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Heading South, looking North? Rethinking migration and 'inclusion' from within the  
Global South

A Thesis submitted in partial satisfaction of the  
requirements for the degree Master of Arts  
in Global Studies

by

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September 2017

The thesis of Javiera Madrid-Salazar is approved.

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September 2017

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Javiera Madrid-Salazar

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To my family, for your tireless patience and love.

## ABSTRACT

Heading South, looking North? Rethinking migration and ‘inclusion’ from within the

Global South

by

Javiera Madrid-Salazar

Scholarly work has traditionally studied migratory processes by focusing on the movement of people from the Global South to the Global North. Contrastingly, other trajectories such as South-South migration have remained understudied. As a country whose migrant population has rapidly increased in the past decade, Chile represents an interesting opportunity to study some of the particularities of South-South migration and migrants’ process of incorporation in the context of global capitalism. While in the Global North the debate has centered around traditional sociological concepts of assimilation and integration, Chilean authorities’ discussion has centered around the vaguely defined concept of ‘social inclusion.’

This study utilizes a mixed methodology that includes quantitative data analysis as well as interviews with Haitian and Colombian migrants in Chile, in order to understand the factors behind these movements and migrants’ own definition of ‘inclusion.’ The study finds a diversity of expectations and experiences within each collectivity, a generalized existence of previous migratory experiences, and migrants’ rejection of the discourse on ‘social inclusion’ due to historical experiences of marginalization and exploitation.

By framing migration as a global phenomenon and highlighting the contributions of studying the movement of people outside the 'West,' this work poses that the theoretical advancement and articulation of knowledge in the Global South, as well as its engagement with the existing knowledge of migrants' experiences in the North, is more relevant than ever.

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## I. Introduction

Scholarly work has traditionally studied migratory processes by focusing on the movement of people from ‘developing’ to ‘developed’ countries. This South-North trend has been the central concern of contemporary migration studies, which has consolidated as an important area of research within the Social Sciences by analyzing diverse issues related to Western countries’ experiences when receiving migrants from the Global South. This body of literature has developed around a variety of topics, including contemporary and historical migration policy,<sup>1</sup> labor migration and remittances,<sup>2</sup> immigrants’ assimilation/integration,<sup>3</sup> and more recently, transnational migration.<sup>4</sup> The extent and long-lasting characteristics of

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<sup>1</sup> See Thomas K. Bauer, Magnus Lofstrom, and Klaus F. Zimmermann, "Immigration policy, assimilation of immigrants and natives' sentiments towards immigrants: evidence from 12 OECD-countries." *Center for Comparative Immigration studies* (2001); Roger Daniels. *Guarding the golden door: American immigration policy and immigrants since 1882*. (Macmillan, 2005); Bill Ong Hing. *Defining America: through immigration policy*. (Temple University Press, 2012); Daniel J. Tichenor. *Dividing lines: The politics of immigration control in America*. (Princeton University Press, 2009); Aristide Zolberg. *A nation by design: Immigration policy in the fashioning of America*. (Harvard University Press, 2009).

<sup>2</sup> See George J. Borjas, ed. *Issues in the Economics of Immigration*. (University of Chicago Press, 2008); Pablo Acosta, Cesar Calderon, Pablo Fajnzylber, and Humberto Lopez. "What is the impact of international remittances on poverty and inequality in Latin America?" *World Development* 36, no. 1 (2008): 89-114; Richard H. Adams and John Page. "Do international migration and remittances reduce poverty in developing countries?" *World development* 33, no. 10 (2005): 1645-1669; Hein De Haas. "International migration, remittances and development: myths and facts." *Third World Quarterly* 26, no. 8 (2005): 1269-1284; Manuel Orozco. "Globalization and migration: The impact of family remittances in Latin America." *Latin American politics and society* (2002): 41-66.

<sup>3</sup> See discussion on this below.

<sup>4</sup> Alejandro Portes, Luis E. Guarnizo, and Patricia Landolt. "The study of transnationalism: pitfalls and promise of an emergent research field." *Ethnic and racial studies* 22, no. 2 (1999): 217-237; Robert Smith. *Mexican New York: Transnational lives of new immigrants*. (Univ of California Press, 2006); Roger Waldinger. *The cross-border connection: Immigrants, emigrants, and their homelands*. (Harvard University Press, 2015).

these migratory processes have also promoted studies with a comparative approach, which have focused on cross-national and multi-generational analyses.<sup>5</sup>

In this context, this work aims to be a contribution to the study of migration as a global phenomenon. Within the ‘Global South,’ Latin America offers an interesting opportunity to study migratory movements that have been usually overlooked. Hence, this work presents the case study of Chile, a country in the Global South whose immigrant population has rapidly increased in the past decade as a result of its rapid integration into the global economy. These recent processes, however, have not been coupled with -as a minimum- the renovation of the country’s 1975 migration law, resulting in mixed implications for the incorporation of the migrant population in the receiving society, particularly those of African descent. In contrast with traditional models of assimilation/integration, Chilean authorities’ discussion has centered around the vaguely defined concept of ‘social inclusion.’ Accordingly, the starting point of this study will be the conceptualization of ‘inclusion’ and its place within the traditional migration literature without overlooking the specific context in which this process has been taking place: the city.

Considering the above, the research questions that guide this study are the following:

- What are the factors that explain recent Colombian and Haitian migration to Chile?
- How do migrants themselves understand and define ‘social inclusion’?

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<sup>5</sup> Richard Alba and Mary C. Waters, eds. *The next generation: Immigrant youth in a comparative perspective*. (NYU Press, 2011); Maurice Crul and Hans Vermeulen. "The second generation in Europe." *International migration review* 37, no. 4 (2003): 965-986; Rubén G. Rumbaut and Alejandro Portes. *Ethnicities: Children of immigrants in America*. (Univ of California Press, 2001); Philip Kasinitz, John Mollenkopf, Mary Waters, and Jennifer Holdaway. *Inheriting the City: The second generation comes of age*. (New York, NY: Russell Sage Foundation, 2008); Edward Telles and Vilma Ortiz. *Generations of exclusion: Mexican-Americans, assimilation, and race*. (Russell Sage Foundation, 2008).

- How does South-South migration complicate our understanding of traditional Western-centered approaches to migrants' incorporation?

The rest of this chapter will discuss the principal theoretical contributions derived from the vast bibliography on migration studies, while also presenting the shortcomings of these analyses for the study of other migration trajectories, such as South-South migration.

The chapter concludes with a methodology section that discusses in detail the data collection and analysis procedures.

#### **A. *Theoretical framework***

The focus of this research will be on migrants' particular experiences in the process of incorporation into Chilean society, specifically in the city of Santiago. To analyze this phenomenon, this study will draw on bibliography about this process in the context of Western societies. Within this strand of literature, concepts such as assimilation and integration are especially relevant.

##### **1. Beyond South-North migration: movement of people within the Global South**

As previously stated, the literature about migratory processes has historically focused on Western experiences. Involuntarily, perhaps, the latter has created and helped to reinforce the idea that migration is a phenomenon limited to the South-North trajectory, while overlooking other equally significant movements of people throughout the globe. Other migration patterns, therefore, offer a fertile ground to discover similarities and particularities among contemporary migratory processes, and are yet to be studied in detail. Thus, this work

will focus in the case of so-called ‘South-South’ migration, or migratory projects carried out within the Global South.

But before engaging with ‘South-South’ migration, it is necessary to begin by clarifying the North-South divide and, more specifically, the use of the concept ‘Global South’ in this study. While it is important to recognize that the usage of the term varies significantly, in this work the concept will be utilized following Jean Comaroff and John Comaroff, who argue that Global South cannot be defined in substantive terms, and instead that it “bespeaks a relation, not a thing in or for itself.”<sup>6</sup> In this sense, as Caroline Lavender and Walter Mignolo pose, “the global south is only understood in relation to the global north, both entangled in long lasting historical relations of Western imperial expansion.”<sup>7</sup> For Boaventura de Sousa Santos, moreover, the South expresses “all forms of subordination brought about by the capitalist world system: exploitation, expropriation, suppression, silencing, unequal differentiation, and so on.”<sup>8</sup>

Considering the above, and similar to Dilip Ratha and William Shaw,<sup>9</sup> and Stephen Castles and Raúl Delgado Wise’s approaches,<sup>10</sup> in this work South-South migration will be

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<sup>6</sup> Jean Comaroff and John L. Comaroff. "Theory from the South: Or, how Euro-America is evolving toward Africa." *Anthropological Forum*, vol. 22, no. 2 (2012): 113-131, 127.

<sup>7</sup> Caroline Lavender and Walter Mignolo. "Introduction: The Global South and world dis/order." *The Global South* 5, no. 1 (2011): 1-11.

<sup>8</sup> Boaventura de Sousa Santos. "Three metaphors for a new conception of law: The frontier, the Baroque, and the South." *Law and Society Review* (1995): 569-584, 579.

<sup>9</sup> Dilip Ratha and William Shaw. "South-South migration and remittances." *World Bank working paper No. 102*. (Washington, DC: World Bank Publications, 2007)

<sup>10</sup> Stephen Castles and Raúl Delgado Wise. "Migration and development: Perspectives from the South." (Geneva: International Organization for Migration, 2008).

used broadly to speak of migratory movements between so-called ‘developing countries,’ although considering the historical relations of Western imperial expansion and subordination that Lavender and Mignolo, and Santos, underscore.

Even though South-South migration does not represent a new phenomenon,<sup>11</sup> compared with other migration trajectories, it has remained understudied in scholarly work. This view is shared by authors such as Katja Hujo and Nicola Piper, who claim that how developing nations manage incoming flows of immigrants has been largely ignored by migration literature,<sup>12</sup> despite more recent efforts to highlight the existence and importance of South-South movements.<sup>13</sup> This new interest on South-South migration has gone hand in hand with global governance institutions’ concern about migration as a global phenomenon. During the first decades of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, for instance, international migration has featured as a central theme of some of these organizations’ meetings and documents. Some examples include the 2003-2005 Global Commission on International Migration, the 2006 United Nations (UN) High Level Dialogue on International Migration and Development, the 2007 Global Forum on Migration and Development, along with the United Nations Development

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<sup>11</sup> Katrin Hansing. "South-south migration and transnational ties between Cuba and Mozambique." *Transnational ties: Cities, migration and identities* 9 (2008): 77-90; Ron Ramdin. *Arising from bondage: A history of the Indo-Caribbean people*. (NYU Press, 2000); Oliver Bakewell and Hein De Haas. "African Migrations: continuities, discontinuities and recent transformations." In *African alternatives*, pp. 95-118. (Brill, 2007); Oliver Bakewell, Hein de Haas, Stephen Castles, Simona Velozzi, and Gunvor Jonsson. "South-South migration and human development: Reflections on African experiences." *Human Development Research Paper*. (2009).

<sup>12</sup> Katja Hujo and Nicola Piper, eds. *South-South migration: Implications for social policy and development*. (Springer, 2010).

<sup>13</sup> Castles and Delgado Wise, "Migration and development"; Hujo and Piper, *South-South Migration: Implications*; Ratha and Shaw, "South-South migration"; Thomas H. Gindling. "South–South migration: The impact of Nicaraguan immigrants on earnings, inequality and poverty in Costa Rica." *World Development* 37, no. 1 (2009): 116-126; International Organization for Migration. "Outlook for migration in the Global South." *Migration Policy Practice* V, no. 5 (2016), [https://publications.iom.int/system/files/pdf/mpp24\\_0.pdf](https://publications.iom.int/system/files/pdf/mpp24_0.pdf).

Program (UNDP)'s Human Development Report entitled "Overcoming Barriers: Human Mobility and Development."<sup>14</sup> Additionally, the UN has integrated migration-related objectives under the framework of the 2015 Sustainable Development Goals, and, more recently, it has welcomed the International Organization for Migration (IOM)-the principal intergovernmental organization in the field of migration- into the UN system.<sup>15</sup>

For migration studies, this conjecture represents both an opportunity as well as a challenge. While there is a growing body of literature on non-traditional migration trajectories that will likely continue to increase in the future, developing theoretical frameworks grounded in the experience of migrants in the South remains a pending task. Instead, more recent studies have mainly focused on the documentation of migratory processes and the consequences of them for particular nation-states, but isolating these movements from other macro-economic and cultural processes such as 'globalization.' Consequently, the theoretical frameworks through which these movements have been studied are still those based on the experience of migrants from the South, when heading towards the Global North.

Therefore, global governance institutions' renewed concern for migration as a global process can represent a turning point to expand and diversify the migration debate. By framing the latter as a global phenomenon -in which countries outside the 'West' also act as major recipients of migrants-, the theoretical advancement and articulation of knowledge in the Global South, as well as its engagement with the existing knowledge of migrants'

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<sup>14</sup> Hujo and Piper, *South-South Migration: Implications*.

<sup>15</sup> International Organization for Migration, "IOM Becomes a Related Organization to the UN." Last modified July 25, 2016, <http://www.iom.int/news/iom-becomes-related-organization-un>.

experiences in the North, seems more relevant than ever. Borrowing Chicana Feminism theorist Aida Hurtado's concept of relational dovetailing, here it is posed that "previous knowledge does not have to be approached from an adversarial standpoint; rather, newly articulated knowledge can move in and out of previous analysis describing in relational terms what is true for different groups (...) and what is not."<sup>16</sup>

## 2. Traditional frameworks: assimilation and integration

The most well-known approach to study immigrant groups' incorporation into the receiving society is the 'classical assimilation theory,' posed by American sociologist Milton Gordon. Building on Park and Burgess' definition of assimilation,<sup>17</sup> this theory sees immigrants and majority groups becoming more similar in norms, values, behaviors and characteristics, over time.<sup>18</sup> Consequently, those groups of immigrants residing the longest in the host society are expected to show greater similarities with the majority group, in contrast with those groups who have spent less time in the receiving country. Additionally, Gordon's theory recognizes several stages in the assimilation of immigrants, consisting on: acculturation, structural assimilation, large-scale intermarriage, ethnic identification with the host society, absence of prejudice, absence of discrimination, and the absence of value and power conflict. Despite the prominence of this theory, particularly in the U.S., different

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<sup>16</sup> Aida Hurtado. *Voicing Chicana feminisms: Young women speak out on sexuality and identity*. (NYU Press, 2003), 95.

<sup>17</sup> For Park and Burgess, "Assimilation is a process of interpenetration and fusion in which persons and groups acquire the memories, sentiments, and attitudes of other persons and groups, and, by sharing their experience and history, are incorporated with them in a common cultural life." (Quoted in Milton Gordon, *Assimilation in American life: The role of race, religion, and national origins*. [Oxford University Press, 1964], 60).

<sup>18</sup> Gordon, *Assimilation in American life*.



authors have criticized its linear view of the assimilation process, its monolithic view of culture and American society, as well as its origins in the overall successful experiences of early 20<sup>th</sup> European immigrants' in the U.S.,<sup>19</sup> which cannot be necessarily extrapolated to the experiences of other immigrant groups neither in the U.S. nor in other countries.

Contemporary to Gordon, but from a different perspective, scholars such as Nathan Glazer and Daniel Moynihan have argued that the assimilation of many immigrant groups often remains blocked.<sup>20</sup> This approach, known as the 'racial/ethnic disadvantage point of view,' poses that language and cultural familiarity may not always lead to increased assimilation, as discrimination and institutional barriers frequently impede the completion of this process. Glazer and Moynihan point out that, due to the common comparisons with their country of origin, immigrants are not always aware of these barriers, but later generations may realize that the goal of full assimilation can be more difficult and take longer than what was originally presumed. The latter, in turn, can entail the reemergence of racial/ethnic consciousness. While addressing some of the issues that the classical assimilation theory disregarded, some authors have criticized this model by suggesting that this scheme overstates racial/ethnic barriers.<sup>21</sup>

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<sup>19</sup> Richard Alba and Victor Nee. "Rethinking assimilation theory for a new era of immigration." *International migration review* (1997): 826-874; Rafael Alarcón, Luis Escala, and Olga Odgers. *Making Los Angeles Home: The Integration of Mexican Immigrants in the United States*. (Univ of California Press, 2016); Telles and Ortiz, *Generations of exclusion*.

<sup>20</sup> Nathan Glazer and Daniel Moynihan. *Beyond the Melting Pot: The Negroes, Puerto Ricans, Jews, Italians, and Irish of New York City*. (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1963).

<sup>21</sup> Richard Alba and Nancy Foner. *Strangers no more: Immigration and the challenges of integration in North America and Western Europe*. (Princeton University Press, 2015).

More recently, Alejandro Portes and Min Zhou proposed a new approach to grasp the complexities associated with the assimilation process that previous theories could have overlooked. In this sense, the ‘segmented assimilation model’ originates from the recognition that the assimilation experiences of recent immigrants are more diverse than the previous models indicated.<sup>22</sup> A first and distinctive characteristic of this model is that there are different groups within American society to which immigrants may assimilate to, which implies that their assimilation paths can diverge. In this sense, besides conventional upward mobility, Portes and Zhou theorized that structural barriers cut off immigrants’ access to other opportunities, becoming impediments that can lead to stagnant or downward mobility. Contrastingly, more advantaged groups may sometimes choose to embrace their home country’s culture and values, using them to inspire their children to achieve -a process Portes and Zhou call ‘selective acculturation.’ In sum, the ‘segmented assimilation model’ recognized that there are multiple groups within U.S. society, and therefore, multiple ways to ‘become American,’ while focusing on identifying the contextual, structural, and cultural factors that separate successful from unsuccessful assimilation.<sup>23</sup>

Nonetheless, Gordon’s assimilationist viewpoint has also regained preeminence more recently, derived from the work of authors such as Richard Alba and Victor Nee. These authors have posed a ‘new assimilation model,’ that refashions the original theory by re-signifying the concept of assimilation itself and incorporating new factors to take into

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<sup>22</sup> Alejandro Portes and Min Zhou. "The new second generation: Segmented assimilation and its variants." *The annals of the American academy of political and social science* 530, no. 1 (1993): 74-96.

<sup>23</sup> Ibid.

consideration while studying immigrants' incorporation into the mainstream society.<sup>24</sup> In this new model, for instance, institutions play a key role in facilitating the process of assimilation, and it is also acknowledged that assimilation takes place within racially and economically heterogeneous contexts. Equally important, Alba and Nee posed that the distinction between past immigrants and contemporary ones has been overplayed by immigration literature, while emphasizing that 'straight-line assimilation' is achievable, regardless of the speed with which this process is taking place among more recent immigrant groups in the U.S.<sup>25</sup>

Despite the importance and usefulness of these previous models, some contemporary researchers have argued that they cannot adequately reflect the assimilation paths of today's immigrants. In the United States, for instance, the 'racial/ethnic disadvantage model', and the 'classical assimilation theory,' have been criticized due to their emphasis on black-white models of racial relations that apply much less forcefully to the cases of migrants from Latin America and Asia, whose stories and contemporary experiences, in turn, differ considerably from those of African American and European immigrants. The case of Mexican immigrants in the U.S. is one of the most representatives of the limitations of these models, as the strictly assimilation or ethnic-disadvantage perspective are not able to grasp these immigrants' paths to incorporation. In this sense, Edward Telles' *Mexican Americans and immigrant incorporation* discusses the framework of assimilation, problematizing its usefulness to study this group's varied experiences in the U.S.<sup>26</sup> As the author demonstrates, in contrast with the

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<sup>24</sup> Alba and Nee, "Rethinking assimilation theory"; Richard Alba and Victor Nee. *Remaking the American mainstream: Assimilation and contemporary immigration*. (Harvard University Press, 2009)

<sup>25</sup> Alba and Nee, *Remaking the American mainstream*.

<sup>26</sup> Edward Telles, "Mexican Americans and immigrant incorporation." *Contexts* 9, no. 1 (2010): 28-33.

experience of 20<sup>th</sup> century European immigrants, contemporary immigrants from Asia and Latin America have varied skills and educational backgrounds, which make their assimilation into American society more complex and uncertain than what the old models presupposed.<sup>27</sup> Although Telles' work is still focused in the United States, the author's critique to traditional models resonates with the purpose of this study, as it recognizes the importance of understanding multiple immigrants' incorporation experiences and the diversity of outcomes of this process. Moreover, as Telles poses in a different work, the analysis of this process must start by problematizing universal ideas of racial categorization and notions of color.<sup>28</sup>

If the assimilationist discourse has prevailed among American scholars and policy-makers, in Europe the discussion about immigrants' incorporation has centered around the concept of integration. The difference between both terms is a contentious issue, and there is no agreement on what constitutes the distinctiveness of the term when contrasted with assimilation. Tracing back in history, authors such as Hans Vermeulen and Rinus Penninx argue that the term integration was precisely introduced into the discourse of several European countries to replace the concept of assimilation, in order to indicate a greater degree of tolerance and respect for ethnocultural differences.<sup>29</sup> Similarly, Richard Alba and Nancy Foner have posed that the distinctiveness of the term integration lies in that scholars who prefer to use it reject the relevance of the sociocultural dimensions of assimilation, and view the latter as questioning or devaluing the autonomy of immigrant families to decide on

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<sup>27</sup> Ibid.

