

Migration AND Development in Post-Totalitarian Argentina

■ TEODORA-MARIA DAGHIE

[University of Bucharest]

Abstract

This paper aims to analyse the migration issues in Argentina, as they are perceived through the lenses of the European Union. Argentine society has faced capital changes in the past twenty years, going from a militarist regime to market economy and liberal democracy. All these have culminated with a profound economic crisis at the beginning of the years 2000, changing perceptions and creating new social patterns. Even though Argentine was since its creation a nation of immigrants, in the latest years this has become a sensitive issue. Deteriorating economic factors gave birth to an anti-immigration wave and to an emigration phenomenon.

Keywords

Argentina; migration; European Union; development; regional cooperation

Introduction

This paper studies the migration-development nexus from the perspective of the European policy framework. Specifically, I aim to do so by examining policy plans, programs and projects designed by the European Commission to manage the migratory flows from Argentina and how to transform these flows into an engine for development. Changes in the migratory reality of the twenty-first century and the new condition faced by migrants to become protagonists of the development of their countries of origin are a little studied in the links between the European Union and Argentina. The analysis is based on the knowledge of contemporary migration flows to study the links between migration and development in EU-LAC relations.

1 Teodora-Maria Daghie is PhD candidate in political science at the University of Bucharest, specializing in regional cooperation and security issues in Latin America, multipolarism and United States foreign policy.

This paper is a result of a research made possible by the financial support of the Sectorial Operational Programme for Human Resources Development 2007-2013, co-financed by the European Social Fund, under the project POSDRU/159/1.5/S/132400 – „Young successful researchers – professional development in an international and interdisciplinary environment“.

The research question can be formulated as follows: What is the impact that migration has on economic and social development, and how can this cause-effect relationship be addressed? How has the issue of migration influenced the relation between Argentina and the European Union? „What does this recent Europeanization of competence over policy on immigration from third countries involve?“²

These wide-ranging interrogations try to express the general rationale which is guiding the research. Much of their interest lies in the indications they can indirectly provide about the type of political community the European Union has the potential to shape. This is also due to the fact that different approaches to immigration reflect and imply different ideas on the broader nature of politics and of a polity.³

In this paper I start from the assumption that migration gives to the emerging countries the chance to take part in the global economy and it can help to reduce inequalities'. Nevertheless, in no case should migration aim to replace the traditional aid for development. It has been proven that immigration has positive effects on European economy, this being acknowledged in a large number of European Union documents issued by the Commission and the Parliament as the work force deficit rises through the Union, especially in intensive employment sectors.

One of the specific objectives of the research is to make an in depth analysis of the migration-development nexus and the shift in policies concerning asylum and migration at the level of the European Union: primarily it will focus on the quality and intensity of this change in the framing of migration in the Union's official discourse; secondly, it will try to investigate how the historical-institutional factors were responsible for this change; and finally it will try to forestall the possible developments of the paradigm in European Union's migration policy taking into account recent institutional evolutions of the its governmental structure.⁴

The research examines the aspects concerning the migration policies in the relationship between the Argentina and the European Union by following two broad approaches, the first part makes a theoretical-empirical evaluation based on the pre-existing literature in the field, the second approach being based on statistical and empirical data. This paper address the issue of migration following a bottom-up approach in an attempt to tackle the root cause of migration, such as poverty eradication, fighting social inequalities, improving higher education, but also by addressing destabilizing factors with a highly detrimental impact on the live of the civilian population such as conflict prevention and the fight against illicit drugs.⁵

The cooperation policies within the European Union has played important role in the process of elaboration of a common policy for development and international cooperation – a process that is at the heart of European integration. It should be underlined that European Union holds the first place as official world donor, coordinated by the OECD Development Assistance Committee. More than half of these operations coming from EU member states are channelled through the Commission.

For the past decades the European Union had a restrictive approach to migration, the flow of migration being perceived rather as dangerous,⁶ however

2 Liam Pantuzzi, „Assessing change in the European Union's approach to migration: Combinations and contradictions between the traditional securitarian paradigm and a new developmental component“ (master's thesis, Philosophical Faculty Albert-Ludwigs Universitat Fribourg and University of KwaZulu Natal, Durban, 2010/2011), 9.

3 Pantuzzi, Assessing change, 9.

4 Pantuzzi, Assessing change, 9.

5 European Union, „Migration in EU-Latin Relations“ (Brussels: European External Action Service, 2006), http://eeas.europa.eu/la/docs/migration_en.pdf (accessed May 14, 2015).

6 European Union, Migration.

the recent discourse shifted towards a more pragmatic approach immigration being viewed now as an opportunity for development rather than a threat and the European Union has not remained immune to these ideas.

Argentina has represented traditionally a recipient of international migration flows that constitutes at the same one of the most important processes in the country's history, both political and cultural, economic and social. The migration from neighbouring countries is a long-standing flow was long overshadowed by the spectacular development of the massive overseas migration, stimulated by a migration policy context „open door“ and attracting European immigrants.

