



Unsettling the Migration and Development Narrative. A Latin American Critical Perspective

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Content

- Key features of contemporary capitalism
- The migration and labor question today
- A crucial battle front: strategic indicators for a necessary demystification
- Concluding remarks

A Latin American Critical Perspective: The Southern perspective

- It does not entail the negation of the North, but rather the *negation of the negation*
- Attempt to build an *integral, inclusive, emancipatory and libertarian perspective*
- A view grounded on a Critical Development Studies standpoint

The context: Contemporary Capitalism

- Against the myth of “free market” (pillar of the neoliberal ideology), *monopoly capital* has become the key player in contemporary capitalism, to the point that Samir Amin refers to the current stage of capitalism as the “Era of Generalized Monopolies”.
- Strong *shift* of MC toward the *periphery* in search of abundant *cheap and flexible labour* and the pillage of *natural resources* (imperialist “*re-colonization*”): 60% of the assets, employment and sales of the top 100 MNCs are allocated in peripheral countries.

Key dimensions of the restructuring of MC

- The *upsurge of monopoly-finance capital*.
- The *configuration and expansion of global networks of monopoly capital* shifting part of their productive, commercial and services process to the Global South in search of cheap and flexible labour (*global labour arbitrage*).
- The *restructuring of innovation systems* through open innovation and new methods for controlling research agendas and appropriating the products of the *general intellect* through the unprecedented acquisition and concentration of *patents*.
- *Extractivism and land grabbing* accelerating the dynamics of accumulation by dispossession and the pillage of natural resource with severe ecological destructive impacts.

Global offensive against the Working Class

- *Massive oversupply of labor*: supply of workers for capital doubled in two decades (The great doubling, Freeman, 2006)
- 1,539 million (49 %) in *vulnerable labor conditions*
- 854 million (27%) earn *daily wages of 2 US dollars or less*
- 201 million *unemployed* (youth unemployment rate doubles average unemployment rate)

ILO

Reinsertion of the periphery

- Mechanism: *Structural Adjustment Programs* (trade openness, privatization, and deregulation).
- New International Division of Labor:
 - Exportation of Workforce* {
 - a) *Indirect* or disembodied: Global Networks of Monopoly Capital
 - b) *Direct*: International Migration.
- Emergence of new modalities of *Unequal Exchange*

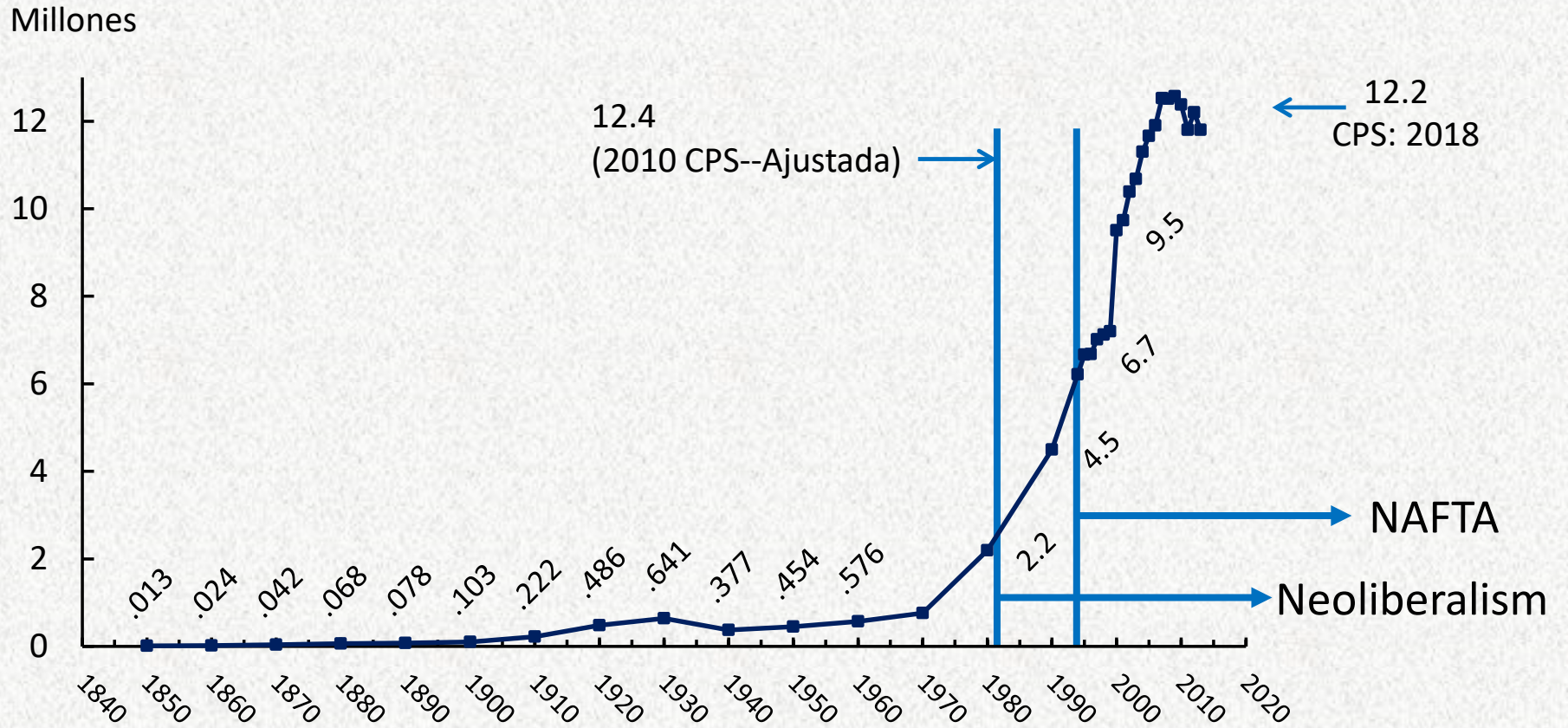
Forced Migration in the context of Neoliberalism