<sup>28</sup> Edward Telles. *Race in another America: The significance of skin color in Brazil*. (Princeton University Press, 2014).

<sup>29</sup> Hans Vermeulen and M. J. A Penninx. "Immigrant integration: the Dutch case" (2000) quoted in Alba and Foner, *Strangers No More*, 7.

these important aspects of their lives.<sup>30</sup> This view of the concept is supported by other authors such as Adrian Favell, who indicates that after the 1960s', ideas about cultural difference and anti-racism influenced European politicians to the extent that by 1980 integration became the main discourse and framework in Western Europe.<sup>31</sup> In Favell's view, and in contrast with the classical notion of assimilation, integration implied a "complex, two-way or multiple process to evoke change that is somehow mutual and organic." Moreover, the concept itself was instrumental for the idea of a 'modern society' and of the Western society as coherent whole.<sup>32</sup>

Similarly, other authors have also defended the distinctive characteristics of this concept. On the one hand, Jens Schneider and Maurice Crul argue that, more explicitly than assimilation, "the term 'integration' includes structural aspects of incorporation into society, especially with regard to educational achievements and access to the labor market."<sup>33</sup> Rainer Bauböck, on the other, has stressed the complexity of the term, which for him, addresses not only the integration of newcomers into a new society, but also the internal cohesion of a social entity, and in the European context, the conformation of a larger union of various societies.<sup>34</sup> The ambiguity of this concept -which sometimes brings it closer to assimilation

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<sup>30</sup> Alba and Foner, *Strangers No More*.

<sup>31</sup> Adrian Favell, "Integration policy and integration research in Europe: a review and critique," in *Citizenship today: global perspectives and practices*, ed. T. Alexander Aleinikoff and Douglas Klusmeyer (Brookings Institution Press, 2010), 351-52.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid*, 353

<sup>33</sup> Jens Schneider and Maurice Crul. "New insights into assimilation and integration theory: Introduction to the special issue." *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 33, no. 7 (2010): 1143-1148, 1145.

<sup>34</sup> Rainer Bauböck. "International migration and liberal democracies: The challenge of integration." *Patterns of Prejudice* 35, no. 4 (2001): 33-49.

but also makes it compatible with a high degree of cultural and social segregation-, in the author's view, should be celebrated.<sup>35</sup>

As implied by Bauböck, other authors also see similarities between the concepts of assimilation and integration. For instance, Schneider and Crul posit that European preference for integration also carries "the implicit ideal of (a minimum degree of) cultural homogeneity -especially referring to language- as a prerequisite for social cohesion."<sup>36</sup> For American sociologists Alba and Foner, likewise, there is a "considerable overlap" between both terms.<sup>37</sup> Finally, and considering the transformations that the concept of assimilation has seen in more recent times, Rogers Brubaker poses that, in relation to assimilation, integration "refers to much the same thing."<sup>38</sup>

### 3. Globalization and the marginalized: 'social inclusion' as a new paradigm

The debates around the concepts of assimilation and integration, and their implications as modes of incorporation for immigrant groups, have also been coupled with the emergence of a new set of terms to speak of this process. Among them are concepts such as participation, cohesion, and inclusion.<sup>39</sup> The latter has gained ground recently, along with global governance institutions' discourse about globalization. To introduce 'inclusion' as an

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<sup>35</sup> Ibid.

<sup>36</sup> Jens Schneider and Maurice Crul. "New insights into assimilation and integration theory: Introduction to the special issue." *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 33, no. 7 (2010): 1143-1148, 1145.

<sup>37</sup> Alba and Foner, *Strangers No More*.

<sup>38</sup> Rogers Brubaker. "The return of assimilation? Changing perspectives on immigration and its sequels in France, Germany, and the United States." *Ethnic and racial studies* 24, no. 4 (2001): 531-548, 540.

<sup>39</sup> Favell, "Integration policy and integration research."

alternative term to discuss immigrants' incorporation, we must first unpack the concept of globalization.

Since the late 20<sup>th</sup> century, there has been a growing body of literature that addresses globalization as a critical conjuncture of our time. Nonetheless, definitions of this concept vary in complexity and across disciplines, and therefore, an extensive debate about the term is beyond the scope of this work. Instead, only a handful of definitions that are functional to this case study will be introduced.

Among such definitions, Manfred Steger refers to globalization as “the expansion and intensification of social relations and consciousness across world-time and world-space.”<sup>40</sup> Even though the latter can be a conceptualization easy to operationalize, it does not underscore some of the dimensions of globalization that are important to analyze in this specific case study. More important, in this sense, are definitions such as Jan Aart Scholte's, who identifies globalization with a process of deterritorialization or the growth of ‘supraterritorial’ relations between people, and far reaching change in the nature of social space. Moreover, Scholte argues that the proliferation and spread of supraterritorial connections undermine ‘territorialism,’ which in turn, “no longer constitutes the whole of our geography.”<sup>41</sup>

Furthermore, David Held states that globalization might be better conceived as a “highly differentiated process which finds expression in all the key domains of social

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<sup>40</sup> Manfred Steger. *Globalization: A very short introduction*. (OUP Oxford, 2013), 15.

<sup>41</sup> Jan Aart Scholte. *Globalization: A critical introduction*. (Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), 46.

activity.”<sup>42</sup> In this author’s view, globalization does not only involve deterritorialization, but it is better understood as a combination of complex processes of deterritorialization and reterritorialization of political and economic power.<sup>43</sup> Also relevant is Saskia Sassen’s view of globalization as two sets of dynamics. On the one hand, there is one dimension that is related to the formation of explicitly global institutions and processes. On the other, there is a second dimension that involves processes that do not always scale at the global level, and take place inside territories and institutional domains.<sup>44</sup> This second dimension, nonetheless, still “involves transboundary networks and entities that connect multiple local or ‘national’ processes and actors, as well as the recurrence of particular issues or dynamics in a growing number of countries or localities.”<sup>45</sup>

Finally, for William Robinson, globalization represents “the near culmination of a centuries-long process of the spread of capitalist production around the world and its displacement of all pre-capitalist relations, bringing about a new form of connections between all human beings around the world.”<sup>46</sup> In this sense, even though world capitalism is not a novel phenomenon, William Robinson and Mario Barrera argue that its current form represents a qualitatively new transnational or global phase, which can be traced back to the

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<sup>42</sup> David Held. *Global Transformations: Politics, Economics and Culture*. (California: Stanford University Press, 1999), 12.

<sup>43</sup> Ibid, 28.

<sup>44</sup> Saskia Sassen. *A Sociology of Globalization*. 1st ed. (Contemporary Societies. New York: W.W. Norton, 2007).

<sup>45</sup> Ibid, 6.

<sup>46</sup> William Robinson. *A theory of global capitalism: Production, class, and state in a transnational world*. (JHU Press, 2004), 2.



1970s, and that is distinctive due to the rise of transnational capital and a transnational capitalist class.<sup>47</sup>

Considering these authors' contributions, for the purposes of this study globalization is understood as:

A process (or set of processes) which embodies a transformation in the spatial organization of social relations and transactions -assessed in terms of their extensity, intensity, velocity and impact- generating transcontinental or interregional flows and networks of activity, interaction, and the exercise of power.<sup>48</sup>

In the specific case of migration, as posed by Robinson and Barrera, significant in the current stage of globalization is that transnational relations -and particularly transnational capital- have been able "to break the power of territorial-bound organized labor and to impose new capital-labor relations based on the fragmentation, flexibilization, and cheapening of labor."<sup>49</sup>

As for global governance institutions, more recent accounts of globalization recognize that not everyone experiences these processes in the same way, and that while it benefits some it also impairs others. Among them, linked to Amartya Sen's ideas, global governance institutions have recognized that unmanaged globalization can have in social exclusion an unwanted outcome that should be addressed. The UNDP's 1999 Human Development Report, for instance, claims that it

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<sup>47</sup> William Robinson and Mario Barrera. "Global capitalism and twenty-first century fascism: a US case study." *Race & Class* 53, no. 3 (2012): 4-29, 1.

<sup>48</sup> Held, *Global Transformations*, 16.

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid*, 11.

Champions the agenda of the world's weak, those marginalized by globalization, and calls for a much bolder agenda of global and national reforms to achieve globalization with a human face. It cautions that globalization is too important to be left as unmanaged as it is at present, because it has the capacity to do extraordinary harm as well as good.<sup>50</sup>

At the center of this globalization 'with a human face' are concerns about social inclusion/exclusion. Following this line, the report highlighted the need to "provide enough space for human, community and environmental resources to ensure that globalization works for people—not just for profits."<sup>51</sup> Moreover, this process, according to UNDP, should be characterized by six core values: ethics, equity, inclusion -defined as less marginalization of people and countries-, human security, sustainability, and development.

Nonetheless, the UN's earlier concerns about social exclusion did not translate into a better, more just management of globalization. In 2000, Sen once again warned that "the ability of people to use the positive prospects [of globalization] depends on their not being excluded from the effective opportunities that globalization offers... If people are excluded from these opportunities—either because of international restrictions or due to national or local lack of preparedness—then the overall impact of globalization may be exclusion."<sup>52</sup> Also significant in this respect is that in 2013 the World Bank launched *Inclusion Matters: The Foundation for Shared Prosperity*. Similar to UNDP's previous publication, this book also positioned the concept of social inclusion at the center of the globalization debate, defining it in two particular ways:

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<sup>50</sup> United Nations Development Program, *Human Development Report 1999*. (New York/Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), V, [http://hdr.undp.org/sites/default/files/2016\\_human\\_development\\_report.pdf](http://hdr.undp.org/sites/default/files/2016_human_development_report.pdf).

<sup>51</sup> Ibid, 2.

<sup>52</sup> Amartya Sen. "Social exclusion: Concept, application, and scrutiny." *Office of Environment and Social Development Bank, Social Development Papers*, no 1 (2000), 28.

- The process of improving the terms for individuals and groups to take part in society.
- The process of improving the ability, opportunity, and dignity of people, disadvantaged on the basis of their identity, to take part in society.<sup>53</sup>

More importantly, the book correctly points to a challenge that remains relevant in terms of research on ‘social inclusion’: before finding ways to measure social inclusion, first we need to disentangle the obscure, amorphous meaning of this context-specific concept.<sup>54</sup> Recognizing that unfettered globalization has benefited some and marginalized others, the context-dependent characteristics of the concept of ‘inclusion’ and its implications for Afro-descendant migrants in Chile will be explored in the following chapters.

#### 4. Localizing people’s movements: globalization at the local scale

Globalization has transformed social interactions and the way to study them. As posed by Scholte and Held, the time-space compression behind globalization has deterritorialized social relations, particularly destabilizing the nation-state as the main point of reference for research in the social sciences. In this sense, the role and importance of the nation-state in a globalizing world represents a contentious, polarized debate. On the one hand, ‘hyperglobalists’ pose that we live in a ‘post-national era,’ where the nation-state has become irrelevant. On the other, so-called ‘skepticals’ defend the idea that relatively nothing has changed for the nation-state, and thus, it still represents the more powerful actor even in a

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<sup>53</sup> Maitreyi Bordia Das. "Inclusion matters: the foundation for shared prosperity—overview." (*Washington, DC: World Bank*, 2013), 50.

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.*

more globalized era.<sup>55</sup> A third group, the ‘transformationalists,’ have a more nuanced view, and instead support the idea that globalization is reconstituting the power, functions and authority of the nation-state, giving rise to new ‘sovereignty regime’ in which the territorial boundaries remain important but are increasingly problematic.<sup>56</sup> Accordingly, in their view, “the power of national governments is not necessarily diminished by globalization but on the contrary is being reconstituted and restructured in response to the growing complexity of processes of governance in a more interconnected world.”<sup>57</sup> Behind this transformation, for authors such as David Harvey and William Robinson, are the very dynamics of capitalism, which have translated into new spatial dynamics and institutional arrangements.<sup>58</sup>

Building on the latter, sociologist Saskia Sassen proposes a theoretical framework that questions the central role that historically has been assigned to the nation-state as the premier unit of analysis for the social sciences. Instead, the author highlights the possibilities associated with the study of new spaces and processes that unfold at the subnational and supranational level, which are not always possible to grasp when using the lens of the international system. For Sassen, in a globalized world there is a “partial unbundling, or at least weakening” of the national, which in turn opens up the space for “other spatial units and scales.”<sup>59</sup> Following this line, Sassen stresses the need to overcome methodological

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<sup>55</sup> Held, *Global Transformations*.

<sup>56</sup> *Ibid*, 8-9.

<sup>57</sup> James N. Rosenau. *Along the domestic-foreign frontier: Exploring governance in a turbulent world*. Vol. 53. (Cambridge University Press, 1997) quoted in Held, *Global Transformations*.

<sup>58</sup> David Harvey. *A brief history of neoliberalism*. (Oxford University Press, USA, 2007); Robinson, *Theory of global capitalism*.

<sup>59</sup> Sassen, *A Sociology of Globalization*, 30.

nationalism<sup>60</sup> and ‘embedded statism.’ Instead, she proposes to “recover the concrete, localized processes through which globalization takes shape.”<sup>61</sup> In this scheme, the city, and particularly the ‘global city,’ becomes a place of special interest for globalization scholars as it “engages in the global directly, often bypassing the national.”<sup>62</sup> As a space where transnational capital and those marginalized meet, the ‘global city’ is a place where globalization, for Sassen, truly materializes.

If for Sassen ‘global cities’ is a category that represents urban spaces that sit at the top of the ‘global hierarchy,’ such as Tokyo, London and New York,<sup>63</sup> Peter Marcuse and Ronald Van Kempen’s work starts from the premise that globalization is a process that is affecting -in different ways and to varied degrees- all the cities of the world.<sup>64</sup> One of the most recognizable characteristics of this urban globalization is identified by the authors as related to the spatial division of cities by multiple lines, among them those of ‘race’ and ethnicity. Therefore, as explored by Douglas Massey and Nancy Denton for the U.S. case,<sup>65</sup> the city, and urban segregation in particular, represent an ideal place to study globalization

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<sup>60</sup> Wimmer and Glick Schiller define ‘methodological nationalism’ as “the assumption that the nation/state/society is the natural social and political form of the modern world.” (302). In the case of the social sciences, the authors call for a move beyond the different forms of ‘methodological nationalism’ -ignorance, naturalization, and territorial limitation- that have constrained social science thinking. (Andreas Wimmer and Nina Glick Schiller. "Methodological nationalism and beyond: nation–state building, migration and the social sciences." *Global networks* 2, no. 4 [2002]: 301-334).

<sup>61</sup> Ibid, 98.

<sup>62</sup> Ibid, 102.

<sup>63</sup> Saskia Sassen. *The global city: New York, London, Tokyo*. (Princeton University Press, 2001).

<sup>64</sup> Peter Marcuse and Ronald Van Kempen, eds. *Globalizing cities*. (John Wiley & Sons, 2011).

<sup>65</sup> Douglas S. Massey and Nancy A. Denton. "Hypersegregation in US metropolitan areas: Black and Hispanic segregation along five dimensions." *Demography* 26, no. 3 (1989): 373-391; Douglas S. Massey and Nancy A. Denton. *American apartheid: Segregation and the making of the underclass*. (Harvard University Press, 1993).

and the incorporation of immigrant population into a new society. The dimensions of this process, however, are yet to be studied in new centers of accumulation located in the Global South.

While works on South-South migration are just a handful and do not specifically focus on social inclusion/exclusion of migrants,<sup>66</sup> in the case of Chile these works are still exploratory and focus on migrant collectivities that are beyond the scope of this work. Most of them, for instance, address the more traditional migration of Peruvian population and their ambivalent position in Chilean society by analyzing discourses, representations and discriminatory practices towards them<sup>67</sup> or their children in the context of the school.<sup>68</sup>

More encompassing and useful for this study in this sense is Maria Emilia Tijoux's book, which exposes the historical roots and different expressions of racism in Chile, including those that affect the more recently arrived population of African descent.<sup>69</sup> Other works such as Rojas, Amode and Vasquez's contribute with conceptual and contextual elements to inform the 'social inclusion' discussion, particularly in the case of Haitian

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<sup>66</sup> See Ratha and Shaw, "South-South migration"; Hujo and Piper, *South-South migration: Implications*; more recently Patricia Short, Moazzem Hossain, and M. Adil Khan, eds. *South-South Migration: Emerging Patterns, Opportunities and Risks*. (Taylor & Francis, 2017).

<sup>67</sup> Silke Staab and Kristen Hill Maher. "The dual discourse about Peruvian domestic workers in Santiago de Chile: class, race, and a nationalist project." *Latin American Politics and Society* 48, no. 1 (2006): 87-116; Carolina Stefoni. "Reflexiones sobre el transnacionalismo a la luz de la experiencia migratoria peruana en Chile." (Santiago, Chile, 2003).

<sup>68</sup> Iskra Pavez Soto. "Inmigración y racismo: experiencias de la niñez peruana en Santiago de Chile." *Si Somos Americanos* 12, no. 1 (2012): 75-99; Dery Suárez-Cabrera. "Nuevos migrantes, viejos racismos: Los mapas parlantes y la niñez migrante en Chile" *Revista Latinoamericana de Ciencias Sociales, Niñez y Juventud* 13, no. 2 (2015): 627.

<sup>69</sup> María Emilia Tijoux, ed. *Racismo en Chile: La piel como marca de la inmigración*. (Editorial Universitaria, 2016).

migrants.<sup>70</sup> Nonetheless, the lack of comparative approach limits the relevance of this study's conclusions to other racial/ethnic groups of newcomers.

Considering the discussion above, it is evident that the particularities of South-South migration and the most appropriate analytical framework to study migrants' incorporation in these 'Southern' countries is a field yet to be explored. Most well-known models to study this process were constructed based on the experience of 'developed' countries, neglecting the fact that migration has become a global phenomenon that affects 'developing' countries equally. A Global South perspective about the immigration dilemma, in this sense, has only more recently become part of the intellectual discussions and global governance policies around international migration. Regardless of the timing of these advances, the latter represents a significant opportunity for Global South scholars to diversify and engage in this crucial, contemporary debate.

In the case of Chilean research on immigration, three gaps in the literature are identified. In the first place, the bibliography focuses on historical migration from neighboring countries such as Peru, neglecting new waves of migrants coming to the country. Secondly, the literature addresses new migration movements as isolated from globalization and the power relations behind it. Instead, racism and racist practices are portrayed as a national issue performed by a monolithic notion of the 'Chilean society.' Finally, and related to the latter, previous research in the area does not use the lens of interdisciplinarity, and

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<sup>70</sup> Nicolás Rojas Pedemonte, Nassila Amode, and Jorge Vásquez Rencoret. "Racismo y matrices de 'inclusión' de la migración haitiana en Chile: elementos conceptuales y contextuales para la discusión." *Polis (Santiago)* 14, no. 42 (2015): 217-245.

therefore, poses a unidimensional view of migrants' incorporation, derived from the particular interests of disciplines such as anthropology and psychology.

Building on this body of literature, this work aims to contribute to the traditional form in which migration-related issues are addressed. First, this work will seek to advance the research agenda of migration studies by highlighting the distinctive experiences that migrants from the South have by migrating to other 'developing' countries. Second, this study aims to underscore the relevant contributions that an interdisciplinary approach can bring to the analysis of social issues at the national level, shedding light on the limitations that discipline-bounded studies can have when dealing with complex global phenomena. Finally, this research has a social justice objective as it aims to reveal the multiple socioeconomic and political barriers that have historically hindered marginalized groups' so-called 'inclusion.'

## ***B. Methods***

To understand the particularities of these recent South-South migratory movements and their specificity within both Chile's historical migration inflows and more recent global trends in international migration, this project utilized a mixed methodology.

Quantitative methods included an analysis of the Department of Foreign Affairs and Migration's records of temporary visas and permanent residence permits emitted to identify and quantify recent migration inflows towards Chile. Additionally, the study examined data from the Chilean Ministry of Social Development's Socioeconomic Characterization Survey (CASEN) 2015 to understand official discourses on 'social inclusion' and explore



Colombians and Haitians' paths towards that ideal, as normally measured by public policy instruments.

