

Political transitions and migration transitions in Latin America and in Eastern Europe

Béla Soltész
Hungarian Central Statistical Office
Corvinus University of Budapest

*European Population Conference
Budapest, 28 June 2014*



Comparing migratory processes in Latin America and Eastern Europe 1.

25 years ago: political, economic and societal transitions shook two regions of the world:

- **Latin America**, where the end of military dictatorships in many countries coupled with structural adjustments (that later became the schoolbook examples for the Washington Consensus), and
- **Eastern Europe**, where the fall of the Iron Curtain ended with state socialism as an existing alternative for market economy.

Comparative studies on Latin America and Eastern Europe: scarce but existing.

- **Transitology**. Stepan and Linz (1996).
- **Political Economy**. Greskovits (1998).
- **World System Analysis**. Boacǎ (2006).
- **International Political Economy**. Pop-Eleches (2008).

Need for a comparative *longue durée* analysis: how did long-term migratory processes change ever since?

Migration studies in Latin America and Eastern Europe: different importance of the topic.

- In Latin American (and especially Mexican) social sciences: migration is one of the "big" topics
- In Eastern Europe: it is not, although the phenomenon's importance is increasing.



Comparing migratory processes in Latin America and Eastern Europe 2.

In my presentation:

- Following **József Böröcz's** analytical approach (Böröcz, 2012) regarding migration and remittances as markers for dependent integration into the world economy, and
- Adopting **Attila Melegh's** typology for Eastern Europe (Melegh, 2012), both of them having been developed within the **SEEMIG – Managing Migration in South East Europe project**:
- I set up a **broad framework for a comparative analysis of migratory processes in Latin America and Eastern Europe**,
- Using an analogous **typology** for both regions, based on the changes of their **net migration rate** over time,
- Comparing country pairs** in which political transition coupled with migration transition, and
- Observing the **economic and geographical similarities and differences** of these country pairs.

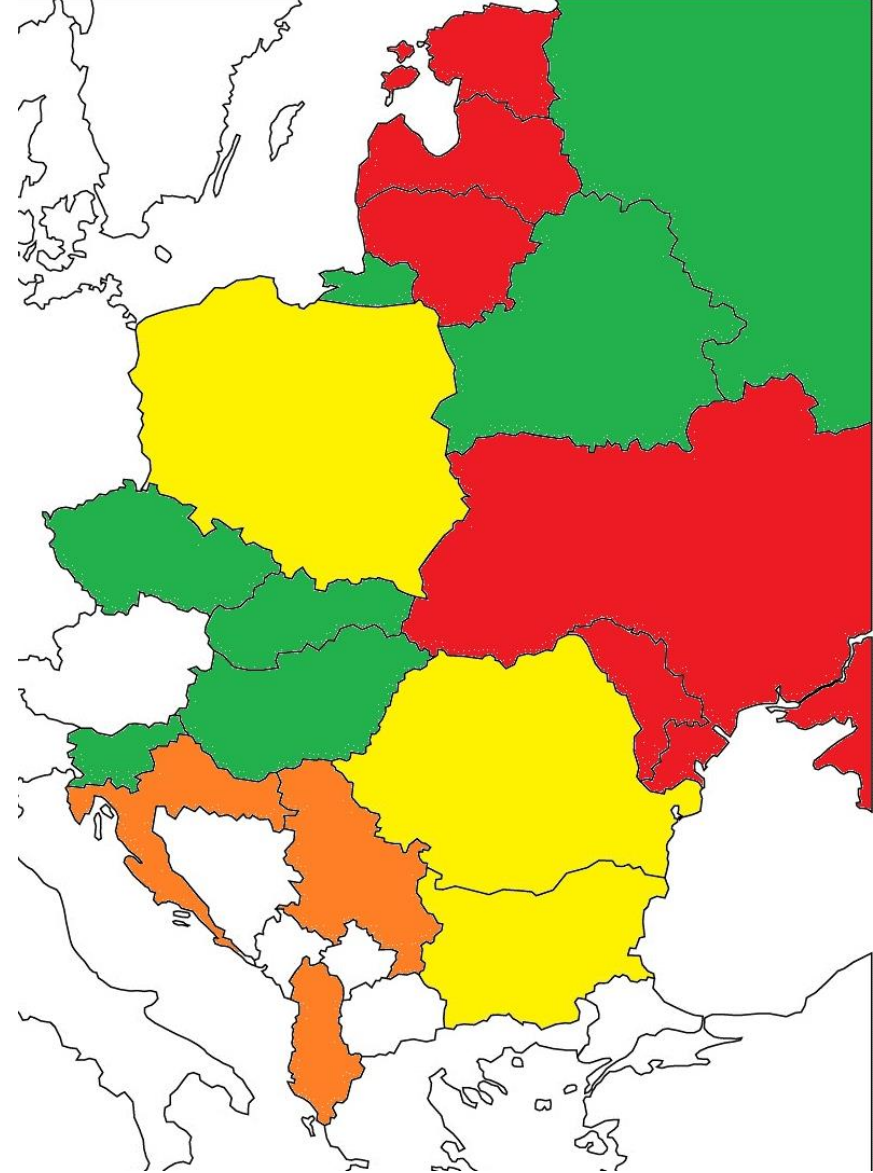
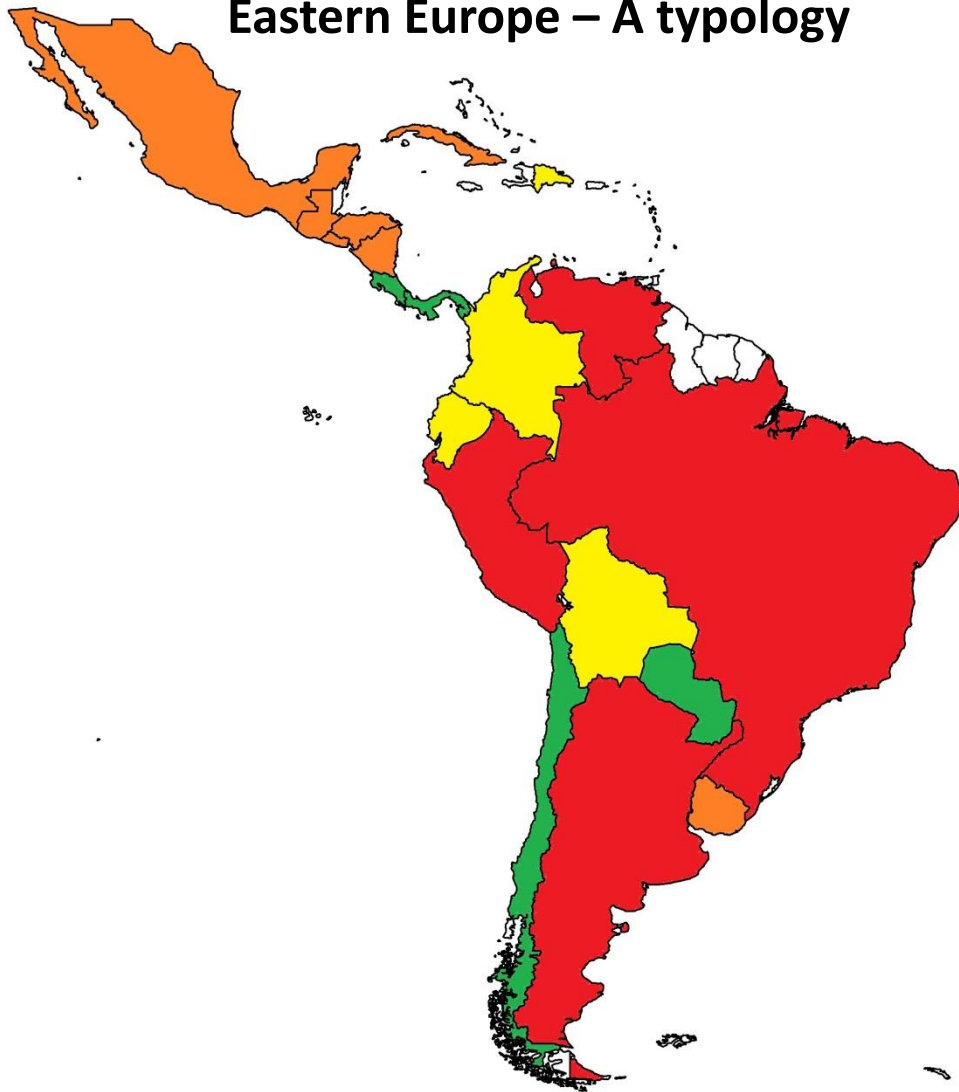


Preliminary notes on the scope of the presentation and data caveats

- The concept of **Latin America** in this analysis excludes the non-Spanish Caribbean, while **Eastern Europe** is understood here as post-Socialist Europe, i.e. countries in Europe where a state socialist single-party regime existed before 1989.
- Data on Net Migration Rate is taken from the **UN World Population Prospects**, GDP per capita from the **Maddison Databank** (and given in 1990 international Geary-Khamis Dollars), while migrant stock data and macroeconomic indicators stem from the **World Bank's** databases. Data on migrants follow the country of birth approach.
- All these data are **estimations** and their accurateness is questionable. Also, they present **aggregate numbers** on a very high level of **abstraction**.
- However, they show the **overall trends** and **long-term processes** in a comparable manner.



