

Frontier and Migration in MERCOSUR: Meaning, Specificities and Implications¹

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1. Introduction

This text presents partial results of a research concerning inter-relations among international population, on one side, and re-structuring process and economic integration on the other side, with a particular emphasis on the case of Mercosur. Previous phases of the research consisted of an initial characterisation of recent international movements in this sub-region of South American continent⁴; among other dimensions, it was possible to observe that these population movements assumed distinct contours, with a clear movement among metropolis, mainly Buenos Aires and São Paulo, and more disperse movements among a set of cities whose dynamism make them different in the current economic context.

Besides, it could also be observed that were emerging some real situations of trans-frontiers geographic spaces that expressed a specific problematic; the concomitance of traditional processes and contemporary new injunctions made more acute in these areas, the present days difficulties⁵. So, the trans-frontier modality of movement turned to constitute a necessary instance in the understanding of the relationship – or transformations in previous relationships – among migratory movements and economic development in the block. Indeed this approach has demanded a new understanding of the proper definition of “international migration”.

It is convenient to reinforce here that the mentioned research has had the character of “monitoring”, that is, it is not an *ex-post facto explanation*; rather it consists of following observations of emerging processes. Furthermore, since it is beginning, this line of research has been concerned with implications of macro-economic transformations in individuals and social groups living conditions. Thus, it includes a concern also with social policies, understood as mediating factors between macro dimensions and real social conditions of groups more directly involved in the process.

In this sense, juridical aspects and transformations in power structure and organisation - be it at regional, national or local - constitute an important level of analysis. In fact, agreements among Mercosur countries involve necessarily a redefinition of the meaning and implications

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⁴ The prior phases of the research resulted in two books “Imigração e Emigração Internacionais no Brasil Contemporâneo” (1996) e “Migrações Internacionais: Herança XX, Agenda XXI” (1997). Co-ordinated by Patarra and financed by United Nations Fund for Population Activities (UNFPA), as well as in other texts presented in scientific seminars: Patarra (1997 e 2000), Baeninger (2000).

⁵ The final report of the project “Population Movements and Free Circulation of Workers: Mercosur case” – CNPq, NEPO/UNICAMP (2000) concerns those aspects.

of citizenship in the block; it is a necessary step to incorporate rights and duties of families and individuals. No doubt this is one of the most conflicting aspects in the series of tensions between national interest and bi- or multi-lateral agreements.

Under this scope, the paper is organised in three parts: in the first part there is an overview of the migratory movements in Latin America, emphasising new trends and characteristics in the current context of economic restructuring and formation of blocks; in this part a particular consideration is given to the case of Brazil. In the second part, attention is given to countries in Mercosur in order to explore the peculiarities of contemporary migration movements inside the block. The third part is devoted to transfrontiers areas, with their diversity and their implications in terms of population movement; it is reinforced the idea that “trans-frontier migration” constitute a specific object of study necessary to the understanding of contemporary modalities of international migration.

2. International Migration in Latin America: overview of recent trends

Population movements among the countries in Latin America, in general, are historic and very complex, involving since intercontinental flows until those in bi-national and tri-national spaces. Those migrations involve many sorts of population mobility in Latin American and Caribbean countries and derive either of economics and/or policies factors⁶. The intra-regional migratory processes, however, has become more visible from the 70's on.

In fact, from an accumulated stock of 1,218,990 Latin-Americans e Caribbean⁷ living in countries of the region that are different from the place of birth, in 1970⁸, changed to 1,995,149, in 1980, reaching 2,242,268 intra-regional migrants, in 1990. Villa e Martínez (2000) already had pointed the double tendency of the international migrations in Latin America. The first tendency is characterised by population movements towards countries of the First World; the second tendency are movements occurred among countries of the region. It is important to say that Brazil was the last country in Latin America to enter in the first tendency , in the 80's. For the first time, since that decade, it is possible to notice an important exodus of Brazilian people to the United States, Japan, and some European countries; its previous out-migration movement was only to Paraguay.

Nevertheless, since the 80's, it is observed a slowing down in the rhythm of migration with a decrease in the stock of those migrants; in fact, the amount of migration registered in Censuses around 1980 and 1990 are quite similar . This deceleration of intra-regional migration can be related to the economic crisis in the 80's , to the return of the exiled migrants, and to new modalities of population movement in the region, mainly in the frontier; in the case of frontier areas, the spatial mobility does not necessarily imply in change

⁶ See Pellegrino (1989), Villa (1997), Lattes e Lattes (1997), Maguid (2000), among others.

⁷ Data about international migrations are difficult to estimate. Information that comes from the demographic censuses, source where it is possible to use those information, presents a part of sub-enumeration, as well as they don't capped tendencies, but a picture of a distinct period. Thus, in this project, we use a lot of information qualitative, in order to decrease the gap about the knowledge of the phenomenon. Nevertheless, a good evaluation through census information can be accomplished through IMILA Project (International Migration in Latin America) from Center Latin American of Demography (CELADE). Informations in this item are taken from IMILA. In Attached 1 it are presented in brief the objectives, reaching, potentialities and limitations of the information that come from IMILA.

⁸ In order to compare the Census information of the various countries, IMILA uses the dates that correspond to the years that are near the national Census (Villa e Martínez, 2000).

of residence from one country to another. Besides, the maintenance of the same amount of migrants is related to the recent flows of Latin-American migrants to the United States. (Villa, 1997).

In the context of Latin America and Caribbean, Venezuela and Argentina were the main attraction countries, mainly in the 70's: "*Argentina has been the traditional destination of a high number of regional population. This population is attracted by the possibility of work in the agricultural area, in manufacturing, in construction and services (...)* In Venezuela, the economy promoted by the petroleum wealth attracted Colombians and people from the South Cone forced to leave their origin country" (Villa e Martínez, 2000:7, free translations by the authors)

In spite of the significant decreasing in the stock of foreigner migrants of those countries in the 80's (Villa, 1997; Pellegrino, 2000), Argentina registered an international intra-regional migratory balance of 147 thousand people and Venezuela of 60 thousand between 1980-1990⁹ (Map1).

In fact, to those countries corresponded, in the census of the 90's, the biggest stock of foreigners -1,605,871 people in Argentina, and 1,024,121 in Venezuela. The higher participation of foreigners in the total of the national population: 5.7% of the population living in Venezuela and 5.0% from the population of Argentina. However, if only the stock of Latin American and Caribbean foreigners living in the countries of the region is considered, it is possible to identify a new configuration of the *countries of regional attraction*. Paraguay is the first in the ranking - 4.0% of its foreigners with intra-regional origin, followed by Venezuela (3.7%), Costa Rica (3.1%) and Argentina (2.5%). Actually, part of the stock of the foreigners in Argentina are originally from Ultramar¹⁰ flow which started in the end XIX century, although more than a half of the international migrants living in Argentina were born in countries of this own region.

⁹ Villa e Martínez (2000:7)

¹⁰ See Villa and Martínez (2000) about the big patterns of international migration in Latin America and Caribbean.

Map 1
Immigration Areas in Latin America
1990's



Source: IMILA/CELADE

A classification of Latin America and Caribbean region according to the proportion of foreigners that were born in this region- in the census around 1990's- still allows us to grasp other countries with important participation of the intra-regional migration, as follows:

a) Countries with strong participation of the intra-regional migrations: Paraguay, Costa Rica, Bolivia, Nicaragua, El Salvador e Equator - more than 70% of their foreigners ;

b) Countries with medium participation of the intra-regional migrations: Venezuela, Panama, Colombia, Chile, Uruguay, Argentina e Peru, with about 43% to 65% of their foreigners;

c) Countries with weak participation of the intra-regional migrations: Guatemala (7.6%), Brazil (15.4%) e Mexico (25.2%).

