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**Patterns of international migration in the
Santiago Metropolitan Area – Characterization of the
immigrants' social space and contributions to the
national policy debate**

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Executive summary

Internationally, Chile is better known for its high number of emigrants than for its immigration flows. Despite the number of immigrants is relatively small, census data indicate that international migration has increased during the past years. The current state of immigration to Chile is characterized by a notable increase in the South Americans' flow.

The reasons behind this new migratory dynamic are associated with two independent processes. On the one hand, regions that traditionally attracted Latin Americans have increased immigration control and, on the other hand, in the regional scenario, Chile is characterized by economic and political stability that makes it attractive for immigrants.

On this background, the relevance of the issue researched in this study becomes evident. There are reasons associated with the current discussion in the country as well as with the scientific debate about immigration and its impact on urban development.

Regarding the Chilean context, three major reasons are to be considered:

- First, the latest results of the population census show that immigration to Chile, and especially to the Santiago Metropolitan Area (SMA), is becoming a more and more relevant issue in the public debate. Therefore it is necessary to have a most accurate picture about the impacts of international migration in order to avoid misunderstandings and the spread of myths and stereotypes.
- Second, international research indicates that immigration is a highly complex issue which requires holistic and detailed analysis. Although some scientific contributions regarding immigration to Chile exist, they are rather sectoral or general, focusing on particular immigrant groups. Until now, there are no studies at all about the major Chilean centre of attraction, the SMA and its 34 communes consisting of 348 districts.
- Third, Chile is in the process of discussing a new migration policy. Therefore, results of studies like the one presented here, may have an impact on the future discussion regarding immigration from abroad.

Regarding the scientific debate, theoretical considerations indicate a number of aspects to be taken up in research:

- Whereas immigration and its impact on urban development are rather widely studied in the North American and European context, there is a lack of similar studies in Latin America.
- Moreover, studies about immigration to Latin American countries mainly focus on historic and economic aspects. Therefore, it is difficult to arrive to adequate conclusions regarding patterns, processes and impacts of international migration on urban development.
- Whereas most studies on urban structures usually consider the whole urban population, there is little knowledge about the social space of immigration and its contribution to the overall urban pattern.

Based on this, the study pursues the following objectives:

The *first objective* is to identify major patterns of international migration as a context for the comparison and understanding of the migration flows to Chile, and especially the SMA, as well as its main characteristics.

The *second objective* is to understand the main features of international migration to the SMA as an example for a new centre of growing importance in Latin America.

The *third objective* is related to the analysis of the social space of immigration and its contribution to the overall urban pattern taking the example of the SMA.

The *fourth research objective* is to link the research results with policy recommendations.

On the background of these research objectives, the following five *hypotheses* related to international immigration and urban development are analyzed taking the SMA as an example:

1. Like most global world cities, the SMA attracts two major types of migrants: on the one hand, those who belong to the upper levels of the occupational hierarchy (globalized professionals), and on the other hand, low-skilled largely marginalized employees.
2. Some immigrant groups have reached population thresholds that permit the identification of economic niches.
3. Low-skilled migrants are employed below their original levels of education and skill. Immigrants occupied in low-skill activities have a higher social status in terms of education in their countries of origin, and in some cases they are overqualified for the jobs they have access to in the metropolis.
4. The immigrants' social space in the SMA is characterised by the main traditional dimensions found in classic urban factorial studies: socioeconomic and family status.
5. Not all the metropolitan districts are equally attractive to the different immigrant groups. Immigrants tend to form clusters by socioeconomic status rather than by country of origin, following the residential segregation patterns of the Chilean population.

Although the study makes reference to a large number of research publications and international reports, the research methodology that guides this work is mainly quantitative due to the possibility of analyzing international data about migration and the availability of the most recent Chilean census data and visa records.

The analysis of the different theoretical approaches concerning international migration shows that there is a wide variety of contributions. Some of them look at migration processes from a "micro level" point of view and especially scrutinize the reasons behind migration; others add a structural dimension to the discussion and look migration from an institutional perspective. In general, however, there is little consideration of spatial patterns and their influence on the dynamics of cities whereto migration takes place.

Regarding the development of urban areas there is also a number of theoretical approaches and attempts to describe patterns of urban expansion and residential segregation. Contributions mainly concentrate on elaborating general models about the socioeconomic differentiation of the urban space. Until now, however, there are only few efforts to identify patterns

regarding international migration, the decisive factors behind such patterns and their spatial incidence.

In this study, efforts are undertaken to link both, international migration and urban dynamics. Based on detailed census data and visa records, patterns of international migration in the Santiago Metropolitan Area are derived and the immigrants' social space is characterized.

From the analysis of the migrants' current distribution within the world's different regions, it can be concluded that it is increasingly ambiguous to classify countries in a dichotomous way, e.g. as receiving and sending countries, due to the proliferation of territories with migrants in transit and the configuration of international circuits that overcome specific countries.

Regarding the Chilean immigrant situation in the Latin American context, the analyzed antecedents indicate that more than one pole of attraction exists for the international movements. The economic and political stability and the educational possibilities make Chile what could be called "one more" pole of attraction for the Latin American migrants. The country appears as an "intervening opportunity" in the migrant's decision-making process, where a number of factors, such as the time-cost distance, would grant competitive advantages over countries like the U.S, Spain or Italy.

Results concerning migration trends in Chile reveal that international migration has not had a significant impact on the demographic structure of the country until the beginning of the 1990s. Immigration has increased by 75% since 1992; however the situation is much less severe than speculated.

Concerning the specific situation of the SMA, at present foreigners represent 2% of the total population, a figure much lower than the one registered in European metropolitan areas. However, the analysis of the year of arrival confirms that immigration is a recent and ascending process. This is one of the principal arguments supporting the fact that the city is experiencing a new migratory dynamic, led by Peruvians, Argentineans and Ecuadorians.

Results show that migrants make an enormous contribution to the pool of educated metropolitan inhabitants. Among immigrants aged 18 and over, 42% held a university education and a further 13% held some other form of post-secondary credentials such as a technical background. High levels of education can be found in almost all the groups, with the exception of Peruvians who, while not unskilled, showed lower educational profiles in comparison to other groups.

Consequently data supports the first hypothesis, that the SMA *"like most global world cities the SMA attracts two major streams of migrants: On the one hand those who occupy the upper levels of their occupational hierarchies and on the other hand the marginalized low-skill workers"*. However, the analysis shows that the occupational distribution of immigrants contrasts sharply with the situation in most industrialized countries, where the bulk of arrivals are unskilled workers. In the SMA, professionals and technicians play an equally important role, and, except for some of the Peruvian and Ecuadorian immigrants, there is little evidence of labour market segmentation.

Despite the rather limited overall presence of foreigners, immigrants are more visible in some communes of the city. Almost 50% of immigrants live in 5 of the 34 communes of the SMA.

These communes present a spatial contiguity that is projected from the city centre towards the nor-east of the city. In this “*spine*” live the Chilean high status population.

In relation with spatial patterns of migrants’ distribution, results demonstrate that the SMA shows less evidence of segregation than European and North American cities. Larger immigrant groups are less segregated than smaller ones. The highest segregation indexes, however, are associated with immigrants with a high socioeconomic status.

Concerning the existence of economic niches, four cases can be identified: Peruvians in elementary occupations, U.S Americans in professional occupations, Cubans as health professionals and Koreans as general managers. Thus, results are in alignment with the second hypothesis of this study that “*some immigrant groups have reached population thresholds that permit the identification of economic niches*”.

The analysis of information concerning Peruvian women who requested visa during 1999 confirms that a significant percentage of those who are employed as maids were not employed in domestic services before arriving to the country. Many reasons have been offered to account for the occurrence and persistent employment discrimination: prejudices, ignorance and social conformity are some of these. As a consequence, at least for Peruvians female migrants, data confirms the third hypothesis, according to which “*low-skill workers are employed below their levels of skill. Those occupied in low-skill activities have a higher social status in terms of education in their countries of origin, and in some cases they are overqualified for the jobs they have access to in the metropolis*”.

As well, results show that those migrants working in the primary labour market are “complementary” to natives, due to the fact that there is a market supply in these sectors of the economy. This is not the case of immigrants working in the secondary labour market, such as Peruvians and Ecuadorians. During the Chilean economic expansion, the demand for domestic workers has risen, and the “supply” of Chilean women who are likely to work in this sector has declined, due to more preferable job opportunities in other economic sectors.

Regarding the factors or dimensions behind the immigrants’ residential distribution, a factorial analysis was applied to the whole immigrant population living in the SMA. The outcome shows that new factors reflect the current reality and are critically related with household conditions, time of arrival, work integration, and internal mobility. Therefore, results are not in alignment with the fourth hypothesis of this study according to which it was supposed that “*the immigrants’ social space in the SMA is characterized by the main traditional dimensions found in classic urban factorial studies: socioeconomic status and family status*”. This achievement contributes to a new and more extended understanding of the social space of immigrants in metropolitan areas.

To obtain a clear and better picture about the social space of the immigrants in the metropolis, a schematic representation of their social space was developed by taking two main elements of analysis: the cluster output and the percentage of immigrants by district.

The schema is characterized by a zone of low attraction for immigrants, a downtown area concentrating recent flows, and a series of semi-concentric rings where the immigrant’s residential quality increases with distance from the city centre. Therefore, results are in alignment with the fifth hypothesis of the study according to which “*not all the metropolitan districts are equally attractive or accessible to the different immigrant groups. Immigrants tend*

to form clusters in a limited number of metropolitan districts determined by socioeconomic status rather than by country of origin, following the residential segregation pattern of the Chilean population”.

Concerning policy recommendations, it has to be taken into consideration – as has already been stated above - that in Chile the influx of international migrants is not “massive”. So far international migration is still “under control” and spatially manageable. However, in a globalize economy it is difficult to forecast future development in this field. Therefore, now seems to be the correct moment to work on the general structure of a national immigration policy and to tackle the challenge of migration management.

At present, the respective legal framework addresses only three government stakeholders: the Ministry of Interior, the Region and the Provinces. However, based on the results of this study, it appears to be necessary to include also other stakeholders dealing with migration, such as other ministries, political parties, professional organizations, immigrant associations, and non-governmental organizations. In this context, it seems to be especially necessary to discuss which role municipalities shall play.

A new migration policy also has to regulate the norms for foreign professionals working in Chile. It is necessary to work on standards for the accreditation to those who want to work in the country, without nationality distinctions. Concerning international cooperation, the country provides not only a potential market for those migrants looking for a job but also an appealing metropolis for young Latin American immigrants in search for better education. In this regard, it may be wise to put more emphasis on an active policy regarding university agreements, scholarships and loans.

Finally, when examining international agreements, especially among Latin American countries, it is necessary to find solutions to the issue of social prevision. It is essential to establish an active policy with relation to its recognition in a regional context. As well, the topic of remittances, principally to neighbouring countries, requires a safe and fast support system that does not imply high costs for immigrants.

The success of a migration policy is closely connected with the questions of how far problems related to migration are clearly understood by decision-makers, and whether there are appropriate means to deal with them.

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Chapter 1 Introduction

1.1 International migration as a matter of concern in Chile

Located in South America, Chile has a particular geography, in a way isolating the country from the rest of the continent. It is a long strip of land, limited in the north by the Atacama, the driest desert in the world, in the south by Antarctica, in the east by the Andes, the world's second-highest mountain range, and in the west by the Pacific Ocean. Chile resembles more an "island" than a part of the South American continent. Undoubtedly, geography has influenced Chile's development over a long time as a country that – although having been developed by early immigrants since the early 19th century – until now is still not accustomed to the presence of migrants from abroad. From a demographic point of view, there is much evidence for arguing that Chile is a country with a "closed population." Census data shows that throughout most of Chile's history, the foreign born Chileans have remained between one and four percent of the total population.

Internationally, Chile is better known for its high numbers of emigrants during the 1970s and 1980s than for its immigration flows. The major exodus occurred during the military dictatorship of General Pinochet, when thousands of Chileans fled either voluntarily or forced, from the repressive political regime. Many departed for Australia, the United States, Europe, and other places in Latin America where several countries had open-door policies for political refugees. Data from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores 2005) indicate that at present almost 860.000 Chileans live outside the country¹.

Compared to this figure, the number of foreign-born residents in Chile is relatively small. According to the latest census (INE 2002) their number is approximately 185.000². For the purpose of this study they are considered as immigrants. Nevertheless, it is necessary to examine the argument that foreigners are not attracted to Chile. Even though the number of immigrants to Chile is relatively small, the census data from 1982 and 2002 indicate that international migration registered a sharp increase. The 1982 census recorded 80.479 inhabitants in the category of immigrants, i.e. persons living in Chile and born abroad. This figure more than doubled and rose to 184.464 in 2002. The growth rate of the foreign-born population reached 5.8% in the period 1992 to 2002, a figure which is higher than the total number of registered immigrants during the 20th century.

The current state of immigration to Chile is characterized by a notable increase of the number of South Americans, mainly Peruvians, Argentineans, Bolivians, Ecuadorians and Cubans, and the powerful role which is played by the Santiago Metropolitan Area (SMA) (58%) as the major pole of attraction. The first two groups of immigrants, Peruvians and Argentineans, represent almost half of all immigrants.

The sharp increase in international immigration may be attributed to two main factors: First, the recovery of the democracy reached at the end of the 1980s, implied an important return of population from exile. The rejection of Pinochet's rule in the 1988 plebiscite encouraged

¹ This number includes those born in Chile and their children born abroad.

² This figure shows only those immigrants who acknowledge their condition during the 2002 census application. It must be assumed that illegal immigration is not considered.

the return of many Chileans and their families. Though most of them were born in Chile, many adopted the nationality of the country of reception, as did their children.

The second factor is Chile's radical economic transformation during the last decades of the 20th century. Since the dictatorship of Pinochet in the 1970s, the country carried out massive neo-liberal reforms. Successive governments promoted an aggressive strategy of market liberalization and open trade, welcomed foreign investment, promoted exports and carried out a number of other structural transformations³. This vigorous expansion in production was accompanied by declining levels of unemployment, increasing real wages, decreasing inflation, and a progressively buoyant international economic perception.

1.2 Economic transformations providing a favourable background for immigration

Since the early 1990s Chile has negotiated and implemented a number of preferential trade agreements (PTAs) with several countries and regions. An association agreement with MERCOSUR⁴ (Common Market of the South) went into effect in 1996. Moreover, Chile has implemented bilateral PTAs with Peru, Colombia, Venezuela, Ecuador and Bolivia. Bilateral Free Trade Agreements (FTAs) are in place with Canada, Mexico and Central America (Costa Rica, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, and Nicaragua). Among the latest free trade agreement, the most important ones are those signed with the European Union (2003) and the United States (2004)⁵.

Chile's PTAs have complemented continued unilateral trade liberalization, reflected in a gradual lowering of its tariff rate from 11% in 1998 to 6% in 2003. Except for a few remaining tariff and non-tariff barriers on selected agricultural goods as a result of price bands, sector-specific barriers and non-tariff restrictions are virtually nonexistent (Chumacero et al. 2004). As a member of the Organization of Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC), Chile seeks to improve commercial ties to Asian markets. Continuing its export-oriented development strategy, Chile completed landmark free trade agreements in 2002 with South Korea. Currently Chile is negotiating trade agreements with China and India, as well as an agreement with Singapore and New Zealand.

At the same time the country has attracted foreign direct investment (FDI), an essential component of the national development strategy. The Decree Law (DL) 600 has been the main regulatory norm for FDI during the last 30 years, due to the benefits and assurances that it

³ Initial reforms during the 1970s included market deregulation, trade liberalization and exchange rate unification, the elimination of most non-tariff barriers, and fiscal balance. A second round, during the 1980s, included the privatization of public enterprises, deregulation of labor markets, social security reform, and partial transferring of health and public education responsibilities from ministries to the county levels or the private sector (Soto and Torche 2004).

⁴ One of the most significant current transformations in the Southern Cone of Latin America is the launching of MERCOSUR (*Mercado Común del Sur*), a regional integration initiative that includes Argentina, Brazil, Paraguay and Uruguay as current members, with negotiations on including Chile and Bolivia. A treaty was signed by the four countries in March 1991, although Brazil and Argentina had already been engaged in a bilateral program of integration and cooperation since 1985.

⁵ Agreements with the EU and the U.S comprise several dimensions of international integration: a broad set of laws, regulations, and administrative practices related to trade in services, capital flows, property rights, health and safety standards, and environmental regulations among others.

establishes. The Foreign Investment Committee (FIC), the entity responsible for administering DL 600, establishes the terms and conditions of the investment. Applications are typically approved within a matter of days and almost always within a month. The authority of the Foreign Investment Committee to reject foreign investment is severely limited by the Chilean Constitution⁶. Any foreign individual or foreign legal entity, as well as Chilean individuals with residence abroad, can invest in Chile through DL 600. The contract acknowledges as foreign investment freely convertible currency, capital goods, and technology.

Furthermore, in November 2002, the Chilean Government launched an Investment Platform initiative aimed at attracting headquarters of international companies to Chile. By exempting companies from Chilean tax on overseas earnings, the initiative provides foreign investors with additional incentives to invest in Chile. This initiative is expected to foster regional joint ventures between foreign investors and Chilean partners. Also, in order to facilitate the entry of foreign capital into Chile, the proposal allows companies that are already established in the region to move their operation centers to Chile without incurring the transaction costs involved in selling and re-buying assets.⁷

During the 1990s, investment under DL 600 expanded at an average annual rate of 19.7% in nominal terms. As a result, by December 2004, more than 3.000 companies from 60 countries have operations in Chile⁸. These figures represent the largest stock of FDI per capita and the highest FDI to GDP ratio of the Latin American economies (UN 2003a).

According to a report of the Foreign Investment Committee⁹, FDI in Chile totaled \$6.48 billion for the first three quarters of 2004. This is a 219% increase over the same period in 2003. FDI during the first three quarters in 2004 was divided as follows: energy (electricity, gas and hydropower) 44.7%; transportation and communications 36.1%; mining 6.1%; other 13.1%. The main resources of FDI during this period came from: Spain (81.3%), Canada (7.9%), Mexico (2.9%), United States (2.1%), United Kingdom (2.0%) and Australia (1.9%).

Chile's economy is highly dependent on international trade. In 2004, exports accounted for about 34% of the Gross Domestic Product. The country has traditionally been dependent upon copper exports; the state-owned firm CODELCO (National Cooper Corporation) is the world's largest copper-producing company.

Nevertheless, between 1980 and 2002 the historic export dependence on copper declined from 40.4% to 34.6%. However, the importance of natural resources has not declined. In 2002, almost 90% of exports were natural resource based, including apples, wine grapes and wine, salmon, fish meal, and forest products (CEPAL 2003a).

⁶ The actual Chilean Constitution was approved by a highly irregular and undemocratic plebiscite on September 11, 1980, and General Pinochet became President of the Republic for an 8-year term. The quorum required for constitutional reform represents a final element for protected democracy with limited popular sovereignty. A constitutional reform required approval by the president and 3/5 of the membership of both houses of Congress, not just those present and voting.

⁷ Between 1974 and 2003, US\$ 86.7 billion in foreign direct investment was authorized under Chile's DL 600 and projects worth US\$ 53.3 billion were implemented. Almost 87% of that investment entered the country during the 1990s after the recovery of democracy. www.foreigninvestment.cl, retrieved on May 2006.

⁸ <http://www.foreigninvestment.cl/>, retrieved on May 2006.

⁹ <http://www.foreigninvestment.cl/index/index.asp>, retrieved on May 2006.

In conclusion, Chile has presented itself as a fulminate success story within the Latin American region, based on its macroeconomic performance. Since the end of the period of dictatorship, the country has successfully managed to combine an economic liberalism under a stable democracy. The increasing economic stability in the country¹⁰ in conjunction with the deteriorating economic and political situation of other countries in Latin America has made Chile into an attractive alternative for international investors. Many international companies are located in the country, bringing with them highly qualified foreign employees.

Moreover, Chile's business climate is generally straightforward and transparent; corruption is rare. Foreign investors receive national treatment in nearly all sectors. A broad political consensus on the advantages of foreign investment means that Chile's policies towards FDI are unlikely to change in the foreseeable future. More than eight percent of foreign investment in Latin America is taking place in Chile¹¹. The country occupies the third place after Mexico and Brazil (CEPAL 2003b).

In the ranking of the World Economic Forum (2004) that measures competitiveness, the country occupies the 22nd position and remained in a distance of 26 places above Mexico, the second highest ranked country in Latin America. According to the report Chile is one of three countries to advance the most in the world ranking¹². Also the social indicators of the country are well evaluated by international agencies, and they are found among the highest of the Latin American Region (PNUD 2001).

Despite the economic success, the Chilean modernization process is accompanied by important limitations which do not fully coincide with the idealized image projected internationally. Despite the pursuit of growth with equity there are significant and persistent social inequalities. In particular, Chile has one of the most uneven distributions of income among the emerging market economies (OECD 2003a). The labour market is characterized by a dualistic structure, with a high share of informality and precarious contracts. Economic development is also split between the modern and dynamic Metropolitan Region of Santiago¹³ and several less developed regions.

Along with the country's decreasing labour force in agriculture, the most significant transformation relates to the *terciarización* (tertiarization) of employment and the flexibility of the labour market. On the one hand, firms and corporations generate the highest average remuneration.

¹⁰ Between 1975 and 2000, the economy grew at an average rate of 5.2% and real per capita GDP increased by 125% (Soto and Torche 2004). The Gross Domestic Product per capita reached US\$ 11,536 in 2005 (World Economic Forum 2006).

¹¹ During 1990-1994 the percentage was 7.7% and in 2003, 8.2%.

¹² Following are other examples:

Heritage Foundation/The Wall Street Journal: 2005 Index of Economic Freedom, ranked 11 out of 155 countries (first in Latin America); IMD International: World Competitiveness Yearbook 2005, ranked 19 out of 60 economies (countries and regions) (first in Latin America); Transparency International: Corruption Perceptions Index 2004, ranked 20 out of 146 countries (first in Latin America); The Economist: The World in 2005 - Worldwide quality-of-life index, 2005, ranked 31 out of 111 countries (first in Latin America); A.T. Kearney/Foreign Policy Magazine: Globalization Index 2005, ranked 34 out of 62 countries (second in Latin America after Panama); UNDP: Human Development Index 2004, ranked 43 out of 177 countries (second in Latin America after Argentina).

¹³ Santiago, the capital of Chile is located in the Metropolitan Region of Santiago, one of the 13 administrative regions of the country. It's a special region. All the others are called with a number from north to south. The main region hasn't any number, it's the smallest of the thirteen and it's the only landlocked region. The region is also divided into six provinces with 52 communes (municipalities). Thirty-four of them form the Santiago Metropolitan Area (SMA).

nerations in the economy, and on the other hand, the employees lack protection regarding their fundamental rights. Moreover, the employment in the informal service sector, far from being reduced in the new economic setting, maintains its importance and is redefined by the social and economic transformations of the last decades.

The new Chilean and Metropolitan dilemma is not growth or stagnation, but how to reduce vulnerability and avoid exclusion that affects the new pattern of global growth. Despite many of the deep economic and social reforms imposed by the authoritarian regime (1973 to 1989), the democratic governments in place since 1990 have maintained the key features of the market-oriented approach.

1.3 International competitiveness of the Santiago Metropolitan Area

The Santiago Metropolitan Area (SMA) concentrates the 58.2% of the foreign population. The metropolis' role in the economic development of the country seems to be crucial as a factor of attraction for foreign population, especially the high-skilled immigrants. During the last decades multinational companies chose the SMA as their location due to diverse factors that make this place more attractive than others in Chile, e.g. the availability and better systems of communication, the physical proximity to other companies, the availability of services, the access to internal markets and the availability of qualified human resources (De Mattos 2002).

This was supported by the development of infrastructure which improved inside and outside connections of high standards: a digitized telephone network and electronic communication system, an international airport with advanced technology (Table 1) and, a network of financial circuits. For example, as of November 2005, 33 world and regional airlines operated in Chile, of which 21 offered direct international flights, including 105 direct flights weekly to Argentina, 14 to Mexico, 45 to cities in the United States, 37 to European cities and 5 to New Zealand¹⁴. Beyond the differences with cities in more advanced economies, the SMA, for a city of its scale, has been acquiring most of the features that characterize globalizing cities (Marcuse and Van Kempen 2000). In fact, Santiago was chosen, in a consecutive year, as the best city for doing business in Latin America, even surpassing Miami and Sao Paulo (America Economia 2005)¹⁵.

The UBS investment bank also ranks Santiago as one of the least expensive cities in the world in its 2005 report (USB 2005). In terms of living costs, Oslo remains the most expensive city, followed by Copenhagen, Tokyo, Zurich and London. Among 71 surveyed cities, a basket of goods and services¹⁶ costs 55% more in Zurich than it does in Santiago. Between Latin American cities the same basket is more expensive in Mexico City, Sao Paulo, Caracas and Rio de Janeiro (Table 2).

¹⁴ www.foreigninvestment.cl, retrieved May 2006.

¹⁵ The ranking considered 40 cities from Chile, Brazil, Mexico, Argentina, Uruguay, Colombia, Puerto Rico, Panama, Costa Rica, Peru, Dominican Republic, El Salvador, Ecuador, Bolivia, Venezuela, Paraguay, Guatemala and the U.S (only Miami).

¹⁶ The study considers the cost of a basket of 115 products and services, including 3 rent categories, weighted in favor of Western European consumer habits (USB 2005).

If rents are included in the comparison, the differences from city to city are more pronounced: the most expensive places to live are London, Oslo and New York. In Latin America Chile remains in the fifth place below Caracas, Mexico City, Sao Paulo and Rio de Janeiro (Table 2).

Table 1: International direct flights from Santiago de Chile (November 2005)

City	Duration	Weekly Frequency
Buenos Aires, Argentina	1 hr. 55 min.	97
Lima, Peru	3 hrs. 45 min.	30
Sao Paulo, Brazil	3 hrs. 40 min.	49
Quito, Ecuador	5 hrs. 25 min.	5
Bogota, Colombia	6 hrs. 10 min.	7
Mexico City, Mexico	7 hrs. 30 min.	12
Miami, United States	8 hrs. 40 min.	22
Atlanta, United States	9 hrs. 45 min.	10
Dallas, United States	9 hrs. 59 min.	7
Toronto, Canada	11 hrs. 00 min.	7
New York, United States	12 hrs. 15 min.	7
Los Angeles, United States	12 hrs. 20 min.	10
Madrid, Spain	12 hrs. 55 min.	17
Auckland, New Zealand	13 hrs. 20 min.	5
Paris, France	13 hrs. 20 min.	6
Frankfurt, Germany	16 hrs. 30 min.	14

Source: elaborate based on www.foreigninvestment.cl (retrieved may 2006)

Foreign investors are usually not only concerned about the country's business profile, but also about the quality of life in the places where they invest. The Santiago Metropolitan Area scores well on this count, as well as on low-cost, high standard housing and inexpensive international schools. According to the *America Economia* (2005) magazine, the SMA offers a quality of life that is viewed as among the highest in Latin America (Graph 1). Also, the Economist Intelligence Unit's 2005 Worldwide Quality of Life Index¹⁷ rates Chile as having the best quality of life in Latin America and the Caribbean. It took the 31st place in the ranking of 111 countries. Nine factors were considered: well being in material terms, health, political stability and security, family life, community life, climate and geography, job security, political freedom and gender equality.

However, despite the increment of the economic and demographic primacy as well as the positive international evaluations, the capital of the country¹⁸ is characterized by a sharp socioeconomic segregation (Schiappacasse 1998). The location of groups of similar income in the urban area is clearly differentiated. The highest income groups are located in only a few of its 34 communes. The quality of the basic infrastructure and of public services is very different among neighborhoods or sectors of the city. Though the services' coverage is almost total, the quality is by far not the same everywhere (Dockendorff et al. 2000).

¹⁷ http://www.economist.com/media/pdf/QUALITY_OF_LIFE.pdf, retrieved February 2006.

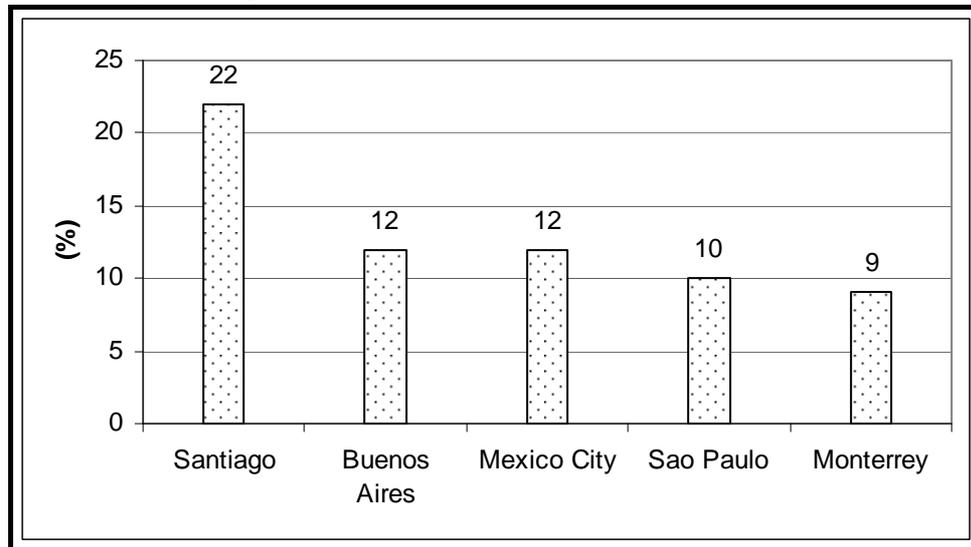
¹⁸ Santiago Metropolitan Region, where the Metropolitan Area is located, concentrated in 2002, 40% of the national population and 48% of the GDP.

Table 2: Cost of living in selected world cities: prices comparison

City	Excluding rents Zurich = 100	Including rents Zurich = 100
Oslo	115.5	109.4
Copenhaguen	105.1	104.1
Tokyo	101.3	104.6
Zurich	100.0	100.0
London	99.0	122.4
New York	91.8	105.0
Honk Kong	89.1	100.6
Frankfurt	83.0	82.6
Seoul	76.6	77.7
Madrid	74.8	73.9
Barcelona	68.9	67.7
Miami	65.5	65.3
Singapore	65.0	71.2
Mexico City	53.7	54.9
Sao Paulo	51.9	51.8
Caracas	50.4	60.8
Rio de Janeiro	45.3	46.0
Santiago de Chile	45.0	45.8
Bogotá	42.7	38.8
Lima	42.4	32.7
Buenos Aires	30.4	27.8
Karachi	28.6	29.1
Mumbai	28.2	27.8

Source: elaborate based on Union Bank of Switzerland (UBS), 2005

Graph 1: The best combination of quality of life, business potential and professional development, (percentage of answers, more than one choice)



Source: elaborate based on America Economia, 2005

Today the situation in the metropolis is even more complex. Besides the traditional socio-economic segregation, new spatial patterns are evolving being characterized by a rather close spatial proximity through a sharp separation of rich and poor population (“gated communities”) (Borsdorf and Hidalgo 2005). Phenomena linked with the isolation of the poor as

well as the segmentation of social opportunities contribute to reinforcing social pathologies. Unfortunately there are no research experiences that explain how international migrants are distributed in the metropolitan space.

1.4 The necessity of more comprehensive immigration analyses

The new economic context of Chile provides for a favorable background for the rise of immigration to the country, especially to the SMA. Although the number of immigrants in Chile is still rather low if compared with the number of Chileans living abroad, it is constantly growing reaching 5.8% during the period between 1992 and 2002, a growth rate higher than all those registered during the 20th century.

Despite these facts, Chile has never had a clear immigration policy. The last significant legislation dates back to the Pinochet regime. However, the Immigration Act of 1975 only regulates the foreigners' flow to the country. Nowadays a new migratory policy is under discussion. It develops around two components: to facilitate and promote the return of Chileans from political exile and to open the country to new immigration from abroad. Whereas the first is seen as an important contribution to the development of the country, the latter is an initiative with an eminently reactive character, although the situation of the country is far from constituting a "wave" of migration as incorrectly suggested by various analysts and the media.

In Chile, public discussion about immigration has been dominated by simple images that are far from reality, especially regarding the immigrants' characteristics such as their educational level and qualifications. It is important to gain a more complete understanding of the recent immigrant process to Chile. In this context, one has to acknowledge that immigration is more than a purely quantitative matter. For our understanding, it is essential to investigate the migrants' profile: who are they, where do they work and how are they distributed in space.

However, until now there is only limited information available about the characteristics of immigration, e.g. immigrants' origin, typology, spatial distribution and mechanisms of their economic integration. There is neither sufficient information nor systematic knowledge about the migratory processes to the country that would allow basing the current political discussion on detailed facts about the characteristics of recent immigration patterns in Chile.

The production of related publications is quantitatively limited, and investigations are restricted to university theses as well as contributions from CELADE (Centro Latinoamericano de Demografía) and the International Organization for Migrations (OIM 2003). Nevertheless, there are some interesting contributions on the subject that are worth being highlighted.

Martínez (1997; 2003a; 2003b) has described the immigrants' regional distribution according to their origin, sex, period of arrival and economic activity in the country. He has also analyzed the integration of immigrants into the country's labour market with special consideration to the Peruvian women employed in domestic services. He has centred his analysis on information provided by the population census of 1992 and 2002. His aim was to contribute ideas concerning the social, economic, cultural and political meaning of immigration to Chile. Martínez argues that census data are very useful in the study of migration. They provide objective information and may help to overcome the population's fears regarding immigration.

Stefoni (2002a; 2002b) has investigated the reality that Peruvians face living in Santiago, analyzing their demographic characteristics, the process of emigration and their arrival at the metropolis. Her interest has been to analyze the stereotypes that Chilean society constructs in relation to the Peruvian immigrants, making an important contribution to the political discussion about the issue. The most relevant result of her research is related with how the Peruvian migratory experience is constructed. The arriving process to Chile seems to be an extension of a former rural migration experience in Peru.

Finally, the Migratory Workshops organized by the Catholic Institute of Migration (INCAMI)¹⁹ have produced special relevance and impact since 1997. They bring together stakeholders from international organizations, governmental offices, diplomatic members, non-governmental organizations, migrants' communities, refugees and former Chilean emigrants (Martínez 2003b).

Nevertheless, a comprehensive analysis of immigration to Chile is missing. This study aims at contributing to narrow this gap in research. Taking under consideration that in 2002 the Santiago Metropolitan Area (SMA) contained 58% of the country's immigrants, the research concentrates on the 34 communes that shape the metropolis.

In this context, the social space is understood as the tangible expression of the overlapping of different dimensions, such as the socioeconomic situation and the family status of immigrants, and their impact on the space of the city. To obtain information about these dimensions, factorial and cluster analyses are used as central research techniques.

To obtain the data from the last census in the required spatial unit, a friendly microcomputer-based software package was used for the storage, retrieval and analysis of population and housing census data for small areas. REDATAM (REtrieval of census DATa for small Areas by Microcomputer) allows calculations for all metropolitan districts at low cost and without programmer's assistance. A full Census of Population is conducted in Chile every ten years. The most recent one was conducted in April 2002.

The following research is oriented towards providing knowledge that may enrich the international and national debates on new international migration flows. Concerning the international discussion, it aims to enhance knowledge on the impact of recent immigration flows in an emerging economy. On the national level, it aims to provide facts to the debate around the new Chilean migration policy based on a systematic analysis.

1.5 Objectives, research questions and hypotheses of the study

The general objective of the study is to provide knowledge about the socioeconomic characteristics and the spatial impact of international migration in the Santiago Metropolitan Area (SMA), and to link the research results with contributions to the national migration policy debate.

Based on a review of the most significant theoretical approaches on the topic of international migration and the analysis of the current situation of international migration to Chile (based

¹⁹ http://www.incami.org/documentos/otros/conf_episcopal.htm, retrieved December 2005.

mainly on census data) and especially to the SMA, more specifically the study aims at the following objectives:

1. To identify major patterns of international migration as a context for comparison and understanding the migration flows to Chile, and especially to the Santiago Metropolitan Area.
2. To contribute to a better understanding of the recent international migration flow to the Santiago Metropolitan Area, as an example of a new center of growing importance in Latin America, through the analysis of the main demographic, economic, social and spatial characteristics of immigration.
3. To examine and analyze the dimensions of the immigrants' social space, following a factorial ecological approach and to summarize the main results through a cluster analysis.
4. To formulate major recommendations regarding the current discussion on the national immigration policy based on the findings of the analysis.

In this framework, the investigation focuses on five main sets of questions around the socio-economic and spatial impact of the current international immigration flow towards the SMA (Table 3):

First, which definition of an international migrant can be applied? What is the relevance of the theoretical approaches in the case of the SMA? Is there enough data to confirm or contrast the theoretical contributions with the international immigration to the SMA? What are the main methodological approaches that can contribute to analyze the immigrant situation in the SMA?

Second, what are the recent world trends in international migration? How can the Chilean immigrant situation in the Latin American context be described? To what extent the country is a new pole of attraction in the region? In this context, it is also interesting to research if the international migration is generated only by factors of expulsion in the origin countries, or if Chile actually needs and attracts foreign workers.

Third, using the last census data, what type of international migrants does the SMA receive? How selective is the process and what are its consequences for residential patterns in the metropolis? What are the spatial patterns of segregation within the metropolis? Are the immigrants distributed according to their socioeconomic native peers? Is it possible to recognize ethnic minorities in certain residential areas? Do immigrants reach population thresholds that allow identifying economic niches? How is the immigrants' spatial distribution structured across the metropolis?

Fourth, what is the socio-spatial structure of the international migrants in the SMA? What are the factors or "dimensions" behind their residential distribution? Are the factors coincident with those found in traditional studies in factorial ecology?

Fifth, in the light of examining major trends in the discussion about a national immigration policy, what recommendations can be derived from the findings regarding the SMA?

In the context of these research questions, the following five hypotheses related to the example of the Santiago Metropolitan Area are tested (Table 3):

6. Like most global world cities, the Santiago Metropolitan Area attracts two major types of migrants: on the one hand, those who occupy the upper levels of the occupational hierarchy (globalized professionals), and on the other hand, low-skilled largely marginalized employees.
7. Some immigrant groups have reached population thresholds that permit the identification of economic niches.
8. Low-skilled employees are employed below their original levels of education and skill. Immigrants occupied in low-skill activities have a higher social status in terms of education in their countries of origin, and in some cases they are overqualified for the jobs they have access to in the metropolis.
9. The immigrants' social space in the SMA is characterized by the main traditional dimensions found in classic urban factorial studies: socioeconomic status and family status.
10. Not all the metropolitan districts are equally attractive or accessible to the different immigrants groups. Immigrants tend to form clusters by socioeconomic status in a limited number of metropolitan districts, following the residential segregation patterns of the Chilean population.

Based on these considerations, the study has the following structure:

Chapter 1 has the character of an introductory chapter providing a short overview over the economic transformation and the background of immigration in Chile as well as the objectives, research questions and hypotheses.

Chapter 2 presents the main theoretical basis of the study. In the beginning of the chapter, concepts of international migration are discussed, as well as the limitations of information and the main challenges. This provides for a contextual frame of the study. Furthermore, the principal current theoretical contributions on international migration are analyzed, from classical approaches to the new analytical proposals in the globalization context. It is necessary to indicate here that the expression "theory" will be interpreted in a wide sense. Moreover, major issues related to the immigrants' socioeconomic and spatial impact in the dynamics of cities are discussed. Special consideration is given to residential segregation, its definition, concepts and approaches to measuring, and its particular expression in Latin American cities. This discussion is relevant for the interpretation and analysis of spatial impacts associated with the international migratory flows to Chile, as well as for enriching the discussion concerning the challenges in urban planning facing the elaboration of effective integration strategies. Based on the review and discussion of these issues, the questions that lead this investigation are developed and the methodological approach of the study is presented.

In Chapter 3, major trends and challenges of international migration are analyzed. Characteristics of migratory flows are presented and migration typologies in the framework of new economic patterns are analyzed. Using statistical information of the United Nations, the current international migratory scene is analyzed in terms of scale, direction and composition of flows in the principal regions of the world. Finally, the general immigration context and the extent of immigration to Chile, especially to the Santiago Metropolitan Area, are presented.

Table 3: Specific research questions and hypotheses

Chapter	Research Questions	Hypotheses
2	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Who is an international migrant? How can international migration be defined in the Chilean case? - What is the relevance of the most important theoretical approaches in the case of the Santiago Metropolitan Area? - Is there enough data to confirm or contrast the theoretical approaches with the recent international migration flows to the Santiago Metropolitan Area? - What are the main methodological approaches that can contribute to characterize and analyze the current immigrant situation in the Santiago Metropolitan Area? 	
3	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - What are the recent world trends in international migration? - How can the Chilean immigrant situation in the Latin American context be described? - To what extent is the country a new pole of attraction in Latin America? 	
4	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - What type of international migrants does the Santiago Metropolitan Area receive? How selective is the process and what are its consequences for residential patterns in the metropolis? - What are the spatial patterns of segregation within the metropolis? Are the immigrants distributed similar to the Chilean patterns of socioeconomic segregation in the metropolis? Is it possible to recognize immigrants' concentrations in certain residential areas? - Do immigrants tend to be attracted by specific economic sectors (occupational niches)? Do they reach population thresholds that permit the identification of economic niches? - What overall consequences does international migration have for the receiving society? 	1, 2, 3.
5	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - What is the socio-spatial structure of the international migrants in the Santiago Metropolitan Area? What are the factors or "dimensions" behind the immigrants' residential distribution? - Are the factors coincident with those found in traditional studies in factorial ecology? 	4, 5.
6	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - What policy recommendation can be derived from the main findings regarding the Santiago Metropolitan Area? 	

Source: elaborated by the author

Chapters 4 and 5 contain the principal results of the empirical research related to the Santiago Metropolitan Area. In Chapter 4, the principal characteristics of the migratory flow to the SMA are analyzed, in particular the immigrants' origin and arrival time, their structure and their spatial distribution. Afterwards, the results regarding segregation indexes are presented as well as the analysis of immigrants' niches. In Chapter 5, a set of descriptive variables is chosen to run a factorial analysis with the aim of identifying basic dimensions that characterize the immigrants' social space. Dimensions (factors) are extracted, interpreted and mapped. A cluster analysis is carried out using the factor scores from the principal factors over the 343 districts. Through methodological approach it is possible to cluster the metro-

politan districts that present similar loadings in the factors. In other words, it is possible to identify the number, type and location of the different immigrant groups that configure the basis of the urban social structure related to immigration. This finally leads to an abstract model, i.e. a schematic representation of the immigrants' social structure.

Chapter 6 contains major components of migration policies as well an overview of regulatory framework conditions in Latin America and especially in Chile. The evolution of migration policies in Chile is described in detail with special consideration to the current discussion. Finally, recommendations based on the results of the study are presented.

Chapter 7 contains a summary of the results and conclusions of this study. An attempt is made to present a fresh view on international migration in Chile, especially towards the Santiago Metropolitan Area. This includes the proposal of a set of new elements suggested to be taken up in the future national and metropolitan discussion about immigration in Chile.

Chapter 2 Theoretical bases, research problematic and methodological framework

2.1 Who is an international migrant? Challenges and limitations of definitions

To describe and to analyze the migratory tendencies on a world, regional, and local level is a complex task to achieve for several reasons. First many countries still have a lack of registration systems, and not all of them have processed and published the necessary information. Second, among the countries that generate these data, the approaches used to define migration vary considerably and respond to different priorities.

Some countries use administrative sources (registrations, visas, residence authorization, work permits, etc.) that generally include only foreigners. These sources register the moment at which the legal procedure is granted, or when the permission to stay in the country is renewed. However, these administrative procedures do not necessarily coincide with the exact moment of the immigration. Other countries use data collected at the frontiers. Although, in theory, this is the best way to measure migrants' flows, few countries achieve an appropriate control of their frontiers and, in general, the control of entrances is higher than the register of exits. Finally, censuses and other surveys offer information on the number of immigrants at the moment of their realization. Despite the fact that in most cases they do not indicate when the immigrants arrived in the country, they offer the most homogeneous and complete measure on the stock of resident migrants.

2.1.1 International data bases on migration

Nowadays a clear criterion to define an international migrant doesn't exist. The same category of international migrants hides more than what reveals, and the little clarity around the definition it's strongly associated with the difficulties to measure the flows described, as well with the emergence of new migratory typologies. For these reasons the available information is relatively weak to study the causes and consequences of the migratory phenomenon at different administrative levels.

This becomes especially clear when we look at the main international sources of information on migration. The last **International Migration Report** (UN Population Division 2002a) presents information on international migration figures and policies for each individual country and six major areas of the world: Africa, Asia, Europe, Latin America and the Caribbean. In addition, for statistical convenience, the regions are classified as belonging to one of two categories: "more" or "less" developed. The less developed regions include all regions of Africa, Asia (excluding Japan), Latin America, the Caribbean, Melanesia, and Polynesia. The more developed regions comprise Australia, New Zealand, Europe, North America and Japan.

In estimating the migrant stock, the Population Division of the United Nations defines international migrants as those persons born in other country in which they reside, that is, international migrants are equated with the foreign born (UN Population Division 2002a).

The most common sources of information are the population censuses; however some countries do not record the country of birth of persons enumerated. Instead, information on the country of citizenship of those enumerated is given.

In these cases, the information on citizenship is used to identify the number of international migrants, even though it is recognized that foreign citizens are not necessarily persons born abroad. Furthermore, the naturalization of foreigners can reduce the foreign population in a country without involving their movement across international boundaries.

Data on the foreign born is available for the majority of countries. Thus, in the U.N study, out of 228 countries for which the number of international migrants is estimated, 158 have data based on place of birth, 52 have data based on citizenship, and for a further 18 which lack data altogether. The estimates presented are the result of this mixed statistics.

There is a second major data base on migration which reveals problems of definition and data collection. The **Continuous Reporting System on Migration** elaborated by the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD)²⁰ analyzes the recent trends in the movements and migratory policies among OECD members' countries as well as among selected non-members countries. The report (OECD 2003b) includes a detailed description regarding the migration flows and the diversity of nationalities involved. Also, the report underlines the contribution by the immigrants of the receiving countries and their labour force, and presents changes in the sectoral distribution of foreign workers. This information is compiled by correspondents in every member country. They give an annual report from which the annual publication is elaborated. The information comes from an extensive variety of sources, which naturally differs from country to country, reflecting migratory systems and government policies that are difficult to coordinate.

In the OECD report, the definition of migrants refers to any person who crosses international borders, but it indicates nothing about their place of residence or the minimal durations of their stay. For these reasons, the compiled statistics include information (for some countries) on refugees and temporary workers. The principal immigration countries, such as Australia, Canada, United States and New Zealand, publish statistics of population born abroad, whereas the European countries use the criteria of the nationality of migrants. This difference is a difficulty for harmonizing the statistics. The last publication (2005), centres for the first time on persons born abroad and presents comparable statistics for the country of residence and for the country of origin in the 29 member countries.

As in other regions of the world, the study of international migration in Latin America faces serious difficulties when evaluating trends and designing appropriate management policies. In general, the countries do not rely on appropriate information because the information about records of entrances and exits and work licenses do not have statistical purposes. The information is not always processed and the publication suffers delays. And despite the efforts to establish comparable criteria, the modality of recording is not similar among the countries.

²⁰ Country members of OECD are: Australia, Austria, Belgium, Canada, Czech Republic, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Iceland, Ireland, Italy, Japan, Korea, Luxembourg, Mexico, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Poland, Portugal, Slovak Republic, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, Turkey, United Kingdom, and the United States.

Since the early 1970s the Latin American Center for Demography CELADE has been working on the **Investigation of International Migration in Latin America (IMILA)**²¹. IMILA is a project that involves compiling and processing data obtained from population censuses on members of the population born abroad.

The data, which is provided to CELADE by national statistical offices, is used to identify members of the population born abroad and then is used to quantify and describe stocks of immigrants and emigrants up to the date of each census. This information is used later to create a basic matrix of migrants' socio-demographic and socioeconomic features (e.g. gender, age, fertility rates, marital status, education and labour status) and of their country of birth (Pellegrino 2003).

Although the data collected by IMILA is very useful, it suffers from important restrictions since each country conducts its census on different dates. This implies that countries capture data in a given moment showing just an image of the accumulated stock of immigrants and not of the permanent flows; this does not allow identification of undocumented immigrants and those who move temporarily since it is possible that some immigrants elude the census or declare themselves native or passers-by (Villa and Martinez 2001).

2.1.2 Major criteria to define migration

Nowadays, two main groups of criteria can be distinguished to define international migrants: *descriptive criteria* and criteria which are related to the *purpose of migration* (Figure 1).

In *descriptive terms* there is a consensus in defining international migrants as those persons who cross a border, change their place of residence and enter with another nationality to the country of immigration (Tapinos and Delaunay 2001). According to findings from the last International Migration Report, issued by the United Nations (UN 2002), international migrants are those persons who adopt a residence in a foreign country. Despite the extent of this definition, it is possible to exclude recreation movements, business trips, peregrinations and travels to receive medical treatments.

The three main descriptive elements described as necessary to define an international migrant - crossing international borders, change of residence and the legal status - are not always sufficiently precise.

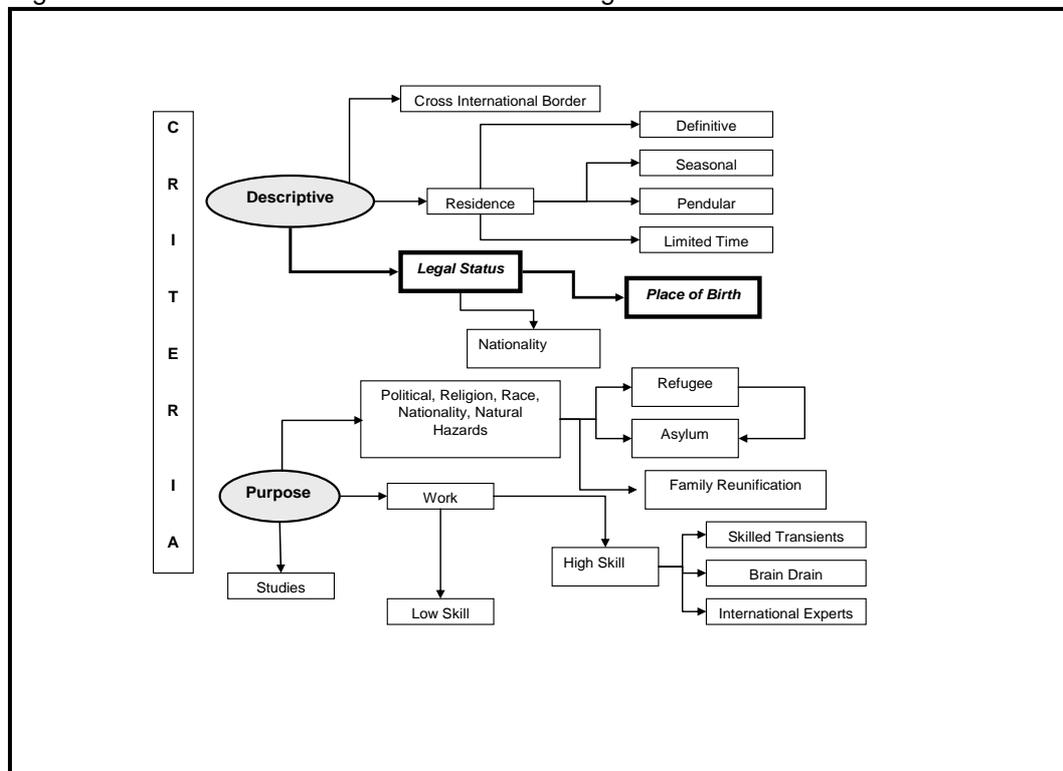
Regarding crossing international borders, administrative limits can separate not only different states but also diverse ethnic groups or simply the place of residence from the place of work. Examples of this type of mobility that would not constitute international migration take place often in Africa, in some East European countries and in Patagonia (e.g. frontier between Chile and Argentina).

Concerning the change of residence, some countries define international migrants as non-residents who enter with the intention of establishing their residence and identify emigrants as those persons that commonly do not reside in the country. Nevertheless, an international legal consensus concerning the wording "residence" does not exist.

²¹ <http://www.eclac.cl/celade/proyectos/migracion/IMILA00e.html>, retrieved May 2006.

The variety of situations is broad enough, thus a reasonable simplification would be to distinguish among definitive migration, seasonal, pendular²², and limited in time.

Figure 1: Main criteria to define international migrants



Source: elaborated by the author

Note: the criterion for the definition of an international migrant used in this dissertation is highlighted in bold and cursive letters.

On this issue, the United Nations (UN 1998) recommends defining a “long-term” immigrant as a person who moves to a country for a period of at least a year (12 months), so that the country of destination effectively becomes his/her new country of usual residence. From the perspective of the country of departure, the person will be a long-term emigrant and from that of the country of arrival the person will be a long-term immigrant. An international “short-term” immigrant is a person who moves to a country other than that of his or her usual residence for a period of at least 3 months but less than a year.

For statistical purposes, the usual country of residence of short-term migrants is considered to be the country of destination during the period spent there. Nevertheless there are few countries that have strictly implemented this definition.

