

Intraregional Migration in South America: Trends and a Research Agenda

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Abstract

This article contributes to the global dialogue attempting to incorporate South-South intraregional migration into policy and academic discussions by reviewing the dynamics, characteristics, and legal contexts of interregional migration in South America. We first present the historical formation of migratory subsystems and identify emerging trends. We then organize our revision along the main theoretical issues surrounding international migration and their significance in the region. These issues include motivation, contexts of origin and reception, migration dynamics, gender, race and ethnicity, immigrant adaptation, and migration policies. Next, we consider the study of South American migrations, both internal and international, to be a research agenda with significant potential to deepen our understanding of migrations in general and to propose new theoretical orientations that go beyond the questions already identified in the mobility from poorer to wealthier countries. We conclude with suggestions for a research agenda devoted to interregional migration in South America.

INTRODUCTION

International migration is a theme currently attracting enormous attention in the social sciences; it is a controversial topic in the sphere of public policy. South-North migration, or migration that occurs from poorer countries to wealthy democracies, nearly dominates that discussion. In this context, despite its long historical presence and increasing volume, South-South intraregional migration has remained relatively overshadowed (Campillo-Carrete 2013). Research and the debates surrounding international migration from Latin America have focused primarily on the massive migratory flows from Mexico and Central America to the United States and, more recently, to Europe. Comparatively, the migratory movements between countries in Latin America, as for intraregional migration in South America, have received less attention despite their numerical relevance (Pellegrino 1989a,b). According to our estimations, in the first decade of the new millennium, more than 3 million South Americans lived in a South American country other than the country in which they were born—a number greater than those residing in the United States (2.7 million) and Spain (2.0 million).

Today, the processes of regional integration and the recognition of migrant rights establish a particularly interesting framework to open the discussion on the role of intraregional migration in South America and its connection to processes of development. The characteristics of these migratory flows, in contrast to flows to industrialized countries, may contribute to a more general knowledge concerning population movements. Even though numerous studies on isolated themes concerning specific migratory flows have been conducted (as will be shown throughout this article), a global discussion that incorporates intraregional migration into the worldwide, international academic discussion on both international migration and migratory policies—achieved by revisiting the dynamics, characteristics, and legal contexts of this type of migration—is still lacking. This article is intended to be a contribution in that direction, as it provides a global revision of the knowledge surrounding the specific nature of intraregional migration in South America. We begin by presenting a historical review that emphasizes the formation of migratory subsystems in the region and identifies emerging trends. Rather than emphasize singular experiences in specific countries, we organize our discussion in terms of the main theoretical issues surrounding international migration. In this sense, we consider the motives for migration and their relationship to historical, sociopolitical, and economic aspects in the context of places of destination and origin; the migratory dynamic related to the idea of circularity and permanence; the emerging questions of gender and family, race, and ethnicity; the incorporation of migrants into their societies of destination; and finally the renewed discussion of migratory policies.

Our focus on international migrations is not meant to overshadow the theme of internal migration, which continues to be an important issue for these countries. We consider the study of South American migrations, both internal and international, to be a research agenda with tremendous potential to deepen our understanding of migrations in general, as well as to propose new theoretical orientations that go beyond the questions already identified in more wealthy countries. The review culminates, therefore, with a proposal for a research agenda concerning aspects of international migration that have not been sufficiently studied in the region.

THE CONTEXT OF INTRAREGIONAL MIGRATION IN SOUTH AMERICA

South America has transitioned through various migratory stages since the end of the nineteenth century to today (Villa & Martínez Pizarro 2000). Up until the end of World War II, the subcontinent attracted a healthy transatlantic migration that led to notable social and demographic impacts

within receiving countries.¹ What is less emphasized is that these flows coincided with transborder migratory movements that were initiated, in some cases, by seasonal labor demands in the agricultural sector (Ceva 2006). Once transatlantic migration was stopped during the world wars—and given the rapid postwar economic growth in some countries in the region—intraregional migration became particularly relevant. These movements would eventually become the result of processes of unequal regional economic development (Pellegrino 1989a, 1995). Next, a new stage of considerable emigration to industrialized countries would be ushered in, starting with the United States (Durand & Massey 2010, Pellegrino 2003, Villa & Martínez Pizarro 2000) and followed by Spain (Cerrutti & Maguid 2011, Reher & Requena 2009).²

Throughout recent years, three processes seem to have invigorated intraregional migration: the intensification of migratory barriers in northern countries, particularly for undocumented migrants; the international economic crisis and its impacts on sectors that generate labor opportunities for migrants in wealthy countries; and economic, social, and demographic changes in various countries throughout the region, particularly concerning significant gains in human development, productivity, and international markets (CEPAL 2012, UNPD 2013).³ The migratory flows within the region of South America appear to be not only increasing but diversifying with respect to places of origin, destinations, and migratory profiles, thus sharing common and specific traits with other South-South migratory flows such as those seen in the Asian Pacific region (Campillo-Carrete 2013, De Lombaerde et al. 2014, Hujo & Piper 2007). These new trends are present in earlier migratory subsystems as well as in the emergence of new countries of attraction.

MIGRATORY SUBSYSTEMS IN SOUTH AMERICA

The Southern Cone: Argentina as a Receiving Point

The case of Argentina and its associated migratory system are of special relevance to the region now that the country has attracted important migratory currents.⁴ The end of the nineteenth century and the first years of the twentieth century saw a massive influx of transatlantic migrants into Argentina, with notable impacts from a demographic and social point of view. The population grew from 1.7 million inhabitants in 1869 to almost 7.9 million in 1914, with migration accounting for more than half of this growth (Recchini de Lattes & Lattes 1969). In 1914, practically 3 of every 10 people residing in Argentina were foreigners, and only 9% of these foreigners came from bordering countries (Martínez Pizarro & Reboiras Finardi 2008).

¹This is particularly true of Argentina and Brazil. According to Lattes (1986), Latin America received approximately 13.8 million immigrants from 1800 to 1970, the majority of whom went to the Southern Cone (primarily to Argentina). These migrations have been documented extensively (Devoto & Rosoli 1985; Germani 1955; Hatton & Williamson 1994; Merrick & Graham 1979; Nugent 1992; Recchini de Lattes & Lattes 1969, 1975).

²The global economic recession of the 1970s and 1980s would play a major role in throwing Latin American economies into debt. During the 1980s, Latin America experienced its lost decade [a term coined by ECLAC (Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean)] in terms of economic development, which was followed by the adoption of neoliberal economic models by many countries in the region (Portes & Roberts 2005). These policies wreaked havoc on labor markets and increased the already significant income inequality gap in the region (Portes et al. 2005), leading to the departure of hundreds of thousands of South Americans to northern countries.