- Increase of internal and international migration (750 + 263 millions) under *expulsion dynamics* triggered by the dismantling of peripheral economies through structural adjustment programs and severe processes of accumulation by dispossession.
- *Restrictions to mobility (criminalization)* of migrant workforce, which depreciates it and subjects it to conditions of high vulnerability, social exclusion, precariousness and extreme exploitation.

Categories of Forced Migration

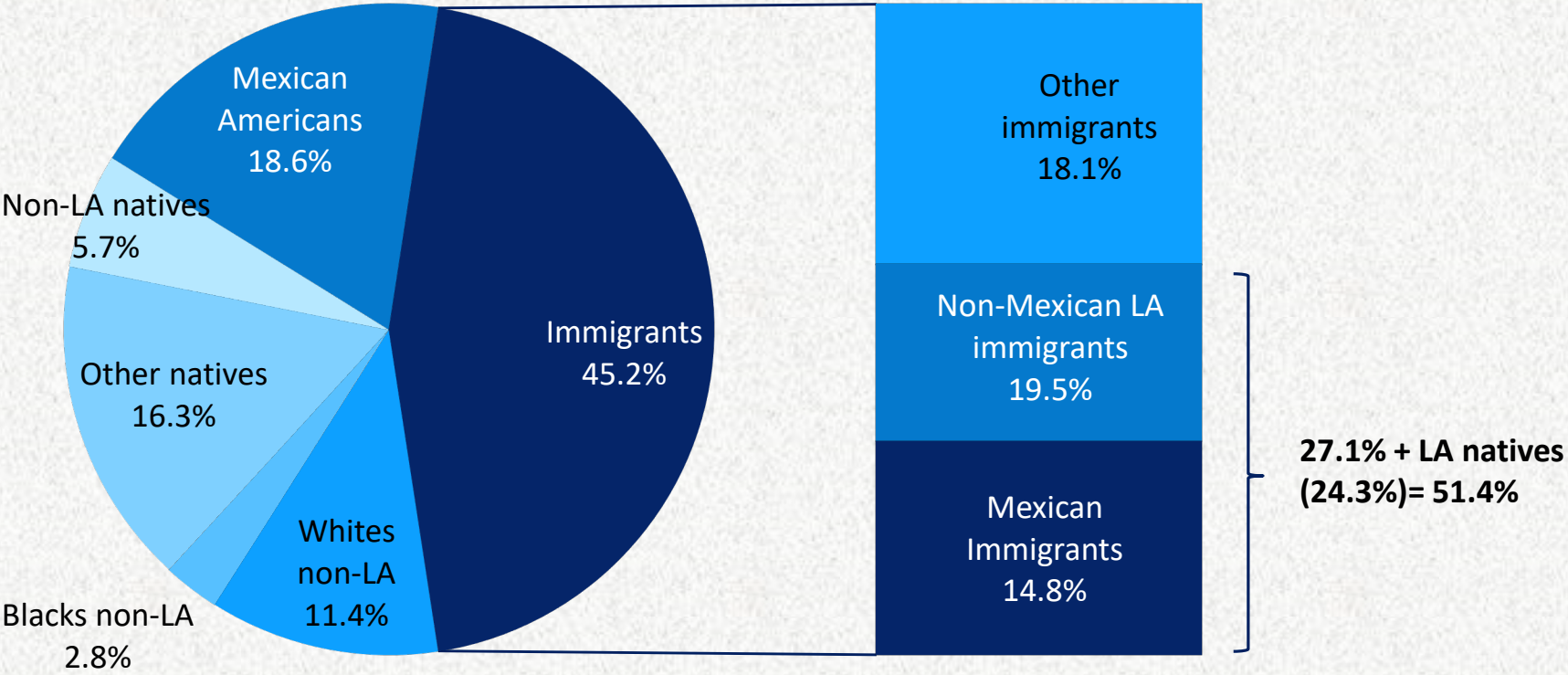
- *Migration due to violence, conflict, and catastrophe*: 65.3 million, 21.3 refugees, 40.8 million internally displaced and 3.2 million asylum seekers (UNHCR, 2015)
- *Smuggling and trafficking of persons* (21 million, ILO, 2015)
- *Migration due to dispossession, exclusion, extreme poverty, and unemployment* (at least 600 million 'economic' migrants)
- *Migration due to over-qualification and lack of opportunities* (around 30 million)
- *Return migration* in response to massive deportations