Migratory processes in Latin America and Eastern Europe – A typology



Increasing NMR



Stable negative NMR



Oscillating NMR

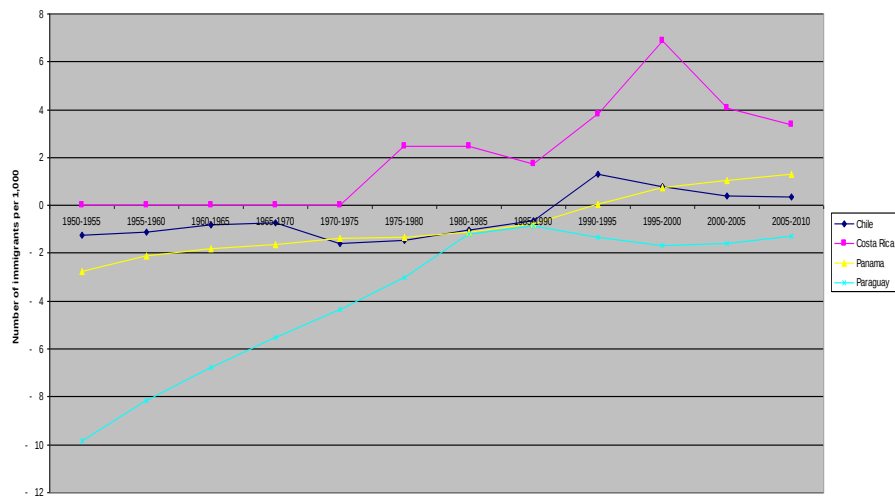


Decreasing NMR

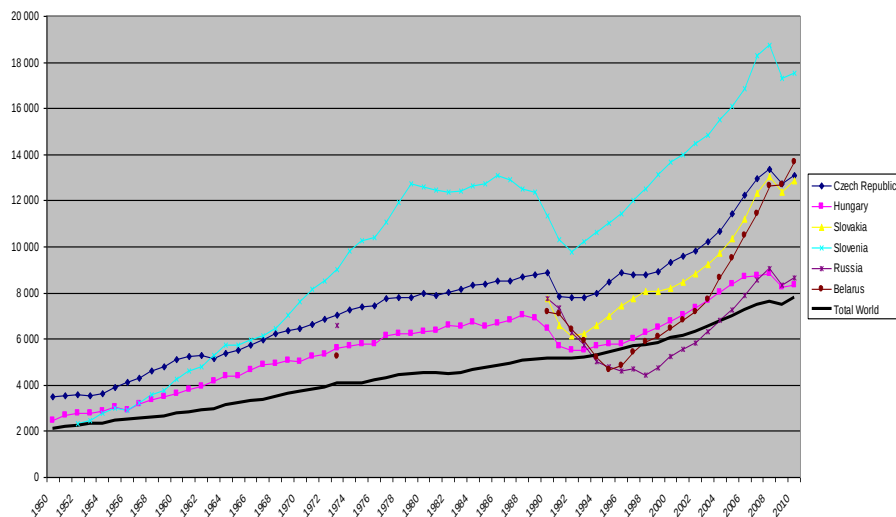
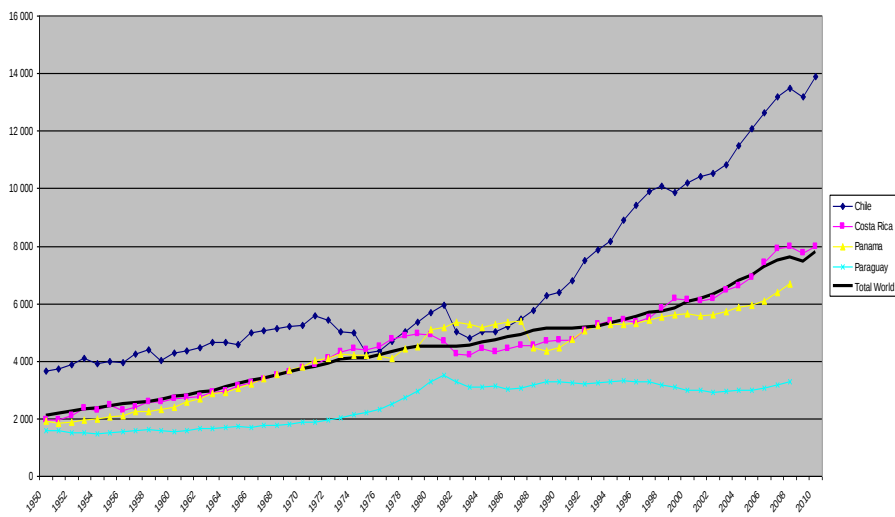
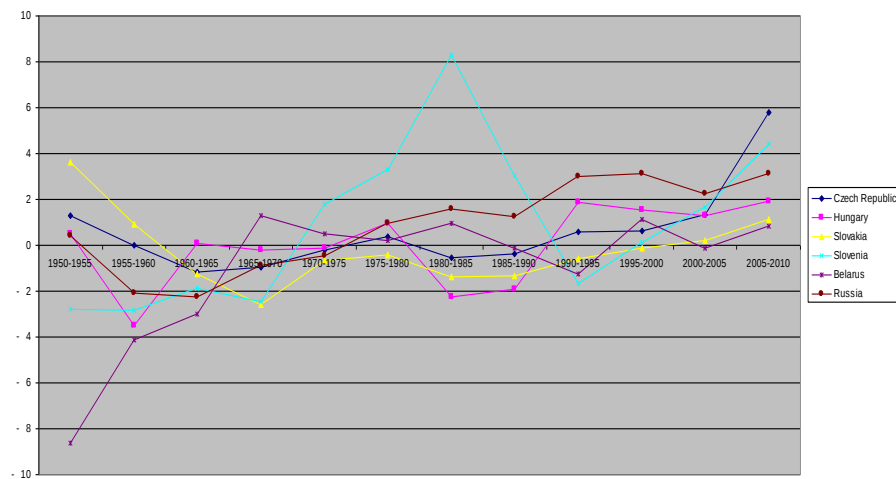
Source: UN World Population Prospects, 1950-2010. Latest data point represents the 2005-2010 period.

Type 1. Increasing NMR (top) and GDP (bottom)