After the second half of the twentieth century, initiated the decline of transoceanic flows, there is a progressive change in the composition of external immigration in recent decades thereof becomes mostly border. This transformation takes place in the framework of the migration profile modification of Argentina, that in recent years the population expelled more you receive.

Migration flows from neighbouring countries historically have ranged between 2% and 3% of the total population of the country and its development has obeyed traditionally the confluence of structural and cyclical factors. During the last quarter of the twentieth century until the beginning of the new millennium, the persistence of these shifts can not be explained by an increase in labour demand in Argentina, as the country is experiencing at this stage significant economic decline with increased unemployment and falling real wages, due early economic liberalization and neoliberal reform deep 90s'.

However, the largest relative economic development of Argentina even during recessions, with ejector situations in countries of origin, and the influence of elements that traditionally have encouraged this flow has enabled the continuity of these shifts. In recent years, border migration flows, far from being influenced by policies to attract, were limited, remaining preference for those of European origin. Immigration policy applied by the Argentine government was based on restrictive legislation, passed in the years of the National Reorganization Process and supported by the ideological assumptions on which it was based. The new democratic government maintained the validity of it, which, until 2003, and except amnesty decrees-regularization, the imposition of barriers to access to legal residence was the rule.

This, among other factors, became the cause of one of the most serious problems associated with neighboring immigrants settled in the country, coinciding with its importance for global migration flows: irregular migration.

The aim of this part is, first, to analyze the evolution of immigration from neighboring countries Argentina, from mid-1970 until early this century, although introductory form outlines the historical characteristics of this phenomenon in the country. The study takes into account the structural and economic factors that led to this flow, and within the latter, the emphasis is on the Argentina economic performance throughout this stage, the most important situations that have acted as ejecting elements in places of origin, among other determinants. It also makes a characterization of this current, looking elements such as socio-demographic profile of the members of this group, the localization pattern in Argentine territory, their employment, and some remarkable peculiarities differentiating the nation of origin.

On the other hand, devotes a section to the consideration of the general guidelines of migration policy implemented throughout this stage, emphasizing the most important aspects that have affected the entry and stay of foreigners in neighboring country.

After World War 2 migration patterns have changed all around the world, leading to the transformation of the process. This is also to be found in Argentina, as

the migration pool changed from Europe to Asia and neighbouring Latin American Countries. The last decades of the 20th century brought to the country a new and democratic leadership, the comparative strong economic position and the rising trade unionists and business leaders have tried since to create a negative image of migrant workers, they were made responsible for unemployment, lack of health-care or even public insecurity⁷. While regional immigration flows remained steady, the strive for better living conditions made a large number of Argentinians to seek prosperity in the more developed economies of the North, the United States and Canada being the main recipients. The data from the Argentinian Office for Migration reveals that the United States and Canada remain for the years the largest receivers of Argentinian immigration. „The majority of permanent immigrants enter under family reunification provisions, whereas most temporary immigrants enter the United States as specialty workers (H-1B visa), exchange visitors (J-1 visa), and intra-company transferees (L-1 visa).“⁸

During the 20th century Argentina shifted from being a large receiver of immigration to a turning point at regional and global levels where it also represents a large pool for emigration. The country's immigration profile changed in the same time with its economic status as it can be seen from the statistics presented by Solimano (2002), Jachimowicz (2006) and Zlotnic (1998), we can affirm that definitely immigration will play an important role for Argentina's future, both as country of origin and destination. By analysing its profile we can conclude that the restrictive immigration policies from the past or the deficits in implementing the human rights may have steered the migration process into one direction or another but the phenomenon represented a key factor in shaping the Argentinian landscape and it will remain as such in the next years.

Overview of the bilateral relation between Argentina and the European Union

The European Union's relationship with third parties is based and built on respect for the principles and objectives orderly contained in Article 21 of the Consolidated Treaty on European Union. Its definition and exercise should be consistent among themselves and with respect to all policies and activities of the European Union. Within this outline, the action of the European Union as legal entity must take into account the various degrees of participation of the member states according to a very articulated legal framework. We observe two prevalent institutions in the coordination of Union's external action: the Council – in respect to the common foreign and security policy, and the Commission – for all other areas of external action.

The Framework Agreement for trade and economic cooperation between Argentina and the European Communities laid the foundation for bilateral cooperation in trade, economy, agriculture and industry, as well as the possibility of extending cooperation to other areas. To the extent of the 1990 Framework Agreement and the 1995 EU- Mercosur Agreement in which Argentina is a signatory part, the

7 Merco Press South Atlantic News Agency, „UN Concern with Argentina's «discriminatory Attitudes» Towards Migrant Workers and Children”, <http://en.mercopress.com/2011/09/23/un-concern-with-argentina-s-discriminatory-attitudes-towards-migrant-workers-and-children> (accessed May 10, 2015).

8 Maia Jachimowicz, „Argentina: A New Era of Migration and Migration Policy,” <http://www.migrationinformation.org/USfocus/display.cfm?ID=374> (accessed May 10, 2015).

two parties have signed a series of bilateral sectorial agreements which tightened the cooperation between them⁹.