³The economic growth in the region, accompanied by an increase in social spending per capita, meant that both the absolute number and the percentage of poor people had declined in Latin America, from 215 million in 1999 to 167 million in 2012 (implying a decrease in the percentage of poor people in the total population, from 43.9% to 28.8%) (CEPAL 2012).

⁴Although Argentina has historically been a migratory recipient, the country has also seen significant emigrations not only to wealthy democracies but also to countries in the region as a result of political-institutional crises (coups), highly skilled migrations, and economic crises (Calvelo 2007, Cerrutti & Maguid 2011).

This situation would begin to transform itself progressively: The influx of Europeans decreased and the country began to receive regional immigrants in growing numbers, although still on a smaller scale compared with the transatlantic migratory wave. This process, which was initiated in the middle of the twentieth century, is connected to the demand for labor after the implementation of an import substitution development model (Dorfman 1970). The growing need for industrial labor and services was a significant factor in attracting bordering migrants, who began to stream into the metropolitan region of Buenos Aires, the most attractive area of the country (Llach 1978, Marshall 1979).

The high rates of population growth in the early twentieth century (34.8 per 1,000 between 1895 and 1914) had fallen significantly by the middle of the century (17.1 per 1,000 between 1947 and 1960) (Recchini de Lattes & Lattes 1969), indicating lower population pressure in a context of increased job creation. Consequently, immigration from neighboring countries has intensified since the mid-1950s (Marshall & Orlansky 1981, 1983). Parallel to this process, rural-urban migration also grew very intensely, motivated by the same factors that stimulated regional immigration.

The main migratory currents into Argentina during the second half of the twentieth century were composed of citizens of neighboring countries, such as Uruguay, Chile, Paraguay, and Bolivia. These transborder migratory movements were initially motivated by seasonal labor demands in regional agrarian economies (Ceva 2006), and some of these groups had a long tradition of migration to Argentina. Such is the case for Bolivian men who, from the late nineteenth century until 1960, came to work in sugar mills in northern Argentina via mechanisms similar to the Mexican *braceros* (temporary agricultural work contracts) in the United States (Sassone 2012). With time and socioeconomic development of the country, many of these flows were refocused on the new demand for industrial labor and services in the metropolitan area of Buenos Aires, occurring in 1970, where more than one-third of the country's total population was concentrated (Lattes 1981).

The influx of immigrants to Argentina began to decelerate in the mid-1970s (after the last military coup of 1976) (Maguid & Bankirer 1993) but regained momentum again in the 1990s. One distinguishing feature of these regional migration processes is their flexibility and sensitivity to economic cycles of expansion and contraction (Pellegrino 1995). This is evident from the influx of immigrants in the early 1990s, which was motivated by a significant currency overvaluation. Because this process coexists with transformations in countries of origin, however, some changes were detected in the composition of the immigrants—the most noteworthy of which was the significant growth of Peruvian immigration to Argentina (Cerrutti 2005) along with the stagnation of Uruguayan and Chilean migration (Texidó & Gurrieri 2012).

The return dynamic, however, does not seem as linear. Indeed, the acute political and economic crisis experienced by Argentina in early 2000 did not have an impact in terms of a massive return, although it did result in the temporary detention of migrant flows. A few years later, starting in 2003, a very different situation arose marked by a strong demand for immigrant labor, accompanying the process of economic recovery and the establishment of a favorable political and regulatory climate for immigrants (Novick 2012a,b). The responsiveness of intraregional migration would again be tested: The stock of regional migrants increased by 41.4% (about 1.4 million) between the last two census dates.⁵

The immigration system, with its epicenter in Argentina, has experienced some changes in light of the new realities in both the countries of origin and the facilities provided for the establishment

⁵According to Argentina's 2010 population census, the most numerous groups in Argentina were Paraguayans (550,000), Bolivians (345,000), Chileans (191,000), Peruvians (156,000), and Uruguayans (116,000).

of nationals in South America. Not only have certain migratory flows virtually ceased, as is the case for migrants from Chile and Uruguay, but other traditional flows have increased significantly, as is the case for Paraguayan and Bolivian migrants. New groups with no previous migratory tradition to Argentina are also appearing, such as migrants from Peru and Colombia. Colombian migration to Argentina (and to a lesser extent migration from other nonbordering countries in the region) for both undergraduate and postgraduate studies has increased significantly due in large part to the facilities provided by the country in terms of public education at the university level.

The Greater Colombia: Venezuela as a Receiving Point

After gaining independence, Venezuela has also been a migratory attraction point. Beginning in the twentieth century, there was an influx of migrants from Spain and Italy, who first came to the country to escape the ravages of the Spanish Civil War and World War II. This period was defined by the open door policy that was initiated around 1936, which ended in 1958 under the dictatorial rule of Marcos Pérez Jiménez. However, the entry of a large number of regional immigrants into Venezuela intensified after the economic boom of the late 1960s and 1970s. Substantial oil revenues not only generated a high demand for low-skilled labor but also contributed to the expansion of high-income professional occupations that attracted immigrants from Colombia and other countries in the region (Pellegrino 1984; 1989a,b).

The main flow of migrants to Venezuela came from Colombia. According to Lelio Mármora (cited by Mejía Ochoa 2012), between 1963 and 1973 just over half a million people, predominantly males, emigrated from Colombia, almost all of whom were bound for Venezuela and to a lesser extent the United States, Ecuador, Panama, Canada, Peru, Chile, and Bolivia. Unlike what happened with the migratory system centered in Argentina, after the so-called Venezuelan oil boom, the country failed to attract a significant number of migrants. Toward the end of the 1970s, the Venezuelan economy began to deteriorate, showing significant decreases in annual growth rates of per capita gross product—a result of the decrease in international oil prices, lower overall productivity, and the inability of the country to move toward alternative sources of oil revenue growth (Hausmann & Rodríguez 2014). Declining employment opportunities and the weakening of the local currency helped promote flows of return migration. Pellegrino (1989a,b) estimated that, although between 1971 and 1979 the net migration balance registered 316,000 foreigners, between 1980 and 1984 this same balance showed the departure of 107,000 foreigners. In 2011, the number of foreigners residing in Venezuela totaled 1,156,578, a number only slightly larger than that recorded one decade earlier (1,015,538). Among these foreigners, the Colombian collective remains the largest in the region, totaling more than 600,000.