In addition, it is necessary to take under consideration that in some cases the change of residence does not apply to short-term labour migration since some family members continue living in the native land. This situation is more common for Mexicans working in the U.S., Asians in the Gulf, East Europeans in the west and Peruvians or Bolivians in Chile.

Concerning the legal status, nationality is used frequently to identify international migrants due to the fact that it constitutes a decisive factor in establishing the rights of a person in a

²² The terms pendular and circular are often used as synonymous in international migration.

country. Nationality refers to the judicial link between a person and the state acquired in through legal channels, *ius solis* or *ius sanguinis*, or through a variety of exceptions. It is important to distinguish between nationality and citizenship. Citizenship is the status or the legal condition that a person achieves in the political system; in general it can be obtained between the ages of 18 and 21.

The states usually have minimum control of their natives, but they use a variety of ways to restrict the foreigners' admission. It is common to find categories such as "natives and foreigners" when referring to international migrants, attributing to these persons international displacement or absence when not necessarily true. Though immigrants are generally foreign, in other words, born in another country, Sarrille (2001) highlights common exceptions, taking as an example the following Spanish experience:

- On one hand, not all foreigners are immigrants. This is the case of the immigrants' children born in the country of reception, but keeping their nationality of origin because they choose to keep it, or because they cannot obtain one in the receiving country (e.g., the second and third generation of Turkish immigrants in Germany).
- On the other hand not all immigrants are foreigners. There are some who have acquired the nationality of the country following the naturalization, marriage or exile.
- And finally, not all foreigners who have the nationality of a country have been born in it, like the *Aussiedler*²³ in Germany, colonists repatriated in France or the South American children of Spanish and Italian immigrants who obtained double citizenship.

Considering all the exceptions and the multiplicity of combinations, it turns out to be relevant to clarify, in descriptive terms, whether the condition of international migration is given by place of birth or by nationality. As will be explained in detail in the methodological framework, in this research international migrants are defined as the population that was born in another country, a situation recognized in the population census.

Regarding the second group of criteria to define migrants, the *purpose criteria*, the following has to be mentioned. The difficulties in defining a person as a migrant increase when the causal dimension is incorporated, that is to say, the diversity of factors that come together to provoke the movement.

Migration can be forced and generates refugees and displaced population (due to political, religious or natural hazards), or can be voluntary when it is a question of options stimulated by labour motives, study, labour reunification, retirement or other factors.

A "refugee" is defined as a person outside his or her country of nationality who is unable or unwilling to return because of persecution or a well-founded fear of persecution due to race, religion, nationality, membership in a particular social group, or political opinion. In other words a refugee is that person who is forced to leave his or her country for serious reasons. The international definition of refugee is contained in the 1951 United Nations Convention relating to the Status of Refugees and its 1967 Protocol (UN 1951; UN 1966).

²³ After the Second World War a few million people of German descent lived outside the boundaries of both German states. In the consecutive years most of them left their countries according to agreements with the German government or with the help of international organizations. In the case of Poland, the number of ethnic Germans who emigrated over the years 1950-1998 equals about 1.4 million (Münz, Seifert and Ulrich 1999).

“Asylum” is the protection that the countries or states offer to persecute persons so that the authorities can not imprison them. The persecuted remain protected by the foreign country that grants protection. It distinguishes between territorial asylum and diplomatic asylum, the latter being a typical modality of Latin America as recognized by the Convention on Territorial Asylum signed in 1954. The solicitor of asylum is the immigrant who receives temporary judicial protection until his or her request is examined by the pertinent authorities of the receiving country (UN 1951; UN 1966).

Although the refugee's condition is clearly stipulated, it is not yet established how to state this condition. In the U.S. until the 1980s, the refugee was the person fleeing from the communist regime. Afterward, the term was extended and a limit was established for the granting of the refugee's status, which currently is decided annually through consultation between the President and the Congress (UNHCR 2001).

In countries with strong work restrictions, many immigrants take refuge by requesting asylum. For example, the only way to legally immigrate into the U.S. when one does not have relatives in the country or does not fulfill the professional requirements necessary for the visas available, is to adopt the status of a refugee.

It is possible to distinguish between the political and economic reasons behind immigration. However the political, social, economic and environmental situations of many countries create an obstruction between those who migrate due to political pursuit, economic difficulties, and environmental degradation and those who are looking for possibilities of survival or well-being nonexistent in their places of origin.

In this context, the United Nations (UN 2000) notes that an evident emptiness in the international jurisprudence of human rights can be found. An international protection exists when the civil and political laws of a country are violated, forcing people to flee. However, there is not equal recognition of the violations of the economic, social and cultural rights, which also can provoke a forced exit from the place of origin.

Regarding migration for economic reasons, the International Labour Organization (ILO) defines migrant workers (OIT 1949, 1975), as those who migrate or who have migrated from one country to another with a goal of employment; this includes any person normally admitted as a migrant worker. The United Nations (UN 1990) defines more specific categories: frontier worker, seasonal worker, seafarer, worker on an offshore installation, itinerant worker, project-tied worker, specified-employment worker and self-employed worker.

Concerning the emergence of new migratory typologies, the traditional bipolar scheme, permanent migration versus temporary or circular movements, limits understanding the new forms that migration has assumed. The analysis of the temporary migrations, and of the possible existence of households located in two countries simultaneously (*transnational* communities) are crucial elements in the research process.

2.1.3 Definition used in this study

As a conclusion of the last paragraphs, it can be said that neither classification can be defined as more complete or suitable. The different proposals are not exclusive and certain types of immigrants can be included in one or more categories (Woo 1993; Bilsborrow et al.

1997; Waldinger 2001). Besides, the predominance of certain groups can change time after time and from place to place; as a result each case must incorporate the own dynamics more than fit in to static classifications. For these reasons migratory classifications might not be seen as permanent. Nevertheless they may be a useful tool to analyze a very complex process.

For the purpose of this study an international migrant in Chile, and especially in the SMA, is considered as a person *who was born outside the country and who in the moment of the census was residing in Chile and in one of the 34 communes of the Santiago Metropolitan Area respectively* (Figure 1). Whatever would be the legal condition of entrance or residence of these persons, they are considered as immigrants while they reside habitually in the country.

2.2 Theoretical approaches regarding international migration

Throughout the last century, investigations of international migration focused on providing general explanations of the phenomenon. This is a source of concern to many social scientists. Economics, sociology, demography, anthropology and geography have given the main contributors to this topic, but they are not be the only ones, since the migration phenomenon can only be understood as a social process across all the disciplines (Fischer and Straubhaar 1996).

Models, conceptual approaches, empirical generalizations, and simple notions have all played an important role in the study of migration; however, there have seldom been real theories. Some of these theories were not conceived to explain migration, but rather to explain other facets of human behaviour, being adapted to explain the migratory phenomenon. According to Arango (2000), the attempts at theoretical elaborations have not been cumulative; with a relatively short history, the contributions to migratory theorization have consisted of a succession of unconnected theories, models or frameworks.

This lack of systemization is due to the fact that migration is too diverse and complex for one single theoretical approach to explain it. The trends and current manifestations suggest that it is not possible to reach an understanding of contemporary migration processes by studying an isolated discipline, or focusing on only one level of analysis. The capacity of theoretical models to understand any social phenomenon is limited.

The following pages present a systematic description and a critical review of both classic and contemporary migration theories, concluding with an evaluation of the success of the empirical performance of these theories with respect to Santiago Metropolitan data.

2.2.1 The classical approach

The modern history of international migration can be divided into five periods: the mercantile period (1500-1800); the industrial one (1800-1925); the period of limited migration (1925-1960); the post industrial migration period (1960-1980) and the new face of migration (Massey et al. 1998). The panorama of international migration in the last quarter of the 20th century is characterised by distinctive features that set it apart from the earlier industrial era, making the current patterns and processes of international migration far more complex.

Already at the beginning of the second phase of migration (industrial), relevant theoretical contributions can be found. The second half of the 19th century revolutionized living and working patterns for millions of people across Europe and North America. They were uprooted from their traditional homes and livelihoods and went in search of a better life, wishing to escape one that had become intolerable (Massey et al. 1998).

Ravenstein is considered the founder of modern thought on migration. He compared English census data gathered in 1871 and 1881, the most recent tabulations available at the time in order to determine patterns of movement. He analyzed internal migration, establishing the relationship between the distance of the movement and the time of residence in the new place, constructing a migratory typology: local, nearby, in consecutive stages, remote and temporal. In his empirical generalizations he established an inverse relationship between distance and migration frequency: When the distance between places is small, the frequency of movements will be great. At the same time, he identified a correlation between population growth and the frequency or probability of migration, stressing economic factors as a determinant in the deciding moment of geographical mobility.

Ravenstein's work has received strong criticism for presenting his affirmations or generalizations as "laws"²⁴ for there are many exceptions that lack explanation or a logical connection with other propositions in a system of reasoning. The critiques are summarized by Davis (1988); after analyzing each one of the so-called "migration laws," he concluded, *"Ravenstein's work contains not systematic reasoning that could be called to conceptual framework or even to school of thought about migration. We thus find nothing that could be employed seize an ideological basis of migration policy"* (Davis 1988:248).

Nonetheless it is necessary to place Ravenstein's contributions in a historical context at the end of the 19th century. He is generally credited with the origination of distance decay theories of migration and spatial interaction, with later theories expanding on "push" and "pull" factors of migration. His intention for finding empirical regularities and establishing comparisons continues today as a constant concern in spite of advances in theoretical elaboration.

2.2.2 The neoclassical approach

Economic models have a difficult time explaining a variety of commonplace observations in the post industrial world; migrants do not always go to places where wages are highest; migration often ceases before wage disparities disappear; migration may occur in the absence of wage disparities and the assumption that migrants are homogeneous with respect to taste and risk to a given net real wage differential becomes axiomatic, (Massey et al. 1998) as it will be analyzed in chapter 3.

²⁴ The original seven "laws" are: (1) Most migrants only proceed a short distance, and toward centres of absorption. (2) As migrants move toward absorption centres, they leave "gaps" that are filled up by migrants from more remote districts, creating migration flows that reach to "the most remote corner of the kingdom". (3) The process of dispersion is inverted to that of absorption. (4) Each main current of migration produces a compensating counter-current. (5) Migrants proceeding long distances generally go by preference to one of the great centres of commerce or industry. (6) The natives of towns are less migratory than those of the rural parts of the country. (7) Females are more migratory than males (Ravenstein 1885).

The neoclassic or liberal theory, also recognized as the "individualistic" approach, follows the postulates of the neoclassic economy: rational election, maximization of utilities, net performance, mobility of factors and wage differentials to sustain the theory that the emigrants' aim is to maximize their well-being.

From a microeconomic perspective the decision to migrate is based on information that the "rational" individual obtains on wage differences, conditions of employment between countries and the economic costs of emigration (Sjaastad 1962; Todaro 1969; 1976).

It would be a question of an individual, spontaneous, and voluntary act based on the comparison between the current situation of the potential migrant and the expected net profit that one derives from the movement as the result of a profitability calculation (Borjas 1990).

In the macroeconomic dimension, it is a theory of the spatial redistribution of production factors in response to relatively different prices. In other words, it is postulated that international migration is the result of an unequal geographical distribution of the manpower and capital (Ranis and Fei 1961; Harris and Todaro 1970; Ledent and Gordon 1980; White and Knapp 1994; Groenewold 1997).

The simple explanation of international migration offered by the neoclassic paradigm has strongly influenced public opinion and has been the intellectual basis for innumerable migration policies through implicit propositions: the elimination of differential wages would stop labour movements, and migration would not happen in the absence of these differences, or governments could regulate the migratory flows across the regularization of the labour markets (Massey et al. 1993). One might deduce from this that persons who live in worse conditions (pertaining to lack of goods materials, and political freedom, among others) would be the first ones to leave their place of birth. Nevertheless empirical investigation demonstrates the opposite.

According to Arango (2000) the first fact that contradicts the neoclassical explanation is that there are relatively few displaced persons in the world given the enormous differences of income and well-being. According to the postulates of this theory, the number of international migrants should be much higher. Far more people would move and international migration would continue to grow until an equilibrium wage throughout the world is produced. This does not manage to explain why some countries have relatively high emigration indexes and others, structurally similar, do not. This situation can be extrapolated to receiving countries (Portes and Borock 1989).

For example, in the European Union the principle of free circulation coexists with a very limited volume of intra-communitarian labour migration in spite of considerable differences in well-being between Spain, Portugal and Italy, on one hand, and Germany, Belgium, and Denmark on the other. These observations thus suggest a need to revise standard economic theory, especially with respect to its assumptions about human motivations (Massey et al. 1998).

Another critique argues that the neoclassic perspective suffers from the consideration of migrations in more socio-cultural terms; it conceives of the social aspect as an addition of individual actions, without giving sufficient attention to the forms in which the social contexts determine and limit the decisions of the persons (Colectivo IOE 1996).

The described deficiencies can be attributed to its one-dimensional character or rather to the exclusion of the political dimension in times such as the current ones where restrictive regulative frameworks predominate. This situation differs enormously within the picture of an ideal environment where people move freely and spontaneously in search of their own interests and to maximize utility. Economics can translate almost everything into costs and benefits, even assigning a monetary value; in practice a country's high cost of entry can become an obstacle, dissuading potential migrants from moving if economics is the only consideration.

Without a doubt, political factors nowadays turn out to be much more influential than differential wages at the moment of emigrating. In conclusion, the idea that international migration has produced a significant reduction in the economic disparities among sending and receiving countries turns out to be indefensible in the current migratory scene.

The neoliberal approach that has prevailed for the past 60 years does not adequately come to terms with the current complex reality. Consequently, social scientists are beginning to question the basis upon which this approach was built. On the one hand, they are questioning the conceptualization of migrants as rational actors responding to economic disparities between countries, and on the other hand, they are concerned about the "push-pull" approach as a way of establishing equilibrium between regions of labour supply and demand (Massey et al. 1998).

2.2.3 The new economy of migration

As previously discussed, it is clear that theory must go beyond the analysis of simple social and economic disparities between countries in order to account for contemporary trends and patterns of international migration. In the decade of the 1980s a new line of investigation arose with opposite positions to the neoclassic vision. It is characterized by the concept of the individual deciding to migrate in the context of an economic strategy formed by the family. An intense relationship is established between the decision to migrate and the family strategy designed to complement incomes and to avoid deterioration of the standard of living (Stark and Levhari 1982; Stark 1991).

The new economy of migration explains emigration not as a situation of individual economic desperation or desire for adventure, but as a family strategy oriented to reduce the risk of poverty in the country of origin by diversifying the sources of income through the location of one or more members of the group in a different and independent market.

Within this strategy, the sending of remittances would constitute the essential explanatory element of the decision. Initially, the family is the financing source of the movement, generating the necessary resources to support both the expenses of the displacement and the initial costs during a high risk period for the immigrant.

This investment must be compensated in the medium and long term through the remittances, which guarantee a certain financial stability for the family of the emigrant, helping to increase its well-being. An agreement is established among the immigrants and their families concerning obligations and benefits for both parties.

This approach has been the framework of reference for establishing new contributions to the definition of migratory policies. Specific governmental strategies may diminish emigration potential through control of the labour market; programs of unemployment insurance particu-

larly might affect significantly the incentives to migrate. As well, governmental and economic policies that affect the distribution of incomes might influence the decision to migrate. Economic policies that produce a high average income in sending countries might increase migration if the poorest families do not benefit from this strategy (Massey et al. 1993).

Theoretical models behind the “new economy” of migration contribute with a set of propositions and hypotheses quite different from those under the neoclassical theory. Regarding Massey et al. (1998) they can be summarized as follows:

1. Families and households, not the autonomous individual are the appropriate units of analysis in migration research.
2. The wage differential is not the only condition for international movements. Risk diversification or accumulated capitals through transnational movements are important elements to be incorporated in the analysis.
3. There are strong incentives for migrants to engage in both migration and local activities. Economic development in the sending countries need not reduce the pressures for migration. In fact it may intensify them.
4. Governments can influence migration rates not only through labour market policies. Unemployment insurance, retirement and loan programmes, can affect the incentives for migration.
5. Government policies and economic changes that affect the income distribution will influence international migration independently of their effects on mean income.

2.2.4 The structural approaches

Though the arguments exposed by the neoclassic approach and the new economy of migration differ regarding the reasons that promote them, both operate in a “micro” level of analysis, that is to say, individuals or households. In opposition are the economic theories that give a determinant role to the economic structures as an engine of international mobility. Accepting the critiques to the neoclassic theory, it is recognized that personal decisions as a main factor to migrate are not sufficient; it is necessary to incorporate structural factors into the analysis.

Arising at the end of the 1970s as a critique to the neoclassic argument, the **dual market theory's value** is not in providing a general explanation of the reasons for international migration, but in emphasizing the driving factor: the structural demand of labour inherent in the economic structure of the advanced contemporary societies.

Piore (1979), one of its greatest promoters, raises the issue that migrations are generated not only by factors of expulsion from sending countries, but also by factors of attraction in the receiving countries, which experience a chronic and inevitable need for foreign workers. He analyzes the labour markets of the receiving countries and explains the duality of the workforce between native workers and foreign workers. Immigrants join the secondary segments of the labour market, which are traditionally occupied by native women and youths.

In advanced economies there are unstable work situations caused by the division of the economy in a primary sector intensive in capital, and a secondary sector intensive in man-

power with low productivity. This situation contributes to a segmented market. Local workers refuse some jobs because they hold a low social position, little prestige, offer few possibilities of advancement and little motivation. To increase the wages of these types of jobs would imply a proportional increase in the following hierarchies, which would produce a structural inflation. Foreigners accept these jobs since the low salary turns out to be high if it is compared with the average in their countries, contributing to a higher social position and more prestige than they had in their own country (Arango 2000).

In a similar way of analysis Castles and Kosack (1973), point out the benefits in capitalist economies that generate a divided working class due to labour segmentation. Having analyzed the situation of foreign workers in Great Britain, they found that many immigrants of colour have been forced to occupy lower positions than their professional qualifications warrant. They emphasize that the labour market demands qualified manpower and that the foreign population is more willing to accept employment with inferior conditions than the rest of the national workers. Therefore, the labour division is considered beneficial for the system.

Consequently, the irrationality associated with the coexistence of foreign manpower demand and high indexes of structural unemployment is explained. It helps to reject the idea that immigrant workers must compete with the native ones, and at the same time, that their presence affects wage levels. For Massey et al. (1998) it is slightly probable that governments influence international migration; the immigrants fill a labour demand that modern and post industrial economies build structurally; modifying this demand means major changes to the economic organization.

Among the critiques to this approach, Arango (2000) argues that it is possible to accept that the majority of migrants end up by finding employment in the place of destiny. Nevertheless it is difficult to agree that this latent demand provokes migratory flows. Today migratory flows do not seem to be a result of hiring practices, especially in the advanced economies; the majority of the migrants move on their own initiative and not necessarily to occupy pre-existing jobs. In many cases immigrants constitute a manpower that generates its own demand.

One more determinist structural position comes from the **theory of world systems**, whose explanation is not based on the migrants' demand but rather on the imbalances produced by the penetration of capitalism in the least developed countries. The unit of analysis is neither the individual, nor the family, nor the social classes, but the whole planet interconnected by the logic of world capitalism (Wallerstein 1974). It follows the historical-structural line that inspired the theory of dependence developed in the Economic Commission for Latin America (CEPAL) in the decade of the 1960s.

The central argument is that given the expansive nature of the process of capitalist accumulation and the desire to reduce the costs of the labour factor, the evolution of the economic system always has been accompanied by a labour demand. When this has not been sufficiently available or it has not had conditions of flexibility, low cost, etc., foreign workers turn out to be the best option.

The principal reason for migration would be the penetration of capitalistic production systems in peripheral countries that displace their population from their traditional way of life as a consequence of structural transformations (Portes and Walton 1981; Sassen 1988). Migra-

tions would be a consequence of historical processes, especially those initiated in the 19th century, of capitalism in expansions that required manpower to carry out the consolidation of the industrialization process, and in some cases, as in Germany, of national reconstruction (Castles 2000).

In other words, in order for international movements to take place there must first be the processes of external penetration and internal imbalances in the exporting of manpower, a situation that was produced during western colonization times (Portes and Borocz 1992). For example, the process of decolonization would operate like a macro structural condition, explaining the migratory flows to Europe of persons belonging to ex-colonies during the 20th century, such as Algerians, Tunisians, and Moroccans to France.

For Arango (2000) in addition to being a migratory theory, this approach would be a historical generalization providing the basis for the study of migration between countries. As with other structural approaches, the world system theory centres on explaining the reasons of worldwide displacements, but it is not capable of explaining why some people decide to migrate and others remain.

2.2.5 Recent approaches

At the end of the 20th century, a review of scientific contributions in the field of migrations showed deep changes in the reality of international migration, reflecting a more global and heterogeneous composition of the flows (Castles and Miller 1993). This does not imply that the traditional migratory typology loses importance or disappears, but recognizes the emergence of new realities that make the topic of international migration more complex. In the age of globalization and the diffusion of new technologies of communication and transportation, the new manifestations are strongly interlaced with rearrangements among social and geographical spaces. Words such as “recurrent migration,” “transnational communities” and “transmigration” indicate this change of orientation.

Migration research is entering a new age characterized by the predominance of international migration on the internal migration. Such impact is reflected in the emergence of new conceptual approaches. More than new migration theories it is a question of modified versions of previous elements or of adjustments of theoretical frames elaborated developed with other aims. They do not constitute a new paradigm, but rather a “colouring and varied mosaic” (Massey et al. 1998). Central research questions turn not only on why a given number of persons migrate and under what conditions, in what forms and with what consequences for the regions of origin and destiny, but also on what gives continuity to the migration process and on what new social spaces are arising with the recent trends. Among the theoretical approaches that sustain these new conditions, the network theory, the institutional approach, the analysis of cumulative causality and the theory of migratory systems stand out.

The **network theory** is defined as the set of relations that link migrants or returned migrants with relatives or friends who remain in the place of origin. It is part of a long tradition that goes back to the classic work published by Thomas and Znaniecki (1918) at the beginning of the 20th century. Castles (2000) argues that the most common migratory chains are initiated by an external factor, such as military recruitment, or by an initial movement of pioneering young people, generally men. As soon as the connection is established, emigrants follow the

routes opened (Stahl 1993), where they become the main link with relatives and friends in the receiving country. The networks, which depend on family links or on people from the same place of origin, help to provide housing, work and support in case of personal difficulties. These social networks make the migratory process more secure and manageable for the migrants and their families.

Information flows in both directions through the network concerning the necessities and work options in both areas. Likewise, with the network support the mobility of individuals is facilitated from one place to the other. Sassen (1995) argues that migrants know even before initiating the trip to the U.S. how they will cross the frontier, where they will arrive, what work is available and what the salary will be.

As the networks expand and the costs and risks of emigration decrease, the flow becomes less selective in economic conditions and more representative of the sending society or community (Fawcett 1989; Massey and Espinoza 1997; Faist 1999). It has been verified that while the social structure grows in the receiving society, the necessity to support the network generates new working places. In this respect, migration networks can be considered a social capital (Massey et al. 1987) of social relations that allow access to other important economic goods, such as employment or higher wages.

At first, immigrants have access to certain social networks and later they will construct their own under the protection of new social relations. These new social constructions may modify the initial intentions to return. While international migrations become institutionalized across the formation and production of networks, they become progressively independent of the factors (structural or individuals) that provoked them originally. Portes and Sensenbrenner (1993) say that interethnic relations become evident as multidimensional forms more than as specific ones, provoking or inducing even effects on the nucleus of the values' structure in the establishment of codes of behaviour, and in the mechanisms to sanction those who violate the procedure.

The analysis of the migration networks given their impact in the public policies of the receiving countries seems to be essential to understand the current migratory phenomena. Governments have difficulty managing the flows once they begin because the process of formation escapes their control. Besides, some migratory policies such as those oriented to family reunification, reinforce and consolidate migratory networks. During the 1960s the U.S. modified the regulations of admission in the system of quotas to familial links to discourage migration. From 656.000 immigrants admitted legally in the 1990s (excluding those who received amnesty) 77% were authorized because they had some relative residing in the country (U.S. INS 1994).

In the network theory, immigrants stop being a statistical number. Their role within the receiving society, especially as a member of it, it is incorporated. Migrants are not passive, but are socially active, understanding their surroundings, making their own decisions and living in a context of reduced alternatives. This represents a leap from quantitative and descriptive analysis to a qualitative one. The approach characteristics are also reflected in its methodological orientation: surveys and official data are completed with life histories, in-depth interviews and discussion groups.

The approach focussing on **transnational communities and remittances**²⁵ is other recent theoretical contribution to the discussion about migration. During colonization times international migration consisted of huge flows from Europe to less industrialized countries. Due to the time and transportation costs involved, this international migration could be long-term, forever, or a return migration.²⁶

The economic globalization has implied an amplification of the spaces involved in the migratory process, not in the sense of addition but as an intensification of economic and social worldwide relations that connect different spaces. Local events are influenced by events that happen far away and vice versa (Giddens 1990). In this spatial context a new migratory terminology arises, "transnationalism." It is understood as the process that migrants construct throughout the social fields that join their communities of origin with those of the new settlement (Glick-Schiller 1996).

Communities that are settled in different societies share references and common interests, territorial, religious, linguistic, and use transnational networks to consolidate solidarity beyond national borders (Faist 1999, Pries 2002). As Castles (1998) observes, the phenomenon of transnational communities is not new, despite the novelty of the terminology. Questions arise around what differentiates this new migration modality from that of the beginning of the 20th century? At the beginning of the last century Japanese immigrants in the U.S. formed associations that played a fundamental role in their economic rise, and Jewish networks in New York were also important in the achievement of the group cohesion (Zabin and Escala 1998).

The distinctive characteristic of transnational communities' networks is that they are strong organizations and show internal articulation (Kastoryano 2000). They would be the principal factors that have contributed to the emergence of this new typology, i.e., the current regulative framework of the labour market and the lack of economic and social integration policies (Canales and Zlotnisky 2000).

On the one hand, flexibility and labour deregulation have modified the work conditions generating new markets of low qualification with unstable conditions for the migrant population; and on the other hand the mechanisms of political and social negotiation that arose in industrial society (the welfare state) do not operate anymore. Social networks of solidarity allow facing the social and political vulnerability of migrants. As Canales and Zlotnisky (2000) conclude, transnationalization is not the form that the globalization of manpower assumes. On the contrary, it is the strategy developed by workers to face the new labour conditions.

In the same way, precedents exist that in the migratory movements of the last century, the cultural identity were unarticulated with the time. The U.S society, for instance, created economic, social, cultural and political spaces for the immigrants' integration or assimilation. Nowadays this process does not happen anymore fundamentally due to economic exclusion. The existence of transnational communities would allow facing the processes of disarticulation of the social fabric. The factors that stand out that would influence the nature and struc-

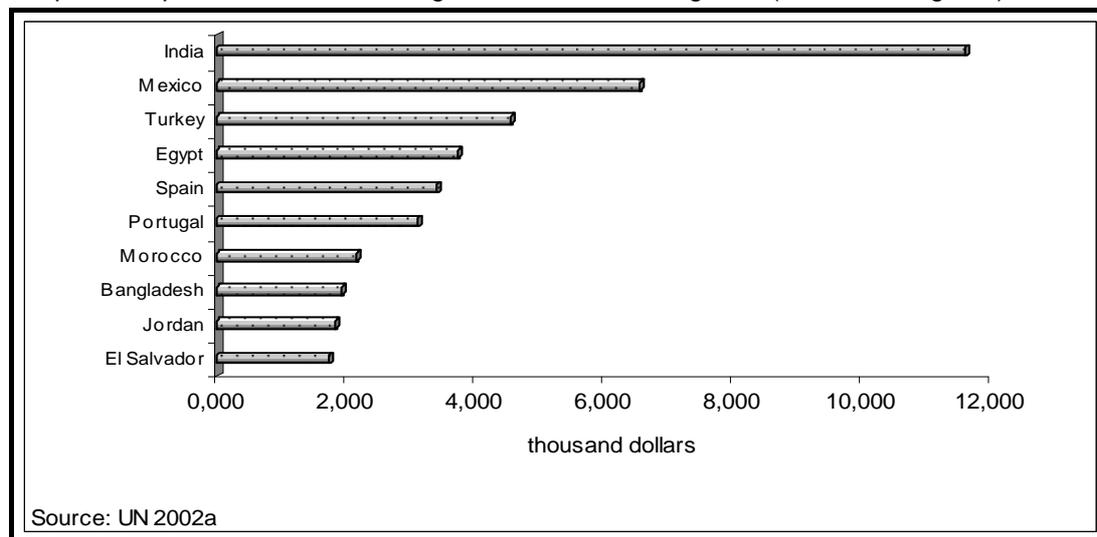
²⁵ Remittances refer to the current monetary transfers made by migrants who are employed or intended to remain employed for more than a year in another economy in which they are considered residents (United Nations 2002a).

²⁶ Return refers broadly to the act of going back from a country of presence (either transit or destination) to the country of previous transit, or origin. There are numerous sub-categories of return which can describe the way it takes place, e.g. voluntary, forced, assisted or spontaneous return, as well as repatriation for refugees.

ture of transnational communities are geographical proximity, historical connections, economic and political opportunities of the receiving country, as well as the size and degree of concentration or local dispersion of immigrant groups (Kastoryano 2000).

Zabin and Escala (1988), for the Mexican case, distinguish different levels of complexity and institutionalization among the immigrants' associations, from those that are informal up to federations or official clubs. These groups develop activities in the communities of origin as well as in the host society. In the origin, across projects of infrastructure and social works, they consolidate their economic and political power in the local community substituting in many cases for the absence of social and economic governmental programs. In the destination community they centre on the defence of bilingual education programs, in the improvement of housing conditions and infrastructure, as well as on the struggle against drugs and delinquency. Though generally the activities have a philanthropic character, some associations have a more political profile that seeks to defend the rights of their communities' members both in the origin and in the destiny.

Graph 2: Top 10 countries receiving remittances from migrants (in absolute figures)

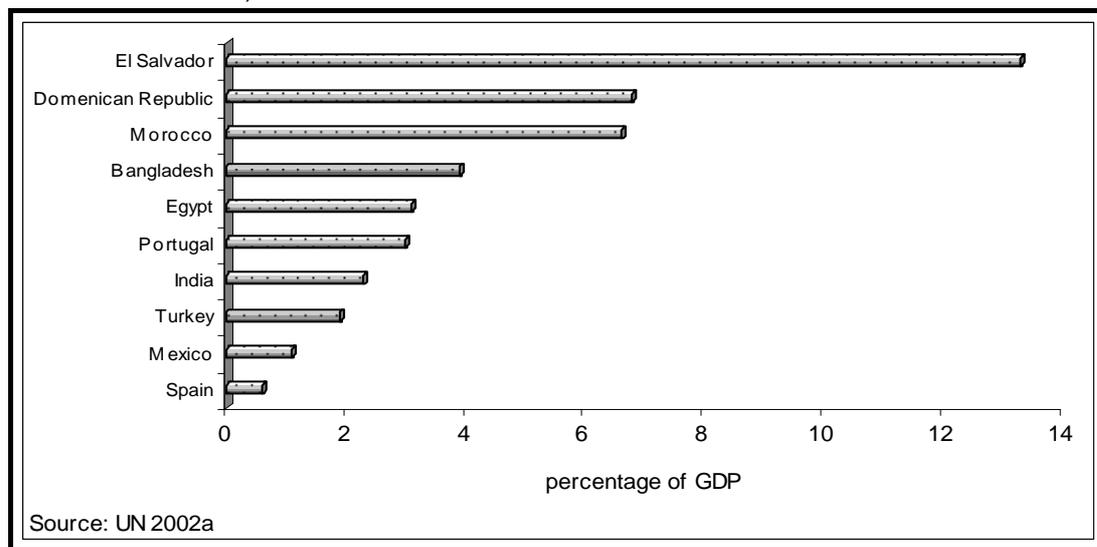


The historical bonds affected the size of the community and the intensity of the relations with the country of origin. This would explain why in Europe immigrants from certain areas take part more actively than other groups in the construction of transnational networks. More dispersed immigrants, as the Turks, in spite of their internal diversity, seem to be better prepared to create transnational networks with a common identity that comes out of the borders of several States. Some governments recognize the potential benefits of transnational social policy. For example, the Mexican government is actively developing transnational links aimed at the Mexican community in the United States through different programs (Goldring 1996). The major evidence of solidarity of transnational communities is the sending of remittances, nowadays a growing market (Graph 2), which in many cases reach a significant percentage of the gross domestic product (GDP) especially in the developing countries (Graph 3).

For decades, millions of migrant worers have been sending billions of dollars back to their home countries to support their families. Yet the impact of these huge international flows of

money is only now beginning to be understood. For instance, the 20 million people of the Indian Diaspora, spread over 135 countries, sent back to India in 2002 almost US\$ 12 billion, a source of funds that exceeds revenues generated by the country's highly regarded software industry (UN-HABITAT 2004). Emigrant remittances have become a major source of foreign currency for many countries in Latin America and the Caribbean. In 2004, more than \$45 billion flowed from the rest of the world to the region, exceeding the combined total of foreign direct investment and foreign aid once again for the entire region (De Vasconcelos 2005). Moreover, these totals are cash amounts. They do not include periodic transfers of goods such as computers and household appliances.

Graph 3: Top 10 countries receiving remittances from migrants (related to the Gross Domestic Product)



Remittances can also serve as investment goods, especially in informal micro enterprises, major economic sector units in all developing countries. Despite the concept that monetary remittances contribute considerably to improve the economic well-being of individuals and local communities, its impact is marginal in terms of the inequalities among developed and developing countries due to the fact that the remittances are used mainly in daily consumption, health, and education.

The economic potential that emigrants represent for their countries and communities of origin should be recognized. Their economic role is important not only in the hosting societies, but also in the sending countries where remittances are one of the most reliable sources of finance. Remittances are second only to oil in terms of the international money flows that they create; but in general, the scale of the flows is massively underestimated because it is difficult to have a clear picture of informal transaction networks.

The institutional theory argues that soon after migration begins it turns into a social process that develops its own dynamics. Migrants and non-migrants are facilitators of the process recognized as "industry of migration". The concept can be understood as the ensemble of entrepreneurs, businesses and services which, motivated by the pursuit of financial gain, facilitate and sustain international migration (Hernandez-Leon 2005). The migration industry

encompasses activities such as labour recruitment, smuggling, trafficking and the provision of legal services (illegal entrances across borders, clandestine labour connections, falsification of passports and visas, compound marriages, credit grants) as well as transportation, communication and remittance services. Restrictive policies significantly contribute to the creation of black markets within international movements.

As a distinct component of the social process of international migration, the content and dynamics of the migration industry depend on state immigration policies, the size, composition and geography of population flows and the modes of incorporation of immigrants. Restrictive migration policies favour the emergence of this "black market" (Massey et al. 1998). Often the origin of a migration industry has a great interest in its continuation building barriers to the governments' efforts to control or stop these movements. Many state policy-makers and NGOs are concerned that if they admit immigrants or refugees who use human smugglers, this will encourage smugglers to further break immigration laws (Kyle and Liang 2001).

However, people involved in the migration industry can exploit or help migrants. The institutional theory also discusses the role of private institutions and voluntary organizations that step in to assist the migration process; they become known by migrants and constitute another form of social capital as they become institutionalized. Some private institutions and international organizations are established to satisfy the demand created by the imbalance between a great number of persons who seek to enter a certain country and the limited number of visas that this country offers. Worried by the rights of the undocumented migrants, these groups represent them through the legal system in obtaining legal documents, social services and places of reception. Over time these organizations become well-known for helping the immigrants and are institutionally consolidated, constituting a new form of social capital that allows migrants to access the labour market (Massey et al. 1998). As a result, governments find it difficult to control the flows once initiated due to the problems associated with regularizing an institutionalized process.

Interest in the migration industry is not entirely new (Keeling 1999; Kyle and Koslowski 2001; Kyle and Liang 2001), but in general it can be said that the migration industry has remained largely under-theorized, excluded from any major research efforts and reduced to its illegal and informal dimensions. What has to be stressed is that illegality does not necessarily involve the most economically unprotected immigrants. In Asian countries illegal immigration has grown considerably and it is frequently controlled by international criminal groups that charge a great deal of money to come to the U.S. Therefore these immigrants do not come from the poorest strata of the society (Skeldon 1992).

Finally as a summary, the institutional theory indicates that once international migration has begun, private and voluntary organizations develop to support and sustain the movement of migrants. These include a variety of legal and illegal entities many of which have proven difficult for governments to regulate.

The **cumulative causation** approach is based on the classic explanations of Myrdal (1957)²⁷ interpreting migration as a phenomenon that develops its own dynamics and perpetuates

²⁷ Myrdal's theory of circular and cumulative causation challenges the underlying assumptions of the neoclassical analysis; it allows for the secondary effects of an exogenous shock which create further movements away from equilibrium. Growth generates its own momentum through mechanisms such as the scale economies and technological progress created by the increased output and population.

itself as it consolidates a social and economic structure in the hosting country. Causation is cumulative in the sense that each act of migration alters the social context within which subsequent migration decisions are made, typically in ways that make additional movements more likely.

This theory is narrowly tied to the network approach but gives more emphasis to the temporal dimension. Causality is a major factor in Massey et al.'s (1991) investigation in Mexico. They concluded that emigration shows a strong tendency to grow over the course of time, becoming auto-sufficient due to the social capital that immigrants provide and to potential emigrants, i.e. those who may plan to emigrate. Every case of migration serves to alter the structure in which decisions are made for new migrations.

As soon as migratory flows have reached a critical level, the simple demand for certain goods and services in the emigration region creates a new demand for services and employment. As the network becomes more extensive it is more probable that more emigrations will be initiated (Massey et al. 1998). Social, economic and cultural changes produced by international migration in the sending and receiving countries give power to the movement, increasing the resistance to controls and regulation.

The links between the migrant community and the region of origin can be kept through generations. Though remittances decrease as well as the frequency of the visits to the country, the family and cultural links remain. In periods of crisis they can produce spectacular flows, as in the refugees' displacement at the beginning of the 1990s from former Yugoslavia to Germany; emigrants met compatriots who had come as workers twenty years before (Castles 2000).

Another example regarding migration causation is the facts that in times of unemployment governments of hosting societies find it difficult to recruit native manpower to do work that immigrants have done before. In such circumstances, and in a paradoxical turn of events, it becomes necessary to support and to recruit more immigrant manpower.

In summary, the cumulative causation theory holds that, by altering the social context of subsequent migration decisions, the establishment of international migration streams creates feedback that makes additional movements more likely. So far, social scientists have discussed different ways that migration is affected in this cumulative fashion: expansion of networks, distribution of income and land, the organization of agricultural production, the values and cultural perceptions surrounding migration, the regional distribution of human capital, and the social labelling of jobs in destination areas as "immigrant jobs" (Massey et al. 1998). Again, once a migration system has developed, it is often resistant to government policy intervention.

The theoretical approaches presented e.g. related to networks, institutions, and causality given rise to efforts to connect them with the framework of the **migration system** approach led by Zlotnik (1992). The idea of "migration systems" can be traced to the contribution of Mabogunje (1970) who supported that migration can be recognized mainly as a spatial process with a clear geographic form and structure (Massey et al. 1998). The approach stressed the emergence of social contexts which are qualitatively new, as a result of international migration. Migratory movements acquire stability and structure throughout time and space generating systems that can be clearly identified (Figure 6).

An international migration system consists of a group of receiving (nucleus) countries that are linked to a set of sending countries by relatively large flows and counter-flows of migrants (Massey et al. 1993). Every migratory system has its core or nucleus recipient, not necessarily one country, and a series of sending countries are connected with this centre through a constant flow of migrants which tend to become stable in time. As emigration increases in quantity and quality, regions of origin and destiny, as well as places in between, become connected in shaping a complex system of order and functions (Heisler 1992; Zolberg and Smith 1996; Faist 1999).

However, social networks cannot explain why and how such systems were developed between one country and another to start with. The migration system theorists argue that the development of such networks is dependent on historical, geographical, and political ties which existed before large-scale migration started (Kritz et al. 1992).

The connections can be linked with colonization, political influence, trade, investment or cultural relations. The movement of people within these systems is reinforced by the formation and expansion of networks of personal and family ties, which once established become conduits for additional flows. This explains the great number of Hindus in Great Britain, flows from Martinique to France, from Surinam to the Netherlands, from Algeria to France. Another example is the Turkish presence in Germany as a result of labour contracts during the 1960s and beginning of the 1970s. As well, Korean and Vietnamese migration to the U.S. are connected with former military interventions in these countries.

Therefore, not only migratory interpersonal networks are involved in the forming of decisions, or individual or collective actions. These networks are influenced, in diverse degrees, by political and normative regulations. The migratory processes between two countries can be highly formalized, and the interested countries, or their governments, can use migration to reach political aims.

Massey et al. (1998) argue that migration systems are international labour markets where a variety of factors play a significant role. These can be multinational firms, the worldwide demand for certain high-skill specialities and formal treaty arrangements (e.g. European Union, North American Free Trade, Gulf Cooperation Council, Asia Pacific Cooperation and Mercosur). The stability of the migratory system does not imply a rigid structure. Depending on economic and/or political changes, the countries can generate new systems, join existing ones or retire from those that share in former times (Massey et al. 1998).

As we explained before, network and institutional theory are approaches that attempt to explain the course of international migration flows over time. According to the international systems approach, institutional and network theory are examples of how the context or linkages of a migration system change over time.

2.2.6 Conclusions

On having analyzed the different theoretical contributions in the field of international migrations, from the neoclassic theory up to the conceptual approaches that have proliferated in the last decades, it is clear that in a short time, a large number of conceptual frameworks and

empirical generalizations have developed. They are, however, separated and in general unconnected.

Besides the difficulties that social scientists experience in explaining human behaviour, the study of migration faces specific disadvantages: it is a topic difficult to define, complicated to measure, extremely varied and multiform, and therefore, does not lend itself to the elaboration of theories. The contribution of conceptual frameworks to the knowledge on international migration continues to be limited. The different theoretical approaches are centred in an almost exclusive way on the explanation of the reasons for mobility, to the detriment of other dimensions; also their affirmations are not proportionate to their real explanatory capacity. As well, they are characterized by *a priori* explanations instead of guiding empirical research and facilitating verifiable hypotheses (Arango 2000).

For instance, neoclassic approaches reduce the action of the individual to an economic rationality of cost-benefit evaluation. But it is clear that in the context of transnational communities, the decisions concerning who, when and how to migrate are not based on economic criteria, but can only be understood in the context of a complex system of relations and interchanges of material, cultural, and symbolic goods. As well, the structural approaches do not explain the logical action of the individuals in the framework of transnational communities. Nevertheless, it is necessary to recognize that from this perspective, important and innovative contributions have been developed to understand labour migration in the context of globalization.

Reasons for migration cannot be reduced to individual, familial or household factors (neoclassic approaches), or to structural factors that would dominate the migrants' action.

In both cases, it is not possible to understand, for instance, why individuals, families and communities living in similar conditions, and exposed to similar structural circumstances develop different routes of social action: some migrating while others choose family and community strategies. Concepts such as social capital, social networks, cumulative causation and remittances, offer an intermediate level of analysis, which offers different perspectives to those given by traditional approaches.

To research migration demands thinking about how articulating form of structural conditions (e.g. globalization, labour markets, etc.) with the individual characteristics of the active agents (family structure, demographic profiles, etc.), and with the economic, cultural, social and political factors that determine the decision to move. All of these constitute the operational framework of social networks.

“At present, there is no single theory widely accepted by social scientist to account for the emergence and perpetuation of international migration throughout the world, only fragmented set of theories that have developed largely in isolation from one another, sometimes but no always segmented by disciplinary boundaries....their complex, multifaceted nature (international migration) requires a sophisticated theory that incorporates a variety of perspectives, levels, and assumptions” (Massey et al. 1998:17).

2.3 Approaches regarding the spatial and socioeconomic impact of migration in the dynamics of cities

At the beginning of the new millennium international migrations were consolidated as flows to urban centres, especially to the so called "global cities," prominent centres of trade, banking, finance, knowledge, innovations, and power concentration. Following Fainstein (2001) one aspect of the global character of city regions such as New York, London, Tokyo, Paris and the Randstad is that, to a considerably greater extent than other parts of their countries, they have been a destination for immigrants. They concentrate thousands of people from the most diverse parts of the world, giving to those cities one of their more dominant features: ethnic, religious and cultural diversity.

2.3.1 Cities as major centres of attraction for international migrants

Even Japan, one of the most culturally homogeneous societies, experiences today a rapid increase of foreign immigration recognized as "yoseba," occasional workers without employment or permanent residence who live temporarily in urban ghettos in Tokyo (Borja and Castells 1997). Today's migration streams are much more diverse than those in the past, including underpaid manual and service workers, highly paid skilled professionals, students, reuniting family members, asylum seekers and refugees, and undocumented persons (see chapter 2.1).

In the U.S., though New York and Chicago are still the major centres of migratory attraction, the gravity centre has shifted south and westwards. The capital of today's immigrants is unquestionably Los Angeles, a still-growing agglomeration, sprawling over five southern California counties. Several aspects come together here: the *terciarization* of the economy, high tech industry, labour flexibility, multiculturalism (Allen and Turner 1996), and social and racial polarization. In an increasing way Los Angeles adopts a pattern of segregation: Afro-Americans (11%) - as an ethnic group always present - Hispanics (38%) and Asians (11%) as growing minorities of more recent introduction (Morenoff and Tienda 1997). Miami, though a much smaller metropolis than the rest, reigns as the nation's densest immigrant concentration, and is still an entry-point of astonishing magnitude (Waldinger 2001).

A similar phenomenon is experienced in Canada and Australia, countries that together with the U.S. possess the highest proportion of foreign immigrants in relation to the total population. In Canada, Asian immigration, preferably from Hong Kong, has located in the provinces of Ontario, Quebec and British Columbia: Toronto, Montreal and Vancouver receive 62% of the whole movement (Carrillo 2000).

In Europe during the last decade migration to Spain and Italy has multiplied. The number of foreigners who live in Madrid and Barcelona reach 1.75 million which is about the 15% of the total population of both metropolitan areas. For instance in Madrid, Legazpi's zone is an Ecuadorian and Colombian enclave, whereas in Lavapiés's neighbourhood there are up to four restaurants of different regional kitchens per block. The physiognomies of Spanish cities have changed in the last years. There are 735.000 foreigners living in only 179 municipalities of the autonomous community of Madrid, which is equivalent to the fifth part of those who are calculated in the whole country (Pisani 2004).

Nevertheless, the migratory phenomenon still does not present the dimensions of Germany, France or the United Kingdom. In London, Paris, Brussels, Berlin and Frankfurt the foreigners' participation ranges between 14 and 30% of the total population (Riol and Janoschka 2004). More than ten years ago representatives of different municipal European governments concluded that as a consequence of decades of immigration and emigration, cities had turned into multicultural societies (Consejo de Europa 1993). Neighbourhoods are not culturally homogeneous anymore and the nature of the proximity, which was the angular stone of the neighbourhoods, is changing. Inside the same space peoples with different cultural and ethnic precedents interact.

Meanwhile, in cities of the developed countries the intense international migration flows are modifying the traditional localization of racial and ethnic communities, provoking melting processes that are sometimes conflictive, sometimes integrative. In several cities of developing countries, the increase of migrant populations from neighbouring countries is like the case of San José in Costa Rica, which accommodates a high percentage of immigrants from Nicaragua and is generating pockets of sociospatial segregation never seen before (Lungo and Baires 2001).

The uneven spatial and socioeconomic impacts of globalization in cities and the necessity for an urban culture of inclusion confront us with an important question: how does this increasing multiculturalism affect the urban structures?

Changes in economic and demographic world patterns materialize with great force in cities, transforming their internal configuration and without doubt are the expression of internal segregation. The outstanding characteristic of this increase in population differentiation is intra-urban inequality, reflecting the influence of bipolar job markets and practices of social exclusion (Mc Gregor and Connachie 1995).

Despite a high global mobility, few restrictions exist for those who have human and financial capital, and the international labour markets remain segmented, restricting poor and unskilled workers.

Further consequences occur through spatial segregation and unequal access to urban services and infrastructures and hence, life changes. Beyond the historical and cultural differences and the political contexts that regulate international flows, worldwide intra-urban segregation of the most unprotected sectors has common elements: immigrants' concentration, unemployment, low income, school failure, and deficient housing quality.

It is a matter of a concentration of problems in specific areas with difficult solutions, and where it is complicated, the identification of the factors that would break the cycle of decline and deterioration. In these troubled spaces different cultures often confront each other in order to maintain their own identity and cohesion.

However, the tendency to manage the immigrants' treatment turns out to be inadequate in the subject of marginalization, as if they were socially incapacitated. Such attitudes can ultimately generate a dynamic that leads to an effective chronic marginalization, difficult to overcome and that involves more sectors of the city's inhabitants.

There are numerous silent examples of immigrants' successful incorporation into societies (European Communities 2004; Reitz 2002; Rediske 2004). Therefore, a change of paradigm is needed; immigration, and more broadly migration, is the building block for growth of many

cities and more specifically, metropolises. And the growth of metropolises is the engine that drives the growth of nation states. In the next pages we will focus on the theoretical and empirical contributions in the uneven spatial and socioeconomic impacts of immigrants on cities and on the need for an urban culture of inclusion in the context of globalization.

2.3.2 Residential segregation: concept and approaches

Current residential segregation constitutes an essential characteristic of urban space. It is referred to as a differential access to physical space, according to some criterion of segregation such as socioeconomic, social class, religious groups, castes or ethnic. It means that segregation would not exist if the different criteria appear mixed in the territorial scales in which the analysis is carried out (Clichevsky 2000). Following Knox (1995) segregation can be defined as the uneven residential distribution of population groups across a geographical area. When a particular group is highly segregated and located in a single or very few urban communities, concentration occurs (Massey and Denton 1989). The concentration of immigrants and/or minorities into a particular urban area is one component of residential segregation (Massey and Denton 1988).

Residential segregation in urban areas has been studied extensively by scientists from different fields, including economics, sociology and population geography (Clark 1992; Davies and Murdie 1993; Lever and Paddison 1998; Van Kempen and Ozuekren 1998; White 1998; Massey and Fischer 2000; Ozuekren and van Kempen 2003). The ongoing interest in the subject is in part the result of the common perception of residential segregation as an undesirable and even dangerous process.

Marengo and Racine (1998) argue that segregation and marginality can lead urban sustainability to limit situations especially in cities where population is composed of 30% of minorities (including poor, ethnic and racial groups), and in metropolitan areas where the gap income-average between the population of the centre and the periphery is more than 30%. In both cases it seems difficult to reverse segregation problems.

It is important to highlight that segregation in any form has both spatial and social implications. Urban social theory suggests that a relationship exists between the geographic and social distance in urban neighbourhoods of varied character (Massey and Denton 1998; Saltman 1991). A lack of social interaction among different community groups is reflected in the spatial distances between the urban areas that they inhabit. This relationship ensures that cities are a patchwork of neighbourhoods with different wealth, culture, amenity and power and those interactions can range from frequent to non-existent (Smith 1998).

When less advantaged populations are highly segregated in areas with few or no resources, there is a concern that their spatial concentration marginalizes them from the society's opportunities (Friedrichs and Blasius 2001). Thus concentration acts as a barrier to upward mobility—the central argument in debates focusing on the growth of disadvantaged ethnic ghettos and the emergence of an urban underclass (Wilson 1987).

Kaplan and Holloway (2001) argue that the phenomenon is evident in such diverse historical and geographical contexts that it might be thought of as having a “ubiquitous” character, and therefore not problematical, or that it is necessary and consistently easily interpreted. The

attempts to explain the segregation as a ubiquitous phenomenon have been not success due to the fact that it constitutes a phenomenon that defines specific groups in a context historical and interpretable in the scale they demonstrate: segregated communities can be the result of choices and restrictions that arise in global, national or local scale (Kaplan and Holloway 2001). Residential segregation is so widespread that there is a tendency to produce widespread interpretations, which in the majority of the cases pertain only to isolated cases.

Ghettos are one of the most extreme forms of urban residential segregation and are most commonly defined as neighbourhoods overwhelmingly populated by a single ethnic group (Johnston et al. 1994). Ghettos have been more commonly differentiated from ethnic enclaves by virtue of the fact that residence in a ghetto is the result of involuntarily rather than voluntary factors (Smith 1998). In the contemporary literature ghettos have become synonymous with disadvantaged inner city communities populated almost exclusively by visible minorities. Conceptually a wide scale of expressions exists to refer to the process and to the forms that the spatial concentration of certain groups adopts: "self-segregation" (Anas, 2004), "voluntary ghettos" (Bauman 2001), or "upper class ghettos." The last is referred for example to the segregation of Jews in the city of Toronto, despite that their incomes are over the average and that there does not exist evidence of residential discrimination (Muster and Ostendorf, 1998 in Marcuse 2001).

Marcuse (2001) distinguishes operationally among those terms that characterize segregation as "process" (clustering, segregation, congregating, quartering, walling out, desegregation and fortification) and as "spatial expression" (cluster, quarter, ghetto, enclave, exclusionary enclave and citadel).