Explosive growth of Mexican migration



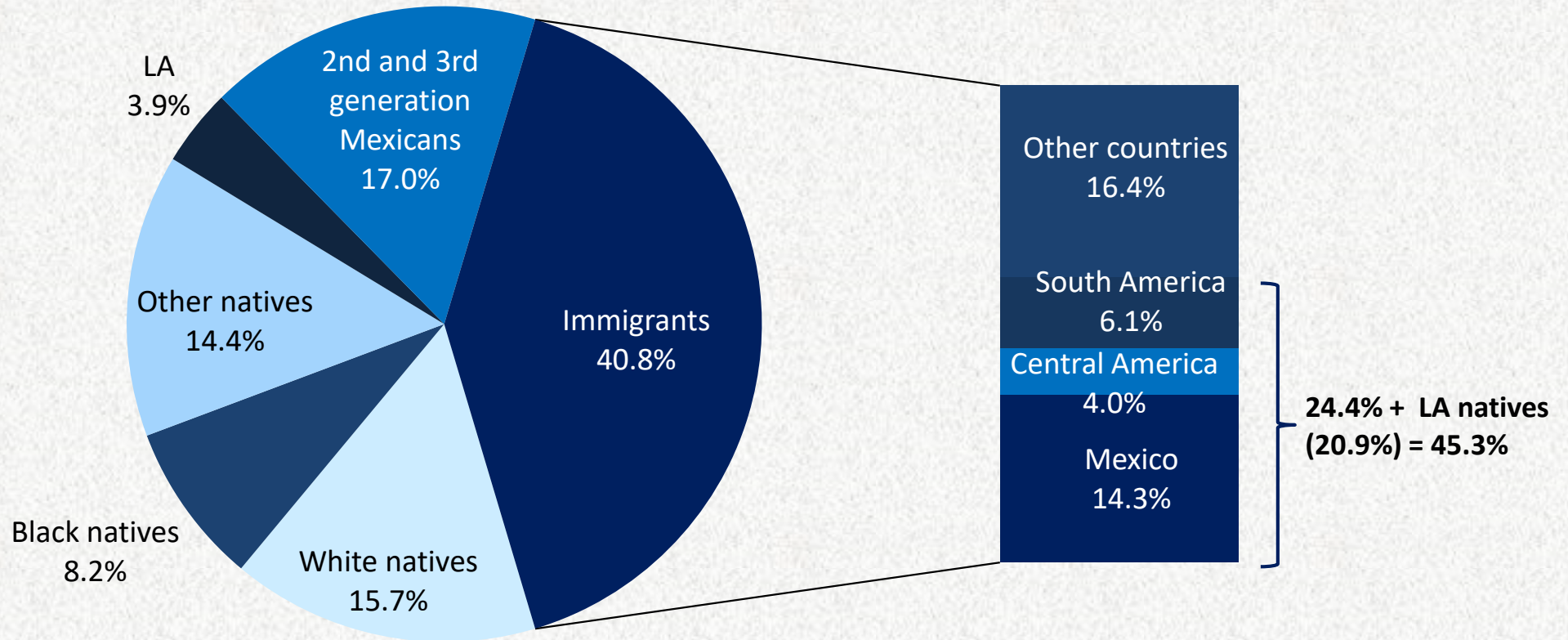
Source: *Compilation from Decennial Censuses, 1850-1990; Pew Hispanic Center, 1994-2010* (Passel & Cohn 2011). SIMDE-UAZ. 2011-2015 con base la CPS suplement de march.