The bilateral treaties with Argentina and the one with Mercosur in which Argentina is signatory part embody the European Union's External Action commitment to development and cooperation with Latin America focusing on key issues such as the GATT, scientific cooperation, agriculture and financial assistance.

Institutional basis of the relationship

Argentina was the first Latin American country to formalize the relations with the European Union. These relations are based on the Framework Trade and Economic Co-operation Agreement that entered into force in 1990 and had as major principles the strengthening of the democratic regime in Argentina, and of the human rights as well as enhancing regional cooperation¹⁰. The progress is evaluated periodically by the European Union – Argentina Joint Commission. The bilateral cooperation represents an important aspect of the relationship between the European Union and Argentina, being defined by the Country Strategy Plan for 2007-2013.¹¹ There were identified three important sectors for the cooperation: education and training, economic competitiveness and capacity building in the public and academic sectors. These priorities were confirmed by a mid-term review of the cooperation program which was conducted in 2010.¹²

The European Union and Argentina had developed a close cooperation as early as 1991 when a representation of the European Commission was opened in Buenos Aires. Since 2009, with the Treaty of Lisbon, the Delegation represents the European Union as whole. Its mandate goes from promoting political, economic and trade relations between Argentina and the European Union through active contact with government and other stakeholders, monitoring the implementation of the agreements between the Union and Argentina, raising awareness of the European institutions, laws and policies, to an active engagement for the implementation of cooperation programs of the European Union.¹³

The two have developed a series of bilateral institutions and regular meetings designed to further the north-south dialogue, such as the European Union – Argentina Joint Committee¹⁴, or the European Union – Latin American and Caribbean Summit.¹⁵

9 European Union, „Interregional Framework Cooperation Agreement between the European Community and its Member States, of the one part, and the Southern Common Market and its Party States, of the other part – Joint Declaration on political dialogue between the EU and Mercosur,” <http://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=CELEX:21996A0319%2802%29:ES:HTML> (accessed May 12, 2015).

10 European Union, „Framework Agreement for Trade and Economic Cooperation between the European Economic Community and the Argentine Republic – Exchange of Letters,” [http://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=CELEX:21990A1026\(01\):EN:NOT](http://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=CELEX:21990A1026(01):EN:NOT) (accessed May 12, 2015).

11 European Union, „Argentina. Country Strategy Paper 2007-2013” (European Commission, Brussels, 23.04.2007 (E/2007/753)), http://www.eeas.europa.eu/argentina/csp/07_13_en.pdf (accessed May 12, 2015).

12 European Union, „Annex Argentina ,Mid-term review and national indicative programme 2011-2013” (European Commission, Brussels, 2011), http://www.eeas.europa.eu/argentina/csp/11_13_mtr_en.pdf (accessed May 12, 2015).

13 „[Case_ID: 0433462 / 3645159] EU Relation with Argentina.” Message to Europe Direct. 11 March. 2013. E-mail.

14 European Union, „EU-Argentina 7th Joint Committee Meeting,” European Union External Action Service, http://eeas.europa.eu/argentina/docs/7_jc_1206_en.pdf (accessed May 12, 2015).

15 European Union, „The Eu's Relations with Latin America and the Caribbean,” European Union External Action Service, <http://eeas.europa.eu/lac/> (accessed May 12, 2015).

Overview of the collaboration

The relationship between the European Union and Argentina can be characterized by a fruitful cooperation for the past twenty years. Over the time thousands immigrants who leave their homes for better living situation, reaching most developed countries of Latin America or Europe. The figures in Europe are increasing; almost ten percent of its population consists of immigrants from the developing world.¹⁶ This has led to a strong political and social debate at the Community level, the adoption of measures strongly opposed in the countries of origin of these populations, by groups of immigrants and by NGOs.

In a globalized world it is very important for governments as well as international organizations to have an up to date database of the migratory phenomenon, so they can better design the appropriate political, economic and social measures. Migration is a sensitive topic, being among the top priorities on national agendas and of the strategic partnership that was established between the European Union and the Latin American and Caribbean states. The Euro-Latin American Parliamentary Assembly has made this issue one of its top priorities and the General Secretariat of the Ibero-American community called the member states to address specific measures in tackling it. A series of Latin American integration agencies had assumed since then tasks and positions on the issue. These have demonstrated a coordinated effort to systematize the knowledge we have on migration and to fully frame it on the international agenda in the relations between two blocks.

Argentina – a case study

The contemporary era has been attributed an abundance of labels, however only one of them is of particular interest for our research: „the age of migration“ (Castles and Miller 2009). This is to emphasize that in the last twenty years the phenomenon of migration has reached very large dimensions.¹⁷ Although large-scale migratory movements are not considered something new in history what can should be underlined is the impact of these movements on the economic, social, political sphere; this also justifies the adoption of this expression¹⁸.