Latin America

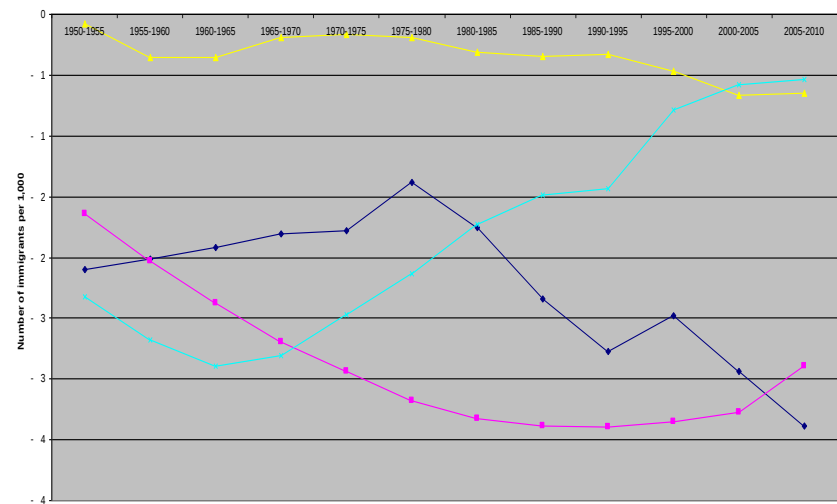


Eastern Europe

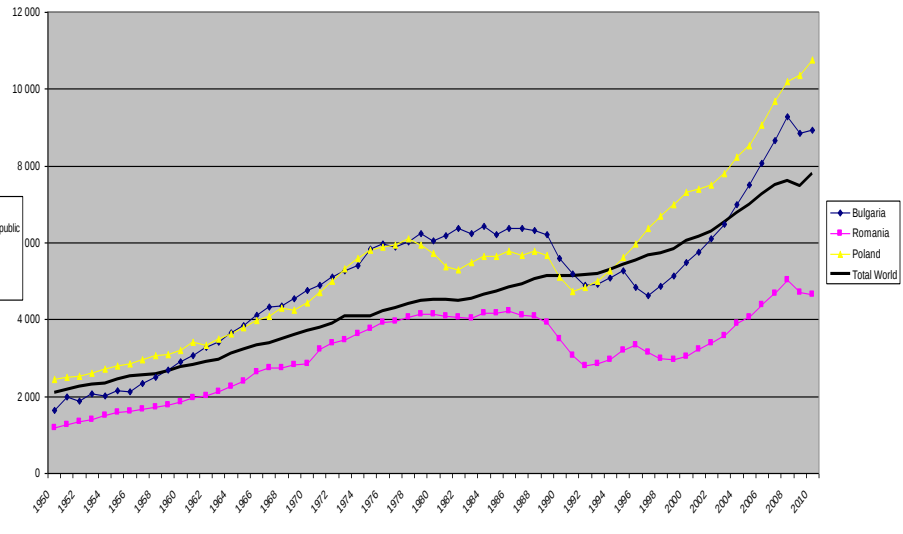
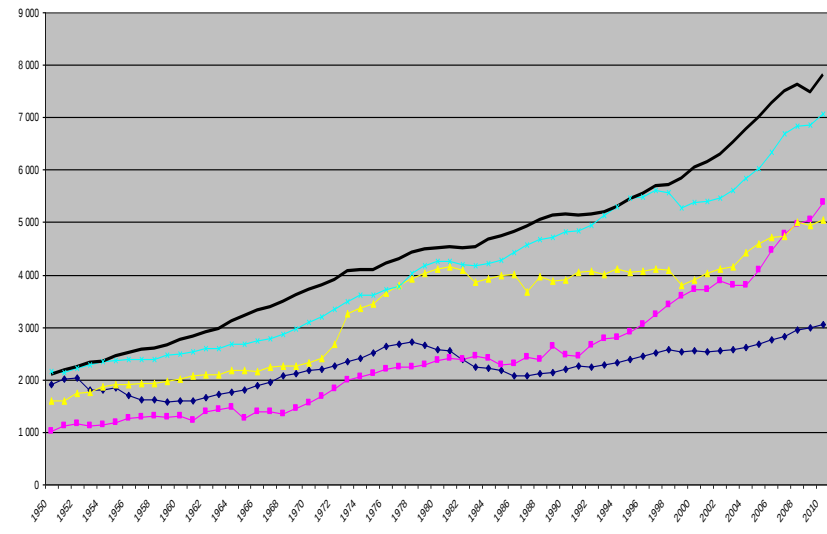
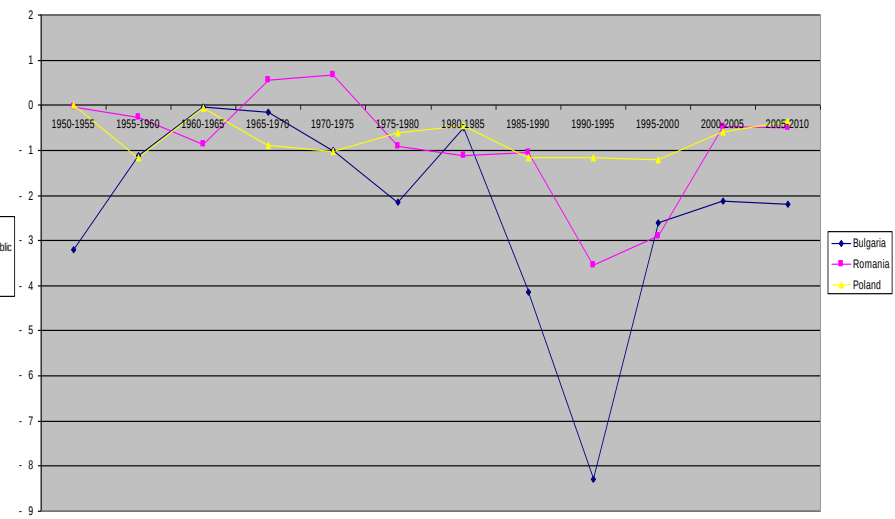


Type 2. Stable negative NMR (top) and GDP (bottom)

