THE REPRESENTATION OF EAST ASIA IN LATIN AMERICAN LEGISLATURES

HIROKAZU KIKUCHI

(INSTITUTE OF DEVELOPMENT ECONOMIES)

2017/8/17 @ UNIVERSIDADE DE BRASÍLIA

START OF (EAST) ASIAN MIGRATION TO LATIN AMERICA

※ **First Asian arriving at Latin America → Filipinos in the 16th century**

- Chinese: mid-19th ← coolie trade.

- Japanese: end of the 19th century

- (South) Korean: 1960s

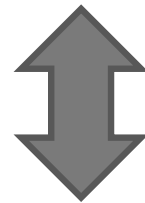|	Chinese (Elis, 2009)	Japanese (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan, 2016)	Population in 2015 (World Bank, 2016)
Argentina	65,000~70,000	35,000	43,416,750
Brazil	300,000	1,900,000	207,847,530
Panama	150,000	No data	3,929,140
Peru	4,200,000	100,000	31,376,670

POLITICIANS OF EAST ASIAN DECENT IN LATIN AMERICA

- Early 20th century: challenging the criollo political class

(e.g., Víctor Polay-Risco of the APRA, municipal councilmen of Japanese descent in Brazil)

- The Cold War era: leftist tendency

(e.g., Carlos Ominami, Luiz Gushiken)

- From the 1990s: more diversity in ideological origin

POLITICIANS OF EAST ASIAN DECENT IN LATIN AMERICA

From left to right: Alberto Fujimori (Peru), José Antonio Chang (Peru), Miguel Ángel Osorio Chong (Mexico), and Mario Ishii (Argentina).

- **Many scholars have focused on Fujimori and his government…**
- **No systematic analysis on politicians of East Asian descent in Latin America!**

RESEARCH QUESTIONS

What is the representation of East Asia in Latin American legislatures?

1) Representation and career structure (descriptive aspect)

- Are people of East Asian descent overrepresented/ underrepresented in Latin America? → every Latin American legislature

- Do political careers of legislators of East Asian decent differ from those of other legislators? → Brazilian Chamber of Deputies

2) "Asian interest" and response of legislators (substantive aspect)

- How do legislators respond to "Asian interests"? → Brazilian Chamber of Deputies (The case of the *Frente Parlamentar Mista Brasil-Peru-China Pró Ferrovia Bioceânica*)

OF SEATS AND # OF LEGISLATORS OF EAST ASIAN DESCENT IN LATIN AMERICA (AS OF AUGUST 1, 2016)

	seats	East Asian		seats	East Asian
Argentina: L	257	1	El Salvador	84	0
Argentina: U	72	0	Guatemala	158	0
Bolivia: L	130	0	Haiti: L	92	0
Bolivia: U	36	0	Haiti: U	23	0
Brazil: L	513	3	Honduras	128	0
Brazil: U	81	0	Mexico: L	500	0
Chile: L	120	0	Mexico: U	128	0
Chile: U	38	0	Nicaragua	92	0
Colombia: L	166	0	**Panama**	71	1
Colombia: U	102	0	Paraguay: L	80	0
Costa Rica	57	0	Paraguay: U	45	0
Cuba	612	0	**Peru**	130	3
Dominican R.: L	190	0	Uruguay: L	99	0
Dominican R.: U	32	0	Uruguay: U	31	0
Ecuador	137	0	Venezuela	167	0

PREVIOUS POSITIONS OF BRAZILIAN DEPUTIES OF EAST ASIAN DESCENT, 1991-2015 (N=20)

	Immediately before	At some point prior
National		
President/Vice-President	0	0
Minister of State	0	0
Other federal government position	0	0
Senator	0	0
State		
Governor/Vice-Governor	1	1
State Deputy	8	10
State Secretary or other state government position	0	0
Municipal		
Mayor/Vice-Mayor	0	5
City Councilmember	3	12
Municipal government position	2	2
Other position	6	N/A

CAREER CHOICE OF BRAZILIAN DEPUTIES OF EAST ASIAN DESCENT AND THEIR SUCCESS, 1994-2014 (N=28)

	Sought	Held
President/Vice-President	0	0
Minister of State	N/A	0
Other federal government position	N/A	0
Senator	0	0
Deputy (reelection)	20	9
Governor/Vice-Governor	0	0
State Deputy	0	0
State Secretary or other state government position	N/A	1
Mayor/Vice-Mayor	0	0
City Councilmember	1	1
Municipal government position	N/A	0
Retirement (including the cases of passing away)	N/A	3
Other position	N/A	6