The age of migration cannot be separated from the complexities of globalization, this being only a small part of it, however its dynamics can provide a limited

16 Anne Herm, „Recent Migration Trends: Citizens of EU-27 Member States Become Ever More Mobile While Eu Remains Attractive to Non-Eu Citizens“ (Brussels: European Union. Euro Stat, 98/2008), http://epp.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/cache/ITY_OFFPUB/KS-SF-08-098/EN/KS-SF-08-098-EN.PDF (accessed May 12, 2015).

17 Pantuzzi, Assessing change, 6.

18 According to the IOM World Migration Report 2010, „[t]here are far more international migrants in the world today than ever previously recorded, and their number has increased rapidly in the last few decades, if not their percentage of world population (which has remained relatively stable) [...] If the migrant population continues to increase at the same pace as the last 20 years, the stock of international migrants worldwide by 2050 could be as high as 405 million“ (IOM 2010: 3). Among the novel qualities which define contemporary migration flows, the IOM Report highlights their unprecedented ethnic and cultural diversity, their considerable feminization, the growth in irregular migration and in temporary and circular migration (IOM 2010: 3). Castles and Miller identify the following tendencies: globalization of migration, acceleration of migration, differentiation of migration, feminization of migration, growing politicization of migration, and proliferation of migration transition (when traditional lands of emigration increasingly become also lands of transit and immigration) (Castles and Miller 2009: 11-2).

understanding of the global image.¹⁹ International migration is closely connected to globalization first of all due to the huge evolution of transports, information and communication technologies that ease the possibility of the trans-border transfers.²⁰ Other major factor that determines the migration flows is represented by the economic strength, as economic development and the higher standards of living. It worth to be mentioned that some authors give a very important role to resource distribution as an element of exclusion rather than one of emancipation.²¹

It can be argued that international migration, apart from being an element of a certain context, it can represent an active response to social, economic, and sometimes political problems. These are to be addressed within the limits of transitional networks that rise from globalization itself – giving a so called „globalization from below“ that can compensate for some inequalities or the lack of opportunities.²²

Scholars outside the western academia such as Bimal Ghosh (2005) and Jagdish Bhagwati (2003) expressed their concern in respect to the absence of an international regime that should tackle the problem of migration – where other areas such as human rights or trade are already benefiting of such framework.²³ However, this is considered today as a matter in the exclusive competence of the sovereign states. In Latin America, as well as in most regions outside Europe, the states are being resistant in giving up sovereignty in order to create regional agreements on this matter. International migration is a stringent challenge to the notion of nation state as it was coined after the Treaty of Westphalia, its implicit foundations being on the construction of national identities.²⁴

„As democracies and welfare states, governments are accountable to their own citizens and voters. These expect a privileged level of protection –not just of their security and civil liberties, but also in terms of access to welfare and social services and employment. At the same time, though, the very democratic, liberal and welfare principles that underlie these systems are based on a logic of equality and non-discrimination“.²⁵

This contradiction may remain silent as long as international migration is still rare and does not pose a challenge to the nation of the state as a closed body, but it can easily become an important issue if it is going to be analysed in the age of migration. States are on their guard against a phenomenon that calls into question the myths which have been taken for granted for a long time.²⁶

The analysis of the European Union’s migration policies is centred on the bilateral relation with Argentina, following the assumptions that the European Union has limited capability to define its migratory policy in what is concerns Latin America and that there are multiple cleavages concerning the migration policies at national and union level in the limited capability of the European Union to define its migration policy regarding the Latin America.

19 Pantuzzi, Assessing change, 6.

20 Pantuzzi, Assessing change, 6.

21 Pantuzzi, Assessing change, 6.

22 Pantuzzi, Assessing change, 7.

23 Pantuzzi, Assessing change, 7.

24 Pantuzzi, Assessing change, 7.

25 Christina Boswell, „Migration in Europe: A Paper Prepared for the Policy Analysis and Research Programme of the Global Commission On International Migration“ (Global Commission on International Migration, 2005),

http://www.iom.int/jahia/webdav/site/myjahiasite/shared/shared/mainsite/policy_and_research/gcim/rs/RS4.pdf (accessed May 14, 2015).

26 Boswell, Migration in Europe.

„There is no European level framework on migration that could be compared to fully-fledged national policies. The underdevelopment of this policy field is a direct consequence of the division of competences at the EU level: migration matters have been perceived as a field where State sovereignty should not be surrendered (together with such issues as labor-market regulation, social-security systems and taxation) and the common approach has been undesirable. The EU Member States have certainly been wary of ceding too much of their powers up to the EU, creating a *de facto* European space of 27 different approaches to migration policy, allowing only for minimum harmonization“²⁷

The European migration framework is characterized by a series of shortcomings and ambiguities, requiring more concentration, the common interest of the EU member states are sparsely embodied, in some of the fields lacking completely.²⁸ It has to be emphasized that migration policy falls under the Area of Freedom Security and Justice²⁹ thus addressing migration as a border management issue rather than a factor in labour economics.³⁰

The history of Argentina was characterized by immigration from the very moment of achieving independence from Spain. Large scale migration in the 19th and 20th Centuries shaped the social structure of Argentine society. Technological advances led to a convergence of the world in distance and time, making disparities in the ways and the qualities of life of people in each other's countries evident. Technology spread gave the possibility to an increasing number of people to overcome response large economic gaps, cultural, social and political increasingly separate the inhabitants of the land, reinforcing the possibility of coexistence of different peoples and groups.

