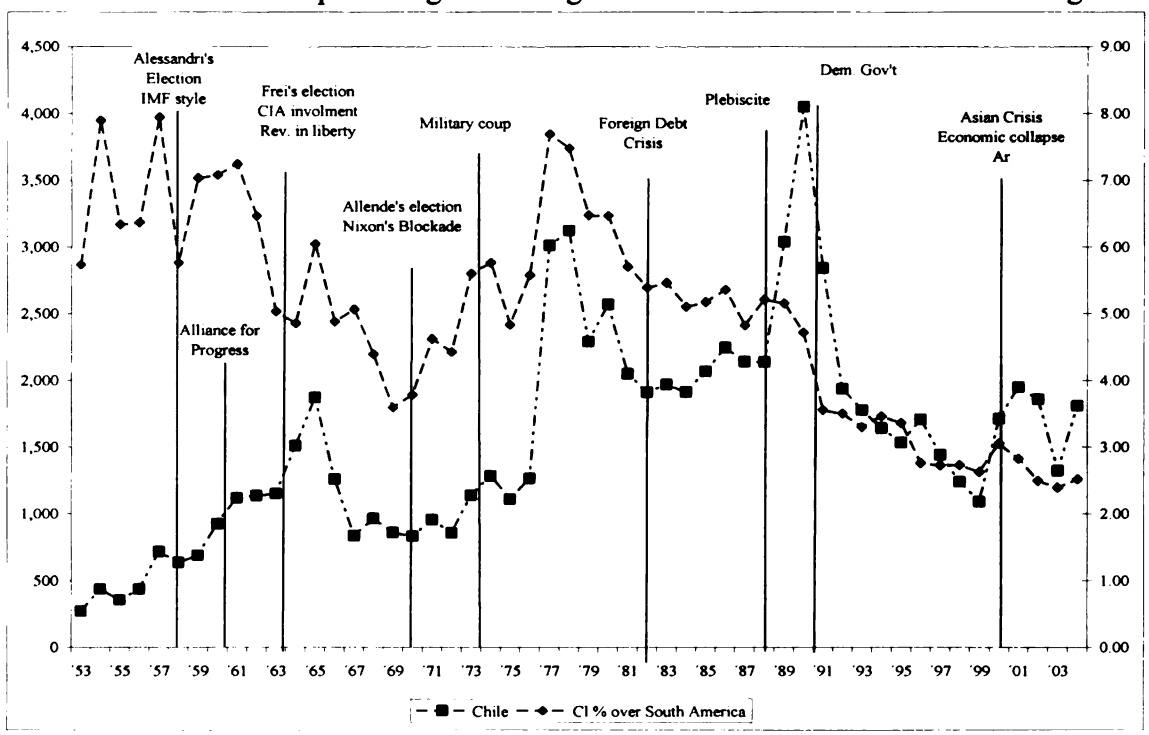
Analyzing the data presented here, it is possible to define three "generations" of Argentinean migration to the United States. The first generation contains those that migrated due to political reasons and left the country in the 1960's. Although there is migration in the 1970's and 80's, these were directed to the U.S. only in reduced numbers. The second generation leaves the country in the late 1980's and early 1990's, and is clearly related to the economic crisis that ended the Government of Alfonsín, and the neoliberal structural adjustments of the first year of Menem's government. Finally, these same structural adjustments led to a new crisis in the year 2001 that produced a total economic collapse; migration triples between 2000 and 2004. Analyzing the changes

in migratory flows through absolute and relative changes confirms the relation between migration and socio-political or economic situations. There are sharp increases between years, at least one for every critical period, but it is not possible to prove or show why the increases are not always the year immediate after the crisis.

Chilean migration is clearly defined by the military government and 1982's economic crisis. There is a "normal" rate of migration to the United States of between one and two thousand migrants a year. In this case, it is also possible to define three major moments in migration to the United States. The first, in the early 1960's, is probably related to an expulsion process stemming from a continuation of rural to urban migration and industrialization. In this period, there is also strong migration to Canada and Australia. The second moment is clearly related to the military government, as the increase coincides with the most severe repression. The third interesting moment is just before the new democratic government is sworn in, in 1990. This moment cannot be explained by the democratization process itself. It probably can, however, be explained by changes in the quota migration policies in the United States. This it could explain the sharp increase in migration; it does not explain, however its immediate decline afterwards