Latin America

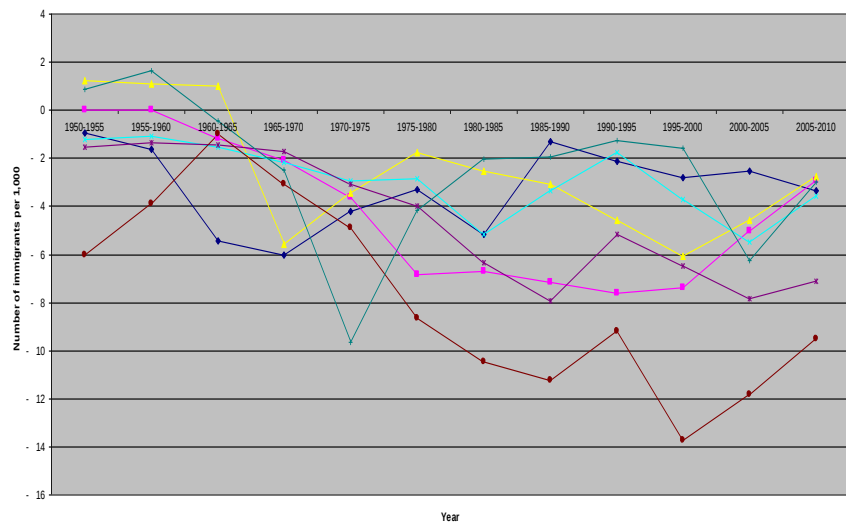


Eastern Europe

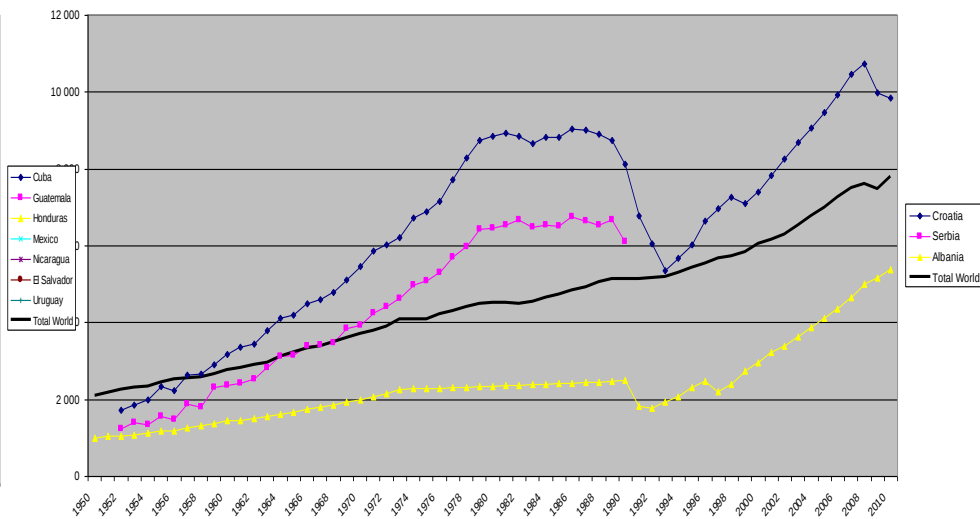
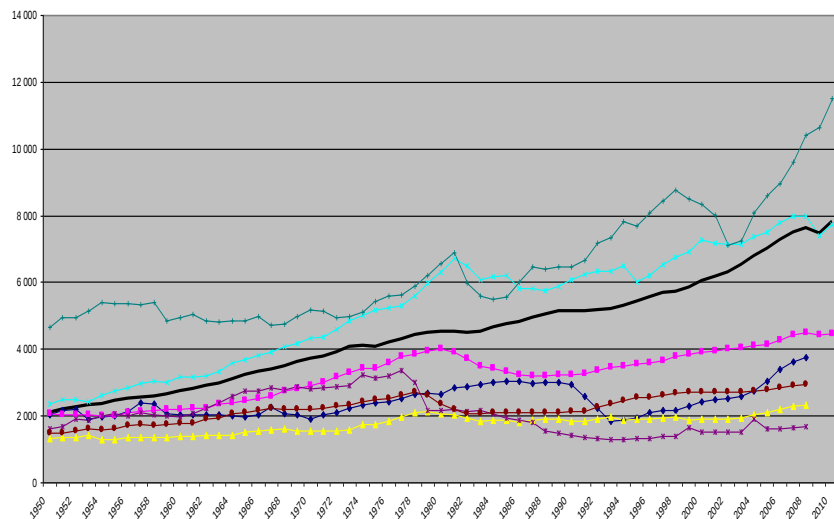
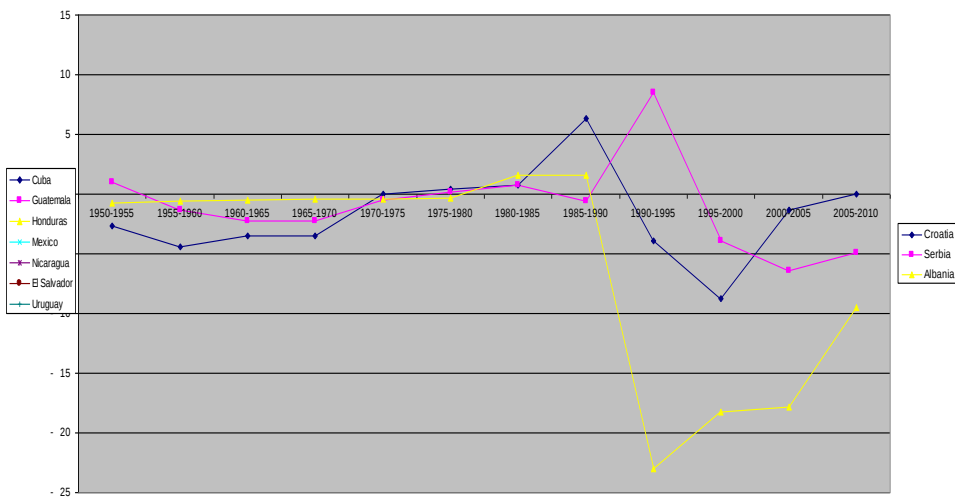


Type 3. Oscillating NMR (top) and GDP (bottom)

Latin America

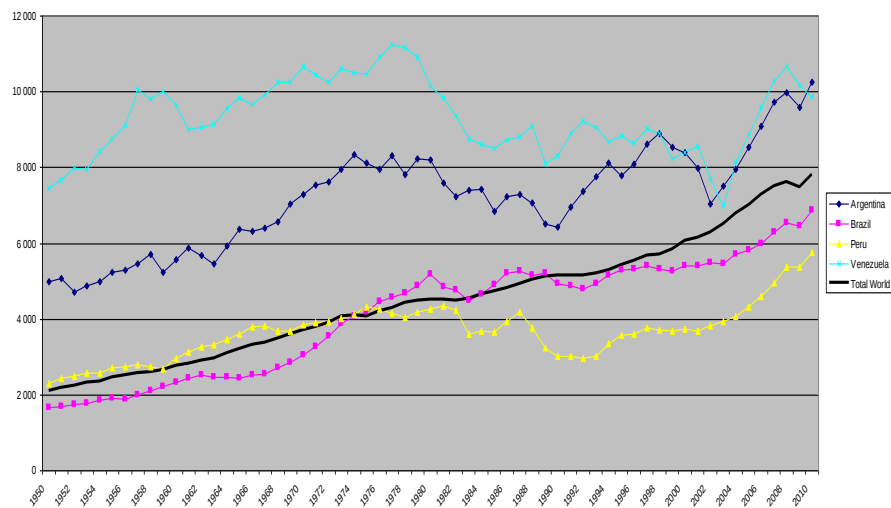
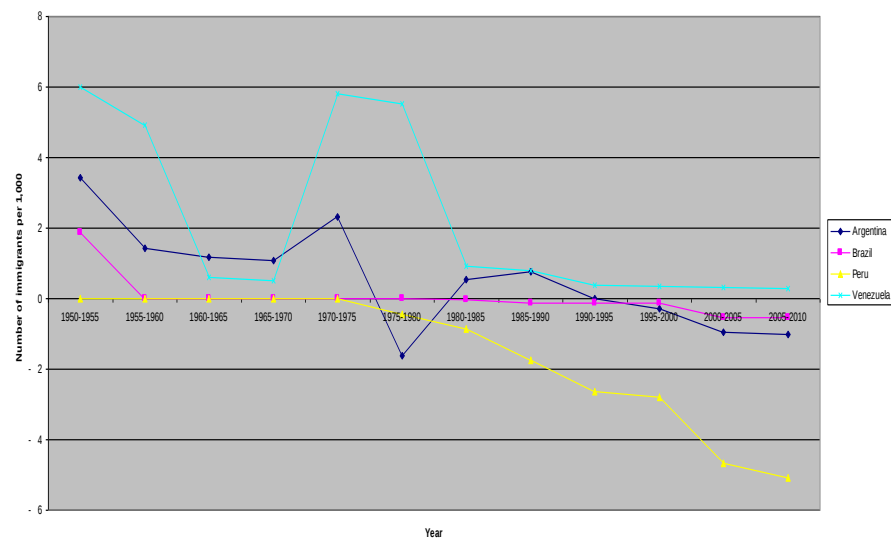


Eastern Europe

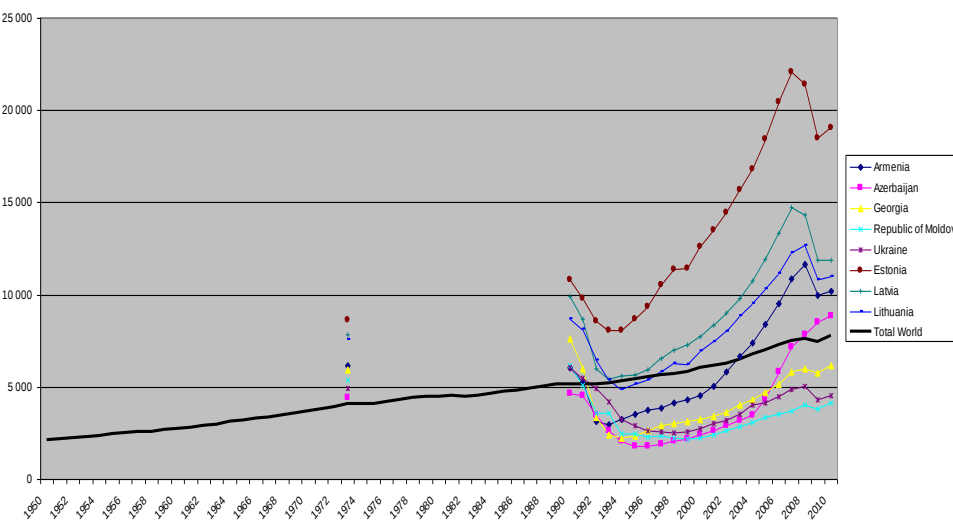
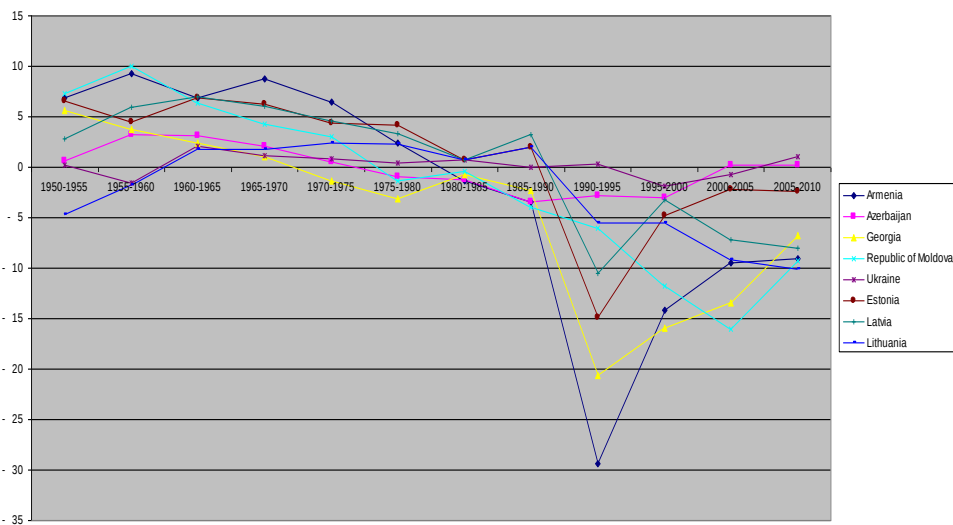