With regard to the quantitative data used, nevertheless, it is important to clarify that considering that external reviewers -ECLAC among them<sup>71</sup>- have questioned the accuracy of the 2012 Census carried-out in Chile, most of this study built not on official numbers but on estimations based on the aforementioned data from the Ministry of the Social Development and the Department of Foreign Affairs and Migration.

Following the demographic profile of the groups -identified based on quantitative data-, the qualitative part of the study consisted of 24 in depth, semi-structured interviews with Colombians and Haitians. The 24 interviewees were found using 'snowball' sample, and among them there were 12 Colombians (6 men and 6 women) and 12 Haitians (7 men and 5 women) in the age range between 20 and 50 years old, and that have arrived in Chile no earlier than 2006 and no later than 3 months before the interview took place. All the interviews were held at a place chosen by the interviewee, either their house, a coffee shop, or their workplace. Moreover, the interviews were recorded, transcribed and analyzed with the interviewees' consent. In order to protect the interviewees' identities, all the names used in this document are fictitious.

Some of the limitations of the methodology chosen were, as mentioned before, the inexistence of recent, official data about migration towards Chile. In this sense, most of the estimations utilized here likely underestimate the size of the Colombian and Haitian

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<sup>71</sup> "CEPAL se suma a recomendación de volver a realizar el Censo 2012." *El Mostrador* (9 Aug 2013), <http://www.elmostrador.cl/noticias/pais/2013/08/09/cepal-se-suma-a-recomendacion-de-volver-a-realizar-el-censo-2012/>

collectivity residing in the country, which in turn can obscure the real magnitude of these migratory phenomena. Moreover, in the case of the interviews with Haitians, most of them were conducted with the collaboration of a male interpreter. Although the role of the interpreter was fundamental to have access to Haitian migrants' experiences in Chile, it is important to recognize that a literal translation of the interviews was impossible to achieve. In addition, his presence during the interviews with Haitian women made some gender-related issues more difficult to discuss when compared to the conversations with Colombian women.

## **II. Global capitalism, Chile's political-economy and South-South migration**

In January of 2010, the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) officially welcomed the first South American country as one of its members: Chile. The accession of the country represented the culmination of a massive economic transformation initiated in the 1970s, which aimed to align Chile's economic policies with those of neoliberalism. For many, these reforms were the main driver of the country's impressive economic development in the last four decades. Among them was the economist Milton Friedman, who used the term 'economic miracle' to refer to Chile's 'successful' neoliberal transformation and the benefits that this new economic system brought to the country.<sup>72</sup> Furthermore, Chile was acknowledged as an example of political and economic development for the rest of Latin America and other countries. Chile's accession to the selective group of high-income countries that are part of the OECD seemed, then, just another international recognition in this regard.

While attention on Chile has mainly focused on the country's economic performance, its rapid growth has also detonated another kind of often-overlooked-related phenomena, such as the quantitative and qualitative changes in the migratory flows to the country. If by 1982 immigrant population represented 0.7% of the total population, estimates for 2015 suggested that more than 2.6% of Chile's population were foreign-born.<sup>73</sup> Furthermore, while neighboring countries Peru, Bolivia, and Argentina have historically been the most important sending countries, in the last decade, and particularly after 2010, there has been a notorious

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<sup>72</sup> Milton Friedman. "Free markets and the generals." *Newsweek* (25 January 1982).

<sup>73</sup> Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

growth of migrants from non-traditional origins such as Colombia, Dominican Republic, and Haiti.<sup>74</sup>

Considering the above, this chapter will discuss Chile's political economy vis-à-vis recent transformations in the world's economy and the implications of this process for South-South migration. It will start with an overview of Chile's recent economic performance in the context of a globalized economy, to later introduce the case of migratory flows towards Santiago, Chile's capital city. It is argued that Chile's integration into global capitalism and its rise as a new center of accumulation have been fundamental for the country's emergence as a new destination for migrants from the Global South, specifically for what scholars as Robinson and Barrera have denominated 'surplus labor.'<sup>75</sup>

Particularly problematic in the case of Chile and other 'developing' countries have been capitalism's extensive and intensive expansions<sup>76</sup> and their effects on inequality, which have been exacerbated by the commodification of social rights in the current stage of globalization. Although globally these immigrant groups have become instrumental for transnational capital inasmuch as they pressure down wages and allow the exercise of discipline over workers, they have also been racialized and are targeted by a faction of the ruling class' xenophobic discourse. Specifically, in this case, displaced from their homeland and captivated by the 'Chilean Miracle,' these groups -and particularly African-descendants-

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<sup>74</sup> Ibid.

<sup>75</sup> Robinson and Barrera, "Global capitalism and twenty-first."

<sup>76</sup> Robinson defines capitalism extensive expansion as the constant extension of commodification outwards to areas that previously were outside the system of commodity production. Moreover, capitalism intensive expansion refers to the penetration by commodity relations of spheres of social life that were formally outside the logic of profit making (Robinson, *Theory of global capitalism*, 6-7).

are now caught between super-exploitation and marginalization, while living in one of the most unequal countries in the world.<sup>77</sup>

### **A. The global economy**

Starting in the 1970s, the world economy has experienced significant changes that cannot be understood as separate from the process of globalization. This, according to Scholte, is characterized by the growth of ‘supraterritorial’ relations, which change the nature of social space while undermining ‘territorialism.’<sup>78</sup> Similarly, Held defines globalization as a process which finds expression in all the key domains of social activity and that involves a combination of complex processes of deterritorialization and reterritorialization of political and economic power.<sup>79</sup> For Robinson, moreover, the main driver of these processes is no other than global capitalism. Consequently, globalization represents “the near culmination of a centuries-long process of the spread of capitalist production around the world and its displacement of all pre-capitalist relations, bringing about a new form of connections between all human beings around the world.”<sup>80</sup> In this sense, even though world capitalism is not a novel phenomenon, Robinson and Barrera argue that its current form represents a qualitatively new transnational or global phase, which can be traced back to the 1970s, and that is distinctive due to the rise of transnational capital and a transnational capitalist class.<sup>81</sup>

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<sup>77</sup> World Bank data.

<sup>78</sup> Scholte, *Globalization: A critical introduction*, 46.

<sup>79</sup> Held, *Global Transformations*, 15, 28.

<sup>80</sup> Robinson, *Theory of global capitalism*, 2.

<sup>81</sup> Robinson and Barrera, "Global capitalism and twenty-first," 1.

Significant at this stage is that transnational relations -and particularly capital- have been able “to break the power of territorial-bound organized labor and to impose new capital-labor relations based on the fragmentation, flexibilization, and cheapening of labor.”<sup>82</sup>

For the purposes of this work, the connection between globalization and labor explained above seems key. As posed by Robinson and Barrera, global capitalism has generated a new global army of ‘surplus labor’ formed mainly by those marginalized and dispossessed from the means of production, and locked out of productive participation in the global economy.<sup>83</sup> A priori, this mass of ‘supernumeraries’ -as Robinson and Barrera call them- might seem as having no direct use to capital. Nevertheless, when looking at the broader context, such a group of highly mobile, disenfranchised labor becomes essential for the functioning of global capitalism as it “places downward pressure on wages everywhere” and “allows transnational capital to impose discipline over those who remain active in the labor market.”<sup>84</sup> Therefore, and as it is exemplified by Grace Chang’s account of immigrant women workers in the U.S., it is important to understand that “the dynamics of immigration are less a matter of individual choice and more a product of the interests of First World nations.”<sup>85</sup> In this sense, since even the low-paid jobs in the West pay more than work in some of these immigrants’ countries, Third World nations have no choice but to “surrender their citizens” to more developed countries. As Chang poses it, then, the ‘decision’ to

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<sup>82</sup> Ibid, 11.

<sup>83</sup> Ibid.

<sup>84</sup> Ibid; William Robinson and Xuan Santos. "Global capitalism, immigrant labor, and the struggle for justice." *Class, Race and Corporate Power* 2, no. 3 (2014): 1, 6.

<sup>85</sup> Grace Chang. "Disposable domestics: Immigrant women workers in the global economy." *Global dimensions of gender and carework* (2006): 39-47, 4.

emigrate cannot be regarded as a ‘free’ one. Instead, transnational immigrant labor should be seen as a form of coerced labor.<sup>86</sup>

Even though Chang’s work centers on immigrant women workers’ experiences and on migratory movements from the South to the North, similar processes can be seen taking place in the Global South. In this case, the combination of stricter regulations for immigration to developed countries, along with the integration of developing countries into the global economy, have resulted in a new international division of labor and the emergence of new centers of accumulation in the ‘semi-periphery.’<sup>87</sup> As posited by Wilma Dunaway and Donald Clelland, as these semi-peripheral countries also attract immigrant labor, they will more than likely also create their own systems of oppression.<sup>88</sup>

### ***B. New poles of accumulation: Chile***

Chile’s economy went through a massive neoliberal reform under Augusto Pinochet’s dictatorship, led by a group of economists trained in the University of Chicago. The first stage of the reform, carried out between 1975-81, focused on inflation control, trade liberalization, financial sector reform and a first round of privatization of public companies.

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<sup>86</sup> Ibid.

<sup>87</sup> Following Immanuel Wallerstein’s world-systems theory, in this work semi-periphery refers to a third structural position within the economic system -in between the core and the periphery- consisting of a “wide range of countries in terms of economic strength and political background” (p. 100). According to Wallerstein, as a middle stratum, the semi-periphery is both, exploited and an exploiter, and it is also necessary for a capitalist world-economy to run smoothly. (Immanuel Wallerstein. *The Capitalist World-Economy*. Vol. 2. (Cambridge University Press, 1979).

<sup>88</sup> Wilma Dunaway and Donald Clelland. “Challenging the Global Apartheid Model: A World-Systems Analysis.” *Journal of World-Systems Analysis Research* 22, no. 1. (2016): 16 quoted in Bill Fletcher Jr. “Race in the Capitalist World-System: Response to the Symposium Essays.” *Journal of World-Systems Research* 22, no. 1 (2016): 45, 47.

The second one, implemented after the 1982 crisis, consisted in the reduction of public spending, privatization of public companies and social services – including the health, pensions, and educational systems- along with the promotion of foreign investment and tax cuts for the private sector.<sup>89</sup>

The alleged success of Chile's neoliberal reforms can be seen in specific macroeconomic statistics, usually considered relevant to measure a country's level of 'development.' For instance, while in 1975 Chile's GDP per capita was US\$693, by 1989 it was US\$2,196. Similarly, the same year, the country registered a GDP double-digit growth of 10.56%. In contrast, the average growth of Latin America and the Caribbean as a region was only 1.34%. Furthermore, during the period from 1973 to 1989, Chile's GDP grew from US\$7.2 billion to US\$28.4 billion. On top of this, Pinochet's reforms were also successful in controlling inflation. If by 1974 the inflation rate was at 505%, by the end of the dictatorship it was at 17%.<sup>90</sup>

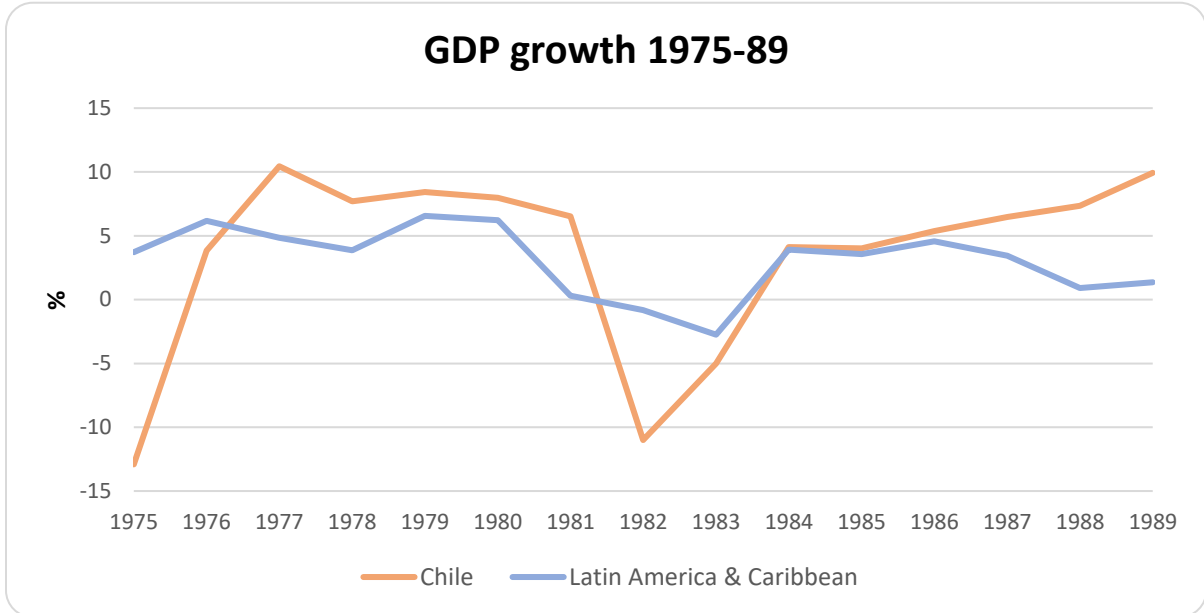
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<sup>89</sup> Manuel Délano and Hugo Traslaviña. *La herencia de los Chicago Boys*. (Ornitorrinco, 1989).

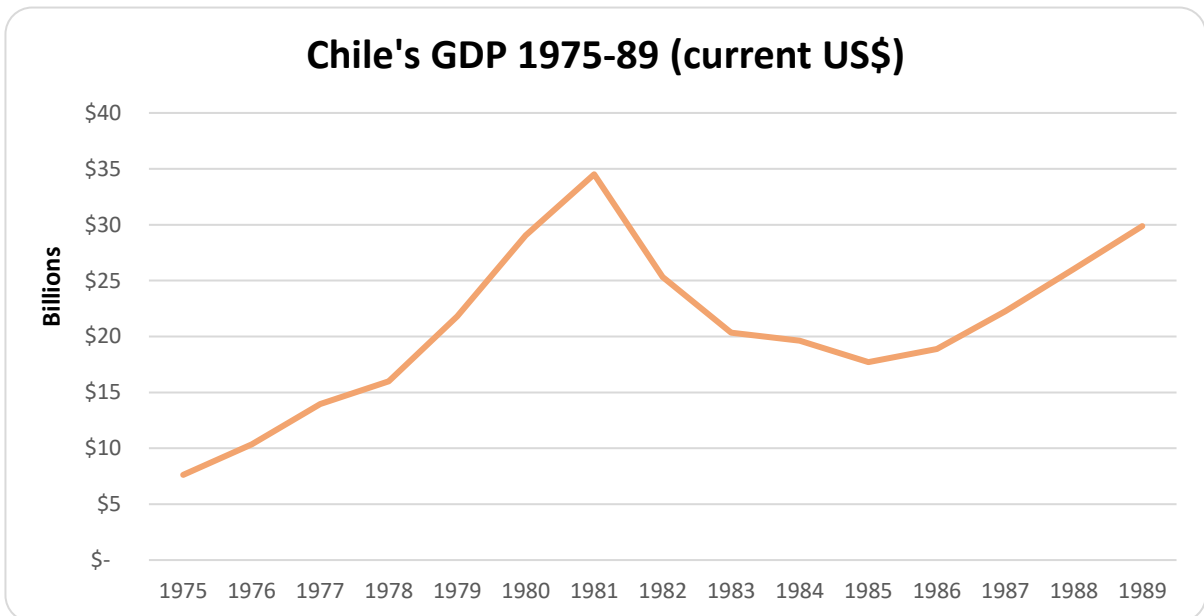
<sup>90</sup> World Bank data.



Graph 1: GDP growth - Chile and Latin America & the Caribbean 1975-1989 (World Bank)



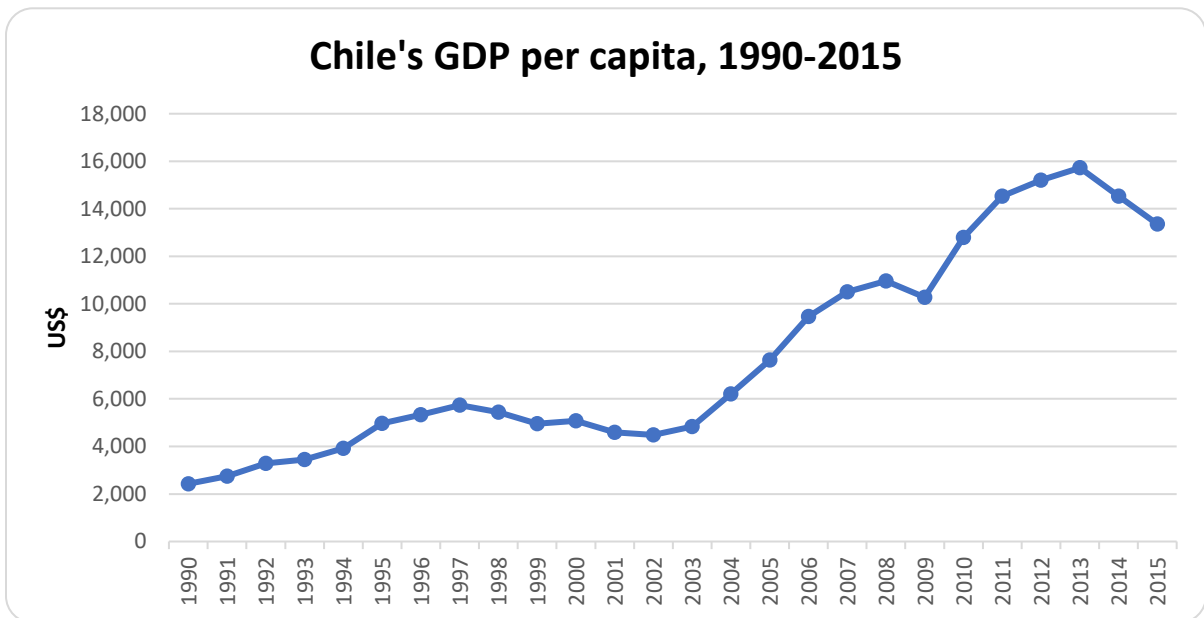
Graph 2: Chile's GDP 1975-1989 (World Bank)



Chile's impressive economic performance continued after Pinochet's dictatorship, as a result of the further liberalization of the economy pursued by the new democratic governments under the slogan of 'growth with equity.' In the following 25 years, for

instance, the country's GDP per capita went from US\$2,400 to an historical record of US\$15,765 in 2013. In the same period, the poverty rate also went down from 38.6% to 14.4%, while Chile's GDP increased from US\$31.6 billion to more than US\$240 billion by 2015.<sup>91</sup>

*Graph 3: Chile's GDP per capita 1990-2015 (World Bank)*



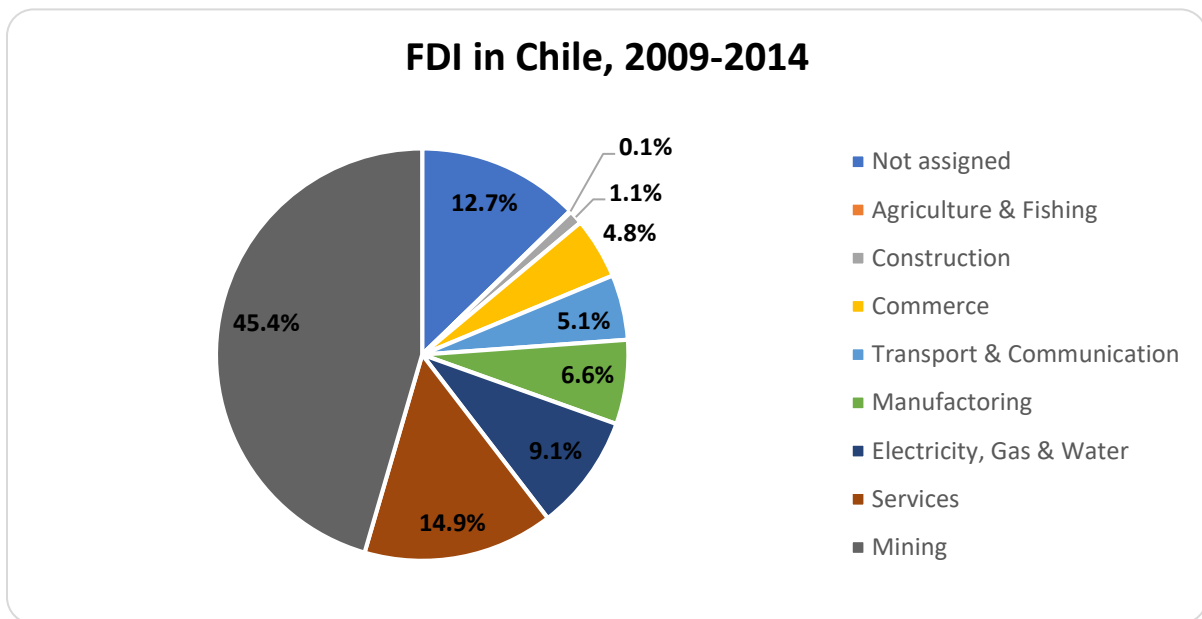
More importantly, other statistics also show the advanced integration of Chile into the global economy. For instance, Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) inflows doubled from 2005 to 2015, reaching a peak of US\$25 billion by 2012. Furthermore, between 2009 and 2014 The Economist estimated that foreign capital had invested US\$122 billion in Chile, mostly in the mining industry.<sup>92</sup>

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<sup>91</sup> Ibid.