Argentina, a Latin American country tapping Europeans, monopolized the stage of large transoceanic migrations to coincide with a clear pro-immigration project and a growing economy, had according to 1991 Census a ratio of only 5 percent of foreigners this representing a historical minimum, also the native immigrants from neighbouring countries were more numerous than those of European origin.³¹

- Migration Act (Law 25871) and its regulatory Decree no 616/2010
- General Recognition and Protection Act for Refugees (Law 26165)
- Act for the Prevention and Punishment of the Slave Trade and Assistance to Victims of the Slave Trade (Law 26364)
- Citizenship for Children of Argentinean Children Born Abroad (Executive Order 1601/2004)
- Programme of Regularisation of Migration Documents (Mercosur - Executive Orders 836/2004 - 578/2005 - Provision DNM 53253/05)
- Programme of Regularisation of Migration Documents (Extra Mercosur Executive Order 1169/2004)
- Integral System of Migration Capture 'S.I.Ca.M' (Resolution 8/2005)

27 Boswell, Migration in Europe, .6-7.

28 Boswell, Migration in Europe, 7.

29 European Union, „„Justice, Freedom and Security,“ Summaries of EU legislation“, http://europa.eu/legislation_summaries/justice_freedom_security/index_en.htm (accessed May 14, 2015).

30 European Union, Justice, Freedom and Security.

31 National Institute of Statistics and Census of Argentina, „Evolution of the Total Population According to the National Censuses. National Totals. Years 1869-2001. National Population Census of the Indicated Year“ (Buenos Aires: National Institute of Statistics and Census of Argentina, n/a), <http://www.indec.gov.ar/indec/ingles/iu020101.xls> (accessed May 14, 2015).

- Regulations for the Authorisation of Entry and Departure of Minors (Resolution 2895/1985)
- National Registry of Legal Agents for Migrants (Provision DNM32689/2004)
- National Registry of Petitioners of Foreign Citizens (Provision DNM54618/2008)
- National Registry of Foreign Citizens' Admission (Provision 15440/2005)
- National Registry of Migration Capacity (Provision 15441/2005)
- National Registry for the Entry and Departure of Individuals (Provision 15442/2005)
- National Constitution, international treaties ratified by Argentina and background legislation
- Administrative Procedure Act (L.N.P.A.) (Law 19549)
- L.N.P.A. Regulation and amending sections (ordered text) 1883/91 (Executive Order no. 1759/72)
- Letter of Commitment with the Citizen (Executive Order no 229/00)
- Access to Public Information (Executive Order no 1172/03).

Fig. 1 Main sources of immigration law in Argentina

Source: www.iuslaboris.com. Rep. Ius Laboris, Jan.-Feb. 2011. Web. Dec.-Jan. 2010. <<http://www.iuslaboris.com/Files/IUS-LABORIS-Immigration-An-International-Handbook.pdf>>.

The legal framework which supports an open migration policy can be traced back to Argentina's independence in the 19th Century, special provisions being integrated in its first constitutions. The Decree 1434 of 1987 regulates the Decree 22,349 in order to replace the law repealing Regulation 817 and above (Decree 4418/65). This act is even more restrictive than the law, since Article 15 specifies that only granted residence (permanent or temporary) to:

- a) professional, technical or specialized staff required by companies or persons in the country
- b) entrepreneurs, men business, artists, sportsmen
- c) scientists, professors, writers and people of special cultural, social, political, relevance
- d) migrants with sufficient equity capital to develop its industrial, commercial, agricultural, mining or fishing, a circumstance which must be properly credited the opinion of the enforcement authority
- e) belonging to religious cults officially recognized
- f) foreigners because of their particular conditions or circumstances are of particular interest to join the country
- g) parents, children or spouses of Argentine or permanent or temporary residents or persons mentioned in the preceding paragraphs.

The „classic“ migrant, does not fall within the above classification, virtually closing the borders for poor immigrants. Thus, the effect of these restrictions was the accumulation of illegal migrants by tenure, as the 'classical' migrants continued entering neighbouring countries as tourists, armed with only a passport and without visa.

In summary, the Argentine legal norms have always regulated the entry of foreigners through the selection according to the needs of the country. It never benefited of the immigrants with the free right of entry, not even in the beginning of the independence, when the illusion of an educated European immigration policy and encouraging work that benefited the arrival of large contingents from overseas.