POLITICAL CAREER OF BRAZILIAN DEPUTIES OF EAST ASIAN DESCENT VS. BRAZILIAN DEPUTIES IN GENERAL

Previous positions **(Gemignani, 2015)**

1) Similarities

- State deputy → Deputy: 40.0% vs. 22.45%

- Municipal councilman → State deputy: 40.0% vs. common

2) Differences

- Municipal councilman → Deputy: 15.0% vs. so rare

- Mayor → State deputy → Deputy: 5.0% vs. 13.33%

- Vice-governor → Deputy: 5.0% vs. common

POLITICAL CAREER OF BRAZILIAN DEPUTIES OF <u>EAST ASIAN DESCENT</u> VS. BRAZILIAN DEPUTIES <u>IN GENERAL</u>

<u>Future choice</u> (Gemignani, 2015)

1) Static ambition

- Reelection (sought): 71.4% vs. 74.6%

- Reelection (success): 45.0% vs. 63.7%

2) Progressive ambition

- Senator: 0.0% vs. 16.25%

- Vice-governor: 0.0% vs. common

3) Regressive ambition

- Mayor: 0.0% vs. 7.5%

WHY DO THESE DIFFERENCES EXIST?

A possible answer = geographical concentration

1) Progressive ambition

Higher district magnitude → Less likelihood of having progressive ambition (Leoni, Pereira, and Rennó 2004)

- 11/20 deputies from the State of São Paulo

- 5/20 deputies from the State of Paraná

2) Municipal councilman → Deputy

- All the 3 deputies who followed this trajectory based in a state capital.

PROJECT OF THE "TWIN OCEAN RAILROAD" (FERROVIA BIOCEÂNICA)

- One of the largest Chinese projects.

- Should make the transportation of

Brazilian commodities and Chinese goods

less time-consuming and less expensive.

- China will invest $5-12 billion

← 35 agreements between Li Keqiang and Rousseff in 2015.

- counterarguments: economic viability, possible protests of indigenous groups and environmental NGOs, Evo Morales

- Deputies and Senators formed a caucus called *Frente Parlamentar Mista Brasil-Peru-China Pró Ferrovia Bioceânica* to support this project.

WHAT IS "FRENTE PARLAMENTAR"?

- inter-party groups in Congress (should be regarded as caucuses)

- 247 *frentes parlamentares* as of August 24, 2016 (!), which range from the Evangelical caucus to Brazil-Japan and Brazil-China caucuses.

- Each caucus should include at least one-third of members of the National Congress (deputies or senators).

- Each caucus must be registered to the Congress with its charter.

What factors make a deputy to join the *Frente Parlamentar Mista Brasil-Peru-China Pró Ferrovia Bioceânica*?

STATISTICAL ANALYSIS

Data: Deputies' affiliations with caucuses in 2015

N = 513

DV: *Brazil-Peru-China caucus* (dichotomous)

Ivs: *Brazil-China caucus* (dichotomous), *Brazil-Japan caucus* (dichotomous), *East Asian descent* (dichotomous), *state on the route* (dichotomous), *gross state product per capita*, *number of* terms *in office*, *vote share*, party dummies (dichotomous)

WHAT FACTORS MATTER?

Independent variables		IVs	
Brazil-China caucus	.312(.215)	DEM	-.920(.608)
Brazil-Japan caucus	.492**(.210)	PDT	-.125(.568)
East Asian descent	.232(1.070)	…	
State on the route	.329(.306)	PSDB	-.824*(.435)
Gross state product per capita	.028**(.014)	…	
Number of terms in office	-.037(.058)	Small parties	.330(.396)
Vote share	.136**(.047)	Constant	-1.680****(.463)
σ^2	.355(.157)		
Log likelihood	-320.35	N (observations)	513
Wald χ^2	32.18*	N (states)	27

Note: Standard errors in parentheses. *p<.10; **p<.05; ***p<.01; ****p<.001.

PREDICTED PROBABILITIES

	Model 1
Baseline	.304 (.179 - .429)
Member of Brazil-Japan caucus (*Brazil-Japan caucus* = 1)	.417 (.256 - .578)
Higher gross state product per capita (*gross state product per capita* = 28.075)	.361 (.212 - .510)
Lower gross state product per capita (*gross state product per capita* = 9.871)	.252 (.133 - .372)
Higher vote share (*vote share* = 5.499)	.381 (.236 - .526)
Lower vote share (*vote share* = 0.475)	.237 (.120 - .354)
Member of PSDB (*PSDB* = 1)	.161 (.060 - .261)

PRELIMINARY FINDINGS

- People of Japanese descent are "overrepresented" in the Peruvian and Argentine lower houses. Those of Korean and Chinese descent are underrepresented.

- Political careers of deputies of East Asian descent and other deputies are different. Some deputies of East Asian descent directly moved from a municipal council. They rarely came from a mayoralty (via a state legislature) or a vice-govenorship.

- Deputies of East Asian descent did not depart to the common destinations for other deputies such as the Senate, a vice-governorship, and a mayoralty.

- Membership of the Brazil-Japan caucus, gross state product per capita, vote share in the last election, and their affiliation with the PSDB influence a deputy's decision to be a member of the *Frente Parlamentar Mista Brasil-Peru-China Pró Ferrovia Bioceânica*.