According to Massey et al. (1998), from a theoretical point of view studies on immigration to Venezuela are less defined than studies on immigration to Argentina, probably because the former must describe an atypical situation in which immigration and economic growth are driven by external sources, such as the oil boom, that are impossible to predict. Another distinctive feature is that this migration occurs within a context of high natural growth (in contrast to other places such as Western Europe, the United States, or Asian newly industrialized countries), providing employers with an alternative source of labor.

EMERGENT RECEIVING POINTS: CHILE AND ECUADOR

Until very recently, Chile had not been characterized as a country of intraregional migration. Historically, it has been a source of emigration to neighboring countries (Argentina), as well as to the United States and Europe. After a period of high emigration, particularly during the

military dictatorship of Augusto Pinochet, regional migrants (especially those from neighboring countries) began to be attracted to Chile in the mid-1990s with the advent of democracy and the economic revival of the country (Arias et al. 2010, Texidó & Gurrieri 2012). At present, the foreign population is low compared with the population as a whole, but this number grew significantly in the past decade (from 184,464 in 2002 to 339,536 in 2012). Peruvian natives compose the highest number of foreigners in Chile today, with twice as many Peruvians as Argentinians (the second-largest group). Much like what has happened in Argentina, the number of Colombian migrants in Chile has increased significantly, followed closely by migrants from Bolivia.

From a historical point of view, immigration in Ecuador has been insignificant. But recently, like Chile, the country has begun to attract regional migrants largely because its economy is dollarized. After a severe economic crisis, the country abandoned its local currency, the sucre, and adopted the US dollar as its official currency. The current situation is reflected in the evolution of the foreign population, as shown by the last two censuses, which grew in Ecuador from 104,130 in 2000 to 194,398 in 2012—almost a 90% increase. Most immigrants come from Colombia and Peru. Colombian citizens represent 49% of the total foreign population in Ecuador, and 98% of the refugees are recognized by the Ecuadorian State (Herrera Mosquera et al. 2012). The migration from Colombia could be considered mixed, or partly as a response to situations of forced migration and partly for economic reasons (Courtis 2011). Peruvian migrants, who also have a long-standing presence in Ecuador due to the shared border, work precarious jobs in informal trade, construction, banana agriculture, mining, and domestic service, and they are often undocumented. Traditionally, there has been a permanent flow and a circular seasonal migratory flow, the latter of which has been recognized in immigration law and bilateral treaties that facilitate circulation between the two countries (Herrera Mosquera et al. 2012).

INTRAREGIONAL MIGRATION ISSUES IN SOUTH AMERICA

Without being overly exhaustive, certain aspects of general issues surrounding international migration can be seen within these South American intraregional flows. These aspects include motivations for migration; movement dynamics; remittances and their subsequent impacts; connections between migration, family, and gender; processes of incorporation into societies of destination; and, strongly connected to all these aspects, migration policies and regional integration.

Diversity of Motivations and Contexts of Origin and Destination

When offering economic explanations of population movements, migration theories remain, in one form or another, heavily influenced by the emphasis on wage differentials between sending countries and primary receiving countries. Particularly for South-North labor migration, it is not difficult to attribute a significant part of the motivation to migrate to wage differentials. Without denying the importance of economic considerations, however, the limitations of this approach, which include its restricted ability to explain more specific questions such as the origin and destination of migrants, seasonal variations, circularity and return, or gender composition of migratory flows, have been highlighted extensively in the literature (Massey et al. 1998). These limitations become even more evident for intraregional migration in South America, given that wage differentials between countries in the region, although existent, are not as pronounced and that differences in living conditions are not as dissimilar as those observed between South and North.

Although the search for better opportunities is recognized as a migration constant, the studies reviewed tend to focus on historical and sociopolitical issues, as well as issues relating to violence, access to public services, and the permeability of borders, rather than simply calculate the difference

in income. Even in those studies that focus on economic dimensions, the emphasis is placed on structural issues surrounding labor markets and the demand for labor in countries of origin and destination, which do not always align with wage differentials.

Historical context of the movements. The emphasis on historical conditions is present in the majority of the work on migration in the region and is a dimension recognized by the migrants themselves in empirical studies concerning the motivating factors of these movements. Many of the movements observed today have precolonial roots and are perpetuated with a cultural logic that, in some circumstances, has become transnational. Referring to Bolivian migration to different destinations, Hinojosa (2008) points out that the roots of this movement date back to pre-Hispanic times, and that they continue today with a cultural logic that is indeed transnational in certain circumstances. In this sense “migration [intra-regional] was a constant in their [Bolivian migrants] survival and social reproductive practices” (Hinojosa 2008, p. 97).

The region shares pre-Columbian, colonial, and postcolonial origins, resulting in ethnic, linguistic, and cultural differences that are less pronounced than those seen in cases of migration from poor to wealthy countries. Moreover, the formation of nation-states resulted in somewhat random divisions that are not necessarily conducive to the establishment of such rigid boundaries that currently exist between, for example, the United States and Mexico or between Europe and its colonial territories. In academic studies, the historical base of migration is expressed, as a central theme of analysis, through the clear distinction between migration from neighboring countries versus non-neighboring countries (Pellegrino 1989a,b). The historical base of these movements has gained some permanence and daily predictability in terms of border migrations and has affected migration policy. For example, after interviewing Bolivian immigrants in Argentina, Mallimaci Barral (2012) found that the construction of Argentina as a destination is “obvious” and that migration is justified because it is perceived as “constant.” According to the author, “Such is the degree of routinization and prior knowledge—at the same time social, personal, practical, and internalized—that the forms and meanings of migrations to Argentina can be considered a *habitus*.” For contemporary studies, this finding implies a concern for separating the new migratory realities from the sustained and steady flows often described as traditional.

Political instability and violence. Within this historical constant, specific situations affect migration processes as well as variations in migratory flows. One situation of particular importance concerns political and social processes that, in various contexts, are connected with processes of violence and persecution. For decades, political instability has been a characteristic of South American countries. Throughout the twentieth century, a series of civil-military coups resulted in repressive regimes, torture, and terror in the region. These unfortunate circumstances promoted migratory processes for the politically persecuted and for citizens fleeing their countries out of fear of political constraint.