<sup>92</sup> The Economist.

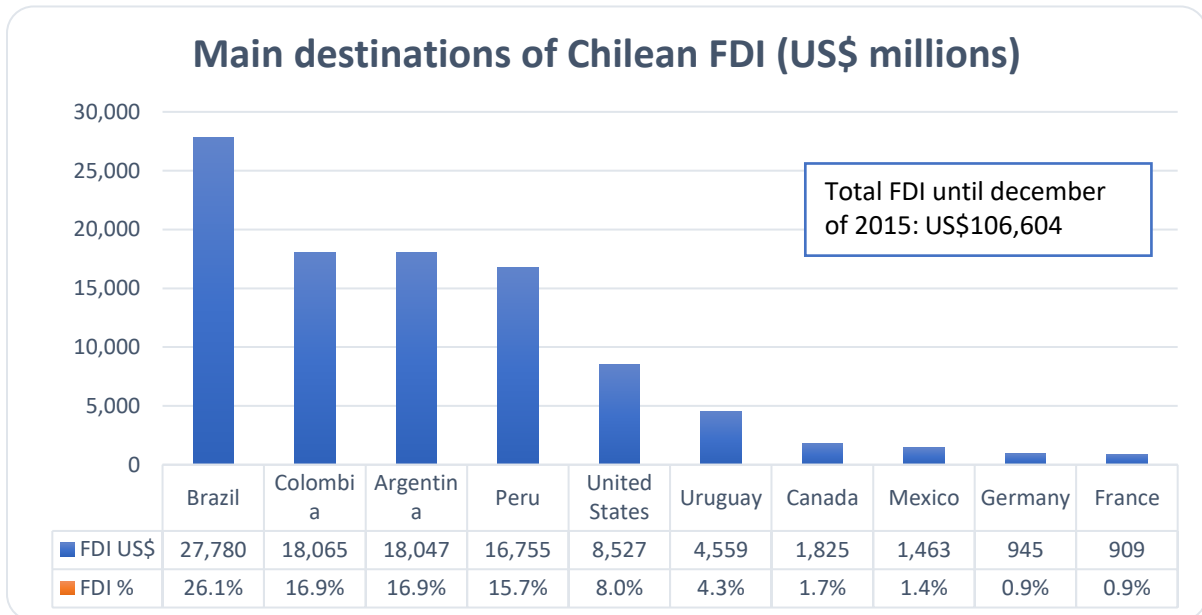
Graph 4: FDI inflows in Chile by sector 2009-2014 (The Economist/Central Bank of Chile)



Equally significant is the fact that these FDI flows are not only unidirectional, but there has also been a significant growth in FDI outflows originated in Chile. While by 2005 these outflows represented US\$2.000 million, ten years later they were at US\$11.239 million, reaching a peak of US\$17.300 million by 2012. These outgoing investments are mainly directed to other South American countries such as Brazil, Colombia, Argentina, and Peru, followed by the U.S., and they are primarily targeted to the service (retail) and industry sectors.<sup>93</sup> These FDI inflows and outflows reveal the integration of the country into the global economy, while economic performance indicators give substance to the idea of Chile as an stable, ‘developing’ country that as it will be discussed in chapter three, attracts migrants from other Latin American and Caribbean countries.

<sup>93</sup> DIRECON. “Presencia de Inversiones Directas de Capitales en el Mundo.” (2015), [https://www.direcon.gob.cl/wp-content/uploads/2016/06/001\\_Presencia-ID-CI-en-mundo-1990-dic2015.pdf](https://www.direcon.gob.cl/wp-content/uploads/2016/06/001_Presencia-ID-CI-en-mundo-1990-dic2015.pdf).

Graph 5: FDI outflows from Chile per country of destination (DIRECON)



### C. *A critical look at the statistics*

While the above are just a few examples of some of the economic indicators that support the discourse of the ‘Chilean Miracle,’ there are other aspects of the country’s economy that reveal economic fragility and the deleterious effects of neoliberal policies for Chile’s working class. Among them are, firstly, the significant role of exports in the country’s GDP. By 2015, for example, exports represented 30% of the gross national product, which is higher than the world’s, and the Latin America and the Caribbean’s average for the same period.<sup>94</sup> More importantly, almost 50% of these exports were related to the mining sector and specifically copper.<sup>95</sup>

<sup>94</sup> World Bank data.

<sup>95</sup> Observatory of Economic Complexity.

Equally important, the most important destinations for Chile's exports are China (26%), followed by the US (13%), Japan (8.5%), and South Korea (6.7%).<sup>96</sup> In the case of China, copper represents 78% of Chile's exports to that country.<sup>97</sup> The latter reveals the vulnerability of Chile's economy to fluctuations in the global market, and particularly, Asia. For instance, the deacceleration in Chile's growth after 2013 can be precisely linked to the lower prices of copper and the slowdown of the Chinese economy, as compared to previous years.

Graph 6: Chile's main exports, 2015 (Observatory of Economic Complexity)



Another interesting indicator that aligns the case of Chile with global economic trends is related with the 'flexibilization' or 'precarization' of work.<sup>98</sup> In this sense, even when

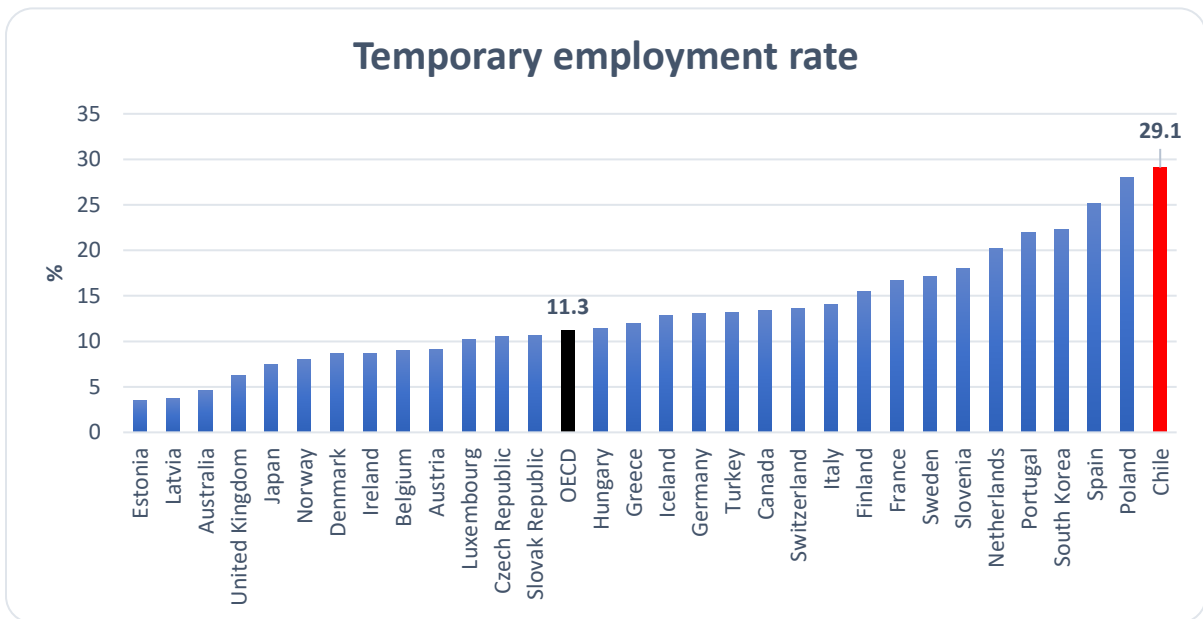
<sup>96</sup> Ibid.

<sup>97</sup> Ibid.

<sup>98</sup> Ronaldo Munck, Carl Ulrik Schierup, and Raúl Delgado Wise. "Migration, work, and citizenship in the new world order." *Globalizations* 8, no. 3 (2011): 249-260.

unemployment in Chile has remained below the OECD average since 2010, the 6.4% rate of Chile obscures other important characteristics of employment in the country. Among them, in 2015, 29% of Chile’s workforce was temporarily employed (1<sup>st</sup> in OECD), 26% was self-employed (5<sup>th</sup> in OECD) and 17% was only part-time employed (same as OECD average).<sup>99</sup> Whereas self-employment and temporary employment have slightly decreased in recent years, par-time employment has more than doubled between 2005 and 2015.<sup>100</sup> The idea of a new capital-labor relation based on the fragmentation, flexibilization, and cheapening of labor that Robinson and Barrera recognize,<sup>101</sup> then, can also be seen in a new center of accumulation such as Chile.

*Graph 7: Temporary employment rate (OECD)*



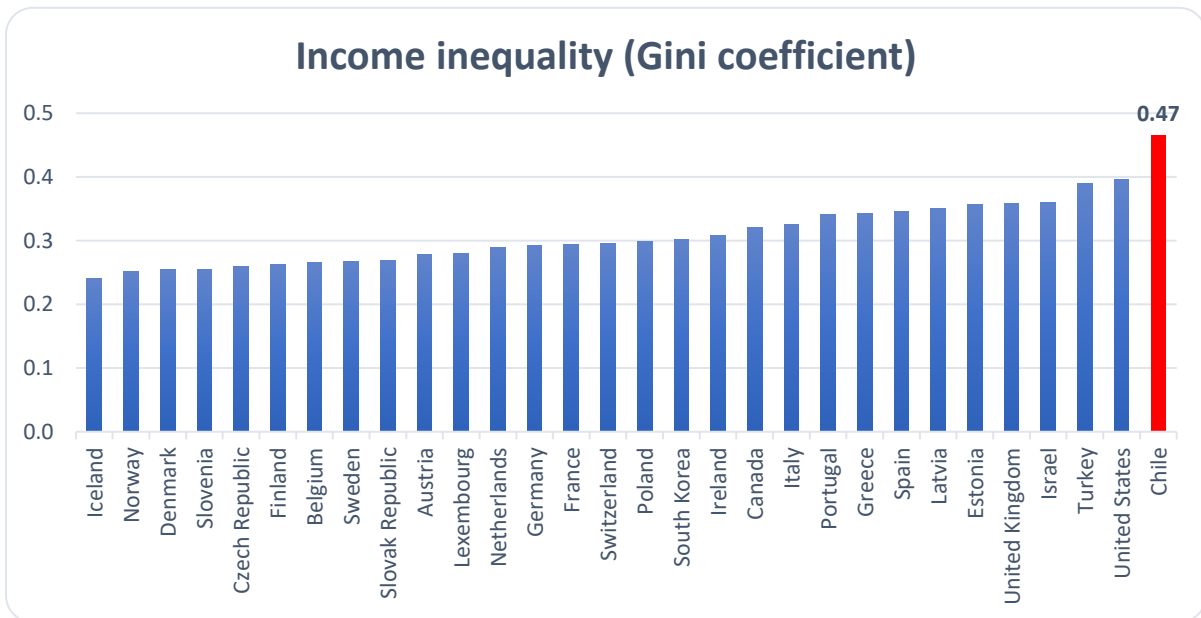
<sup>99</sup> OECD data.

<sup>100</sup> Ibid.

<sup>101</sup> Robinson and Barrera, “Global capitalism and twenty-first.”

Finally, another unseen issue behind Chile’s economic performance is related to the country’s high rate of inequality. Chile’s Gini coefficient has remained stable around 0.50 since data is available, which locates the country as one of the most unequal in the world and the most unequal within the OECD.<sup>102</sup> Looking closer at this number, in 2015 the average income of the top 10% population of Chile was 35 times higher than the average of the lowest 10%.<sup>103</sup> Significant in this case is the small effect of the Chilean tax system and government transfers on reducing inequality. For instance, by 2013, Chile’s Gini coefficient was 0.50, and after taxes and transfers it dropped to 0.47. In contrast, the same year, in Sweden, taxes and transfers reduced the country’s Gini coefficient from 0.44 to 0.28, and in Poland from 0.47 to 0.30.<sup>104</sup>

Graph 8: Income inequality 2013 (OECD)



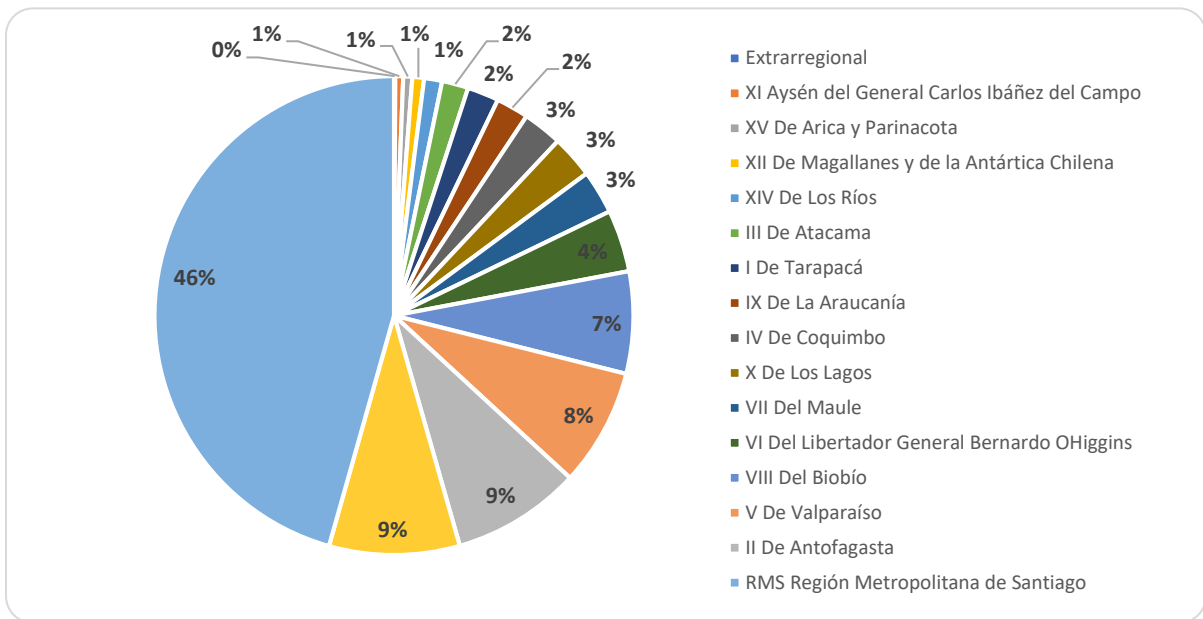
<sup>102</sup> World Bank data; OECD data.

<sup>103</sup> Ministry of Social Development.

<sup>104</sup> OECD data.

Chile's inequality, moreover, is not only reflected in terms of household income. By analyzing GDP per region, it is also possible to notice some of the internal differences and the locations within Chile that have in fact become containers of capital accumulation. In 2015, for example, Region Metropolitana's GDP -where Santiago, the capital city is located- represented 46% of the country's total gross domestic product, followed by the region of Antofagasta –the largest copper producer- which contributed with only 9% of Chile's GDP.<sup>105</sup> In contrast, the region of Aysen's GDP accounted for 0.5% of the total while the region of Arica and Parinacota contributed with 0.6% of the country's total gross domestic product.<sup>106</sup>

Graph 9: Chile's GDP per region (Central Bank of Chile)



<sup>105</sup> Central Bank of Chile.

<sup>106</sup> Ibid.



As a legacy of Pinochet's political and economic reforms, the above is exacerbated by the commodification of social rights -or what Robinson has called capitalism's intensive expansion.<sup>107</sup> In the case of Chile, this can be seen in the existing privatized systems of education, health and pensions, which instead of working as a social safety net or a redistribution mechanism, reproduce social inequality within the country. While all of these systems have been operating since 1980s, in the last 15 years, inequality and the private administration of social rights has provoked increasing political unrest, stirring a series of demands articulated in social movements that have targeted the Chilean state. Examples of this are the students and 'No + AFP' movements.

#### ***D. Conclusions***

Chile's political economy and the context of global capitalism help to shed light on the issue of migratory flows from 'developing' countries within the Global South, while also revealing some of the challenges that some of these groups of 'surplus labor' will face once in the country of reception. Building on Sassen's ideas, first, it is important to acknowledge that these migratory movements cannot be entirely grasped using the lens of 'methodological nationalism.' Instead, it is imperative to recognize that, in a more globalized world, there are new spaces and processes that unfold at the subnational and supranational level, producing a "partial unbundling, or at least weakening" of the national and giving room for "other spatial units and scales."<sup>108</sup>

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<sup>107</sup> Robinson, *Theory of global capitalism*, 7.

<sup>108</sup> Sassen, *A Sociology of Globalization*, 30.

In the case of Chile, Sassen's observations help to illuminate an important characteristic of both Chile's integration into global capitalism and the new migration trajectories towards the country. While looking at Chile's macroeconomic statistics could reify economic development as a process that a nation-state undergoes as a whole, a closer look reveals that capital accumulation is especially significant in the country's principal city and among the top 10% of the population. These two factors, on the one hand, help to explain the central position of the region surrounding Santiago as the main pole of attraction for immigrant population in the country (69% of immigrants in Chile lives there). On the other hand, these numbers also demonstrate how the so-called 'benefits' of economic development are not distributed equally among the population. Instead, these profits are accumulated by the members of the country's emerging transnational capitalist class, who -as shown in graph 5- later invest these resources in other countries in the region and even beyond it.<sup>109</sup>

Secondly, as Robinson and Santos say, in this age of globalization repressive state apparatuses and the criminalization of undocumented migration makes specific groups of migrants subject to super-exploitation and surveillance. If coupled with anti-immigrant rhetoric and policies, immigrant workers will become increasingly utilized as scapegoats for the overaccumulation crisis and to undermine possible working-class unity.<sup>110</sup> In this sense, as Dunaway and Clelland pose, the traditional discourse of a 'global apartheid' -derived from the experience of racism against population of African descent- is becoming more complex.<sup>111</sup> In Bill Fletcher's view, this racialized subordination of supposedly unassimilable

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<sup>109</sup> DIRECON, "Presencia de Inversiones Directas."

<sup>110</sup> Robinson and Santos, "Global capitalism, immigrant labor," 1.

<sup>111</sup> Dunaway and Clelland, "Challenging the Global Apartheid" quoted in Fletcher, "Race in the Capitalist."

populations, “will not be exclusively or mainly defined by biological superiority/inferiority - in contrast to earlier forms of racism- but in many respects will be defined by cultural compatibility, alien-ness, and the notion of relevant and irrelevant populations.”<sup>112</sup> In the case of global capitalism, the worldwide distinction between two categories of labor - immigrants and citizens-, Robinson and Santos argue, has become a new, rigid caste system instrumental for the efficient work of the global economy and worldwide capital accumulation.<sup>113</sup>

As it is posed in this work, the creation of this rigid system is not only reserved for the case of developed countries but, in this stage of global capitalism, rising semi-peripheral countries will become increasingly part of this dynamic. As Dunaway and Clelland pose, these countries could exploit and repress other groups by creating their own systems of racist oppression at the cost of victimizing someone else in a constructed racial hierarchy.<sup>114</sup> In this sense, many of the ideas presented by Critical Globalization Studies’ scholars can help to interpret the present and speculate about the future of countries such as Chile, Argentina, and Brazil. In the case of Chile, transnational capitalists’ strategy to divide the working-class along racial/ethnic lines and the creation of new racial hierarchies that Fletcher reflects about, seems to be occurring not only between the national working-class and Afro-Colombians and Haitians, but also within and among these two groups. In this sense, Chile, as a semi-peripheral country abruptly integrated into the global economy by an

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<sup>112</sup> Fletcher, "Race in the Capitalist," 46.

<sup>113</sup> Robinson and Santos, "Global capitalism, immigrant labor," 6.

<sup>114</sup> Dunaway and Clelland, "Challenging the Global Apartheid" quoted in Fletcher, "Race in the Capitalist."

elite group of (trans)national capitalists, is an interesting case-study to observe the particularities of South-South migration as they unfold in the context of global capitalism.