Figure IV

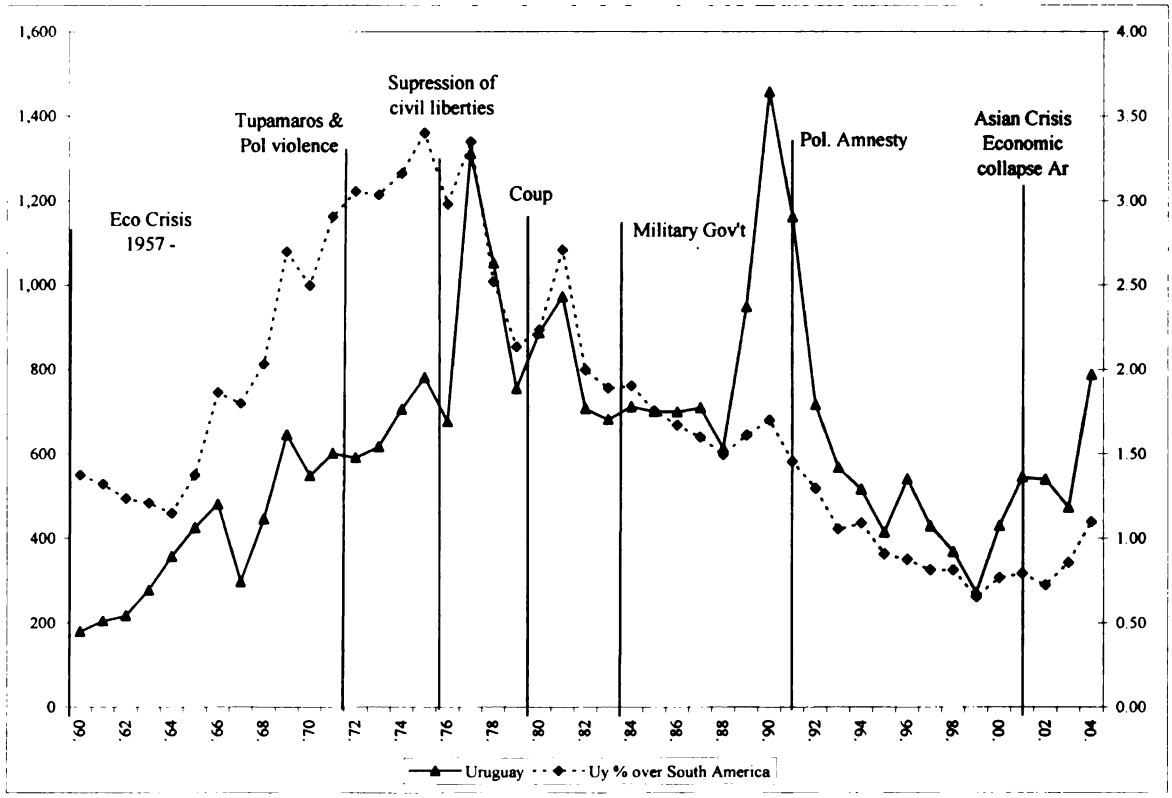
United States (1953 - 2004): Total immigrants admitted from Chile by year and percentage of immigrants over total South American immigrants.



Uruguay presents a similar dynamic to Chile, but with smaller numbers, reflecting Uruguay's smaller population, close to a third of Chile's. The difference is the permanent structural economic crisis that Uruguay has suffered since the late 1950's. According to some sources, close to a third of its youth live abroad. In this case, the emigration relates closely to political situations such as political violence and military coups. There is a sharp increase in migration just before ex-military members charged with human rights abuses were given political amnesty (the same case as in Chile?). Also the dependence of this small country can be observed in the increase of emigration after Argentina's economic collapse in 2001.

Figure V

United States (1960 - 2004): Total immigrants admitted from Uruguay by year and percentage of immigrants over total South American immigrants.



CONCLUSION

Using the available data, with all its pitfalls and opportunities, it has been only possible to present a *post hoc* analysis of international migration from the Southern Cone to the United States. From this analysis, it is safe to conclude that there is a migration system between the Southern Cone and the United States, since the influence of the center state has produced changes in the migration patterns and flows of the region under analysis.

In this case, these flows were affected by situations in the country of origin that were promoted or simply accepted by the central economy. It is important to notice, however, that to fully analyze the reasons behind migration, it is necessary to use a different methodology that provides first hand accounts of how the decisions were made; as the results presented here only tell part of the story of the migration process between the Southern Cone of America and the United States.

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