It also could be observed that in the 1980's occurred a small decreasing in the population movements, yet the migration among countries of the so called *Extended Mercosur*¹¹ increased considerably in the last twenty years (Table 1). In 1970, around 797 thousand *merco-southians* were living in countries of the region that were different from the region of birth; this volume went up to one million in 1980 and reached 1, 2 million in 1990.

According to these data, even before the official constitution of this regional block - the Asuncion Treaty was signed in 1991 and census data refer to the 1980's-, the international movements in this sub-region of Latin America already demonstrated their increasing importance.

Table 1
Stocks of Intra-Regional Out-migrants
Mercosur (Argentina, Paraguay, Uruguay e Brazil) and Extended Mercosur (Argentina, Paraguay, Uruguay, Brazil, Bolivia and Chile)
1970-1990

Mercosur Countries	International Intra-Regional migrants		
	1970	1980	1990
Argentina	91.592	109.373	151.814
Paraguay	252.930	278.714	273.298
Uruguay	73.597	134.262	160.749
Brasil	106.613	154.333	166.523
Bolívia	119.886	135.605	168.300
Chile	152.923	228.160	246.553
Extended Mercosur	797.541	1.040.447	1.168.426

Source: IMILA/CELADE (2000).

¹¹ In this case refer to countries like: Argentina, Brazil, Uruguay, Paraguay, Bolivia and Chile.

In Mercosur countries – Argentina, Paraguay, Uruguay and Brazil – there were a more dynamic situation: from 485,157 intra-regional migrants, in 1970, it went up to 653,600 in 1980 and 684,569 in 1990 (Table 2).

Since 1970, Paraguay is having an important emigration flow in the context of Mercosur, having Argentina as its main destiny country, followed by Brazil, reaching 40% of the out-migratory movement of all four countries in 1990. Until 1980, Brazil was in second position in the intra-Mercosur emigration, giving this position to Uruguay in 1990: 154,516 and 158,823 registered emigrants in the other countries, respectively.

Table 2
Stocks of International Intra-Regional Immigrants and Emigrants
Mercosur (Argentina, Paraguay, Uruguay e Brazil)
1970, 1980 e 1990

Mercosur countries	International intra-regional movements ¹					
	Emigration			Immigration		
	1970	1980	1990	1970	1980	1990
Argentina	63.653	89.640	99.570	336.950	411.307	418.326
Paraguay	251.668	278.430	271.660	62.428	143.438	158.327
Uruguay	72.645	133.273	158.823	34.959	33.424	41.289
Brazil	97.191	152.257	154.516	50.820	65.431	66.627
Mercosur	485.157	653.600	684.569	485.157	653.600	684.569

Source: IMILA/CELADE (2000).

In the context of intra-Mercosur immigration, Argentina has been concentrating this process, although with decreasing tendency: in 1970, the country had 70% of the total immigrants of all four countries, downsizing to 61%, in 1990. Notice that all the countries of the block have increased their stocks of intra-regional foreigners, mainly Uruguay in the 1980-1990 period (from 33,424 to 41,2890 foreigners) and Paraguay (from 143,438 to 158,327).

In terms of *Extended Mercosur*, Argentina also constitutes a concentration country, with its stock of foreigners increasing during the 1970's, mainly with immigrants from Uruguay, Chile and Bolivia. The main countries of birth of the Latin-American foreigner population living in Argentina are Paraguay, Chile, Bolivia, Uruguay and Brazil. This strong emigration to Argentina has been a noticeable trait of international migrations in Mercosur in the last decades, which transforms the other countries of the block into areas of regional emigration.

Actually, in the context of the intra-regional migrations in Mercosur, the importance of the migratory phenomenon lies much more in the new situation presented in the processes of population movements. In fact, the enormous diversity and potentiality of spaces of migration in Mercosur has contributed to a lower concentration in the volume of migrants.

2.1. Brazil in the context of international migrations in Latin America

The international migratory movements reassume, mainly at the end of the 80's, growing importance even in the case of Brazil. Since the beginnings of its emigration to the First World, the idea was that the country had transformed itself from a traditional immigrant society to an *expelling country*: The amount of around 1,5 million Brazilian living abroad¹² became the starting point to the perception that the international migration would come to continue; the emigration tendency, besides, started being considered an important demographic question.

At the same time the country also started receiving new contingents of people from other countries¹³ (Map 2). So, after almost a century of the massive flow of Europeans, mainly to the South-East region of the country¹⁴, Brazil restarted receiving again international immigrants, although with completely new social and economic characteristics.

Considering only the foreigners who entered¹⁵ in Brazil in the 1981-1991 period¹⁶, the Census registered a volume of 63,818 people; besides, the Census also registered about 59,033 Brazilian who were coming back to the Country. Among the new international immigrants, around 44% were originally from Latin America (Table 3), with prominence of those from Argentine (more than 6 thousand immigrants), Bolivia (5,7 thousand), Chile (4,9 thousand), Paraguay (3,8 thousand) and Uruguay (2,9 thousand).

However migratory flows with origin in other continents - United States (4,955 immigrants), Portugal (4,605) and Korea (3,415), for instance- were bigger than that from Latin American countries. This fact may be an indicator of Brazil's insertion in the contemporary international migration routes around the world. Indeed, nowadays the country presents a large diversity of international movements, including long and short distances, intra and inter regional movements as well as movements in some peculiar international frontiers. (Map 2).

Summarising, the 1980's give new meanings and peculiarities to the international migration in Latin America. Comparing to the flows coming from Europe and United States, those that came from Latin America have a higher relative proportion of new immigrants. As long as more than a half of the people who declared countries of Europe or the United States as countries of prior residence were Brazilian in return. In the case of Mercosur, the exception is the flow from Paraguay, which 80% of total were Brazilian in return.

So, the new international immigrants are Bolivian, Argentinean, Uruguayan and Chilean people - countries of the Mercosur block - but also Korean, Japanese and Chinese people. In these last cases, the main destiny of migration is the City of São Paulo¹⁷. But, are still

¹² Both the data of the Consular Census (1996) and the elaborated projections referent to the Brazilian immigrants (Carvalho, 1996) approach this number.

¹³ See Patarra (1996).

¹⁴ Between 1880 and 1940 it was estimated around 4,1 million foreigner immigrants, mainly European entering in Brazil (Levy, 1974).

¹⁵ Actually, it refers to those who entered, stayed and were alive at the time of the Census and answered to the Census.

¹⁶ Information referent to the international migratory flows is possible only through Demographic Census. Analyse here the results of the Census of 1991, since Census of 2000 has not yet been released.

¹⁷ The final report of the project "Population Movements and Free Circulation of Workers: Mercosur case" - CNPq, NEPO/UNICAMP (2000) concerns those aspects.

other important movements with frontier states: from Argentine to the states of Paraná and Rio Grande do Sul; from Uruguay to Rio Grande do Sul; in the case of Paraguay to Paraná and Mato Grosso do Sul, the main proportion is of Brazilians in return.