### III. Who is coming and why? Recent migration in Chile 2005-2016

In 2015, the Ministry of Social Development estimated that around 465.000 foreign nationals lived in Chile, which represented 2.7% of the country's total population.<sup>115</sup> When contrasting this number to those of developed countries, the percentage could seem slim. For instance, international migrants in developed regions -North America, Europe and Oceania- account for around 10% of their total population, and even the world's average reaches 3.3%.<sup>116</sup> Nonetheless, when analyzing these numbers in a more historical perspective, important trends become evident. Among them, it is possible to recognize that in the last 23 years, the foreign-born population in Chile has quadrupled – and it has doubled only in the past 10 years.<sup>117</sup> Further, even in a global perspective the rapid increase of Chile's foreign-born population stands out. OECD data, for example, reveals that Chile was the third member of the Organization with the biggest increase in the inflow of permanent immigrants between 2007-2014, only behind Germany and Denmark.<sup>118</sup>

The increase of recent migrants coming to Chile, however, represents only part of this story. More significantly, perhaps, are other transformations not so evident in the general statistics and that become more recognizable only when studying more disaggregated figures and qualitative data. Utilizing the Chilean Ministry of Social Development's Socioeconomic Characterization Survey (CASEN) 2015, records of temporary visas and permanent residence

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<sup>115</sup> Department of Foreign Affairs and Migration, "Migración en Chile 2005-2014." (2015), <http://www.extranjeria.gob.cl/media/2016/06/Anuario.pdf>.

<sup>116</sup> United Nations. "Trends in International Migration." (2015), <http://www.un.org/en/development/desa/population/migration/publications/populationfacts/docs/MigrationPopFacts20154.pdf>

<sup>117</sup> Department of Foreign Affairs and Migration. "Migración en Chile."

<sup>118</sup> OECD. *International Migration Outlook 2016*. (OECD Publishing, Paris, 2016).

permits emitted by the Ministry of the Interior and Public Security, along with information from interviews conducted with Colombian and Haitian migrants recently arrived in Chile, this chapter will explore the particularities of these recent South-South migratory movements, highlighting their specificity within both Chile's historical migration inflows and more recent global trends in international migration.

**A. *Recent trends in migration to Chile***

The first element that stands out when analyzing most recent migration inflows in Chile is the change in the geographical origins of the incoming population. According to the Department of Foreign Affairs and Migration, between 2005-2014, there has been a decrease of immigrant population coming to Chile from all regions of the world apart from South America, and Central America and the Caribbean. Contrastingly, these two geographical regions present an increase from 67.7% to 74.9% and 3.0% to 3.3%, respectively.<sup>119</sup> Within these regions, there also are important new tendencies. For instance, in the case of South America, Peruvians have taken the place of Argentinians as the biggest foreign collectivity in Chile.<sup>120</sup> Also, there is a significant growth of the Colombian population. While in 2005, 5,000 Colombians lived in the country, estimations about the number that lived in Chile by 2014 varies from 25 to 63 thousand.<sup>121</sup> Equally significant is the fact that during the same period the Colombian population tripled their size within the total foreign-population living

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<sup>119</sup> Department of Foreign Affairs and Migration. "Migración en Chile."

<sup>120</sup> Ibid.

<sup>121</sup> Ibid; Ministry of Social Development. "Encuesta de Caracterización Socioeconómica 2015." (2015), <http://observatorio.ministeriodesarrollosocial.gob.cl>.

in Chile, surpassing other noteworthy groups such as Brazilians, Ecuadorians and Venezuelans.<sup>122</sup>

In the case of Central America and the Caribbean, even though the relative growth as a ‘sending region’ was less pronounced when contrasted to South America’s, the 0.3% increase has been led particularly by nationals from Haiti and the Dominican Republic.<sup>123</sup> In the case of the former, statistics do not specify an estimation of the Haitian population living in Chile by 2005, but the official data from the 2002 Census indicated that 50 Haitian nationals lived in the country,<sup>124</sup> while estimates for 2014 posed that there were 1,649 of them living in Chile.<sup>125</sup> The latter means that, for the case of this group, there has been -at least- a 30-fold increase relative to the total foreign-born population that resides in Chile.

*Table 1: Foreign-born population in Chile, selected countries, 2002-2014*

Country	2002 Census	% of total foreign-born pop.	2005 estimate	% of total foreign-born pop.	2014 estimate <sup>126</sup>	% of foreign-born pop.	2002-14 pop. (%)	Variation of % relative to total foreign-born pop. (2002-14)
Peru	37860	20.5	43806	20.6	130329	31.7	244	11.2
Argentina	48176	26.1	53669	25.2	66899	16.3	39	-9.8
Bolivia	10919	5.9	12505	5.9	36036	8.8	230	2.9
Colombia	4095	2.2	5066	2.4	25038	6.1	<b>511</b>	3.9
Ecuador	9393	5.1	10848	5.1	19133	4.7	104	-0.4
Spain	9084	4.9	10042	4.7	14474	3.5	59	-1.4
USA	7753	4.2	9606	4.5	12799	3.1	65	-1.1

<sup>122</sup> Department of Foreign Affairs and Migration. “Migración en Chile”

<sup>123</sup> Ibid.

<sup>124</sup> 2002 Census.

<sup>125</sup> Nicolas Rojas Pedemonte, Claudia Silva, Nassila Amode, Jorge Vásquez, and Cristian Orrego. “Boletín Informativo N°1 del Departamento de Extranjería y Migración: Haitianos en Chile.” (2016).

<sup>126</sup> 2014 data underestimates each group’ size as the calculations are based on the addition of permanent residency permits granted to foreigners to the number of them living in Chile per the 2002 Census. In the case of Colombia, for instance, other estimations pose that more than 63 thousand live in Chile, representing the second most important foreign-born group in the country after Peruvians. Similarly, around 3,600 temporary visas were granted to Haitians only during 2014. This number is, in turn, already twice the size of this collectivity in Chile according to the 2014 estimates.

Brazil	6895	3.7	8063	3.8	12196	3.0	77	-0.8
Venezuela	4338	2.3	4778	2.2	8001	1.9	84	-0.4
China	1653	0.9	2440	1.1	7724	1.9	367	1.0
Haiti	50	0.0			1649	0.4	<b>3198</b>	0.4
Dom. Rep.	281	0.2			2510	0.6	793	0.5

While these estimations are based on the number of permanent permits awarded by the Ministry of the Interior and Public Security -and thus, it is probable that they underestimate the real size of each group-, the trends discussed above are reaffirmed when looking at the number of temporary visas awarded. Moreover, by analyzing this data, it is also possible to distinguish the recentness of these particular migratory movements. According to the OECD, immigrant flows from Colombia to Chile went up from 1.1 thousand in 2005 to 28.4 thousand in 2014.<sup>127</sup> In the case of Haiti, this number increases from less than a thousand to 3.6 thousand in the same period.<sup>128</sup> In both cases, it is possible to see a turning point during the years of 2010-11. Further, as the graph below shows, it also becomes evident that most of the inflow, in the case of both nationalities, concentrates after 2010.

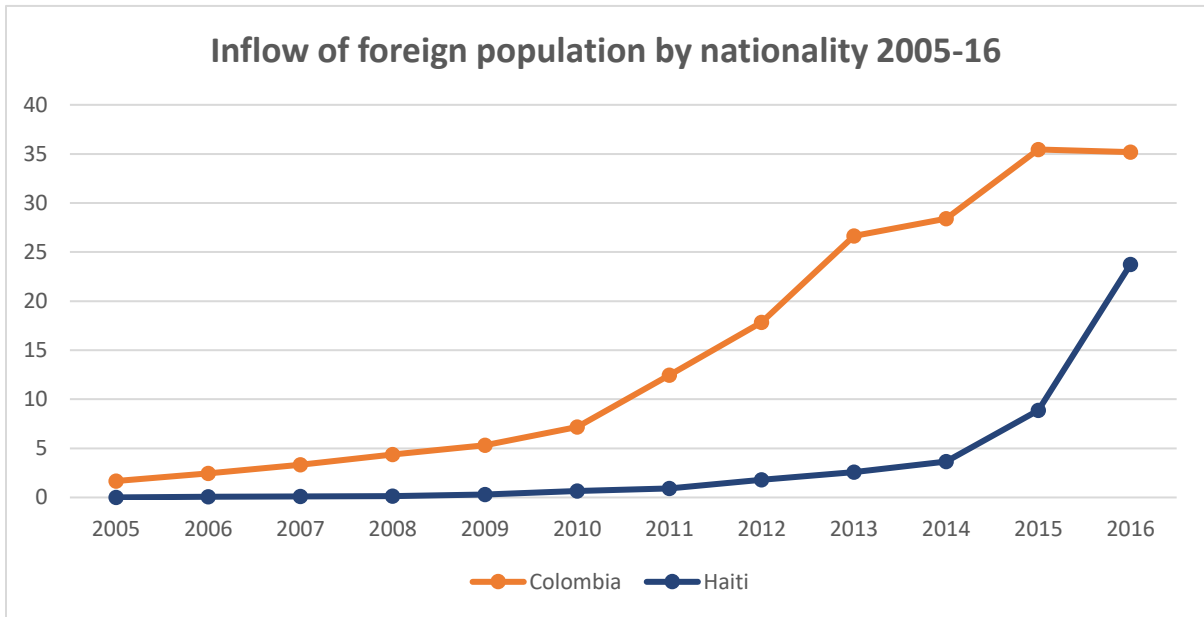
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<sup>127</sup> OECD, *International Migration Outlook 2016*.

<sup>128</sup> Ibid.



Graph 10: Inflow of foreign population from Colombia and Haiti, 2005-16



**B. Contrasting demographics: Colombian and Haitian migrants in Chile**

While both national groups come from a region that is relatively nearby, and have a similar time of arrival in common, their demographic profiles reveal parallels and differences in terms of gender, age, and educational attainment.

Regarding gender, it is important to point out that 58.2% of Colombians living in Chile are women.<sup>129</sup> This gendered pattern is similar to that of other large migrant groups in Chile -particularly Peruvians -, and also aligns with South-South migration trends in the

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<sup>129</sup> Considering permanent residency permits granted by the Ministry of the Interior and Public Security.

region.<sup>130</sup> More notable is that this particular gender composition places Colombians as the most ‘feminized’ migrant group in the country.<sup>131</sup>

A significant difference between the migratory movements from Colombia and Haiti is precisely related to gender. While the former group’s ‘feminization’ stands out among other migrant collectivities in Chile, in the case of Haiti, only 36% of the total permanent permits between 2005-2016 were granted to women.<sup>132</sup> Thus, if migratory movements from Colombia followed a traditional South-South migration trend, Haitian migrants’ pattern is interestingly more analogous to migratory movements originated in the Global North, such as those of the United States and Spain.<sup>133</sup>

In terms of age, most Colombians and Haitians in Chile are within the age groups that are representative of labor migration. In the case of the former, the largest group is between 20-35 years of age (47%), followed by the group between 36-50 (29%). Likewise, Haitian population predominantly concentrates in the same age groups, although mostly in the former. In 2016, 61% of the permanent permits awarded were for population within the 20-35 age group, while only 25% were for people in the group of 36-50.<sup>134</sup>

Following this line, there is also a difference concerning the years of education that each national group has completed. In the case of Colombians, the average for population 18

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<sup>130</sup> Carolina Stefoni. "Migración, género y servicio doméstico. Mujeres peruanas en Chile." *Trabajo doméstico: un largo camino hacia el trabajo decente* (2009): 191-232; Rojas Pedemonte et al., "Boletín Informativo N°1."

<sup>131</sup> Department of Foreign Affairs and Migration. "Migración en Chile"

<sup>132</sup> Department of Foreign Affairs and Migration.

<sup>133</sup> Ibid.

<sup>134</sup> Ibid.

years old or older is 12.3 years of education, while for Haitians it is 10.7.<sup>135</sup> For reference, the ‘host’ population completes on average 11 years of education.<sup>136</sup> Furthermore, Colombians’ higher levels of education are especially noticeable in this group’s percentages of population holding advanced degrees, which are even greater than those of the local population. Contrastingly, even though the percentage of Haitian population holding advanced degrees is lower in comparison to Chileans, the percentage of these nationals that did not receive formal education or that only completed elementary school is smaller.<sup>137</sup>

*Table 2: Highest level of education completed (CASEN 2015)*

	No education	Elementary school	High school	Technical/vocational high school	Associate degree	College degree	Graduate degree
Haiti	2.1%	8.5%	38.3%	1.1%	4.3%	5.3%	0.0%
Colombia	0.2%	4.8%	39.6%	4.6%	9.4%	12.7%	3.5%
Chile	3.0%	12.2%	22.1%	8.0%	5.5%	8.5%	0.7%

In sum, recent migratory movements from Colombia and Haiti can be interpreted as ‘labor migration’ due to their concentration in the group age of 20-50 years. Nonetheless, there are important differences in terms of gender composition and educational attainment. On the one hand, most migrants from Colombian are women, and the group as a whole presents higher educational levels even when contrasted to the local population. On the other hand, Haitian migration is composed mainly of men and, while they are relatively less educated than Colombians, their educational levels are closer to those of Chileans.

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<sup>135</sup> Ministry of Social Development.

<sup>136</sup> Ibid.

<sup>137</sup> Ibid.

### *C. Behind the numbers: the faces and the forces*

While the statistics show similarities and differences between recent migratory movements from Colombia and Haiti, the interviews with members of these collectivities help to shed light on the specific factors behind these South-South movements and the particular expectations that each of these groups had about the ‘host’ society.

As mentioned earlier, temporary visas granted to Colombians and Haitians present an important increase during 2010 and 2011. Therefore, a first important topic to explore in the interviews was related to the specific reasons to leave the ‘homeland.’ A possible explanation has been linked to natural disasters that affected each country in this period, and that could have acted as a ‘push’ factor for mass migration from these territories. In the case of Colombia, the 2010-2011 ‘La Niña’ phenomenon impacted about 4 million people, predominantly in the departments of Bolivar, Magdalena -in the North of the country-, and Cauca -in the South West-.<sup>138</sup> In the case of Haiti, the earthquake of January 2010 displaced near 1.5 million people.<sup>139</sup>

When asked about the reasons to leave their respective countries, nonetheless, allusions to these particular events were scarce. Even though the majority of Colombians interviewed came from regions in the South-Western part of the country that were affected by ‘La Niña’ -such as Antioquia and Valle del Cauca-, most Colombians specified that there

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<sup>138</sup> Natalia Hoyos, Jaime. Escobar, J.C. Restrepo, A. M. Arango, and J. C. Ortiz. "Impact of the 2010–2011 La Niña phenomenon in Colombia, South America: the human toll of an extreme weather event." *Applied Geography* 39 (2013): 16-25.

<sup>139</sup> OECD, *International Migration Outlook 2016*.

were more structural reasons which ‘pushed’ them to migrate. As Jose, a Colombian migrant from the city of Cali that arrived in Chile in 2010 posed:

It is a mix of both [economic and political factors]. On the one hand, Colombia could be a more attractive country for investment, although I would prefer one type of investment that does not destroy our environment. On the other hand, technology is just starting to grow... the country is behind in technology because of corruption and the military spending due to the conflict. That is the problem... It is a political issue, but the people are paying the price. **Jose, 45-year-old**

Another example of this was provided by Maria, a 47-year-old woman from Buenaventura, Colombia, who came to Chile in 2012 in search of better economic opportunities that could help her to improve the living conditions of her children. Even when Maria -as most migrants interviewed- came from a region hardly impacted by the Colombian conflict, neither her nor other Colombian migrants considered the latter as the main reason to leave the country.<sup>140</sup> Instead, they naturalized the conflict’s violence, even when they often found themselves directly affected by it. When asked about the influence of the ongoing conflict in their decision to migrate, Maria replied:

Where I lived there are guerrillas and para [militaries], but we did not get involved with them. It was simple, if you asked for trouble, then you were going to get in trouble. I had a fast food small restaurant and one day they passed fighting and shooting so I had to go back to my house and close the doors, because they were shooting everywhere. That was the only thing that I experienced, but in general the conflict did not affect me. I did not come here because of that. **Maria, 47-year-old**

In the case of Haitians, an important distinction was the major diversity of the interviewees’ geographical origin, contrasted to those of Colombians. Haitian respondents came from five -of the ten- Departments of Haiti: Artibonite, Ouest, Centre, Grand'Anse, and

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<sup>140</sup> There were only two exceptions in this case.

Sud-Est. This also represents an interesting finding compared to previous studies on Haitian migration in Chile, where the interviewees came only from the two biggest Departments of the country.<sup>141</sup> Aside from that, both groups' responses followed a similar trend. Even though the catastrophic effects of the 2010 earthquake were still living in the memory of most Haitian interviewees, the majority did not point out to this event as the main reason to leave the country. If mentioned, it often was used as an example to critique the inadequacy of the national and international authorities' response to the disaster. Instead, the reasons they posed were linked with *longue durée* issues of political instability, lack of economic opportunities and security. For example, Ludovic, a Haitian migrant from Port-au-Prince that arrived in Chile in 2014 argued that:

Most Haitians come here because of political problems that they [politicians] have over there. And also because of economic issues. They come here to improve their living conditions. Other than that, each has a different motivation. But I would say that there is something that they did not have and here it might be available to them. **Ludovic, 26-year-old**

While the relevance of political and economic issues as 'push' factors was recognized across the interviewees' responses, there was also concern about the way Haiti and Haitians are perceived among the Chilean population. As implied by locals' comments to them, along with racism -which will be later discussed- there is also a widespread paternalistic discourse about Haitians that essentializes their experience as inextricably precarious. The latter, as recognized by some of the interviewees, created a certain imaginary about the country that often exacerbated its poverty and underdevelopment. Instead, some of the interviewees from

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<sup>141</sup> Rojas Pedemonte et al., "Boletín Informativo N°1."

Haiti tried to offer a more nuanced view on the issues that ‘push’ them to migrate. Michele, a Haitian migrant that has been living in Chile for two years explained:

Everybody says that my country is really poor, but I do not think that is the reason [we leave] ... It is not that we do not have houses to live in or food to eat, it is not that. In my country, there is an issue of security...and it is also difficult for the youth to study, because going to college is too expensive, if you do not have money then you cannot study. Further, there are not many jobs available. It is actually really hard to find a job in Haiti. **Michele, 32-year-old**

Whereas there is a major consensus among the interviewees on Haiti and Colombia’s political economy -i.e. access to labor opportunities, political instability, insecurity- as the most important ‘push’ factors to leave these countries, the reasons to migrate to Chile -or the ‘pull’ factors- emphasized the image of economic stability and availability of jobs that exist in the country, according to family members or friends that had migrated to Chile earlier. However, there were important differences in the degree of knowledge that each respondent had about the country before moving there. On the one hand, Colombians presented more familiarity with Chile’s main economic and political trends. On the other, Haitians based most of their knowledge in the information communicated by other migrants that were already in Chile.