Type 4. Decreasing NMR (top) and GDP (bottom)

Latin America



Eastern Europe



Findings: Net Migration Rate vs GDP per capita

- As it could be expected, **GDP per capita and Net Migration Rate move together** in most cases. Also, as a general rule, transition in **Eastern Europe** caused a **sudden drop in GDP** per capita but it started **recovering rather soon**. In **Latin America**, however, transitions induced **less abrupt but more durable changes in trends**.
- Countries with increasing NMR (Type 1) are rather heterogeneous in terms of GDP per capita.
- Stable negative NMR (Type 2) and oscillating (Type 3) countries in Eastern Europe have a **stagnating GDP per capita in the whole decade of the 1980s** and then drop in the 1990s. In Latin America, almost every country experiences a stagnating GDP per capita in the 1980s (the **"Lost decade" – role of indebtedness!**), but a drop occurs only in Type 4.
- Oscillation (Type 3) happens around 0 NMR in the Western Balkans and below 0 in Latin America, the latter presenting more heterogeneous individual country paths.
- The most coherent group is that of **decreasing NMR (Type 4): post-Soviet countries and large, formerly immigrant Latin American countries**.



Detailed comparison: country pairs

Out of the 4 categories, 2 will be presented here, those of a transition in terms of migration patterns (i.e. immigrant to emigrant country, emigrant to immigrant country)

For both, a country pair is selected and 2-2 reference countries are further added later to check the main findings.

<i>Country type</i>	Detailed comparison	Reference countries
<i>Increasing net migration rate</i>	Chile Czech Republic	Costa Rica, Panama Slovenia, Hungary
<i>Decreasing net migration rate</i>	Peru Ukraine	Argentina, Brazil Moldova, Estonia

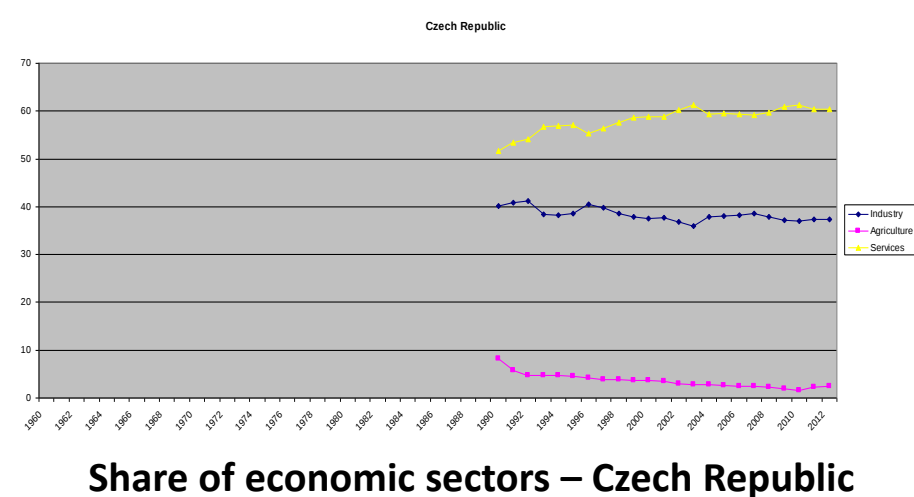
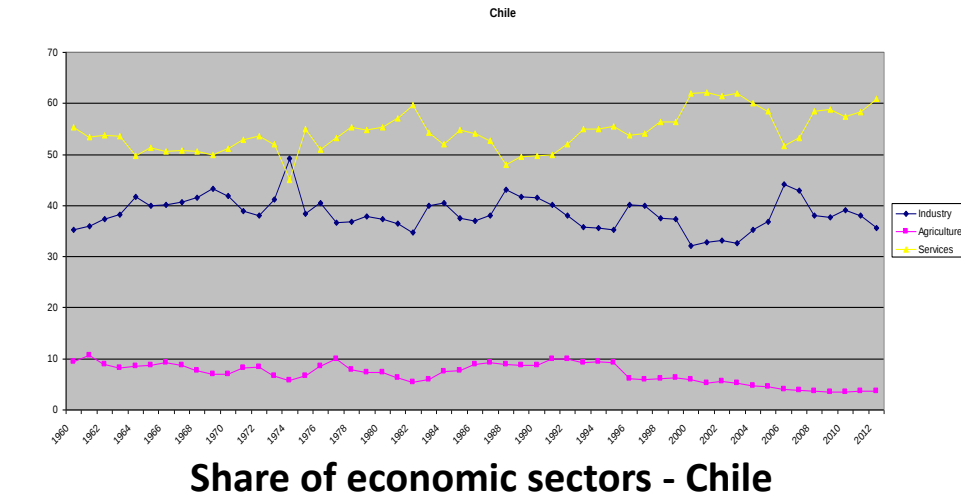
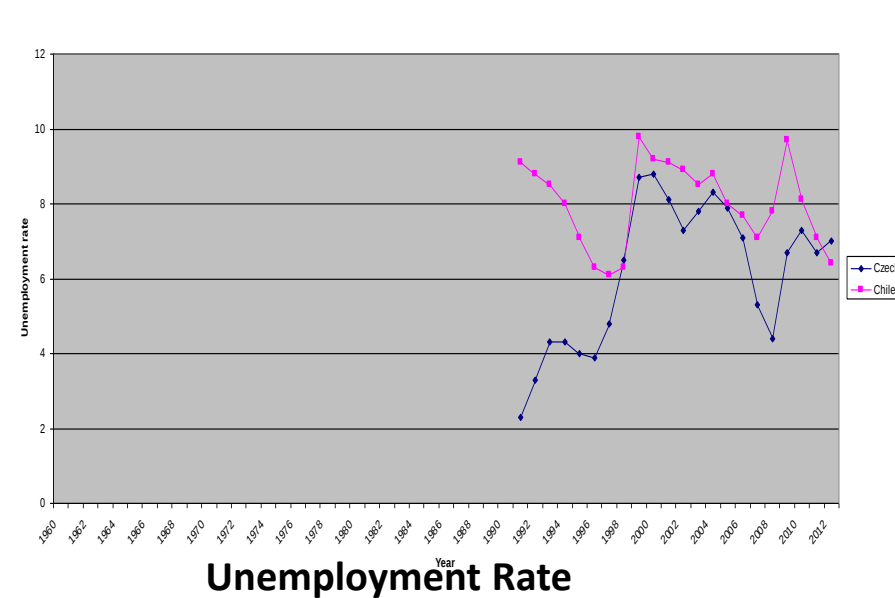
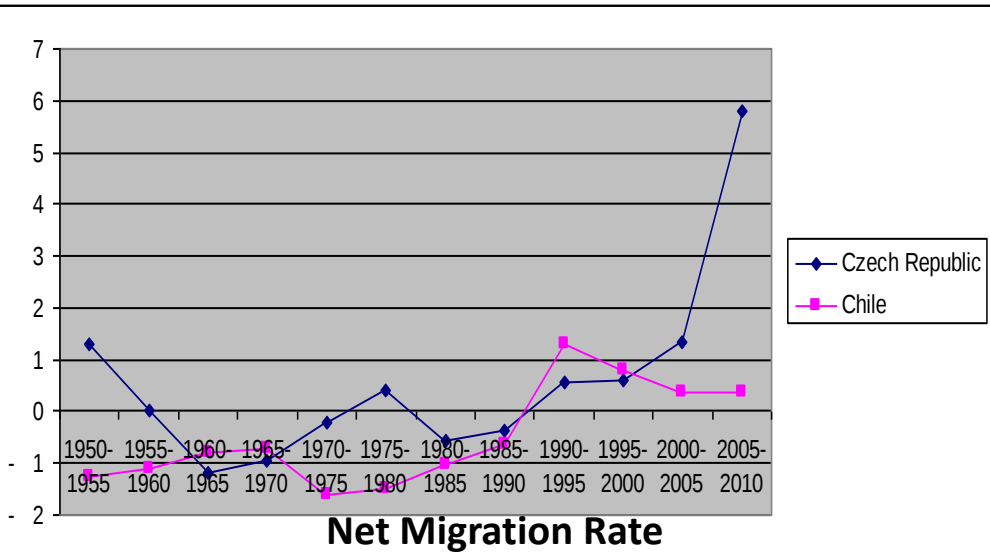