However, since the early twentieth century, and more tightly from the 1930's, at the same time with a change in the origin of the mainstream of European

migration, border immigration never reached the dimensions of the first, the criteria for selection aimed at controlling the entry of foreigners became more rigid, adjusted through successive decrees and laws restricting immigration to specific categories, without stopping it, with exceptions in certain periods and national boundaries, but progressively increased until today the permeability of the Argentine borders.

The regulatory framework coincides with the main flow of native population from neighbouring countries, which unlike the previous wave of immigration, does not encourage the immigration of workers with measures to facilitate transit and protect your system in the country, mainly reflecting a dramatic change in conception of the phenomenon of international travel: the abandonment of the ideal pro-immigration in the past leading to a generous reception of foreigners. The harsh restrictions on income and naturalization, favoured the extension of the conditions of illegality among those who planned to enter the society and the economy of Argentina, as well as the ineffective control procedures at the borders.

In the current phase of globalization, migration processes are embedded in a world of powerful centres and peripheries subordinate. It is in this set of polarities between modern Western society and other cultures where we interpret the migration from peripheral countries to the core. The phenomenon is unique to exhibit clearly the contradictions and limitations of capitalism: the need but rejected. In times of crisis, it legitimizes their exclusion collapsing buildings rhetoric about human rights that those same central societies claiming to defend. In the peripheral countries recent experience transits opposite paths: the new policies in Argentina (2004), are based on an integrative model, respectful of the rights of migrants, which contrast with the developed world.

What is the pattern observed in Latin America, especially in the Southern Cone, about this complex relationship between global expansion and migration? The treatment of migration issues throughout Latin America reveals advances and retreats. Among the former we may include: a) the fact that the International Convention for the Protection of All Migrant Workers and their Families was recognized and enacted by fourteen Latin American countries, and although they are formal statements often fail to crystallize in everyday life of migrants, gives real protection that can go.

The fact that some of these receptors are countries such as Chile and Argentina, forcing us to further enhance this progress, b) the extension of citizenship in thirteen countries that have granted voting rights to its emigrants, c) entry into force of the Agreement on Residence signed by the countries of Mercosur and associates in 2002, although the time for internalization have been considerably extended, d) the declaration of the Union of South American Nations (UNASUR), created by treaty signed on May 23, 2008, in Brazil, which puts the immigration issue between one of its main specific objectives, involving a reaffirmation of the importance given to the issue of migration in the regional integration process.

Along the same lines is inscribed the draft „Special Communique on the Situation of Human Rights of Migrants“ in the Community of Latin American and Caribbean States (CELAC), prepared by the presidents of Latin America and the Caribbean, meeting in Caracas, on December 3, 2011, by which they propose to migrants and migration policy axis, value their contribution, expressed their opposition to the criminalization and undertake to combat racism and xenophobia.

On the other hand, despite the advances made, the treatment of migration within the Mercosur organs has been marginal, since not created a working group specifically dedicated to this matter was discussed only in labor-related spaces, borders and social security. Furthermore, progress cited fail to change ingrained practices of national authorities responsible for internal control and borders, who

perceive the migrant Latin American as a suspect a priori different crimes as well as a potential competitor of the domestic workforce. In summary, we note one positive process-slow and not without ups and downs, which incorporates a variable migration as essential to the effective implementation of integration.

The relations between the Argentina and the European Union on migration are based on the principle of partnership and on the principle that migration is both an issue and a challenge and needs to be addressed by countries of origin, transit and destination.³² In order to prepare the EU-LAC summits there have been organized expert meetings which took place in Guadalajara (2004) and Vienna (2006) and from which there have been issued important conclusions and recommendations regarding the issue of migration.³³

The European Commission has been active in making a series of policy proposal on issues related to integration of third country nationals, legal migration, the fight against illegal migration and how to foster the connections between migration and development. In order to be successful when tackling with these issues the European Union implemented The Political Dialogue and Co-operation Agreements with Central America and the Andean Community which contain specific clauses on the area of migration and re-admission.³⁴

Taking in consideration the fact that the phenomena of migration has economic, social and political importance for Argentina and the rest of the countries in Latin America, this issue has become not only a regular subject for relations with the countries of the Andean community but also for the bi-regional dialogues with Latin America as a whole. In order to prepare the EU-LAC summits there have been organized expert meetings which took place in Guadalajara (2004) and Vienna (2006) and from which there have been issued important conclusions and recommendations regarding the issue of migration.³⁵

At the EU-LAC Summit in Lima (2008) the European Union and the Latin American and Caribbean countries have committed to take forward a structured and well elaborated dialogue on issues related to migration.³⁶ „Also it has to be highlighted that migration became a regular topic in the bi-regional dialogue. Individually both regions are addressing the subject of migration at the highest levels. A number of EU-LAC expert meetings have already taken place and have produced recommendations that were taken on board in the respective EU-LAC Summit Declarations. They addressed the treatment, rights and integration of migrants; the facilitation of the transfer of migrant remittances; new approaches to migration policies; joint efforts to address irregular migration; and strengthening the fight against the smuggling of and trafficking in human beings.