Table 3
International Immigrants and Brazilian Immigrants in Return according to Country of Prior Residence
Brazil, 1981-1991

Prior Residence	Total of International Immigrants	Brazilian in Return	Total Pop. with prior residence abroad	Proportion of return Brazilian in Total (%)
Latin America	28,083	22,648	50,731	44.64
Argentina	6,349	2,446	8,795	27.81
Bolivia	5,736	1,437	7,173	20.03
Chile	4,906	459	5,365	8.56
Paraguay	3,804	14,929	18,733	79.69
Peru	1,830	391	2,221	17.60
Uruguay	2,936	765	3,701	20.67
Colombia	862	371	1,233	30.09
Venezuela	647	687	1,334	51.50
Others	1,013	1,163	2,176	53.45
North America/Central	7,025	15,741	22,766	69.14
United States	4,955	13,573	18,528	73.26
Canada	487	850	1,337	63.57
Others	1,583	1,318	2,901	45.43
Europe	15,346	14,990	30,336	49.41
Portugal	4,605	1,798	6,403	28.08
Germany	2,209	2,156	4,365	49.39
Spain	1,182	997	2,179	45.75
France	1,765	2,899	4,664	62.16
Great-Britain	1,155	3,139	4,294	73.10
Italy	1,813	1,841	3,654	50.38
Switzerland	815	547	1,362	40.16
Others	1,802	1,613	3,415	47.23
Asia	10,793	3,310	14,103	23.47
Korea	3,415	30	3,445	0.87
Japan	2,405	484	2,889	16.75
Continental China	2,221	26	2,247	1.16
Lebanon	1,396	213	1,609	13.24
Others	1,356	2,557	3,913	65.35
Africa	1,801	1,238	3,039	40.74
Angola	826	184	1,010	18.22
Others	975	1,054	2,029	51.95
Ocean	317	606	923	65.65
No declaration	453	500	953	52.47
TOTAL	63,818	59,033	122,851	48.05

Source: FIBGE, Demographic Census of 1991. Special Tabulations NEPO/UNICAMP.

Map 2
Emigration Movement
Brazil, 1990's



Source:IMILA/CELADE.

Brazil is the fourth country in the ranking of foreigners stock in Latin America: 118,525 people, around the 90's - against 181,273 Brazilian living in the countries of the region. Although the number of emigrants is higher than that of immigrants, when the country of destination is considered, it is observed that emigrants flows are quite diverse, showing the recent *modalities of Latin- American migrations to and from Brazil*.

It is also worthwhile to consider the new Brazil's insertion in the region through the stocks of Brazilians¹⁸ in countries of the region as follows:

- the amount of Brazilian in Argentine has been decreasing, from 48 thousand to 33 thousand people, respectively in 1960 and 1991;
- the amount of Argentineans in Brazil has been increasing, from 15 thousand to 25 thousand people; the number of Brazilians in Uruguay has not changed since 1975 - around 14 thousand people;
- the number of Uruguayans in Brazil arose from 11 thousand in 1960 to 22 thousand in 1991;
- in the case of Peru, the number decreased from 3 thousand Brazilian in 1972 to 2,5 thousand in 1993;
- there were 2,5 thousand Peruvians in Brazil in 1960 and 5,8 in 1991;
- there were 2,3 thousand Brazilians in Colombia, in 1960, decreasing to 1,4 thousand in 1993;
- there were 2 thousand Colombians in Brazil in 1991 and 685 in 1960.

With Chile and Bolivia, Brazil always presented the higher stock of those foreigners than of Brazilian, although in lower levels. The 70's consolidated this tendency, with the increase of Chilean in Brazil -from 1,4 thousand, in 1960, to 17,8 thousand, in 1980, increasing to 20,4 thousand, in 1991- and the increasing in the stock of Bolivian (from 8 thousand, in 1960, to 15,6 thousand, in 1991).

Actually, these new migratory tendencies in Brazil involves not only processes of exodus from some areas but also some areas of entrance of Latin-American immigrants with different profiles.

Considering, thus, the insertion of Brazil in the intra-regional migratory movements it is possible to observe that , from 1980 on, the country has increased its *expansion area of Latin American migrations*, reinforcing:

- a). Migration with frontier countries – Mercosur block and also Colombia and Venezuela
- b). Immigration to metropolitan areas, as in the case of the Bolivian and Peruvian people¹⁹; and
- c). Intra-Regional migration with no-frontier countries - Chile.

¹⁸ As mentioned above, data about international migrations are difficult to measure. Actually, it's from qualitative studies about the main foreigner population in the country that we can advance in the analyses and characteristics that concern to the international migratory movements. Data from Catholic Church, for instance, indicate around 100 thousand Bolivian in Brazil, knowing that the census information registered a stock of only 15 thousand. In the case of the Brazilian in Paraguay this difference in volume of foreigner is much more expressive. According to Census of Brazilian Abroad, from Ministry of Justice (1996), there were around 325 thousand Brazilian living there, knowing that the Paraguayan census registered only 107 thousand. These are some examples that shows the difficult in quantifying international migratory movement.

¹⁹ See Silva (1997) and Galetti (1996), among others.

Map 3
Latin American Immigration
Brazil, 1990's



Source: IMILA/CELADE

3. Migrant Population in MERCOSUR: a profile

IMILA data also allows observation of some general characteristics of migrant individuals among Mercosur countries, mainly in terms of age structure and occupational variables. Concerning migrants differences in age structure, it is possible to assume some particular socio-economic factors underlying the movements. Indeed it is a well know fact that migration is selective by age, being the tendency to higher proportion of young adults and adults the most common feature, since these age groups are more prone to migrate in the initial stages of their labor cycle.

As it can be observed in table 4, this feature also occurs in Mercosur case; but the differences among the countries are worthwhile to be taken in consideration: 90's age structure of the foreigner population in Argentina, Paraguay, Uruguay and Brazil, which have as birth countries within Mercosur, population concentration in *Young Adult* (20-39 years-old) and *Adult* (40-59 years-old) groups correspond to 36% and 30%, respectively of total intra-regional movement.

But the same data shows another feature to be taken into account – that is, the proportion of older migrants in each country. To total Mercosur the participation of foreigner elderly population is considerably high - 15.3% of the total. Since we are talking about lifetime migrants²⁰, the higher proportion of elderly always tend to point out a higher permanence of migrants. In other words, a longer duration will tend to have higher participation of elderly, as well as a higher proportion of children can be showing a more recent migration and also of family migration type.

Table 4
Living Population in Country Different from the one from Birth according to Big Age Groups
Countries of Mercosur (Argentina, Brazil, Paraguay and Uruguay)
1990's

Age Groups	Total Population	Age Distribution (%)
Children (0-9 years)	44,586	6.5
Youth (10-19 years)	82,741	12.1
Young Adult (20-39 years)	246,536	36.0
Adult (40-59 years)	205,694	30.0
Elder (60 years and more)	105,012	15.3
Total	684,569	100.0