Determinants: immigration

	 Chile	 Czech Republic
Migration history	Significant immigration to every strata of the society, until the early 20th century	Significant immigration to the top and middle strata of the society, until the early 20th century
Pre-transition determinants of migration	Political repression (1973 Pinochet coup) but economic progress. Importance of intellectuals in exile (but no massive emigration).	Political repression (1968 Soviet invasion) but economic progress. Importance of intellectuals in exile (but no massive emigration).
Transition	Smooth, the famous "NO" plebiscite ousted Pinochet without bloodshed	Smooth, "Velvet Revolution", but: breakup of the federal state: Czech Republic and Slovakia become two independent countries
Post-transition determinants of migration	Neoliberal structural reforms based on an already existing pool of local technocracy (Chicago Boys) Membership in OECD: 2010	Neoliberal structural reforms based on an already existing pool of local technocracy Membership in OECD: 1995 Membership in EU: 2004.



Net migration rate, unemployment rate and share of economic sectors: immigration

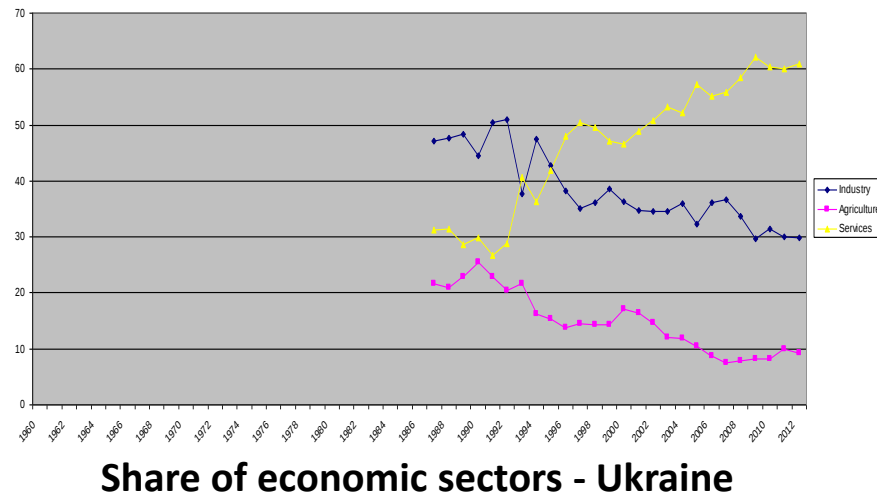
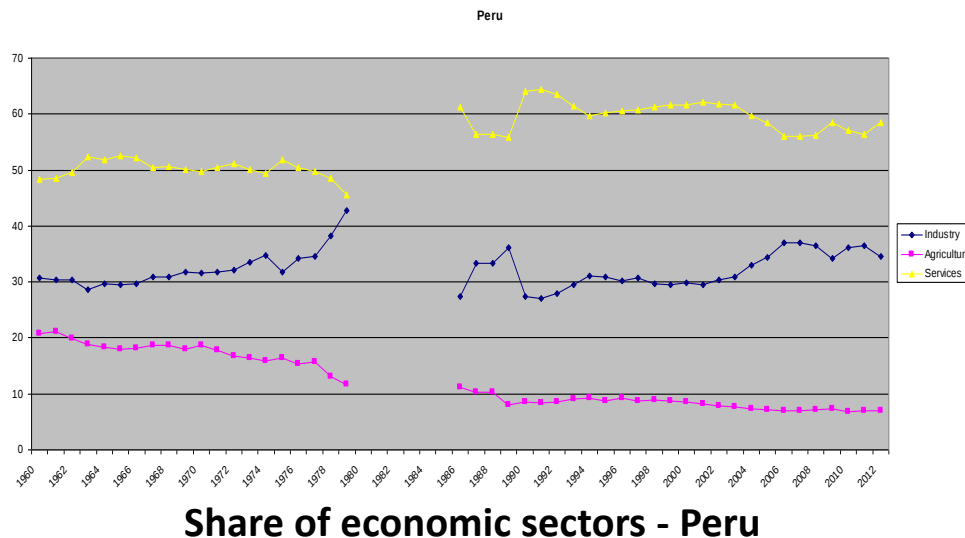
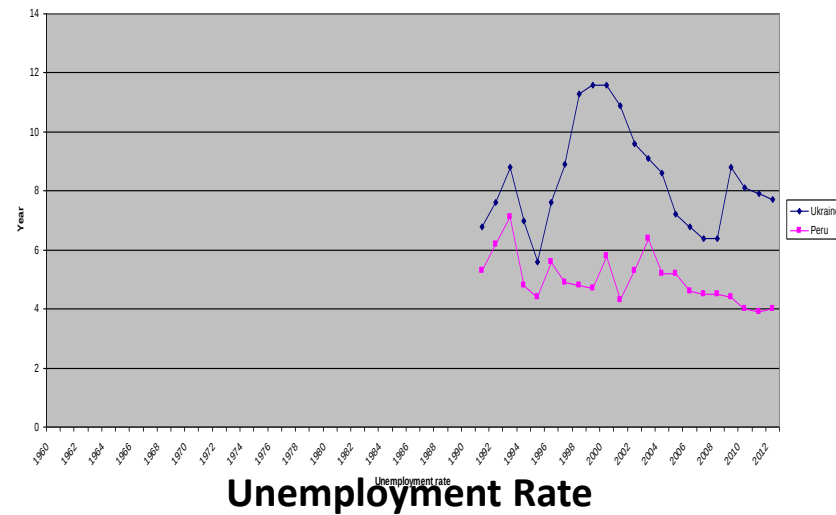
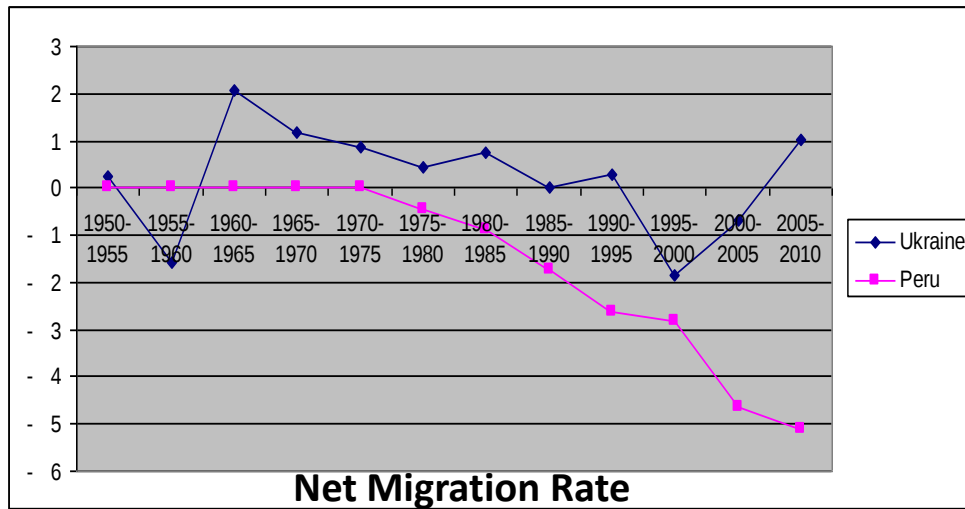


Determinants: emigration

	 Peru	 Ukraine
<i>Migration history</i>	Not a significant inward migration region. Immigration to the top strata of the society.	Significant inward (and outward) migration region, within a large empire
<i>Pre-transition determinants of migration</i>	Internal migration Industrialization (import substitution)	Internal migration (within the Soviet Union) Industrialization (socialist)
<i>Transition</i>	Troubled: Indebtedness, guerrilla activity, 1990 Fujishock and 1992 Self-coup	Troubled: 1991 Breakup of the Soviet Union and independence of Ukraine
<i>Post-transition determinants of migration</i>	Economic collapse: Shock therapy causes a dramatic decrease of living standards	Economic collapse: capitalist re-structuration of the economy (property, distribution, sectors etc.)