US: Employment growth, 2000-2015



Fuente: SIMDE-UAZ. Estimación con base en CPS-ASEC, March supplements 2000 y 2015.

US: Contributions to GDP growth, 2000-2015

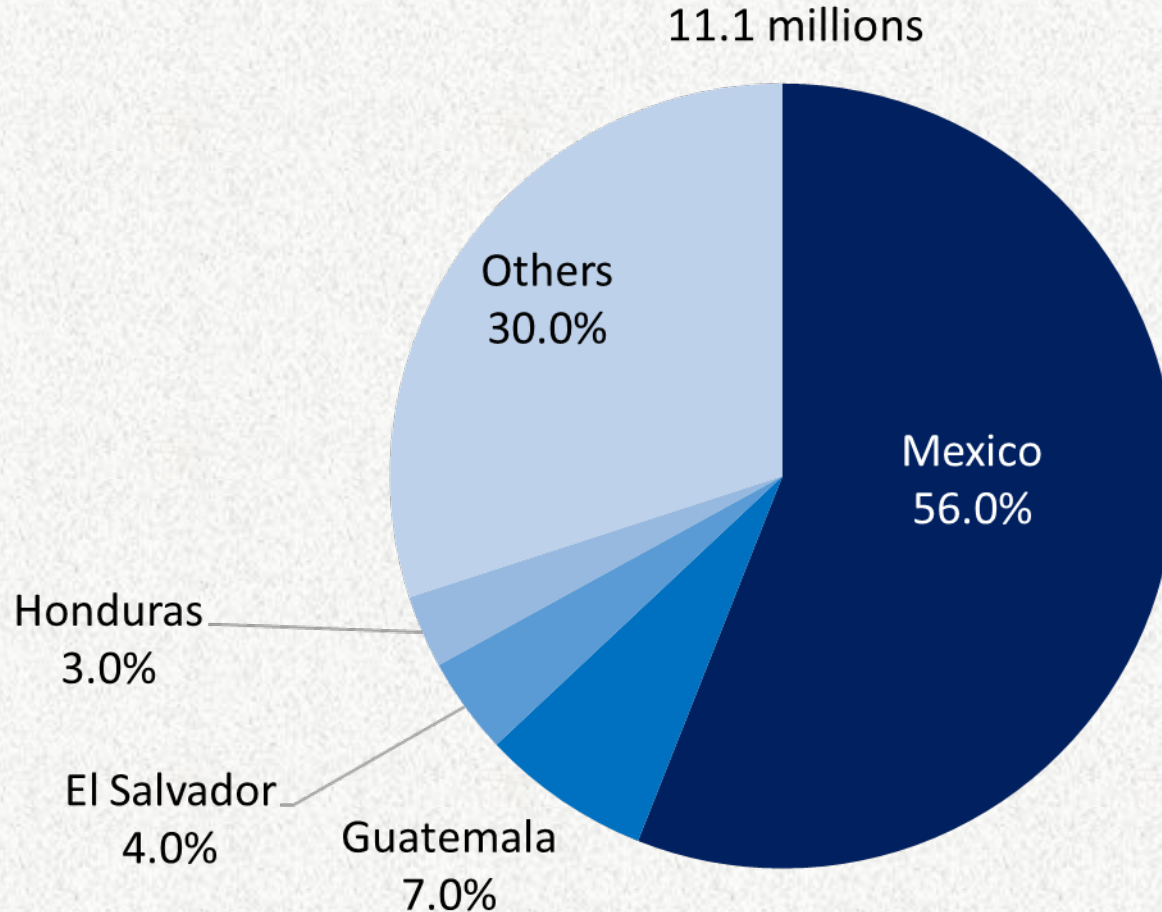


Source: SIMDE-UAZ. Based on U.S. Bureau of Economic Analysis, Gross Domestic Product by Industry Accounts, 2000 and 2015, U.S. Census Bureau, CPS-ASEC, March supplement, 2000 and 2015.

Irregular migration: a *State policy* or a criminal act?