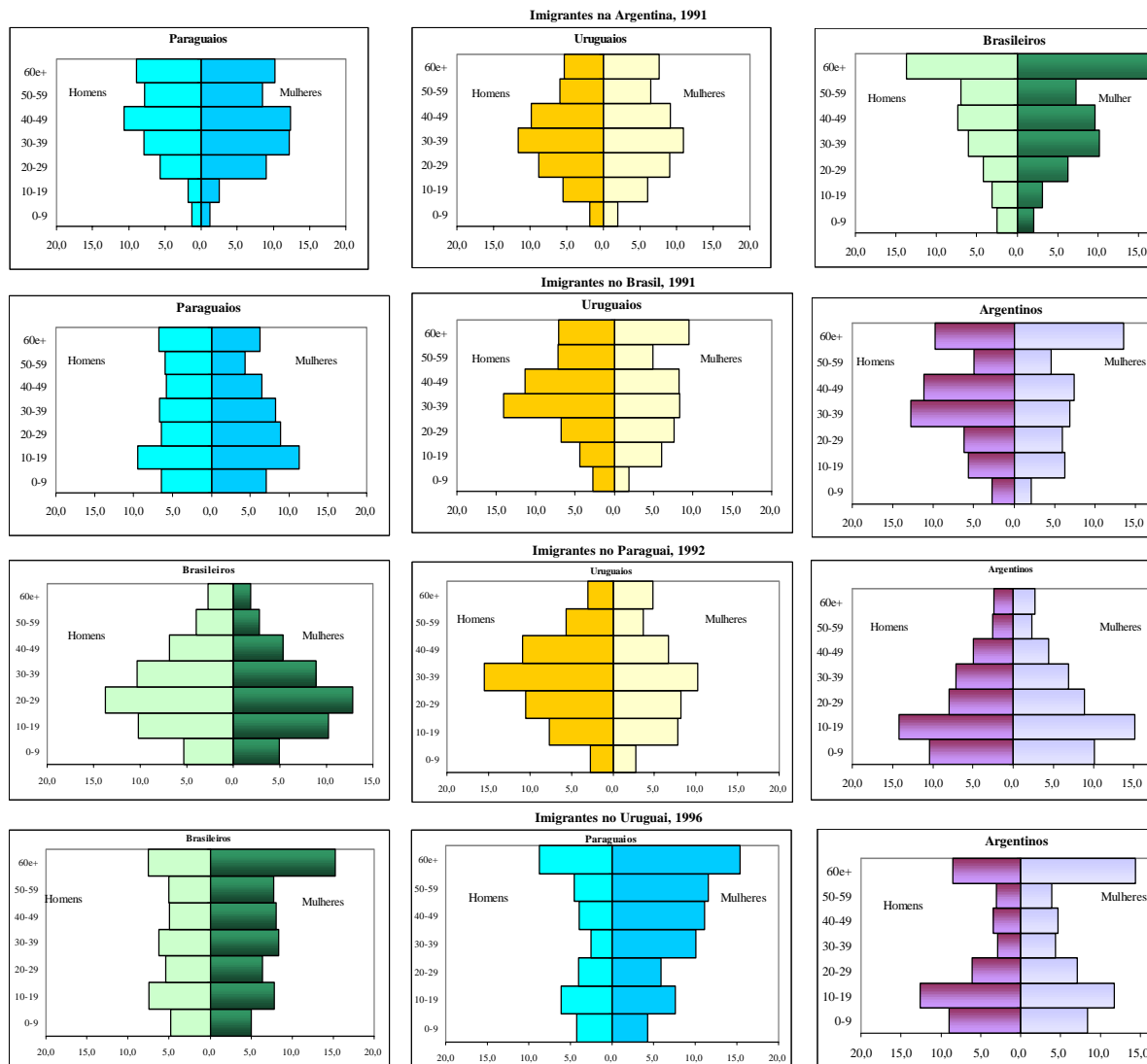
Source: IMILA/CELADE (2000).

The foreigners of Mercosur in Argentina present different age structures. They have in as can be seen in graphic 1.

²⁰ Although we are talking about foreigner stocks in countries that are different from the one of birth and not migration of the last decade.

GRAPHIC 1

Age Structure of the Immigrant Population in Mercosur Argentina, Brazil, Paraguay e Uruguay 1990's



Fonte: IMILA/CELADE(2000).

In fact, in the case of Paraguay and Brazil, more than 60% of their emigrants living in Argentina in the 90's had arrived before 1980²¹. For this reason, mainly to the number of Brazilian a high proportion of elderly people can be found, which correspond to 14% of the male population and 18% of the female one. In the case of the Paraguayan living in Argentina, despite of the high participation of the elderly (around 10% of the total), the adult group of 40-49 years-old accounted for a higher proportion (around 12%). Actually, the Brazilian emigration to Argentina was clearly concentrated before 1960; the emigration from Brazil to

²¹ Those information also are in the Project Investigación para las Migraciones Internacionales en Latinoamerica - International Migration in Latin America (IMILA). See Boletín Demográfico 65, CELADE (2000).

Paraguay was still relatively high in the years 60,70 and 80, which contributes to a younger age structure. In the emigration of these two countries to Argentina it is possible to note in both groups - young adult and adult up to 49 years - a strong participation of female migrants

In the case of Uruguayans in Argentina the graphic shows a younger age structure, as well as a a little higher proportion of male migrants; these proportions might be indicating also a higher proportion of individual migration, since about 20% of them were in the age group 20-39 years in 1991; besides the same observation could also means a smaller family size pattern for that migrant group. The movement of Uruguayans to Argentina is also a more recent movement, compared with that of Brazil and Paraguay, where 36% of the foreigners arrived in the 70's and 31% in the 80's.

Argentineans and Uruguayans migrants in Brazil have similar age structure, although in the case of Argentina , the participation of female elderly foreigners is higher, reaching 14% of the total. Some factors contribute to this similarity in the age distribution of Argentineans and Uruguayans in Brazil. First of all, the demographic transition more precocious in these countries than in Brazil already implies in smaller sizes of the families and, thus, a migration structure with fewer youngsters. In second place, the arrival period of those migrants in Brazil distributes itself in a similar way, concentrating in periods prior to 1960 and in the 70's and 80's. In third place, the predominance of male migration among adults of 30-49 years, seem to indicate a very selective migration and of individual kind.

In the case of the Paraguayan immigrants in Brazil, age pyramid already indicates a distribution with strong presence of familiar migration- children's group represents 7% of the total. Late demographic transition, in this case, is also reflected in the age structure of those immigrants. Calls attention the presence of female migration from 20 to 49 years-old, a new trend emerging during the 90's; Paraguayan women represents 56% of the immigrants of that country arriving in Brazil during the period 1980-1991. In brief, Paraguayan migration to Brazil is more recent than the movement of migrants from Argentina and Uruguay, concentrating its entrance between 1980-1991.

Mercosur immigrants in Paraguay have a quite different age structure, although among Brazilians and Argentineans it seems more feasible a predominance of familiar migration; in Brazilian case, children's group represents 5% of the total population, and for the Argentineans this participation increases to 10%. In both cases, it seems to be a movement with rural origin, and so with higher fertility.

Brazilians in Paraguay have an older age structure than that of Argentineans, since, in this case, the arrival time is more concentrated from the 70's on - 28% of the Brazilians that were living there arrived between 1970 and 1979, and other 40%, between 1980-1989; so , migrants got older in the place of destination. But the entrance of Argentineans in Paraguay is concentrated from the 80's on - 24% of the Argentinean that lived in Paraguay in 1992 -, with prominence to the 1990-1991 period, 17.5% of the total.

Uruguayans in Paraguay presented a more clear sex difference, with higher male participation, mainly between 30-39 years-old, indicating an individual kind of migration in this age group. The arrival time for this foreigner group in Paraguay is also more recent; 35% of them arrived in the 80's.

Finally, *Merco-southeans* in Uruguay presents small volumes, with predominance of an increasing female migration among Brazilians and Paraguayans; as it was said before, this seems to be a new feature of the movements during the 90's²², mainly to Paraguayan migration. The entrance of Brazilians and Paraguayans in Uruguay had a moment of higher concentration in the period prior to 1960, restarting its vigour only between 1990-1991. But Argentinean immigration to Uruguay is older and continuous since the 1960's, although it is also clear a new impulse during the 90's; it is interesting to note that its age structure reflects, from one side, the historic emigration before the 60's – with a population very older reaching 14,4% of the Argentinean women in Uruguay. On the other side, the recent familiar type of migration is represented by the proportion of 18% of total migrants concentrated in the age group 0-19 years old.