Net migration rate, unemployment rate and share of economic sectors: emigration



Comparing migrant stock data

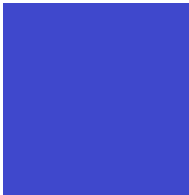
1960, 1990, 2010 - Top 10 nationalities (World Bank, country of birth)

1	Neighbouring Latin-American			
2	Not neighbouring Latin-American			
3	North American and European			
4	Other World			
	CHILE	1960	1990	2010
1	Argentina	11966	32548	82539
1	Bolivia	8514	8514	18707
2	Brazil		4311	11820
2	Colombia			7019
2	Ecuador		2153	16093
3	France	2844		
3	Germany	11894	5359	9377
3	Italy	11454	4427	
1	Peru	3583	7020	64870
3	Spain	21767	9675	15563
4	Syria	2995		
3	United Kingdom	1999		
3	United States	2987	5625	13285
2	Venezuela, RB		2336	7432
		104790	107312	320 397
1		24063	48082	166116
2		0	8800	42364
3		52945	25086	38225
4		2995	0	0
		104790	107312	320 397

1	Neighbouring Post-socialist European			
2	Not neighbouring Post-socialist European			
3	North American and Western European			
4	Other World			
	CZECH REPUBLIC	1960	1990	2010
3	Austria			7433
2	Belarus	3195	27582	
2	Bosnia and Herzegovina	2254	19459	
2	Bulgaria			4736
3	Germany	495	4277	9745
2	Hungary			6263
2	Lithuania	1285	11091	
2	Moldova	280	2413	
1	Poland	3032	26174	24958
2	Romania			12083
2	Russian Federation	8679	74935	13470
2	Serbia and Montenegro	641	5535	
1	Slovak Republic	21755	187831	288276
2	Ukraine	4746	40980	33642
4	Vietnam			14788
		49144	424467	453041
1		24787	214005	313235
2		21080	181995	70193
3		495	4277	17178
4		0	0	14788
		49144	424467	453041

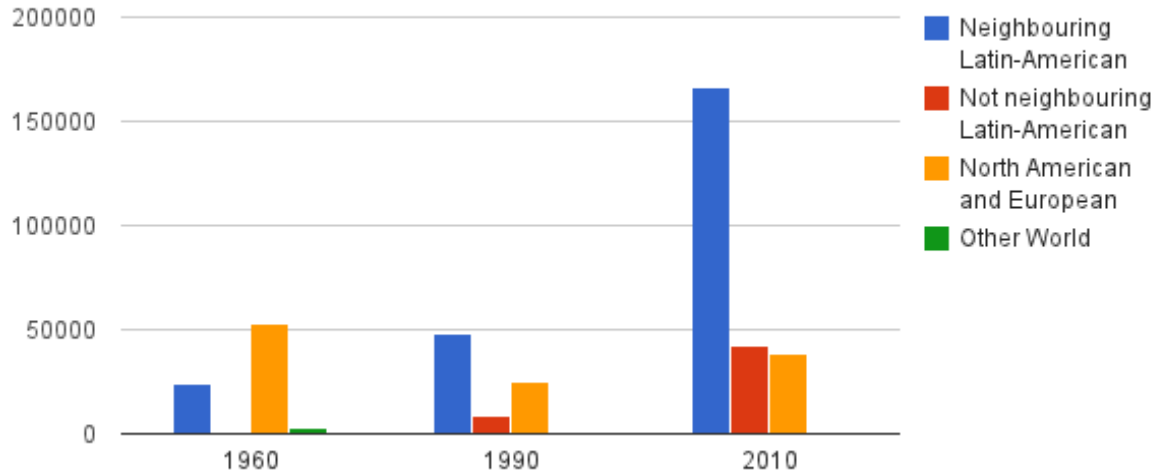


How to create a comparable typology of countries of origin and destination?

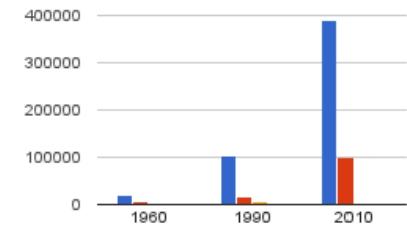
	Immigrant Latin America	Immigrant Eastern Europe	Emigrant Latin America	Emigrant Eastern Europe
	Neighbouring Latin American	Neighbouring Eastern European	Neighbouring Latin American	Neighbouring Eastern European
	Not neighbouring Latin American	Not neighbouring Eastern European	Not neighbouring Latin American	Not neighbouring Eastern European
	North American and Western European	North American and Western European	North American	Western European
	Other World	Other World	Western European and Other World	North American and Other World