The spatial dimension turns out to be fundamental since the level of concentration of a certain group changes depending on the territorial scale on which the intra-urban analysis is carried out (metropolis, city, district, and block).

It turns out to be pertinent to reflect on the generic reasons that would explain the immigrants' residential segregation in urban areas. Does it really connect with the socioeconomic conditions of the population? Or are there ethnically-racial elements that play a specific role in the configuration of urban space?

First it is necessary to emphasize that although social segregation is sharper than racial segregation (especially in Latin American cities) it must be recognized that the presence of foreigners remains strongly tied to urban deterioration, as Sjoberg emphasized during the 1960s and recently the United Nations (UN 2003b) in its Global Report on Human Settlements. Secondly, if it is accepted that ethnicity influences the residential segregation of minorities there are alternatives to follow:

Segregation and by extension the concentration of ethnic, socioeconomic or cultural groups is widely thought to be a function of both voluntary and involuntary factors (Balakrishnan and Kral 1987). Voluntary factors might include the desire to maintain and strengthen an ethnic or cultural heritage, to ensure a strong and unified community voice, or simply the wish to access the support system of the neighbourhood. Thus immigrants may choose to live in some neighbourhoods to avoid assimilation. This is the case of foreign minorities such as British or German citizens living in some Latin American cities.

It must not be forgotten that those immigrants who do not accept certain forms of the hosting group such as Muslims in European cities (mainly France) who reject cultural local patterns and wish the host society to respect certain peculiarities of their culture and religion in the public schools. Another example is given by Glebes's study (1986) of Japanese migration in Düsseldorf: Japanese avoided both German-populated neighbourhoods and neighbourhoods of low-status guest workers, preferring to settle together in Japanese-populated residential areas.

Another perspective is to assume that segregation is not a reaction to immigrants' choices. Discrimination at both personal and institutional levels is an example of a non-voluntary reason for residential concentration due to the lack of financial resources or limited housing options. Finally, segregation can also be expressed in bi-directional form, with regard to the dominant ethnic group and among the minorities. The defensive reaction and cultural features reinforce the pattern of spatial segregation, in which every ethnic group tends to use its concentration in neighbourhoods as a form of protection, mutual help and affirmation of its characteristics (Borja and Castells 1997).

Each of these examples imposes constraints on the range of residential options available to minority and/or disadvantaged groups. The specific balance of involuntary and voluntary factors that leads to a particular residential pattern varies from group to group and is highly likely to change over time as processes of assimilation or "ghettoization" take shape (Smith 1998).

The study of urban immigrants' concentration has a long history. The most notable research stemmed from the Chicago School of Sociology which in large part set the agenda for several decades of subsequent work (Park et al. 1967).

From these proposals, different theoretical approaches have contributed to understand the differential access of the population to the physical space which demonstrates the persistent interest to analyze the phenomenon as a process. The most important contributions are analyzed in the next pages.

A popular approach to explaining intra-urban segregation patterns is based on the **ecological theory of the Chicago School** (Park et al. 1967; Zang 2000) and related theories (Bassett and Short 1980; Sarre et al. 1989) which tried to explain the impact of European immigration in the rapid industrialization process of some U.S cities at the beginning of the 20th century. In the 1920s and 1930s, researchers of this school focused their study on patterns of immigrant and socioeconomic settlement, processes of mobility and the impacts of residential concentration. Using human ecology as a theoretical framework, the city was seen as an organism comprising a collection of interconnected but separate social worlds related to one another through the processes of competition and evolution. In this way, the concentration of immigrants was viewed as a natural part of urban growth. Many immigrants came to cities with few or no capital resources and as such were limited in their residential choice. These ideas are reflected in Burgess Concentric zone model (Burgess 1967), Hoyt radial-sector model (Hoyt 1939) and Harris and Ullman's polynuclear model (Harris and Ullman 1945).

Smith (1998) argues that in U.S cities of the time, inner city communities offered the least expensive housing. As immigrants gradually assimilated into the mainstream culture (e.g learned the language and got a job) it was assumed that they would eventually move away

from the inner city and seek residence in the more affluent suburbs. The movement of upwardly mobile immigrants into neighbourhoods previously occupied by native born, and subsequent replacement of old immigrant groups with new ones became known as the process of invasion/succession.²⁸

The prioritizing of a socioeconomic class over ethnicity as the key mechanism for immigrant settlement behaviour is implicit in this theory of assimilation. Essentially the differences in the levels of income would be the main explanation of the segregated residential patterns (Hawley 1950). Nevertheless, the recent evolution of the U.S. city contradicts this explanation. The racial segregation in the city, though it is still important, has been transformed into a much more noticeable social segregation. Degraded areas are not necessarily located in the zone of transition and they are defined by income levels more than ethnic characteristics. An explanatory element, according to Wilson (1987) is the emigration of the middle class worker to the metropolitan periphery. When this process takes place, a social catalyst disappears in central areas, basic institutions weaken, and the sense of community and positive identification with the neighbourhood are lost.

Furthermore, new urban styles have reversed the city's pattern. In North American, European and some Latin American cities a new form of urban succession has emerged. New residents (e.g. singles, couples without children, elderly, professionals, and artists, among others), wealthier than the long-time poor or immigrant residents, move towards the centre of the city where they share space with the old residents or displace them, creating pressure to initiate processes of renovation and rehabilitation that will help to debilitate the ghetto structure (gentrification process).

It is necessary to emphasize that the ecological theory contains implicitly a strong assimilationist component assuming that members of the minority groups would, socially and economically, become less different from the hosting group. Foreigners come as ethnic groups, their identity reinforced by the tendency to recreate the social spaces of their country of origin; and complete assimilation takes place only during the second or third generation, culturally very different from the pioneering groups.

Nevertheless time cannot be enough (Capel 1997). The black population has been living longer in U.S. cities and is still segregated. The same thing happens in Asian cities with the Chinese minorities, or in Germany where the *ius sanguinis* prevails over the *ius solis*: 60% of the foreign population resides for more than ten years and nearly 68% of the children and young population were born in Germany but they continue to be considered foreigners (Favaro and Bordogna 1989).

The scheme of Chicago was reinforced with the emergence of the neoclassic economy concentrated in establishing relations between the accessibility to the Central Business District (CBD) and the distribution of land and housing values. The fundamental organizational principle in the city would be accessibility to the centre. Communities are distributed around the centre depending on their economic capacity to make trips to and from the centre. Land values depend on the demand and reflect the conditions of accessibility (Hawley 1950).

²⁸ The urban system was viewed as developing through processes of invasion and succession; new interests "invade" certain parts of the city "succeeding" the former occupants who, in their turn, move to (invade) other parts, and so on. This process gives rise to particular land use patterns – the concentric ring (or, zone), the radial sector and the polynuclear patterns.

These basic principles are reflected in a more integrated way in the Alonso-Muth-Mills model, (Alonso 1960; Mills 1972; Muth 1969). Individuals choose their place of residence evaluating the price of the house and the transportation costs in terms of money and time, under the assumption that housing prices are cheaper in the periphery than in the centre of the city. Each social group has a "bid rent curve" associated with the amount they can pay for rent at different locations (with differing transportation costs). This formulation allows for the possibility that different amounts of housing space can be chosen at different locations. Also it allows for the possibility that higher income households end up locating in the suburbs because of the relatively low cost of land there compared with locations closer to the CBD.

The ecological approach has often been criticized, first for its terminological confusion. What was demonstrated was less a process of relegation than a situation characterized by the residential concentration of ethnic households; secondly, because reality is much more complex (some ethnic groups remain geographically concentrated even after achieving a certain level of socioeconomic success); and thirdly, for viewing the individual only as an economic entity (*Homo economicus*), and thus ignoring preferences and perceptions. Behavioural models emphasize household characteristics affecting such as choices, the age of the household head and the household size (Clark 1986; White 1987; White and Sessler 2000). Besides, since a long time cities have stopped being monocentric, that is to say, have been decentralized, developing new commercial and employment cores that are expressed in polycentric structures (Henderson 1985).

The **institutional perspectives** (rationalization of politics), fairly unknown, suggest that the forces acting on residential segregation are connected with dynamics outside the individual or the social group. It tries to explain social differentiation from the perspective of institutional discrimination on a national, regional, and local scale, and structural and daily racism (Miles 1990; Van Kempen and Özüekren 1998). The central idea is that, in practically the majority of cases, segregation is often involuntary and imposed through discriminatory practices (Kaplan and Holloway 2001).

Miles (1990) incorporates the concept of *racialization*²⁹. He investigated the expressions of racism in the British migratory policies after World War II. Though these would have affected mostly Southeast Asian and Caribbean populations, the State was not completely successful as these groups and their descendants have a main presence in the country today. Lamentably, research in this area has been scanty and the existing data has centred on the topic of housing. Financial exclusion in the housing market especially would affect under-class. These processes can operate through race or income differences, but as well across geographical differences (Aalbers 2003).

In the 1960s Morrill (1966) researched the explanatory factors behind the ghettos' expansion in the U.S. He identified the suburbanization strategies of real estate companies for the white population as a way to generate a housing market for blacks in the urban centre. In the Netherlands between the 1970s and 1980s many municipalities denied housing access to Turkish and Moroccan immigrants (Tesser et al. 1996). Housing corporations rented houses

²⁹ Racialization is an ideological process. Racial ideology is constructed from pre-existing conceptual elements and emerges from the struggles of competing political projects and ideas seeking to articulate similar elements differently (Omi and Winant in <http://aad.english.ucsb.edu/docs/Omi-Winant.html>, retrieved May 2006).

to immigrants only in areas that were less popular, thus concentrating them in some neighbourhoods. Molina (2001) demonstrates that immigrant minorities in Uppsala are victims of discrimination since they are not able to "choose" a place to live. It seems segregation is one of the geographic expressions of inequality, which is most often a result of social discrimination in the housing market, possibly politically and economically enforced.

In addition, it is recognized that some ghettos are the result of public housing operations. The strategy is to produce housing with few public services. The errors are multiple, among them the production of mono-functional and socially homogeneous neighbourhoods, the lack of urban quality that are the attributes of centrality and social visibility (Barreiro, 2000).

The **structural perspective** approach, as the previous one, emphasizes the importance of external forces in analyzing the group, but argues that institutional agents ignore the characteristics of economic, political and social structures. It tries to give an alternative explanation to residential segregation, having associated it with the socioeconomic inequality processes of capitalist societies; in other words it would be a problem of class belonging (Harvey 1985a). According to Kaplan and Holloway (2001) residential segregation is interpreted as the spatial distribution of the social reproduction processes.

For Harvey (1985b), the explanation of residential urban segregation resides in the mechanisms of unequal distribution inherent in the capitalist system of production, which are simultaneously cause and effect; that is to say differential income patterns are the reasons of the unequal resources' distribution. At the same time these patterns contribute to the maintenance and reproduction of inequality and social injustice.

In European countries the appearance of an underclass is seen (Crul and Vermeulen 2004; Murray 1994) as a lower position than the traditional working class and would principally comprise the non-European immigrant population, mainly unemployed and with limited access to the real estate market.

It is a vicious circle: an unsatisfactory position in the labour market makes it difficult to access housing, which is an agent of social status; the lack of social status generates problems in accessing credit which makes it difficult to invest in real estate. In this approach it is assumed that as soon as immigrants reach a similar socioeconomic status as the hosting population, their residential patterns will be rather similar.

The problem with this perspective is that it does not recognize the existence of discriminatory mechanisms, on the bases of ethnic and racial status of the immigrants, situated in certain positions in the hierarchic scale of the housing market.

2.3.3 Residential segregation in Latin American cities

As it has been discussed, spatial segregation is a feature of the metropolis. In some cities segregation is associated primarily with racial groups; in others, ethnicity, religion or incomes determine status. Thus sociospatial segregation differs in developed and developing countries. In spite of the growing relevance of the socioeconomic residential segregation in scholar debates and public agendas in Latin America, the evidence regarding its intensity and magnitude is fragmentary and weak (Rodríguez and Arriagada 2004).

In Latin America, the debate typically focuses on social and economic differences that are the basis of the explanation of sociospatial segregation, whereas in the U.S. and many European countries questions are linked to ethnic and racial relationships. This difference does not imply that in developing countries manifestations of sociospatial segregation linked with social distance and different levels of income do not exist, neither does it mean that cities in developing countries are exempt from sociospatial segregation manifestations that are based on ethnic issues (Lungo and Baires 2001).

Residential segregation also has different meanings and consequences depending on the specific form and structure of the metropolis, as well as the cultural and historical context. In North America and Europe, social and ethnic minorities tend to be segregated in less desirable inner-city localities while the upper and middle-class majority disperses into small, socially homogeneous urban neighbourhoods or suburbs across the metropolis. By contrast, in Latin American cities it is the elite minority that tends to concentrate in one area of the city (Gilbert 1996).

The most visible expression of sociospatial segregation in Latin American cities, especially during their accelerated expansion in the last half of the 20th century, was the dramatic separation between the residential areas of higher income groups and poor people (Lungo and Baires 2001). In Lima, San Isidro and Miraflores are recognized as rich neighbourhoods while Comas and Villa El Salvador are poor; in Santiago, the extremes are found on the one hand in communes such as Vitacura and Las Condes located in the northeast and, on the other hand in poor municipalities such as La Pintana and La Granja in the south. In Rio de Janeiro, the rich live in Leblon and Ipanema and the poor in the Baixada Fluminense. What are the reasons behind this particular spatial pattern in Latin American cities?

Since the middle of the last century, Latin American countries have experienced impressive urban growth (Table 4) fuelled at first by intensive rural-urban migration and followed by a natural population growth within the urban cores. While it is true that some of Latin America's largest cities are holding steady or decreasing in relative size, the absolute population size continues to increase (Table 5). In 2005, four Latin American cities had more than ten million inhabitants and three had more than four million. At certain times, metropolitan expansion accounted for as much as 40% of the national population growth. The primacy of these largest cities is not only expressed by their role as centres of population, but also as the key seats of economic and political power. Despite their importance to their national economies, Latin American principal cities are often characterized by marked inequalities among population groups.

Indeed, Latin America as a region has the most inequitable income distribution in the world. One standard measure of inequality is the Gini coefficient, which measures the percentage

difference between the actual distribution and a perfectly equal distribution in which each person receives exactly the same income. The Gini coefficient varies between zero and one, with zero representing perfect equality and one a hypothetical situation in which one individual receives all the income. Table 6 gives the World Bank estimates of the median Gini by region and decade. Not only is the Latin American distribution the most unequal in the world, but it has been that way at least since the 1960s.

Table 4: Percentage of urban population in selected Latin American countries^a

Country	1980	1990	2000	2015
Argentina	83.0	86.9	89.6	92.0
Bolivia	45.4	55.6	64.6	73.1
Brazil	67.3	74.7	79.9	84.2
Chile	79.0	82.8	85.7	88.8
Colombia	64.4	69.4	74.5	80.0
Costa Rica	43.1	46.7	50.4	56.1
Cuba	68.0	74.8	79.9	84.7
Ecuador	47.1	55.4	62.7	70.7
México	65.5	71.4	75.4	80.2
Nicaragua	50.1	52.5	55.3	59.4
Paraguay	41.6	48.6	56.1	65.7
Peru	64.2	68.7	72.3	75.5
Uruguay	86.1	90.5	92.6	93.9
Venezuela	78.9	83.9	87.4	90.8
Total^b	65.3	71.0	74.9	79.1

^a The term “urban” is defined as it is used in each country

^b Excluding Caribbean English language countries

Source: UN 2003c.

Table 5: Latin America's largest cities (1950-2005)

City	1950	1960	1970	1980	1990	2005
Mexico City	3.145.351	5.173.549	8.900.513	13.811.946	15.047.685	21.027.200
Sao Paulo	2.333.346	4.005.631	7.866.659	12.183.634	15.183.612	18.505.100
Buenos Aires	4.622.959	6.739.045	8.314.341	9.723.966	10.886.163	12.923.800
Rio de Janeiro	2.885.165	4.392.067	6.685.703	8.619.559	9.600.528	11.246.600
Bogotá	647.429	1.682.667	2.892.668	4.122.978	4.851.000	7.798.000
Lima	645.172	1.845.910	3.302.523	4.608.010	6.422.875	7.603.500
Santiago	1.509.169	2.133.252	2.871.060	3.937.277	4.676.174	5.636.800
Caracas	683.659	1.346.708	2.174.759	2.641.844	2.989.601	3.478.100

Source: Gilbert 1996 (from 1950-1990) World Gazette 2005

Table 6: Median income GINI coefficients by regions and decade

Region	1960s	1970s	1980s	1990s
Eastern Europe	25.1	24.6	25.0	28.9
South Asia	36.2	33.9	35.0	31.9
OECD and high income countries	35.0	34.8	33.2	33.7
Middle East and North Africa	41.4	41.9	40.5	38.0
East Asia and Pacific	37.4	39.9	38.7	38.1
Sub-Saharan Africa	49.9	48.2	43.5	46.9
Latin America	53.2	49.1	49.7	49.3

Source: Morley 2001

More recent data shows a sharper situation. A quarter of all national income is earned by 5% of the population and the top 10% of the population control 40% of the wealth, with the majority of Latin American countries experiencing a continued concentration of income within their population (Filgueira and Peri 2004). These growing differences have been compounded by a history of political instability, weak local planning and governance, ineffective land markets, unlegislated development schemes, and the impacts of widespread poverty (Peters and Skop 2004). As a result of this lack of social government power and resources, Latin American cities have often grown on an informal, slow basis, with large segments of the population without formal property title.

The most likely explanation of residential segregation has always been market forces; elite suburbs have long been protected by high land values and the costs of installing full services before housing is constructed. If governments have accentuated residential segregation, it is through their response to market pressures. Some military governments even contributed to increase the level of residential segregation. This is the case of Santiago de Chile where the eviction of more than 30.000 families from "slums" in high-income residential areas to peripheral areas and the creation of new municipalities generated more spatial polarization and a clear distinction between "poor" and "rich" communes (Schiappacasse 1998).

Currently the Latin American pattern of segregation is much more complicated. Cities have expanded in population and area; affluent neighbourhoods have come into contact with lower income areas. Sometimes, the expansion of these elite suburbs collides with working-class areas that were once some distance away. Besides, the growth of the middle class has complicated the pattern of residential segregation; the middle classes have increasingly taken over land close to low-income areas because they cannot afford land elsewhere.

In this new dynamic the concept of "gated communities," appears dramatically and is preferred by the richest people (Borsdorf 2003; Janoschka 2004). As crime rates rise, the fear of burglary, kidnapping, and other crimes has encouraged many rich families to move into protected areas. Some move into blocks of luxury apartments located in the elite suburbs. Other rich families move into residential developments surrounded by high walls with entry controlled by security guards. The new model of the Latin American city highlights the increasing

presence of gated communities, shopping malls, country clubs, and industrial parks with an increasingly dynamic and mobile population (Sabatini and Cáceres 2004).

This new urban dynamic has inspired recent theses in the field of residential segregation. Salcedo and Torres (2004) support the suggestion that in the case of Santiago de Chile, the proliferation of gated communities in the poor periphery constitutes a possibility of effective integration, because it reduces the distance between social opposite realities acting as "porous border". The nearness of socioeconomic opposite groups might generate positive consequences as the amplification of opportunities for those less favoured, as well as the improvement of their environment.

From the 1980s to the present, several Latin American models expressing residential segregation have been developed. Among the first ones the descriptive model proposed by Griffin and Ford (1980) stands out; it is based on empirical observations in more than 100 Latin American cities. The model is characterized by one dominant elite residential sector and a commercial spine, as well as a series of concentric zones in which residential quality decreases with distance from the city centre (Figure 2).

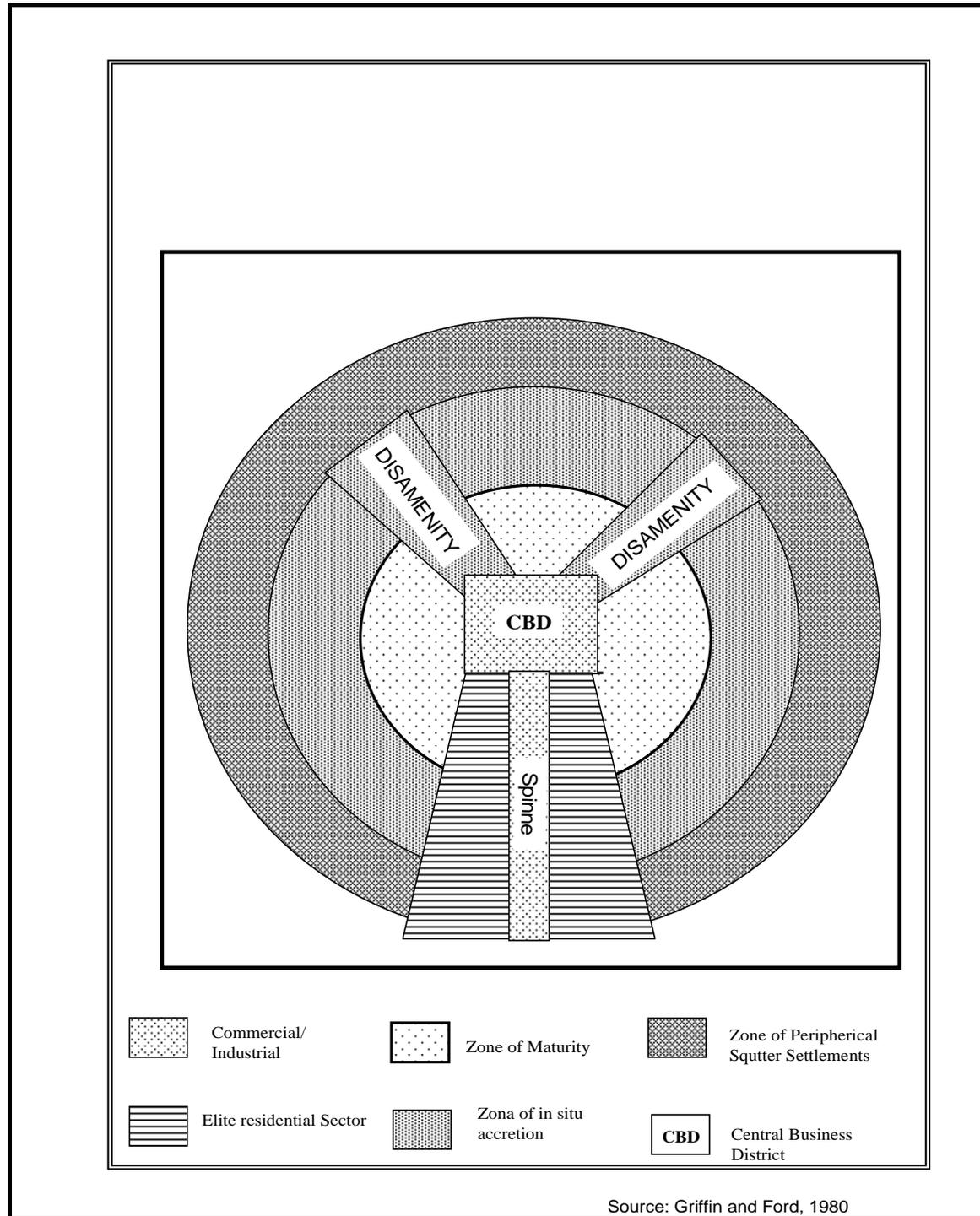
Later Gormsen (1991) developed a temporal and spatial model of the land use changes in Latin American cities, distinguishing three historical transversal sections (pre-industrial stage, initial modernization and metropolization). Bähr and Mertins (1993) recognized among the basic principles of the city internal differentiation; besides a concentric and a sectoral pattern, it is a cellular discontinuous structure of settlements beyond the urban periphery (Figure 3).

In 1996 Ford upgraded the model presented with Griffin incorporating mainly the new suburbanization pattern. Nevertheless in the last years, new proposals have arisen to analyze the evolution of the urban structure in Latin-America (Borsdorf 2003). He shows four structural schemes of the city: the colonial time (1820), the first phase of urbanization influenced by the European immigration (1920), the second phase of urbanization marked by the rural exodus (1970) and the contemporary city (2000). In these stages, the city changed from a very compact structure to a sectoral perimeter, from a polarized organisation to a fragmented city (Borsdorf 2003).

In summary, it is important to emphasize that in the different models of urban structure developed for Latin American cities, international migration does not constitute an element of analysis as it is recognized in the U.S. or Europe.

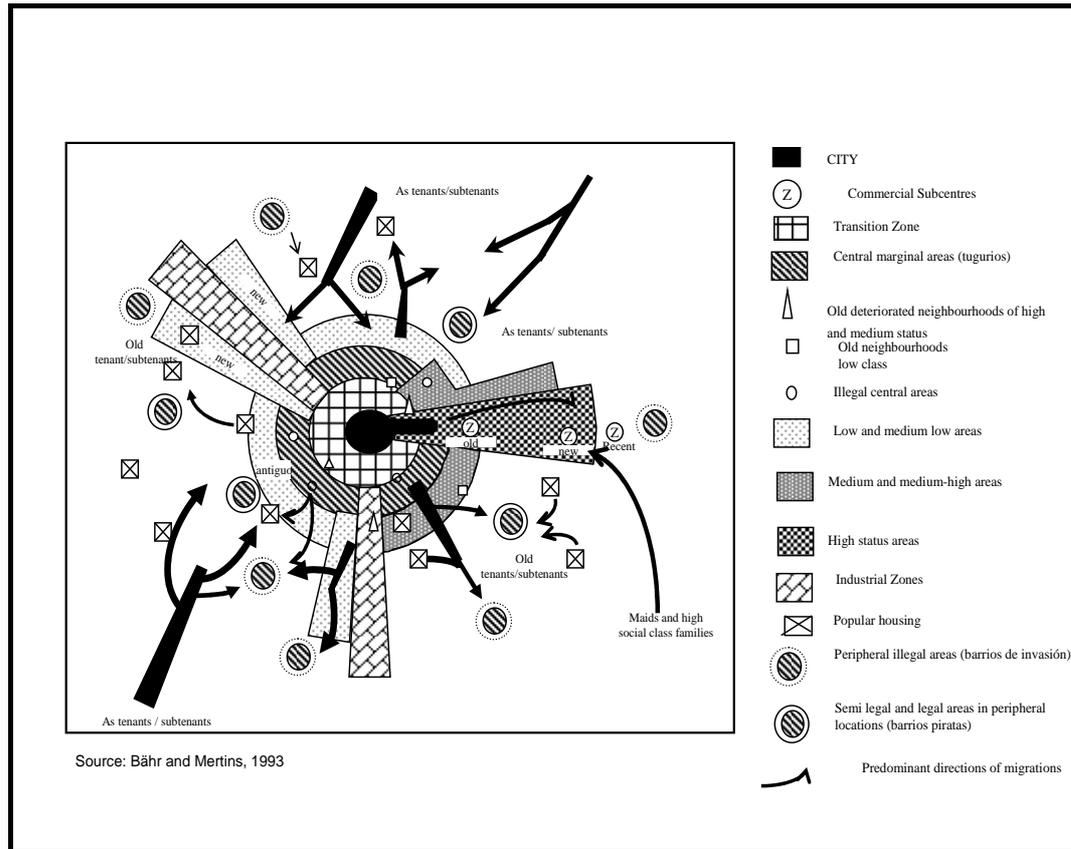
Up to the 1970s rural urban migration was a significant element behind spatial differentiation in different metropolitan areas (Gormsen 1991; Bähr and Mertins 1993). During the 1990s, intra-urban migration arises as an important factor behind the consolidation of the different social areas in the city. Unfortunately it has been researched only in the Santiago Metropolitan Area where it was possible to demonstrate that these internal movements took place mainly within short distances and between communes of similar socioeconomic status (Ortiz and Schiappacasse 1997). Today intra-urban migrations, especially those movements from central to peripheral areas, are a relevant feature of the new spatial structures (Rovira 2002; Janoschka 2002).

Figure 2: Generalized model of Latin American city structure



The face of urban centres has changed; particularly emphasizing this change is the erection of walls to close streets and encircle residential complexes. Some researchers see closed-off districts as copies of the North American gated communities; others interpret the changes as a relapse to medieval times (Borsdorf and Hidalgo 2005).

Figure 3: Sociospatial differentiation in Latin American metropolises



2.3.4 Economic segregation and economic niches

Intra-urban investigations point to unemployment as the most typical feature of segregated spaces. Early on, Stokes (1962) identified different types of degraded areas, “slums”, depending on the integration of the population into the labour market: “slums of hope” regarding those occupied and integrated, and “slums of despair” regarding the marginal population or peripheral to the market. Diverse reasons converge to provoke a perverse circle that condemns persons to live in “the margins” without the possibility of breaking out of this situation. Though unemployment attacks without consideration of origin, ethnic minorities are the most vulnerable groups.

The transformation of the global economy during the last two decades is perhaps the most important dimension of globalization because it has supported the diffusion of global culture and provoked deep and broad adjustments within countries and cities. What began as trade in goods and services is now dominated by the flow of capital and exchange of currencies in world financial markets. These changes by process of financial liberalization were initiated under the belief that open markets would attract investment and foster growth. While these strategies have benefited some countries (like Chile), others have been unable to cope with the scale of changes.

Two major changes in employment occurred in both developed and developing countries. First, there was a greater financial return for jobs in the financial and information sectors with high-skill job requirements. These are knowledge-intensive industries in which technology determines profitability and employment profiles. Second, the lowering of trade barriers in

many countries has meant the flight of capital and jobs to locations with lower wage costs and higher profits. This process known as “the race to the bottom”³⁰ (Brecher and Costello 1994 in UN-HABITAT 2004) also occurs within cities, resulting in job loss where segments of the labour force have to shift from one sector to another, often losing jobs and benefits.

The social and economic consequences of these processes are multiple and often reflected in the behaviour of the most vulnerable groups: the underprivileged and immigrants often work in segmented labour markets in jobs that tend to be refused by the native population.

Sassen (1988, 1991) has led the debate concerning the polarization of the labour market in developed countries, especially regarding the excessive growth of the gap in social stratification and the decrease of the middle class. Hamnett (1994), from European examples, as the Dutch Randstad prefers to talk about a “professionalization” process with diverse modalities. He argues that Sassen’s data and other U.S. scholars’ interpretations reflect solely the experience of New York or other cities of the U.S with particularities such as a large number of immigrants. Socioeconomic transformation in the global cities of Europe, such as London and the Randstad, is characterized by professionalization, rather than polarization, accompanied by growth in the unemployed population supported by the state. These cities are characterized by an increase in the number of highly-skilled/highly paid professional jobs concurrent with a decline in those less skilled (Hamnett 2003).

Countering Hamnett’s view, however, Burgers (1996) rejects the professionalization thesis and argues that the national welfare system and specific histories are mediating variables for social polarization. Through economic redistribution and welfare services such as housing, education, and health, welfare states are able to offset such polarization.

Nevertheless, most of the available studies emphasize the existence of this polarization up and down, valid especially for global cities (Capell 1997): upwards, in relation to quaternary-services in general, that attract qualified migrants in finance and other activities as has been verified in London (Beaverstock and Smith 1996), downwards in relation to the flow of less qualified immigrants that the new post-industrial economy required.

The new multiethnic metropolitan configuration shows the diversity of factors that create and support segregation, as well as the multiple forms that demonstrate it. While some immigrant groups adjust to the traditional patterns of disadvantage and exploitation, others have integrated favourably with the hosting societies. This has been possible through the establishment of parallel economies (Zhou 1992), occupying a variety of economic niches (Waldinger 1996) or moving to dispersed suburban settlements.

In New York and Los Angeles there has been a growth of the highly-skilled groups as well as an increase of the less qualified; this duality has led Jacobs (1992) to typify the city as “fractured”. Ong and Blumenberg (1996) argue that the economic restructuring and flexibility of the labour market in Los Angeles have increased social polarization among all the ethnic minorities without distinction. Mega cities such as New York, London, Tokyo, Paris and the Randstad present notable differences in the number of immigrants, their time of residence

³⁰ Some economists and social activists have referred to the substandard working conditions and low wages of manual labourers in developing countries as a race to the bottom. That is, to minimize labour costs firms sacrificed their workers’ health, dignity, and ability to earn a living wage. The expression is used sometimes in a pejorative context by those opposed to globalization and those supporting multi-national companies.

and their strategies of adjustment. Nevertheless, among all of them a correlation exists between low income and ethnic or racial groups (Fainstein 2001). Montreal represents another case of cluster unemployment as Afro-Caribbean and Asians are three times more likely to be unemployed than Caucasians (Dumas 2001).

Conversely, in relation to those foreign groups incorporated into the labour market, it is well known that immigrants tend to gravitate toward a narrow set of economic activities. New-comers moving from the same hometown not only become neighbours in the host society, but often work alongside one another.

There is a growing literature on ethnic niches and their roles in providing employment opportunities for co-ethnics and in contributing to the dynamism inherent in local labour markets (Logan et al. 1994; Waldinger 1996). Lieberman (1980) was the first one who used the term “spatial niches” to note that most racial and ethnic groups tend to develop concentrations in certain jobs, reflecting cultural characteristics, special skills or opportunities available at the time of arrival.

Nowadays more complex definitions are available. The term ethnic niche is used to designate employment sector categories in which members of a specific ethnic group are concentrated above a level one would expect based on their share of the total labour force of a local labour market (Wilson 2003). “Sociologically, it is a socially constructed formation or collective in which members are linked by ties of culture, shared genealogy and history, religion, race and national origin” (Wilson 2001:3). Waldinger (2001:307) defines an ethnic niche as “an occupation or industry in which the percentage of workers that are group members is at least one-and-a-half times greater than the group’s percentage of all employment”.

There is still considerable confusion regarding the distinction between ethnic economies and enclaves (Alba and Nee 1997). Waldinger (2001) argues that the concept of ethnic enclave denotes segregation within a particular territorial configuration. The knowledge of immigrant economies shows that they are not spread throughout the economy, but rather highly specialized in a few industries or business lines. Besides it seems that although many immigrant neighbourhoods serve as the source of business activity (Miami’s Cubans, Chinatowns of San Francisco and New York), immigrant entrepreneurs spring up throughout the urban landscape.

What seems to be clear, following Waldinger’s research in Los Angeles, New York, Chicago, Miami and San Francisco, is that when immigrants are more dependent on networks for information and support – a characteristic usually linked to lower levels – they converge more on a limited number of places. By contrast, the higher-skilled groups (e.g. Koreans, Chinese, Filipinos and Asian Indians) scatter more widely within cities.

Ethnic niches can develop from a variety of sources, including (Wilson 2001; 2003):

- Ethnic economies: the concentration of co-ethnic owners and workers in one or more related industries for the intention of exporting goods or to meet market demand within the ethnic group.

- Middle-man minorities: businessmen of one ethnic group providing goods and services to members of another ethnic group.
- Concentration and specialization in industrial or occupational activities based on co-ethnic members ability to meet labour demands through social network connections, and, in some instances, based on group members possessing some special skills or experience that employers consider relevant to productivity.

Since migration is a driven process, immigrants, except perhaps those who arrive with job offers, do not select destinations at random; but rather, move to places where there is an existing network of friends and relatives who can provide them with various forms of assistance, including jobs (Massey et al. 1993). The influence of social networks extends beyond the neighbourhood and ethnic enclave, providing employment opportunities in other sectors of the labour market where co-ethnic workers are not present.

Waldinger (1996) also suggests that labour niches enable ethnic groups to compensate for deficits and discriminations through the exploitation of social capital embedded in their community to promote further employment. Social networks, as a form of social capital, are an important element of niches and form a critical link between labour supply and demand in local markets. Apparently, across the group and not as isolated individuals, economic integration would be reached. In any case, it seems that economic progress provokes dispersion from the industrial or occupational cluster initially established by the immigrants.

2.3.5 Emergence of urban ethnic spaces: a challenge for local planning

Immigrants make important contributions not only by sending remittances to their countries of origin (chapter 2.2.5) but also to the urban economy of the receiving country. Most of the contributions regarding the spatial impact of migrants in cities are related to ethnic residential ghettos.

But one of the principal outcomes of the multicultural nature of the city has been the emergence of the so-called ethnic spaces (UN-HABITAT 2004) in the form of culturally distinct non-residential spaces, like buildings, churches, markets, shops, restaurants or other meeting places.

Since the 1980s, scholars have devoted attention to studying the urban landscape, but ethnic spaces in the city have received little treatment. According to Buzzelli (2001:574) there are many reasons for this neglect: *“An assimilationist understanding of ethnicity persists among some landscape scholars. From this perspective, ethnicity is not understood as a social process of inclusion and exclusion; instead, immigrants groups become indistinct soon after settlement. Ethnic markets in the landscape are regarded as “trivial”, “exotic tidbits”, even epiphenomena of “pseudo ethnicity” in the urban fabric of assimilation”*.

Given ethnicity’s complexity the question arises: Can ethnic groups create and be identified with urban social space in the city? Some contributions show that urban space may form part of the process of ethnic identification to reinforce ethnicity rather than to detract from it (Cohen 1990; Jackson 1993).

As we have discussed, immigrants, according to their training or as opportunities arise, fit into the urban economy in either ethnic enclaves where they supply the needs of their own

community, or in ethnic niches where they specialize in certain jobs and businesses in the mainstream economy. Ethnic space provides a context for the development of professional services such as lawyers, teachers, doctors and travel agents who are oriented to the specific needs of particular ethnic groups (Boal 2001). Again as a matter of mutual need, the ethnic concentration provides a base for the entrepreneurs, while the presence of ethnic entrepreneurs becomes a component of the network support structure.

Although most cities have become multicultural since the current era of transnational migration, they do not fully understand how to integrate ethnic minorities without fear of losing their historic and cultural identity. These manifestations are not new. During the 19th and 20th centuries immigrant communities in the U.S. were restricted to some areas of the cities (e.g. Chinatown, Little Sicily) showing the fear and social polarization of the society.

There is a large gap between cultural spaces available for immigrant groups. Although minorities contribute music, food and art to the cultural life of the city, inhabitants often are against them. Perhaps it is a matter of "quantity." Before the "age of immigration," cities such as New York, London and Paris were pre-eminent sites of cultural innovation. The confluence of cultural production and consumption (e.g. literature, art, fashion, music, food) in these cities magnified their importance and spread their reputation throughout the world. Nowadays despite cities' presumed policies of tolerance and real social diversity, they have always been flashpoints of ethnic hostility. The density of different minority populations makes it easy to target their homes and shops for persecution.

For instance, Dines (2002) examined the relations between immigration and urban renewal in Naples. From the middle of the 1980s Piazza Garibaldi began to attract various immigrant groups. Initially their presence did not alter the public perception of the piazza. Immigration was treated as a national rather than a specifically urban question, and while the local press began to identify the square as one of city's principal "immigrant spaces," perceptions about an urban gateway or as a dangerous place were internalized and reinterpreted. In the late 1990s Piazza Garibaldi was the principal distressed area of the city centre. Through collective actions and protest, immigrants have continued "renegotiation" of urban space in Naples.

In the era of globalization and multiculturalism, public institutions need to train their staff to be better informed and better connected with immigrants and their ethnic spaces. Following UN-HABITAT (2004), culture consists of the fusion of material and non-material factors that support practices of inclusion and rights to the city for all, without distinctions of any kind. This means having the capacity to recognize and interpret the patterns of change that are developing around immigrants. Investing in training may be more important than investing in the extension of new infrastructures or other services.

Cultural planning is an exciting contemporary frontier for planners, especially because it increasingly demands collaboration among economic development, cultural policy, immigrants and native population. Planners make momentous decisions through zoning, infrastructure provision and urban redevelopment schemes that shape the cultural map of a city. For instance, during the 1990s in the "twin cities" (Minneapolis and St. Paul) in the U.S., too many city and state public sector resources went into subsidizing large, "fine art" destination theatres and museums while smaller scale, neighbourhood cultural spaces had to fight for funding (Markusen and Schrock 2006). Innovation and articulation of the dividends that immi-

grants' spaces make to communities can alter this pattern and nurture cultural activity as a key ingredient in community-integrative development.

2.3.6 Understanding the spatial and socioeconomic structure of immigration

As we have discussed throughout the chapter this is a particularly interesting time to study the socioeconomic immigrants' characteristics and their spatial distribution within cities. International migration is undergoing qualitative and quantitative changes in a globalized society and its current urban impact in Latin American cities has received little treatment. The relationship between immigrants and their hosting urban space goes through a complex process that includes their labour position, education level, family and friend's networks, distance to work, preferences and economic possibilities.

Most of the researchers regarding immigrants' spatial distribution (not only regarding segregation) have been done in U.S. and European cities with few contributions of Latin American cities. In this context is it possible to recognize immigrants' particular patterns of distribution regarding their socioeconomic characteristics? In other words, is it possible to go beyond fragmented descriptions (e.g. segregation, economic niches, and ethnic spaces) and try to integrate many variables in the search for urban spatial patterns? Are methodological frameworks available?

One of the first approximations for analyzing the spatial structure of cities was the analysis of social areas, developed by Shevky and Williams (1949) and Shevky and Bell (1955). Instead of adopting the single-variable mapping of most ecologists, or combining variables into a single index of social conditions, they argued for three basic sources of social variation in cities: social rank (economic status), urbanization (family status) and ethnicity. "For the first time, theory was linked to precise measurement in a social and spatial context" (Davies and Murdie 1993:54).

They proposed three indexes to measure these factors with data derived from the censuses. The resulting scores were used to classify the urban sectors. The social range was considered the most decisive factor in the differentiation between places of residence, and it included census variables related to occupation, level of instruction and incomes. This approach has been criticized in the sense that indexes should have been empirically determinate. As Rees (1970) indicates, many other variables might have been considered and one might have used factorial analysis for determining the fundamental patterns of data variation. As well, it has been criticized for the lack of the racial factors' independence from the social and economic variables.

In response to the deficiencies mentioned above, during the 1970s, a new quantitative paradigm came to dominate the social sciences. The new technique was called factorial ecology, and it was based on a multivariate analysis of a variety of socioeconomic census variables to differentiate small homogeneous areas in the city. The results were quite amazing. In each city that was studied in different parts of the world, the spatial separation was due, in large part, to three factors, usually known as socioeconomic status, familism and ethnicity (Table 7 and Figure 4).

Murdie (1969) produced the model shown in Figure 4 representing the concept of layered social dimensions or “constructs” and the relationship with real estate being the physical space. This diagram can be described as an idealized model of urban ecological structure and change.

“Socioeconomic status” was an index of advantage that combined variables such as income, education and occupation and measured the extent to which households well endowed with these variables were separated from those poorly endowed. “Familism status” concerned the effect of family type; households with children and non-working wives tended to seek suburban bungalows, while single persons were more inclined to live in apartments in central cities. “Ethnicity” usually measured the proportion of those born outside the country, but could also represent the separation of particular ethnic, cultural or religious groups.

The three dimensions or factors had different weightings on the variables in the cities; but they were invariably the three major factors determining city social structure (Table 7). The city distribution of the factor’s score revealed spatial patterns of each dimension that combined the concentric scheme of the classic ecology and the sectoral distribution of Hoyt (Figure 4). Thus factorial ecology demonstrated that the concentric, sectoral and polynuclear models were not exclusive; they constituted different dimensions of the urban organization.

Through time factorial approaches produced additional important findings for the study of social differentiation. First the presence of more factors or “dimensions” was reported in many studies, illustrating that social-area analysis had only partially measured the social complexity of urban areas. Second they contributed to solve one of the dilemmas facing urban ecology. The concentric zones of Burgess, the sectors of Hoyt and the multiple nuclei of Harris and Ullman were complementary, not competitive descriptions (Davies and Murdie 1993: 55).

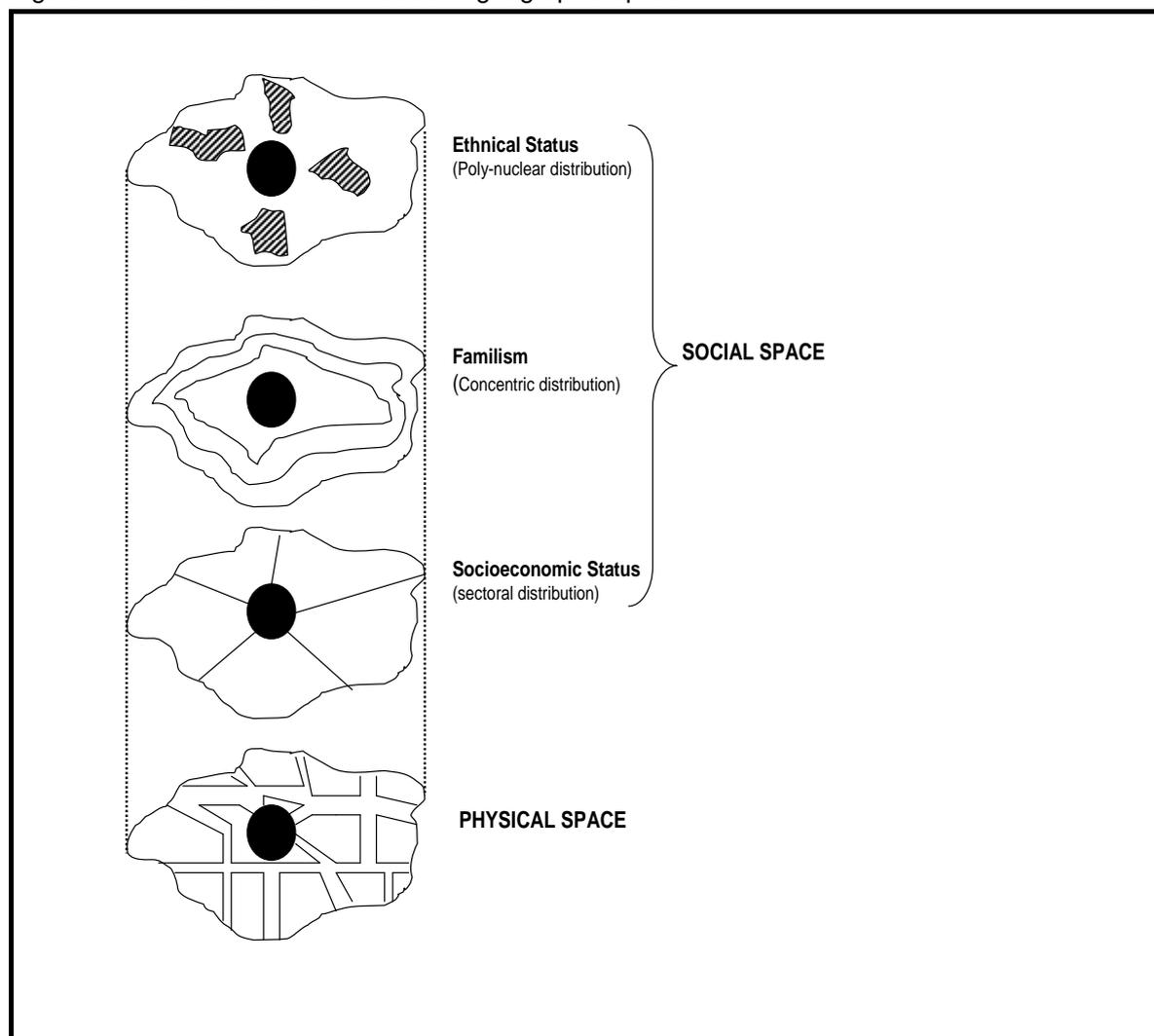
Factorial ecology lapsed along with other quantitative approaches in the post-modern disciplinary fashion of the 1980s and the 1990s; but the method has been recently revisited to show that the factorial division holds as strongly as it ever did, with many factors similar to those of 30 years ago.

The new factors reflect current realities, and are critically involved with current changes in work and in household demographics (Flood 2000). In line with the globalization thesis, people working in producer-service industries and university graduates are stronger determinants of socioeconomic factors. The social divide is no longer between “white collar” and “blue collar” occupation, but between professionals and the rest. The familism dimension has now become closer to urban lifestyles, distinguishing areas with apartment living, lack of a car, walking to work and small family size from family households who live in the suburbs and commute. Now familism status is more concerned with having children, being part of extended families and staying in the same location.

By simplifying the methods of earlier work it has been shown that instead of socioeconomic and familism dimensions, the two principal factors are in fact an accessibility space trade-off and socioeconomic disadvantage (Flood 2000). Accessibility/space distinguishes between households who want accessibility and households who want space. Accessibility can be afforded either through high incomes, small family size or crowding. A socioeconomic disadvantage factor is the flip side of advantage, and shows how households who suffer from un-

employment are single parents, have little education, receive welfare or belong to marginalized ethnic groups and are separated from the rest. We have shown that urban populations have long been separated based on ethnic, religious, social and economic characteristics. Examples of religious and ethnic segregation were also evident from Jewish ghettos in early 20th century Europe. Modern cities are not different, and one does not have to search too hard for good examples. Wherever one finds large concentrations of people, one finds distinct areas that exhibit distinct characteristics. However there are no research experiences that explain which characteristics or factors separated or characterized immigrant population.

Figure 4: Dimensions of formal social – geographic space



Source: adapted from Murdie 1969:8

Until now scholars have focused on understanding ethnicity as one of the factors that described urban populations without researching the dimensions behind the factor. This is particularly important in the case of Santiago. Schiappacasse (1998) identified five dimensions that characterized the metropolitan population (Table 7) and ethnicity was not among them. This result, however, does not mean that international migrants are not important in the shape of the structure of the SMA and it will be further analyzed in this study.

Table 7: Synthesis of some studies in factorial ecology

City/ Year	Author	Variables (N°)	Factors (N°)	Dimensions
Seattle, 1964	Schmid and Tagashira	42	4	Organization family, socioeconomic, etc.
Canberra, 1965	Jones	24	4	Ethnic, demographic, age, etc.
Helsinki, 1965	Sweetser	20	3	Socioeconomic, procreation, urbanism
Liverpool, 1964	Gittus	31	5	Density, housing, etc.
Copenhagen, 1967	Pedersen	14	3	Familism, socioeconomic, mobility
Cairo, 1969	Abu-Lughod	13	3	Class and family, male dominance, social disorganization
Calcutta, 1969	Berry and Rees	37	10	Land use and familism, castes, socioeconomic, life cycle, etc.
Chicago, 1970	Rees	57	10	Socioeconomic, raze, immigrants, etc.
Newark, N.Y, 1974	Janson	48	6	Racial, familism, social rank, etc.
Montreal, 1974	Racine	250	13	Density, socio-residential, etc.
Santiago, 1981	Bähr and Riesco	20	3	Socioeconomic, vital cycle, migration
Dublin, 1986	Kitchen	45	3	Socioeconomic, demographic change, seniors/retirement
Canadian cities, 1993	Davies and Murdie	35	9	Economic status, family and age, non-family, housing, ethnicity, impoverishment, early and late family, young adult, migrant
Santiago, 1998	Schiappacasse	64	5	Socioeconomic, suburbanization, employment, familism, housing
Beijing, 1998	Gu, Wang and Liu	14	4	Land use intensity, neighbourhood dynamics, socioeconomic status, ethnicity
Sydney, 2002	Flood	?	3	Accessibility, socioeconomic, familism
Dublin, 2002	Kitchen	45	10	Family status, socioeconomic status, demographic change, seniors/retirement, public transit, household type, etc.

Source: adapted and updated from Schiappacasse 1998

2.4 Specifications of research questions and methodological framework

Without being a major destination of immigration, Chile has experienced in recent years a considerable increase in the number of immigrants, especially from the neighbouring countries. The last population census (2002) shows a number of approximately 186.000 foreign-born residents in Chile. This figure represents only 1.2% of the total population (Table 18). Throughout most of Chile's history, the foreign born population has remained between one and four percent of the total population; Chile is most known not for the immigrants flow into its borders but for the many who have left. Results of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores 2005) indicate that nowadays almost 860.000 Chileans live outside the country.

Even though the number of immigrants is relatively small, it has increased during the past years. The data from censuses of 1982 and 2002 indicate that international migration registered a sharp increase. The 1982 population census recorded 80.479 inhabitants in the category of immigrants, in other words, people born abroad. This figure more than doubled and rose to 186.994 in 2002. The growth rate of the foreign population reached 5.8% in the period 1992-2002, higher than all registered during the 20th century.

The reasons are associated principally with two independent processes. On one hand, countries that traditionally attracted Latin Americans, the U.S. and Europe, have increased immigration control and, on the other hand, Chile presents, in the Latin American scenario, a relatively economic and political stability that assures a major possibility of employment. The current Chilean immigration reality is the strength of the attraction of the Santiago Metropolitan Area (58%) and the prominent increase in South Americans' flow, principally Peruvians, Argentines, Bolivians, Ecuadorians and Cubans, of which the first two represent almost half of all immigrants. Thus, it is an indication that in the last 20 years there was a very significant increase in international migration in Chile, not only in its emigrant component, but also in its immigrant dimension. The new immigrant flow, oriented specially to the Santiago Metropolitan Area, has established, for the first time in many years, the migratory topic in public debate.

2.4.1 Research questions

On this background, the relevance of the issue to be researched in this study becomes evident. There are reasons associated with the current discussion in the country as well as with the scientific debate about immigration and its impact on urban development.