Summarising, the simple observation of age structures suffice to grasp some characteristics and tendencies of migration movement among Mercosur countries, showing the distinctive effects of long term flows as well as new tendencies. Moreover, it allows also to hypothesise the effects of features in each country of origin, among them the phase of demographic transitions that each one is passing through. It is convenient to reinforce there the specificities of the flows between Argentina and Paraguay, Uruguay-Paraguay, Paraguay-Brazil, Brazil-Argentina.

Considering now some characteristics concerning occupational insertion of the foreigners, it can be observed an expressive differential among intra-regional immigrants in terms of their insertion in the main branches of economic activities in each country. (Table 5).

Table 5
Distribution of Immigrants (AEP with more than 10 years old) according to Main Branches of Activity
Mercosur (Argentina, Brazil, Paraguay and Uruguay)
1990's

Immigrants Mercosur	Main Branches of Activity		
	Agricultural	Commerce and Services	Industry
Immigrants in Paraguay			
Brazilian	65.02	15.07	7.25
Argentinean	11.17	51.02	14.74
Uruguayan	2.67	60.15	15.46
Immigrants in Argentina			
Brazilian	47.04	31.74	10.04
Paraguayan	6.60	45.62	20.07
Uruguayan	1.41	51.74	20.44
Immigrants in Brazil			
Argentinean	2.64	50.02	17.83
Paraguayan	14.53	50.3	13.25
Uruguayan	5.89	53.49	14.45
Immigrants in Uruguay			
Argentinean	3.68	48.27	16.25
Paraguayan	2.39	56.76	16.9
Brazilian	21.70	41.14	9.89

Source:IMILA/CELADE (2000).

²² To Uruguay it is possible to analyse the first five years of the 90's, once the last Demographic Census took place in 1996.

In a general way, it can be said that Brazilians are strongly concentrated in agricultural sector in general, Brazilians in Mercosur are strongly concentrated in agricultural sector in Paraguay (65% of the total), in Argentina (47%) and in Uruguay (22%); Paraguayans, Argentineans and Uruguayans are more absorbed in Commerce and Services.

The higher proportion in agriculture, in the case of the Brazilians, is associated to the low level of education of this population: 56% of the Brazilian in Paraguay, 36% of the residents in Argentina, and 19% of Brazilians emigrants in Paraguay didn't have complete elementary school²³.

Argentineans and Uruguayans in Paraguay are absorbed in Commerce and Services as well as in Industry; similar tendency occurs with Paraguayans and Uruguayans in Argentina and with Paraguayans, Argentineans and Uruguayans in Brazil. Of course migrant distribution by branch of economic activity in each country is related to differences in schooling levels; about 32% of the Argentineans in Paraguay and 60% of Argentineans in Brazil have more than 10 years of education; 40% of Uruguayans in Argentina have the same level of education, while 31% of Paraguayans in Argentina have from 7 to 9 years of education and other 17% have more than 10 years of education.

According to these data, it is feasible to conclude that migratory movements are composed by quite different social groups, which means the result of the strong disparities among countries and the heterogeneity of social groups inside each country. In fact, as it was pointed in other paper, it seems to be that Brazil – with the most strong inequalities – “export” poor people and receive “middle class, specialised urban people” (Patarra, 2001).

The idea may be reinforced by migrant's classification in terms of occupational groups²⁴ (Table 6): while among Argentineans immigrants predominate those related to Management positions, Teachers, Professionals and Technician and also Office workers – reaching 56% of the residents in Brazil- Brazilians in Paraguay and Argentina occupy the group related to the Agricultural field. In the case of Uruguay, though, the emigration of Brazilians indicates a new socio-occupational profile with higher participation in the Management Group, Professionals, Technicians (around 20% of the Brazilian living there) and in Other Occupations (more than 50% of the total), pointing the specificities of the recent migration of Brazilian to Uruguay.

Argentinean and Uruguayan in Paraguay are very concentrated in Management Positions, Professionals, and Technicians and in Services, indicating a migration much more selective than of Brazilians. The same doesn't occur in the case of Uruguayans and Paraguayans in Argentina who are inserted in the Other Occupation Group. Even not being in the more important groups of the occupations, those immigrants are more involved with the urban work force; notice that the Brazilian in Argentina predominate in rural activities (47% of the total).

Mercosur migrants in Brazil also present distinct characteristics of occupation, with the predominance of Paraguayans in Other Occupations (48% of the total) although other 25% are

²³ These information also are in Project Investigacion para las Migraciones Internacionales en Latinoamerica (IMILA); see Boletín Demográfico 65, CELADE (2000).

²⁴ It is important to observe those data with criteria, because they are categories of difficult compatibility. Nevertheless, there are signs of changing, mainly with the increase of the occupation group like Managers, Professionals and Technicians.

in the Group of Managers, Professionals and Technicians. In the case of Argentines and Uruguayans the predominant occupations are Managers, Professionals and Technicians (55.6% e 43.3%, respectively).

Summarising, data concerning occupational absorption of migrants suggest the convergence of different processes and forces underlying the modalities of international population movements among countries in the context of Mercosur block Migratory movements connected to the international context of productive restructuration may be identified with increasing participation of middle class sectors in these movements, like the case of Argentinians in Brazil or even a small part of Brazilians in Argentina and Uruguay. On the other hand, it also observable the more traditional type of movement , like the case of rural Brazilian emigration to Paraguay and part of south Argentina (Misiones and Corrientes).

Table 6
Distribution of Immigrants (AEP with more than 10 years-old) by Groups of Occupation 1990's

Occupational groups	Immigrants in Paraguay			Immigrants in Argentina		
	Brasilians	Argentinesans	Uruguayans	Brasilians	Uruguayans	Paraguayans
Professionals/ managers/ Technicians	2,88	24,46	40,45	12,09	19,46	9,55
Services	6,41	23,52	28,74	14,47	21,97	25,08
Agriculture	68,84	11,04	2,39	47,23	1,47	6,65
Others	21,87	40,98	28,42	26,21	57,10	58,72
Total	51.924	18.105	1.837	18.094	84.478	150.034
	Immigrants in Brasil			Immigrants in Uruguay		
	Paraguayans	Argentinesans	Uruguayans	Argentinesans	Brasilians	Paraguayans
Professionals/ managers/ Technicians	24,53	55,64	43,27	34,60	20,31	34,50
Services	13,48	13,54	17,32	17,34	13,13	13,80
Agriculture	13,59	2,26	4,57	2,37	8,32	1,12
Outers	48,40	28,56	34,84	45,69	58,24	50,58
Total	8.604	13.423	12.634	9.853	6.055	710

Source: IMILA/CELADE (2000).

4. Moving Frontiers

Frontiers, in their multiple aspects and dimensions, constitute a traditional theme in Social Sciences' theory and research. In international contemporary bibliography, the questions of frontiers areas in the context of global changes has been increasingly taken into account. This concern has also been increasingly present in recent seminars, discussions and literature devoted to Mercosur context. In our point of view the considerations of frontiers constitute essential part in the understanding of the relations among the processes of productive restructuring, internationalisation of the economy, social reorganisation and economic integration.