Nonetheless, it is also important to point out that the relative knowledge about Chile cannot be simply explained according to the respondent’s nationality, but it was also related to his or her educational level, among other factors. In this sense, there were important differences within each group too. When consulted about what they knew about Chile before coming to the country, two respondents said:

I always had Chile as a reference, because it is one of the countries in South America that is doing better, that has a better economy. For Colombians, Chile has become the new ‘American Dream’ in Latin America... I knew that some dentist friends were doing really well, because private health insurances here do not cover dental attention and in Colombia they do. So, I heard they were earning more money... I heard how good things were going for them here. **Karla, Colombian, 28-year-old**

I knew that Chile was a soccer country and had a lot of seismic activity. I knew a little bit of history about Chile... Pinochet, I also liked Pablo Neruda. But I just knew a few things about the country. **Jean-Michel, Haitian, 32-year-old**

In the case of Haitians, besides Jean-Michel, most of them recognized that they did not have substantial knowledge about the country beyond the positive comments about job opportunities that they had heard from other family members, who had migrated to Chile before. In the case of Colombians, this tendency also existed, and some of them did not hide their disappointment as they have had false expectations about the country. These cases were more typical among Afro-Colombians, who came from more impoverished regions. For instance, Maria’s testimony reveals similar expectations as Karla - a college-educated woman from a major Colombian city -, but contrastingly, once in Chile she felt disappointed with its day-to-day reality:

I did not know anything about Chile, but all the people who went back to Colombia were saying wonderful things about it. Chile is like ‘the American dream’ for Colombians. You think it is another reality but once you get here you realize that it is not what you were expecting. When you are in Colombia you think, ‘it is going to be easy,’ ‘it will be easy to earn money’... because some of the people that go back to Colombia are those that have messed up (involved in illicit activities), so then they go back with a lot of money and you think ‘I have to go to Chile.’ **Maria, 47-year-old**

Maria’s experience is particularly revealing in this regard, as it is telling of one major characteristic of Colombian migration to Chile that was only partially uncovered by the demographic profile of this group. This is, the profound racial and economic inequality



within the ‘sending’ country<sup>142</sup> and its reproduction among Colombian nationals that have migrated to Chile. Even when Karla and Maria both come from Valle del Cauca Department, their idealized vision of Chile as the new ‘American Dream’ came from their different positionalities within Colombian society. While Karla’s view derives from the experiences of other young college-educated -likely white and mestizos- Colombians from Cali, the third largest and richest city in the country, Maria’s version of the ‘Chilean Dream’ was based on the economic advancement of other Afro-Colombians that migrated to Chile from Buenaventura, a city that has been strongly affected by the Colombian conflict, where 64% of the population lives in poverty.<sup>143</sup> In this sense, migratory movements from Colombia, in terms of expectations and experiences, are far from homogeneous. Instead, this inflow is composed of -at least- two different collectivities that have distinct lived experiences and intersectional identities. In the case of Maria and other Afro-Colombians, as posed by Tijoux and Cordova, “Chile attracts them due to an economic and political situation that is described as successful, and that portrays it as a safe (and nearby) country. This makes these men and women to come insert themselves -if they succeed- mainly in precarious work niches.”<sup>144</sup> In

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<sup>142</sup> Fernando Urrea-Giraldo, Carlos Viáfara, Héctor Ramírez, and Waldor Botero, "Las desigualdades raciales en Colombia: un análisis sociodemográfico y de condiciones de vida, pobreza e ingresos para la ciudad de Cali y el departamento del Valle del Cauca," In *Afro-reparaciones: memorias de la esclavitud y justicia social reparativa para negros afrocolombianos y raizales*, ed. by Claudio Mosquera and Luiz Barcelos. (Bogota: Universidad Nacional de Colombia, Observatorio del Caribe Colombiano, 2007; Irene Vélez-Torres and Daniel Varela. "Between the Paternalistic and the Neoliberal State: Dispossession and Resistance in Afro-descendant Communities of the Upper Cauca, Colombia." *Latin American Perspectives* 41, no. 6 (2014): 9-26; Olivier Barbary and Fernando Urrea. *Gente negra en Colombia: dinámicas sociopolíticas en Cali y el Pacífico*. (Medellin: Lealón, 2004).

<sup>143</sup> BBC Mundo. “Buenaventura: qué hay detrás de la protesta de días que dejó saqueos y un muerto en el segundo puerto de Colombia”. *BBC Mundo*. (27 May 2017), <http://www.bbc.com/mundo/noticias-america-latina-39992656>.

<sup>144</sup> María Emilia Tijoux and María Gabriela Córdova. "Racismo en Chile: colonialismo, nacionalismo, capitalismo." *Polis. Revista Latinoamericana* 42 (2015), 1.

the case of Afro-Colombian women, as will be discussed in chapter four, this will be further complicated by sexist views in the ‘hostland’ that arise from the intersection of these migrants’ ‘race’ and gender.<sup>145</sup>

Furthermore, the disparities between these groups seem to be later transplanted to Chile and become more evident in their views about each other. For instance, when asked about Colombian inter-ethnic relationships, Jose recognized:

There is always discrimination among Colombians... some of them [Colombians] are not educated or have low educational levels. They do not have good judgement nor they defend themselves. So, when they do not have employment opportunities, sadly, they could start committing crimes... they get used to the idea of easy money that comes along with drug dealing. Even within our community you can see.... the white are with the white and the Black with the Black. **Jose, 45-year-old**

As will be evident in the next chapter, these intra-group differences also have manifest implications for each group’s views on ‘inclusion’ and the way this process evolves for them.

Another interesting characteristic of the recently arrived population is the noteworthy number of migrants whose time in Chile does not represent their first migratory experience. More precisely, half of the interviewees had lived in another country besides their ‘homeland’ before coming to Chile. This phenomenon, moreover, is specifically significant among population of African descent as ten of them -mostly Haitians- had lived abroad before, mainly in other ‘developing’ countries. Amid the most common first destinations

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<sup>145</sup> Jorge Pavez, “Racismo de clase y racismo de género: ‘Mujer chilena’, ‘Mestizo blanquecino’ y ‘Negra colombiana’ en la ideología nacional chilena,” in *Racismo en Chile: la piel como marca de la inmigración*, ed. by Maria Emilia Tijoux. (Santiago de Chile: Universitaria, 2016).

mentioned were Dominican Republic -by a large majority of Haitians-, followed by Venezuela, Costa Rica, Brazil and the United States.

Interestingly, these multiple migratory experiences, which are not considered by traditional theories that seek to explain migrants' process of assimilation/integration,<sup>146</sup> are a central point of reference for migrants that are asked to evaluate their experience in Chile. As it is possible to see in the testimonies below, in many cases, migrants had a positive view about Chile due to what they considered more difficult experiences in the countries where they had previously lived:

I think Chileans are very welcoming and very disciplined. It is not the same in the Dominican Republic. The way they address 'Blackness' there is different. So, I so far feel comfortable here... **Pierre, 31-year-old**

There are many people that say that Chileans are racist but I have not seen that. I do not spend much time with them so I do not know if they are racist or not. I have not experienced that... my life here is better than in Dominican Republic. Dominicans are very racist and they treat Haitians poorly. **Garcelle, 33-year-old**

At the beginning, I regretted coming here but now, seeing how the situation is in Venezuela... I am saying to myself, 'hooray for Chile' [laughs]. **Ludovic, 26-year-old**

Whereas most interviewees reported that they feel better in Chile than in the country they first migrated to, the comparison between these migratory experiences can also obscure part of the particular challenges that they face when engaging in a second migratory experience, specifically in Chile. In many cases -as is further explored in the next chapter-, a more optimistic view of the second country can exaggerate these migrants' perception of their 'social inclusion.' At the same time, specific discriminatory practices and discourses

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<sup>146</sup> Gordon, *Assimilation in American life*; Glazer and Moynihan, *Beyond the Melting Pot*; Portes and Zhou, "The new second generation"; and Alba and Nee, *Remaking the American mainstream*; among others.

can become accepted and naturalized since they represent a degree of improvement compared to what they have experienced before as migrants in other ‘host’ countries.

#### *D. Conclusions*

Even though the arrival of migrants to Chile is not a new phenomenon, important qualitative and quantitative aspects about these movements during the past ten years can be associated with a novel trend. Driven by an increase of migrants from South America and Central America and the Caribbean, the foreign population living in the country has doubled, placing Chile in a similar position to other ‘developed’ countries at least in terms of inflows. Furthermore, along with other more recognizable groups of migrants living in Chile, since 2010 Colombia and Haiti have now visibly increased their relevance among the ‘sending countries.’

While both countries present similar trajectories in terms of the recentness of the trends and a specific time period acting as a turning point, the demographic profiles of each group show important differences. In the case of Colombians, incoming population presents higher levels of education when contrasted with Haitians and the ‘host’ society. Following traditional South-South migration trends in the region, the Colombian group is also mostly composed of women, to the extent that it has become the most ‘feminized’ migrant collectivity in the country. Contrastingly, the Haitian population in Chile are mainly men, which on average present lower levels of education when compared to Colombians and the ‘host’ society. This group, in turn, is closer to trends on migration into Chile from countries

of the Global North. Both groups, nonetheless, concentrate in the age group of 20-50, and thus, represent labor migration.

Colombians and Haitians' testimonies also shed light on the importance of their respective country's political economy as a major 'push' factor to migrate, which also points out to the insufficiency of natural disaster-based explanations of these groups' migration if these are not further contextualized in the 'sending' countries' historical trajectories.<sup>147</sup> In this sense, when mentioned, natural events and their consequences were usually discussed in relation to other, more structural factors.

Even when most of the interviewees -especially Haitians- were only slightly familiar with Chile before migrating -or recognized not being familiar with it at all-, comments from other Haitians and Colombians that migrated earlier to the country were the principal source of information around which the image of the 'hostland' was constructed. The way in which these groups imagined Chile and described their experiences in the country was revealing of other important characteristics of migrant collectivities that were not evident in the statistics. For instance, Colombian interviewees' imaginary of the 'Chilean Dream' built on the often positive but distinct experiences that other nationals from that country have had in Chile. More specifically, a common idealized image of Chile centered on the experience of college-educated white or mestizo Colombians that could take advantage of the opportunities that Chile offers to professionals. Contrastingly, a second imaginary was based on the experience

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<sup>147</sup> For a similar argument on 'climate refugees' see Betsy Hartmann. "Rethinking climate refugees and climate conflict: rhetoric, reality and the politics of policy discourse." *Journal of International Development* 22, no. 2 (2010): 233-246.

of impoverished population -mainly of African descent- that could advance economically by engaging in precarious economic occupations or, in an-exceptional basis, illegal activities.

On the one hand, these different expectations are representative of the racialized social hierarchy prevailing in Colombia which is especially manifest in the Valle del Cauca Department and the Pacific Coast. On the other hand, it also questions the assumed homogeneity of migrants' groups that arrive to a country as, one could argue, these racialized differences are later reproduced in the context of the 'hostland.' More significantly, it also evidences the limitations of approaches that assume an immigrant 'community' -as determined by a common 'national origin'- as the most appropriate unit of analysis to study migration into a country.

Lastly, interviews with Afro-descendants from both Haiti and Colombia revealed another important phenomenon that has remained under the radar of mainstream studies of South-North migration and immigrants' assimilation/integration: previous migratory experiences. In these cases -which represented half of the interviewees-, it is not only the migrant's country of origin which acts as a barometer to evaluate against his or her experience in Chile, but this is also mediated by the migrant's experience in the country where s/he migrated first. While this comparison often ends with migrants expressing relatively positive comments about their more recent migratory experience in Chile, the comparative exercise can be problematic in itself as it can help to naturalize different manifestations of exclusionary practices and discourses in the current 'hostland' based on a sense of improvement with respect to the previous migratory experience. This was especially common, for instance, among Haitian population coming from the Dominican Republic.

The high mobility that characterized half of the interviewees' experiences, in addition to the political and economic reasons given by migrants to explain why they left their country, resonates with an important trend associated with global capitalism that authors such as Robinson and Barrera,<sup>148</sup> and Robinson and Santos<sup>149</sup> -among others- address from a global perspective, and that Tijoux and Cordova contextualize in the case of Chile.<sup>150</sup> Haitians and Afro-Colombians in Chile, as revealed by their testimonies, are the faces of a multitude of 'surplus labor' that global capitalism has generated and that consist of those marginalized and dispossessed from the means of production, and locked out of productive participation in the global economy.<sup>151</sup> In their cases, as posed by Chang for transnational immigrant labor, the 'decision' to emigrate cannot be regarded as a 'free' one. Instead, it should be seen as a form of coerced labor.<sup>152</sup>

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<sup>148</sup> Robinson and Barrera, "Global capitalism and twenty-first."

<sup>149</sup> Robinson and Santos, "Global capitalism, immigrant labor."

<sup>150</sup> Tijoux and Córdova, "Racismo en Chile."

<sup>151</sup> Robinson and Barrera, "Global capitalism and twenty-first," 11.

<sup>152</sup> Chang, *Disposable Domestic*, 4.

#### **IV. Perspectives on ‘inclusion’**

Whereas migration has become a more common phenomenon in Chile during more recent years, the country’s migration law has not been updated to reflect -nor to properly address- the current historical conjecture. In fact, Chile’s existing migration law dates to 1975 and was created under Augusto Pinochet’s dictatorship. Therefore, it responds to a national security doctrine that, as a set of regulations, establishes protocols for the entry, residence, stay, departure, re-entry, expulsion and control of foreigners in the country.<sup>153</sup> Even though Chile is also part of several Treaties and Conventions that promote and defend migrants’ rights, including the UN’s International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of Their Families (CMW) and the International Labor Organization’s C111 Discrimination (Employment and Occupation) Convention, a more holistic migration law that provides guidelines for the promotion of ‘inclusion’ has not yet been established. Moreover, recent law projects have been either rejected or postponed by different governments, demonstrating either disinterest or conformity with the situation at hand.<sup>154</sup>

Without a proper legal instrument in this regard, the process of migrants’ incorporation has fallen on Chile’s decentralized political administration -also promoted during Pinochet’s rule-, and more particularly local governments which collaborate with actors such as the International Organization for Migration (IOM) and religious NGOs. Far from being perfect, this decentralized model reveals the structural barriers in place for

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<sup>153</sup> Carolina Stefoni, "Ley y política migratoria en Chile. La ambivalencia en la comprensión del migrante." *La construcción social del sujeto migrante en América Latina. Prácticas, representaciones y categorías* (2011): 79-110.

<sup>154</sup> Library of the Congress of Chile.



migrants' incorporation which, in turn -as will be discussed later- could hardly be overcome by relying in these actors. As this chapter demonstrates, the main issues that migrants recognize as obstacles for their incorporation could not be properly addressed without -as a minimum- a migration law that is more in line with Chile's integration into a globalizing world. At the same time, the structural barriers in place are not particular to the case of the Chile, and instead, respond to a broader context of global capitalist expansion that the state apparatus seems to facilitate.

By analyzing qualitative data from interviews with Colombian and Haitian migrants, this chapter will explore migrants' understandings of 'social inclusion.' Furthermore, by examining indicators from the Socioeconomic Characterization Survey (CASEN) 2015, this chapter will aim to shed light into how the process of socioeconomic incorporation is developing for Colombian and Haitian collectivities in Chile. It is argued that migrants' expectations about 'social inclusion' not only reflect their disappointment with the 'Chilean Dream,' but also with an overall sense of distrust and disbelief in modern institutions that have systematically failed these groups by means of historical experiences of marginalization and exploitation. Interestingly, experiences of this kind in their home countries are exacerbated during a first or second migratory experience within the Global South, and converge in migrants' skepticism about the modern state, and as a correlate, about the concept of 'social inclusion' itself.

The chapter concludes with reflections about the Chilean migration law and weights in the challenges and possibilities of solidarity across racial/ethnic lines in order to advance migrants' rights in the future.

### A. *Defining ‘inclusion’*

As posed in chapter one, most literature on migration studies addresses migrants’ incorporation by utilizing the concept of assimilation or integration. In the case of the former, Gordon’s assimilation theory -which saw immigrants and majority groups becoming more similar in norms, values, behaviors and characteristics over time<sup>155</sup>- has been reshaped considering the critiques to its linear view of assimilation, its homogenization of American culture and society, as well as its origins in the overall successful experiences of early 20<sup>th</sup> European immigrants in the U.S.<sup>156</sup>

More recently, Portes and Zhou refined this framework to study migrants’ incorporation creating the ‘segmented assimilation model.’<sup>157</sup> The latter recognizes the U.S. as an unequal society with different segments to which migrants may assimilate to. In this sense, the authors pose that the different paths migrants could follow include ‘straight-line assimilation,’ the possibility of stagnant or downward mobility, and ‘selective acculturation’ – defined as the deliberate preservation of the immigrant community’s culture and values, accompanied by economic integration.<sup>158</sup>

Along with Portes and Zhou refinement of the assimilation theory, in recent years there has also been a reemergence of the ‘classical assimilation theory,’ derived from the

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<sup>155</sup> Gordon, *Assimilation in American life*.

<sup>156</sup> Glazer and Moynihan, *Beyond the Melting Pot*; Alba and Nee, "Rethinking assimilation theory"; Alarcon et al., *Making Los Angeles Home*; Telles and Ortiz, *Generations of exclusion*.

<sup>157</sup> Portes and Zhou, “The new second generation.”

<sup>158</sup> Ibid; Rumbaut and Portes, *Ethnicities: Children of immigrants*, 54.

work of authors such as Alba and Nee.<sup>159</sup> These authors have posed a ‘new assimilation model,’ that refashions the original theory by recognizing that this process takes place within racially and economically heterogeneous contexts, and the important role of institutions for immigrants’ assimilation. Alba and Nee’s modification of the ‘classical assimilation theory,’ further, builds on the argument about how the distinction between past and contemporary immigrants has been overplayed by the literature, while emphasizing that ‘straight-line assimilation’ is achievable, regardless of the speed at which this process is taking place now.

In the European context, contrarily, the discussion about immigrants’ incorporation has centered around the concept of integration. The difference between both terms is a contentious issue, and there is no agreement neither on the definition of integration nor what constitutes the distinctiveness of the term when contrasted with assimilation.<sup>160</sup> Penninx and Martiniello use the broad definition of integration as “the process through which one becomes an accepted part of society”<sup>161</sup> and clarify that the term was precisely introduced into the discourse of several European countries to replace assimilation by indicating a greater degree of tolerance and respect for ethnocultural differences.<sup>162</sup> A similar view is shared by Favell, who sees the discussion on integration as an aftermath of the 1960s’ ideas

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<sup>159</sup> Alba and Nee, "Rethinking assimilation theory"; Alba and Nee, *Remaking the American Mainstream*.

<sup>160</sup> Rinus Penninx, and Marco Martiniello. "Procesos de integración y políticas (locales): estado de la cuestión y algunas enseñanzas." *Revista Española de Investigaciones Sociológicas (REIS)* 116, no. 1 (2006): 123-156.

<sup>161</sup> *Ibid*, 127 (translation).

<sup>162</sup> Vermeulen and Peninx, “Immigrant integration” quoted in Alba and Foner, *Strangers No More*, 7.

about cultural difference and anti-racism, and recognizes that, as a concept, it was instrumental for the idea of a ‘modern society’ and of Western society as coherent whole.<sup>163</sup>

The issue of coherence has been central to the arguments of authors such as Bauböck, who thinks that integration does not only address the incorporation of newcomers into a ‘host society,’ but also refers to the internal cohesion of a social entity, and in the European context, to the conformation of a larger union of various societies. In this sense, the ambiguity of the concept puts integration closer to assimilation but also makes it compatible with a higher degree of cultural and social segregation.<sup>164</sup> Other authors such as Schneider and Crul also see similarities between these concepts and recognize that European preference for the latter also carries the implicit ideal of cultural homogeneity as a prerequisite for social cohesion.<sup>165</sup> For Alba and Foner, and Brubaker, furthermore, there is a considerable overlap and similarity between integration and assimilation.<sup>166</sup>

During the last decade of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the debate around integration/assimilation has been further complicated by global governance institutions’ preference for the concepts ‘social inclusion/exclusion,’ as it can be seen in reports by the International Labor Organization<sup>167</sup> and UNDP.<sup>168</sup> In the case of the latter, the discursive shift is more evident

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<sup>163</sup> Favell, “Integration policy and integration research.”

<sup>164</sup> Bauböck, “International migration and liberal democracies.”

<sup>165</sup> Schneider and Crul, “New insights into assimilation,” 1144.

<sup>166</sup> Alba and Foner, *Strangers No More*; Brubaker, *The return of assimilation?*, 540.

<sup>167</sup> José B. Figueiredo and Arjan De Haan. *Social exclusion: an ILO perspective*. (International Institute for Labor Studies, 1998).

<sup>168</sup> United Nations Development Program, “Human Development Report 1999.”

since the turn towards the Human Development paradigm, the acknowledgement of the multidimensional nature of poverty, and the recognition of social exclusion as an unwanted outcome of an unmanaged globalization. For instance, in the 1999 Human Development Report, UNDP positioned ‘social inclusion’ among the six core values that should characterize globalization.<sup>169</sup> More recently, the 2016 Human Development report highlights the need to ‘reach those left out’ and to ‘pursue inclusive growth.’<sup>170</sup>

In the case of Chile, the debate about ‘inclusion’ has been at the center of the most recent political campaigns in light of the increasing migratory movements towards the country. Following the rise of fascist discourses and far-right leaders in the West -such as Trump in the U.S. and Le Pen in France-, the most conservative side of the Chilean political spectrum has used a similar rhetoric in order to appeal to the working-class.<sup>171</sup> The current - more progressive- administration, contrarily, included a new migration law based on the ideal of ‘inclusion’ as part of its government program. Nonetheless, their campaign promise has not yet been translated into a new law project, even though the current administration’s term will end within the next year. Nevertheless, the ideas of social inclusion/exclusion are involved in both discourses, yet references to them have been loose and conceptually unclear. In this sense, and considering that the incorporation of migrants is a two-way process that involves both the ‘host’ society and migrants, it is in the interest of this study to understand

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<sup>169</sup> Ibid.