Regarding the **Chilean context**, three major reasons are to be considered:

- First, the latest results of the population census show that immigration to Chile, and especially to the Santiago Metropolitan Area, is becoming a more and more relevant issue in the public debate. Therefore it is necessary to have a most accurate picture about the patterns, processes and impacts of international migration in order to avoid misunderstandings and the spread of myths and stereotypes.
- Second, international research indicates that immigration is a highly complex issue which requires holistic and detailed analysis. Although some scientific contributions regarding immigration to Chile exist (Martinez 2003a 2003b; Stefoni 2002a 2002b; Norambuena 2003; Valdivieso 2001), they are rather sectoral or general, focusing on particular immigrant groups (e.g. Peruvians or Ecuadorians) or oriented towards the main characteristics of immigrant flows on a national or regional scale. Until now, there are no studies at all about the major Chilean centre of attraction, the Santiago Metropolitan Area and its 34 communes consisting of 348 districts.
- Third, Chile is in the process of discussing a new migration policy. Therefore, results of the study like the one presented here, may have an impact on the future discussion regarding immigration from abroad.

Regarding the **scientific debate**, the theoretical considerations above also indicate a number of aspects to be taken up in research:

- Whereas immigration and its impact on urban development are rather widely studied in the North American and European context, there is a lack of similar studies in Latin America. Therefore, it is difficult to identify parallels and generic structures of international migration to urban areas and its related characteristics.

- Moreover, studies about immigration to Latin American countries mainly focus on historic and economic aspects on a macro level (country-regions). Therefore, it is difficult to arrive to adequate conclusions regarding patterns, processes and impacts of international migration on urban development.
- Whereas most studies on urban structures usually consider the whole urban population, there is little knowledge about the social space of immigration and its contribution to the overall urban pattern.

Based on this, the study pursues the following objectives and corresponding research questions:

- 1 The first objective is to identify major patterns of international migration as a context for the comparison and understanding of the migration flows to Chile, and especially the Santiago Metropolitan Area, as well as its main characteristics. The analysis deals with patterns primarily on a macro-level (regions and countries).

As a result, the situation of the country and its major metropolitan area in relation to international migration and its features is characterised. In pursuing this aim questions arises such as: Which are the recent international migration trends? How the Chilean immigrant situation in the Latin American context can be described? Is the country a new pole of attraction in Latin America?

- 2 The second objective is to understand the main features of international migration to the Santiago Metropolitan Area on a micro-level (communes-districts) as an example for a new centre of growing importance in Latin America. The research questions focus on two major issues:

First, research is oriented towards the analysis of the general characteristics of the immigrant groups living in the Santiago Metropolitan area in order to highlight lines of similarity and differentiation among them.

The analysis of characteristics, such as gender, age, time of arrival, housing conditions, economic profile, family situation, etc., is considered to be of great importance because of the possible links to the immigrants' position within the labour market in the Santiago Metropolitan Area.

The reviewed literature puts emphasis on the existence of a polarization in the immigrants' labour market in global cities: on the one hand, in relation with qualified services, especially in the financial sector, that attracts high-skilled immigrants; on the other hand, in relation with less qualified immigrants that the actual economic conditions demand. Moreover, experience regarding the economic integration of immigrants shows that they are not spread throughout the economy, but rather highly concentrated in a few sectors.

In this context, questions arise such as the following: Which types of international migrants does the Santiago Metropolitan Area receive? How selective is the process and what are its consequences for residential patterns in the metropolis? Do immigrants tend to be attracted by specific economic sectors (occupational niches)? Which overall consequences does international migration have for the receiving society?

Second, research is oriented towards the analysis of spatial patterns related to the migrants' distribution, identifying patterns of segregation. In other words, the questions will be answered how the immigrants' spatial distribution is structured across the metropolis?

Literature indicates that the concentration and segregation of immigrants is a spatial pattern with a long history. There is a concern that especially highly segregated less advantaged population with no or only few resources is marginalised and does not have sufficient access to the normal facilities and opportunities of the society.

On this background, research questions regarding segregation such as the following will be answered: How can be the immigrant spatial distribution in the Santiago Metropolitan Area described? Is it possible to identify residential patterns of immigrant groups? Is residential segregation linked with the socioeconomic conditions of the Chilean metropolitan population, or do ethnic elements, related with the country of origin, exist which play a specific role in the configuration of the urban space?

- 3 The third objective is related to the analysis of the social space of immigration and its contribution to the overall urban pattern taking the example of the Santiago Metropolitan Area. Here the dimensions which structure the social space, i.e. the main characteristics which define the profile of the "urban universe" of the immigrants, are identified and described. Moreover, their spatial distribution is scrutinised, and it is connected with general principles and models of the urban structure.

This is related to the above described theoretical approaches to understand the social urban space. Research based on multivariate analysis of socioeconomic census' data has differentiated homogeneous areas in cities. Results of studies about different urban areas have shown that mainly three factors determine the spatial separation of the population, usually known as socioeconomic status, familism and ethnicity.

These three dimensions are invariably the mayor factors determining the urban social structure. Nevertheless there is no research experience that explains which are the characteristics or factors that separate or characterize the immigrant population. In this context new questions arise: Which are the complex factors or "dimensions" behind the immigrants' residential distribution? Are these factors coincident with the traditional ones? Does this have any consequences for the urban policy regarding immigration?

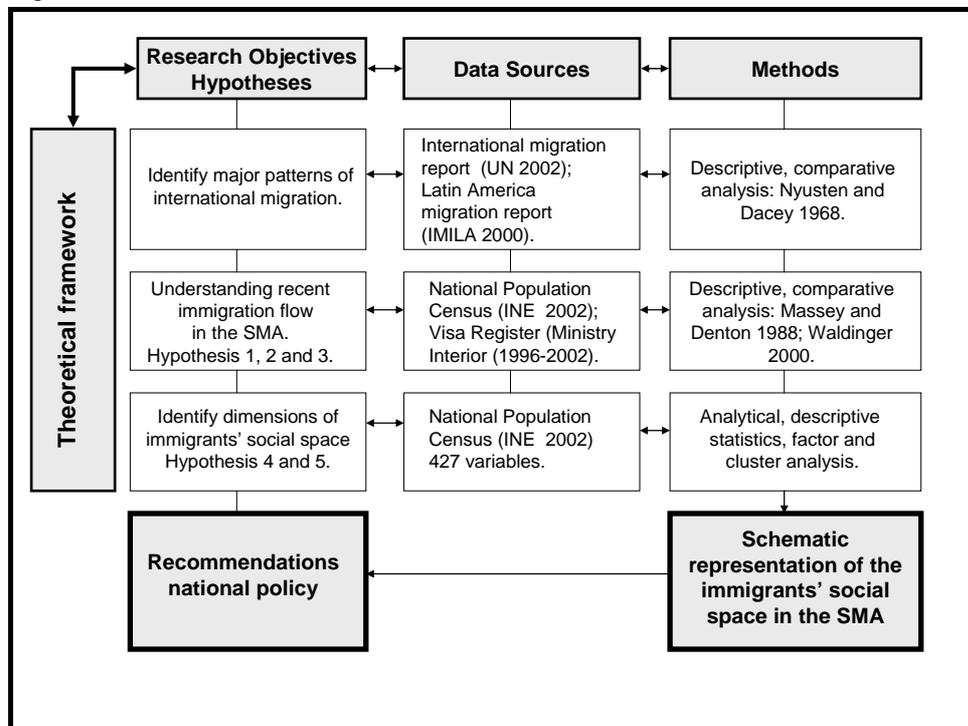
- 4 The fourth research objective is to link the research results with policy options. Based on an international review of migration policies and a closer look to the Latin American and especially Chilean realities, recommendations regarding the current discussion about immigration in Chile are developed. Here it is important to mention that findings regarding the Santiago Metropolitan Area can be an important input into the national frame as well as a relevant experience to be taken into consideration in other regions of the country.

Based on these considerations, five working hypotheses are developed as stated in chapter 1.5. They are scrutinized in the study.

2.4.2 Methodological framework

This dissertation is exploratory in nature; as such, and considering the dynamic character of immigration, it does not seek to find a final explanation about immigration patterns and their socioeconomic status, but rather makes a contribution to a better understanding of international immigration towards the Santiago Metropolitan Area as an example to other developing metropolitan areas that are experiencing a similar phenomenon. Although the study makes reference to a large number of research publications and international reports the research methodology that guides this work is mainly quantitative due to the possibility of analysing international data about migration and the availability of the most recent Chilean census data and visa records. Figure 5 gives an overview of the path that will be followed to achieve the research objectives. In the following, the major methodological elements related to the quantitative analyses used in chapters 4 and 5 (objectives 2 and 4) are described.

Figure 5: General work structure



Source: elaborated by the author

2.4.2.1 Understanding the international migration flow to the Santiago Metropolitan Area

To identify major patterns of international migration (objective 1) the data from the International Migration Report (UN 2002) was analyzed (Figure 5). The United Nations database groups the different countries into six major areas (see more details in chapter 2.1.1). For statistical convenience the regions are classified as belonging to one of three categories: advanced economies, economies in transition and developing economies. In this study, in each world region the current international situation is described, complementing the United Nations data with reports elaborated by the International Organization of Migrations (IOM).

In the specific case of Latin America, the Immigration Report elaborated by IMILA Project was incorporated (Figure 5). The data allows identifying the structure of migratory relations among Latin American countries during the 1990s. The method of Nyusten and Dacey (1968) was applied allowing the creation of a network of relations based on the concept of "dominant flows" through the analysis of the orientation and the intensity of the flows.

Two functional categories were established: "dominant" and "dependent" countries. A dominant country is a country from which the most important flow of immigrants is to a smaller country (in terms of total population). A dependent country orients its principal migratory flow to a more heavily populated or larger country.

In order to better understand the international migration to the SMA (objective 2) the general characteristics of the immigrant groups living in the Santiago Metropolitan Area were obtained from two major quantitative sources: the National Census of Population and Housing conducted in April 2002 and the visa registers captured by the Department of Foreign and Migration of the Ministry of Interior Affairs between 1996 and 2002 (Figure 5).

To identify the immigrants' stock and their socioeconomic attributes, the software REDATAM +³¹ was used for obtaining and processing in a rapid way the census data of the 34 communes and their respective districts that shape the Santiago Metropolitan Area. The use of the National Population census' information was chosen due to its scope, which includes an important number of variables and its objectivity. It was also chosen for its detailed spatial level in which it is possible to obtain district information.

The census projects an estimate of the number of immigrants living in the country, since it shows the stock of foreign population, who declared themselves as residents in the country in April, 2002. To identify the immigrants, two main census questions (N^o22 and N^o23) were analyzed³² (Appendix 1):

- When you were born, in which commune or place was your mother living?
- Do you live permanently in this commune?

From this explanation comes the definition of an international migrant considered in this study: An international migrant is "that person who was born out of the country and who in the moment of the census execution was residing in one of the 34 communes of the Santiago Metropolitan Area" (Figure 1). Whatever the legal condition of entrance or residence of these persons, they are considered immigrants while they reside habitually in the country.

Though the census is the principal source for analyzing international migration, important limitations arise. Censuses do not include the whole immigrant population. For instance those that reside illegally might declare Chile as their country of birth. Furthermore, they also have limitations regarding the information about the motives for migration. Nevertheless the most important limitation is a methodological one: censuses refer to the migrants' accumulated stock in the moment of the census. This implies that the temporality of the phenomenon stays out of the analysis, especially the study of transnational communities (Martínez 2003).

³¹ REDATAM (REtrieval of DATa for small Areas by Microcomputer), or R+, is a software program developed by CELADE that allows any professional to quickly and easily process census and other data organized in a hierarchical database, for any geographical area of interest to the user, which may range from a whole country down to a few city blocks.

³² See the census form in appendix 1.

The second data source incorporated were the visa registers granted by the Department of Foreign Relations (Ministry of Interior). It was possible to access the visa registers among 1996-2002, however detailed visa registers were only available for the years 1996, 1997 and 1999. Foreigners who requested permanent stay in the country were analyzed according to gender, age, country of origin, former occupation, profession and commune of residence.

It is important to mention that the records of visas and grants of residence are also not a fully reliable source for the analysis of the immigration. They do not have statistical purposes and their accessibility is very controlled. Besides they register immigration at the moment in which the legal procedure is carried out or is granted, or when the permission to stay in the country is renovated; but these administrative procedures don't necessarily coincide with the exact moment of the migration. Nevertheless the information was extremely useful to identify the economic activity of the immigrants in their countries of origin, crucial for understanding one of the dimensions of the labour market segmentation. The joint treatment of both mentioned sources allowed obtaining different but complementary visions of the migratory process to the SMA, considering that representative surveys on international migration, such as socioeconomic surveys of households or employment do not exist.

2.4.2.2 Measuring spatial inequality: residential segregation indexes

Much debate has centred on how segregation is best measured and whether the used measurement reflects adequately both spatial and social dimensions (Peach 1996; Smith 1998). A number of techniques have developed that allow distinguishing the level of inequality in the distribution of certain population groups in the space. These go from the application of simple mathematical and well known formulas as the index of dissimilarity to the utilization of complex statistical methods.

Since the 1950s, a series of quantitative indicators for measuring residential segregation arose from the social sciences. For more than twenty years the Index of Dissimilarity of Duncan and Duncan (1955) was the reference for measuring segregation, in terms of spatial separation among social groups. This index measures the distribution of two different populations over the same subset of residential areas (tracts, blocks, districts, wards, etc.) of a city. The index ranges from 0 (zero segregation) to 1 (complete segregation). The values indicate the percentage of one group that would have to relocate to achieve the same proportional distribution as the group to which it is being compared (Peach 1996). Despite its popularity, the Index of Dissimilarity has been criticized for, among other things, ignoring the spatial aspects of segregation, as it does not account for changes in segregation levels when groups from different area units are swapped (Wong 2002).

In their classic work Massey and Denton (1988) evaluated a range of indices and identified five separate dimensions to the segregation of any group: evenness, exposure, concentration, centralization and clustering. They recommended that each of these components should be measured separately and with unique measurement techniques.

To achieve one of the research questions of the second objective (chapter 2.4.1) "how the immigrants' spatial distribution is structured across the metropolis", three segregation indexes (dissimilarity, isolation, and interaction) were applied (Massey and Denton 1988):

Index of Dissimilarity (D)

$$D = \frac{1}{2} \sum_{i=1}^n \left| \frac{x_i}{X} - \frac{t_i - x_i}{T - X} \right|$$

Where:

T: Total population of the commune

X: Population of group *X* in the commune

x_i: Population of group *X* in the district *i*

t_i: Total population of the district *i*

The index of dissimilarity is the most common measure of segregation. This is a measure of the *evenness* with which two groups are distributed across an area. As we are working with more than two groups of immigrants, the index was calculated, taking under consideration the population of immigrants of each group and the Chilean residents.

The value of *D* represents the proportion of a group which would need to move in order to create a uniform distribution of population. A *D* value of 0 represents a completely integrated city while a value of 1 indicates complete segregation.

The two basic, and related, measures of exposure are isolation and interaction. The two indexes, respectively, reflect the probability that a minority person shares a unit area with members of a same group (isolation) or between members of two different groups (interaction).

Index of Isolation (A)

$$A = \sum_{i=1}^n \left(\frac{x_i}{X} \right) \left(\frac{x_i}{t_i} \right)$$

Where:

X: Population of group *X* in the commune

x_i: Population of group *X* in the district *i*

t_i: Total population of the district *i*

The isolation index provides a measure of the probability that a member of one group will meet or interact with a member of the same group. Its highest value shows that the *x* group is isolated in the area where they live.

Index of Interaction (xly)

$$xly = \sum_{i=1}^n \left(\frac{x_i}{X} \right) \left(\frac{y_i}{ty} \right)$$

Where:

X : Population of group X in the commune

x_i : Population of group X in the district i

y_i : Population of group Y in the district i

t_y : Total population of the district y

The isolation index provides a measure of the probability that a member of one group will meet or interact with a member of another group. For example a value of 0.2 suggests that in a district where a member of x group lives, 2 persons from 10 are members of the y group.

The three indexes for all immigrants in the Santiago Metropolitan Area and for the most important groups (with a share of more than 2.7% of all immigrants) were calculated: Peru (26.1%), Argentina (19.2%), Ecuador (5.6%), Spain (5.3%), US (4.5%), Brazil (4.0%), Venezuela (2.9%), Germany (2.8%).

The residential segregation was analyzed on the levels of the communes and districts. More recently several approaches have been suggested to introduce the spatial dimension into measuring segregation. One of the latest approaches tries to integrate distance measures to capture the proximity among population groups. White (1983) and Wong (1998) have elaborated the so called spatial indexes of residential segregation. Nevertheless, most distance-based measures of segregation require intensive computing methods (GIS). Moreover, relevant data availability regarding the exact location of immigrants is very limited. Therefore this method is not applied here.

2.4.2.3 Factor and cluster analysis

The interpretation of the spatial distribution of different variables has been traditionally a motive of great interest within geographical research. In this respect, Mertins (1991) indicates that the social segregation or sociospatial differentiation inside a city is based on the empirical fixation and the evaluation of socioeconomic indicators (age, marital status, size of the home, education, rate of occupation, position in employment, etc.), the characteristics of the constructions (year, condition, infrastructure), as well as on certain values of relation and density (housings per building, homes per housing, persons per home or housing).

Moreover, the interest in integrating classic urban land use models (concentric, sectoral and polynuclear) with the theory of social area³³, and the need to raise the number of variables in a study to achieve a better differentiation of the economic and social structures drove, among other reasons, to the application of multivariate mathematical techniques (factorial analysis) to the analysis of social urban space. From these reasons the name "factorial ecology studies" was taken.

In other words, if human ecology can be defined as the study of man's interaction with his external environment, then social ecology is the branch of human ecology that deals with social and societal aspects of that environment. "Factorial social ecology"³⁴ is the orientation

³³ A theory and technique developed by Shevsky and Bell (1955) to relate changing urban social structure and residential patterns to the processes of economic development and urbanization.

³⁴ The term factorial ecology was introduced by Sweetser (1965).

within social ecology that uses a **factor analysis** approach and model. It tries (a) to establish sets of basic dimensions in socio-ecological differentiation, (b) to reach empirical generalizations about these dimensions and (c) to develop a theory of socio-ecological structure and change in terms of the dimensions (Gunnar Janson 1980).

The main purposes of the factor analysis technique are: (1) to reduce the number of original variables into fewer composite variables, called "factors," and (2) to detect structures in the relationships between variables, that is to classify variables.

A small number of factors are extracted to account for the correlations among the observed variables to identify the dimensions (latent variables or factors) that explain why the variables are correlated with each other. The resultant factors are interpreted and nominate in conformity with the original variables that turn out to be more significant in each of them. Finally, the "scorers," that present the different spatial units (districts in the case of the SMA) in each obtained factor, allow interpreting their spatial distribution and associating them with the spatial model of the ecological structure. On the basis of the combination of factors it is possible to obtain the social areas.

As it was discussed above (chapter 2.3.6) multiple factorial studies on intra-urban residential differentiation are coincident in the identification of three main categories of social structure: socioeconomic status, family status and ethnic status (Table 7). However in the last factorial study conducted in the Santiago Metropolitan Area (Schiappacasse 1998), despite the original selected variables incorporated antecedents relative to the ethnic dimension, this factor was not represented in the final results. The ecological structure of the SMA was represented by five factors: socioeconomic, suburbanization, occupational status, family status and housing structure. According to these results in 1992 the SMA was not characterized by an ethnic factor mainly due to the low number of international immigrants living in the metropolis at the beginning of the 1990s.

Within this frame, and considering that in general there is a lack of theoretical and empirical studies that have used factorial analysis to identify the intra-urban social structure of international migrants, we utilize an indirect approach³⁵. That is to say, following the strategy of asking for as many factors as necessary to explain the common variation of the variables in such a way as to maximize the variance explained with the least number needed. In practice, the "indirect approach" of factorial analysis consists in reducing a given matrix of data to a very minor matrix of factors, hoping that the process could extract some meaning.

Another important aspect is the type of obtained solution. Solutions can be oblique or orthogonal. In the first case, the resultant factors are correlated by the others; in orthogonal solutions (most used in geography), the obtained factors are independent, and not correlated giving as a result a factorial matrix that indicates the correlations among original variables and obtained factors. The orthogonal was followed so that selected factors would show the fundamental aspects of the analyzed phenomenon.

³⁵ There are two main approaches in factorial analysis: (a) Exploratory (indirect) is often used in the early stages of research to gather information (explore) about the inter-relationships among a set of variables. (b) Confirmatory (direct) approach is more complex and sophisticated because it is used to test or confirm specific hypotheses or theories concerning the structure underlying a set of variables.

The specific procedure included the following steps:

- 427 variables related with the social, economic and mobility characteristics of immigrants were selected from the 2002 census (see census form in Appendix 1).
- Due to the fact that factorial analysis only allows a number of variables equal or smaller than the observation units (343 districts) it was necessary to eliminate some of them.
- Indexes of descriptive statistics were calculated, especially the standard deviation of each variable. According to the highest values of standard deviation the number of variables was reduced to 74 (Appendix 2), including only those variables with a deviation higher or equal to two. Variables with weight lower than two were eliminated, since they tend to show degrees of homogeneity.
- A correlation analysis was applied to the 74 variables (Appendix 3). Those variables with correlation values higher than 0.7 were selected. This value is recognized in the literature as types of "high" or "very high" correlations. In those cases in which iteration took place, a variable was eliminated when the highest second correlation reached a value lower than 0.7. Finally the number of variables diminished to 46 (Appendix 4).
- The 46 selected variables were the input for applying the factor analysis with the support of the statistical software Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS).
- Once the factors were obtained, they were nominated in the "factorial matrix" (Factors x Variables) depending on the variables' highest values (positive or negative).
- Via the "score matrix" (Factors x spatial units) the resultant factors were spatialized using "Arc-View" software. Districts were chosen as the territorial basic unit despite the heterogeneity in terms of size and population.
- Using the same statistical software (SPSS) the score matrix (also called "final matrix") was the input to apply a cluster analysis. The units of observation (343 districts) that present similar characteristics were grouped in 10 clusters.

The factorial ecology approach has received multiple critiques. Smith (1973) considers that it is objectionable, basically, for two considerations to be related with the data:

- The dimensions (factors) that arise from the analysis are limited by the utilization of only, or fundamentally, census variables.
- The omission of variables related with social problems especially social pathologies and neglecting decisive factors of institutional character.

Thus the analysis is not simply inductive because it does not incorporate all variables and the election of those integrated is not always well justified. However, factorial ecology has been capable of accumulating a voluminous empirical material on cities's social patterns and of representing this material systematically. In spite of it, the factorial ecological methods have demonstrated to be poorly adapted for comparative studies, both in space and time. Though the factorial analysis is efficient, so much for the determination of the internal structures as well as for historical comparisons, it must be done on a suitable set of variables that combine the census, official sources and other available information related with social well-being.

Cluster analysis is a widely exploratory statistical tool designed to reveal natural groupings (patterns) within a large group of observations (districts). The technique segments the survey sample, in this specific case immigrants, by forming groups of cases (e.g. individuals, species, districts, *etc*) that are similar along a set of indicators selected to describe those cases. While the groups are formed to be as uniform as possible within, the groups should also be as dissimilar as possible from one another. The classification has the effect of reducing the dimensionality of a data table by reducing the number of cases. The underlying mathematics of most of these methods is relatively simple but large numbers of calculations are needed which can put a heavy demand on the computer. Cluster analysis encompasses a number of different algorithms and methods for grouping objects of similar kind into respective categories.

Immigrants living in different districts of the Santiago Metropolitan Area whose answers in the 2002 census were very similar, should fall into the same clusters while respondents with very different answers should be in a different cluster. Ideally, the cases in each group should have a very similar profile towards specific characteristics (e.g. year of arrival, age, education background, occupation, country of origin, etc), while the profiles of respondents belonging to different clusters should very dissimilar. Its main advantage is that it can suggest based on complex input, groupings that would not otherwise be apparent.

Regarding the number of clusters, technically there can be as many clusters as there are cases under analysis (343 districts). However, this would not serve the purpose of reducing the vast amount of data to meaningful groupings. This study assumes cluster analysis as an exploratory analysis tool with no inclination as to the "correct" number of clusters, or immigrant types. The determination of any number of immigrant types can be viewed as somewhat arbitrary, but the applications of some practical considerations such as hierarchical methods can help developing a reasonable set of conclusions. In this study a hierarchical method (see Appendix 5), in which clusters are defined according to similarity or dissimilarity measures, is used. SPSS software makes the analysis easily accessible.

The validity of the conclusions drawn from cluster analysis is sometimes questioned since very different clusters can be obtained depending on the analysis performed. One of the most important decisions is which variables should be included in the analysis. If important variables are ignored, results will be suspect. In this study the cluster analysis was based on the factors given by the factorial analysis. In other words no additional or different variables from the factor analysis procedure were chosen. The final factorial matrix (343 districts by 5 factors) was taken as input to the cluster analysis.

Finally previous experience with the area (Schiappacasse 1998) and also intuition is useful to get a feeling for what the final outcome might look like. This experience helps to choose the analysis that best answers the objectives. It is important to remember that cluster analysis is an exploratory tool and different algorithms may very well detect different patterns in the data, none of which may be "wrong", they are simply a different method of "dividing" the data.

Chapter 3 Recent trends in international migration as a context for understanding migration to the Santiago Metropolitan Area

3.1 Challenges in a new migration era

Since the 16th century there have been two transcendental historical processes in the study of international migrations: the constitution of a capitalist world economy and the emergence of the nation-state. The *mundialization*³⁶ of the economy generated conditions for new migratory forms, whereas, the new political system of the nation-state impels the birth of identities, citizenship and nationality, incorporating the concept of foreigner (Pereda et. al 2001; Massey et. al 1998). From the second half of the 20th century, rapid changes have affected political, economic and social events. This acceleration is reflected in enormous technological changes, in the revolution of the mass media, in global economic integration and in massive changes in the systems of production and the labour market. Undoubtedly, the increases in the transnational flow of capital, commerce and technology have influenced international migration. Despite the fact that migrations have always existed, today more than ever, they are part of contemporary life, affecting all the countries, particularly cities that are centres of origin, transit or destiny of movements.

Currently the importance of geographic distance has diminished and technological advances in transport benefit more people. Traveling time has been reduced and the costs of transport are accessible to a great number of people. Information is being exchanged by mobile telephones or the internet. Images of western European cities attract more and more people from many countries. Images of the consumer society in host countries are publicized worldwide through returning migrants, representing a powerful force of migration. Communications have modified the character of migration, making it a less permanent action and, especially, less fearful and traumatic.

Economic globalization is an expression not only of the irruption of the information technologies, but also of the *transnationalization* of the companies and the opening of the nations. The spatial redistribution of economic activities, greater mobility of the working capital and reduction of the international costs of transaction affect the international distribution of economic opportunities and, therefore, the dynamics of migrations (Di Filippo 2001).

Not only has this economic restructuring led to an increased gap between developed and less developed countries, but it also has been a factor in unemployment and in increasing labour insecurity. Studies demonstrate consistently that international migrants do not come from poor and isolated places, disconnected from world-wide markets, but from regions and nations that are involved in the process of rapid changes and development as a result of their incorporation in the global business (Massey et. al 1998). Under such circumstances, migration is perceived as "the thing to do", the only way that young people can advance economically (Portes 1997).

³⁶ Mudialization comes from the Latin word, *mundus*, or, in English, *world*, and as such it refers to far more than spatial dimensions or geographic confines (Suk Cha 2001).

The “neoliberal” model has eliminated an important part of the state’s participation in the economy and in the protection of the national economies. The rules of the game include open markets and free international movement of the productive factors.

Nevertheless, globalization has not influenced the field of mobility in the labour market; human capital is the only factor of production that formally does not have free transit between borders, being the object of severe restrictions, particularly in the developed world. In the 1970s, 6% of the member states of the United Nations had policies to reduce immigration. In 2001, 39% of less developed countries and 44% of developed had put in practice policies to reduce immigration (UN 2002).

The difficulties imposed on migration at a moment when interchanges in real time are fomented, and barriers that inhibit the circulation of goods and ideas have been destroyed show the asymmetries of a globalization that includes individuals, populations, countries and regions, and at the same time excludes so many others (Castells 1999).

Signs of the limited character of the present globalization of migration, if it is compared with financial globalization, are that free mobility is confined almost exclusively to one region in the world (the European Union). Also, the central subject in debates and international negotiations is centred, with thin results, in agreements that facilitate the temporary movements of people with qualifications directly related to businesses or the provision of services. In fact, factors such as education level and individual ability establish a different dynamic in the present migratory scene. In many cases, these factors are a requirement for the legal admission of immigrants, which allows different countries, mostly rich, to attract skilled labour.

The last report of the OECD (2004a) concludes that international migration is usually more common among highly-skilled professionals. Additionally, in most member countries of the OECD, the number of immigrants with higher educations exceeds the number of emigrants with the same educative level. Among less developed, non-member countries, especially Africa and the Caribbean, those more affected by international mobility are the highly skilled professionals. Among the highly-skilled migrants, it is possible to distinguish three main groups:

Skilled transients (Appleyard 1989): executives and professionals of transnational firms growing with the internalization of production, business, finances and communications. Most of them come from the U.S., Japan and countries of the European Union; their major destinies are cities in these countries or in countries in the South. Although they stay for a short time, their economic and cultural impact is important, as much in the receiving country (influences of the executives in local elite) as in the country of origin (cultural changes in Japan originated by returned executives). Borjas (2005) argues that the rapid growth in the number of foreign students enrolled in U.S. universities has transformed the higher education system, particularly at the graduate level. Many of these newly minted doctorates remain in the United States after receiving their doctoral degrees, so that the foreign student influx has a significant impact on the labour market for native high-skill workers.

Brain drain migrants: This applies to professionals from less developed countries working in central economies covering the lack of native labour; for instance, doctors of the Commonwealth in public British hospitals, or health professional in Spain or Italy and different

professionals of Southeast Asia in Australia. Nowadays, European scientists and professionals are also attracted by better labour opportunities in North America.

During the 1990s several countries developed policies to attract highly-skilled immigrants, in the North (Australia, Germany, United Kingdom, the U.S.), as well as in the South (Singapore, Taiwan, South Korea).

International experts: They are mainly involved in activities of cooperation and support of the development. Although these experts are diverse in their objectives, strategies and ways of linking to the native populations, what they have in common is that their movement to another country is guaranteed by an organization and takes place based on the special qualifications that they have.

As with other categories of migrants, those who are highly-skilled mostly move in response to economic opportunities abroad that are better than those available at home, as well as in response to the migration policies in destination countries. Other factors, however, play a role in their decision to emigrate and in their choice of destination, including intellectual pursuits, research, or language training. In the case of researchers and academics, the conditions in the host country can be an important determinant in the migration decision and destination.

Several researchers have pointed out - with regard to the highly-skilled - that "migration" may not be the most accurate term. Instead movement or mobility may be more adequate terms. This is due to the fact that migration has connotations of permanency or long-term stay, whereas the movement of many highly-skilled tends to be intermittent and short term (Koser and Salt 1997).

As with other types of migrants, the number of highly-skilled is difficult to calculate. Following Pellegrino (2004) there are no precise figures available on the phenomenon, but there is some evidence that, globally, skilled emigration increased through the 1990s. Carrington and Detragiache (in Pellegrino 2004) estimated that in OECD countries there were 12.9 million highly-skilled immigrants originally from developing countries: 7 million were in the U.S. and the remaining 5.9 million were in other OECD countries.

In the case of the Latin American countries Pellegrino (2004) argues that the "flows to the north have, on average, lower levels of training than those heading to other countries in the region, such as Brazil or Mexico, by virtue of the demand for certain specializations in those countries, as well as the relatively high salaries offered for those activities. In the flows to developed countries, the average hides the presence of highly-skilled groups which, although small in respect to the magnitude of Latin American emigration, are determining factors when it comes to development and innovation in their countries of origin" (Pellegrino 2004: 53).

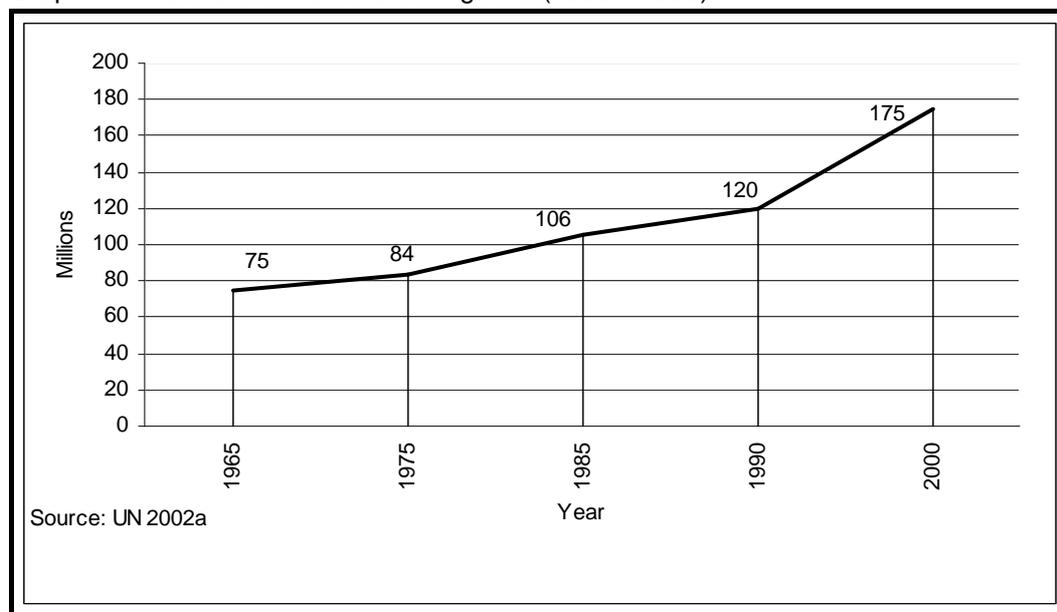
Specific studies on the emigration of skilled workers to Chile are not available and it would require a precise definition of its scope. Nevertheless, some figures related to professional and technical immigrants identified through the last national census are shown in chapter 4.

3.1.1 World migrant stock

According to the latest international statistics available, (United Nations 2002a) the number of international migrants in the world rose from 79 million in 1960 to 175 million in 2000. A

remarkable growth took place in the 1980s, mostly due to the break-up of the former Soviet Union and subsequent independence of new republics (Graph 4). It must be highlighted that much of the increase in the number of migrants during the 1990s occurred because of the creation of new national borders, without involving the actual moving of people. The number includes displaced refugees, but it does not capture the illegal migration.

Graph 4: Evolution of international migrants (1965 – 2000)



Despite continuing increases in the number of immigrants, they comprise only 2.9% of the world population, in other words one out of every 35 world inhabitants. Consequently, it is a phenomenon of limited extent. From a quantitative point of view, international migration is an exception and not the rule among human groups. Nevertheless its social, economic and political impact is much greater than the figures indicate.

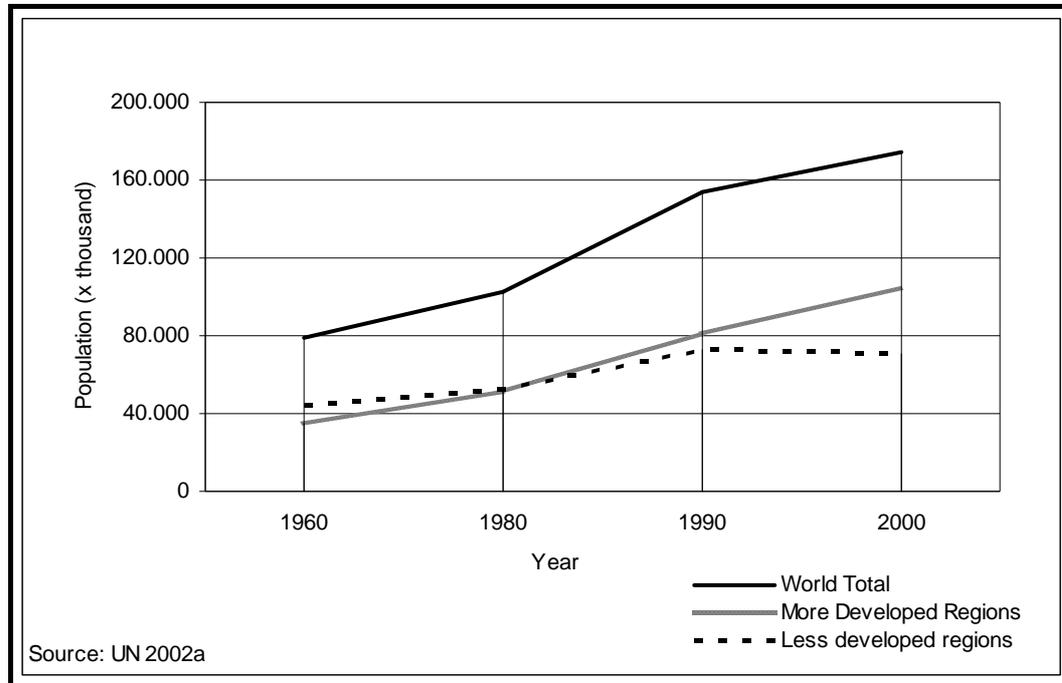
Before 1980, less developed regions had attracted a higher number of immigrants than the more developed regions. However, today 60% of the movements are directed to developed countries (Graph 5). Most of the migrants live in Europe (56 millions), Asia (50 millions) and North America (41 millions). These three regions host 84% of the international migrants (Table 8).

Nearly one of every ten persons living in a more developed region is a migrant; in contrast almost one of every 70 persons in developing countries is a migrant. Latin America and the Caribbean show the highest emigration figure: one emigrant per 1000 inhabitants.

The actual migratory flows are far from one typology. International migrants include different skill levels (low-skill, high-skill, students, professionals, entrepreneurs, etc.), different degrees of permanence (temporal, permanent, and circular), and different legal statuses (legal, illegal, those with labour contracts, groups that can move without problems, or those linked with smuggling networks).

Although most international migrants move to improve their economic conditions, approximately 16 million are refugees. That is to say, 9% of the world's immigrants have left their respective countries for religious, political or ethnic reasons.

Graph 5: Migrant stocks by region (1960-2000)



Reality does not make a clear division between a voluntary emigration and an obligatory one, or between labour or political reasons; there are some who are displaced for labour reasons and others who are clearly refugees, and in many cases the reasons are mixed. According to provisional figures compiled by the United Nations Commission on Human Rights (UNCHR 2003) the five main countries of asylum are: Pakistan (1.1 million), Iran (985.000), Germany (960.000), Tanzania (650.000) and the U.S. (452.500). Requests of asylum or recognition of the condition of refugees were presented in 141 countries. The nationalities with the greatest number of refugees were Palestinian and Afghan, followed by Sudanese and Burundian.

3.1.2 Diversity and complexity

Another indicator of the evolution of migratory movements is the diversification of origins and destinies, recognized in literature as the *mundialization*³⁷ of the migratory movements. This *mundialization* has great implications:

Implication 1 is the conversion of societies diametrically opposed in receiving countries of immigration. Fifty years ago, five countries - the U.S., Canada, Argentina, Brazil and Australia - concentrated most of the world population flows. These five countries had vast, sparsely

³⁷ *Mundialization* is often used in the same manner as globalization, but it has different roots and carries different connotations and denotations. Globalization refers to the globe, to the shape of a globe and hence, with regard to the earth, to the shape of the earth. *Mundialization* goes beyond this connotation (Suk Cha 2001).

inhabited territories as well as rapidly growing cities whereas Europe was densely settled. The emblematic international migrant of the late 19th and early 20th century was a European crossing the ocean in search of a better life, exchanging an industrialized region intensive in labour for another industrialized region intensive in land (Hatton and Williamson 1994 in Massey et. al 1998). Currently European, Persian Gulf and Southeastern Asian countries are among the most important areas of immigration (Graph 6). New origins and destination countries emerged after 1950 to yield recent international migration systems.

Table 8: Total population, international migrants and refugees, 2000 (in thousands)

AREA	Total Population		International Migrants		Refugees*	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
World Total	6.056.751	100	174.781	2.9	15.868	100
Advanced Economies	853.408	14.09	76.747	9.0	2414	15.21
Asia and the Pacific	150.012	2.48	7.175	4.8	66	0.42
Northern America	314.113	5.19	40.844	13.0	635	4.00
Western Europe	389.283	6.43	28.728	7.4	1.712	10.79
Economies in Transition	411.909	6.80	33.391	8.1	986	6.21
Central and Eastern Europe	338.021	5.58	27.372	8.1	598	3.77
Central and Western Asia	73.888	1.22	6.019	8.1	388	2.44
Developing Economies	4.791.393	79.11	64.643	1.3	12.469	78.58
Asia and the Pacific	3.307.773	54.61	23.442	0.7	4.786	30.16
Middle East and Northern Africa (MENA)	345.334	5.70	20.926	6.1	4.624	29.14
Sub-Saharan Africa	619.477	10.23	14.331	2.3	3.021	19.04
Latin America and the Caribbean	518.809	8.57	5.944	1.1	38	0.24

Source: UN 2004

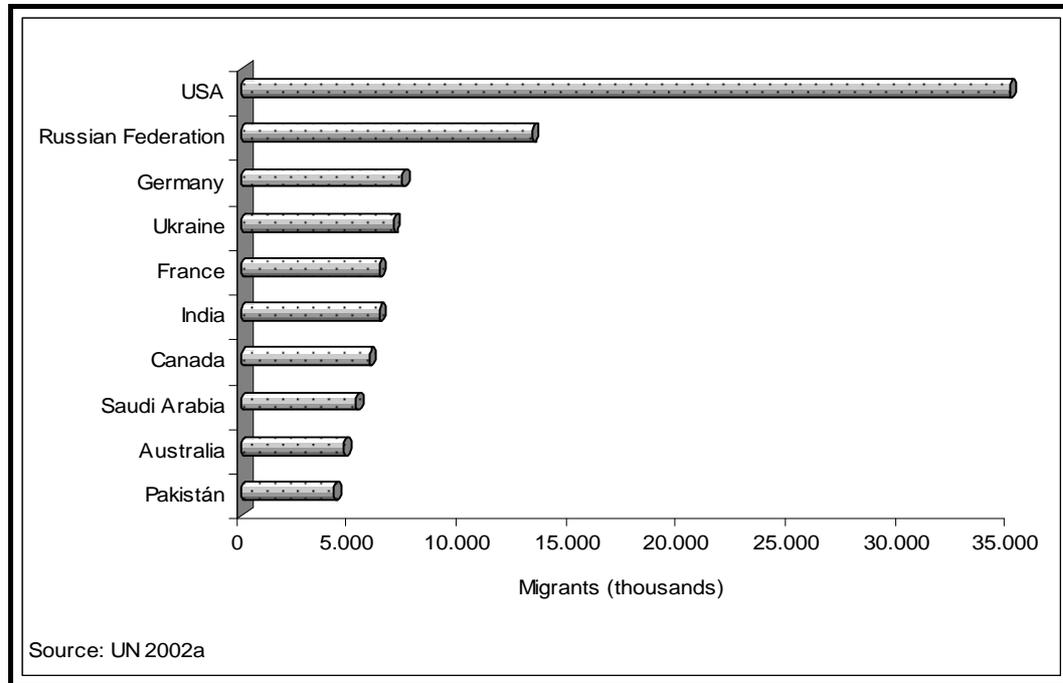
* included under international migrants

Europe, meanwhile, shifted from the exportation to the importation of labour. The shift was incredible because it involved movements of immigrants to countries that were not intensive in land. European governments recruited “guest workers” who were supposed to return to their countries when the recruitment necessarily disappeared. Workers left nations in southern Europe that were relatively intensive in labour for nations in the north and west that had become intensive in capital but scarce in labour. The transformation that began in Britain and Germany shortly after 1950 and ended in Spain, Italy and Portugal during the mid-1970s portrayed a well-defined structure that by the 1990s connected Western Europe to source countries in Eastern Europe, the Middle East, Africa, Asia and gradually Latin America. In response, countries have adopted more restrictive admissions policies since the mid-1970s.

After the oil shock of 1973 and the ensuing worldwide recession, the migratory order came into a new view, not just in Europe, but throughout the world. The infusion of petrodollars transformed the Persian Gulf into a capital-rich and labour-scarce region, and as in Europe, political leaders recruited temporary workers to fill the demands of labour. Within a few years the Gulf States had joined the ranks of receiving countries and formed the core of an international migration system, including population from the Middle East, India, East Asia and Southeast Asia. By the 1990s most of the migrants were from Asia rather than the Middle East. In the case of Southeastern Asia, by the 1980s several “Asian Tiger” countries became wealthy industrialized regions. In addition to Japan, Taiwan, South Korea, Hong Kong, Sin-

gapore, Thailand and Malaysia achieved spectacular rates of economic growth during the 1970s; and by the 1980s they were countries capital intensive but labour poor (Hugo 1995 in Massey et. al 1998).

Graph 6: Top 10 countries with the largest international migrant stock, 2000



By the 1990s a multi-polar migration system with four receiving nodes grew in the Asian Pacific region: Australia, Japan, the Asian NICs³⁸ (Hong Kong, Taiwan and South Korea) and the Southeast Asian NICs (Singapore and Malaysia) imported a growing number of immigrants in various legal categories (Massey et. al 1998).

Implication 2 is the substitution in the world immigrant scene of the predominantly European population flows by immigrants from Africa, Asia and Latin America. For example, Brazil ceased being a country of immigrants during the 1970s and began to “export” emigrants to North America, Europe (Portugal), and Asia (Japan). As well, Argentina, after the 2000 economic crises, experienced an important emigration flow to Europe (mainly Spain and Italy).

This new scene has caused an imbalance or "mismatch" between supply and demand of immigrants and the *multiculturalization* of the receiving societies. The decrease of the demand is related to the mechanization and intensification of capital and technology as well as to the new international labour division that has relegated intensive work activities to countries with lower wage levels. If in the past the demand was unlimited, now it is the supply (Arango 2003).

³⁸ The category of newly industrializing countries (NICs) is a social/economic classification status. It began to be recognized in the 1970s when the so-called "East Asian Tigers" of Hong Kong, South Korea, Singapore and Taiwan rose to global prominence with rapid industrial growth. Current examples are Mexico, Philippines, Turkey, Thailand, Malaysia and South Africa. China and India are special cases: their tremendous population means that their per capita income is likely to remain low even after these countries achieve a certain kind of economic sophistication.

Implication 3 Opposed to the old homogenization of origins (mostly Europeans), the new migratory scene shows an increasing ethnic heterogeneity in the receiving societies. In a short time, without any explicit decision on the matter, new immigration countries have become multiracial and multiethnic societies.

3.1.3 Female migration

One of the most recurrent characteristics of the present international migration pattern is the so-called *feminization* of the movements; the presence of immigrant women in almost all the regions and all the flows is a new and growing dimension of the phenomenon. Formerly, the feminine movements were associated more to familiar reunification, whereas at the present time women emigrate in a more independent way.

The main conclusion of the statistics available (Table 9) is that women and girls participate as a high proportion of the migratory movements. Already in 1960 women reached 47% of the movement, whereas during 2000 their participation was almost equal to men. The conclusion is that the increase is low if it is compared with the high level of feminization that already existed in 1960. During 2000, women immigrants reached nearly 51% in developed countries, a higher figure if it is compared with the 46% in developing countries. For Zlotnik (2003), the cause of these differences lies in the existing regulatory policies such as the factors that determine the status of a woman in both realities.

Developed countries facilitate the admission of immigrant women through family reunification. In addition, the economic and social situation of women in developing countries, where they have access to a variety of educational opportunities and jobs, acts like a magnet for those who wish to become independent. In opposition, in the less developing world, the main immigrant-receiving countries generally admit them for labour purposes, where men are predominant. The greater centres of attraction for feminine migration are located in Western Asia among the oil producing countries and among the Pacific Rim countries in Eastern and Southeastern Asia.

Table 9: Percentage of female migrants among the number of international migrants (1960-2000)

Major Area	1960	1970	1980	1990	2000
World	46.6	47.2	47.4	47.9	48.8
"More Developed Regions"	47.9	48.2	49.4	50.8	50.9
"Less Developed Regions"	45.7	46.3	45.5	44.7	45.7
Europe	48.5	48.0	48.5	51.7	52.4
Northern America	49.8	51.1	52.6	51.0	51.0
Oceania	44.4	46.5	47.9	49.1	50.5
Northern Africa	49.5	47.7	45.8	44.9	42.8
Sub-Saharan Africa	40.6	42.1	43.8	46.0	47.2
Southern Asia	46.3	46.9	45.9	44.4	44.4
Eastern and South-eastern Asia	46.1	47.6	47.8	48.5	50.1
Western Asia	45.2	46.6	47.2	47.9	48.3
Caribbean	45.3	46.1	46.5	47.7	48.9
Latin America	44.7	46.9	48.4	50.2	50.5

Source: Zlotnik 2003

3.2 Current regional patterns: facts and figures

As a consequence of globalization, in many parts of the world immigrants and refugees have become much more visible in their number and their differences. The international movement affects both the states of origin and the host states, especially in cities and in their economic activities. But migrants are more than simply workers in the receiving countries; they interact with the local population and contribute in many ways to the development of the communities in which they live. It is difficult to quantify the proportion of international migration, especially due to the increase in undocumented migration and to the lack of data in developing countries. However, according to the most recent data (UN 2002), it is possible to analyze the current trends from a regional perspective (Table 8). Data shows that the scale of migration varies significantly throughout the world. Net migration represents a significant contribution to population growth in developed countries, while its impact on population growth in the developing countries is negative (Hugo 2003).

The United Nations database grouped the different countries into six major areas (see more details in chapter 2.1.1). For statistical convenience the regions were classified as belonging to one of three categories: advanced economies, economies in transition and developing economies as analyzed in detail in the next pages.

3.2.1 Advanced economies

Currently, advanced economies have the largest number of international immigrants, about 77 million, or 44% of the world stock representing 9% of their total population. North America (Canada and the U.S.) has the largest number (41 million) followed by Europe (28 million), and Asia and the Pacific (Australia, New Zealand and Japan) with 7 million (UN 2002).

In **Western Europe** migrants are concentrated in Germany (7 million), France (6 million) and the UK (4 million). The 1973 crisis marked the end of a phase and inaugurated a period of restrictions to immigration; the policy of recruitment from developed countries ended and the return of “invited workers” to their countries of origin was promoted. However, these measures have not meant a brake in the immigrants’ entrance, but rather a change in the composition of the flows. Now, among immigrants, those related to family reunification predominate. Most of the invited workers did not return, settling down with their families; this group comprised ethnic minorities who became visible as a social group. In spite of the assumption of closed borders, in Germany, for example, the number of foreigners grew from 4 million in the 1970s to 5 million in the 1990s and more than 7 million in 2000.

The weight of the immigrant population is especially significant in Luxembourg (37%), Switzerland (21%), plus Belgium, Germany, France, the Netherlands, Sweden and Austria (between 8 and 12%). The capital cities receive the greater flows: London (27%), Brussels (26%), Vienna (17%), Paris (15%), Berlin (14%), and Madrid (6%) (UN-Habitat 2004). The attraction of these cities is undeniable. For instance, the Greater London Metropolitan Area concentrates approximately half of the immigrants of the country, despite the fact that its demographic weight does not exceed 13% (OECD 2003b).

The situation of Italy and Spain, whose migratory patterns have been modified radically in the last decades (Graph 7), is noteworthy. Rome and Barcelona are witnessing significant migra-

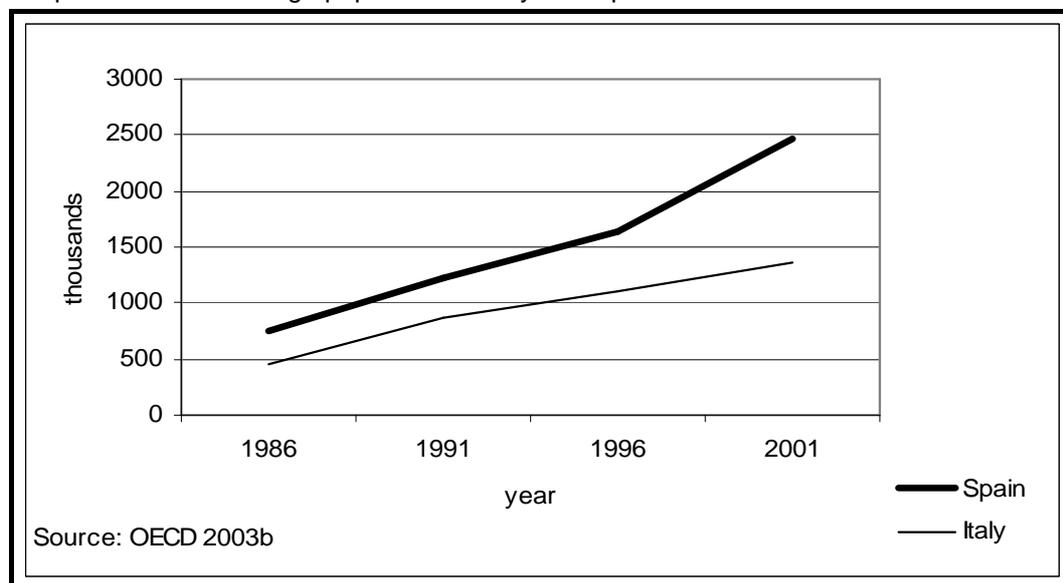
tion flows from developing countries with an increasing percentage of undocumented and illegal migrant residents.