- Between 2000 and 2015 the US labour market demand grew in 13 million. 5.8 million immigrants were needed to cover this demand.
- The increase of temporary migration visas was of 300 thousandth. This implies that 5.5 million permanent visas were required.
- However, the limit for yearly permanent visas established by the Homeland Security Department is 140 thousandth (~ a maximum of 2.1 million between 2000 and 2015).
- This State policy generated a deficit of 3.4 million visas in order to cover the US actual labour demand (assuming the US unemployment average rate was 5%).

US: Country of origin of irregular immigrants



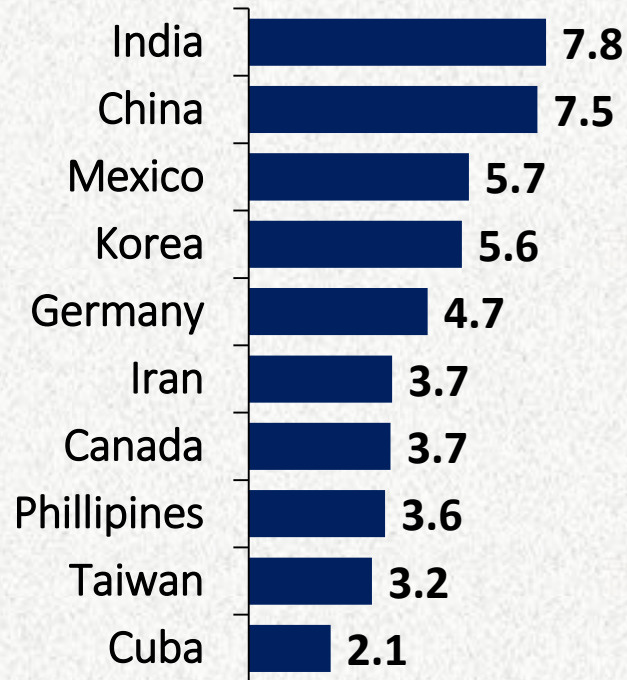
Source: SIMDE-UAZ. Elaborado con datos estimados de Source: Migration Policy Institute (MPI) analysis of U.S. Census Bureau data from the 2014 American Community Survey (ACS), 2010-2014 ACS pooled, and the 2008 Survey of Income and Program Participation (SIPP) by James Bachmeier of Temple University and Jennifer Van Hook of The Pennsylvania State University, Population Research Institute. .

US: Dynamics of generation and appropriation of patents

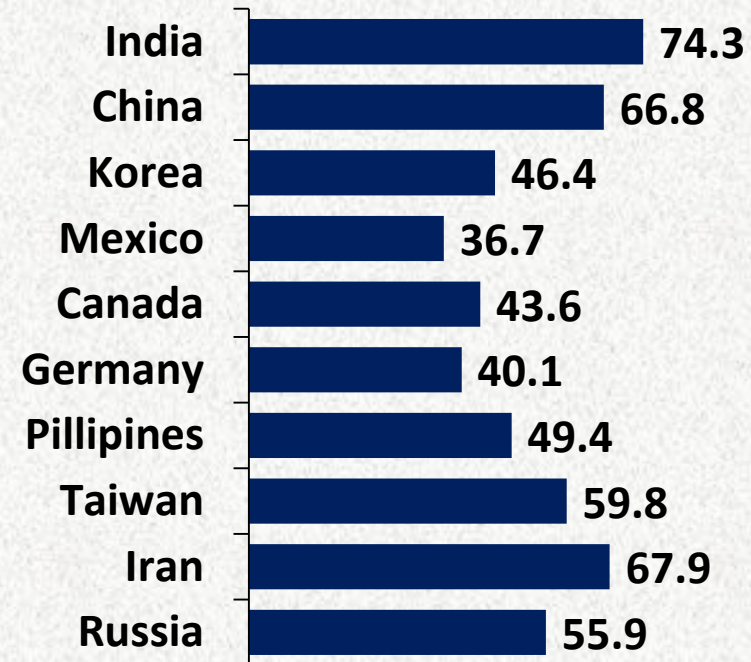
- 76% of patents in US universities were granted to foreigners from 88 countries. Key role in cutting-age areas. *The Partnership for a New American Economy*
- The rate of patenting by foreigners in the US grew from 18% in 1963 to 51% in 2014. *Rand Corporation y US Patent and Trade Office*
- 91% of US patents were granted in 2014 to MNCs. *U.S. Patent and Trademark Office*
- 70 % of the 10 top innovation corporations are headquartered in the US. *Thomson Reuters*