<sup>170</sup> United Nations Development Program, “Human Development Report 2016.” (2016), [http://hdr.undp.org/sites/default/files/2016\\_human\\_development\\_report.pdf](http://hdr.undp.org/sites/default/files/2016_human_development_report.pdf)

<sup>171</sup> Rocio Montes. “La derecha chilena pretende endurecer la ley migratoria.” *El Pais*. (30 Nov 2016), [https://internacional.elpais.com/internacional/2016/11/30/america/1480545383\\_747680.html](https://internacional.elpais.com/internacional/2016/11/30/america/1480545383_747680.html)

Colombians and Haitians' ideas and expectations associated with the concept of 'inclusion' itself.

***B. Migrants' view on 'inclusion': central components***

In general, for Colombians and Haitians an inclusive society is associated with the idea of non-discrimination based on 'race' or ethnicity. As labor migrants, furthermore, both groups would like to see the eradication of discriminatory practices primarily in terms of access to jobs. Despite Chile's ratification of international treaties that theoretically would secure this, there is a common perception between migrants about the existence of a hierarchy in the labor market, in which certain jobs would be for them -such as in construction and domestic labor- and others only for Chileans. A common barrier that migrants identified is the issue of validation of high school, technical and professional degrees. Since Colombia is part of the Andres Bello Agreement – an intergovernmental organization of educational, scientific, technological and cultural integration for Ibero-America- this procedure is especially problematic for Haitians. As posed by Jean-Michel:

In legal terms, entering Chile is not hard. You need money and a letter of invitation and that is it. But once you are here, it is a different reality. When you arrive here you experience a crisis. You realize that it is not easy to be integrated and that there are no jobs. Until now, I have not found a single Haitian that has a job appropriate for their educational level, I have been in many places but I have not found one. 'Inclusion' is difficult. **Haitian, 32-year-old**

Additionally, related to the idea of 'inclusion' as non-discrimination in terms of access to the job market, obtaining a work permit is another problematic issue recognized by the interviewees. As explained by them, the current migration law forces migrants to work without authorization, and therefore, facilitates their exploitation by employers. On the one

hand, migrants come to Chile under a tourist visa and then try to regularize their situation once in the country, even though the only way to obtain a work permit is by presenting a formal job offer by an employer. On the other hand, employers seek to recruit migrants that already have their work permit in order to avoid fines by the government, and thus, migrants are forced to either accept exploitative jobs that will give them a minimal income or to participate informally in the economy, perpetuating their undocumented status. Altogether, the barriers in place to regularize their migratory situation create or reinforce migrants' mistrust of the state apparatus, which they see as acting in compliance with the economic elites or directly profiting from their situation. As recognized by Danielle and Garcelle, two young women from Port-au-Prince and Gonaives, respectively:

Chile is a country where the president leaves everything in the hands of the economic elite... it is harder because everything is in their hands, even public affairs. For instance, to get a visa here it is a company which has to give you a contract and follow the appropriate procedure. In Brazil, you can just get a visa from Haiti and within 5 months you will have your papers in order, a health insurance, a life insurance, and you can start working without any issue... To become a more inclusive society Chile must first regularize foreigners, and that cannot depend on the economic elite, on the employers. Governments should facilitate that. This is the only country that I have visited in which it is so difficult to regularize your situation. **Danielle, 31-year-old**

Getting papers is a difficult thing now. Before, it was not like that. Things are getting complicated and Chileans do not want to hire us without papers, but how are we going to get papers if we do not have a job? We cannot come here already with papers, and here they do not want to give us papers. It is very complicated... the issues of the papers and housing are very complicated. **Garcelle, 33-year-old**

While both interviewees are from Haiti, this perception about the issue of regularization is shared by Colombians. Nevertheless, their view about the state's role on sustaining this situation is further complicated by a particular understanding of 'inclusion' that will be discussed at length below.

The second more common dimension associated with ‘inclusion’ is the idea of equal access to housing. In this case, the problematic expressed by migrants is extended to the broader context, as access to adequate housing as a social right is not recognized by the Chilean Constitution, even though it is among the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR) that the country has ratified. As migration to the country increases, the challenges to access adequate housing and the abuses of the deregulated market have become more evident. For Giovanna, a Colombian migrant from the city of Buenaventura, access to adequate housing is a central component when defining inclusion:

An inclusive society would be one in which foreigners are more accepted. Where we can get more help. I mean, it is not like we come here and just take opportunities from Chileans, that is not what I am asking for. It is just help in terms of... for instance, in terms of housing, I would like that foreigners were not so abused because, for us, foreigners, everything is harder to get. I would like to see more help in that sense, for all migrants not just Colombians... I would like more information and orientation for us migrants. **Giovanna, 32-year-old**

Access to health and education were the third and fourth dimensions of ‘inclusion’ most mentioned by migrants, although they were notoriously less referred to than the job market and housing opportunities. Many of the interviewees, on the opposite, declared to have had good experiences with the public health and education systems. These positive experiences are arguably associated to the relative success of specific measures taken by the Ministries of Health and Education -mandated by the Executive Power-, which grant



migrants limited access to the public health<sup>172</sup> and education systems, regardless of their migratory status.

While both collectivities defined the idea of ‘social inclusion’ as non-discrimination in the access to, first, the labor market, and secondly, housing opportunities, there was a significant group of respondents -Colombians in its entirety- that associated the idea of ‘social inclusion’ with improving the screening system for migrants’ entrance to the country. For instance, Patricia, a college-educated-Colombian that currently works in the logistics industry, posed:

An inclusive society is related to what kind of people enters the country. Why are they coming? What are they going to do here during their stay? I think that is the important part... I think there is not a migratory control here, anybody enters the country. I really love my country, but there are a lot of people coming, who I do not think can contribute to this country, they actually take away from it and that is not useful. So, I think this country should have more control, because at the end they [recently arrived Colombians] also hurt our image as a country. Because people do not say that is a particular case, they say all of us are like that. Everybody goes to the same box. **Patricia, 41-year-old**

Since one of the most salient characteristics of more recent migratory movements to Chile is the presence of population of African descent, Patricia felt the need to clarify after her comments that she was not a racist. This clarification was also part of the discourse of other white/mestizo Colombians, that were concerned with the current status of the ‘border control.’ Interestingly, this exclusionary component was also shared by Afro-Colombians. An example of this is Victoria’s testimony, which moreover, reveals an unresolved tension between the desire for a stricter control of those who arrive but also a degree of empathy with

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<sup>172</sup> Only for pregnant women, children under 18, and in case of medical emergency. For more information see: [http://web.minsal.cl/wp-content/uploads/2016/09/6\\_ATENCION-DE-SALUD-A-POBLACION-INMIGRANTE-NO-REGULADA-APS.pdf](http://web.minsal.cl/wp-content/uploads/2016/09/6_ATENCION-DE-SALUD-A-POBLACION-INMIGRANTE-NO-REGULADA-APS.pdf)

others that seek the opportunity to start over in a new place. Therefore, her idea of ‘social inclusion’ is simultaneously associated to gender and racial equality while also relying in the exclusion of others. In this case, more recent migrants from Colombia. In Victoria’s view:

An inclusive society is where everybody has the same rights, the same treatment, and the same opportunities, the good and the bad. If we have the same job as men or white women, then we should earn the same. For foreigners, I think it is also good that they control more who enters the country. Without going too far, my brother had a bad criminal record in Colombia and was still able to come here. There are also some hitmen that you have heard of in Antofagasta and in Santiago. That is something that should not be allowed. But... I think I am going to contradict myself but I also think that these people, hitmen for instance, deserve a second chance to reintegrate into society. **Victoria, 35-year-old**

This cross-cutting view, that reveals mistrust among Colombians, was previously documented by Guarnizo, Sanchez and Roach, who discovered a similar pattern in migrants from the same nationality that lived in New York City and Los Angeles.<sup>173</sup> This ‘fragmented solidarity,’ as Guarnizo et al. clarify, is the result of the construction of a stereotyped Colombian identity associated to the image of the international drug trafficker. This construction, the authors pose, “has dramatically transformed the group’s social structure and dynamics” resulting in “increased levels of social fragmentation and generalized mistrust.”<sup>174</sup> Considering this, Victoria’s apparent contradiction helps to understand this in a different context. As a black, working-class woman that used to live in Cali’s inner city, her story exposes fear of returning to the environment of normalized violence that pushed her to migrate to Chile in the first place. But, she also displays a sense of empathy and solidarity

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<sup>173</sup> Luis Eduardo Guarnizo, Arturo Sánchez, and Elizabeth M. Roach. "Mistrust, fragmented solidarity, and transnational migration: Colombians in New York City and Los Angeles." *Ethnic and racial studies* 22, no. 2 (1999): 367-396.

<sup>174</sup> *Ibid*, 373.

with those with a similar positionality within Colombian society and who have been victims - or perpetrators- of systemic violence, and who she thinks have little opportunities to reintegrate by staying in Colombia. Later in the interview, Victoria confessed that after spending a couple months in Chile, her brother returned to Colombia and was assassinated in the same neighborhood where she lived before leaving for Chile.

### *C. Trends in socioeconomic 'inclusion'*

The following section will explore how the process of incorporation is developing in socioeconomic terms. It is important to clarify that, due to data limitations, the discussion below explores migrants' incorporation by analyzing trends on geographical dispersion, overcrowding, socioeconomic quintiles distribution, and poverty rates. In the case of data on overcrowding, quintiles distribution and poverty rates, it is necessary to mention that the disaggregation of migrants' statistics by nationality limits the representativeness of the sample. Still, the results of the analysis were triangulated with other studies and the qualitative data collected through the interviews in order to identify general tendencies. In general, as chapter three reveals in terms of demographic profiles of the newly arrived groups, data from the Department of Foreign Affairs and CASEN 2015 reaffirms the trend of important differences in the socioeconomic incorporation between Haitians and Colombians, also noticeable within the latter group.

An important element to highlight initially is that most Colombians and Haitians -as well as most migrants in Chile regardless of their nationality- have settled in Region Metropolitana, where the capital city of Santiago, the focus of this study, is located.<sup>175</sup>

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<sup>175</sup> Department of Foreign Affairs and Migration.

Following Sassen, the city, and particularly the ‘global city,’ occupies a central role within the contemporary world as it “engages in the global directly, often bypassing the national.”<sup>176</sup> As a space where transnational capital and those that have been marginalized meet, Sassen argues, the city is where globalization truly materializes. By reviewing statistics of geographical distribution of migrants in Chile, and considering the country’s concentration of wealth in two regions (discussed in chapter two), Sassen’s framework helps to shed light in the rise of Santiago as new pole of accumulation within the Global South, and therefore, as an attractive city for migrants that previously looked to the West or to other important economies within the region -such as Argentina and Venezuela- as possible destinations.

In the case of Colombians, 56% of the permanent residents from this nationality live in Region Metropolitana. Distinct in their case, nonetheless, is also the strong Colombian presence in the 2<sup>nd</sup> Region of Atacama -the core of Chile’s mining industry- with another 22% of this collectivity residing there.<sup>177</sup> The concentration of Colombians in two regions of Chile seems to be replicated at the microlevel, since more than half of the Colombian population in Region Metropolitana lives in the municipalities of Santiago, Las Condes, Providencia and Ñuñoa.<sup>178</sup> These areas are located in the Center and the East of the city, which have been historically occupied by middle and upper class sectors of Chilean society. In contrast, Haitians’ geographical distribution in the country shows a different pattern. At the national level, the clear majority of Haitians (98.5%) lives in Region Metropolitana, and within this region, only the municipality of Quilicura -a peripheral area in the North-

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<sup>176</sup> Sassen, *A Sociology of Globalization*, 102.

<sup>177</sup> Department of Foreign Affairs and Migration

<sup>178</sup> Ibid.

Western part of the city- concentrates 44% of the Haitian collectivity. Another 20% lives in the municipalities of Estacion Central and Pedro Aguirre Cerda.<sup>179</sup>

Each group's geographical dispersion -or the lack thereof- was also evident in the snowball sample of the study. While Colombians interviewees lived in seven different municipalities within Region Metropolitana, Haitians were distributed in only in three. Moreover, 10 of the 12 Haitians interviewed lived either in Quilicura or Estacion Central. Significant from this is that, considering the municipalities where these groups concentrate, the three areas where Haitians live present poverty rates similar to or above the regional average. Moreover, as it has been previously noted by other studies,<sup>180</sup> within these municipalities there is an important concentration of Haitians in specific neighborhoods. Contrastingly, most Colombians live in municipalities with low rates of poverty and with the highest incomes within Region Metropolitana.<sup>181</sup>

In terms of housing conditions, there are also important differences between both collectivities. While the majority of both groups lives in adequate housing, according to CASEN 2015, 20% of Colombians and 39% of Haitians live in conditions of overcrowding. As previously revealed by Giovanna's comment on access to quality housing as a central dimension of 'inclusion,' finding a place to live is one of the biggest challenges that migrants face when arriving to Chile. As the minimum wage that a considerable group of migrants earn is not enough to pay for the inflated rents that landlords impose on them, migrants are

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<sup>179</sup> Ibid.

<sup>180</sup> See *Plan de Acogida y Reconocimiento de Migrantes y Refugiados de la Comuna de Quilicura*. (2014).

<sup>181</sup> Survey of Socioeconomic Characterization (Casen 2015).

forced to share rooms in old collective houses in order to afford a place to live. In the case of Giovanna -an Afro-Colombian with a vocational diploma that works as a baker-, her family of 10 members shares an apartment of around 30 square meters. In the case of Mabelle, a Haitian woman from Gonaives, a comparable space was occupied by 9 people. Moreover, other migrants such as Maria -a 47-year-old Afro-Colombian- have ruled out the prospect of reuniting with their children in Chile because of the impossibility of affording a bigger, more adequate place to live with them. This is the case even though Maria holds a relatively better economic position than many Haitians. Therefore, while most migrants of both groups do not live in overcrowded conditions, there is an important number of them who do live in this situation, that cannot be overlooked.

Confirming these trends on the groups' distinct geographical dispersion and unequal housing conditions, the statistics about the distribution of foreign-born population in the region's socioeconomic quintiles<sup>182</sup> shows important differences between Haitians and Colombians. While 53% of Haitians concentrate in the two lowest income quintiles, Colombians' distribution is more similar to those of the rest of the migrant collectivities in the country, belonging mainly to the two highest quintiles.<sup>183</sup> Despite this, there is also a noticeable difference between Colombians and migrants' overall distribution in terms of the percentage of each group in the first quintile. Equally important, in the case of Colombians,

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<sup>182</sup> In CASEN 2015, a quintile represents one fifth or 20% of the national households ordered in ascending order according to the autonomous per capita income of the household. Therefore, the first quintile represents the poorest 20% of the country's households and the fifth quintile the richest 20% of these households.

<sup>183</sup> CASEN 2015.

is that 28.3% of them lives with less than US\$218 a month, while another 28.3% -in the fifth quintile- earns, in average, more than five times that amount.<sup>184</sup>

*Table 3: Regional quintiles by monthly income (CASEN 2015)*

	Regional quintiles (by income)				
	I	II	III	IV	V
Haiti	<b>19.3%</b>	<b>33.9%</b>	23.9%	22.9%	<b>0.0%</b>
Colombia	15.6%	12.7%	16.8%	<b>26.6%</b>	<b>28.3%</b>
Migrants' average	8.4%	13.2%	17.8%	20.9%	39.8%
Chile	22.8%	22.0%	20.2%	18.0%	17.0%

A final interesting finding was related to CASEN 2015's assessment of multidimensional poverty, which differs from traditional income-based approaches and instead evaluates poverty in relation to a family's access to education, health, employment, social security, housing, networks, among other indicators. This assessment, nevertheless, showed that 36% of Haitians and 20% of Colombians lived in poverty conditions.

The next section will analyze and explain these underlying trends and put them in conversation with migrants' own assessment of 'social inclusion.'

#### ***D. Racialized and gendered exclusion***

Inclusion is a matter of politics. There should be more restrictions, but right now they are only for People of Color. We are those called immigrants. Argentinians, Italians... they are called foreigners. The only immigrant here is the 'Negro.' **Edwin, Colombian, 44-year-old**

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<sup>184</sup> Ibid.

When asked about their experiences with the ‘host society’ and to evaluate its ‘inclusiveness,’ only four interviewees said that Chilean society was ‘inclusive.’ Instead, most of them recognized feeling only partially included or otherwise marginalized from it. Among them, respondents recognized the existence of intersecting racialized and gendered forms of exclusion, that strongly affect population of African descent and men and women distinctively. In this sense, Afro-Colombians and Haitians with a work permit shared countless stories of job denials -by Chileans and other migrants- based on their ‘race.’ Moreover, even other members of these collectivities not directly targeted by racism -such as white or mestizo Colombians- recognized that Afro-descendants were those most ‘excluded.’ As Jose, a leader of the Colombian collectivity in Chile describes:

[Social exclusion] is stronger with population of African descent. To be a foreigner and ‘Negro’ is complicated, especially for women. The way they treat People of Color here is very xenophobic and discriminatory. I fight for them the most, for equal rights. They are from Buenaventura, a very poor region in the Pacific, with low educational levels, which contributes to other people taking advantage of them, to exploit them. **Jose, 45-year-old**

While the experiences of racism that interviewees shared included forms of ‘color-blind racism,’<sup>185</sup> ‘neo-racism,’<sup>186</sup> and ‘everyday racism,’<sup>187</sup> most surprising were the several accounts of straight-forward racism suffered by either the interviewee or one of their family members. In the case of Michele, a young woman from Haiti that recently gave birth to her first daughter, exposure to these recurrent expressions have made her reconsider her stay in

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<sup>185</sup> Eduardo Bonilla-Silva. *Racism without racists: Color-blind racism and the persistence of racial inequality in America*. (Rowman & Littlefield, 2010).

<sup>186</sup> Etienne Balibar and Immanuel Maurice Wallerstein. *Race, nation, class: Ambiguous identities*. (Verso, 1991).

<sup>187</sup> Philomena Essed. *Understanding everyday racism: An interdisciplinary theory*. Vol. 2. (Sage, 1991).



Chile. Nonetheless, the cost of migrating to another country or going back to Haiti, as she recognized, does not allow her to even consider this possibility.

The worst thing here is that there are the many racist people... it is terrible. It also scares me because it is just too much sometimes. It is in the workplace, in the streets, it is everywhere... one day I was in the hospital after giving birth to my daughter and another woman there asked me 'what the color of my milk was.' She had a daughter and I had one too, I just did not see why she would ask me that. In that moment, I was thinking... I want to hurt her. **Michele, 32-year-old**

In the case of Afro-Colombian women, as previously recognized by other authors such as Pavez, racialization and sexualization are part of their day-to-day experiences.<sup>188</sup> In this sense, Iván, a mestizo married to an Afro-Colombian, describes that one the most challenging aspects of his time in Chile has been the lack of acceptance of his wife:

Another difficult thing has been the acceptance of my wife. My wife is 'morenita' [dark-skinned] and here people tend to discriminate People of Color. Either they are scared of them or they distrust them. Black women here are considered either prostitutes or people think they come to steal husbands or to become a domestic worker. They are anything but a decent woman. I think that is terrible, they do not respect her, they tend to stigmatize women of color and that has been terrible to me... they have even asked me if she was the nanny of my children. **Iván, 38-year-old**

Whereas most migrants of African descent have experienced racism in their home-country before, they also claim to be surprised by straight-forward manifestations of it in Chile. This was certainly different for migrants with a previous migratory experience in another country, as some of them could relate these direct manifestations of racism with those they faced in their first time as foreigners. As it will be discussed next, regardless of their different manifestations, migrants' experiences of marginalization and oppression can be situated in the *longue durée*. Furthermore, their systematic encounters with these

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<sup>188</sup> Pavez, "Racismo de clase."

structural barriers have broader implications for their understanding and assessment of discourses on ‘social inclusion.’

***E. Inclusion? Not really***

While it is impossible to provide a comprehensive picture of each of these nations’ historical specificity, due to the space and the objectives of this study, this section underscores that Colombia and Haiti’s histories are marked by the imprint of colonialism and imperialism. In the case of Colombia, Barbary and Urrea recognize the existence of “territorial isolation of black and indigenous populations, in the context of racialized geography and social hierarchies which have been inherited from colonial and republican slave periods.”<sup>189</sup> Therefore, it is assumed that in Colombia, as the authors recognize, “skin color or a certain cultural orientation or territorial origin, due to the historical accumulation of patrimonial capital, cultural, school, social and symbolic, have until today a discriminatory effect.”<sup>190</sup> The materialization of the historical process that Oliver Barbary and Fernando Urrea recognize is particularly evident in Colombia’s Pacific Region, and more specifically, in Valle del Cauca. Within this region, as a study by Barbary et al. poses, Colombia’s geography of socio-racial inequality is reproduced, more noticeably in the city of Cali<sup>191</sup> - where most migrants from Colombia are coming from-.