Moreover, in the context of the research which has been carried on it is assumed that frontiers' dynamics and characteristics are fundamental in the understanding of populations distribution as well as, all the way around, population movements in these "geographically contiguous inter-nationals spaces" constitutes a decisive factor in the local and even national and regional socio-economic dynamics. In this sense, the research had proceeded to an analysis of Brazilian frontiers, that is, municipalities in the territorial limits with neighbouring countries.

The Brazilian frontier with neighbouring countries involves 99 municipalities, summing up 3,295,393 million inhabitants in the year 2000 and with a positive rate of growth of 0.93% per year in 1991-2000 period (Table 7). In Brazilian North Region there are 39 municipalities in frontier with French Guyane, Suriname, Guyana, Venezuela, Colombia e Peru (See Map 4); this region retains 46% of the Brazilian frontier population (1,524,727 inhabitants).

Table 7
Total Population and Growth Rates
Regions with Municipalities in International Frontier
Brazil, 1991-2000

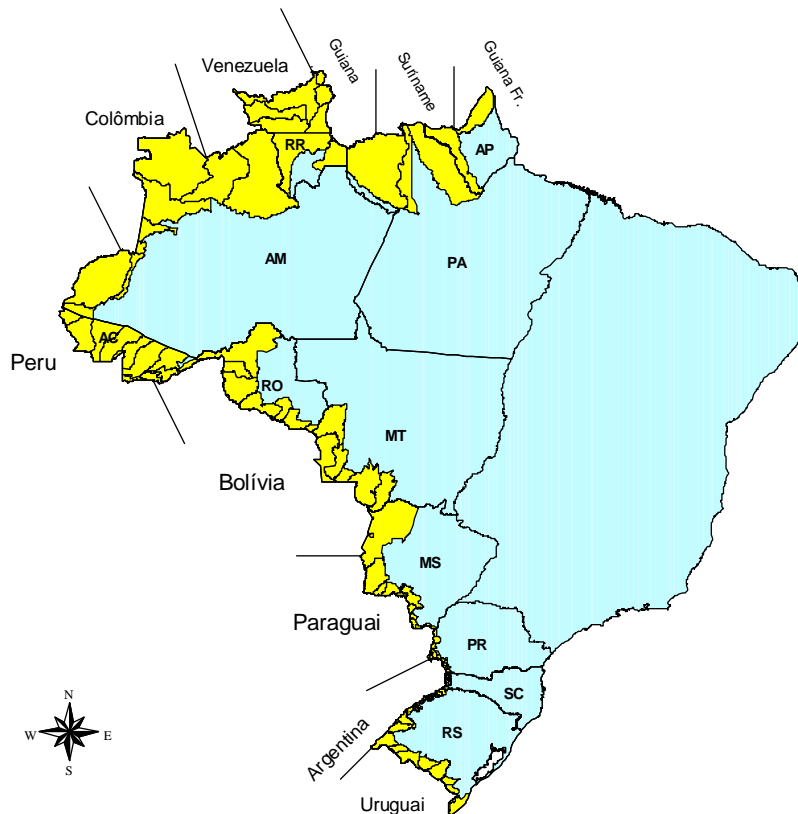
Region and State with Municipalities on Frontier	Number Municipality on frontier	Total Population Mun. on Frontier		Growth rates Mun. Frontiers	Growth Rates Region-State	% Pop.Frontier on Total
		1991	2000	1991-2000	1991-2000	2000
North	39	1,299,340	1,524,727	1.79	2.85	11.80
Acre	11	400,229	467,358	1.74	3.26	83.86
Amazonas	9	143,310	185,515	2.91	3.40	6.53
Amapá	2	28,927	41,091	3.98	5.68	8.64
Pará	3	116,903	128,736	1.08	2.51	2.08
Rondônia	7	399,503	435,813	0.97	2.20	31.63
Roraima	7	208,477	264,214	2.67	4.53	81.51
South	42	1,292,786	1,299,519	0.06	1.40	5.18
Paraná	13	447,676	503,541	1.32	1.38	5.27
Santa Catarina	7	129,998	99,168	-2.96	1.80	1.86
Rio Grande do Sul	22	715,112	696,810	-0.29	1.21	6.85
West-Center	18	438,563	471,147	0.80	2.35	4.06
Mato Grosso	6	173,556	194,754	1.29	2.35	7.8
Mato Grosso do Sul	12	265,007	276,393	0.47	1.72	13.32
TOTAL	99	3,030,689	3,295,393	0.93	1.62*	1.94*

Source: FIBGE, Demographic Censuses 1991 e 2000.

* Reference the municipalities in Brazil

In the Brazilian South Region, there are 42 municipalities in frontier with Argentina, Uruguay and Paraguay; in this case, total population involves 1,299,519 inhabitants, corresponding to 39.4% of the total. The State of Rio Grande do Sul concentrates more than a half of the population in frontier areas of this Region, with 22 municipalities in that condition; Paraná, another 13 municipalities and Santa Catarina, 7. Brazilian Center-West Region presents 18 more frontiers municipalities, 12 the state of Mato Grosso do Sul and 6 in the State of Mato Grosso, summing up 471,147 people.

Map 4
Frontier Municipalities
Brazil



Source: FIBGE. Data Bank NEPO/UNICAMP

The population growth rates of the municipalities in frontier zones register positive values in 9 out of the 11 frontier States. In North frontier, the average growth rate of the frontier municipalities was 1.79% per year. This value is superior to the growth rate of Brazil as a whole - 1.62% per year. Among the States with international frontier in this Region are the highest values of annual population growth in frontier areas; it is the particular case of Amapá – which frontiers with French Guyana, Suriname and Guyana. In these cases the average rate of these municipalities was 3.98% per year, like Amazonas – in the frontier with Venezuela and Colômbia, 2.91% per year; and Roraima – frontier with Venezuela and Guyana, of 2.67% per year.

Actually, growth rates of the six States in Brazilian North Region are relatively high during the 90's, being even higher than the rates registered by the municipalities in their frontier areas. It is to consider, however, that some frontier municipalities presented negative growth rates, mainly in the State of Rondônia – frontier with Bolivia, where the municipality called Cerejeiras, for instance, registered a growth rate of –16.6% per year between 1991-2000. In the State of Roraima, São João da Baliza indicated a negative rate of 7.4% per year in the same period.

In spite of the fact that population growth rates are quite diverse in the international North frontier municipalities, there has been a tendency of increasing population growth in frontiers areas, mainly in the case of Amazonas, Amapá, Pará and Acre; in fact, these municipalities, in their majority, are small – less than 20 thousand inhabitants, with exception of the three State Capitals - Rio Branco capital of the State of Acre; Porto Velho, of Rondônia; and Boa Vista, of Roraima – all with more than 200 thousand inhabitants, and of Cruzeiro do Sul, an urban center in the State of Acre, with more than 60 thousand inhabitants.

In the South Region of the Country, only the State of Paraná –frontier with Argentina and Paraguay- presented, in the 1991-2000 period, positive growth rate in the total of international frontier municipalities: 1.32% per year. It can be noticed, however, that only 4 out of its 13 municipalities registered positive growth rates, specially Santa Tereza D'Oeste, with a rate of 6.5% per year, and Foz do Iguaçu – frontier with Paraguay -, with 3.5% per year.

In Brazilian South Region, the State of Santa Catarina – frontier with Argentina –presented the highest amount of loss of population during the 90's, resulting in an average growth rate of – 2.96% per year, while the State as a whole grew at a rate of 1.80% per year. In Rio Grande do Sul – frontier with Argentina and Uruguay – it was noticed some alterations in the growth dynamics of the municipalities . Only some bigger centres registered positive growth rates, like the cases of Uruguaiana – frontier with Misiones in Argentina –with a rate of 0,83% per year, between 1991-2000, and Santana do Livramento – frontier with Rivera in Uruguay, with growth rate of 1.37% per year. In the case of this last mentioned municipality it is observable that its growth rhythm was a little superior to the average state rate - which was of 1.21% per year.