The migratory movements from Paraguay to Argentina are among the first of these flows. Although these flows, particularly those associated with agricultural activities, have older origins, the Paraguayan Civil War of 1947 resulted in the first experience of significant emigration from Paraguay to Argentina. The emigratory trends would deepen only a few years later with the establishment of Alfredo Stroessner’s lengthy dictatorship (1954–1989), which generated permanent (as opposed to seasonal) migratory movements (Balán 1985, Richards 1996). Stroessner’s exclusive policies resulted in the persecution of thousands of activists and political opponents, which in turn created one of the largest diasporas in Latin America (Sánchez 2012).

A succession of military coups in the Southern Cone took place in the 1970s that resulted in the intra-regional migration of exiles, but as authoritarian regimes were spreading throughout the

region, migratory flows to other places (e.g., Mexico, Spain, the United States, Australia) became more common. Of these coups, the first that had implications for intraregional migration occurred in Uruguay in June 1973 (lasting until 1985), leading to the establishment of a civilian-military dictatorship. Initially, the events in Uruguay resulted in a flow of political exiles to Argentina and Venezuela (Fortuna et al. 1987), although a significant portion of people with European origins headed for Spain and Italy, taking advantage of their citizenship status.

Although migration from Chile to Argentina has been sensitive to the circumstances of economic expansion or contraction, sociopolitical contingencies, in particular the breakdown of constitutional order and the establishment of the dictatorship of Augusto Pinochet between 1973 and 1991, promoted waves of Chilean exiles to migrate to Argentina (Matossian 2012). The coup resulted in a massive emigration. Between 1973 and 1984, the number of Chileans migrating to Argentina doubled to 213,623, the majority of whom were exiles and political refugees (Jensen & Perret 2011). This phase, unlike previous migrations, implies a certain breaking point, due to a significant increase not only in the number of emigrants but also in the diversity of destinations and profiles (Jensen & Perret 2011). These political exiles, unlike previous economic migrants, had higher educational profiles; traveled to large Argentine cities such as greater Mendoza, Buenos Aires proper, and districts of greater Buenos Aires; and came mostly from the metropolitan region of Santiago and (to a lesser extent) Valparaiso (Matossian 2012). Political exiles in the region from Chile arrived not only in Argentina but also in Venezuela and Brazil.

A few years after the military coup in Chile, Argentina also suffered the effects of state terrorism (1976–1983). As a result, Argentina not only became the recipient of migratory flows but also experienced periods of strong emigration linked to political instability. Indeed, political exile characterized Argentine emigration, particularly during the country's last military dictatorship (1976–1983). The volume of this migration was remarkable, especially regarding movements to Spain and the United States (Calvelo 2007, Bertonecello & Lattes 1986).

Political instability and conflict in Bolivia account for migration to Argentina. The military coup of Hugo Banzer in 1971 contributed to a political migration to Argentina with features similar to that of Chile; that is, migrants traveled to Buenos Aires and came from urban areas in Bolivia.

The most recent Peruvian migration to a range of destinations, including Argentina, Chile, and Ecuador, was also promoted partly by situations of political instability and violence, as well as economic factors. Peru, along with the other Andean countries, has been traditionally characterized as having a highly stratified social structure, high levels of poverty and social inequality, and significant ethnic diversity. Recently, from a political perspective, the country's situation has become critical, characterized by instability, frequent constitutional reforms, presidential crises, volatility in democratic institutions, and violence (Solimano 2003). According to Altamirano (2003), there is a strong correlation between the volume of migration from Peru and the political and economic stability of the country: The greater the economic and political crises become, the more migration increases (and vice versa). Altamirano notes that since 1987, aside from the increase in political violence, recessions and inflation have resulted in a dramatic increase in emigration. The scope of this conflict produced both internal and international population movements. This period was followed by one of greater political and economic stability, which lasted only until the late 1990s, when during the last presidency of Alberto Fujimori, Peru entered a period of authoritarianism, increased centralization of power, and instability of the legal apparatus, and saw the virtual disappearance of the rule of law. From an economic standpoint, the beginning of the 1990s would coincide with a significant economic crisis (Verdera 2001). In the new millennium, Peru would experience the highest rates of emigration in its history.

Emigration from Colombia is distinctive. While the departure of Colombians, as explained above, was prompted initially by external factors (such as the demand for labor in a context of

scarce opportunities), by the mid-1980s a second stage of emigration began, driven mainly by internal factors: the escalation of armed conflict and the economic crisis (Cárdenas & Mejías 2006). During this stage, Colombians began to migrate en masse to northern countries—first to the United States and later to Spain by the end of the 1990s. According to Guarnizo (2006), the mass emigration from Colombia in the late 1980s was a consequence of the adoption of structural adjustment policies, decreasing coffee prices, and the deterioration of the political, military, and social situation due to drug trafficking. According to Mejía Ochoa (2006), the expansion and consolidation of the drug trade not only promoted but facilitated emigration from Colombia. According to the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), Colombia has the largest number of internally displaced persons, totaling 3.7 million in 2011. In terms of external displacement, by the end of 2008 there were approximately 374,000 Colombian refugees (ACNUR 2010). Silva & Massey (2015) have demonstrated the strong link between violence and Colombian migration between 1986 and 2002.

The implications of the connection between migration and political processes in the region are being discussed. The recognition of these situations can be seen in the dialogue on migration policies and the rights of immigrants (primarily those from neighboring countries). The extent to which different national origins of immigrants affect their insertion into destination countries or other aspects of migration, such as the transitoriness and permanence of these migrants, remains unclear. In some cases, political processes are connected to networks of immigrants in their places of destination, showing that different origins imply the formation of different types of migrant organizations in receiving countries; for example, some organizations are purely political, connected with political parties in their countries of origin (Santillo 2001).

Labor markets and economic fluctuations. To understand labor migration, researchers recognize that the political and social dimensions do not detract from the importance of economic issues and unequal development among countries in the region. The search for employment opportunities in more dynamic markets than those found in migrants' countries of origin is documented in a series of studies on Bolivian and Paraguayan migrants in Argentina (Benencia 1997, 2003, 2005, 2012; Benencia & Karasik 1995; Bruno 2012; Cerrutti 2009a; Magliano 2007; Palau 1998), Peruvians in Chile, Ecuador, and Uruguay (Arriagada & Todaro 2012, Herrera Mosquera et al. 2012, Koolhaas & Nathan 2013), and Colombians in Venezuela during the oil boom (CEPAL 2001). These studies emphasize that need for labor in specific activity sectors in receiving countries is a driver of migration. In many ways, changing labor demand has led to a growing interest in the issue of migration and occupies a central place in political discussions.