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<sup>189</sup> Barbary and Urrea, *Gente negra en Colombia*, 57.

<sup>190</sup> Ibid.

<sup>191</sup> Olivier Barbary, Héctor Fabio Ramírez, Fernando Urrea, and Carlos Viáfara. "Perfiles contemporáneos de la población afrocolombiana." (2004): 69-11 in Barbary and Urrea, *Gente negra en Colombia*.

As discussed in chapter three, moreover, both Cali and the Valle del Cauca region (where the city is located) have been highly impacted by the Colombian conflict. For instance, from 2011 to 2013, Buenaventura -the second most important geographical origin of the Colombian migrants interviewed- was the city with the highest number of displaced population, generating 22 thousand internally displaced only in 2011.<sup>192</sup> Despite being an internal conflict, the role of the U.S. as an actor cannot be overlooked. From 1988 to 2005, the U.S. provided nearly \$5 billion in military aid to the Colombian government.<sup>193</sup> Initiated during the Cold War -in an effort to maintain U.S. hegemony in the larger Latin American territory-, this aid has provided funding, among others, for Colombian security forces (and indirectly to the associated paramilitary forces) and fumigations that seek to undermine drug production in the region, at the cost of destroying the lives of campesinos, indigenous people and Afro-Colombians.<sup>194</sup>

In the case of Haiti, the country's 'humanitarian crisis' gained international media attention after the 2010 earthquake. In order to avoid presentism in the analysis of the country's situation after this natural event, Francois Pierre-Louis points out to several historical processes and events that should be kept in consideration when discussing Haiti's contemporary socioeconomic and political situation. Among them: the isolation and boycott of the country by the international community after its anti-colonial insurrection, the international intervention including U.S. support of the Duvalier regime, the deterioration of

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<sup>192</sup> Human Rights Watch. *La crisis en Buenaventura: Desapariciones, desmembramientos y desplazamiento en el principal puerto de Colombia en el Pacífico*. (United States: Human Rights Watch, 2014).

<sup>193</sup> Oeindrila Dube and Suresh Naidu. "Bases, Bullets, and Ballots: The Effect of US Military Aid on Political Conflict in Colombia." *The Journal of Politics* 77, no. 1 (2015): 249-267.

<sup>194</sup> Doug Stokes. *America's other war: terrorizing Colombia*. (Zed Books, 2005).

economic and social conditions of the country as a result of the exile of the country's most skilled population, and the 'NGOization' of Haiti starting in the 1980s, but reinforced with the 'UN Stabilization Mission' after the earthquake.<sup>195</sup> Therefore, from a historical perspective, as emphasized by Nadege Clitandre, the history of Haiti is the history of enslavement, involuntary migration and displacement; the history of colonialism, foreign intervention, forced isolation, and economic exploitation.<sup>196</sup>

These *longue durée* experiences of marginalization and exploitation differently shaped by common histories of colonialism and imperialism, converge with migrants' disappointing migratory experiences in the Global South to create a sense of disbelief in the idea of 'social inclusion,' and more generally, in the interest or capacity of modern institutions to promote it. As Wilson recognizes:

Even before immigrants came, in Chile there has not been much inclusion. Rich people become richer each day, and poor people are poorer. From my perspective, inclusion would be when society make us feel part of it. When we can look normal to them if we are in the same room, which is something that does not happen in Chile right now. When you enter a classroom the first day, everybody looks at you and says, 'what is he doing here?'... Chileans are interesting people, they do not see an opportunity in immigrants, they do not think they can learn something from us and our culture, our language. They think that if we are here it is to deprive them from something and that is why they exclude us. I do not think Chile is an inclusive society, and I do not think the country is going to have one. **Colombian, 42-year-old**

More significantly, in the view of others like Denise -who in a previous testimony criticized the alliance of the State with Chilean economic elite- and Jean-Michel, the issue of social exclusion and migrants precarious living conditions is something that will not be

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<sup>195</sup> Francois Pierre-Louis. "Earthquakes, nongovernmental organizations, and governance in Haiti." *Journal of Black Studies* 42, no. 2 (2011): 186-202.

<sup>196</sup> Nadège Clitandre. "Haitian exceptionalism in the Caribbean and the project of rebuilding Haiti." *Journal of Haitian Studies* (2011): 146-153.

resolved due to migrants' cheap labor usefulness to capitalism, theorized by scholars such as Robinson and Barrera,<sup>197</sup> and Robinson and Santos.<sup>198</sup> In Jean-Michel's view:

I do not think that governments are concerned about immigrants' problems because it is not something that benefits them. They are diplomats, each decision they make is based on their interests not in the interests of the collective or the people. In Brazil, they have opened the borders to migrants, especially to Haitians. But they opened the doors because they had a shortage of labor force and immigrants are cheap labor force. So, when they arrive, they are just exploited. They [states] would never create a law to benefit migrants, ever. I do not have expectations of that, international affairs are just a game of interests. **Haitian, 32-year-old**

Perhaps even more telling in this regard is Pierre's testimony, as a Haitian migrant that previously lived in the Dominican Republic. When consulted about his view on the concept of 'social inclusion,' he completely rejected the possibility of such an idea. Later in the interview, when asked about his familiarity with migrants' rights, his response seems to have summarized the tough circumstances that as a Haitian with two migratory experiences he has had to face:

Immigrants' rights are simple: everything that you do, we have to accept it. **Pierre, 31-year-old**

#### ***F. Reflections about the future: migration law and migrants' articulation***

While an important number of migrants from Colombia and Haiti reject the idea of 'social inclusion,' a new migration law could alleviate the current living situation of migrants only partially. As previously mentioned, the present legislation creates a vicious circle that pushes migrants to accept informal and precarious jobs, without offering them an easy path

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<sup>197</sup> Robinson and Barrera, "Global capitalism and twenty-first."

<sup>198</sup> Robinson and Santos, "Global capitalism, immigrant labor."

to regularize their migratory status. Instead, the formal procedure depends on the ‘good will’ of the employer, who at the same time benefits directly from the cheap labor that undocumented migrants provide.

Other than that, the system in place also relies on the decentralized political administration embodied in local governments, supported by international organizations and religious NGOs. During a three-month internship with the International Organization for Migration, Mission Chile, the problematics associated to this mode of ‘migration governance’ were explored through interviews with local officials in 20 municipalities of the country. From these interviews, several issues were identified. Among them, despite several local governments’ offices of migration commitment with the idea of ‘social inclusion,’ their funding largely depends on deviating resources from other municipal programs. As these local offices are not required to exist by the central government, and therefore are not assigned any type of funding, the offices also replicate internal inequalities within the city of Santiago. In general, then, more affluent municipalities -those where part of the Colombian population lives- have a greater budget to work in initiatives to foster ‘inclusion.’ On the opposite, the poorer municipalities -where most Haitians live-, have a limited budget to work with or simply do not have an office specialized in migration. Furthermore, the mere existence of these offices depends on the political position of the elected mayor. This means that, after a period of four years in office, a change of mayor can implicate the closure of the only public office dedicated to work towards migrants’ ‘inclusion.’ Without looking too far back in time, the 2015 local elections resulted in the closure of several offices in Region Metropolitana.

While it is beyond the scope of this study to discuss the role that organizations such as IOM and religious NGOs can have in the migration debate and ‘management’ more in depth,<sup>199</sup> it is argued, following Schuller, that as intermediaries their role is to ‘glue’ globalization in different ways that provide legitimization to it.<sup>200</sup> In this sense, these actors do not challenge the alliance of transnational capital and the state apparatus, and instead, aim to resolve the exploitation of migrants under the banner of ‘social inclusion’ and within the institutional framework that -understandably- migrants mistrust.

Given this scenario, the articulation of a migrants’ movement seems essential for a significant advancement of their rights. The articulation of such a movement, nonetheless, is not exempt from the challenges of the current stage of global capitalism. Besides the worldwide distinction between two categories of labor -immigrants and citizens- that Robinson and Santos recognize as a new, rigid caste system instrumental for the efficient work of the global economy and worldwide capital accumulation,<sup>201</sup> new processes are also occurring in semi-peripheral countries. As posed by Dunaway and Clelland, developing countries will become increasingly part of the exploitation and repression of other minority groups by creating their own systems of racist oppression at the cost of victimizing someone else in the racial hierarchy.<sup>202</sup>

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<sup>199</sup> For IOM’s see for instance María José Magliano and Janneth Clavijo, “La OIM como trafficking solver para la región sudamericana: sentidos de las nuevas estrategias de control migratorio,” in *Migraciones internacionales: reflexiones y estudios sobre movilidad territorial contemporánea*, ed. by Gabriela Karasik. (Buenos Aires: Ediciones CICCUS, 2013).

<sup>200</sup> Mark Schuller. “Gluing globalization: NGOs as intermediaries in Haiti.” *PoLAR: Political and Legal Anthropology Review* 32, no. 1 (2009): 84-104.

<sup>201</sup> Robinson and Santos, “Global capitalism, immigrant labor,” 6.

<sup>202</sup> Fletcher, “Race in the Capitalist,” 47-49.

In the case of recent migratory movements towards Chile, as previously discussed, this racialized hierarchy is not only being created in the binary opposition immigrant/citizen that Robinson and Santos point out to, but also within and among migrants' groups themselves. This is evident in Karla's comments:

I feel there are many opportunities for foreigners here, it just a matter of looking for them. Nonetheless, I think things have changed since I came. Now it is more complicated, and there are less opportunities. It might be related to external factors, like the economy... I do not know, it might also be because too many foreigners have arrived, and it is sad to say this but some of them take jobs for little money and then business men prefer to hire them because it is cheaper... I also think this is something that is affecting the country and I believe it is time for Chile to do something about it. On the one hand, there are many professionals arriving, people that want to contribute to the country. But on the other hand, I have also noticed that there is not a proper screening, a certain type of people is arriving... anyone. That is not good for the country. **Colombian, 28-year-old**

Furthermore, among Colombians, there was a widely disseminated discourse of differentiation with other migrant groups, but more particularly Haitians, based on narratives of Haiti that emphasized this country's precariousness. Instead of promoting solidarity across ethnic lines, then, the perceived 'priority' that Haitians receive creates a sense of competition between collectivities for the scarce state assistance that migrants receive. As Giovanna, a young Afro-Colombian from Buenaventura explained:

Here, the government helps immigrants a lot, but especially Haitians. I think they have priority, they get more opportunities... Even when the government does not get anything in return from that, it helps them, they have a lot of priority. I have heard that about Haitians, the government gives them a lot of opportunities especially in term of jobs.... I think it is because Haitians go through uglier things than us. The way they live there, they starve, that kind of things. There is also a lot of them. That is why I think they get priority, because of the things they go through over there in Haiti. Us, Colombians, on the other hand, look for things on our own. You find your job by yourself. **Giovanna, 32-year-old**



Despite this, migrants like Jose, a leader of the Colombian collectivity in Chile recognize that any significant advancement in migrants' rights would not be achieved without solidarity among not only migrant groups but also with the 'host' society. The key to accomplish this, in his opinion, depends on the capacity of sensitizing other marginalized groups within Chilean society, so they can empathize with the reasons that force some migrants to leave their country, or the first country they initially migrated to. By reinforcing the image of Colombians as hitmen or drug dealers, and of migrants in general as competition for adequately paid jobs, the media shares major responsibility -other than the national government- on the hostility that many of them have found in the context of reception. Thinking about the possible articulation of a social movement Jose reflected:

We need an awareness campaign by the government and the media because like immigrants without basic studies there are also Chileans with low educational levels. Within their ignorance about the people that are coming now, they accuse them of stealing jobs and they do not have an idea of what is going on in Colombia, why are they coming. The headlines should be why are Colombians coming to Chile? or Haitians? What is the problematic behind this?... If they get to know this, they could stand in solidarity with us. **Jose, 45-year-old**

As Jose's comments touch on, solidarity from other groups within Chilean society seems essential for any attempt of significant advancement in migrants' access to basic rights. Still, it is clear that the articulation of such a movement will also face capitalist and institutional resistance.

## ***G. Conclusions***

Traditional theories of assimilation/integration have tried to explain and describe migrants' incorporation into the 'host society' based on the experiences of 20<sup>th</sup> century

European migrants in the U.S. or of Global South migrants travelling to Western countries. Although there is no agreement about specific definitions of assimilation and integration, both concepts share the core ideas of social cohesion and assimilation/integration as the goal of the incorporation process. More recently, acknowledging the fact that globalization has benefited some and marginalized others, the language of ‘social inclusion’ has also entered the migration debate.

The case of South-South migration reveals particularities of this process that previous models have not considered. In this chapter, particularly, the dissimilar incorporation paths that different groups within a migrant collectivity and the relevance of previous migratory or marginalization experiences in the construction of migrants’ definition of ‘inclusion’ were highlighted. On the one hand, migrants had a narrow definition of the concept in terms of access to the job market and housing opportunities. On the other, a significant group of migrants completely rejected the idea of ‘inclusion’ and the capacity or interest of modern institutions in promoting this. Considering the growing body of literature in transnationalism, this study raises questions about the transnationalization of social hierarchies and the reproduction of experiences of marginalization. Moreover, as formed in part by a highly-mobile group of ‘surplus labor’ not rooted in any particular place, South-South migration also problematizes the idea of ‘social inclusion’ as the end goal of migrants’ process of incorporation.

In the case of Haitians and Colombians in Chile, particularly those of African descent, the replacement of the migration law could certainly help undocumented migrants to find a path towards regularization. However, the decentralized ‘management of migration’ via local governments, supported by the IOM and religious NGOs is more likely to be a

barrier than a boost to articulate a movement for the advancement of their rights.

Furthermore, migrants themselves recognize the limitations of the institutional route in light of the collaboration between transnational capital and the state apparatus, which also works to divide migrant collectivities and to prevent solidarity across other marginalized groups in the 'host' society. In this sense, the advancement of migrants' access to basic rights will depend on overcoming a complex articulation of capitalism and the state. Certainly, solidarity along racial/ethnic lines is a necessary element to overcome the 'divide-and-conquer' tactics in place.

## V. Conclusion

Scholarly work has traditionally studied migratory processes by focusing on the movement of people from the Global South to the Global North. This trend has been the main concern of mainstream migration studies, which has consolidated as an important area of study within the social sciences by analyzing diverse issues related to ‘Western’ countries’ experiences when receiving migrants from ‘developing’ countries.

In this context, this work aimed to contribute to the study of migration as a global phenomenon, by presenting the case study of Chile, a country in the Global South whose immigrant population has noticeably increased during the past decade but whose migration law has not been updated accordingly, resulting in mixed implications for the incorporation of the newly arrived migrant population. In contrast with traditional sociological concepts of assimilation and integration -mostly applied in the American and European context, respectively-, Chilean authorities’ discussion has centered around the vaguely defined concept of ‘social inclusion,’ a term introduced in the globalization debate by global governance institutions such as the United Nations and the World Bank.

Considering the above, the particularities of South-South migration and the most appropriate analytical framework to study migrants’ incorporation in these ‘Southern’ countries is a field yet to be explored. Moreover, this represents a significant opportunity for Global South scholars to engage and diversify the voices participating in this crucial, contemporary debate. This work, then, sought to contribute to this conversation by exploring, first, the factors that explain recent Colombian and Haitian migration to Chile, second, migrants’ own understanding and definition of ‘social inclusion,’ and, finally, how South-

South migration can complicate traditional Western-centered approaches to migrants' incorporation.

Regarding the former, even though the arrival of migrants to Chile is not a new phenomenon, qualitative and quantitative characteristics of more recent movements can be associated with a novel trend. Driven by the increase of migrants from South America and Central America and the Caribbean, the foreign population living in the country has doubled in the past 10 years, placing Chile in a similar position to other 'developed' nations in terms of inflows.

These recent migratory movements, furthermore, cannot be explained if disassociated from the country's integration into a more globalized world, and more specifically, into global capitalism. As it was shown in chapter two, Chile's economic performance, coupled with political stability and the decline of other poles of accumulation in the region have created an attractive image of the country within Latin America. Nonetheless, national-framed economic indicators obscure other processes that unfold in other spatial units and scales. In the case of Chile, a closer look to macroeconomic statistics reveals that capital accumulation is especially significant in the country's principal city and among the top 10% of the population. In addition, these numbers also hide the precarization of jobs and Chile's fragile integration into the world economy, based on exports of copper and with China as the major buyer. All of these factors are not part of the narrative of the 'Chilean Dream.'

In terms of 'push' factors, Colombians and Haitians' testimonies shed light on the importance of their respective countries' political economy as a major reason to migrate. Even though the turning point in terms of migrant inflows from both countries coincides with important natural disasters, the explanations given by the interviewees revealed the

insufficiency of natural disaster-based explanations for these groups' migration if they are not further contextualized in the 'sending' countries' historical processes of colonialism and imperialism. In addition, interviews with population of African descent from both Haiti and Colombia revealed another important phenomenon that has had remained understudied by mainstream literature on South-North migration and migrants' assimilation/integration: previous migratory experiences.

Considering the political and economic 'push' factors mentioned by the interviewees and the high mobility that characterized their experiences, Haitian and Colombian migrants, particularly those of African descent, can be considered the faces of a multitude of 'surplus labor' that global capitalism has generated and that consists of those marginalized and dispossessed from the means of production, and locked out of productive participation in the global economy. Considering this, the 'decision' to migrate cannot be regarded as 'free'.

In terms of migrants' understanding of 'social inclusion,' even though Colombian and Haitian migrants present similar trajectories in terms of their recent arrival to Chile and share the 2010-2011 time period as a turning point in their inflows, the demographic profiles and intersectional identities of the members of each group show important differences. As it was seen in chapter three, these differences shaped both their expectations and experiences in Chile. Moreover, they also affected their understanding of 'social inclusion.'

In the case of expectations, for instance, Colombian interviewees' imaginary of the 'Chilean Dream' built on the distinct experiences that other nationals from that country have had in Chile. More specifically, a common idealized image of Chile centered on the experience of college-educated white or mestizo Colombians that have been able to take advantage of the opportunities that Chile offers to young professionals. Contrastingly, a

second imaginary was based on the experience of impoverished population -mostly of African descent- that was able to advance economically by engaging in precarious economic occupations or, in an exceptional basis, illegal activities.

On the one hand, these different expectations are representative of the racialized social hierarchy prevailing in Colombia and that is especially manifest in the Valle del Cauca Department. On the other, they also problematize the assumed homogeneity of migrants' groups that arrive to a country and evidence the limitations of approaches that assume an immigrant 'community' -as determined by a common 'national origin'- as the most appropriate unit of analysis to study migration.

Regarding experiences, the case of South-South migration reveals particularities of the process of incorporation that previous models have not considered. In chapter four, for example, the dissimilar incorporation paths within a migrant collectivity and the relevance of previous migratory or marginalization experiences in the construction of migrants' definition of 'inclusion' were highlighted. While most migrants had a narrow definition of the concept in terms of access to the job market and housing opportunities, another group defined 'inclusion' in relation to a stricter border control and the exclusion of others, including those migrants of their same nationality. More significantly, a considerable group of migrants completely rejected the idea of 'inclusion' and questioned the capacity or interest of modern institutions to successfully promote it. Instead, the interviews revealed that the homeland's racialized differences are later reproduced or exacerbated in the context of the 'hostland.'

Considering the latter, and the growing body of literature in transnationalism, the experiences of Haitian and Colombian migrants in Chile raise questions about the transnationalization of social hierarchies and the reproduction of experiences of

marginalization. Furthermore, as formed in part by a highly-mobile group of ‘surplus labor’ not rooted in any particular place, South-South migration also problematizes the idea of ‘social inclusion’ as the end goal of migrants’ process of incorporation.

In the case of Haitians and Colombians in Chile, particularly those of African descent, the replacement of Chile’s migration law could certainly help undocumented migrants to find a path towards regularization. Nonetheless, migrants themselves were quick to recognize the limitations of the institutional route in light of the collaboration between transnational capital and the state apparatus, which also works to divide migrant collectivities and to prevent solidarity across other marginalized groups in the ‘host’ society. In this sense, the advancement of migrants’ access to basic rights will largely depend on overcoming a complex articulation of capitalism and the state.

While the situation of Colombian and Haitian migrants in Chile represents just a case within the Global South, this study sought to expose some of the contributions that scholarly work on this geographical region can bring to contemporary migration debates. For these groups of migrants, and more particularly those of African descent, expectations about ‘social inclusion’ not only reflect their disappointment with the ‘Chilean Dream,’ but also an overall sense of distrust and disbelief in modern institutions that have systematically failed for these groups by means of historical experiences of marginalization and exploitation.



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