In the second half of the 1980s and in the 1990s, the presence of immigrants in Spain stirred great interest among relatively limited circles that realized that Spain was undergoing a demographic transformation from being a country of emigration to being a country of immigration. Nowadays, another quantitative change in this migration dynamic is underway, making it clear that the issue is no longer just a technical and administrative concern. Immigration is now on the political and social agenda, is present in the collective consciousness and is a recurrent theme in opinion debates (Zapata-Barrero 2003).

As recently as 1968-1970 a net out-migration of more than 250.000 people was sustained. However, this old pattern of emigration suddenly reversed itself in the 1970s, and by 1976-1980 more people arrived than left for the first time in Spain's history (Barsotti and Lecchini 1990 in Massey et. al 1998). Large-scale labour migration did not begin until the late 1980s and did not appear in the public discourse until the collapse of the Eastern European regimes. Public and policy debates have become more visible and immigration policy has become a main topic of political parties, organizations, and institutions (Chaloff 2003).

To face the different issues related to international migration, many municipalities are formulating strategies for socially integrating and reducing the marginalization of migrants. Stuttgart, Birmingham and The Hague are considered among the cities with the best practices in the immigrant integration issue (UN-Habitat 2004).

Graph 7: Stock of foreign population in Italy and Spain

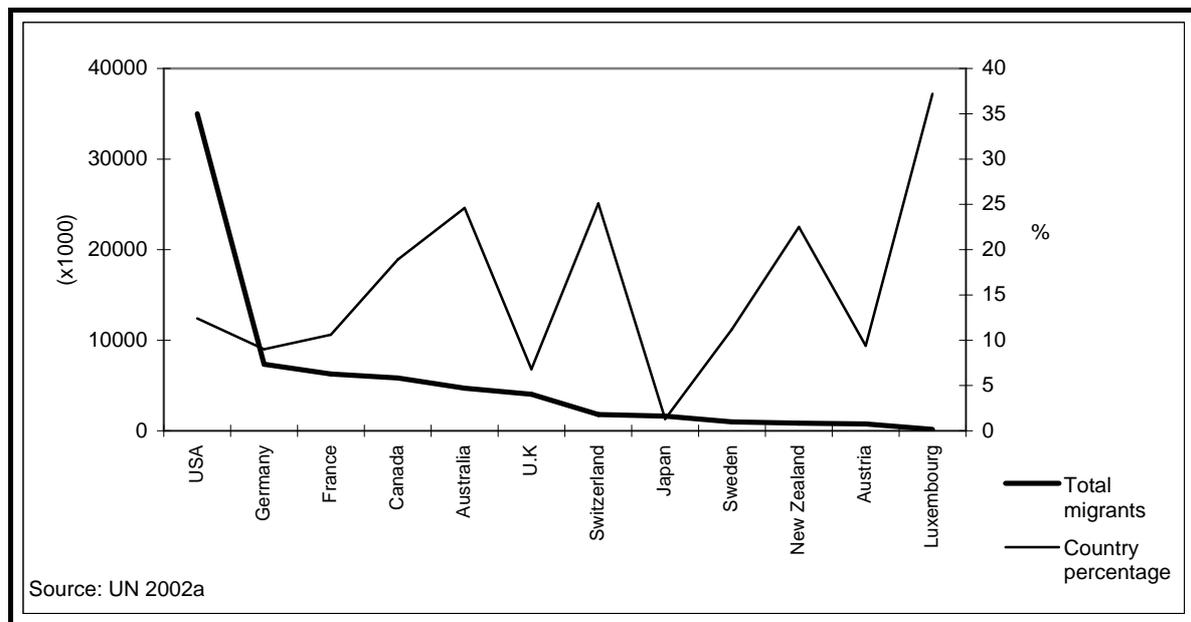


North America is a traditional destination region for international migrants and has the highest number of migrants in the world (about 41 million), 13% of the U.S. total population and 19% of Canada's. Each year these countries receive legal as well as undocumented migrants, mainly from Latin America, the Caribbean, and Asia, who have replaced the previous European immigration flow. In Canada, the number of immigrants from Asia, Africa and Latin America have increased replacing the early European immigration flow. In the decade 1983-

1993, over 1.8 million immigrants arrived and the percentage increased from 38 to 51%, whereas the European stock decreased from 27 to 18%.

In 2003 the Mexican community in the U.S. reached 26.7 million, of which 9.9 million were born in Mexico. The continuity and permanence of this flow –each year about 390.000 Mexicans arrive– is reinforced by socioeconomic, cultural and historical bonds that are built through complex social and familial networks playing a preponderant role in the reproduction of the international migration. In addition, U.S. immigration often sustains cities’ population growth. For instance, while more than 1.2 million people left Los Angeles County during the first half of the 1990s, immigration and the high birth rate associated with it resulted in a net gain of 960.000 more people. Some North American cities show an interesting association with certain ethnic groups: 40% of the residents of Los Angeles County are Hispanic, mainly Mexican, while Miami is the home of the majority of Cubans. Dominican and Russian immigrants are settled in New York while Chinese are concentrated in Vancouver, San Francisco, and New York (UN-Habitat 2004).

Graph 8: Advanced Economies: selected countries with the largest number of immigrants



Asia and the Pacific: Australia and New Zealand are important traditional immigrant countries and concentrate about 5.5 million international migrants. In Australia they live mainly in big cities and represent 30% of the urban population of Sydney. As in North America, Asian workers (skilled or low-skilled) have replaced former European flows from the 1950s. Although many of the immigrants have language problems and are not highly-skilled, Australia and New Zealand do not have significant spatial segregation, at least as it is expressed in the U.S. or the UK (OECD 2003b).

Japan constitutes an exception within the advanced economies. Since the post-war period, the country fomented emigration, but prevented immigration under arguments of the country’s overpopulation and the importance of maintaining ethnic homogeneity (Pereda et. al 2001). In the middle of the 1980s, a shortage of manual labour occurred and the govern-

ment's reaction was to handle this by exporting jobs abroad through external investments; however, they have not been able to stop the arrival of foreign workers mainly from China, Korea and the Philippines. At present, the percentage of foreigners is low (1.6 million or 1.3%) and international migration is encouraged by a decline in fertility rates and the appearance of socio-demographic disparities. The national population is aging and natives refuse some low-level employment requiring an unskilled population. During the last decade, illegal international immigration has grown and the number is estimated at 300.000.

Illegal immigration is associated with spatial segregation, social violence, the mafia, and exploitation. In Tokyo, Asian immigrants are transforming the central sectors of the city into multiethnic spaces, where tensions between the different nationalities are evident. The government is trying to control illegal immigration and to recruit temporary workers from the Japanese Diaspora in Latin America. They are seeking to entice back to Japan the grandchildren of emigrants (*nikkeijin*), who left Japan earlier in the century to seek their fortunes in Peru, Brazil and Colombia (Takeyuki 2003).

In the advanced economies, the immigration debate of the 1990s was characterized by a persistent struggle between anti-immigration and pro-immigration polarization reflected in particular issues such as illegal immigration, naturalization law, labour immigration, family reunification, the asylum procedure, protection of refugees, and integration policies. Illegal immigration gained attention and importance from the early 1990s onwards.

3.2.2 Economies in transition

This cluster includes the countries of Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Republic. Contrary to alarming forecasts, an invasion has not taken place from these countries to the European Union and North America, due partly to the lack of migratory networks that facilitate the transit. Nevertheless, the existence of ethnic minorities continues to be a potential factor of emigration³⁹. Most of these migration flows consist of people looking for jobs and asylum in the advanced economies.

Contrary to what was expected, since 1989 countries with transitional economies have witnessed an increase in movements from the outside. There are 33 million international migrants (8.1% of the regional population), mainly located in Eastern Europe and Russia. The slackening of border controls, the deterioration of economic conditions, and some local conflicts has forced many people to move.

The Russian Federation, with more than 13 million immigrants (9% of its population), remains by far the most important destination country in Eastern Europe and Central Asia. It is followed by the Ukraine, Kazakhstan and Belarus. The first major flow of immigrants and refugees to Russia occurred at the end of the 1980s, when Azerbaijanis and Armenians fled the conflict in Nagorno-Karabakh⁴⁰ and when Uzbekistanis left the country following a mas-

³⁹ There are German ethnic minorities in Poland, Hungary, Rumania and the former Soviet Union; Hungarian in Romania and Slovakia; Polish in Ukraine, Kazajstan and Siberia; Russians in the Baltic countries; Finns in Russia and Estonia and Turks in Bulgaria (OECD 1995).

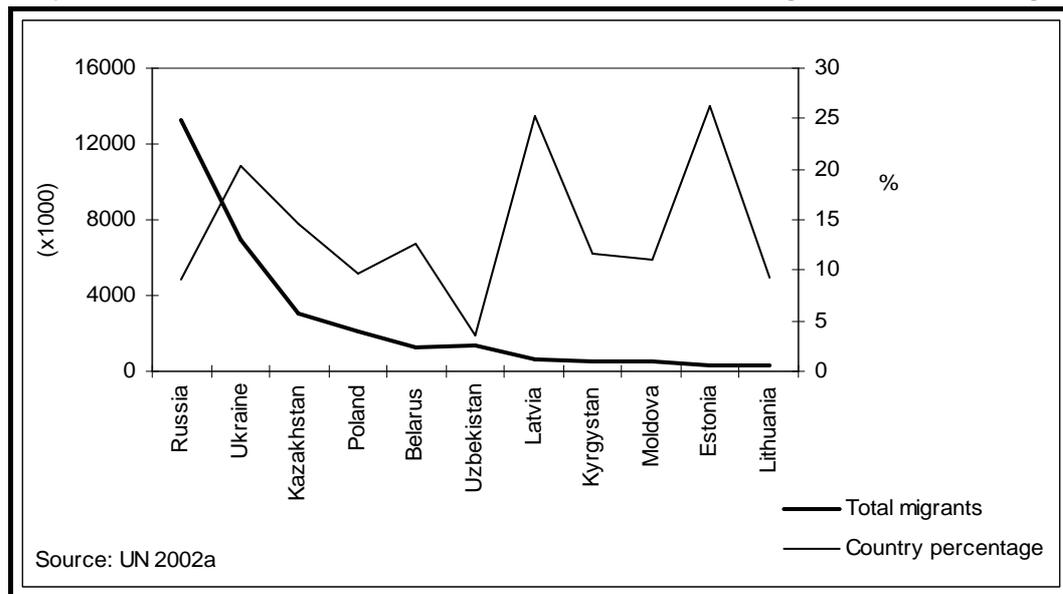
⁴⁰ Since 1989 the conflict between Azerbaijan and Nagorno-Karabakh gradually changed into a real war, particularly after the departure of the Soviet army from the region at the beginning of 1992. As of the spring of 1992, the Nagorno-Karabakh armed forces started to counterattack and they suc-

sacre in 1989⁴¹. St. Petersburg and Moscow are the main poles of attraction for the population from the former Soviet Republics with Asian immigration (Chinese, Vietnamese and North Koreans) located in cities along the Russian-Chinese border or in Vladivostok (UN-Habitat 2004). Other Eastern European cities such as Warsaw, Lodz, Prague, Budapest and Sofia receive illegal transit immigrants looking for jobs in the informal sector. These cities have become strategically important points on two main transit routes of illegal migration.

The first one is the “Balkan trail” used by Romanians, Bulgarians and citizens of former Yugoslavia, who enter legally because they can stay one month without a visa. Then they try to enter Germany illegally. The second emigration route, via Poland to Germany, is used mainly by emigrants from Afghanistan, Iran, Iraq, India, Pakistan and Sri Lanka (Väyrynen 2002).

The Baltic republics have the highest percentage of immigrants within the economies in transition: Estonia (26%); Latvia (25%) and Lithuania (9%). Most of the immigrants live in the main cities that have an increasing number of illegal. Solid local networks among certain groups of foreigners are easily perceived in East European countries although the impact in figures is not known.

Graph 9: Economies in Transition: selected countries with the largest number of immigrants



As in other urban contexts, the Chinese immigrants work in restaurants in Prague or Budapest; Ukrainians are distributed in the construction sector; Vietnamese settle down with small markets selling clothes or electronic articles, whereas Armenians work in informal street markets. In most cases they are illegal migrants (UN-Habitat 2004).

ceeded in opening the "Latchin" corridor between Nagorno-Karabakh and Armenia. Assaults and counterattacks took place throughout 1992. On May 1994 a ceasefire came into effect. (International Crisis Group 2005).

⁴¹ Tensions among Uzbekistan's ethnic groups have the potential to create regional conflict, but ethnic-based antagonisms have not escalated into violence since independence. Clashes did occur between Meskhetian Turks and Uzbeks in 1989 (International Crisis Group 2006).

None of the countries in economic transition have migration policies that deal with their impact on cities. Only recently have some of them begun to introduce proper regulations, although the priority is on entry procedures. For instance since 2002, Russia has added new requirements in order to limit immigration flows. The signatory countries of the Schengen agreement have established the so-called “compensating regulations” with neighbouring nations such as Hungary, Poland, Czech Republic and Rumania. They exempt visa requirements to citizens of these countries for a period of three months; in exchange these Eastern countries accept the immigrants expelled from the Schengen area.

3.2.3 Developing economies

Among the developing economies, **Asia and the Pacific** region have 23 million immigrants, and the rate of foreigners, as a percentage of the total population is 0.7%. It can be classified more as an area of expulsion than reception, although two different migratory patterns related with political and economic reasons can be identified: Southeast Asia and South Central Asia.

In Southeast Asia the percentages of foreigners is the highest in the region, especially in Singapore (33%) and Malaysia (7%) due to the rapid industrialization that has occurred during the last decades. In Singapore, foreigners comprise 29% of the labour force although it is not easy to migrate, and illegal migration is limited due to the severe entry norms. The island has a highly structured system of taxes that apply to firms that import workers, as well as to households that hire foreign maids; quotas also limit the number of foreign workers in specific economic sectors (Massey et al. 1998).

Malaysia (as well as several Asian Tigers) is both a sender and receiver of immigrants, reflecting the recent development of its economy and the newness of the shift to labour importation from Thailand (agriculture), Indonesia (agriculture and construction) and the Philippines (domestic service). Malaysians are found in Korea and Taiwan, but they are mainly concentrated in Singapore, Japan and Australia.

South Korea is no longer an emigrant country (especially to the Persian Gulf), receiving mainly Chinese and Philippines workers. From 1990 to 1993, the government issued 55.000 work licenses, 40.000 of them of a temporary type for a maximum duration of three months. After the financial crisis of 1997, a process of repatriation of illegal migrants was realized, exempting them from any sanction. In three months more than 47.000 persons left the country (Pereda et al. 2001).

Thailand's outflow appears to be smaller than that of the Philippines. Thai workers are found in all of the NICs, and in a modest but significant number in the U.S., Australia, Canada, Japan and the Gulf. In addition, the country receives a significant number of low-skilled workers from Burma and Cambodia working on plantations of rice, sugar and rubber. Since 1997 the government has initiated a program of massive deportation of foreigners.

Taiwan is a densely populated country but rapid economic growth created a labour migration. An important volume of illegal migrants, especially Thai, Philippines and Indonesians, arrived. Hong Kong developed a powerful capitalist economy under British authority, needing as many qualified (Australia, North America and Japan) as unqualified (Philippines, Thailand,

Indonesia and Malaysia) immigrants (UN 2002). At the end of 1997, after China assumed sovereignty, the number of foreigners was estimated at less than 200.000.

In South Central Asia (India, Pakistan and Bangladesh) the immigration rate is quite low, even though the area has the highest number of international migrants (about 12 million). These are mainly people moving from Afghanistan to Pakistan and from Bangladesh and Nepal to India. Bangladesh and India mostly send immigrants to Singapore, but large numbers are found in Britain, the U.S., Canada and the Gulf States.

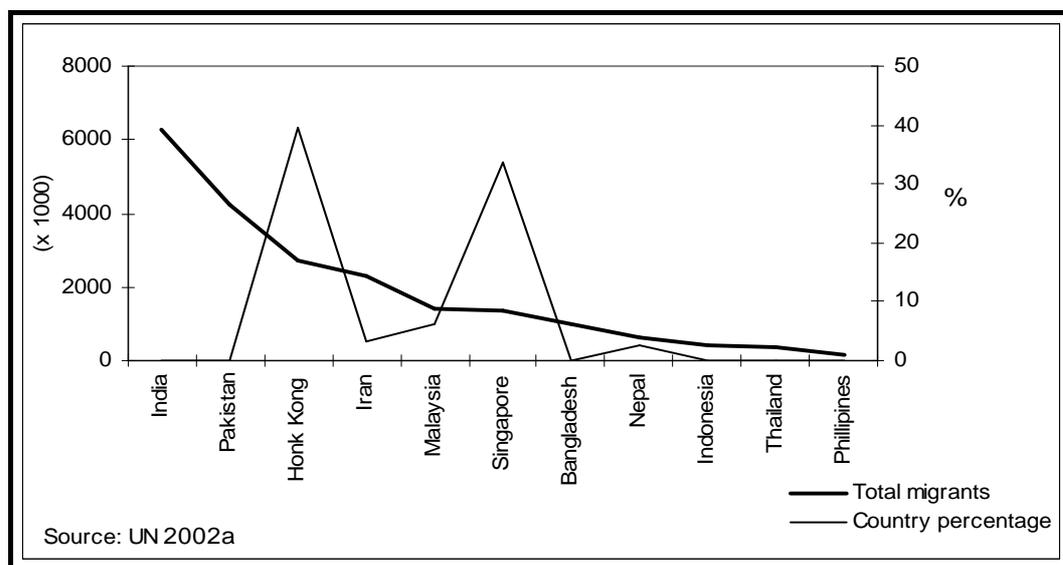
Cities of the Asian and Pacific Region do not receive significant numbers of immigrants because people emigrate to other countries, mainly Europe, North America, Australia and Arab states. Labour flows to oil-producing countries are still significant although since the 1980s, the mobility of people seeking temporary work within Eastern and Southeastern Asia has become gradually more important (UN-Habitat 2004). The precarious situation of immigrants in Asian cities such as Karachi, Mumbai or Bangkok, is one of the main concerns for national and local authorities. In these areas poverty, segregation and labour exploitation coexist.

Even though international migration is probably underestimated, there is evidence of integration problems due to cultural, racial (Burmese in Thailand or Nepalese in India) class, gender and language differences.

Though Asian countries are both recipients and generators of movements, the governments have tended to give priority to emigration policies in order to support the search for work abroad and the consistent receipt of the remittances. More than 50% of the countries have regulatory structures that favour emigration, particularly to the Gulf region (OECD 2003b).

Finally it is important to emphasize that China and India are not among the countries of immigration. They are well known for the worldwide spread of their population: Chinese (30-50 million) and India (20 million) Diasporas exhibit complex forms of migration characterized by circular mobility of some family members traveling frequently between the host country and their region of origin.

Graph 10: Asia and the Pacific region: selected countries with the largest number of immigrants



Note: Since July 1997, Hong Kong became a Special Administrative Region (SAR) of China.

Following Massey et al. (1998) the Asia Pacific region appears to be following the path of evolution in North America and Europe. "The achievements of a rapid economic growth and high levels of development in many countries has led to an abundance of capital and technology combined with a scarcity of labour, which is met through a combination of legal immigration, the entry of temporary workers and trainees, and growing illegal migrations" (Massey et al 1998:169). Like other traditional destination countries some of them seem unable to accept the fact that they have become countries of immigration, and they are attempting to implement restrictive immigration policies.

In the **Middle East and North Africa** (MENA) about 21 million immigrants are reported (6.1% of the region's total population). However, they are distributed in different internal patterns. International migration to the Middle East arose under very different circumstances. The countries of the Gulf Cooperation Council achieve high per capita incomes not through the autonomous process of economic growth, but from having enormous petroleum reserves during a period of rapid price inflation (Seccombe 1998 in Massey et. al 1998).

The evolution of the oil prices during the 1970s produced a massive growth of economies and employment. At the beginning, constructing a developed economy required labour at higher skill levels than the Gulf countries had, and the governments turned to labour migration as a way to solve the problem. During the 1980s, with the decrease in oil prices, massive immigration stopped and the associated unemployment provoked a large-scale migrants' return. Nevertheless, foreign manpower continued as a structural component in the region.

In the oil exporting countries the percentage of migrants is high, representing in some cases more than 70% of the labour force, including the services sector or industrial activities associated with the production of oil (Graph 11). Laws and regulations governing international labour migrants within the Gulf countries are much stricter than those in Europe or North America: no nations recognize the right to asylum or family reunification and no one allows residence without a job, but all of them permit deportation at any time by simple administrative decree (Dib 1988 in Massey et al. 1998).

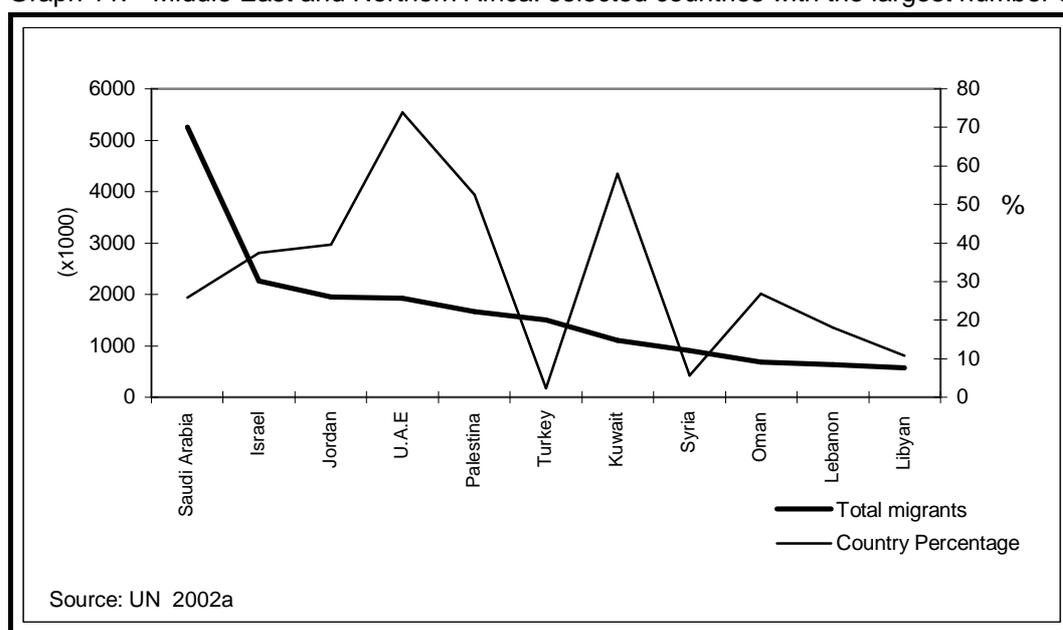
The biggest migrant community is located not only in Saudi Arabia (more than 5 million) where the urban population is 86%, but also in Kuwait and Qatar where international migration is significant (58% and 73% respectively). The very large majority of foreigners are concentrated in capital cities. Since the 1970s they mainly consist of Southeast Asians. Apart from some specific situations, such as those in Israel and Palestine, there are high rates of migrants in Jordan (40%) and Lebanon (18%). Also, there is a significant presence in Turkey, legal and illegal, concentrated in the main cities and waiting for an opportunity to enter the European Union. Istanbul is the terminal of a complex migratory network of cities in the Arab States. Damascus plays an important role in this migration route, hosting the majority of the foreigners in Syria (UN-Habitat 2004).

Migration in Africa is dynamic and extremely complex. This is reflected in the feminization of migration, diversification of migration destinations, transformation of labour flows into commercial migration, and brain drain from the region. Furthermore, there is trafficking in human beings, the changing map of refugee flows, and the increasing role of regional economic organizations that foster free flows of labour (Adepoju 2004).

North Africa has no significant number of immigrants, with the sole exception of Libya (10% of the population). As the only country in the region with a positive migration balance, Libya accounts for a very large community of migrants from sub-Saharan African countries, in particular from Nigeria, Ghana, Chad and other Sahelian countries. Due to the geographical proximity to Europe, the largest flows of North African migrants are made up by people from Algeria, Morocco, Tunisia and to a smaller degree, Egypt. Egyptians have also traditionally been one of the largest groups of migrant workers in the Persian Gulf States. Established migration channels have existed for several decades; thousands of illegal West African migrants transit through the Maghreb⁴² trying to reach the shores of Europe.

Spain is located only 14 kilometres from the Moroccan coast, and the Spanish enclaves of Ceuta and Melilla on the northern Moroccan coast literally represent "Europe in Africa." Despite intensified border controls, thousands of Moroccans and increasingly, other Africans manage to enter Europe each year. This makes Spain the main entrance to an internally borderless Europe for African immigrants. Italy, and particularly Spain, have replaced France as the primary destination for new Moroccan labour migrants. Women who work as domestics, nannies, cleaners, or in agriculture and small industries are an increasing proportion of the independent labourers migrating to Southern Europe (De Hass 2005).

Graph 11: Middle East and Northern Africa: selected countries with the largest number of immigrants



Current numbers of immigrants in **sub-Saharan Africa** are unknown, including the more developed countries in the region, due to the lack of reliable statistics and to undocumented migration. According to the last figures of the United Nations (UN2002a), there are about 14 million immigrants or 2.3% of its total population, and this number does not even take into account refugee flows. During the postcolonial period some African countries became relatively stronger economically than others and international migration started to emerge (U.N-Habitat 2004). In West Africa, immigrants move from the landlocked countries bordering the

⁴² Mauritania, Morocco, Tunisia, Algeria and Libya.

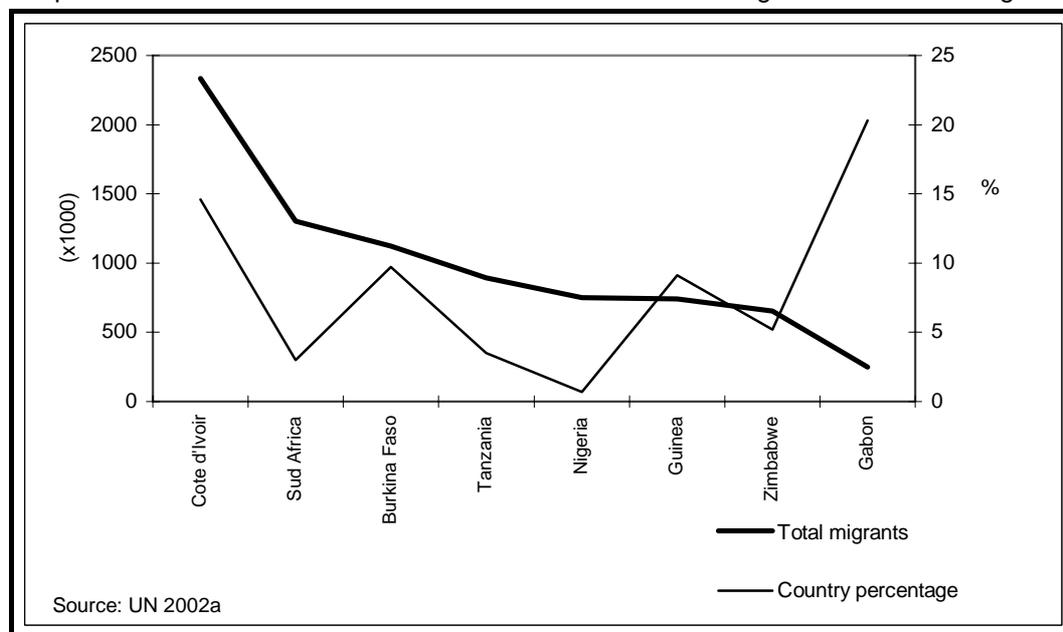
Sahel such as Burkina Faso, Mali and Niger to more prosperous coastal countries. A major receiving country, Cote d' Ivoire (Graph 12) has attracted migrants from Burkina Faso and Mali to work in its cocoa and coffee plantations or as domestic workers. The capital, Abidjan, hosts more than one million foreigners, 30% of its population. Other countries in West Africa host high numbers of migrants. Ghana and Nigeria were poles of attraction in the 1960s and 1970s respectively, but the economic situation deteriorated and both resorted to mass expulsion of migrants in illegal situations. Today Ghana is a country of emigration of manpower, both qualified and unqualified, a situation with scant probabilities of being inverted during the next decade (IOM 2005).

In Mali, migration is a response to the cyclical swings of poverty in this region. Migrants leave and work elsewhere during the dry season, returning for the rainy season. Meanwhile, they send money to their families in the country to close the production-consumption gap. This migration response to cyclical downswings and seasonal food and cash shortages has been a part of the region's way of life the last two centuries. The men of this region, especially, have gone to other countries or parts of the region to earn money (Findley 2004).

With declining job opportunities in the rural areas, migration is becoming much more urban and foreign communities are growing in many big cities.

Rural-urban flows among different countries are so great that this new phenomenon is recognized as "international urbanization": rural populations flocking to the cities of neighbouring or even distant African nations. Also, the impact of natural disasters, civil wars, and political instability in countries as Liberia, Sierra Leone, Guinea-Bissau and recently, Cote d'Ivoire have increased the official number of refugees (UN-Habitat 2004).

Graph 12: Sub-Saharan Africa: selected countries with the largest number of immigrants



In Central Africa, Gabon (Graph 12) is the country with the highest percentage of migrants from Cameroon, Equatorial Guinea, and the Democratic Republic of Congo. They come to work as unskilled migrants in the mining and wood industry. In East Africa the refugee

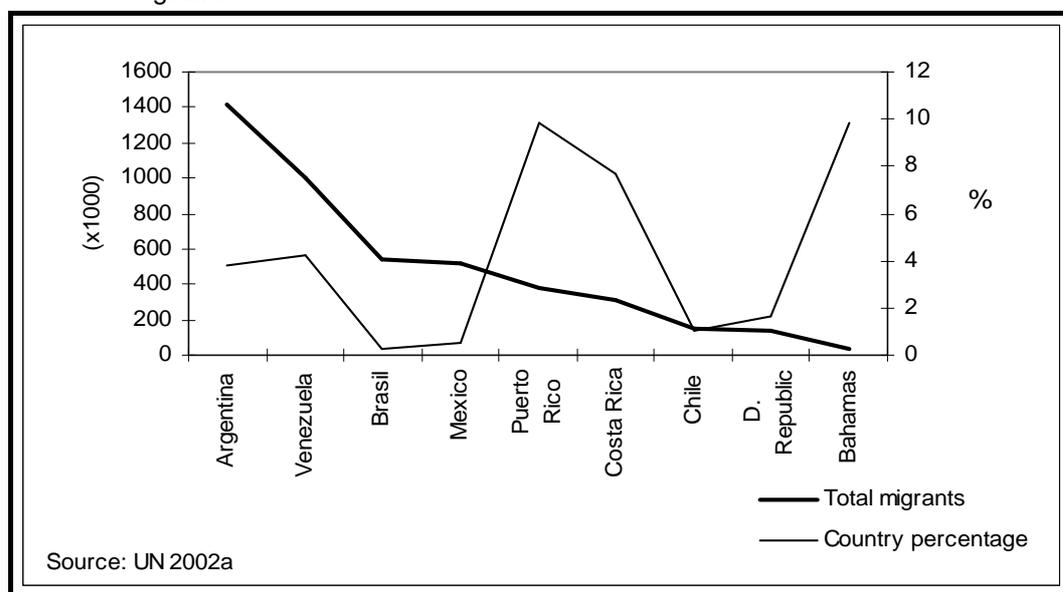
movements are predominately for labour migration, provoking strong urban impacts. Keren in Eritrea has doubled its population during the last five years mainly with population from Ethiopia and Sudan. In Addis Ababa the presence of Somalis is clear in a residential area recognized as “Somalitrea” Finally in South Africa, international movements are not so significant. A decline in gold mine employment has affected national and foreign labour. Currently, many immigrants work as street vendors rather than miners, making social integration difficult. Migration policies in Africa are scarce at a national and urban level. Only 2% of the countries have norms while half of them have no specific policies at all (UN-Habitat 2004).

3.2.4 Latin America and the Caribbean

Latin America and the Caribbean have relatively comprehensive data on international migration derived from censuses. Hence, the finding that the number of international migrants declined from 7 million to 5.9 throughout 1990-2000 bears highlighting. This drop is the result of the successful repatriation of refugees in Central America during the 1990s (IOM 2005).

Currently it is the region with the fewest international immigrants, concentrating 3.5 % of the total population (Table 8). Nearly 20 million Latin Americans and Caribbeans live abroad (IOM 2003). The loss of qualified human resources, flows within the region, feminization of the movements, and the impact of remittances are among the traditional features in the region.

Graph 13: Latin America and the Caribbean: selected countries with the largest number of immigrants



In the last decades the region has transformed into a source of emigration, and its flows are a link to a wide geography of destinations. At the present, one out of every ten of the 175 million international migrants was born in some Latin American or Caribbean country (UN 2002). This number hides an increasing reality of undocumented migrants, and of circular

displacements. Half of the regional emigrants moved during the 1990s, especially to the U.S, though it is recognized that new poles of attraction have emerged, though of minor magnitude, in countries such as Spain⁴³, Italy⁴⁴, Portugal and Japan. Many Latin Americans have requested recognition of citizenship in the land of their ancestors (Villa and Martínez 2001). A reversion of a strong 19th and 20th century European emigration process is taking place now. Today, immigrants are mainly from the region; their number has increased during the past few years (Graph 14). According to figures from 2000, almost 60% of all Latin Americans living in the region, but out of their country of birth, have settled in Argentina and Venezuela. Their presence in these countries became better known after the European immigration declined (Villa and Martínez 2001).

Nevertheless, in the Caribbean area emigration (mainly to the U.S. and Canada) is still much higher than intra-regional migration. According to the latest statistics, international migrants are only 6.7% of the Caribbean population. In some countries the percentage is high. For example, in Barbados and Bahamas it is 10%, but their absolute number remains modest. The only significant concentration is in the Dominican Republic, which hosts 500.000 Haitians (6% of the total population) due to the political instability in Haiti. There are some other small flows; for instance, for Dominicans and Cubans, Puerto Rico represents the main destination, where the migrants work in industry and urban services, and the Bahamas, with a higher standard of living, receives migrants from Jamaica and Haiti (UN-Habitat 2004). Emigration figures from 2001 showed a sharp dimension: 900.000 Cubans were living in the U.S., predominantly in Florida and 700.000 Dominicans were in New York (OIM 2003b).

In Central America, international migrants total one million (2.6% of the total population). Almost half of them live in Mexico. The country is affected by transit migration, offering the possibility of entering into North America. Costa Rica has the highest percentage of migrants (7.7% of the total population). The capital, San José, has a large number of Nicaraguans (25% of the country's immigrants).

International migration in South America has been the subject of numerous overviews regarding the transatlantic migration, its effects on societies, international movements, its relation to internal displacements, and studies of contemporary emigration to advanced economies such as the U.S. The first issue is perhaps the most relevant; it considers the process of European (and in a few cases, Asian) immigration during the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Argentina, Brazil and Uruguay formed the core of a well-defined system that received massive inflows from Europe, mainly from Italy, Spain, and Portugal.

According to Lattes (1983; 1985 in Massey et al. 1998), "from 1800 to 1970 some 13.8 million immigrants entered Latin America, with roughly three-quarters settling in Brazil or Argentina. Nearly 60% came from Southern Europe, 15% from elsewhere in Europe, and 11% were from Asia" (Massey et al. 1998:196). In the so-called "lost decade"⁴⁵ of the 1980s, Ar-

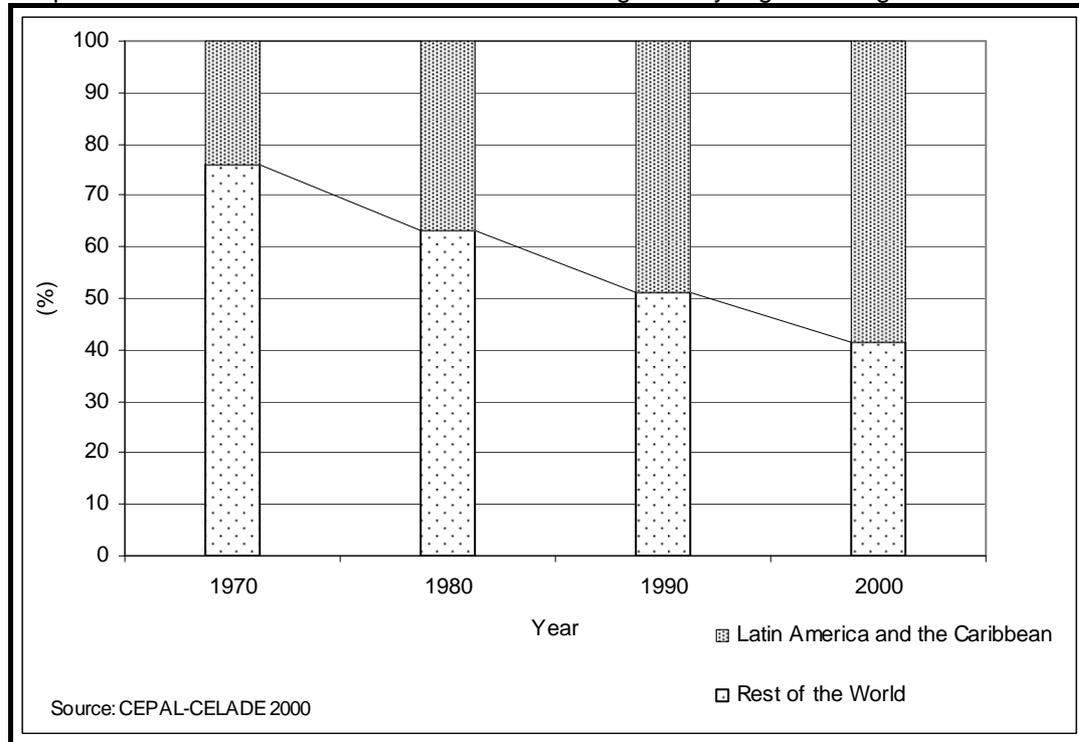
⁴³ Latin American immigrants are the second most important group in Spain, process leading by Ecuadorians, Peruvians, Colombians and Argentineans (Novick et. al 2005).

⁴⁴ In the mid-1990s Latin Americans in Italy were mainly from Brazil, Peru and Argentina; domestic service was the principal employment and only a few groups had better positions in the labour market (Novick and Murias 2005).

⁴⁵ At the beginning of the 1980s Latin America saw the start of an external debt crisis, which had important negative consequences for the region. According to reports by the Economic Commission for

gentina and Brazil experienced an obvious decrease of immigrants. Census data from the 1990s also reveals a minor decrease in quantity in Venezuela.

Graph 14: Latin America and the Caribbean: immigrants by region of origin



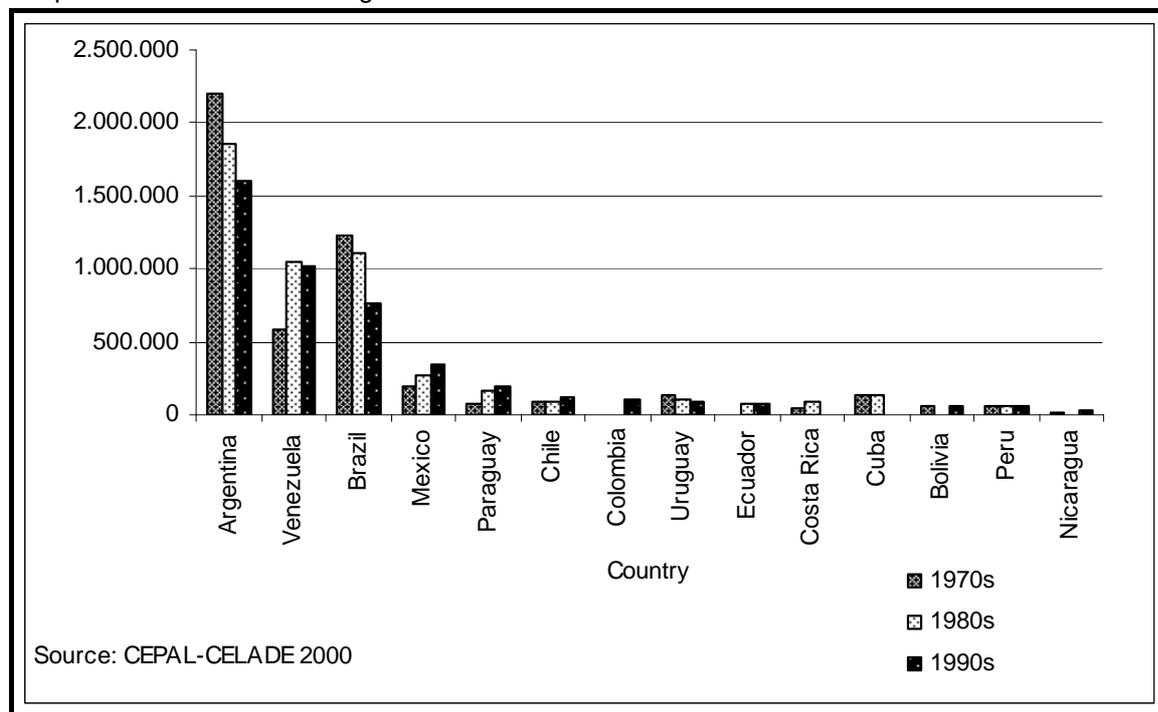
In the decade of the 1990s, some traditional emigration countries registered an important migration of return. The construction of hydroelectric plants and the expansion of the agricultural border in Paraguay was an incentive for many Paraguayans living in the nearby countries to return; this also attracted immigration flows from Brazil and Argentina (Villa and Martínez 2001).

Chile received an important wave of returnees after democracy was restored. It is important to stress that Chile is the only South American country where the percentage of immigrants, with regard to the total population, has increased (Graph 16).

Though the majority of Latin American countries have records of entrances and exits at their borders, problems of data sources are serious. The coverage of entrances and exits differs at different places of control; profiles associated with those who enter or leave a respective country are scant and present a limited analytical potential, and the data is not always processed in a suitable way (Villa and Martínez 2001). Due to these deficiencies the national population censuses constitute the principal source of information about international migration. The project IMILA (see chapter 2.1.1) has organized a different Latin American census data on population born in a different country.

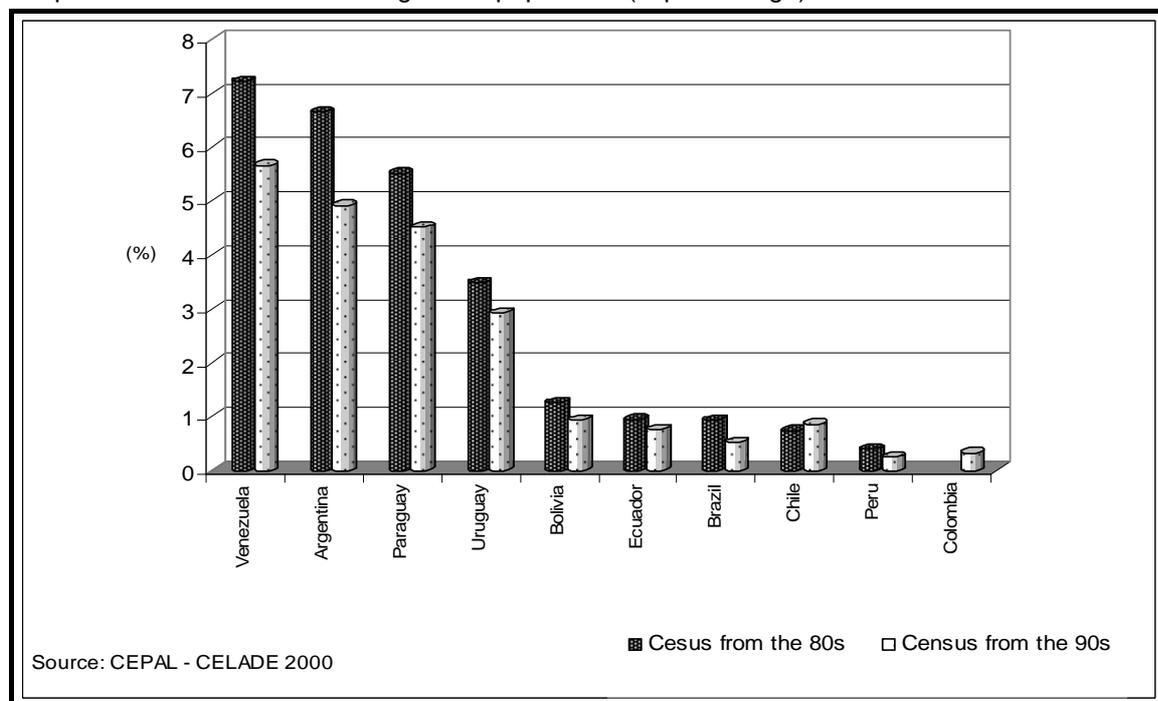
Latin America (CEPAL), the lack of economic growth and investment in public measures that could activate the economy stemmed from the fact that large sums of money were required to cover interest on foreign debt. This forced many people to live below the minimal poverty level. There was a regression from the economic level of the 1960s, and the 1980s became known as the "lost decade."

Graph 15: Evolution of immigrants' stock in selected Latin American countries



Note: data included all population born abroad, not only American countries.

Graph 16: South America: foreign born population (in percentage)



Nevertheless, the limitations persist and among them the following should be mentioned (Bay and Martínez 2005):

- The numbers are underestimated since they consider only movement between American countries (Canada and the U.S. are included).
- In countries with high proportions of undocumented migrants it is possible that many avoid the census registration, declaring themselves as transients or natives.
- The comparison among different countries is difficult because every country takes a census in different years, and asks questions that do not coincide.
- The database gives information about the immigrant stock at the moment of the census. Consequently, the dynamic condition of the international migration process is not captured.

The most recent 1990s census information shows that the current dynamics of the migrations' characteristics are contrary to the traditional migratory flows from overseas.

Movements take place within the American continent, that is, among countries of the Region and to the U.S. If only the movements from Latin-American countries to North America are considered, the number of migrants grew from 1.5 million in 1960 to 11 million in 1990⁴⁶.

Table 10: Immigrants, emigrants and balance between selected American countries (1990s census)

Country	Immigrants	Emigrants	Balance
Argentina	815.862	264.749	551.113
Bolivia	49.405	207.533	-158.128
Brazil	127.785	271.122	-143.337
Chile	72.599	357.900	-285.301
Colombia	80.099	893.080	-812.981
Costa Rica	74.240	56.526	17.714
Ecuador	61.254	194.399	-133.145
El Salvador	15.099	539.531	-524.432
Guatemala	31.954	293.877	-261.923
Mexico	276.452	4.354.736	-4.078.284
Nicaragua	12.974	239.284	-226.310
Panamá	35.511	101.474	-65.963
Paraguay	169.040	284.309	-115.269
Perú	28.543	236.295	-207.752
Uruguay	54.288	192.821	-138.533
Venezuela	642.390	104.254	538.136
Canada	434.735	758.029	-323.294
United States	6.899.528	531.839	6.367.689

Source: elaborate based on CEPAL-CELADE 2000

Note: data included movements only among the countries incorporated in the table

Regarding the migratory balances (Table 10) in the set of American countries (the U.S. and Canada are included), with the exception of Mexico, Colombians registered the greatest magnitude of emigrants: around 800 thousand were registered in the censuses of other

⁴⁶ Numbers differ considerably from those delivered by United Nations in 2004 (around six million international migrants considering all movements).

American countries (90% in Venezuela). The Salvadoran emigrants occupy second place whereas Chileans and Guatemalans share the third position. Despite the absolute magnitude, these numbers represented less than 3% of the Chilean population in 1992 (population census considered). Concerning immigration among American countries, the U.S., Argentina, and Venezuela were the principal poles of attraction (Table 10). During the 1990s only four of the eighteen American countries analyzed demonstrated positive migratory balances: the U.S., Argentina, Venezuela and Costa Rica.

In order to identify the structure of migratory relations among Latin American countries during the 1990s, the method of Nyusten and Dacey (1968) was applied allowing the creation of a network of relations based on the concept of "dominant flows" through the analysis of the orientation and the intensity of the flows. Two functional categories were established: "dominant" and "dependent" countries. A dominant country is a country from which the most important flow of immigrants is to a smaller country (in terms of total population). A dependent country orients its principal migratory flow to a more heavily populated or larger country.

Results indicate (Figure 6) that during the 1990s Argentina, Venezuela, Mexico and Costa Rica were dominant countries regarding attraction of Latin American migrants. The U.S. and Canada were excluded from the analysis due to the alteration that they provoke, despite the fact that the principal flow of immigrants from Mexico, Argentina and Costa Rica is to the U.S. The exception is Venezuela whose dominant flow is to Colombia.

Due to the strong economic, social and political crises that have affected Argentina since December 2001, the country faces a new phenomenon: the increasing loss of population⁴⁷. A recent history of economic, political, and social instability has slowly transformed Argentina into a country of immigration, emigration, and transit (Jachimowicz, 2006). Although the U.S. historically has been the most important destination for Argentinean skilled migrants, several European nations also receive significant shares of Argentineans. A strong foreign labour demand and favourable citizenship policies in Spain and Italy, applicable to Argentineans who can prove Spanish or Italian ancestry, help explain why these countries also receive a large proportion of Argentine and Latin American immigrants.

At present, Argentina, while being the country of attraction for millions of Europeans, continues to attract working-class and agrarian immigrants from neighbouring countries such as Paraguay, Chile, Bolivia and Ecuador. Nevertheless, the immigrants' participation in the total population has decreased from 9.5% in 1970 to 4.2% in 2001, and the participation of Chilean immigrants has diminished from 30% in 1991 to 23% in 2001 (Novick and Murias 2005). Brazil ceased being a country of immigration during the 1970s and began to export people to Paraguay.

In Venezuela the ongoing loss of older European immigrants during the 1970s, combined with a large influx of new arrivals from elsewhere in Latin America, transformed the composition of the foreign born population. The percentage of Latin Americans jumped from 37% to 60%. With the collapse of oil prices in the early 1980s, Venezuela's migration boom deflated and immigration slowed. The country was strongly affected by the economic crisis of the

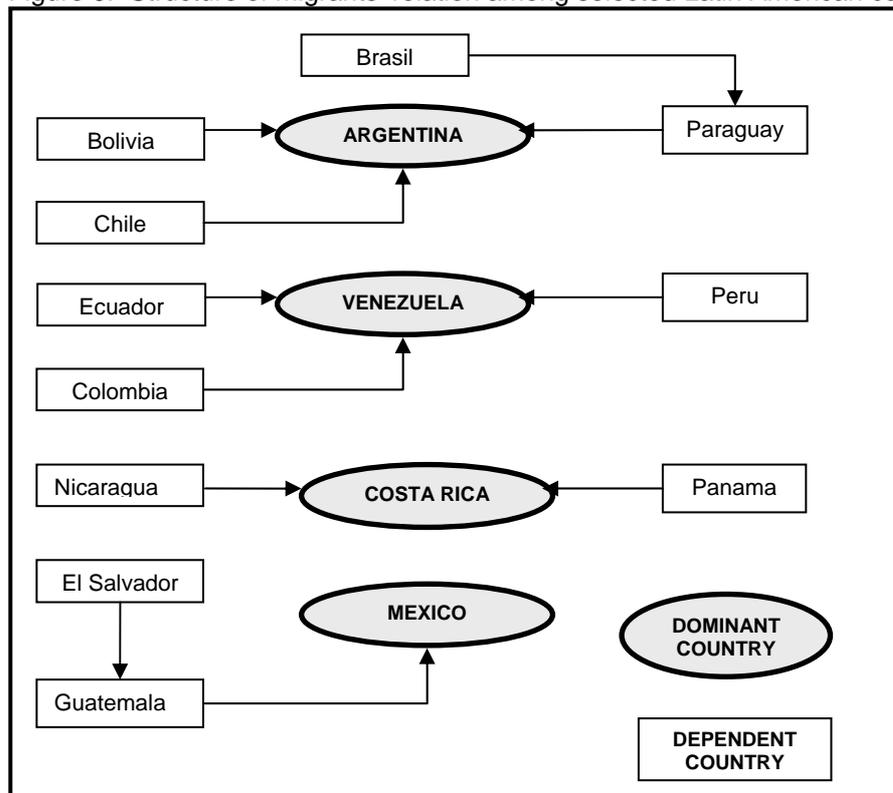
⁴⁷ According to information given by the Argentinean Chancery in 2002, the number of Argentineans living abroad reached 600.000. Of the 128.312 Argentine citizens with tourism visas who went to Spain for three months, only 14.6% returned (Novick and Murias 2005).

1990s, lowering job opportunities. This situation has increased informal urban migration where Colombians, Ecuadorians and Peruvians tend to concentrate.