In recent years, care services, a sector receiving increasing attention owing to its gendered connotations, has found itself in high demand. The demographic transition in the region has led to population reduction and aging while the participation of women with children in the labor market has increased. Situations included under the term care crisis have generated demand for immigrant labor in the care services, similar to what has taken place in industrialized countries such as Spain (Herrera 2005, Herrera Mosquera 2008). Arriagada & Todaro (2012) documented the recruitment—either direct or through networks—of Peruvian women to work in care services, as well as the formation of so-called global care chains. In Argentina, this process has been similarly noted with Peruvian and Paraguayan migration (Cerrutti 2005, 2009a; Sanchís & Rodríguez Enríquez 2010; Molano Mijangos et al. 2012). As a result, approximately 6 out of 10 Peruvian and Paraguayan immigrant women who work do so in care services, many of whom live in the homes of their employers. The type of labor demand affects the composition of migration flows. Peruvian women in Chile have lower levels of education than Peruvian men, and this shapes the migratory patterns for both men and women.

A less explored dimension in the literature, which is somewhat connected to the themes mentioned above, concerns the links between demographic change, educational expansion, and labor demand. South American countries have experienced to various degrees significant declines in fertility levels (with some countries reaching levels below the threshold of replacement), together with processes of expansion for educational coverage. Depending on the dynamics of labor markets and the composition of labor demands, niche demands are likely to be filled by immigrant labor. This interaction was observed in Argentina during the 1970s, when changes in the industrial sector, job classification, and the size of the country's native work force led to a need for workers from neighboring countries to meet internal labor demands (Llach 1978).

Finally, financial fluctuations affect migration in the region but are not directly related to labor market dynamics. In macroeconomic terms, countries exhibit different levels of development, but their relative position varies over time in connection with inflationary processes and exchange rate policies. This relationship is one of expulsion and attraction. For example, it is well known that economic crises and currency devaluations have helped drive populations to other (developed) countries. These processes are central to understanding migration to Spain, for example. Less recognized in academic circles outside the region, however, is the movement in the other direction, in which exchange rate policies affect the economic benefits of migration. For example, changes in the probability of migrating from Paraguay to Argentina are related more to exchange rate policy than to unemployment levels in Argentina (Parrado & Cerrutti 2003). In periods when the Argentine peso is overvalued, the probability of migrating to Argentina increases and the probability of returning to Paraguay decreases. This effect creates conditions in which immigrants can remain unemployed in the country of destination yet still obtain economic benefits, as any temporary job pays much more than it would in their country of origin. Another example is the strong attraction of Argentina's exchange rate policy in the early 1990s. A similar dynamic has been observed in Ecuador. The dollarization of the local currency in 2001 damaged the economic position of the country in the short-term, thereby encouraging emigration to the United States and Spain while also making Ecuador an attractive destination for Peruvians and Colombians, given that dollarized wages are much higher than wages in their countries of origin (Higgins de Ginatta 2007).

THE TEMPORARY NATURE OF INTRAREGIONAL MIGRATIONS

In principle, given the contexts in which migratory movements occur in the region, such as the fluidity of borders, the low cost of migration, and the socioeconomic contexts surrounding informal reception, it would be reasonable to expect a high level of circularity and transitoriness associated with migration. However, this theme has been scarcely studied, and we know relatively little about it (CEPAL 2001). In large part, this scarcity is due to a lack of data that capture these dynamics, especially when the data are not connected to agricultural work. Most studies rely on census data or cross-sectional surveys, which are much better at capturing stocks than flows of migrants. Also, given the usual limitations of the scope of surveys, temporary migrants are likely not represented when this method is used.

Historically, temporary transborder migrant flows driven by seasonal labor demands in specific sectors have been noted for Bolivians in Argentina, Chile, and Brazil, as well as for Peruvians in southern Ecuador. However, the magnitude and characteristics of these migrations are largely unknown. Studies addressing the issue of temporality are generally small-scale or qualitative in nature. In their study on migration from Tarija, Bolivia, to Argentina, Hinojosa et al. (2000) demonstrate that the dismantling of rural society has correlated with an increase in permanent

emigration (as opposed to temporary movements), with the subsequent formation of nuclear households in the receiving country.

Other exceptions are studies on the dynamics of settlement in destination areas (Mallimaci 2012) and studies that rely on binational ethnosurvey data. For example, Parrado & Cerrutti (2003) found that about 40% of the population living in communities of origin in Paraguay had migrated to Argentina. Not only is this experience quite widespread, but migration could be characterized as circular for a significant portion of the resident population in Paraguay. On average, returnees living in Paraguay report having made four trips to Argentina. Even the resident Paraguayan population in Argentina reports making approximately two return trips to Paraguay.

These dynamics are now facilitated and legitimated by regulatory frameworks that allow not only for freedom of movement but also for obtainment of residency between countries that have signed regional agreements. However, there is very little knowledge concerning the size of these movements and their characteristics for the region.

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT, SURVIVAL STRATEGIES, AND REMITTANCES

A significant number of discussions on international migration in recent decades have referenced the connection between migration and remittances. Various concerns and intentions regarding the potential links between remittances, economic development, and survival strategies in receiving households guided these discussions. Studies focusing on estimated amounts and uses of remittances multiplied, but in general they paid much more attention to monetary or in-kind flows from wealthy countries to poor countries. In this sense, it is not surprising that analyses of remittance corridors between countries in South America have been far less frequent.

The studies reviewed suggest that, although the amounts remitted from the region are lower than those arriving from northern countries, the amounts from particular migratory flows in the region are significant. According to the International Organization for Migration, in 2010 the main sources of South American remittances were Venezuela (US\$1.105 billion) and Argentina (US\$805 million). The primary destinations of these remittances are Paraguay and Bolivia (from Argentina) and Colombia (from Venezuela). Argentina is the second-largest source of remittances to Bolivia, and these revenues have significantly reduced poverty in recipient households, particularly in rural areas of Bolivia (Mandrile 2014). Although a higher proportion of Paraguayan households receive remittances from Argentina (and to a lesser extent Brazil), Spain (followed by the United States and then Argentina) sends more remittances. For both Bolivia and Paraguay, remittances that come from northern countries are received more frequently than those coming from South America (Gómez 2014).