Both partners are currently actively involved in further developing their dialogue on migration as well as enhancing cooperation in this area using the various instruments available such as the Aeneas Program and the Thematic Cooperation Program with Third Countries in the Development Aspects of Migration and Asylum.³⁷

The cooperation between Argentina and the European Union is also based on the regionalism of Mercosur which has from the beginning of 1991 been focused on a strategic partnership with this country because she was considered as

32 European Union, „Migration in Eu-Latin Relations“ (Brussels: European External Action Service, 2006), http://eeas.europa.eu/la/docs/migration_en.pdf (accessed May 14, 2015).

33 „FBDK: EU Relation with Argentina“ Message to EEAS. 18 January 2013. E-mail.

34 European Union, „Migration in Eu-Latin Relations“ (Brussels: European External Action Service, 2006), http://eeas.europa.eu/la/docs/migration_en.pdf (accessed May 14, 2015).

35 European Union, Migration in Eu-Latin.

36 „FBDK: EU Relation with Argentina“ Message to EEAS. 18 January 2013. E-mail.

37 FBDK: EU Relation.

being one of the two dominant economies in the region.³⁸ Mercosur was viewed as a strategic response to the challenges which were posed by globalization and national development problems and thus it was seen as a way to ensure that there was a more successful integration in the global economy. However, if we look at the international political strategies of Argentina we can see that Mercosur played an important part in the move towards a stronger economic relationship and a closer economic partnership with the dominant Western powers.³⁹

Mercosur was also considered as being an answer to the trade negotiations between Canada, the United States and Mexico that started in 1990 and which led to the establishment in 1994 of NAFTA (North American Free Trade Agreement) and also to American idea of establishing a hemispheric block in Americas that gained impetuosity during the First Summit of Americas which took place in 1994 in Miami during the Clinton Administration.⁴⁰

These relations are also based on the Framework Trade and Economic Co-operation Agreement which entered into force in 1990 and had as major principles: the strengthening of the democratic regime in Argentina, the strengthening of the human rights as well as regional cooperation. In order to evaluate the progress there are periodical meetings of the European Union –Argentina Joint Commission.⁴¹ Other important aspect of the relations between Argentina and the European Union is the bilateral cooperation whose current orientations are defined in the Country Strategy Plan for 2007-2013. This aims to identify three important sectors for the cooperation between the European Union and Argentina: education and training; economic competitiveness; capacity- building in the public and academic sectors. These priorities were confirmed by a mid-term review of the co-operation program which was conducted in 2010.⁴²

Conclusions

At the end of the 20th Century due to the economic collapse and political instability Argentina began to look like as an undeserved misfortune. To some extent, politicians, organizations, and union officials linked the economic situation of the country with immigration, even if Argentina is a nation which owes much to it. According to them migrants are responsible for the unemployment, lack of services in health or even public insecurity, this being obviously is not true.

The reasons behind migration are as many as migrants; there are political and economic reasons, emotional, family or personal reasons. Within the latter, professional advancement has been identified as one of the most important for the natives of Central and Eastern Europe, making a career outside Europe as immigrants. We can't consider only the migration of the poor, the qualified professionals and highly skilled staff easily can relocate to another country following a

38 Steen Fryba Christensen, „Argentina and Brazil's Relations to the EU” (Aalborg: Aalborg University, 2010), http://vbn.aau.dk/files/35942861/Steen_Fryba_Christensen.pdf (accessed May 14, 2015).

39 Christensen, Argentina and Brazil's.

40 Christensen, Argentina and Brazil's.

41 European Union, „Framework Agreement for Trade and Economic Cooperation between the European Economic Community and the Argentine Republic – Exchange of Letters,” [http://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=CELEX:21990A1026\(01\):EN:NOT](http://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=CELEX:21990A1026(01):EN:NOT) (accessed May 12, 2015).

42 European Union, „Annex Argentina ,Mid-term review and national indicative programme 2011-2013'” (European Commission, Brussels, 2011), http://www.eas.europa.eu/argentina/csp/11_13_mtr_en.pdf (accessed May 12, 2015).

company's system of promotion throughout their career. They are also economic migrants though their image is different from that of a traditional one.

As it can be seen the migratory process is continuous, some of the migrations being only transitional to a new destination. This process requires changes in habits, customs, and social adaptability and involves changes for both the migrant and his family. The recent waves of migration which shaped Argentine society came out of economic crisis, social instability and the lack of opportunities within the national labour market, strive for better economic conditions, access to a more developed labour market.

Perhaps many people are trying to escape from the crisis in the hope of finding better opportunities in another country or perhaps find in what his native country not can give you; although in some cases these illusions are not always met and have to live in poor conditions to be able to adapt socially and get a job fixed. The first to go are usually men in search of work and a worthy place where to accommodate his family; Although many are also young people who have no employment possibilities within his home country; waiting for an offer and opportunities in work and in the hope of returning to see his family. Many of them or the vast majority does not return, or at least does not immediately; since you do get work; the wages fail you to buy the plane ticket; either it is very difficult to ask a short time be employed occupational licenses. Often leave his country home in a difficult decision for many and even becomes painful; because it involves disassociate itself completely of their affections most close. But however migratory movements occurred and they will continue with the passage of the years.