During the 1990s not all the Latin American migration finds its destiny in Argentina and Venezuela. Socio-political conflicts in Central America during the 1980s, together with economic stability, precipitated an important inflow to Costa Rica. The census of 2000 registers about 300.000 immigrants, principally from Nicaragua. This number represents almost 8% of the total population. This figure demonstrates that Costa Rica is a "genuine country of migratory attraction on a regional scale" (Martínez 2003b). Although Mexico is connected strongly with the U.S., almost half of the Central American immigrants, mainly from El Salvador and Guatemala, live in Mexico. Mexico is affected by a strong transit migration, as it provides the greatest possibility of entering North America.

Early in the new millennium, international migration in Latin America is reaching a new threshold of dynamism, a phenomenon that has its major reflex in countries such as Argentina, Ecuador, Colombia and Peru. Despite the lack of current information, emigration to Europe and the U.S. has increased notably. It is a question of a heterogeneous labour emigration. It includes, on the one hand, women working mainly in domestic service and in activities related to childcare and elder care, and on the other hand, migrants with a high educational profile working in the service sector (Pellegrino 2004).

Figure 6: Structure of migrants' relation among selected Latin American countries during the 1990s



Source: elaborate by the author based on CEPAL-CELADE 2000

During the 1980s and the 1990s strong economic, social, and political crises affected many Latin American countries in the region, causing an increase in emigration. For instance, during the last 20 years, Ecuador has had nine different governments, two wars with Peru, mul-

multiple agreements signed with the International Monetary Fund, and three indigenous uprisings. All these elements contributed to the country's poverty, caused by external debt. Ecuadorian emigration is not a new phenomenon; nevertheless, the economic crisis of 1999 accelerated the process.

The destiny of Ecuadorian immigrants has changed dramatically during the past few years. Until 1997, 63% went to the U.S.; since 1998 the main poles of attraction have been Spain and Italy. During 2000, six out of every ten Ecuadorian immigrants traveled to one of these countries (Herrera & Martinez 2002). Like Ecuador, Peru has been slowly transforming itself into a country of emigration. During the 19th century and half of the 20th century, Peruvian emigration was oriented towards Europe.

Those migrants were elite, minority groups moving for reasons of study, prestige or power; residing in Europe was part of the oligarchic identity. Since the 1960s, Peruvian emigration has intensified and during 2004, 6.2% of Peruvians live abroad officially, a figure that increases considerably when illegal migrants are considered (Chiroque 2005).

3.2.5 Conclusions

From the analysis of the current immigration distribution within the world's different regions, it is possible to conclude:

Migrants represent only 2.9% of the global population. The last Report of the UN Population Division estimates the total migrant population in 2005 to be between 185 and 192 million people, up from 175 million in 2000. Nearly half are female. However, the socioeconomic and political visibility of migrants, especially in highly industrialized countries, is much greater than this percentage would suggest (IOM 2005).

To classify countries in a dichotomous way, through receiving and sending, is increasingly ambiguous, since the current situation of many countries and regions is unknown in terms of the proliferation of territories with migrants in transit and the configuration of international circuits that overcome specific countries. The majority of the migrations take place within the large geographical regions. Most of the migrants or refugees remain inside their regions of origin as in the former Soviet Union, Sub-Saharan Africa, Asia, or Latin America.

At the end of the 18th century and beginning of the 19th the majority of immigrants went to one of five frontier societies that were in a state of rapid economic development: the U.S., Canada, Argentina, Brazil and Australia. The massive European emigration ended during the Great Depression of the 1930s, and a revival took place during the 1940s due to the Second World War. Countries of new origins and destinations emerged after the 1950s leading entirely new international migration systems. The North American system attracted migrants not from Europe, but mainly from Asia, Latin America and the Caribbean. In the meantime Europe gradually shifted from the exportation to the importation of labour including countries from Eastern Europe, the Middle East, Africa, Asia and Latin America.

After a few years the Gulf States had joined the ranks of a "receiving" nation, creating the core of an international migration system increasingly expanded from sources in the Middle East. By the 1990s most immigrants in the Gulf region were from Asia rather than the Middle East. During the 1980s, the new industrialized countries (Singapore, Taiwan, Hong Kong,

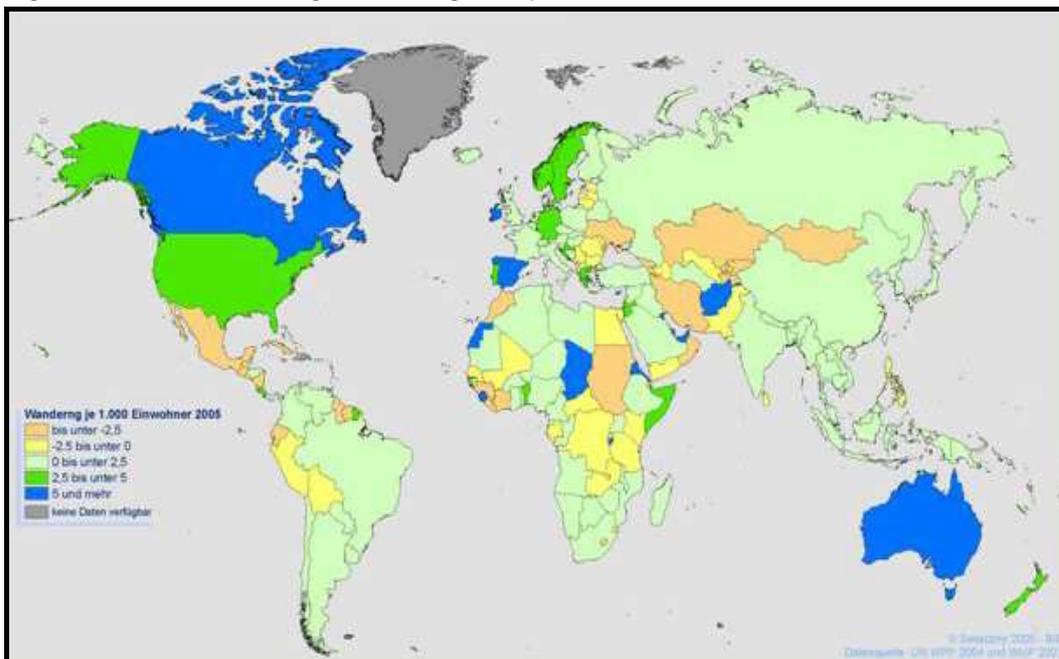
South Korea and Malaysia) underwent a rapid change from exportation to importation of labour in various legal categories.

Although during the past few years the growth of employment has centred in countries of the northern hemisphere, most of the labour migration has taken place in countries of the South: people from Burkina Faso moving to Senegal, West Africans to Cote d'Ivoire; Nicaraguans to Costa Rica; Bolivians to Argentina, as well as migrant workers from China, Indonesia, Thailand and Malaysia moving within Southeast Asia (IOM 2003).

Currently, return migration constitutes another aspect of the diversity of the international migrations. Descendants of migrants are taking the opportunity to come back to the land of their predecessors. A precarious economic situation in Zimbabwe is prompting many persons of British origin to the United Kingdom. Some South Africans with Australian or British background are doing the same. The Argentine crisis has triggered return flows to Italy or Spain, as well as Peruvians and Brazilians to Japan. Many Americans of Irish origin have taken advantage of Ireland's new economic dynamism to return to that country.

In South America, Venezuela and Argentina, countries with a consistent history of Southern Europe immigration throughout the pre- and post-war eras, are attracting new immigrants from neighbouring states (in the case of Venezuela: Colombia, Peru, and Ecuador and in the case of Argentina: Paraguay, Chile, Bolivia, and Uruguay). In spite of the vigorous increase of the number of immigrants in Chile, their presence is minimal if it is compared with other Latin American countries such as Argentina, Venezuela and Costa Rica. Nevertheless Figure 7 shows that in relative terms (migrants per 1000 inhabitants) Chile is in the same group as most of the South American countries (Argentina, Uruguay, Paraguay, Brazil, Venezuela and Colombia). This group of countries has between 0 and 2.5 immigrants per 1000 inhabitants.

Figure 7: International migrations: migrants per 1000 inhabitants



Source: Swiaczny 2005

3.3 Chilean immigration context

Chile is located in the southwest of South America stretching as far south as the Drake Passage. The country is bounded on the north by Peru, by a line known as *Línea de la Concordia*; on the east by Bolivia and Argentina, mainly by a line that runs through the highest summits of the Andes. The country's territorial shape is certainly among the worlds' most unusual. It extends approximately 4.200 kilometres and it is bordered by the Pacific Ocean on the west and contained by the Andes on the east. Definitely, the country is isolated by its extreme geography.

According to the Political Constitution of 1980, Chile is a Unitarian State with three independent branches: a strong executive branch, headed by a president elected for four years, plus legislative and judicial branches. Since the end of the military regime, periodic free elections have been carried out through which four governments have been elected following established democratic processes. For interior administration and government, the country is divided into thirteen regions, each of which is headed by an intendant, appointed by the president. The regions have formally both a name and a roman numeral, with the numbers assigned in sequence from north to south (Figure 8). The only exception is the region where the national capital is situated, which is called the Santiago Metropolitan Region. Each region is further divided into provinces headed by a governor. Each province is itself further divided into various communes (*comunas*), each with its own mayor (*alcalde*). Provincial governors are appointed by the president, while mayors are elected by popular vote.

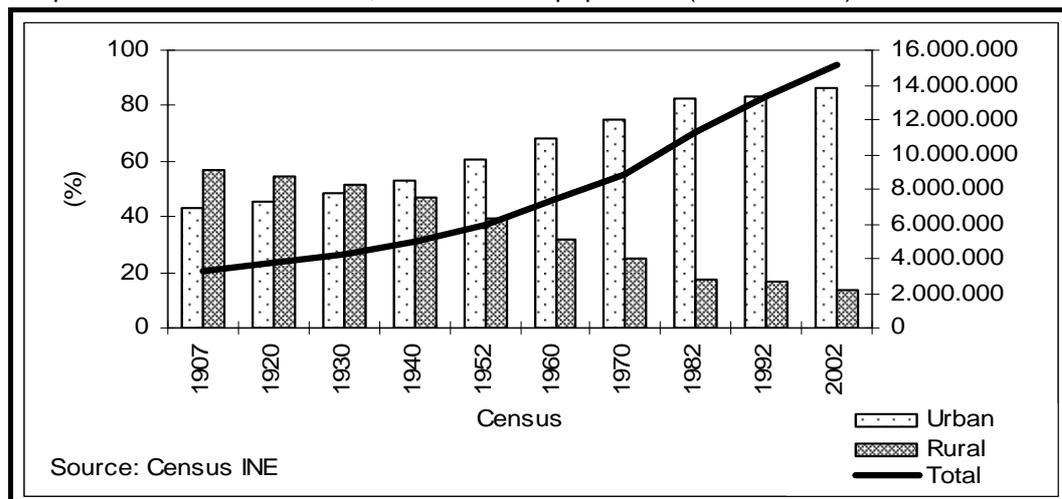
The country has distinguished itself in Latin America by its good economic performance (high growth rates, low inflation and public sector surplus). Thus the World Bank (2005) has classified the country as an upper middle income and moderately indebted economy⁴⁸. With a GDP per capita of US\$ 5,900 Chile offered an optimistic economic outlook for 2004 and 2005. Growth rate forecasts for 2006 are in the range of 4.5 and 5.5% (Chumacero et al. 2004).

Past censuses showed that in 1854, Chile had a population of 1.439.120; in 1907, 3.249.279; in 1940, 5.023.539; in 1970, 8.884.768; and the latest 2002 population census registered 15.116.435 inhabitants (Table 11). This steady growth of the population is mainly due, on one hand, to moderately high birth rates and a decreasing mortality rate, and on the other hand, to an increasingly longer life expectancy (from 67.2 years in 1975 to 77.4 years in 2002). In recent years, the population has a higher proportion of elderly people due to a fertility rate decline associated with a birth rate that dropped to around 1.65% a year in 2002, while overall mortality is 0.53%. This brought population growth to 1.25% a year between 1992 and 2002 (INE 2005a).

Until 1930, the population was predominantly rural (Graph 17). The 1940 census reversed the situation and according to the last census, only 13.4% of the population is rural. The population density is currently 20 inhabitants per square kilometre, one of the lowest density figures in Latin America. However it should be noted that over 70% of Chilean territory is desert or mountainous, inhospitable areas for human settlement.

⁴⁸ Available on line: <http://www.iscb.org/pdfs/WorldBankClassificationList2005.pdf>

Graph 17: Evolution of urban, rural and total population (1907 – 2002)



The evolution of the foreign resident population in Chile shows that this has not had a significant impact on the demographic structure of the country (Table 11). Both the geographical conditions of isolation and scarce initiatives of the state to encourage immigration (chapter 2.2.5) have been influential in the social and cultural isolation of the country's development. Additionally, political and economic conditions, principally during the 1970s, contributed significantly to Chile's reputation more as a territory of emigration than one of immigration⁴⁹.

Table 11: Chile: evolution of population born abroad (1854-2002)

Cen-sus Year	Total Population	Total Foreign born	Foreign (%)	Inter-census Growth (%)	Europeans (%)	Latin Americans (%)	Women (%)
1854	1.439.120	19.669	1.37	n.i	n.i	n.i	n.i
1865	1.819.223	21.982	1.21	1.02	53.7	41.4	25.5
1875	2.075.971	25.199	1.21	1.38	62.3	33.0	25.2
1885	2.527.320	87.077	3.45	13.20	30.1	67.2	n.i
1895	2.712.145	79.056	2.91	-0.96	55.4	41.8	n.i
1907	3.249.279	134.524	4.14	4.53	53.3	42.7	31.3
1920	3.753.799	120.436	3.21	-0.85	59.9	31.2	36.0
1930	4.287.445	105.463	2.46	-1.32	60.0	24.6	35.4
1940	5.023.539	107.273	2.14	0.17	67.2	21.7	38.8
1952	5.932.995	103.878	1.75	-0.27	55.9	23.4	41.3
1960	7.374.115	104.853	1.42	0.12	60.9	26.1	43.8
1970	8.884.768	90.441	1.02	-1.47	53.3	34.4	46.8
1982	11.275.440	80.479	0.71	-0.97	39.8	45.5	51.2
1992	13.348.401	105.070	0.79	2.70	28.4	58.0	50.1
2002	15.116.435	184.464	1.22	5.79	16.9	72.0	52.2

Source: calculation based on Census INE.

Notes: data for 1982, 1992 and 2002 considers only foreign resident population. The remainder censuses do not distinguish between residents and passers-by.

n.i: no information.

⁴⁹ In 1970 nearly 182.000 Chileans were living abroad while in 1980 the number was 370.000. It is calculated that in the 1990s the number of emigrants fluctuated between 400.000 and 500.000, slightly less than 5% of the Chilean population (Martínez 2003a).

The results of the population census in 1992 (Table 11) and the increase in the number of visa requests⁵⁰ generated a series of public speculations and academic and political debate on international migration. These two factors – the population census and increased visa requests – led to speculating, particularly by the media, that the country was experiencing a massive immigration flow by immigrants of low training and culturally diverse patterns. The speculation centred particularly on the repercussions on employment and on the overcharging of primary services such as health care and education (Martínez 2003b).

In the beginning of the new millennium, the results of the 2002 census showed that though international immigration had increased by 75%, in relation to 1992, the situation is less “catastrophic” than the speculations suggested⁵¹. Approximately 185.000 persons born abroad reside in the country. Nevertheless, regarding the immigrants' magnitude (it is the largest number in absolute terms registered in Chilean history) the figure represents only 1.2% of the total population, with higher percentages in the censuses of 1885, 1895, 1907 and 1920 (Table 11). The detailed analysis of the statistics allows identifying new trends in the migratory movements to Chile, which tend to coincide with the international patterns described in chapter 3.2.

Chilean migrant stock: From 1940 until 1982 the foreigners' proportion of the population in Chile begins to diminish (Table 11). This situation is reflected in the inter-census growth rates, which from 1907 (period of the nitrate boom) presented negative or very low values. After 1982, the number of resident foreigners in Chile increased a situation that is reflected in the last two growth rates. Between 1992 and 2002 the growth rate of the foreign population reached the highest value of the century, 5.8%.

Nevertheless it is necessary to point out that the immigrants' stock registered in 2002 is lower than the number of Chileans living abroad. Already in the 1990s the information delivered by IMILA indicated that approximately 358.000 Chileans were living in different countries of America (Table 9). Lamentably there are still no available records for 2000, though the estimations – from records in the consulates – show that Chilean emigrants all over the world would be approximately 800.000 (Martinez 2003). The government project of determining the number of Chileans living abroad will deliver very useful information. Recently results of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores 2005) indicate that at the present almost 860.000 Chileans live outside the country⁵².

Diversity and complexity: As explained previously, European immigration in Chile was dominant up to the decade of the 1970s; people were attracted by selective policies stimulated by the State (chapter 6.4). Nowadays, the Latin American presence is indisputable (78%) and it is associated with market fluctuations more than State policies. Of every ten immigrants, seven come from some South American country and two from Europe. The presence of immigrants from bordering countries is outstanding (Graph 18). In 1970, Argentines, Peruvians and Bolivians represented only 28% of the total immigrants; at present they are more than 53 % of the foreign residents (Graph 19).

⁵⁰ During 1996-2002 there were granted 27.104 visas of definitive residence in Chile: 50% to Peruvians, 11% to Argentines and 9% to Ecuadorians (Ministry of Interior Registers).

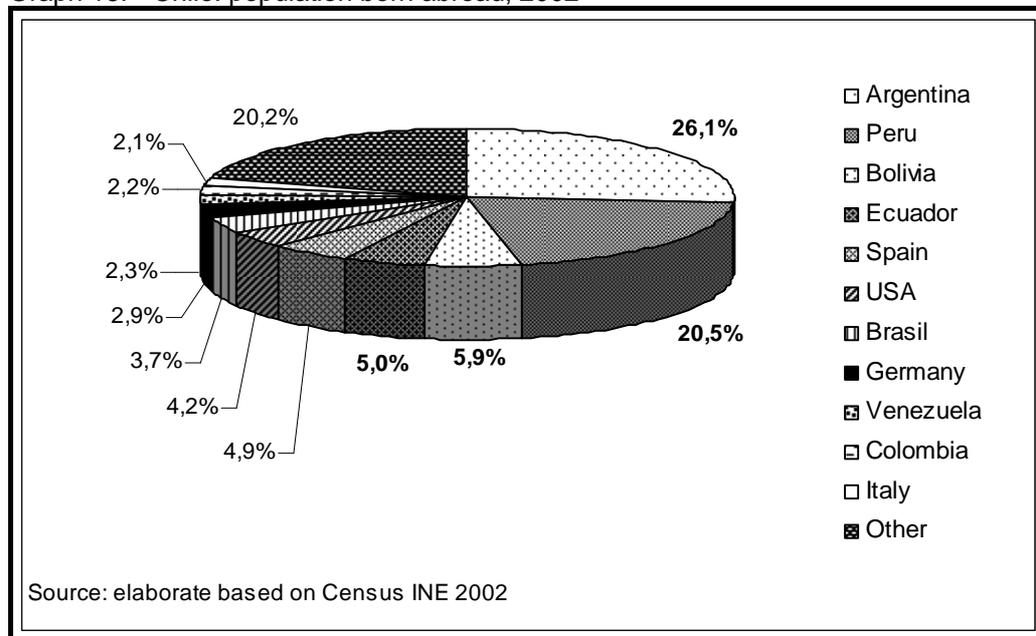
⁵¹ www.soberaniachile.cl/inmigra.html.

⁵² This number includes those born in Chile and their children born abroad.

Though Argentines are the dominant group in the country, their growth rate is more limited than the registered one for Peruvians and Ecuadorians. Besides, countries that in the past contributed with important immigrants' flow – Germany, Spain and Italy – show negative or very low growth rates. It is a question of an ancient immigration, an aging population that does not have a constant inflow anymore (Graph 20).

Another indicator of change in the international migration scenario is the diversification of origins, recognized in the literature as the "mundialization" of the migratory movements. Opposite to the former homogenization of origins, the new migratory scene realizes an increasing ethnic heterogeneity in the reception societies. The result is that in a short time the principal cities have become multicultural societies. In the particular case of Chile, the number of countries of origin of the immigrants has increased from 48 in 1970 to 176 in 2002⁵³. New countries join the national scenery though with small figures: Ukraine, Romania, Pakistan, Angola, Algeria, South Africa, Malaysia, Jordan and Morocco among others.

Graph 18: Chile: population born abroad, 2002



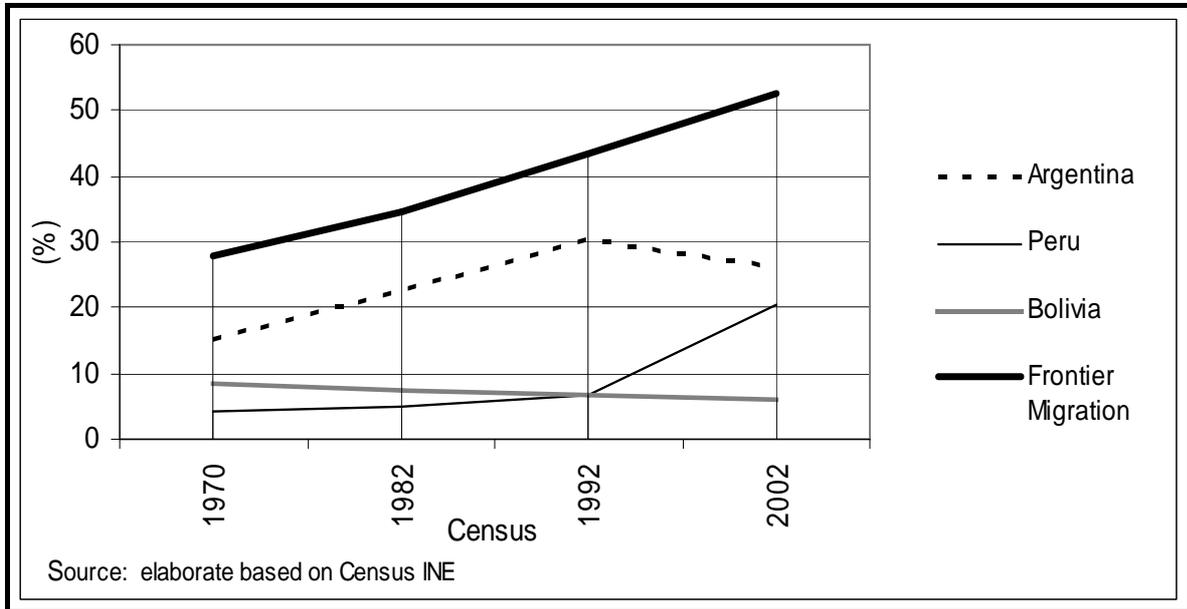
Female Migration: A world pattern that repeats in Chile is the so called “feminization of the movements.” Since 1982, women have been dominant in the migratory movements to the country (Table 11). The interesting point is that in 2002 their presence is significant among the age group between 20 and 54 years, that is to say in the economically active group. The question that arises is which country’s conditions are causing this situation. Martinez (2003b) argues that this fact is relevant because it can be an indicator of a new migration pattern to Chile.

Despite that each immigrant group presents a different dynamics in terms of sex and age, it is well known that an important group of young women migrates from the north of Peru to be employed in the domestic service. Results of Núñez and Stefoni (2004) indicate that these

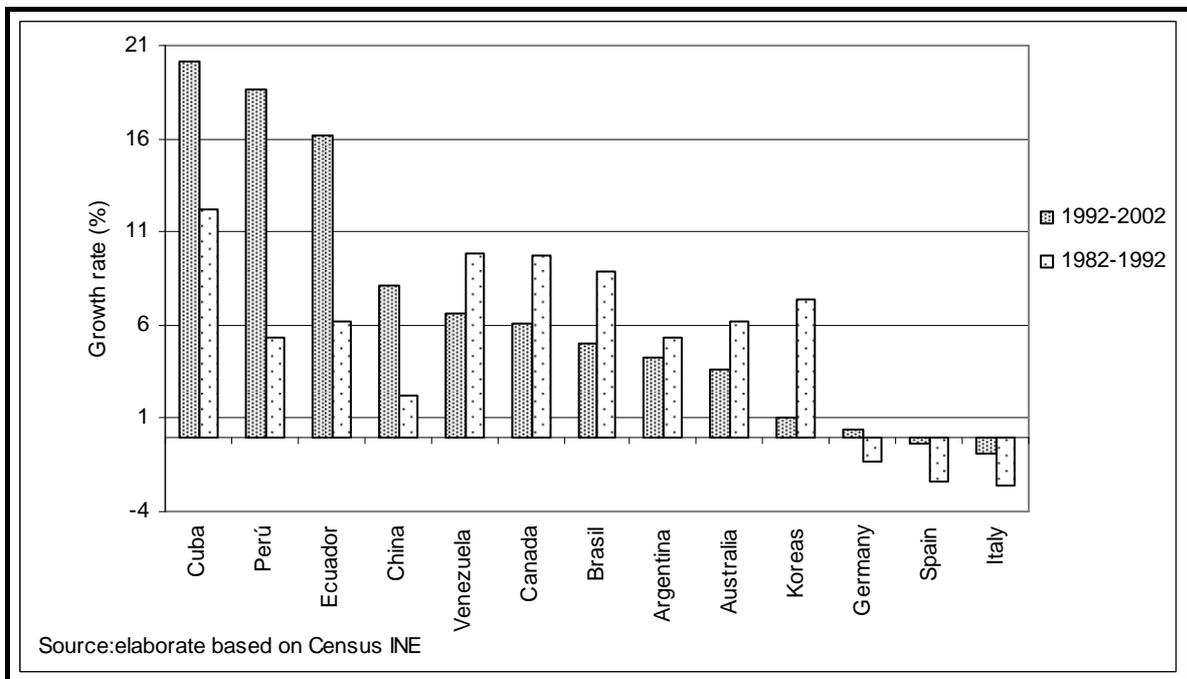
⁵³ The data for 1970 is not fully exact because in the official publication many countries were grouped under the category "other countries."

women lead the migratory Peruvian process: first alone, then the partner and finally the children. This shows a high degree of family disintegration.

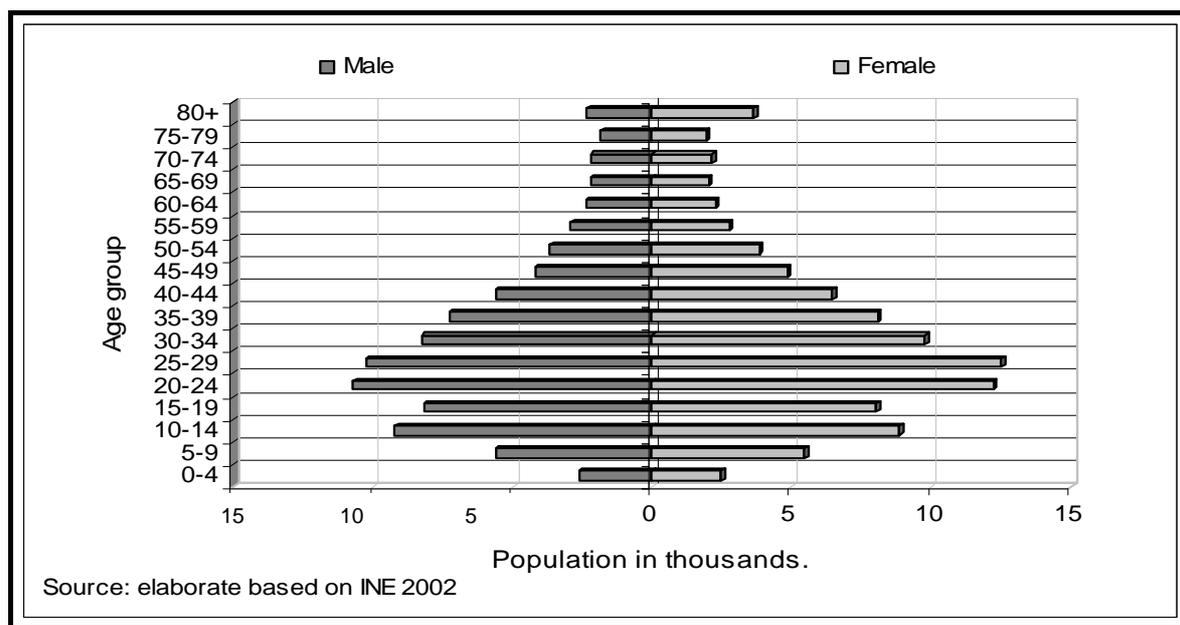
Graph 19: Chile: evolution of immigrants' stock from neighbouring countries (1970-2002)



Graph 20: Chile: immigrants' growth rate by selected countries (1982-2002)



Graph 21: Chile: population born abroad by sex and age, 2002



The strong participation of economically active immigrants (Graph 21) is an indicator that labour is as important a factor in the decision to emigrate for men as it is for women. In general terms it emphasizes the low presence of children (10%). Martínez (2003b) highlights the strong differences among Peruvian and Argentinean migrants. In the case of the Peruvians, the women prevail in the ages of those working, whereas the demographic structure of the Argentineans is very similar to the Chileans, which reflects its family character. Finally the early immigration flow is reflected in the population older than 65 years, a topic which will be taken up later in the specific case of the Santiago Metropolitan Area.

3.3.1 Is the country an immigrant pole of attraction in Latin America?

An interesting discussion has been generated concerning the role of Chile as a pole of attraction in Latin America. On the one hand, there exists a trend of thinking that Chile has transformed into a pole of attraction with similar characteristics experienced by countries such as Italy or Spain. On the other hand, some authors (Steffoni 2002; Matínez 2003b) point out that it is only a question of an increase in the number of immigrants as has happened in many other countries (Table 12).

Regarding the first argument, it is necessary to point out that the transformation of Italy and Spain from emigration to immigration countries has happened in the middle of a long-term social, economic and political transformation: their geographic location attracts a huge number of illegal African immigrants; their historical and cultural ties with Latin American countries encourage Hispanic immigration; their Mediterranean climate is a factor of attraction for European pensioners and finally, their economic growth of recent years has gotten the attention of eastern European citizens in search of work.

Nevertheless the Chilean process has been different enough. Though the country has experienced a significant increase in the number of immigrants from the beginning of the 1990s, the causal factors are not as clear as in the Italian and the Spanish cases.

Among the eventual explanations there is the return flow from exile after 17 years of dictatorship. Though precise statistics do not exist, this precedent is not minor since it influences significantly the interpretation of existing information. High values in growth rates are observed in immigrants from Cuba, Canada, Venezuela and Australia, countries recognized for granting shelter to Chileans (Graph 20). That is to say, many of the foreigners registered in Chile can be the children of Chileans born in exile or had joined with Chilean citizens returning from exile.

Although the absolute magnitude of immigrants registered in the last census is the highest in Chilean history, the percentage of people born abroad continues to be low, scarcely more than 1%. In accordance with the United Nations, the foreigners' presence in the country is modest if it is compared with other countries (Table 12).

Regarding the second argument, it cannot be refuted that in the Latin American context the economic conditions of the country - in terms of labour opportunities and economic stability - are clearly profitable. The image of a successful country undoubtedly attracts immigrants who seek to improve their economic conditions. Chile constitutes a remarkable demonstration of economic and political liberalism. Democracy and capitalism seem to prosper and the mainstream media have praised the country as a model for Latin America, the developing world, and beyond (Nef 2003).

Leaving aside the argument of regressive income distribution resulting from the application of neo-liberal policies since the last two decades, the country experienced a much-hailed economic boom, with indexes of growth of the gross national product (GNP) between 4% and 12%. Although its economy has stagnated since 1999, its indexes are still relatively much better than the so-called "developed" economies in the region, namely Brazil, Venezuela, Mexico and Argentina. Inflation has been under control for many years; investment has been on the rise, and the massive foreign debt has been reduced (Jadresicj and Zahler 2000).

Table 12: International migrants as a proportion of the total population in selected countries (1981-1998). (In percentage)

Country	1981	1991	1998
Australia	20,6	22,7	21,1
Canada	16,1	15,6	17,4
USA	6,2	7,9	9,8
Austria	3,9	6,6	9,1
Germany	7,5	8,2	8,9
Belgium	9,0	9,2	8,7
France	6,8	6,3	6,3
Denmark	2,0	3,3	4,8
Holland	3,8	4,8	4,4
United Kingdom	2,8	3,1	3,8
Norway	2,1	3,5	3,7
Italy	0,6	1,5	2,1
Finland	0,3	0,7	1,6
Spain	0,5	0,9	1,5

Source: elaborate based on OECD 2003b.

Above all Chile is perhaps the Latin American country most conspicuously compliant with the rules of the international financial community. Its program of debt and deficit reduction has been highly praised among bankers, resulting in a marked improvement in its credit ranking.

Moreover, recently the country was classified by the World Economic Forum⁵⁴ as the most competitive economy in Latin America⁵⁵, surpassing even some countries of the European Union⁵⁶. The difference between the second economy in the region (Uruguay) has increased from 26 positions in 2004 to 31 in 2005. The report emphasizes that Chile continues having an excellent macroeconomic management, public institutions with a notable level of competition, being equal as for transparency and efficiency to the European Union.

Despite this favourable economic situation, international migration figures indicate that it is not correct to affirm that Chile has transformed into the principal destination of Argentinean, Peruvian, Bolivian and Ecuadorian immigrants. Though these countries have increased the migratory volume to the country, this volume is enough lower than the one that moves to destinations such as Europe and the U.S. (Table 13). Although Argentinean immigrants are the most important in the country, the flow of Argentineans to the U.S. is clearly higher. In the case of Peru, from a Diaspora of more than two million distributed around the world, during 2002 only 38.000 legal migrants were registered in Chile. Also, as has been demonstrated (chapter 3.3.4), Argentina still constitutes an important pole of attraction in South America. Nevertheless the numbers correspond to an accumulated stock of immigrants. Besides, the effects of the sharp Argentinean economic crisis on the immigration and emigration flows are still unknown.

Table 13: Stock of Argentineans, Peruvians, Bolivians and Ecuadorians living in selected countries

Nationality	Chile (2002) ¹	Argentina (2001) ⁴	USA (2000) ³	Germany (2002) ²	Spain (2001) ²
Argentineans	48.176	-	100.864	n.i	20.412
Peruvians	37.860	88.260	233.926	7.825	33.758
Bolivians	10.919	233.464	42.068	1.681	2.148
Ecuadorians	9.393	n.i	260.559	3.256	84.699

Source: elaborate based on: 1: INE 2002; 2: OECD 2003b; 3: US Census Bureau 2000; 4 INDEC 2001

n.i: no information

Clearly Chile is not the only pole of attraction for Latin American migrants. For instance Peruvians are the second most important foreign group in the country (20.5%) and the first one in the SMA (26.1%). However Chile occupies only the sixth place, after Argentina and Venezuela, among the main countries' destination of Peruvians living abroad (Table 14).

The discussed antecedents indicate that more than one pole of attraction exists for Latin American international movements. The economic and political stability and the educational opportunities rank Chile as "another" pole of attraction for the regional migrants. The country appears as an "intervening opportunity" in the migrants' decision process, where factors as the time-cost distance would grant competitive advantages over countries such as the U.S., Spain or Italy.

⁵⁴ World Economic Forum. 2005. The Growth Competitiveness Index is composed of three component indexes: the technology index, the public institutions index, and the macroeconomic environment index. These indexes are calculated on the basis of both "hard data" and "survey data".

⁵⁵ Chile, Estonia and Malaysia were the three countries with medium income classified among the best 25 positions.

⁵⁶ Chile was classified in the 23rd place with Spain in the 29th, Luxembourg 25th, Ireland 26th, France 30th, Belgium 31st and Italy 47th.

Table 14: Peruvians living abroad

Country	Peruvian population	Percentage
U.S	878.501	50.68
Argentina	125.880	7.26
Venezuela	117.460	6.78
Spain	112.331	6.48
Italy	86.410	4.98
Chile	81.270	4.69
Bolivia	69.755	4.02
Japan	56.442	3.26
Ecuador	41.600	2.40
Brazil	25.023	1.44
Canada	21.057	1.21
Other	117.810	6.80
Total	1.733.539	100.00

Source: de los Ríos and Rueda 2005.

Case studies of different immigrant groups confirm the previous statement. Valdivieso (2001) argues that among the reasons to emigrate for a group of Ecuadorian women, the most important were the achievement of material and economic targets, to accompany their Chilean partners, and to obtain a better educational level through postgraduate studies.

Stefoni (2002a) in her study concerning the Peruvian migration in Chile emphasizes the importance of the networks that facilitate not only the decision to emigrate but also the arrival and the possibility of finding a job. The labour market, the opportunities of work and the existing wages are some of the reasons to emigrate. For others Chile is a more affordable alternative since the cost of moving is minor compared to a ticket to Europe or the U.S.

In summary, Latin American adjustments to the migratory pattern are explained by the structural approaches and the network theory (chapters 2.2.4 and 2.2.5). Immigration takes place from countries less developed to those with better economic opportunities. Chile profited from that during last decade. However, due to the economic, political and social dynamics of Latin American countries and the increasingly restrictive immigration policies in Europe and the U.S., it is not at all certain whether this will continue in future.

3.3.2 Immigrant concentration in the Santiago Metropolitan Region

The regional distribution of foreign residents in Chile tends to be coincident with the concentrated pattern of the national population (Table 15). The Santiago Metropolitan Region (SMR) concentrates 40% of the country's population and 61.2% of the immigrants. In the next places are the regions of Valparaíso (8.6%), Tarapacá (6.9%) and Los Lagos (4.4%).

Nevertheless, considering the relationship between regional immigration and population, it is the region of Tarapacá that shows the highest percentage (3.0%), superior to the 1.9% reached by the Metropolitan Region. The distribution by country of origin (Figure 8) shows the effect of the distance and the power of attraction of the Metropolitan Region in the immigrant location. Almost half of the Bolivian migrants live in the frontier region of Tarapacá (46%), the rest are distributed between the region of Antofagasta (21%) and the Metropolitan (24%). Peruvians are dominant in the Metropolitan Region (77%) and only 12% reside in the frontier region of Tarapacá. In this case, distance as a factor loses importance compared to

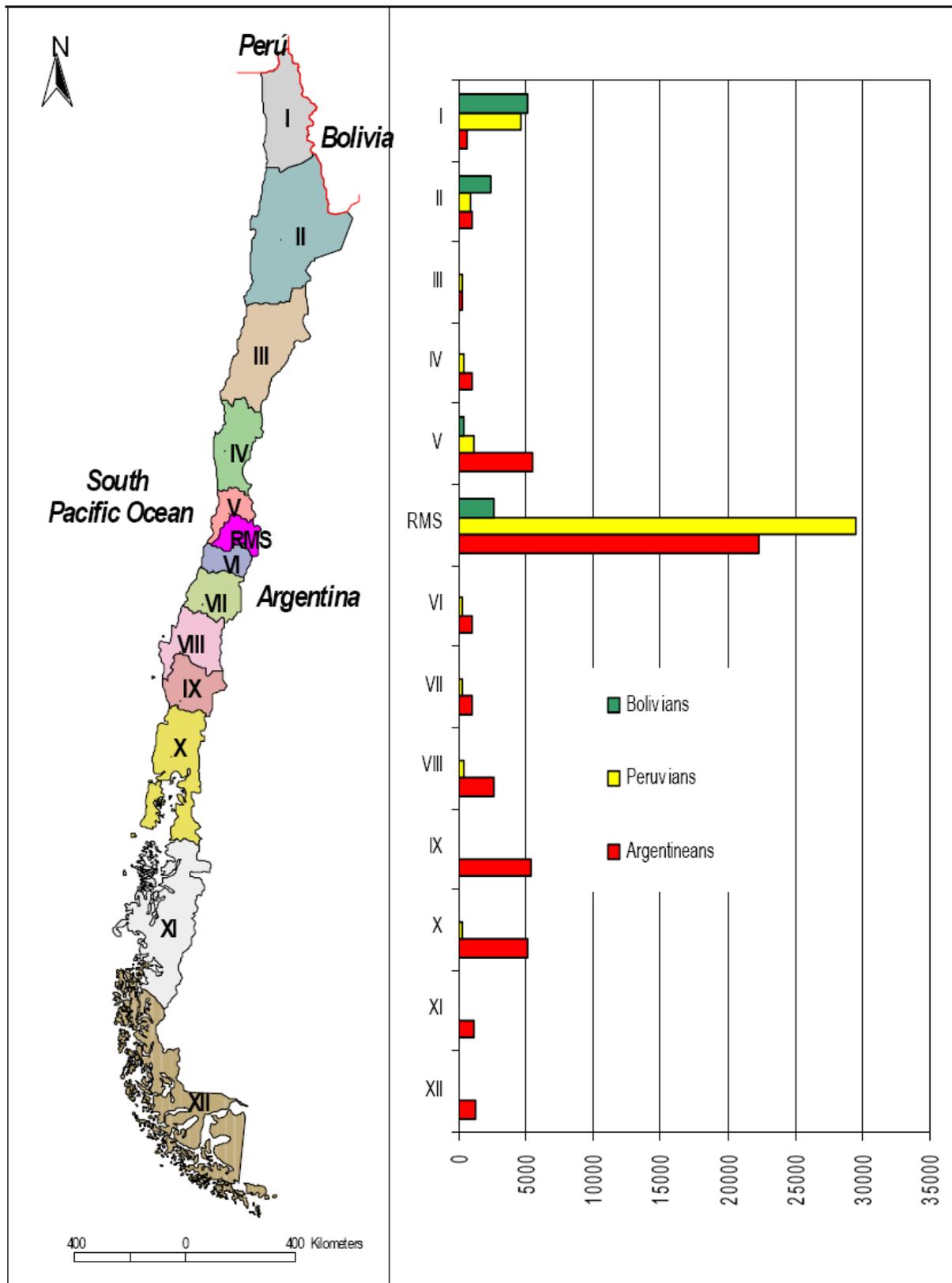
the attraction of Santiago. The Argentineans are less concentrated in the country due to the long shared border. In summary, six of ten international immigrants live in the Metropolitan Region of Santiago, the smallest of the thirteen regions, the only land-locked and the most populated. For the year 2002 the region had a population of six million inhabitants and population projections show that in the year 2020 it will reach from 7 to 7.5 million inhabitants (INE 2005b).

Despite the importance of the region in the national context, it presents a heterogeneous internal distribution pattern of population and economic activities. The region is divided into six provinces and 52 communes (municipalities). Thirty-four of them form the Santiago Metropolitan Area (SMA). The metropolis concentrates 90% of the regional population and 95% of the international immigrants. The metropolitan concentration is reflected in a regionally inharmonious and unbalanced structure. The SMA has 80 times more inhabitants than the second city of the region, Peñaflor with 63.209 inhabitants (INE 2002). Internally the region shows a concentration of the productive activities that are located preferably in its principal access roads, producing an increasing disconnection between the place of employment and the residential areas. The clear disparity between the size of Santiago and the rest of the urban areas of the region place in evidence the imbalance in the distribution of the population and activities, showing the existence of two realities: the huge urban space of Santiago with typical metropolitan problems; and the surrounding rural space. The duality that distinguishes itself provokes different levels of development, which are expressed in the majority of the regional indicators (GORE RM 2002). The sharp regional concentration is exacerbated by the dispersion of the population in the rural areas, the smallness of the markets and the closeness to the metropolitan area, which inhibits other developments. The enormous concentration is a cause of the weak integration of the multiple peripheral centres that shape the rural structure. Moreover, the metropolitan periphery is pressured to join urban land uses. This fragility can be explained by the high monetary value that the urban ground acquires, which cannot compare with other destinations. The economies of scale and of agglomeration that the metropolis possesses have no counterweight in the interregional and in the national level, and the high demand for being located in the metropolis or in its hinterland is a trend that does not have, in the short term, signs of modification.

Finally in the region one has to distinguish two institutions. On the one hand, there is the interior government headed by the Intendent designated by the President of the Republic. On the other hand, there is the regional administration in charge of the Regional Government (GORE)⁵⁷, comprising the Manager and the Regional Council (CORE). Its members are chosen indirectly by the municipal councilmen. The administration of every province resides in a governor, who is subordinated to the respective Intendent, and has the exclusive confidence of the President of the Republic. The local administration of every commune resides in a municipality, which is headed by a mayor and the communal council. The municipalities are public corporations with their own budget, whose purpose it is to satisfy the needs of the local community and to assure its participation in the economic, social and cultural progress of the commune.

⁵⁷ Decentralized organisms with own budget, established for the top administration of every region, in order to promote its social, cultural and economic development.

Figure 8: Chile: foreign population from neighbouring countries by region, 2002



Source: elaborate by the author based on INE 2002

Table 15: Chile: total and foreign population by region, 2002

Region	Total Population	%	Foreign born population*	% of foreign population	% of total population
I Region de Tarapacá	425.508	2.8	12.902	6.9	3.0
II Región de Antofagasta	491.305	3.3	6.061	3.2	1.2
III Región de Copiapó	253.382	1.7	1.289	0.7	0.5
IV Región de Coquimbo	601.208	3.9	3.225	1.7	0.5
V Región de Valparaíso	1.531.580	10.2	16.094	8.6	1.1
VI Región del Gral. Bdo. O'Higgins	778.877	5.2	3.120	1.7	0.4
VII Región del Maule	905.552	6.1	3.249	1.7	0.4
VIII Región del Biobío	1.855.537	12.4	7.400	4.0	0.4
IX Región de la Araucanía	865.437	5.7	7.646	4.1	0.9
X Región de Los Lagos	1.068.178	7.1	8.358	4.4	0.8
XI Región de Aisén	91.154	0.7	1.421	0.8	1.6
XII Región de Magallanes	149.898	0.9	1.863	1.0	1.2
Metropolitana de Santiago	6.033.210	40.0	114.366	61.2	1.9
Total	15.050.796	100.0	186.994	100.0	1.2

Source: elaborate based on INE 2002.

*The results are not coincident with the official publication showed in Table 18. In this case they were calculated with REDATAM software. The foreign population data in each region shows where the immigrants were during the census application not were they lived.

3.4 The Santiago Metropolitan Area

Besides the international migration pattern, the role of the SMA in international development and its internal differentiation are important to be considered as a prerequisite to understand international migration to the metropolis. Therefore this chapter elaborates on this approach.

With more than 5 million inhabitants, the SMA is part of the group of seven principal metropolitan areas of Latin America. Although its size is far from the three regional mega cities (San Paulo, Rio de Janeiro and Buenos Aires), it has a major influence on the urban national population with supremacy in the Chilean structure of cities.

The metropolis is a mosaic of 34 municipalities that spreads in three of the six provinces of the Metropolitan Region (Figure 10). The most relevant mergers of last decades, with the provincial capitals of Puente Alto and San Bernardo, have generated an urban metropolitan inter-provincial structure. Nevertheless, the SMA is not a “real city” in political and administrative terms. The city has no metropolitan government and each of its 34 communes is an autonomous municipality where the institutions of the central government intervene directly. Furthermore, the competitions and responsibilities of the different authorities are not established in a clear way (Schiappacasse and Müller 2004).

The growth of the SMA, in relation to the rest of the country, demonstrates strong Chilean population disparities: almost four of every ten Chileans live in the heart of the country, that is to say, 35.6% of the population (Table 14). Nevertheless, the demographic evolution of the city shows that the rate of growth has been diminishing considerably.

Between the last two censuses (1992-2002) the population of the SMA grew in an annual average of 1.2%. This is at equivalent levels to Sao Paulo (1.6%) and Caracas (1.4%), superior to those of Buenos Aires (0.3%) and Uruguay (0.7%) and lowers than the growth of Lima (1.8%), Bogotá (2.1%), La Paz (2.6%) and Guayaquil (2.8%)⁵⁸ (U.N 2003c).

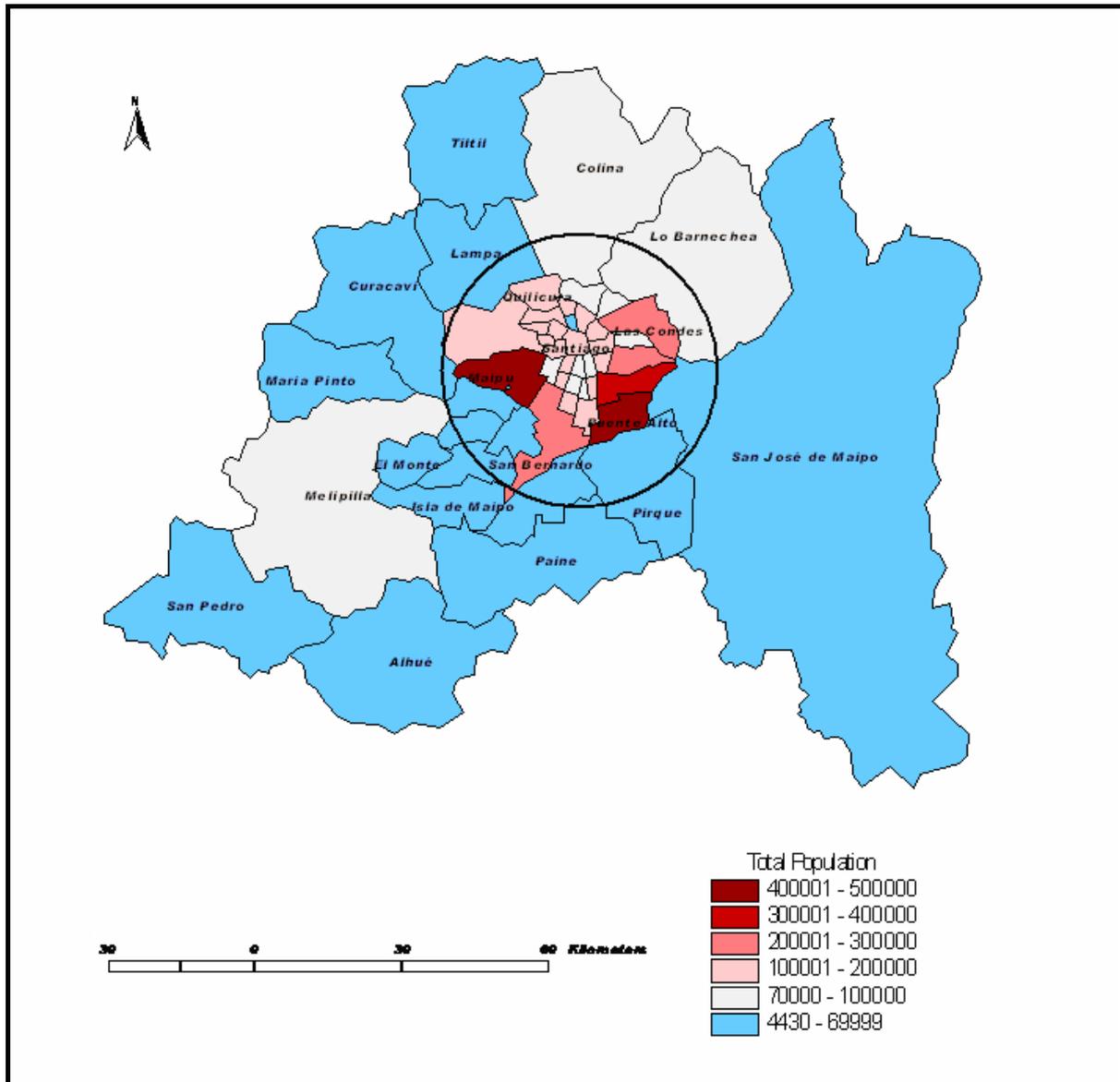
Table 16: Santiago Metropolitan Area: evolution of population (1907-2002)

Year	Total Population	Percentage of total Chilean population	Growth rate (%)
1907	330.900	10.2	2.0
1920	516.700	13.7	3.4
1930	710.000	16.2	3.4
1940	995.600	19.8	3.4
1952	1.440.900	24.3	3.2
1960	2.060.000	28.0	4.6
1970	2.820.037	31.7	3.2
1982	3.870.700	34.4	2.7
1992	4.750.000	35.6	1.9
2002	5.380.000	35.6	1.2

Source: elaborate based on Census INE

⁵⁸ The data refer to the years in which population and housing censuses were conducted in each country; i.e. around the 1990s and the beginning of 2000.

Figure 9: Santiago Metropolitan Area in the regional context



Source: elaborate by the author based on census INE 2002

Among both censuses, the expansion of the metropolitan population shows strong change at the communal level, with values higher than 6% in the periphery versus others of negative growth in central and intermediate areas (Figure 10). In fact, the city presents a heterogeneous population distribution. The municipality of Santiago, the administrative and financial centre of the city presented a continuous loss of population in recent decades. In 1952 almost half of the population of the SMA lived in the central municipality. Nowadays only 3.7% of the metropolitan population live in the commune of Santiago and the growing communes have peripheral emplacement (Puente Alto, Maipú y Quilicura).

In terms of land demand or pressure for space, it is necessary to clarify that though the SMA demographic current growth shows an important deceleration with regard to previous decades, the absolute increase is considerable: about 630.000 new residents between 1992 and 2002 (Table 16).

Santiago covers approximately 74.000 hectares (Table 17). The expansion of the city is characterized by strong growth to the periphery and settlements in risky areas. Over the years the density of the city has constantly decreased. Nowadays the figure is, approximately 72 inhabitants per hectare with an important stock of derelict land (from 8 to 10%), (Estrategia de Desarrollo Santiago Región 2000-2005 2000).