Gender-differentiated remittance patterns have been observed in Paraguayan and Peruvian migration flows to Argentina. Although women are as likely as men to send money, they do so more regularly and send a higher percentage of their income than their male counterparts do (Cerrutti 2008). For intraregional migration, remittances are sent not only at a different frequency but also through various means. Among Bolivian migrants in Argentina, almost one-fifth use informal markets and passenger transport companies, similar to Paraguayans living in Argentina (Mandrile 2014, Cerrutti & Parrado 2007). Moreover, Bolivian migrants transfer money in ways that correspond not to the usual concept of remittances, but rather to investments made using the savings of returnees (De la Torre Avila & Alfaro Aramayo 2007, cited by Roncken & Forsberg 2007).

Studies show that remittances from the region itself are used mostly to cover the costs of food and clothing, given that the socioeconomic profile of the households receiving these remittances is somewhat lower than that of households receiving remittances from northern countries (Gómez

2014). These results are consistent with increased migration selectivity to industrialized countries. As to the effects on the welfare of households that receive remittances from the south, Paraguayan households that receive these remittances enter into a more informal and precarious sector of the labor market—similar to that reported in other South–North migration contexts. However, the fact that this happens in homes exhibiting conditions of high insecurity and vulnerability has led some authors to form a negative interpretation of the effect of these remittances. No specific evidence shows that decreased labor participation is due to remittances acting as reserve wages, thereby causing households to not accept work offered to them. If this were the case, remittances could be understood to have a positive effect on the conditions of employment in the most precarious labor sector in Paraguay, by reducing the universe of potential workers in vulnerable conditions (Gómez & Bologna 2013).

Approximately one-half of the remittances entering Colombia in 2004 came from the United States, and one-quarter of remittances came from Spain, due partly to the significant reduction in remittances from Venezuela or other sources within South America (Garay Salamanca & Rodríguez Castillo 2005). In addition, exchange rate restrictions currently affecting the two main sources of regional remittances, Argentina and Venezuela, impact the ability of migrants to send money to their countries of origin.

GENDER AND FAMILY DYNAMICS

For the past few decades, the literature on international migration and gender has helped demystify the idea of international migration as a male behavior, highlighting the fact that situations in which women are not involved in migration are situations that must be explained (Donato et al. 2006; Hondagneu-Sotelo 1992, 1994; Hondagneu-Sotelo & Ávila 1997; Pedraza 1991; Pérez Orozco 2007, 2009). In South America, the recognition of women's participation in migration has a long history. As early as the 1970s, studies recognized the importance of women in internal migration (Jelin 1976), which exceeded that of men. Transborder migration was also recognized (Balán 1990). For this reason, the study of migration and gender in intraregional migration, although enriched by current discussions emerging from the female presence in migration to industrialized countries, has doubtlessly introduced its own specificities regarding historical migratory movements as well as differing immigration controls (Cerrutti 2009b, Gaudio 2014). The origin of female flows initiated decades ago can be traced to a demand for domestic services (Courtis & Pacceca 2010), which was expressed almost exclusively by the wealthy middle and upper classes that hired labor at a low price. Today, however, in some countries such as Argentina demand comes from broader sectors with care needs not provided by welfare systems. In this sense, these sectors share the aforementioned features of the global care chains. These new demands are associated partly with social and demographic changes.

Situations concerning countries of origin are heterogeneous (Martínez Pizarro 2003). For example, the percentage of women migrants from Peru and Paraguay is significantly higher (Rosas 2010) than that from Bolivia, Chile, and Brazil (Cerrutti 2009a). These variations are due to historical factors associated with the onset of migratory flows, the role of the state in regulating migration, the nature of labor demand, and the role of women in each of the societies of origin and destination. Surely, this is a promising field of inquiry for which a comparative perspective among countries in the region, including those movements to wealthy countries, can illuminate the political and social conditions that create the gendered composition of migration flows.

Some studies show that the migratory participation of men and women is related to family rules, the possibilities of realizing a family migration, and the employment opportunities in destination countries. As Mallimaci (2012) notes, the dominant view of the feminization of migration has

tended to obscure the varied trajectories of migrant women and men; i.e., family migrations are interpreted solely in the context of family reunification. For example, in the case of Bolivian migration to Argentina, the possibility of developing family-oriented economic activities (e.g., in horticulture and informal trade), as well as the ease of registering as a family, has resulted in a similar percentage of female and male migrants, indicating migration of a family nature. Bolivian women play a stabilizing role in the settlement process; they connect the public and private spheres (Magliano 2013). For this reason, the separation of families of procreation and the phenomenon of long-distance motherhood are marginal in the context of migration to Argentina (Cerrutti 2009a). This finding contrasts sharply with the migration of the same origin to Spain, for which immigration control is much tighter and demand for female employment does not allow for a balance with family life. Therefore, the separation of families is significantly more widespread and linked to global care chains. Indeed, in 2007 the minor children of nearly half of the migrant Bolivian mothers in Spain remained in Bolivia (Cerrutti & Maguid 2010). In the case of Paraguayan migration to Argentina, however, family norms and structures are different and women migrate at a young age in search of jobs. In this context, if they have children during the migration period, it is more likely that their children will remain in Paraguay in the care of other women and that long-distance connections will be developed (Cerrutti & Gaudio 2010, Gaudio 2014).

The vast demand for employment in personal services, both domestic and personal care work, has helped shape the migratory patterns of families. Rosas (2010) shows that in the case of Peruvian migration to Argentina, women with family responsibilities were those who arrived first, and other family members came later. Stefoni (2002) and Arriagada & Todaro (2012) document a similar process for Peruvian migration to Chile.

Studies on the effects of intraregional migration on the autonomy and empowerment of women are scarce compared with those concerning South-North migration. For some groups, such as Bolivians, discriminatory contexts of reception help reaffirm cultural norms of female subordination, despite the fact that women play significant economic and familial roles (Magliano 2007). Rosas (2010) shows that even in contexts in which women initiate the migration process, such as Peruvian women in Argentina, conditions change so that men are repositioned in their role as providers and authorities in the home. These conditions are related to the subordinate role of women in the local labor market, as well as the repositioning of the husband as the main provider once he secures a better job than his wife has.

In this area, again, the majority of the information comes from point data or qualitative studies. The quantification of these processes, as well as the reconstruction of migration in terms of family dynamics and households, suffers from the limitations of appropriate data collection, including surveys designed to account for the man as the primary decision maker. These elements continue to limit our understanding of gender differences in South-North migration and the family dynamics of intraregional migration.