However, despite the above changes were made in relation to the protection and respect of the rights of migrants, specific studies reveal that immigrants in Argentina are discriminated and exploited in many cases persecuted and mistreated. There are economic, cultural and ideological explain this phenomenon. What is still debated is the extent to which immigrants suffer such treatment because they are foreign or being poor. Discussion related to another pending question revolves around how much of democracy, migration policies and democratic-capitalist system tolerates.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

BBC News. „Profile: Carlos Menem..“ <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/americas/1376100.stm> (accessed May 11, 2015).

BOSWELL, Christina. *Migration in Europe: A Paper Prepared for the Policy Analysis and Research Programme of the Global Commission On International Migration*. Global Commission on International Migration, 2005, http://www.iom.int/jahia/webdav/site/myjahiasite/shared/shared/mainsite/policy_and_research/gcim/rs/RS4.pdf(accessed May 14, 2015).

CHRISTENSEN, Steen Fryba. *Argentina and Brazil's Relations to the Eu*. Aalborg: Aalborg University,2010, http://vbn.aau.dk/files/35942861/Steen_Fryba_Christensen.pdf (accessed May 14, 2015).

European Union. „Bilateral Framework Agreements for Cooperation with the Mercosur Countries..“, http://europa.eu/legislation_summaries/external_relations/relations_with_third_countries/latin_america/r14014_en.htm (accessed May 11, 2015).

European Union. „EU Treaties Office Database..“, <http://ec.europa.eu/world/agreements/prepareCreateTreatiesWorkspace/treatiesGeneralData.do?step=0> (accessed May 11, 2015).

European Union. „The Eu's Relations with Latin America and the Caribbean.“ European External Action Service, <http://eeas.europa.eu/lac/> (accessed May 12, 2015).

European Union. „Eu-Argentina 7th Joint Committee Meeting.“ European External Action

Service, http://eeas.europa.eu/argentina/docs/7_jc_1206_en.pdf (accessed May 12, 2015).

European Union. „Framework Agreement for Trade and Economic Cooperation between the European Economic Community and the Argentine Republic – Exchange of Letters..”, [http://eurlex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=CELEX:21990A1026\(01\):EN:NOT](http://eurlex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=CELEX:21990A1026(01):EN:NOT) (accessed May 12, 2015).

European Union. „Interregional Framework Cooperation Agreement between the European Community and Mercosur..”, http://europa.eu/legislation_summaries/external_relations/re-lations_with_third_countries/latin_america/r14013_en.htm (accessed May 11, 2015).

European Union. „Interregional Framework Cooperation Agreement between the European Community and its Member States, of the one part, and the Southern Common Market and its Party States, of the other part – Joint Declaration on political dialogue between the EU and Mercosur..”, <http://eurlex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=CELEX:21996A0319%2802%29:ES:HTML> (accessed May 12, 2015).

European Union. „Justice, Freedom and Security.” Summaries of EU legislation, http://europa.eu/legislation_summaries/justice_freedom_security/index_en.htm (accessed May 14, 2015).

European Union. *Migration in Eu-Latin Relations*. Brussels: European External Action Service, 2006, http://eeas.europa.eu/la/docs/migration_en.pdf (accessed May 14, 2015).

HERM, Anne. *Recent Migration Trends: Citizens of Eu-27 Member States Become Ever More Mobile While Eu Remains Attractive to Non-Eu Citizens*. Brussels: European Union. Euro Stat, 98/2008, http://epp.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/cache/ITY_OFFPUB/KS-SF-08-098/EN/KS-SF-08-098-EN.PDF (accessed May 12, 2015).

JACHIMOWICZ, Maia. „Argentina: A New Era of Migration and Migration Policy..”, <http://www.migrationinformation.org/USfocus/display.cfm?ID=374> (accessed May 10, 2015).

Merco Press South Atlantic News Agency. „Un Concern with Argentina’s „discriminatory Attitudes” Towards Migrant Workers and Children..”, <http://en.mercopress.com/2011/09/23/un-concern-with-argentina-s-discriminatory-attitudes-towards-migrant-workers-and-children> (accessed May 10, 2015).

National Institute of Statistics and Census of Argentina. *Evolution of the Total Population According to the National Censuses. National Totals. Years 1869-2001. National Population Census of the Indicated Year*. Buenos Aires: National Institute of Statistics and Census of Argentina, n/a. <http://www.indec.gov.ar/indec/ingles/iu020101.xls> (accessed May 14, 2015).

PANTUZZI, Liam. „Assessing change in the European Union’s approach to migration: Combinations and contradictions between the traditional securitarian paradigm and a new developmental component.” Master’s thesis, Philosophical Faculty Albert-Ludwigs Universitat Fribourg and University of KwaZulu Natal, Durban, 2010/2011.