Immigration

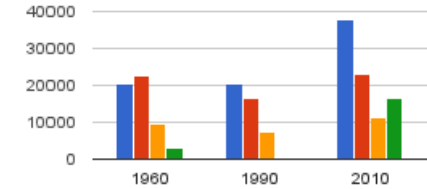
Chile



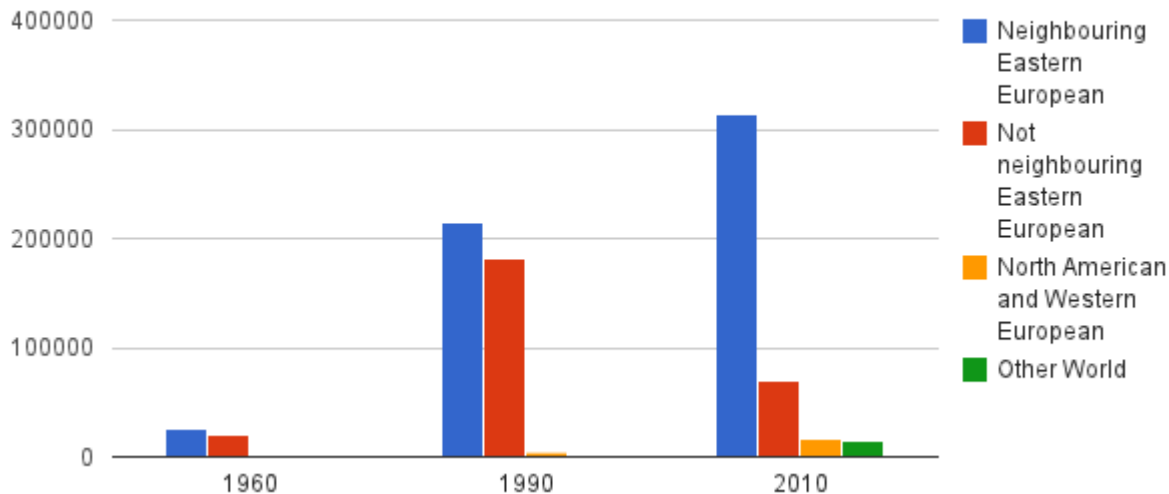
Costa Rica



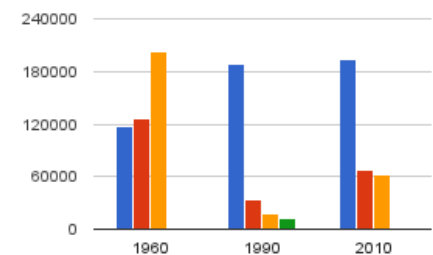
Panama



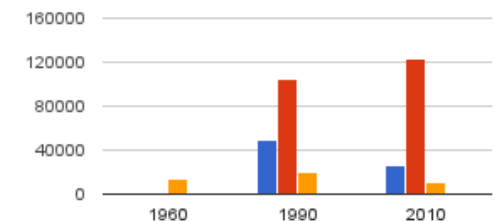
Czech Republic



Hungary



Slovenia



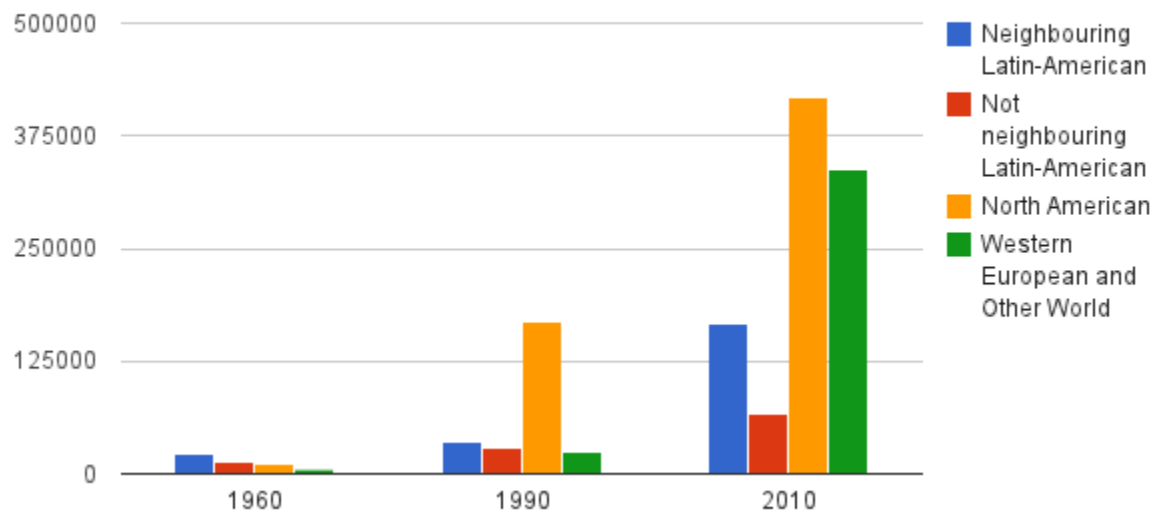
Findings: immigration

- Both in Latin America and in Eastern Europe, positive net migration is reached through inflow from neighbouring or geographically close countries. **None of the countries of the two regions became a global hub of migration.**
- In **Eastern Europe**, the growth of inflow is sharper in the **1990s** than in **Latin America**, where a marked increase of the immigrant stock can be detected in the **2000s**. In Eastern Europe the migrant stock did not grow in the past decade, as the economic situation in the whole region became stable.
- In both regions, for every country with a positive net migration rate, there are **one or two main sending countries** (neighbouring or geographically close) **which had troubled times with transition to democracy / structural adjustments**, and with which the country of destination have had distinguished historical ties.

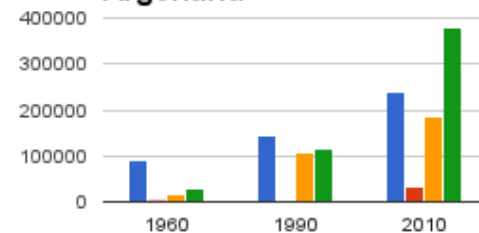


Emigration

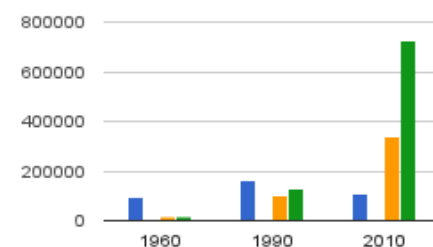
Peru



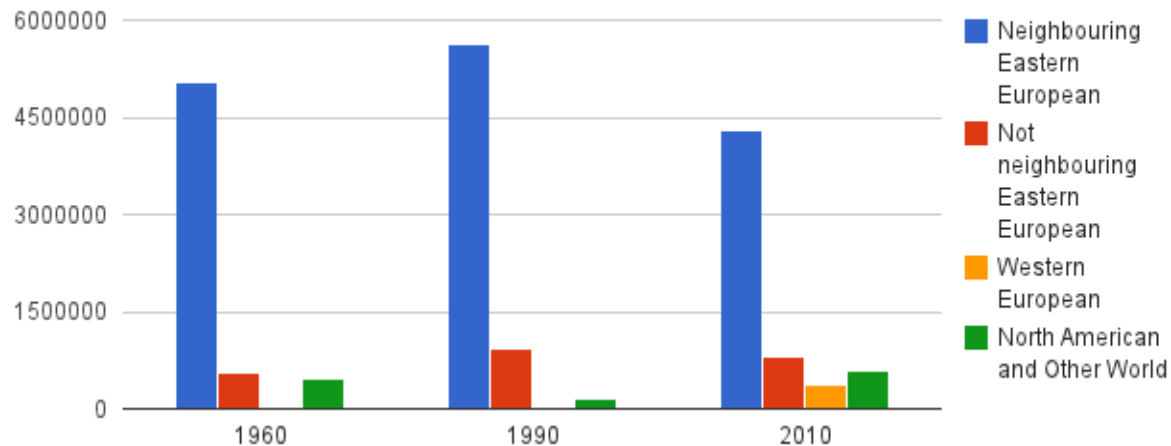
Argentina



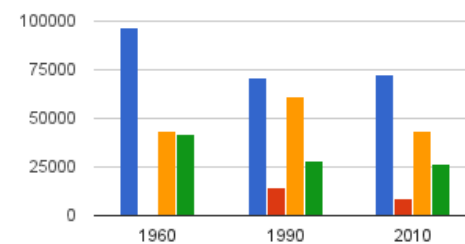
Brazil



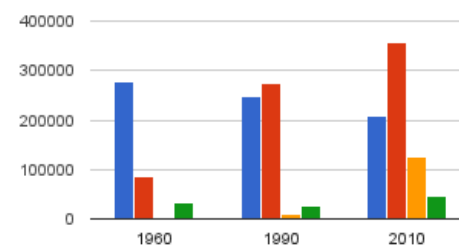
Ukraine



Estonia



Moldova



Findings: emigration

- **A huge outward migration push** (structural adjustments / transition to democracy / new statehood) shook many countries with a considerable inward migration, and the balance of migratory flows turned negative. **In Latin America, emigration rises from a rather small stock** to a considerable one in the 1990s (while immigration decreases). **Ex-Soviet countries already had a high rate of emigration** during Soviet times. Negative net migration rate is due to the decreased immigration and/or emigration of ethnic Russians to Russia.
- **"First-best" option was hindered by already restrictive migration policies** (USA for Latin America, EU for Eastern Europe), thus **"second-best" options needed to be taken**. These include **visa regime niches** (Spain) or **"ethnic" niches** (Japan / Israel).
- However, **the overwhelming majority of ex-Soviet migrants remain within the visa-free CIS area, and many Latin American migrants also migrate only to the neighbouring country.**
- As a consequence of geographic distance from the countries of destination, **Latin American emigration became truly global, while Eastern European emigration remained very much an intra-European issue.**



Limitations and further questions

- This presentation has been an **overview on the main economic and political features of selected Latin American and Eastern European countries** as determinants for **migratory processes**, in a historical perspective. Conclusions are therefore very broad and based on aggregate and estimated data.
- However, there are **similar developmental paths identified** in the case of very distant countries, which show their similar position in the global system.
- More elaborate country pair analyses including **legal framework, FDI, HDI, remittances, travel costs** etc. would offer deeper insights to the drivers of the process.
- Also, the **policy dimension** needs to be analyzed. What do the governments of these countries do in order to manage the situation? And how their action (or the lack thereof) is embedded in the global structures?



Thank you very much for your attention!

Béla Soltész

Hungarian Central Statistical Office / Corvinus University of Budapest

soltesz@demografia.hu

SEEMIG – Managing Migration in South East Europe project

www.seemig.eu

A special thanks goes to Szabina Csánó for her help in constructing the database.



References

- **Boatcă, Manuela** (2006). *Semiperipheries in the World-System: Reflecting Eastern European and Latin American Experiences*. *Journal of World-Systems Research*, XII, 11, December 2006, pp. 321-346.
- **Böröcz, József** (2012). *Regimes of Remittance Dependency: Global Structures and Trajectories of the Former Soviet 'Bloc'*, Manuscript. 2012.
- **Greskovits, Béla** (1998). *The Political Economy of Protest and Patience: East European and Latin American Transformations Compared*. Budapest: Central European University Press.
- **Linz, Juan J. and Stepan, Alfred** (1996). *Problems of Democratic Transition and Consolidation. Southern Europe, South America and Post-Communist Europe*. Baltimore–London: The Johns Hopkins University Press.
- **Melegh, Attila** (2012). *Net Migration and Historical Development in Southeastern Europe since 1950*. In: *The Hungarian Historical Review*, 2012/3–4.
- **Pop-Eleches, Grigore** (2008). *From Economic Crisis to Reform: IMF Programs in Latin America and Eastern Europe*. Princeton University Press.

Images taken from:

- <http://wallpapersus.com/wp-content/uploads/2012/05/cityscapes-streets-cars-traffic-bokeh-roads-blurred.jpg>
- <http://sites.psu.edu/jaffer/wp-content/uploads/sites/6950/2013/09/city-hazy-blurred-unsharp-night-rain-1920x1080-1000x288.jpg>