SOCIAL INTEGRATION AND DISCRIMINATION IN REGIONAL MIGRATION

Given the labor-oriented nature of intraregional migration, a large number of studies on the integration of immigrants in receiving societies have been dominated by analyses of their participation in the labor market. Since the late 1970s, the marginal and segmented access to particular sectors of economic activity has been gaining increased attention (Cortés & Groisman 2004; Marshall 1979, 1983; Maguid 1995, 2006). At the aggregate level, these processes of segmented insertion have been accompanied by limited upward occupational mobility (Bruno & Maguid 2010) and lower monetary compensation compared with that of native workers with similar

insertions (Cerrutti & Maguid 2007). This evidence indicates that, in general, the condition of regional migrants places them in positions that are more disadvantaged and vulnerable than those of native workers (Baeninger 2012). Despite this reality, the high aspirations of mobility, the personal effort, and the mobilization of social capital of certain migrant groups help improve their situation. Indeed, qualitative studies indicate that the formation of ethnic enclaves in specific sectors facilitated significant processes of upward economic mobility. One of the most prominent cases is the production and marketing of fresh horticulture by Bolivian immigrants in Argentina (Benencia 1997, 2012). Vargas (2015) notes a similar process in the construction sector, which has traditionally demanded Bolivian and Paraguayan labor.

In the same vein, lines of inquiry related to migration and cultural identity have expanded out of cultural studies, particularly for Bolivian migration to Argentina (Caggiano 2005, 2006; Grimson 1999) and Brazil (Vidal 2012). The few records pertaining to second-generation migrants have precisely addressed their aspects of identity (Gavazzo 2013). Also, as a result of a growing recognition of the problem of discrimination against immigrants, research has expanded to other areas of social and institutional life in receiving societies. The emergence of social movements to recover national, ethnic, and racial identities on the one hand, and State recognition of immigrants' rights on the other, have led to a wide variety of studies. Residential patterns characterized by high spatial segregation in conditions of poverty (Mera 2014), as well as the establishment of spaces consisting of certain socioethnic identities (Sassone 2007), have been shown for regional migrants in Argentina. Additionally, difficulties in host societies such as adapting to the presence of immigrants and preventing discrimination in public services, with regard to both the public health system (Caggiano 2006, 2007, 2008; Cerrutti 2011; Mombello 2006; Torres & Garcés 2013) and educational institutions (Beheran 2009, Cerrutti & Binstock 2012, Nobile 2006, Novaro et al. 2008), have been observed in various contexts.

The lack of information concerning the descendants of immigrant groups is surprising. We were unable to find any quantitative studies elaborating on issues such as inclusion, social mobility, or intergenerational socioeconomic progress. The issue of second-generation immigrants dominates the discussion in the United States and Europe, but it is not yet present in South America. One possible explanation is that quantitative research on immigration, especially in the Southern Cone, has not translated into a question of race and, with the exception of Bolivians, ethnicity. In this sense, it is not surprising that the subject of the second generation has been addressed in qualitative anthropological studies concerned with issues of identity, belonging, and exclusion (Gavazzo 2013).

GOVERNABILITY OF MIGRATION AND REGIONAL AGREEMENTS

Migration policies of South American countries, as well as the legal frameworks that support them, have changed significantly in recent years. Countries in the region have subscribed to all of the international agreements on migration (or those that affect migrant rights).⁶ In countries such as Argentina and Uruguay, the paradigm has clearly shifted from one that associated international migration with national security to one that highlights the contributions of migrants and their rights. In this sense, migration becomes a component of agreements on economic integration, and some of these agreements on migration will set the tone for a different political orientation toward regional migrants.

⁶Here we refer to the International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of Their Families, the Convention on the Rights of the Child (as it relates to promoting the integration of children and adolescents and the right to family reunification), and the 1951 Convention and the 1967 Protocol relating to the status of refugees.

The MERCOSUR Residency Agreement of 2002 helps grant various types of residences and lays the groundwork for the assembly of a regional policy on free personal movement. The recognition of the equal treatment of immigrants and nationals, as well as equal access to fundamental rights, will have major impacts on migration policy. Argentina, the primary country of migratory attraction in the region, has been a pioneer in terms of migrant rights, enacting the National Migration Act of 2004 in accordance with international treaties protecting the human rights of migrants and their families (Novick 2012a,b; Texidó 2008). The law confers certain rights such as equal treatment (with the same protections and rights enjoyed by Argentine citizens); equal access to social services, particularly those related to public welfare, health, education, justice, labor, employment, and social security (without denying or restricting access for undocumented immigrants); family reunification; and due process in situations of detention and deportation. Uruguay, meanwhile, has also changed its policy framework to adapt to these new standards. The country's new Migration Act (enacted in 2008) establishes a significant change in the assessment of migration, explicitly recognizing the equal rights of migrants and nationals without discrimination of any kind. It also establishes the rights to family reunification, due process, and access to justice. The law is comprehensive regarding the conceptualization of the migratory process in Uruguay, as it also includes aspects related to the return of Uruguayan migrants. In May 2013, the Plurinational State of Bolivia also passed a new immigration law governed by the principles established by the country's Constitution, as well as by international instruments on human rights that have been ratified by the State. The law applies to all foreign migrants inside the country as well as to Bolivians living abroad.

The new view of international migration in the South American region was also apparent in the consensus reached during the first Regional Conference on Population and Development in August 2013. This agreement recognizes the significant contributions of migrants, in their countries of origin and destination, and expresses concern regarding the impacts the economic crisis may have on their situation. This agreement advocates for the need to incorporate migration (including the question of migratory regularity) into the agendas and strategies of global, regional, and national development; for the noncriminalization of migration and the promotion of migrant rights; for the cooperation between countries of origin, transit, and destination; and for the promotion of mechanisms that facilitate mobility and benefit the living conditions of migrants (such as social security, access to basic social services, and access to education and health services, including sexual and reproductive health); among others.

Both political and academic spheres are concerned with the guarantee of acquired rights and nondiscriminatory treatment. There is in fact heterogeneity with respect to the degree of internalization of the MERCOSUR Residency Agreement, and not all countries have aligned their domestic legislation with its principles.⁷ In terms of effective implementation among countries that have ratified the agreement, certain problematic points regarding migrants' access to rights within regulatory, administrative, and institutional contexts (in other words, the institutional management of public services while still needing to meet the demands of immigrants) have been identified (IPPDH 2012).

Although it still has not changed its immigration law,⁸ Ecuador has recently created the National Agency for Equal Human Mobility (*Agencia Nacional de Igualdad para la Movilidad*

⁷Despite numerous discussions, Brazil has yet to change its immigration legislation since 1980. Currently, controversy surrounds the promotion of selective migration projects.