This way, comparing the North and South frontiers of Brazil, the frontier zones with higher growth rates of their populations are in North Region. In this area, the expansion of their agricultural frontier in the 70's, the wooden activity and drug-trafficking contribute to the growth of cities outside of the big urban agglomerations, among them the frontier municipalities with neighbouring countries. In the case of South Region, populational dynamism has been in metropolitan areas or in some specific cities, particularly those situated in frontier areas, which are having increasing importance in Brazilian regional urban net ²⁵I

In the case of Brazilian Center-West Region - international frontier with Paraguay and Bolivia - frontiers municipalities has been increasing , as is the case of Caceres and Ponta Porã- frontier with San Juan Caballero-Paraguay– places with 85 thousand and 61 thousand inhabitants, respectively. This Brazilian region is also characterised by the expansion of agricultural frontiers and colonisation in areas far from the main urban centres, thus

²⁵ See IPEA/IBGE/NESUR (2000).

consolidating new areas in the inner part of the States, among them the international frontier zones.

The diversified transfrontiers municipalities represents local cultural traits and specific modalities of interaction with neighbours foreigners areas, more or less distant from state or national power. Nevertheless, it seems to be that just in some of these geographical spaces that the effects of international restructuring context and the process of economic integration might be felt with more intensity and also more rapidly, as it was mentioned before. In the words of Laurelli (1997:173):

“(…) the territories localised in the frontiers, either internal or external of the markets, registered the higher effects in the economical activities, like utilisation, occupation and appropriation of the soil, in transport and energy infra-structure and in the environment in general. Significant changes are registered in their population dynamic, in the quality of life of different social sectors, in the practice the new modalities of management and in the articulation among local, regional, national and supranational policies in both sides of the frontiers” (Free translation from the authors)

Adopting the notion of *loosing and winning regions*, the author points out, in this process, the important role of the big projects, bi or tri-national like, for example, strategies for linking Atlantic-Pacific, the Corridor Ferroviário dos Libertadores, the Transandino del Sul, the Corridor_ the São Paulo-Buenos Aires Road, which is linked to the projects of the Buenos Aires-Colonia Bridge and the Juan Pablo Tunnel, in Andes Cordillera. In these contexts urban dynamics are located in some specific areas, the so called “par de fronteras: “...in these specific spaces, occurs the development of internationally articulated infrastructure support for the also articulates economic activities and implies in a continuous social interaction”.

Lahorgue (1997), in the same line of reasoning, makes a more clear association between work and migration in Mercosur frontier areas: frontier zones always were places of commuter movements, that is, flows of migrants from one side to the other of the frontier according to the perceived opportunities of job. In a context of increasing unemployment, the migration, as a scape valve, tends to be less efficient.

It seems also that frontier spaces are widening their limits if compared to the old spaces. Ciccolella (1997, p.62) emphasises that today the frontier space is a result of “...tensions and contradictions of multi-scale levels between local-regional reality and the exercise of the sovereignty of the national states, strongly militarised or of differentiation between two political, military, economical systems and sovereignty”(free translation from the authors).

Accordingly, in Mercosur it is possible to grasp the increasing consolidation of a set of specific frontiers : 1) Areas of corridor frontier – empty or semi-empty areas, maintained almost only through services for traffic and passengers, as the Andean Corridor and regions of the Chaco between Paraguay, Brazil and Bolivia. 2) Twin Cities, that is, frontier regions of co-operation and productive articulation with regional, bi-national or tri-national structure and with a strong process of territorial transformation; it’s the case of the rice region in Rio Grande do Sul e Corrientes, in Argentina. 3) New Frontier Areas- regions that were ignored before and that started to suffer recent transformations; as example, the Silver River, valorised with the Buenos Aires-Colonia Bridge 4) New multi-state or of economic blocks frontiers this is the case of Mercosur in itself and 5) New virtual frontiers.

From the point of view of migratory dynamics, population movements in these frontier areas may assume several modalities, as follows:

- Movements for consolidation of frontier areas- older movements characterised by the process of occupation of those regions, sponsored by official policies reinforcing strong flows of migrants. This is the case of rural international migration flows from South Brazil to Paraguay.
- Movements related to land markets – increasing in land value Brazil²⁶ promoted the purchase of lands in neighbouring countries by the big owners or agricultural Brazilian businessmen²⁷.
- Movements related to big regional projects – in this case investments directly related to economic integration in MERCOSUR²⁸, involving specific frontier spaces
- Movements in bi-national cities. - frontier zones which historical conditions marked a frontier territory characterised by a mutual convivial of cultures, with two legislation, two currencies, and two languages acting in a same space.
- Movements of the qualified labor force - the intensification of capital mobility in the cenario of productive restructuring reinforce this kind of mobility²⁹, involving transference of qualified labor: executives, professionals, managers, technicians – mainly to metropolitan areas of Mercosur³⁰

5. Final Remarks

As it was said before, the purpose of this text was to synthesize the methodological procedures and empirical results of a phase of a research regarding inter-relations between international migration, productive reorganization and the trade bloc Mercosur.

Since we were dealing with an emergent theme, the research did not start with clearly constructed hypotheses but rather with a general reference. It was assumed that the international migration and the legal consolidation of Mercosur would have varied effects, involving new social groups influenced by historical trends, arriving and departing from new areas and impelled by new factors of attraction and repulsion. The international migration would in turn stimulate new demands for social policies guaranteeing migrants access to social programs of member countries, particularly in regards to social security, education, and health. Consequently it would be necessary compatibilisation of social policies and a new legal apparatus able to adapt existing labor and immigration national laws in the new social context. The intent of the research is to monitor these factors.

²⁶ About this issue see Reydon e Plata (1995)

²⁷ It can be estimated that in Argentina, in the 90's, from one thousand rice growers about 250 were Brazilian (Sales, 1996).

²⁸ Notice: a) Usina Hidroelétrica de Garibaldi, directed to attend the demand in Argentina and in Rio Grande do Sul-Brazil (especially to Uruguaiana, Porto Lacerda and São Borja); b) Project of Gasoduto Brazil-Bolivia; c) International Bridge São Borja-San Tomé linking BR 285 in Brazil and Ruta 14 in Argentina, with bridge above Uruguay River; d) Mercosur Road, which will link São Paulo to Buenos Aires, including in its trajectory the cities of Uruguaina-Ponte Colônia-Buenos Aires.

²⁹ About the mobility of work and capital in the process of productive restructuring and the formation of a new class of qualified professionals related to those dynamics, see Sassen (1988).

³⁰ This modality is exemplified in the flow Brazil/Buenos Aires characterised by the transfer of Brazilian to work in companies in Brazil (Hazenbalg, 1997; Arruñada, 1997).

Thus research also began without clearly defined hypotheses. It was not known, for example, if macro structural processes would increase, decrease, or leave unchanged population movements; nothing was known about how individuals, families or groups would perceive and react to their changing social environment. Therefore research preceded an initial diagnosis regarding migration between the member countries of Mercosur.

The fact that migration is an ongoing phenomenon, as well as the lag between the occurrence of migration and its recording in secondary sources proved to be serious methodological challenges. The initial analysis hinted at a rapid change in trans-national areas, with expressive changes in local labor markets and their productive organizations. In this level of analysis it was almost impossible to distinguish the effects due to global restructuring and those due specifically to the Asuncion Treaty.