Table 17: Santiago Metropolitan Area: evolution of the urban area (1952-2002)

Year	1952	1960	1970	1982	1992	2002
Population	1.443.000	2.062.000	2.879.560	3.939.973	4.756.663	5.381.185
Area (Ha)	15.351,3	21.160,6	31.840,7	42.084,5	61.912,8	74.055,1*
Density (Population/ Ha)	94.0	97.4	90.4	93.6	76.8	71.6

* Calculated from satellite image 1998: OTAS Project, 2002.

Source: elaborate based on census INE

Furthermore, the high demand for space for new housing is not associated with the demographic dynamics. Land continues to increase in value as a result of the aging of the population and the rising income, factors that stimulate the formation of independent families and the demand for land and housing. The economic growth of the city is one of the principal factors of consumption and demand for land in the city. The SMA is the zone of higher monetary income per home in the country, with a growth rate of the product that exceeds by several times the national average⁵⁹.

In spite of the marginal location of Santiago in the world and the modest dimension of its economy, economic stability has provoked an increase in foreign capital in key sectors of the national economy. Logistic centres are located in the SMA, such as telecommunications, finance, the mining industry, electricity and gas. The SMA is the centre of a tertiary modern sector and the high technology industry. These precedents coincide with several of the basic features of the areas of “urban innovation” and “global city” described by Sassen (1991).

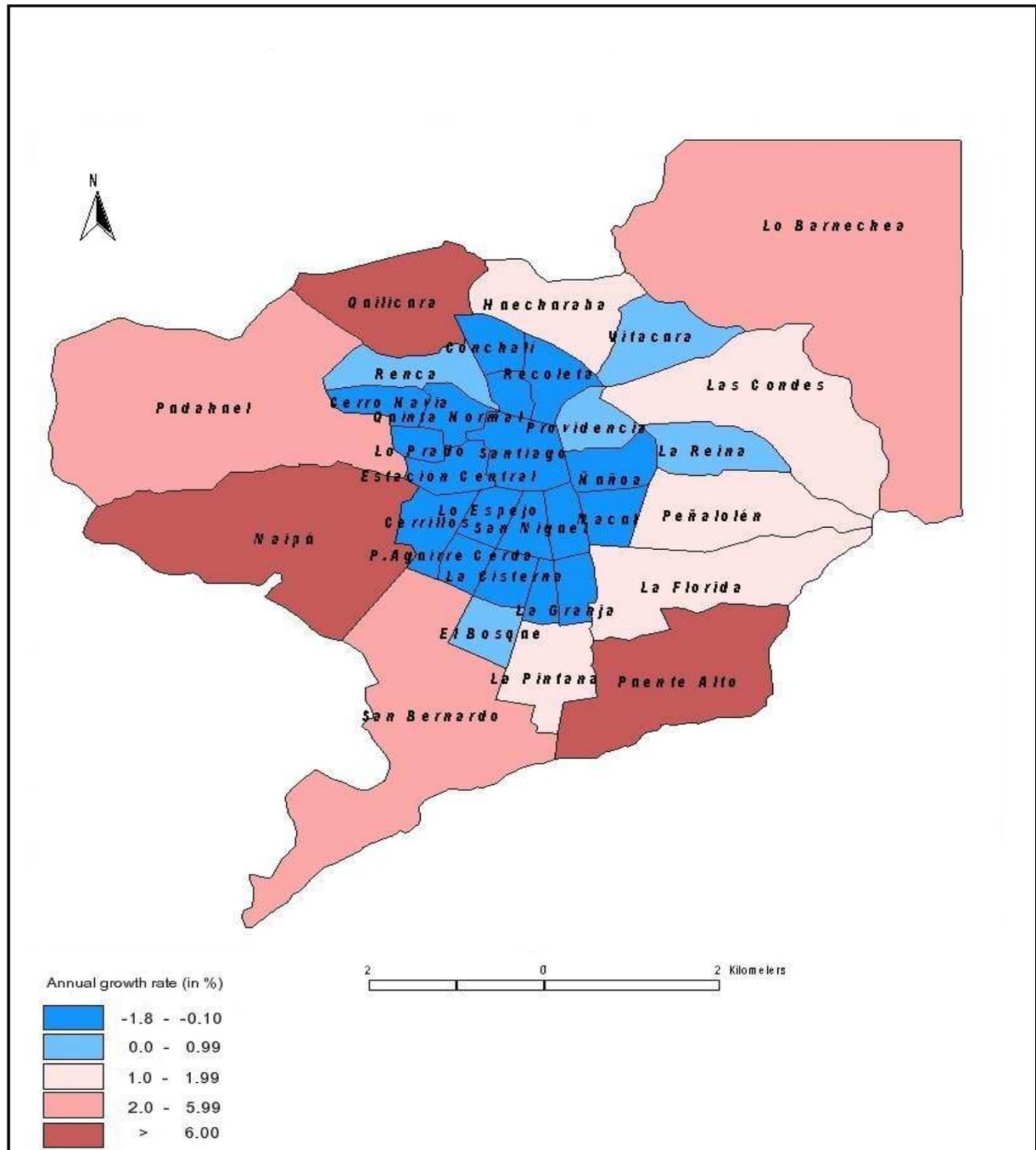
As Chile has improved its position in the international rankings of competitiveness, the SMA has slowly been caught up in the world net of cities “on the way to globalization.” Beaverstock et al. (1999), from the information provided by the GaWC (Globalization and World Cities Study Group)⁶⁰, distinguish Buenos Aires, Caracas, Mexico City, Santiago and Sao Paulo as the only Latin American metropolises participating in the global network.

In a scale from 1 to 12, they have determined their importance as world centres of services of each of these cities. The results show that Mexico City and Sao Paulo occupy first place in the Beta category with a scale of 8; in the Gamma category, Caracas and Santiago appear with a scale of 5 and Buenos Aires with a scale of 4 (Figure 11).

⁵⁹ The results of the National Survey of family budgets realized in the SMA in 1998, indicated, with regard to 1988, a real growth of 87.5% of the monthly income per home, 84.2 % in the monthly spend per home and of 94.9% in the monthly spend per capita (De Mattos 2000).

⁶⁰ To classify the cities GaWC uses Sassen’s methodology. Four sectors of advanced services determine the formation of a global city: accounting, finance, legal services and advertising. Considering the specific weight of these sectors in the economic activity of the cities, they have been classified as Alpha, Beta and Gamma. <http://www.lboro.ac.uk/gawc/>.

Figure 10: Santiago Metropolitan Area: annual growth rate of population (1992-2002)



Source: elaborate by the author based on INE 2002

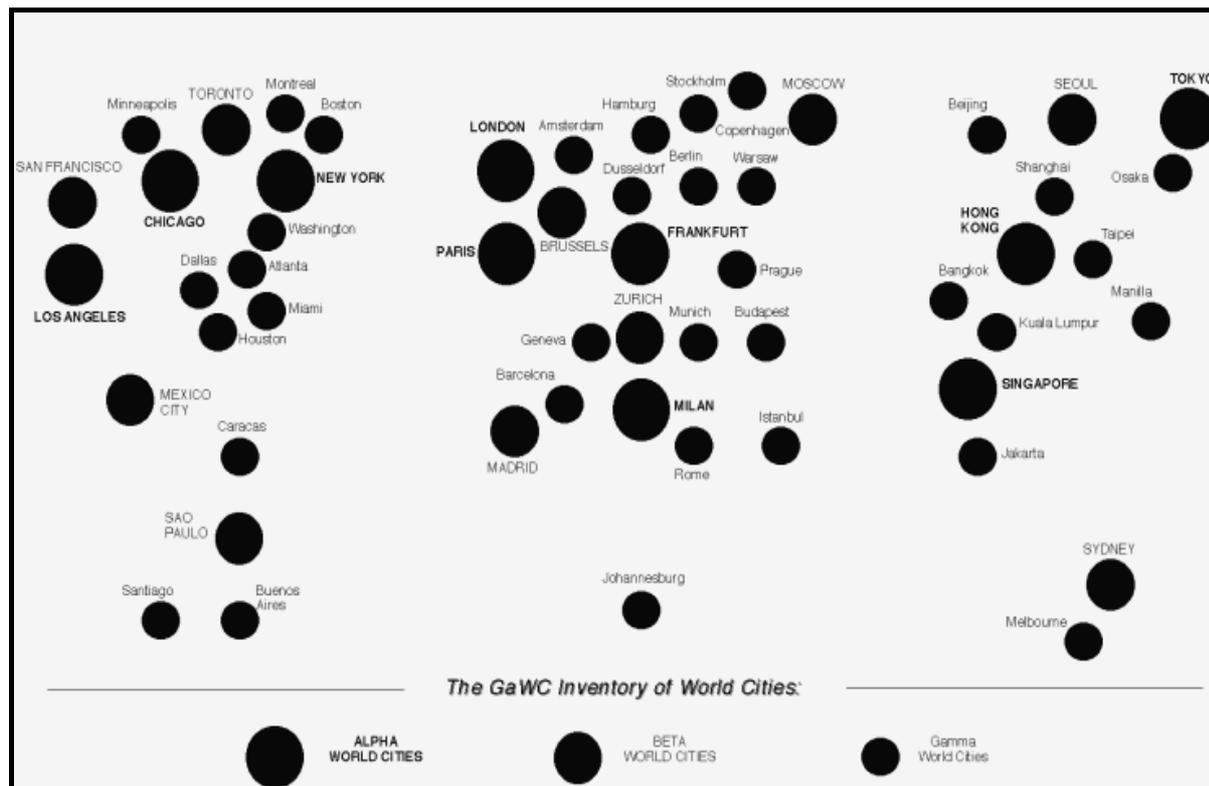
Magazines such as Fortune⁶¹ or America Economy⁶² have classified the SMA as the best city for business in Latin America. They highlighted the low restrictions for foreign investment, the competitiveness in telecommunications, the quality of life and the security index.

⁶¹ The SMA was classified in 1997 and 1998 as the best city for business in Latin America. Available on line:<http://www.bestplaces.net>.

⁶² In 2005, per second year consecutively, Santiago shifted Miami of the leadership. Available on line:<http://www.americaeconomia.com/FilesMC/cuadrociudades2005-sp.pdf>.

As future challenges for the metropolis, the low scores in tolerance and the need for openness to innovation have been mentioned. Indeed, despite the SMA moves toward a more modern global economy, it remains a somewhat closed society that in many ways continues to grapple with its past and present in relation to its national identity both internally and in relation to other countries of the region and the rest of the world. These issues are important as they reflect the inhabitants' perceptions regarding international immigration.

Figure 11: Characterization of World Cities



Source: Beaverstock et al. 1999.

Different international classifications show that gradually the SMA consolidated as a new South American – in addition to Sao Paulo and Buenos Aires – link centre with the world, due to its new economic base that attracts international investment and as the location of multinational companies. It is expected – in the meantime the country continues growing and advancing in its capitalist modernization – that the SMA will strengthen its position as a secondary node in the new global capitalism structure (De Mattos 2000).

Nevertheless the character of the Latin American cities integrating into world business dynamics is marked by specificities that traditionally have characterized Third World cities: agglomerated and chaotic urban spaces where poverty and social polarization are present.

Probably the most widely known problem of the SMA is air pollution. The way the issue has been tackled offers an insight into how the metropolis has tried to work together and coordinate efforts to alleviate this problem and the difficulties encountered. The national government has established a National Commission for the Environment (CONAMA), which in turn has established a National Prevention and Decontamination Plan to deal with the problem of air pollution. Many ministries and secretariats, the Regional Government, and various public

service enterprises are also involved. Municipalities are also part of the decision-making process but considered as single institutions. In all, over 21 agencies are part of the air pollution metropolitan control program.

Nevertheless one of the main weaknesses of the SMA is the social segregation on a communal scale showing the existence of urban ghettos for the rich as well as the poor. From the middle of the last century, the major income sectors, stimulated by their preference for isolated housing and for the need to establish a major distance between their place of residence and the one in which the poorest sectors lived, have been moving slowly to the east of the city (Figure 12). During the 1970s, the social polarization increased due to a slum eradication program initiated by the Military Government, in which the poor who were living in communes of high income were moved to homogeneous poor communes in the south of the city.

In the last decades the traditional concentration of the upper class in the eastern section of the city, near the Andes (Providencia, Las Condes, Vitacura, La Reina) has spread towards the north (Huechuraba) and the south (Peñalolén) of the capital creating islands of higher socioeconomic status (Schiappacasse 1998). At the same time an internal migration of high and medium income population to the rural communes of the Metropolitan Region like Calera de Tango, Colina (Chicureo) and Pirque has occurred. Many inhabitants escape the deep metropolitan problems (e.g. pollution, delinquency, traffic congestion). This suburban pattern is characterized by new neighbourhoods with exclusive condominiums, similar phenomenon to the gated communities in some European and North American cities.

In summary, as most of the major cities in Latin America, the SMA has not a single authority which administers the whole urban area. The metropolis comprises 34 communes with mayors and councils directly elected for four year terms. An administrative reform in 1982, during the Pinochet dictatorship, gave considerable responsibility to local government over a wide range of municipal matters.

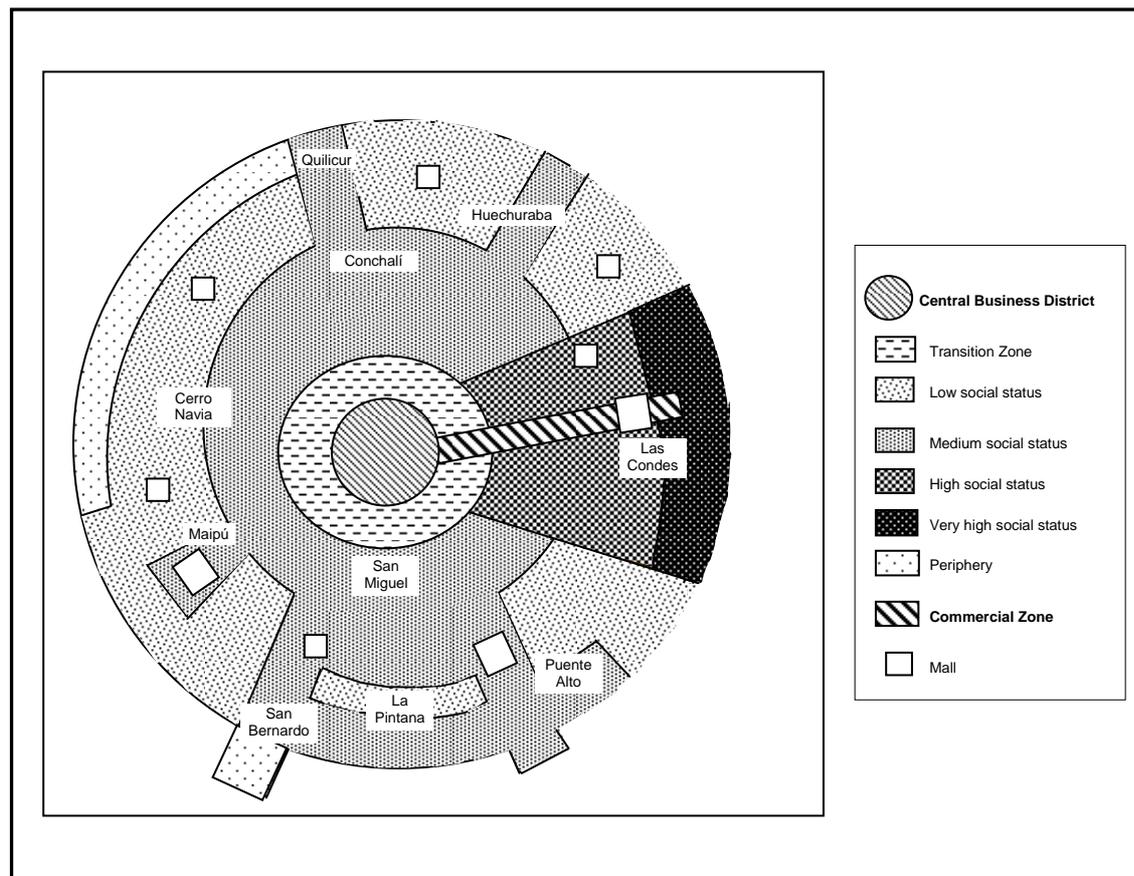
However, one of the main obstacles to achieving effective governance is the coexistence of local, regional and central authorities in a complex territory. This has created serious problems of coordination on issues of government and administration. As well, the sharp social segregation of the SMA affects its governability and its safety. Lack of an authority responsible for the whole city impedes not only the management of social segregation but also the efficient administration of the multiple environmental problems and the seeking of modern strategies that allow the incorporation and integration of all inhabitants.

Many inhabitants escape of the deep metropolitan problems (e.g. pollution, delinquency, traffic congestion). This suburban pattern is characterized by new neighbourhoods with exclusive condominiums, similar phenomenon to the gated communities in some European and North American cities (Borsdorf 2003, Borsdorf and Hidalgo 2005). The middle class- benefited in the last years for an increase of the incomes- has located in the intermediate city ring and towards the south of the city, preferably in traditional communes of the middle class (e.g. Nunoa, The Florida, Maipú, Recoleta). In some cases this group follows the programs of urban renovation (e.g. gentrification) developed in specific central areas of the capital. In contrast, the poor population of the central area was slowly pushed out to the periphery with a corresponding negative impact on their access to urban goods and services. This sector had access to cheap social housing programmes, so much regarding design as construction quality, that have been built in the poor periphery of the city where the land price has a low

cost. The government support private firms that construct in areas characterized by bad quality soils, with problems of permeability, near to landfills, sewage plants or cemeteries.

Since the 1980s the SMA's population growth has greatly diminished. However there has been a phenomenon of symbiosis and urban sprawl between the metropolitan area and its surrounding communes. This is the classic politics of the *laissez faire* that leaves the control of urban growth to the owners of the capital prior to the rest of the society.

Figure 12: Santiago Metropolitan Area: structure of the social space, 1992



Source: Ortiz and Schiappacasse 1998

During the last decade the SMA has had a clearly favourable economic balance in the Latin American context. The metropolis has experienced an extensive economic transformation based on the country's neoliberal economic orientation: an aggressive strategy of market liberalization, opened trade, welcomed foreign investment, promoted exports and other structural transformations. This vigorous expansion in production was accompanied by declining levels of unemployment, increasing real wages, decreasing inflation, and a progressively buoyant international economic perception. Santiago has attained positions at the heart of the South American economy and has clearly improved in terms of foreign competitiveness, productivity and occupation levels. It is not easy to forecast the future of an area that already occupies a first division among Latin American cities, all of them competing at the same time to become more efficient, to attract more business, to promote the same knowledge sectors and to ensure the highest possible levels of social integration.

Chapter 4 Main features of international migration to the Santiago Metropolitan Area

4.1 Evolution of the immigrant population

The evolution of foreign immigrants in the SMA (Table 18) shows a very significant participation up to the decade of the 1960s, with percentages that fluctuated between 2% and 6% of the total metropolitan population. From the 1970s the decrease is significant, recovering slowly since 1992. At the present the number of foreigners represents 2% of the metropolitan population, a figure much lower than the one registered in European metropolitan areas. In cities such as Madrid, London, Paris, Brussels, Berlin or Frankfurt the percentage of foreigners ranges between 14% and 30% of the total population.

Nevertheless, it is important to emphasize that the last immigration growth rate (5.5%) is higher than all those registered during the 20th century (Table 18). The analysis of the year of arrival confirms that it is a recent and ascending process (Graph 22). Almost 73% of the foreign population have lived in the city since the beginning of the 1990s and roughly 35% immigrated after the year 2000. That is to say in a period of less than 2 years⁶³ approximately 38.000 immigrants came to the SMA (Graph 22).

Table 18: Santiago Metropolitan Area: evolution of foreign population (1907-2002)

Year	Country population	SMA population	SMA Foreign population	% foreign of SMA population	Foreign Growth rate (%)
1907	3.249.279	330.900	19.896	6.0	-
1920	3.753.799	516.700	28.668	5.5	2.85
1930	4.287.445	710.000	35.763	5.0	1.72
1940	5.023.539	995.600	48.393	4.8	2.35
1952	5.932.995	1.440.900	55.450	3.8	1.14
1960	7.374.115	2.060.000	58.004	2.8	0.56
1970	8.884.768	2.820.037	51.456	1.8	-1.19
1982	11.275.440	3.870.700	49.534	1.2	-0.32
1992	13.348.401	4.750.000	63.756 ⁽¹⁾	1.3	2.87
2002	15.116.435	5.512.527	108.775⁽¹⁾	2.0	5.49

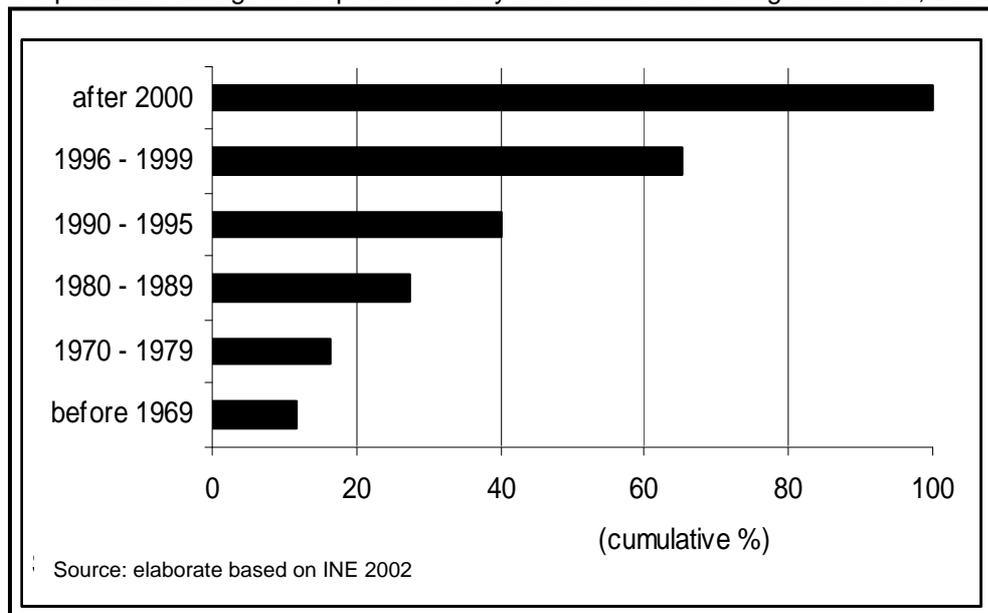
Note: ⁽¹⁾ data obtained through software REDATAM

Source: elaborate based on census INE

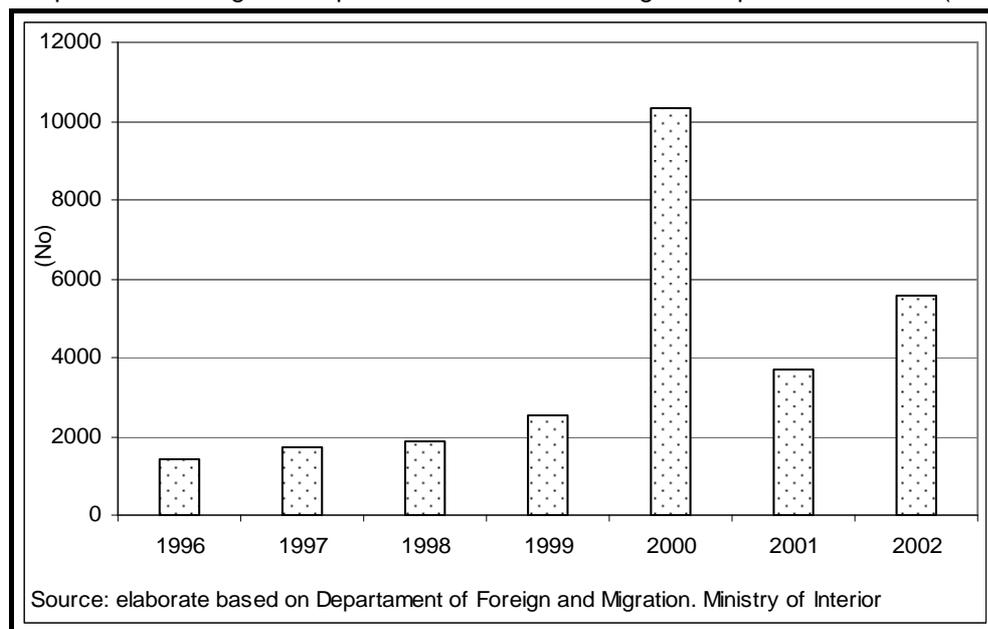
An analysis of the number of visas granted in the last decade by the Department of Foreigners Affairs of the Ministry of Interior confirms the sharp increase of foreign immigration. In the period 1996-2002 the increase of permanent visas granted to foreigners was 400% (Graph 23). In 1996 approximately 1.400 visas were granted, whereas during 2002 the number rose roughly to 5.500. In the year 2000 a maximum of 10.000 visa assignments took place due to the regularization process promoted by the Ministry of the Interior. The idea implemented by the Department of the Interior aimed to regularize the irregular situation of the approximately 40.000 foreigners who lived in the country (Pacheco 2003).

⁶³ The last census of population and housing in Chile was carried out in April, 2002.

Graph 22: Santiago Metropolitan Area: year of arrival of the migrants' stock, 2002



Graph 23: Santiago Metropolitan Area: evolution of granted permanent visas (1996-2002)



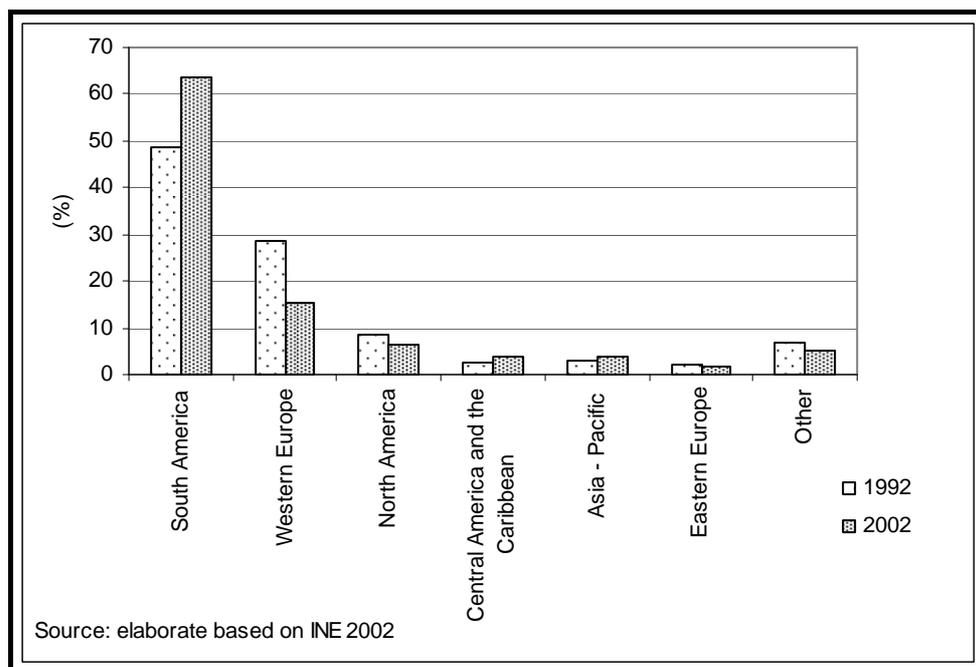
Regarding the immigrant profile, the information submitted by the population census of 2002 is extremely valuable for characterizing foreigners' residence in the SMA in relation to their places of origin, sex, age, time of arrival, education level, type of work and distribution within the metropolitan area. As it is described in the methodology (chapter 2.4), the "universe" of analysis -108.775 immigrants- corresponds to the number registered in the year 2002; in other words, there is a detailed analysis profiling that population, declared to have been born abroad but residing in the SMA during the year 2002. Behind this figure hides an unknown number of non registered immigrants or those people who have concealed their condition of illegality.

4.2 Origin and arrival time: recent process from bordering countries

The number of immigrants from South America increased considerably between 1992 and 2002. Currently they represent almost 64% of the total foreign population, followed distantly by those who came from Western Europe and North America (Graph 24). Thus the pattern of origin of the immigrants to the metropolitan area turns out to be different from their distribution at the national level (Graph 17). The SMA is characterized by a Peruvian predominance and a low presence of Bolivian immigrants. The West Europeans (15.5%) continue to decrease as the immigrant stock ages. Besides, the Asian population (3.6%) has registered a light growth (Graph 24).

Regarding the specific country of origin, only four of the main immigrant stocks represent 56% of the movements (Table 19): Peruvians, Argentines, Ecuadorians and Spanish. The first two correspond to almost half of the total foreign immigrants (45%). The Bolivian presence is especially reduced in the metropolis with a percentage of 2.3% surpassed by Colombians, Germans, Venezuelans, Brazilians and North Americans.

Graph 24: Santiago Metropolitan Area: Migrants' stock by area of origin (1992–2002)



As indicated before, Peru, Argentina and Ecuador have experienced intense emigration during the last years. Deep economic and political crises have provoked the displacement of population to European, Asian and American countries with magnitudes and rhythms of growth superior to those registered to Chile. Nevertheless in the last decade the effects of this massive emigration are evident in the SMA particularly in the case of Peruvians and Ecuadorians with sharp growth rates of 20% and 11% respectively. The impact of Argentines has not been so significant. Although they were the most numerous resident group in the beginnings of the 1990s (24.7%), the rhythm of growth (2.9%) has been more moderate compared with that of the Peruvians and Ecuadorians who followed (Table 19).

This situation is coincidental with the granting of temporary and work contract visas at the end of the 1990s. According to the statistics of the Ministry of Interior, between 1996 and 2002, 27.104 visas were granted (Graph 23): 52% to Peruvian citizens, 11% to Argentineans and 9% to Ecuadorians. Nevertheless not only Peruvians and Ecuadorians have experienced a strong growth rate during the last decade. The growth rate of Venezuelan immigrants (6%), Colombians (9.5%) and Cubans (19.1%) is superior to the one registered in the MSA (5.5%).

With regard to the European immigration, only four countries emerge between the principal stocks registered in 2002: Spain (5.3%), Germany (2.8%), Italy (2.2%) and France (1.9 %). However during the last decade the growth rate of Spanish, German and Italian immigrants is negative (Table 19). More than a process of return to their respective countries, the numbers might reflect an early immigration flow that has not recently received important contributions.

Nevertheless the detailed analysis of the time of arrival to the metropolis removes a series of doubts. The Graph 25 shows that the most recent flows correspond to Ecuadorians, Colombians, Cubans and Peruvians. In these cases, more than 80% of the current stock of immigrants arrived after the 1990s. In addition it is proven that the European stock matches an early immigration.

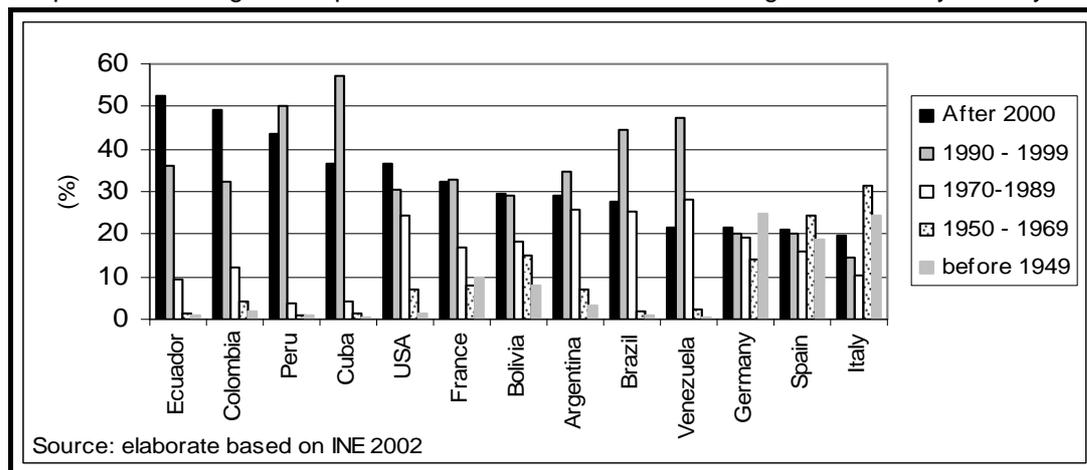
Table 19: Santiago Metropolitan Area: Evolution of the migrants' stock by country of birth (1992-2002)

Country of Birth	Census 1992	% of the total foreign population	Census 2002	% of total foreign population	growth rate (%)
Peru	4.437	7.0	28.399	26.1	20.40
Argentina	15.721	24.7	20.848	19.2	2.86
Ecuador	2.148	3.4	6.042	5.6	10.90
Spain	6.274	9.8	5.797	5.3	-0.79
United States	4.081	6.4	4.922	4.5	1.89
Brazil	3.020	4.7	4.393	4.0	3.82
Venezuela	1.723	2.7	3.106	2.9	6.07
Germany	3.191	5.0	3.033	2.8	-0.51
Colombia	1.136	1.8	2.819	2.6	9.51
Bolivia	2.148	3.4	2.528	2.3	1.64
Cuba	430	0.7	2.472	2.3	19.11
Italy	2.776	4.3	2.381	2.2	-1.52
France	1.628	2.6	2.058	1.9	2.37
Total	63.756	100.0	108.775	100,0	5.49

Source: elaborate based on census INE

In summary, the analyzed figures reflect that in the last decade the immigrant stock has increased almost 60% in the SMA. This is one of the principal arguments that the city is experiencing a new migratory dynamic. The growth has been ascending and it concentrated principally in the beginning of the new millennium. This new immigration dynamic is characterized by the South American immigrants' domain, led by Peruvians, Argentineans and Ecuadorians. Caribbean immigrants have also experienced an increase but clearly more limited. As well, the data shows that during the last decade the SMA has not been a pole of attraction for Europeans and Asians.

Graph 25: Santiago Metropolitan Area: time of arrival of the migrants' stock by country of birth, 2002

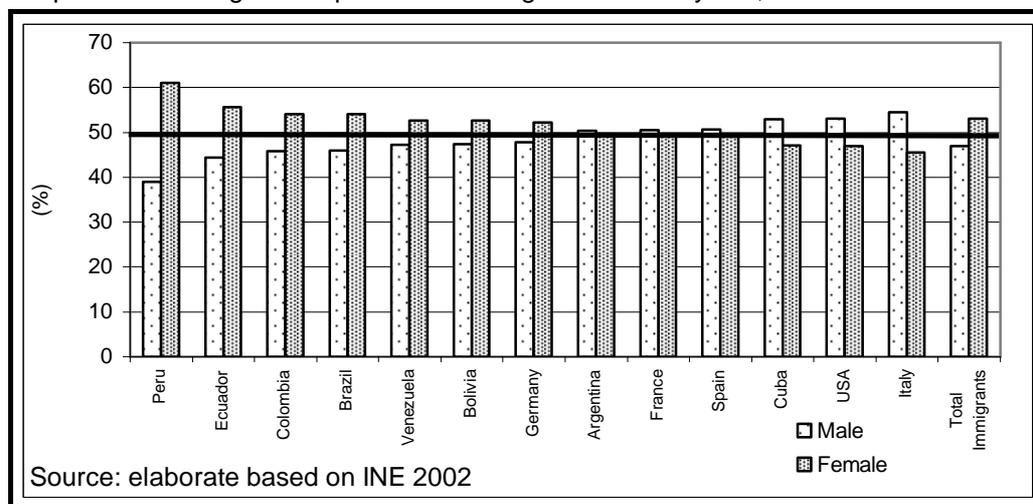


4.3 Population structure: feminization and labour contribution

The information about the immigrant structure by sex, age, access to the housing market and labour situation is highly valuable for analyzing their productive contribution and the eventual demand that those groups have on basic services such as education and health and on the labour market. The migratory stock of the SMA is characterized by a young population between ages 20 and 34. It is clear that women lead with 53% in the young segment as well as among the elderly population (Graph 26). However the population structure by age and by sex differs significantly according to the country of origin, showing the coexistence in the city of an early immigrant stock with more recent flows (Graph 27, 28, 29, 30 and 31).

The Peruvian distribution shows the predominance of young women (Graph 28), with a low proportion of children. It will be analyzed further on, showing that this immigration is characterized by young women who arrive without a family group seeking employment in domestic service. Table 22 shows that almost 45% of the Peruvian immigrants work in domestic service.

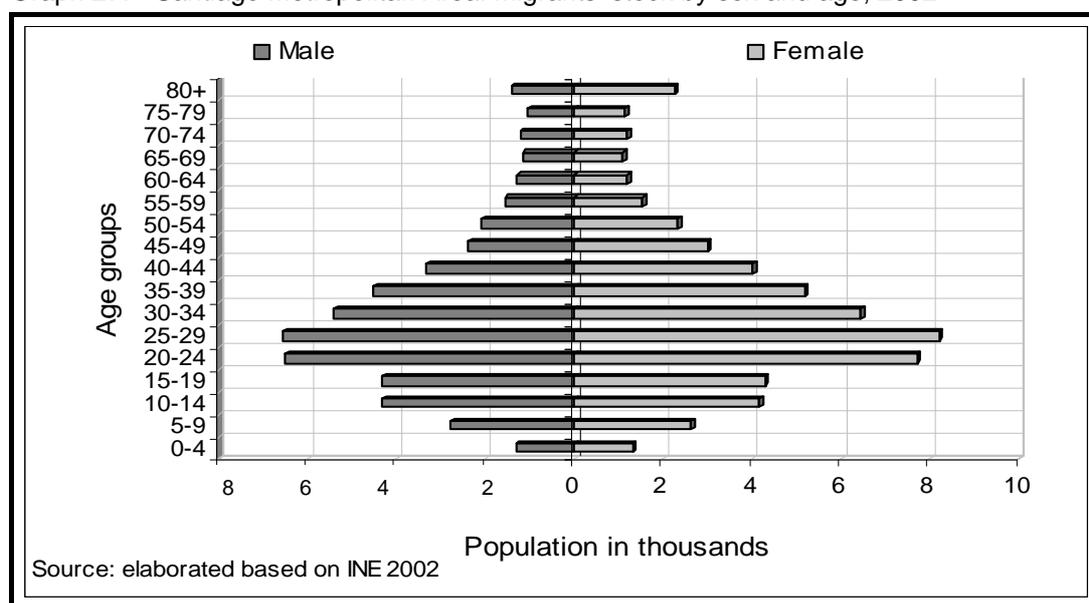
Graph 26: Santiago Metropolitan Area: Migrants' stock by sex, 2002



As migrants rent rooms or even cubicles in older houses or apartments in order to save money and planning to return as quickly as possible to Peru (Muñoz 2005), their living conditions are often precarious and/ or crowded. In addition, the recent and individual character of the movement is reflected in the low percentage of house ownerships (Table 20).

It turns out to be clear that the search for work is the principal engine of displacement for the Peruvian immigrant. The data shows that more than 70% of the Peruvian population was working, e.g. the highest value among the different foreign born groups (Table 21). Peruvians tend to concentrate in the downtown areas of the SMA or in the upper class neighbourhoods, which will be described later, where many work as domestic servants living in the homes of their employers.

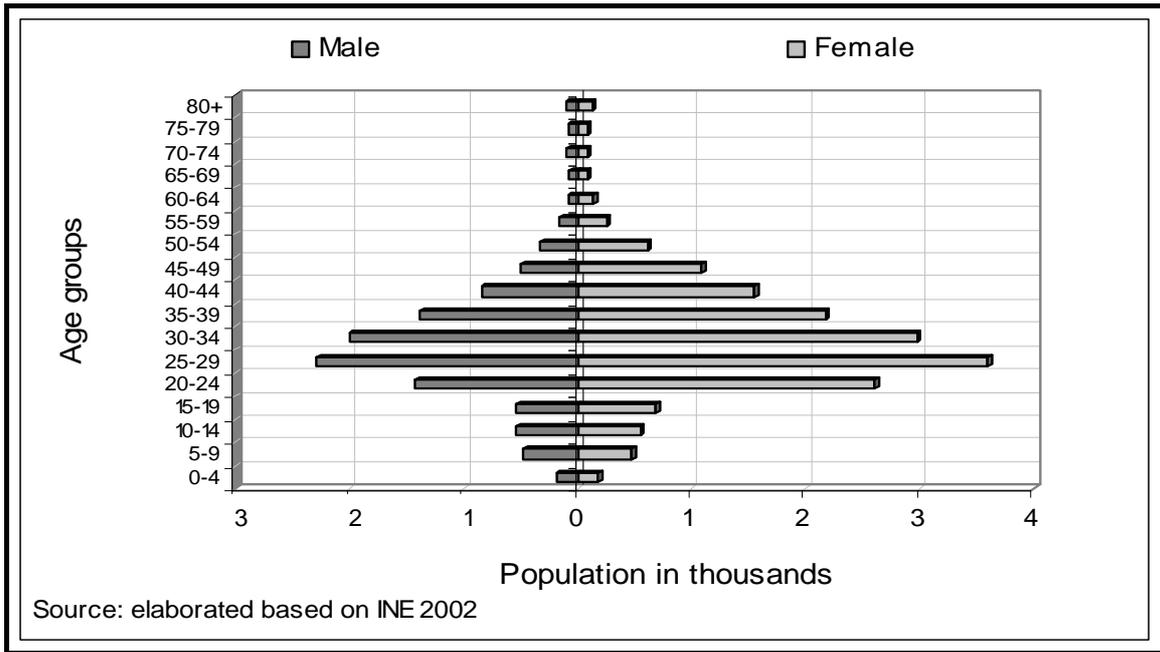
Graph 27: Santiago Metropolitan Area: migrants' stock by sex and age, 2002



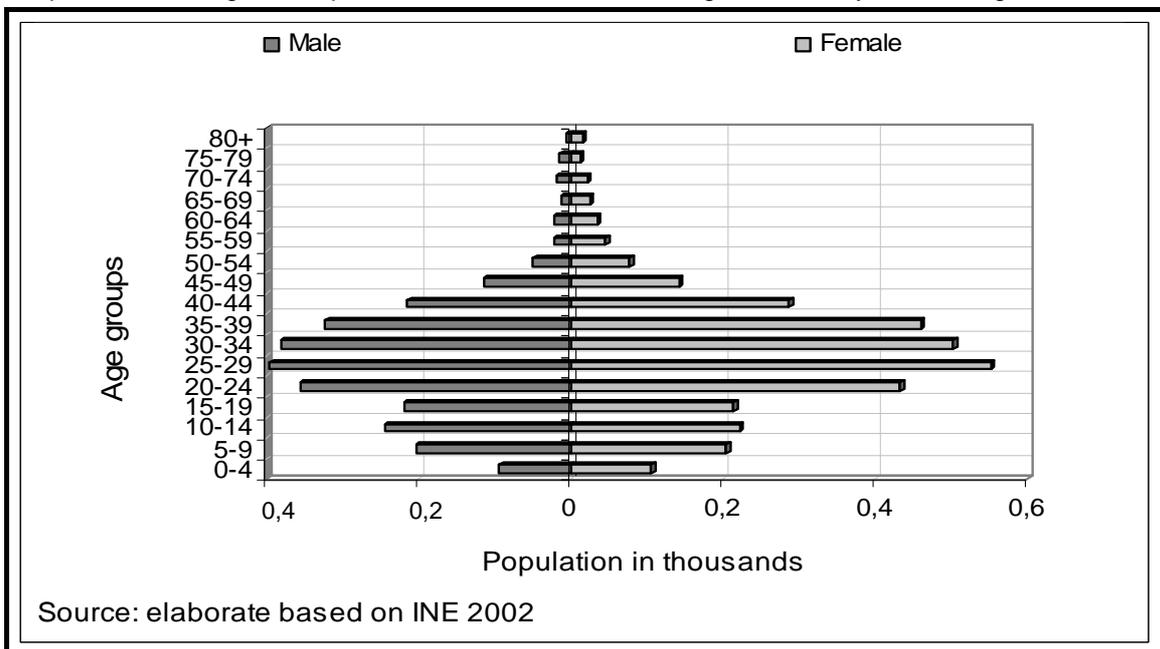
The distribution by sex within the Ecuadorian immigrants shows, as in the Peruvian case, a female dominance (Graph 26). Nevertheless, a higher presence of children is observed (Graph 29). Even though more than 50% of the Ecuadorians have emigrated after 2000 (Graph 25), the age structure indicates that its immigrant stock has a more familial character than the Peruvian. Moreover 15% of the Ecuadorians older than age 15 were studying (Table 21). The figures concerning labour conditions (Table 22) also emphasize differences with the Peruvian process, showing more diversity: a higher number of wage earning and independent workers and a lower percentage working in the domestic service.

This pattern seems to be very different from the Argentinians (Graph 30), who's distribution by sex and age has a strong family character very similar to the Chilean population (Graph 27). According to Martínez (2003b) there are some indications that the immigration of persons born in Argentina corresponds partly to an important flow of Chileans' return process with their children born abroad. Nevertheless, this situation might extend to immigrants from other countries.

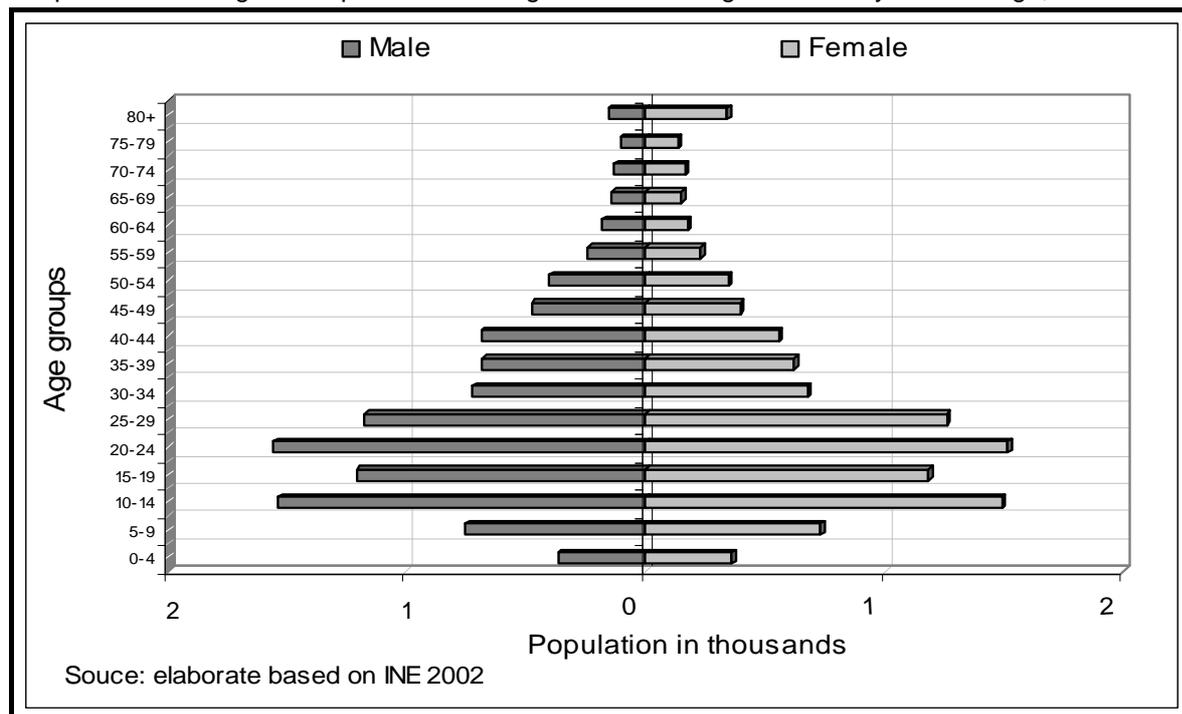
Graph 28: Santiago Metropolitan Area: Peruvians immigrant stock by sex and age, 2002



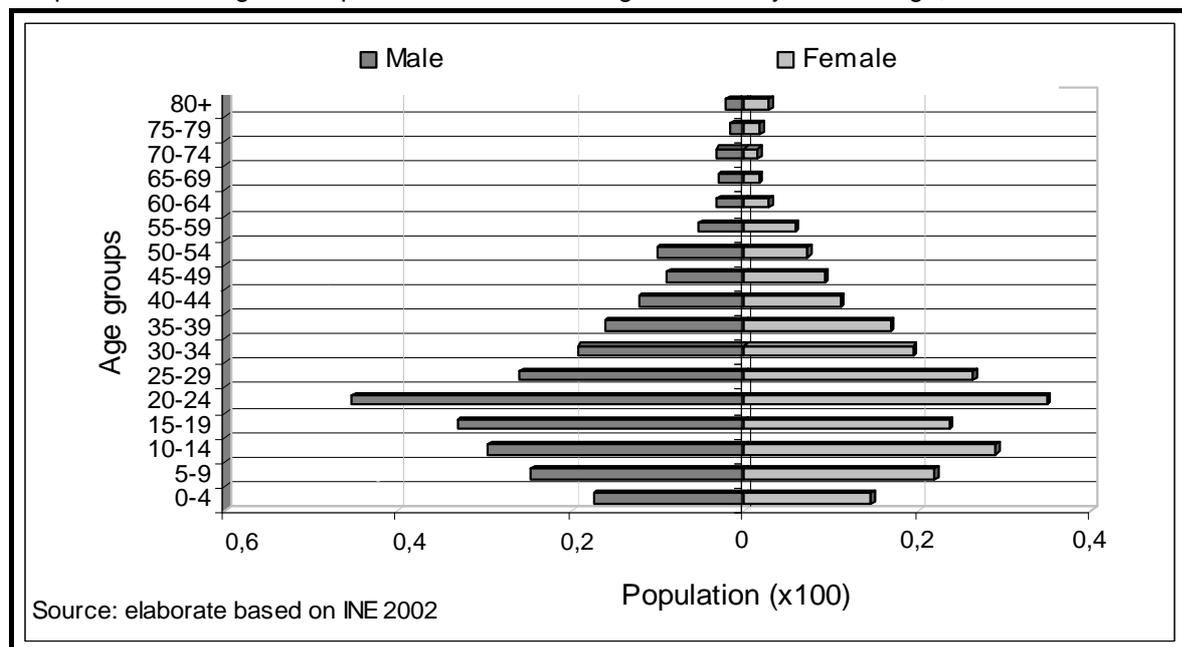
Graph 29: Santiago Metropolitan Area: Ecuadorians immigrant stock by sex and age, 2002



Graph 30: Santiago Metropolitan Area: Argentineans immigrant stock by sex and age, 2002

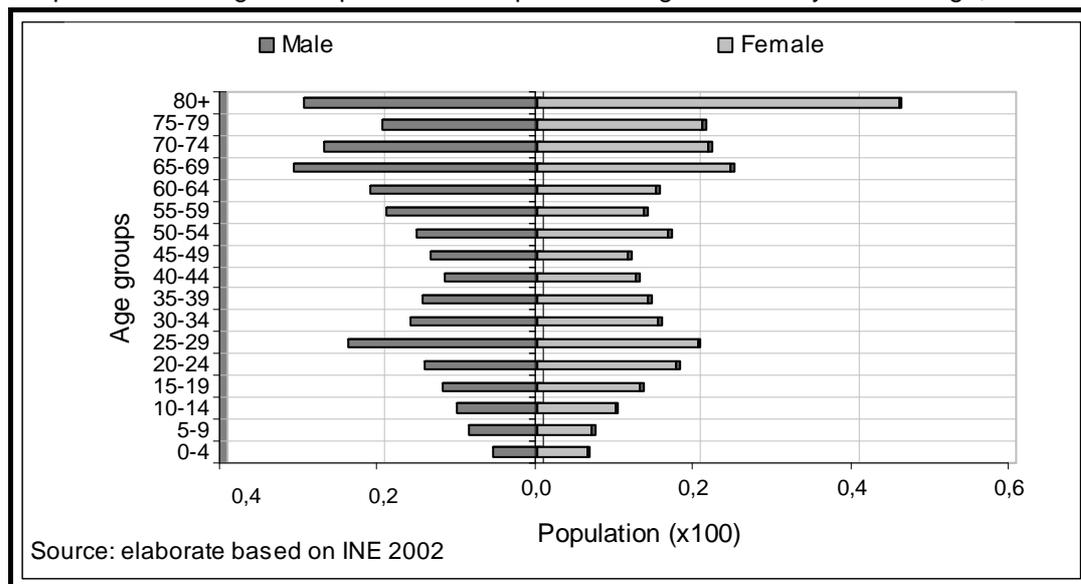


Graph 31: Santiago Metropolitan Area: USA immigrant stock by sex and age, 2002



The US American age structure shows an interesting majority of men younger than age 30 (Graph 31). In this group, more than 70% of the working immigrants are wage earners (Table 22). North Americans, Brazilians and especially Venezuelans are shown as an important percentage of immigrants who study in the SMA. Apparently the experience of travelling to Chile and participating in a university programme (MBA or other Masters' programmes, especially Economics) attracts some North American young people.