US: Immigrants with graduate studies, 1990-2017

Annual growth rate

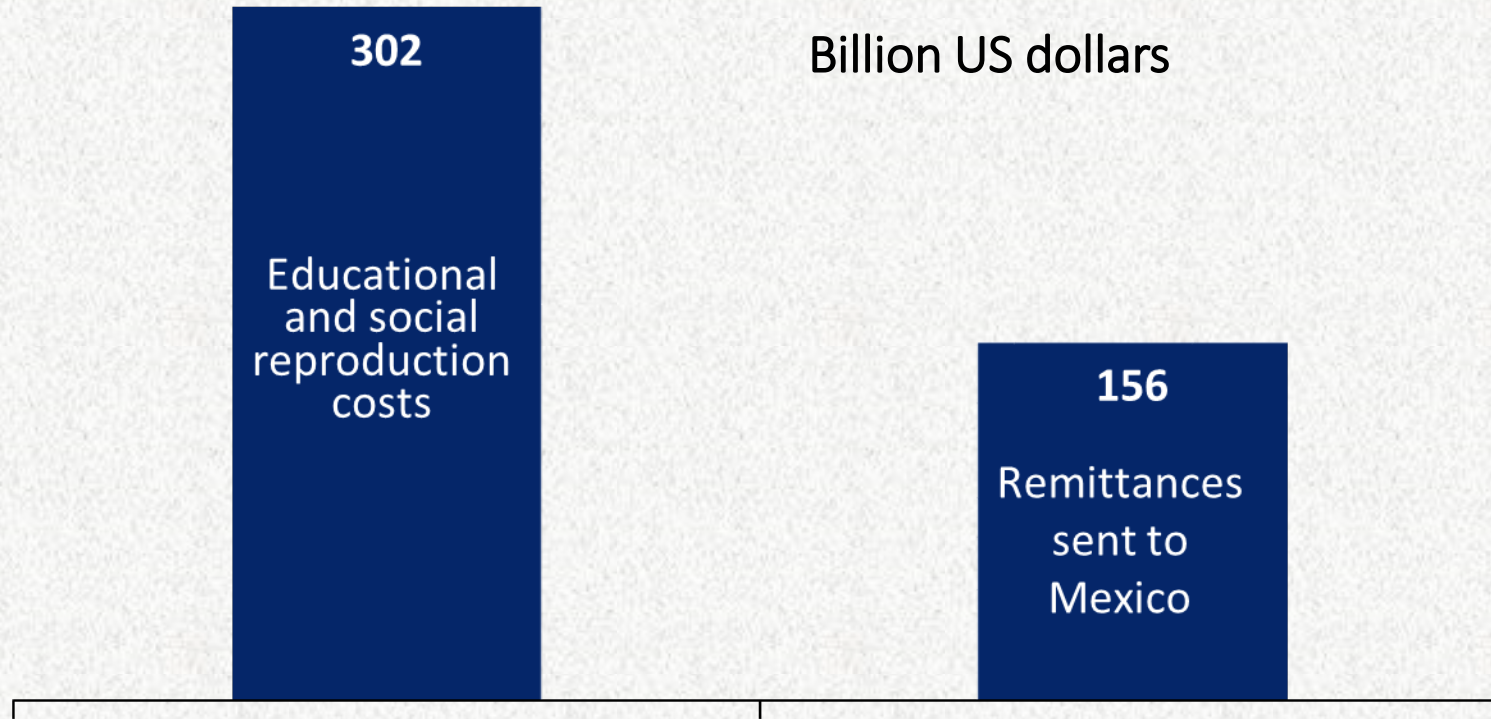


% in STEM areas



Source: SIMDE UAZ. Estimations based on *U.S. Census Bureau, Samples Census 1990 and American Community Survey (ACS), 2017.*

Emigration cost for Mexico vs. Remittances, 1994-2008



Source: SIMDE, estimations based on CPS (1994-2008); CONEVAL , Línea de pobreza en México and Anuario de Estadísticas Educativas en México, 2008.

Concluding remarks

- Migration is a *key aspect* of contemporary capitalism.
- The dominant debate on migration and development is fraught with *myths* that distort reality under a *unilateral, de-contextualized, reductionist and biased view of human mobility*.
- Migration essentially represents a *South-North subsidy*.
- The strategic importance of migration (including highly-skilled migration) for northern countries is not recognized, nor the *superexploitation* conditions and ethnic and gender discrimination under which the majority of migrants are subjected and the significant *costs of migration* for sending countries.
- The *criminalization of migrants* is a *State Policy* promoted by destination countries.