⁸The document of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Human Mobility of Ecuador (2014, p. 33) concerning this Agency makes explicit the delay in updating the country's immigration law: Like shelter, none of the other aspects of human mobility has been addressed by a law (either organic or secondary) in the Ecuadorian regulatory framework; regarding legislation for

Humana), which has developed a set of guidelines and policy directives related to migration. Aside from proposing the recognition of migration as a right, the Agency has also proposed to stop considering any human being as illegal and to develop actions that support the exercise of the rights of Ecuadorians living abroad—aspects that are included in the country’s Constitution. The Constitution states, “Foreigners in Ecuadorian territory will have the same rights and duties as Ecuadorians.” Concerns regarding the degree of compliance with agreements and commitments on migration have stimulated a rich research agenda focused on the processes of inclusion and social integration of intraregional migrants.

Finally, a very interesting development for migration has been the inclusion of the issue of return in national regulations. In addition to Bolivian and Uruguayan laws, which contain explicit references to returnees, Peru, Ecuador, and Colombia also have their own initiatives. In the case of Peru, the recent Return Law, enacted in 2012, facilitates the economic and social reintegration of Peruvians who, faced with the international economic crisis and the tightening of immigration policies in destination countries, have chosen or been forced to return to their home country. Colombia’s Return Law 1565, passed in 2012, states that “regulations have been enacted and incentives have been set for the return of Colombians living abroad.” Both through these laws and through other administrative mechanisms, these countries have implemented plans or programs to facilitate voluntary return. This advancement implies State recognition of the new migratory reality created largely by the international crisis.

ADVANCING INTRAREGIONAL MIGRATION RESEARCH IN SOUTH AMERICA: MIGRATION AS A PROCESS

Common historical roots, low barriers of entry and exit for border migrants, strong cultural similarities between natives and immigrants (which are potentially more conducive to adaptation), and, more recently, legal frameworks recognizing migrant rights contribute to a certain specificity of intraregional movements in South America that contrasts with the South-North migratory experience. By maintaining a comparative perspective, the study of intraregional migration helps scholars understand the role of contexts and particular historical situations relating to population movements. These studies can also contribute to the political discussion accompanying the process of economic integration.

Owing to the relevance of intraregional migration studies, it is possible to propose a research agenda focused on issues that have been only slightly examined and that deserve further attention. Identified through this review, one central limitation that must be overcome in order to deepen our understanding of migration in South America is the static representation of migratory processes. Although the studies analyzed make use of information from household surveys, censuses, or other official statistics in somewhat interesting and relevant ways, they fail to address certain central aspects of international migration. On the one hand, these studies are useful for quantifying and describing general traits of migrants, but the information available does not allow for the reconstruction of migration as a social process. Qualitative studies, on the other hand, provide a more dynamic and detailed representation of migration but often lack the ability to quantify this process. In this regard, we note the need to not only combine qualitative and quantitative methods, but also take a longitudinal approach and analyze migration as both an individual and a household process.

the protection of the Ecuadorian population abroad, of people displaced by natural or anthropogenic causes, and of victims of human trafficking, there remains an outstanding debt to be paid by the Ecuadorian State.

Increasingly, the literature on migration is emphasizing geographic mobility as a transition in the course of people's lives. From this perspective, migration is understood as a process that involves twists and turns that may eventually lead to settling somewhere different from expected upon leaving or returning. These decisions, which are made individually and conditioned by a set of diverse circumstances (social, economic, and political), do not occur in isolation but rather are articulated in terms of other life transitions such as family formation, fertility, education, or work. This perspective has a long tradition in the social sciences and has been used in certain research programs, such as the Mexican Migration Project, and has been extended more recently to other Latin American countries through the work of Douglas Massey and Jorge Durand. In the context of the Southern Cone specifically, we see examples of this in the classic work of Forni et al. (1991) on rural-urban migration in Argentina, in the work of Benencia & Karasik (1995) on Bolivian migration to Argentina, and most recently in Nicola's (2008) study that reconstructs the dynamics of migration (both internal and international) along the Argentina-Bolivia border with a focus on the household, all of which allow for the distinction of different types of migrants and a multitude of migratory strategies.

In these examples, we see the potential to relate more directly to migration as a process within a classic theme of Latin American sociology, such as the reproductive strategies displayed by different households. This approach has the potential to account for a set of specific dimensions mentioned above, such as migration dynamics, gender differences, the link between internal and international migratory processes, and their connection to political and economic fluctuations in countries of origin and destination. Such an approach requires original data collection with an emphasis on life stories, which in turn can be examined statistically. We stress that an approach such as this is most fruitful when data collection is contextualized and surveys are designed on the basis of specific issues. For example, we have highlighted the growing interest in the connection between migration and violence. However, all the information that has been obtained comes from intertwining aggregate indicators of violence with individual migratory behavior. Although this is useful for emphasizing that areas of violence push populations away, a direct connection between having been a victim of violence and the need to geographically relocate has yet to be established. A more direct representation of this connection requires researchers to investigate the extent to which a migrant is actually a victim of violence, as opposed to someone who anticipated problems associated with violence and decided to relocate preemptively to avoid them. In the first case, migration is a reaction that empowers those who are vulnerable to violence. In the second case, migration removes those whose resources allow them to choose safer places of residence, as opposed to those who are immediately vulnerable to violence. This direct interaction between events changes the composition of places of origin and destination and provides a more detailed perspective on the consequences of violence both for individuals and for contexts as a whole.

Similarly, sample designs must recognize the complicated coexistence of fluidity and settlement within migratory processes. One challenge facing studies on geographic mobility is the need to collect information in both origin and destination countries. Data in places of origin tend to overrepresent temporary migrants, whereas the opposite happens in samples collected only in migrant destinations. If the objective is to reconstruct migration dynamics, transnational sampling strategies are an ideal approach, but at the very least there needs to be some sort of compatibility between information sources in countries of origin and destination. We do not intend to propose a particular strategy, but rather note the urgent need to incorporate the migration question into national statistical systems. Given the traditional lack of specific surveys in the region, there is a need to incorporate this subject into the design of samples, questionnaires, and data collection procedures. Not only will information of this nature help further our academic understanding of South-South migration and the systematic comparison of migratory processes in various contexts,

but it will also form an instrument of political action to the extent it allows assessments to be made regarding commitments to migrant rights. In this sense, we believe that the results may be of interest in terms of comparative politics and to the discussion surrounding migration in wealthy democracies, which have different regulatory frameworks of migration.

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