The objective of the Asuncion Treaty was to create more favorable conditions for international competition. It began as a series of customs and tariff agreements that sought the free circulation of goods among the member countries. However, having to justify the signature also in terms of bettering lives of their citizens, countries have also to subscribe to the idea of *free circulation of labor*. Thus the treaty established a new legal framework for the movement of people between the countries involved.

This new legal framework, even though only formal, nevertheless produced effects, in terms of restructuring of economic activities and in the labor markets, particularly in frontier areas. Though far from being implemented, these regulations already created resistance and conflicts among businessmen and other dominant group and civil society, especially in aspects pertaining to immigrant labor and the civil rights of immigrants.

The research was based, for the most part, in data from the Censuses from each of the member countries of Mercosur. There were problems with this method, such as the lag between the dates of the censuses and the timing of ongoing migratory processes. Despite these problems, it was possible to perceive a wide diversity of migratory patterns. Moreover, the perception of this diversity varied depending on the scale of observation: intra-continental population movements, inter continental movements, and internal migrations to frontier areas between two or three countries.

The text summarized the characteristics of the migration – with a delayed mirroring by Brazil - to the First World, the historical migratory trends between countries of South America, the peculiarities of the population movements between the Mercosur countries, the population shifts between the metropolises (particularly São Paulo and Buenos Aires) and more developed urban nuclei and, finally, the population movements between frontier municipalities. These migratory modalities were linked to historical situations, where economic and political considerations carried a decisive or preponderant weight. Previous international migrations were due to particular social processes with their own timings, involving distinct social groups with specific characteristics.

When tendencies started been observed at more desegregated levels, it became clear the distinguishing social and economic dynamics of certain frontier areas, some with contiguous territory. So the question arose concerning the proper object of study: whether the spatial mobility of the population in these trans-frontier areas of the economic bloc would be considered a new object of study or if the phenomena should be explained as a peculiarity of traditional international migration studies.

In a recent overview and appraisal regarding theories of international migrations (Massey, D. et al., 1993), the authors presented a wide spectrum of theories based on classical and contemporary contributions about this theme. They stated that:

“... given the fact that theories conceptualize casual processes at such different levels of analyses – the individual, the household, the national and the international- they cannot be assumed, a priori, to be inherently incompatible. It is quite possible, for example, that individuals act to maximize income while families minimize risks, and that the context within which both decisions are made is shaped by structural forces operating at the national and international levels. Nonetheless, the various models reflect different research objectives, focuses, interests, and ways of decomposing an enormously complex subject into analytically manageable parts; and a firm basis for judging their consistency requires that the inner logic, propositions, assumptions, and hypotheses of each theory be clearly specified and understood.” (p. 433)

The openness given in this proposition as well as the consideration of the complexity of the phenomena at such different levels of analyses are quite interesting. Nevertheless the following tasks, in the authors opinion, seems to be the reconstruction of *causal processes* with clearly specified inner logic, propositions, assumptions and hypotheses.

Our point of view, however, is that it is too early for this kind of procedure in face of so recent phenomena; historical background, national and local specificities, adequate levels of analysis , questions like the gap between historical periodicity and data collection, lack of adequate sources of information, are some of methodological issues that , in our point of view, might be somehow overcome, in order to advance to more rigid theoretical propositions. Beside, it seems that causal-effect logic do not allow a more comprehensive understanding of particular situations; historical processes as well articulation of the diverse dimensions involved in each case should be taken into account; this, consequently, raise problems of generalization in theorizing effort. A well defined series of *case studies* could be a valuable perspective to following steps, procedure which should incorporate quantitative as well as qualitative sources of information and the historical background could also take part in the explanatory effort.

In the study of international frontiers in Mercosur bloc it was possible, among other features, to observe that migratory movements among countries, or more specifically, between certain border areas, constitute simultaneously both the cause and effect of the transformations that are occurring.

New meaningful dimensions also appeared, like those regarding policies of infrastructure investments to aid transportation and territorial restructuring in the context of globalisation. In order to compete internationally, countries encourage exports of goods, not only between members of economic bloc but also to other countries and other continents. Comparative advantages of specific areas are favored, generating a new hierarchy of cities and a restructuring of the surrounding territory. These spatial transformations allow for the increase, return or leave unchanged previous migratory patterns. .

In this new situation, the role of local governments is changing conflicting national jurisdictions over trans-national social spaces; local governments, in both sides or in three

sides involved, have to face power structure and decision making processes at national, binational, trinational levels or even the governing structure of Mercosul.

Last but not the least, another important element is the increase in the international network of drug-trafficking, which may end based in a more secluded frontier like Ponta Porã and San Juan Caballero or based in progressive and more populous areas as is the case of the tri-city: Foz de Iguazu, Foz de Iguazu, and Ciudad del Este. The economy of the tri-city area is based on activities as far reaching as tourism, large-scale agriculture, contraband, drug-trafficking, as well as other illegal activities that concentrate large agglomerations of people and money. These places attract migration that is exacerbated by unemployment in traditional economic activities in the places of origin.

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Attached 1- Topics Investigated in the Censuses of the 1970s, and 1980s and 1990s.IMILA/CELADE

PAÍS	Place of Birth			Period of Arrival			Previous Residence or 5 years earlier		
	1970	1980	1990	1970	1980	1990	1970	1980	1990
Argentina	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Bolivia	X	-	X	NA	-	X	X	-	X
BRAZIL	X	X	X	NA	NA	X	X	X	X
Chile	X	X	X	NA	NA	X	NA	X	X
Colômbia	X	X	X	NA	X	NA	NA	X	X
Costa Rica	X	X	-	NA	X	-	X	X	-
Cuba	X	NP	-	NA	NA	-	NA	X	-
Ecuador	X	X	X	NA	NA	NA	X	X	X
El Salvador	X	-	X	NA	-	X	X	-	X
Guatemala	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Haití	X	X	-	NA	NA	-	X	X	-
Honduras	X	X	-	X	X	-	NA	X	-
México	X	X	X	NA	NA	NA	X	X	X
Nicaragua	X	-	X	X	-	X	X	-	X
Panamá	X	X	X	NA	NA	X	X	X	X
Paraguay	X	X	X	NA	X	X	NA	X	X
Peru	X	X	X	NA	NA	NA	X	X	X
Dominican Rep.	X	X	X	NA	X	NA	X	X	X
Uruguay	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Venezuela	X	X	X	NA	X	NA	X	X	X
Canadá	X	X	...	X	X	...	X	X	...
United States	X	X	X	X	X	NA	X	X	...

Notas: NA: question not asked. (-) census not carried out in that decade. (...) information not available at CELADE.

Fonte: CELADE/CEPAL (2000).

Attached 2

Available Information - Project IMILA

Years with Census

Päis	1970	1980	1990
Argentina	1960	1970	1980
Bolivia		1976	
BRAZIL			1980
Chile		1970	1982
Colômbia			
Costa Rica	196.3	1973	1984
Cuba			
Ecuador			1982
El Salvador			
Guatemala		1973	1981
Haití		1971	
Honduras			
México			1990
Nicaragua		1971	
Panamá		1970	1980
Paraguay		1972	1982
Peru			1981
Dominican Rep		1970	
Uruguay		1975	1985
Venezuela		1971	1981
Canadá		1971	1981/1986
United States		1970	

Fonte: CELADE/CEPAL (2000).