Graph 32: Santiago Metropolitan Area: Spanish immigrant stock by sex and age, 2002



The age distribution of the Spanish immigrants is very similar to that of the Germans and Italians (Graph 32). The pyramid regressive structure, with few children and elderly population, reflects a long term migration with low spare flows. More than 65% of these immigrants are house owners and around 30% are retired, figures that indicate their deep rooted link with the city (Table 20)

Table 20: Santiago Metropolitan Area: migrants' housing condition by country of birth, 2002

Country of Birth	Type of Housing (%)		Ownership (%)		Households (*) per housing unit (%)		
	House	Room(**)	Owner	Renter	1	2	3 and more
Peru	63,1	12,1	35,8	60,7	75,2	9,3	15,5
Argentina	68,6	1,3	56,5	37,0	88,8	7,9	3,2
Ecuador	58,1	4,9	36,4	60,5	87,4	6,3	6,3
Spain	52,1	0,3	67,3	29,2	97,6	1,9	0,5
USA	61,7	0,2	52,5	44,2	96,9	2,1	1,0
Brazil	62,2	0,8	54,4	40,6	91,2	4,5	1,5
Venezuela	32,4	0,2	58,9	37,1	92,9	5,8	1,3
Germany	54,7	0,2	65,8	31,9	96,4	2,6	0,9
Total Immigrants	61,5	3,8	49,9	45,7	88,7	5,8	5,5

Note: (*) In accordance with the population census a household is defined as the group of persons that cook together. (**) in old houses or "conventillos"

Source: elaborate based on INE 2002

In summary, a slight predominance of women (53%) can be observed in the total immigrant stock of the SMA. This feminization is characteristic of seven of the 13 principal migratory stocks (Graph 26). The most important element is the women's strong predominance in the Ecuadorian and Peruvian recent immigration flow. The distribution by sex and age of these immigrants turns out to be very different from that of the European groups (Spanish and German) who settle down for many decades in the city.

The groups of immigrants vary not only in their demographic profiles, but also in their incorporation to the job market. The immigrants' high participation within the economically active population (52.9%) is an indicator that labour is the principal motive of the new immigration pattern (Table 21). Peruvians and Ecuadorians register the highest rate of activity, considerably higher than the Chilean inhabitants of the SMA (Table 21).

Table 21: Santiago Metropolitan Area: migrants' occupational situation by country of birth, 2002 (Population aged older than 15)

Country of birth	Working (%)	Housekeeper (%)	Studying (%)	Retired (%)	Other situation (%)
Peru	72.9	10.1	4.4	1.4	11.2
Argentina	45.2	15.4	18.7	3.8	16.9
Ecuador	59.3	10.6	15.7	1.3	13.6
Spain	39.5	16.4	10.4	19.2	14.6
USA	42.2	7.6	27.5	3.2	19.5
Brazil	37.6	12.9	35.5	1.2	12.8
Venezuela	30.9	7.5	50.0	0.5	11.0
Germany	37.9	13.4	14.9	20.4	13.5
Total Immigrants	52.9	12.6	15.1	5.5	13.9
Chilean SMA inhabitants	48.0	19.5	12.4	7.3	12.7

Note: the question about the economic condition reflects the situation one week before the census implementation.

Source: elaborate based on INE 2002.

Regarding participation in the labour force of those immigrants older than 15 (Table 22), wage earners are dominant (58%), and almost all the countries analyzed show percentages over 50%. However, gender differences are pronounced. Peruvian immigration is labour immigration, primarily by wage earners whose integration in Chile would appear to depend on demand and the labour market situation. Secondly, domestic service, especially among women, is concentrated among the highest number of their labour force (Graph 33 and 34).

In general, domestic service constitutes the second important type of occupation among immigrants (Table 22) with a 19% percentage three times higher than the participation of Chileans in the SMA labour force (6.5%). This figure is related to the large number of Peruvian, Ecuadorian and Bolivian women employed in domestic service. More than 70% of the Peruvian women work in domestic service as compared to 30% of the Ecuadorians and 18% of the Bolivians (Graph 34).

Domestic service is an authentic "institution" in Chile that has been continuously present since the colonial era. It has become institutionalized not only in culture but also in law. Labour standards for employment are enforced by the state and there is an active domestic worker union. Most current employers in the SMA grew up in homes with at least one domestic worker, so many employers who had formerly hired women from southern Chile have begun to hire Peruvian migrants instead.

Table 22: Santiago Metropolitan Area: migrants' labour force condition by country of birth, 2002 (Population older than age 15)

Country of birth	Wage-earning (%)	Domestic service (%)	Independent Worker (%)	Employer (%)	Other situation (%)
Peru	46,3	44,3	6,9	2,1	0,3
Argentina	69,8	2,6	17,6	8,7	1,4
Ecuador	63,2	16,0	16,6	3,4	0,8
Spain	57,9	0,6	20,0	19,9	1,6
USA	71,8	0,4	16,4	10,1	1,3
Brazil	74,8	3,1	14,8	6,2	1,1
Venezuela	79,3	1,2	12,0	6,4	1,3
Germany	61,8	1,2	20,6	15,2	1,4
Total Immigrants	57,7	19,2	14,0	8,2	0,9
Chilean SMA inhabitants	72,7	6,5	15,1	4,6	1,1

Note: the question about the economic condition reflects the situation one week before the census implementation.

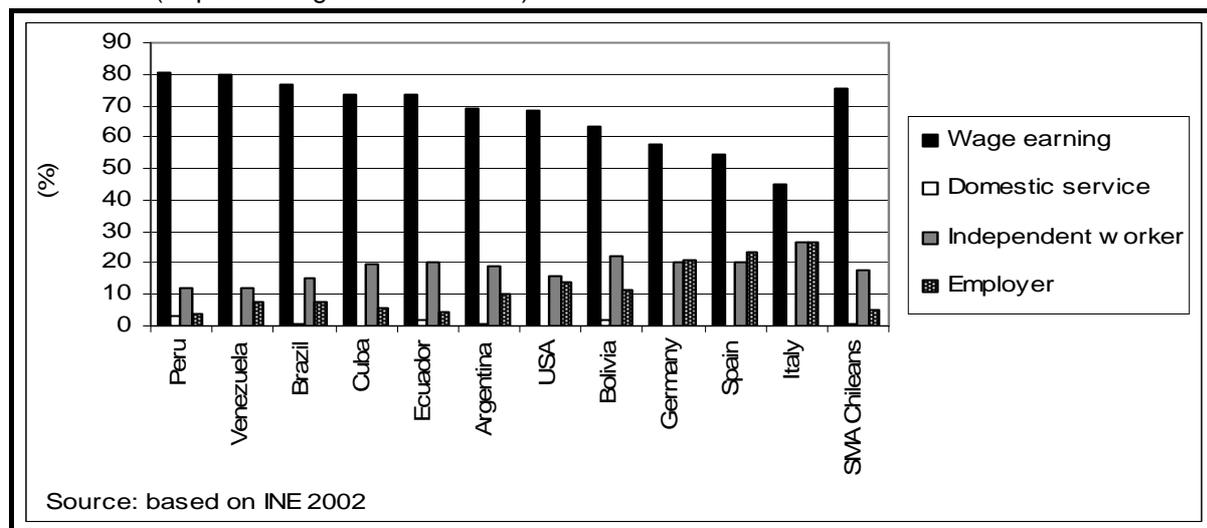
Source: elaborate based on INE 2002

Domestic service consists of private households that employ workers in occupations such as maids, chauffeurs, cooks and gardeners. Another category of household employees includes those specifically involved in childcare. In almost all cases they perform these and other activities and they live in the same house where they work. Some private household employees contract with placement agencies that act as a partial employer, often by offering benefits to the workers and acting as an intermediary between employer and employee. This system is well established for Chilean women working in domestic service in the SMA (13.6%) but many foreigners work without the legally mandated contract, given that informal employment permits employers to avoid the cost of social and health benefits.

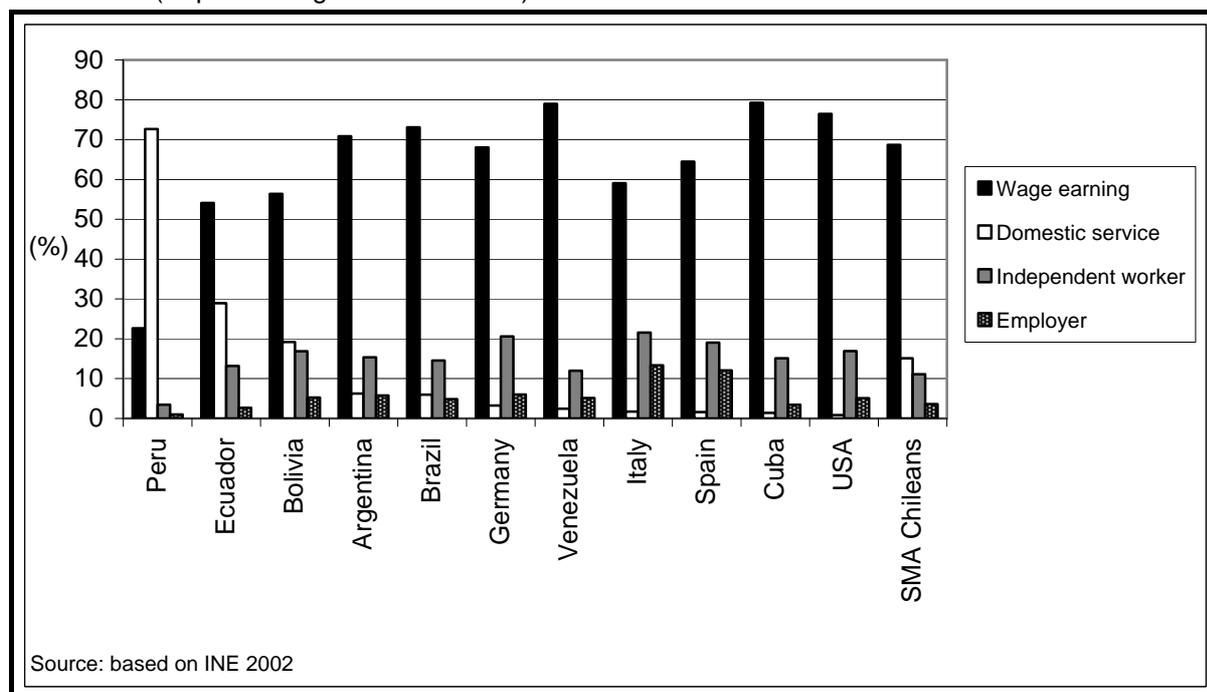
Hill Mayer (2003) argues that many Peruvians and Ecuadorians working in domestic service tolerate poor working conditions in part because they do not know their rights as well as their Chilean counterparts and they do not know where to turn in case of abuse or violation. The growing employer demand for Peruvian maids also appears to be related to issues of identity and the sharing of language that would hypothetically make a wider range of job opportunities available and also have the potential for greater job mobility. According to Hill Mayer (2003) there are many employers' narratives about Peruvian women: on one hand, they said that Peruvians were superior to Chilean employees in that they were more hardworking, educated, and clean; they speak better Spanish; they cook well; and they are more devoted, caring, and service oriented. On the other hand, there is a broad discourse among employers, the media and placement agencies, stereotyping Peruvian women as dirty, criminal, lazy, backward, uneducated or slow (Hill Mayer 2003: 12).

The positive popular image of the Peruvian nanny, or "la nana peruana" is nowadays most common and continues growing as a sign of status or as the possibility of having a full domestic worker for a cheaper price. In other immigrant groups, although the condition of wage earners is most important for both sexes (Graph 34 and 35), the participation of independent workers and employers, especially among Europeans – Germans, Spanish, French and Italians – is a first indicator of an eventual segmentation in the immigrant job market.

Graph 33: Santiago Metropolitan Area: labour condition of men migrants by country of birth, 2002 (Population aged older than 15)



Graph 34: Santiago Metropolitan Area: labour condition of women migrants by country of birth, 2002 (Population aged older than 15)



4.4 Higher education: a new element of attraction

The second attraction towards the metropolis seems to be education; 15.1% of the immigrants over age 15 were studying (Table 21). It is remarkable that in some groups the percentage of secondary and university students is higher than 25% (Venezuela, Brazil and the U.S.), a fact that opens a new question about the attraction of the SMA regarding education for young immigrants.

Today, Chile has one of the best educational systems in Latin America. However, at the university level Chile's competitors are more forward thinking. Mexico's Monterrey Tech – Latin America's premier science university – requires all graduates to be proficient in English.

No Chilean university has such a program (Edwards 2003). Among the institutions of higher education, the University of Chile⁶⁴ and Catholic University⁶⁵ are highly respected throughout Latin America⁶⁶; however the country does not have one university ranked among the 200 best in the world⁶⁷. Enrolment policies are complex. The postulants must write a national test – *Prueba de Selección Universitaria* (PSU) – and each institution and career field establishes different requirements. Tuition and fees are between U\$2.200 and U\$ 4.400.

Despite several agreements that permitted Chileans to receive advanced training abroad, until the 1990s overseas students were practically non-existent. Several concomitant phenomena coincided in the early 1990s to promote interest in starting up exchange programs: the nation's return to democracy, its stability and prosperity, and the solid reputations of both main Universities. Among the "push factors," mainly in the U.S., were the increasing interests in non-traditional destinations for study abroad, the burgeoning of ethnic and Latin American studies, and the recent emphasis at many institutions on the internationalization of education. By 1992 both universities had well-run offices for international exchanges staffed with competent individuals able to promote institutional interests (Stephenson 2001)⁶⁸.

While in undergraduate programmes the U.S. students are predominant, master and PhD programmes are mainly followed by Latin American students. Although the percentage of foreign students in Chile is only 2.6%, the students from abroad are reported to represent 43% of the total students enrolled in master and PhD programmes at Chilean Universities especially in the well known business schools. International organizations and foundations (IADB, USAID, Japanese Government, and OAS) provide funds aimed to encourage Latin American students to study graduate programs in Chile (Fulbright Commission-Chile 2005).

4.5 Spatial distribution of migrants

The immigrant population registered in the last population census (2002) rose to 108.775, a figure that represents 2.0% of the total SMA population (Table 18). The number of immigrants registered has been increasing constantly since the 1980s. Nevertheless until now it is

⁶⁴ It was founded in 1842, as a public university open to qualified individuals of all the social sectors. For several decades, it was the only university in Chile, and one of the best in South America. Its role as a means for social mobility within a relatively hierarchical and class-oriented nation such as Chile has been crucial.

⁶⁵ It was founded in 1888 and it was established for the purpose of providing a Catholic-oriented and private alternative for higher education. Its role in the formation of elites has also been crucial.

⁶⁶ Academic Rank of World Universities: Methodologies and Problems (Liu and Cheng 2005).

⁶⁷ Academic Rank of World Universities (Liu and Cheng 2005).

⁶⁸ The author gave some figures to give an idea of the expansion of foreign students. In 1990, 37 students participated in two exchange programs from the United States. Eight years later, over 460 students per year studied at Catholic University in a "special status." The total number of exchange students who studied at the Catholic University from 1991 to 1998 is over 2.500. The Universidad de Chile, while expanding enrolment of exchange students as well, has not had the growth of the Catholic University. From 1991 to 1998 it has received over 1.860 non-degree students, about 80% coming from the United States.

unknown how foreigners are distributed in the metropolitan territory, whether some type of concentration exists or if they tend to follow a random pattern.

As discussed in chapter 2, the international experience shows that in general, immigrants have been forced to be located in the most degraded areas and neighbourhoods of the cities, provoking a *ghettization* of the space.

Before analyzing the levels of intra-metropolitan segregation, it is appropriate to obtain a general vision of the distribution and evolution of foreigners at a communal level. The Table 23 shows the growth rate of foreigners' stock between 1992 and 2002. Practically all communes register high or very high immigrant growth rates; therefore the immigrants' increase affected the SMA as a whole. Historically foreigners, mainly Europeans, have tended to be located in the communes of high socioeconomic status as Las Condes, Vitacura and Providencia. Friedrichs (1998) has proved that the second generation of immigrants will be more economically advanced and more integrated within the city. Nevertheless during the last decade the highest immigrant growth rates were in peripheral communes with a low or medium-low socioeconomic status such as Quilicura, Huechuraba, Penalolén, Maipú, Puente Alto and San Bernardo.

Even though the immigrants' growth has impacted the city as a whole, data from 2002 (INE 2002) indicates a high communal concentration (Figure 4.1 and 4.2). Almost 50% of foreigners live in 5 of the 34 communes of the SMA (Table 23): Las Condes (16.4%), Santiago (10.3%), Providencia (2.2%), Vitacura (6.6%) and Ñuñoa (5.5%). These communes present a spatial contiguity that is projected from the city centre to the northeast (Figure 4.1 and 4.2). In this "spine" live the high status Chilean population (Figure 3.8) with the best endowment of services and metropolitan infrastructure. In general the SMA has good coverage of drinking water, electricity and sewerage. The deep inter-communal differences are more evident in the availability of green areas for inhabitants, in public transportation and in public services such as education and health. From the decade of the 1980s the municipalities are the managers of health and education, which implies that in those poorer municipalities, the quality of these services is much reduced. The point is not, if the services exist; the main difference is in their quality (Rodríguez and Winchester 2001).

In the secondary level of immigration attraction are those communes located in the metropolitan piedmont: La Florida, Lo Barnechea, Puente Alto, La Reina and Peñalolén (Table 23). Within this group the only municipality not spatially connected and located in the opposite sector of the city is Maipú; the second biggest municipality of the city in terms of population. Poor communes of the north periphery and in the central south ring of the SMA are not attractive locations for immigrant. The lowest number of immigrants is in Lo Espejo, Cerrillos and San Ramon, with fewer than 700 foreign born persons (Table 23).

Even if the number of immigrants in the SMA reaches only 2% of its population, communes as Vitacura, Providencia, Las Condes, Lo Barnechea and Santiago show figures superior to 6% (Figure 4.2). These levels of concentration are not minor and they can be compared with numbers reached in some European cities of recent immigration as Barcelona and Rome⁶⁹.

⁶⁹ In the census of 2001 the number of immigrants in the city of Barcelona represented 3.8% of the total population (Martori i Cañas and Hoberg 2004). In Rome the number of resident foreigners is near to 8% (Cristaldi 2002).

Table 23: Santiago Metropolitan Area: communal distribution of migrants' stock (1992-2002)

Commune	SMA total population	Foreign population 1992	Foreign population 2002	Growth rate 92-02 (%)	% of SMA population 2002	% of communal population 2002
Las Condes	247.710	11.504	17.875	4.51	16.4	7.2
Santiago	198.799	5.394	11.224	7.60	10.3	5.6
Providencia	119.242	8.217	9.686	1.66	8.9	8.1
Vitacura	80.938	5.247	7.208	3.23	6.6	8.9
Nunoa	162.661	4.875	6.001	2.10	5.5	3.7
La Florida	364.093	2.740	5.059	6.32	4.7	1.4
Maipú	466.861	1.678	4.708	10.87	4.3	1.0
Lo Barnechea	74.443	1.581	4.472	10.96	4.1	6.0
Puente Alto	491.130	1.565	4.260	10.53	3.9	0.9
La Reina	96.343	3.121	3.846	2.11	3.5	4.0
Penalolén	215.214	973	3.280	12.92	3.0	1.5
Recoleta	147.262	1.589	2.971	6.46	2.7	2.0
Estación Central	129.844	974	2.591	10.28	2.4	2.0
Macul	112.010	1.458	1.165	-2.22	2.0	1.9
Independencia	65.049	796	2.074	10.05	1.9	3.2
Quinta Normal	103.586	733	1.706	8.81	1.6	1.6
San Miguel	78.512	1.068	1.616	4.23	1.5	2.1
San Bernardo	246.048	941	1.605	5.48	1.5	0.7
Pudahuel	194.784	554	1.504	10.50	1.4	0.8
Conchalí	132.502	756	1.351	5.98	1.2	1.0
San Joaquín	97.026	798	1.183	4.02	1.1	1.2
Lo Prado	103.939	519	1.183	8.59	1.1	1.1
La Cisterna	214.935	911	1.179	2.61	1.1	0.5
La Granja	132.023	637	1.069	5.31	1.0	0.8
El Bosque	174.790	904	1.054	1.55	1,0	0.6
La Pintana	189.451	622	1.054	5.42	1,0	0.6
P.Aguirre Cerda	113.988	783	1.027	2.75	0.9	0.9
Quilicura	126.166	177	952	18.32	0.9	0.8
Cerro Navia	147.949	615	918	4.09	0.8	0.6
Renca	133.032	542	899	5.19	0.8	0.7
Huechuraba	73.616	193	895	16.58	0.8	1.2
Lo Espejo	112.481	463	775	5.29	0.7	0.7
Cerrillos	71.550	432	707	5.05	0.6	1.0
San Ramón	94.560	396	678	5.52	0.6	0.7
Total	5.512.527	63.756	108.775	5.49	100.0	2.0

Source: elaborate based on INE 1992, 2002

This implies that the challenge in the new migratory scenery is not only at the metropolitan scale, but also at the municipally. In the last decade municipal autonomy has been promoted in Chile, strengthening the municipalities with a social orientation and political, administrative and financial autonomy. Nevertheless, the international immigrant topic is a matter of concern in the local agenda. Though data is not available to confirm or refute that immigration is

a topic of concern at the communal level, it became interesting to verify that municipalities with a higher proportion of immigrants are the richest within the SMA⁷⁰.

Considering the country of origin of the immigrant population, the residential preferences turn out to be clearly different (Table 24). The domineering group, the Peruvians, presents the strongest spatial concentration as 30% of the group live in only two communes: Santiago (20%) and Las Condes (11%).

The analysis of preliminary antecedents based on permanent visas shows that Peruvians who choose to reside in the wealthy communes of the SMA - Las Condes and Vitacura – are mostly young women usually employed by families as live-in domestics or engaged in household work.

The Argentine immigrants show a more scattered pattern of residential location. Their level of concentration is lower: 33% are distributed in 5 communes of the SMA in which indexes of human development fluctuate between very high and low (Table 24). A similar spatial dispersion is observed in the Ecuadorian immigrants: 14% live in the central commune of Santiago and 27% are distributed in peripheral communes of high, medium and low socioeconomic status.

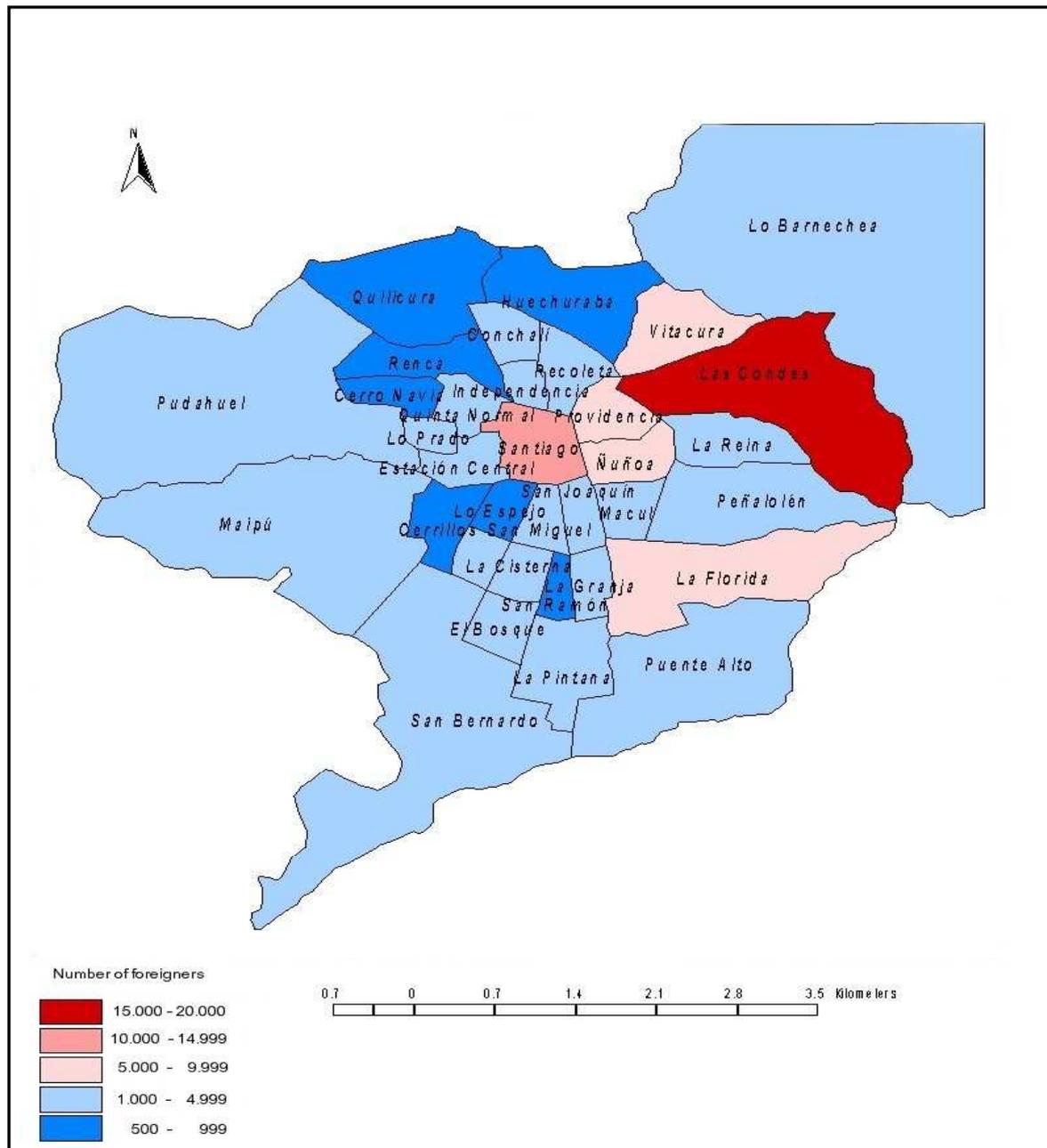
In the cases of Argentines and Ecuadorians, the scattered pattern indicates diverse forms of insertion in the metropolitan space associated with their level of instruction or a social and economic distance from the Chilean residents.

In this sense, preliminary analyses distinguish a major heterogeneity within these groups of foreigners: low income immigrants and those highly skilled with professional expertise and wide topics of specialization. Finally, minority groups of Spanish and U.S. Americans are distributed, as the Peruvians, following a concentrated pattern. Nevertheless, residential preferences clearly face towards communes of socioeconomic high social status.

In summary despite the limited presence of foreigners in the SMA, in some communes of the city they are more visible due to their high concentration. This concentration of ethnic minorities does not seem to generate strong tensions as is seen in other capital cities. However, there has been an impact on the settlement pattern of some communes as well as the types of labour in which migrants engage. International patterns show a high concentration of immigrants in the central areas of the metropolis. In the SMA, however, the core of the city (commune of Santiago) is ranked second as an immigrant resident's option. This municipality is not all degraded; on the contrary under urban renovation programmes many areas have been renovated through public-private partnership, so that some boroughs are almost inaccessible even for middle income Chileans. Thus for many years some areas of the central communes, Santiago and Quinta Normal, are affected by a strong process of gentrification.

⁷⁰ Considering the structure of expenditures for 1997, the communes with major income, ranking in decreasing order, were: Santiago, Providencia, Vitacura, Las Condes and Lo Barnechea. The poorest were La Granja, Cerro Navia and El Bosque, (Subdere 1999).

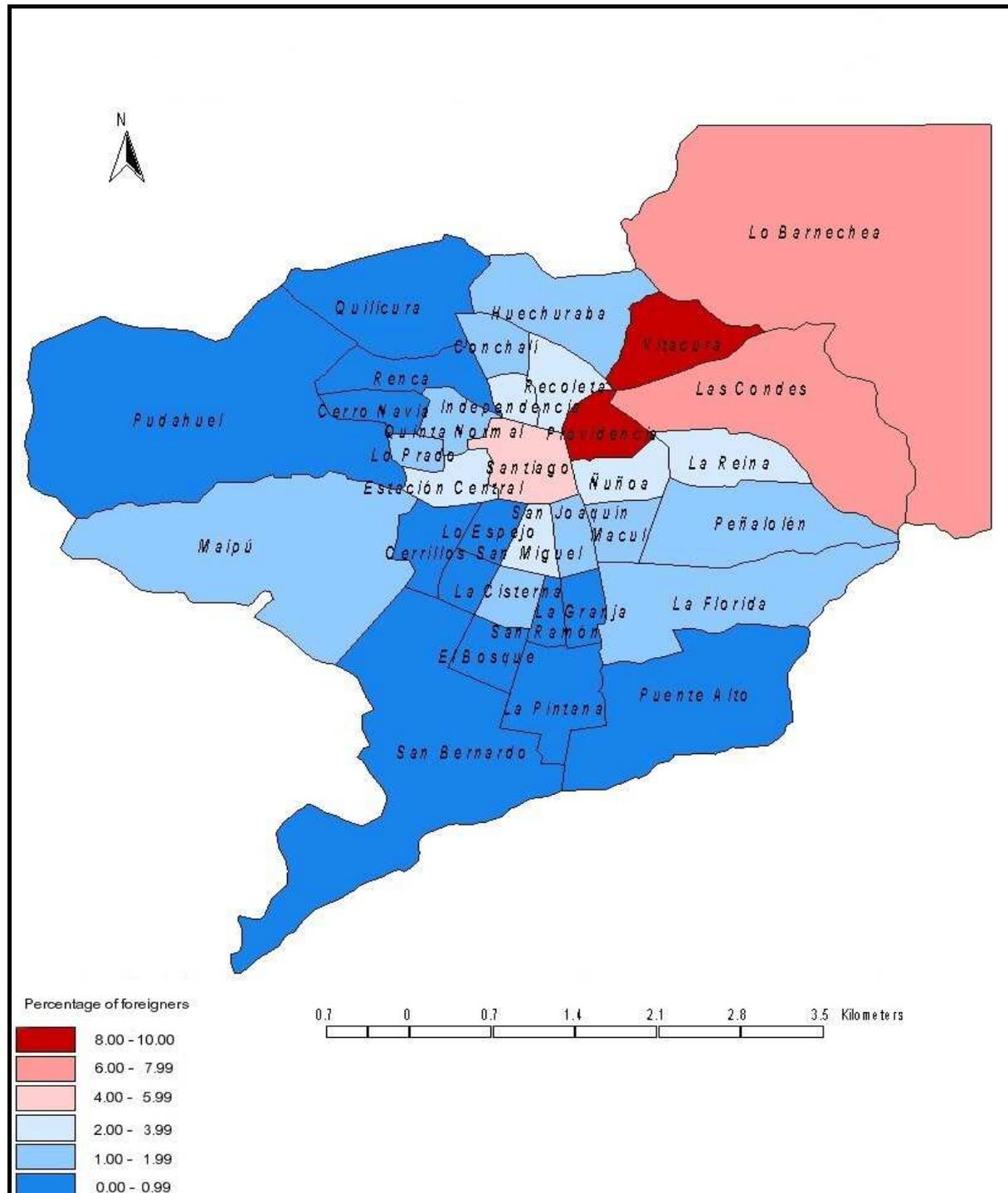
Figure 13: Santiago Metropolitan Area: number of migrants by commune, 2002



Source: elaborate by the author based on INE 2002

Consequently almost 32% of the immigrant population live in the rich periphery of the SMA (Las Condes, Vitacura, Providencia). As was shown, some of them, especially Europeans, had the possibility of renting or buying a house in the area according to their socioeconomic status. Nevertheless, there is an important group of Peruvian women working in domestic service who live in the houses where they work.

Figure 14: Santiago Metropolitan Area: percentage of migrants by commune, 2002



Source: elaborate by the author based on INE 2002

Table 24: Santiago Metropolitan Area: distribution of migrants' stock by principal countries of birth and main communes of destination, 2002

Country of birth	Communes of Destination ¹ (%)	Human Development Index ²
Peru	Santiago (20.0)	Medium
	Las Condes (11.0)	High
	Recoleta (5.1)	Low
	Vitacura (5.1)	Very high
Argentina	Las Condes (11.1)	High
	Puente Alto (8.1)	Low
	Maipú (7.1)	Medium
	Providencia (6.2)	Very high
Ecuador	Santiago (14.1)	Medium
	Las Condes (10.2)	High
	La Florida (9.2)	Medium
	Puente Alto (7.5)	Low
Spain	Las Condes (28.7)	High
	Providencia (12.4)	Very high
	Vitacura (9.4)	Very high
	Nunoa (8.2)	High
USA	Las Condes (26.9)	High
	Providencia (12.6)	Very high
	Lo Barnechea (11.7)	High
	Vitacura (11.2)	Very high

Source: elaborate based on: ¹ INE, 2002; ² PNUD- MIDEPLAN 2000

4.6 Metropolitan residential segregation

The main characteristics of modern cities are a high degree of specialisation of economic activities and a wide range of urban densities. In this context residential segregation is one of the most significant aspects of the spatial separation of a social group within a city (Griffinger 1998).

The analysis of the immigrants' spatial distribution turns out to be important to research if the pattern of communal concentration described is reflected in immigrants' residential segregation. The analytical separation of groups, contexts and scale of analysis is essential to understand the nature of segregation, i.e., what it signifies to the group and to the host society. Residential segregation indicates the level of inequality in the distribution of the population in urban space. The concentration of immigrants in some areas of the city increases their visibility in certain cases and highlights the difficulties of coexistence with the native inhabitants. So far the migrants' residential distribution represents much more than their presence or absence in the urban fabric, rather it is an expression of a much wider social process.

In this revision, the analysis of the immigrants' segregation in the SMA not only aims at providing the basis for the city's sociological map, it also initiates a more complex research related with the economic niches and the factors behind the explanations about their spatial segregation.

Although segregation indexes may be used to compare the distribution of immigrant groups in the intra-metropolitan area, among cities or on a diachronic scale, they have never been used in the Chilean immigrant context. They have only been applied by Sabatini (1999) and Rodríguez (2001) researching socioeconomic distance among the Chilean inhabitants of the SMA.

In the first stage of the analysis, three segregation indexes (segregation, dissimilarity, and isolation) were calculated on a communal level for the whole SMA and compared with the results for some cities in Europe, the U.S. and Latin America.

Evenness measures of segregation compare the spatial distributions of different groups among spatial units in a metropolitan area. Segregation is smallest when majority and minority populations are evenly distributed. The segregation and the dissimilarity index are the most widely used measures of evenness (Massey and Denton 1988). They may range from 0 to 1, which represents respectively the highest dispersion and the highest concentration. Some authors understand the final value as the proportion of the minority group that has to change residence to obtain an equal distribution.

The dissimilarity index is very similar to the segregation index. Conceptually, dissimilarity measures the percentage of a group's population that would have to change residence for each neighbourhood to have the same percentage of that group as the metropolitan area overall. In this case two groups (e.g. Peruvians-Chileans) are compared and no one group is related to the rest (e.g. Peruvians-total population) as in the segregation index. Traditionally it compares the minority group with the majority. The isolation index is a measure of exposure. It reflects the probabilities that a minority person shares a unit area with a member of the same group; "the extent to which minority members are exposed only to one another," (Massey and Denton 1988:288). Higher values of isolation indicate higher segregation.

The three indexes calculated for all immigrants in the SMA and for the eight principal immigrant groups are shown in Table 25 simultaneously with segregation indexes calculated in European, U.S., and Latin American cities. Nevertheless comparison with other cities presents major problems. All kinds of difference arise with respect to: the definition of immigrant (nationalities such as in Germany, countries of origin, such as in the Netherlands, UK, Canada and Chile); the scale of the analysis (neighbourhoods, communes, wards, census tracts) and the availability of data at the same time. Moreover the international migrant categories are often widely divergent: labour migrants, asylum seekers, migrants from former colonies. Caution is therefore essential in comparing different cities. The findings are merely points of reference.

Nonetheless, an attempt to make a comparison will be made here. Table 25 shows some index scores for metropolitan areas. Segregation in SMA (39%) seems to be average with respect to several European cities (Amsterdam, Frankfurt, and Rome), San José de Costa Rica and Brazil and low compared with Barcelona, Birmingham, Toronto and Afro-American segregation in U.S. cities.

Table 25: Santiago Metropolitan Area: residential segregation indexes in comparison with similar studies

Area	Year	Area division	Segregation	Dissimilarity	Isolation
Metropolitan Santiago Area	2002	34 communes			
Total Immigrant Stock			0.39	0.38	0.04
Peru			0.42	0.43	0.01
Argentina			0.17	0.18	0.00
Ecuador			0.30	0.30	0.00
Spain			0.56	0.57	0.00
USA			0.59	0.60	0.00
Brazil			0.33	0.32	0.00
Venezuela			0.38	0.38	0.00
Germany			0.65	0.64	0.00
Amsterdam	1995	93 neighbourhoods			
Turkey			0.41		
Morocco			0.39		
Surinam			0.35		
Barcelona	2001	16 municipalities			
Magreb			0.60	0.61	0.04
Latin America			0.28	0.29	0.05
East Europe			0.50	0.51	0.02
Asia			0.57	0.58	0.08
Frankfurt	1995	45 Ortsteile			
Turkey			0.17		
Morocco			0.21		
Birmingham	1995	wards			
India			0.50		
Bangladesh			0.68		
London	1991	Greater London wards			
Indian			0.40		
Bangladesh			0.63		
Rome	1998	154 "zona urbanistica"			
Total Immigrants Stock				0.48	
Spain				0.49	
France				0.44	
Sri Lanka				0.44	
China				0.41	
Peru				0.28	
Toronto	1991	475 census tracts			
Portugal			0.64		
Blacks			0.40		
Italian			0.51		
San José de Costa Rica	2000	81 "cantones"			
Nicaragua				0.38	0.13
Brazil	1980				
White-Black				0.45	
White-Mulatto				0.40	
Black-Mulatto				0.41	
USA					
Afro-Americans	1980	census tracts		0.69	0.49
Hispanic	1980			0.44	0.20

Source: Rome: Cristaldi (2002); Barcelona: Martori i Cañas and Hoberg (2004); Costa Rica, USA and Brazil: Brenes (2000); Amsterdam, Frankfurt, London, Birmingham and Toronto: Musterd and Deurloo (2002)

Results by country of origin show that larger immigrant groups are less segregated. Argentinean (17%), Ecuadorians (30%), Brazilians (33%) and Peruvians (42%) have the lowest index; in other words they are spread out over the city. The greatest values are achieved by Germans (65%), U.S. Americans (59%) and Spanish (56%). These groups appear to be as segregated as ethnic minorities in European and U.S. metropolitan areas.

The German index (65%) can be compared with the one reached by immigrants from the Magreb region in Barcelona, Bangladeshi in Birmingham and London and with Afro-American in the U.S. In other words 65% of the German immigrants would have to change their residence to obtain a uniform distribution in the SMA. Furthermore, the highest segregation indexes are associated with immigrants who have high socioeconomic status and are economically integrated.

Additionally table 25 shows that the probability of each immigrant group sharing a residential area with a member of the same group is rather low if we compare with U.S. metropolitan areas in the 1980s or with Nicaraguans in Costa Rica. In other words this probability does not exist. It is clear that the results are affected by the small proportion of immigrants living in the different communes of the SMA.

The segregation and the dissimilarity indices, being synthetic indices, give only a first picture of the concentration, whereas the complexity and the multi-dimensional nature of the notion of segregation requires the use of several indices, each corresponding to a different aspect of the spatial variation. Segregation indices are typically used with aggregated data to calculate a single number that represents the average level of segregation for the group over the entire area. However, the intensity and quality of the segregation may be masked.

For instance, two different groups of immigrants may be strongly concentrated in a single commune, presenting similar segregation indices, but one may occupy a central location and the other a peripheral area of the municipality (Figure 4.3). The two tracks could be characterized by a different typology of buildings and could be inhabited by a high or low income population. The neighbourhood can be degraded or may have been upgraded through a gentrification process.

To address this issue, an intra-urban analysis was incorporated using the "district" zone (Figure 4.3), a commune sub area defined by the Statistic National Institute (INE) for census purposes. The same indices of residential segregation were applied in a "district level" for the five main communes of immigrant concentration in the SMA: Las Condes (16.4%), Santiago (10.3%), Providencia (8.9%), Vitacura (6.6%), Nunoa (5.5%) and La Florida (4.7%).

The first conclusion of the communal results (Table 26) is that the indexes of intra-communal segregation are extremely lower than the ones reached for the whole Metropolitan Area.

As of the year 2002, **Las Condes** had 247.710 inhabitants and 7.2% of them were born abroad. Peruvians are the most numerous group with a 1.3% followed by the Argentineans with 0.9%. This figure indicates that there is not a dominant foreign group. The results of the indexes of equality (segregation and dissimilarity) show that Peruvians and Venezuelans are the groups least segregated, that is to say they are distributed in a relatively homogeneous pattern within the communal space.

The Spanish represent only 0.17% of the communal population, however they show the highest value of segregation, living mainly in the wealthier districts (Cerro San Luis, Estadio

Espanol). In other words 27% of the Spanish immigrants would have to change to achieve a communal uniform distribution. The results of the isolation index show that Peruvians are the most segregated group. Thus a probability of 1.3% exists that two Peruvians live in the same district. This result can be associated with the high number of Peruvian young women working in domestic service in Las Condes commune.

The commune of **Santiago** has 198.799 inhabitants, 5.6% of them have born abroad. The most important group is Peruvian with 2.9% followed distantly by Argentineans with only 0.5 %. The results indicate that Santiago presents the highest levels of segregation in the SMA: U.S. Americans (35%), Germans (35%), Ecuadorians (30%) and Peruvians (29%); in other words, a probability of 7% exists that one immigrant will meet another person born abroad.

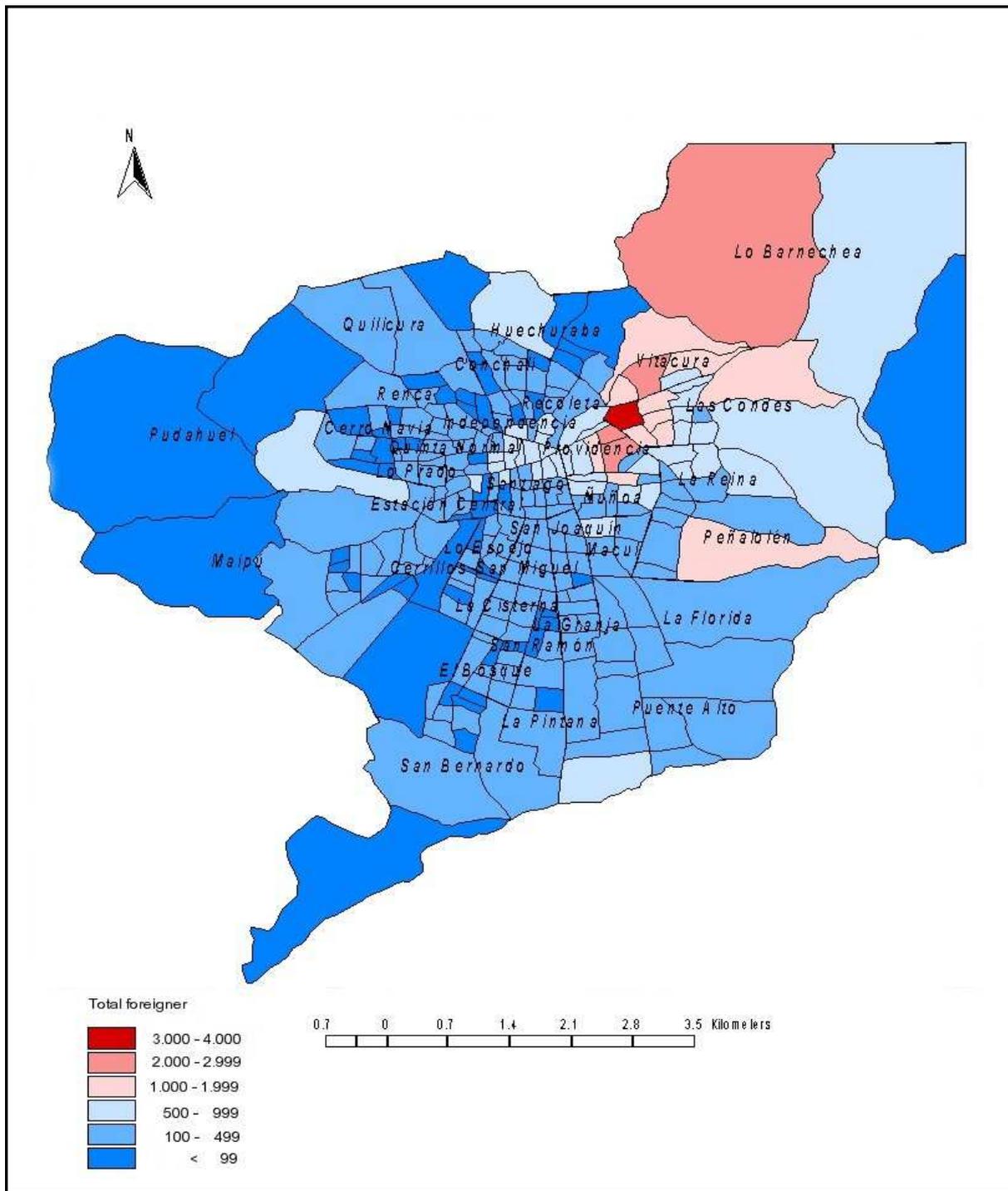
The commune of Santiago is the financial and commercial heart of the city. In its 29 districts live people of different socioeconomic levels. The presence of “poor” and “rich” residents is reflected in the indexes of immigrant residential segregation. As in other metropolises such as Barcelona (Martori i Cañas and Hoberg 2004) and Rome (Cristaldi 2002), the centre of the SMA constitutes a focus of attraction for diverse immigrants.

The residential preferences of U.S. Americans and Germans are the peripheral districts of the CBD, near Forestal Park and the Mapocho River, where the land value is particularly high. Furthermore, Peruvians and Ecuadorians choose to locate in the oldest central spaces affected by a distressed process or under programmes of urban rehabilitation (gentrification). Despite the rather limited presence of foreigners in the commune of Santiago, in some areas they are more visible due to their high concentration. For instance, the main square of the city, “Plaza de Armas” is recognized as “little Lima.” This square is the meeting place for many Peruvians living in the SMA. They meet there to talk, share experiences and mainly to find a job through well established networks.

The communes of **Providencia** and **Vitacura** register a high percentage of immigrant population: 8.1% and 8.9% respectively. Recognized as municipalities of high socioeconomic status they have very low indexes of segregation; immigrants are spread in the communal space. However the probability that a foreign person meets another is 8% in Providence and 9% in Vitacura (Table 26).

The commune of **La Florida** is located in the metropolitan piedmont and has 364.093 inhabitants. It is the second biggest commune of the metropolis and has registered an important population growth in the last years (Figure 10). It has a medium socioeconomic status and most of there inhabitants have left the central parts of the city searching for bigger houses and a better environment. Although only 1.4% of its inhabitants were born abroad, their residential distribution reflects Chilean residential preferences. The highest segregation values are presented by Germans (40%), Venezuelans (37%) and Spanish (34%), groups that tend to concentrate in the district “Santa Raquel,” recognized as a privileged location near the mountains and by a low residential density.

Figure 15: Santiago Metropolitan Area: total foreign population by district, 2002



Source: elaborate by the author based on INE 2002

Finally, Table 27 shows the commune's total population, the percentage of foreign born population as well as the results of the indexes of residential segregation for the six metropolitan municipalities that concentrate 52.4% of the total immigrant population. To analyze the relationship between the immigrants' volume and the index of segregation, a linear correlation was calculated (Pearson's coefficient).

Table 26: Santiago Metropolitan Area: residential segregation indexes in selected communes, 2002

Commune- Country of birth	Segregation	Dissimilarity	Isolation
Las Condes	0.1504	0.1510	0.0850
Peru	0.1258	0.1156	0.0139
Argentina	0.1522	0.1605	0.0110
Ecuador	0.1233	0.1322	0.0027
Spain	0.2634	0.2716	0.0103
USA	0.1840	0.1918	0.0066
Brazil	0.1887	0.1975	0.0041
Venezuela	0.1143	0.1155	0.0025
Germany	0.1675	0.1745	0.0040
Santiago	0.2029	0.2017	0.0721
Peru	0.2901	0.2926	0.0445
Argentina	0.1335	0.1382	0.0055
Ecuador	0.3018	0.3108	0.0070
Spain	0.2209	0.2185	0.0026
USA	0.3509	0.3519	0.0019
Brazil	0.2687	0.2739	0.0016
Venezuela	0.2668	0.2529	0.0012
Germany	0.3487	0.3535	0.0013
Providencia	0.1125	0.1139	0.0867
Peru	0.0349	0.0419	0.0106
Argentina	0.1377	0.1464	0.0117
Ecuador	0.0735	0.0717	0.0031
Spain	0.1265	0.1353	0.0066
USA	0.1207	0.1292	0.0057
Brazil	0.1219	0.1266	0.0034
Venezuela	0.1502	0.1557	0.0026
Germany	0.1706	0.1791	0.0049
Vitacura	0.1099	0.1105	0.0929
Peru	0.0903	0.0990	0.0187
Argentina	0.1094	0.1042	0.0108
Ecuador	0.0995	0.1096	0.0031
Spain	0.1491	0.1584	0.0076
USA	0.1034	0.1130	0.0073
Brazil	0.1077	0.1139	0.0032
Venezuela	0.0865	0.0869	0.0024
Germany	0.0892	0.0953	0.0060
Nunoa	0.1503	0.1497	0.0409
Peru	0.1248	0.1268	0.0053
Argentina	0.1260	0.1265	0.0055
Ecuador	0.1992	0.2007	0.0025
Spain	0.2110	0.2153	0.0035
USA	0.2755	0.2798	0.0021
Brazil	0.1103	0.1123	0.0020
Venezuela	0.1579	0.1588	0.0017
Germany	0.2897	0.2938	0.0026
La Florida	0.1650	0.1642	0.0160
Peru	0.1722	0.1740	0.0038
Argentina	0.0840	0.0853	0.0032
Ecuador	0.3230	0.3243	0.0026
Spain	0.3477	0.3446	0.0010
USA	0.2930	0.2940	0.0006
Brazil	0.2126	0.2121	0.0008
Venezuela	0.3640	0.3731	0.0009
Germany	0.4048	0.4043	0.0008

Source: calculation based on INE 2002

Table 27: Santiago Metropolitan Area: correlation between percentage of migrants and segregation indexes in selected communes, 2002

Commune	Migrants (%)	Segregation	Dissimilarity	Isolation
Las Condes	7.2	0.1504	0.1510	0.0850
Santiago	5.6	0.2029	0.2017	0.0721
Providencia	8.1	0.1125	0.1139	0.0867
Vitacura	8.9	0.1099	0.1105	0.0929
Nunoa	3.7	0.1503	0.1497	0.0409
La Florida	1.4	0.1650	0.1642	0.0160
Correlation	-	-0,58	-0,57	0.98

Source: elaborate based on INE 2002

The relationship between the percentage of immigrants and the segregation indexes has been found to be significant statistically. The indexes of segregation and dissimilarity present a negative correlation, that is to say, in those communes with a high proportion of immigrants -Vitacura, Providencia and Las Condes- the distribution of immigrants is more homogeneous than in those municipalities that present a lower percentage of foreign population. On the other hand, obviously the index of isolation is strongly associated with the proportion of immigrants.

The analysis has demonstrated that residential segregation of the foreign-born population presents different characteristics depending upon whether it is analyzed from a metropolitan perspective or from a smaller spatial resolution (district).

The SMA presents less segregation than European and North American cities. According to the country of origin of the immigrants, it was verified that the size of the ethnic community is an important element to be considered. On the one hand, the largest groups of migrants-Peruvians- show segregation indexes similar to the one obtained for Hispanics in the U.S., to that of blacks, mulattos and whites in Brazil, and Nicaraguans in San José de Costa Rica. On the other hand, smaller immigrant groups such as Germans, US Americans and Spanish are more segregated, with similar or higher values to the ones reached in European and U.S. cities. This is the first indication of a voluntary segregation process. Conceptually, a wide scale of expressions exists to refer to the process and to the forms that the spatial concentrations of high socioeconomic groups adopt: “self segregation,” (Anas, 2004); “voluntary ghettos,” (Bauman 2001) or “upper class ghettos” (Muster and Ostendorf 1998 in Marcuse 1993; 2001).

In a district level the indexes of segregation reach lower values. Nevertheless the relationship between the percentage of immigrants and level of segregation is negative. In those communes with a small number of immigrants the segregation is higher (Santiago, Nuñoa and La Florida). On the other hand the index of isolation, that in the metropolitan context practically does not exist, reaches higher values while the immigrants' concentration increased.

The analysis of the immigrants' residential segregation is a good approximation of the future challenges that the SMA will face. Though statistics do not exist for determining how many immigrants enter the country temporarily, and how many are permanently established in the

SMA, the results reflect the actual pattern of segregation of those who declared they were born in another country and were residing in Chile during the last population census.

The results only represent a quantitative approach to the problem. The quantitative measurement of the residential segregation cannot be understood if it is not analyzed from its different dimensions. In spite of having incorporated an accurate level of spatial analysis as the census district, a more qualitative vision of the immigration phenomenon – one that incorporates reasons and consequences of segregation in urban space – is needed to complement these results. The network of support, the education level, the incorporation to the labour market and the integration to the host society reduce the tendency towards segregation, though this should not be confused with the phenomena of auto-exclusion as in the case of the European and U.S. immigrants. These complementary factors will be discussed in the following pages.

4.7 Economic segregation: ethnic niches

Due to profound changes in recent decades in the field of international migration, national and urban governments fear large spatial concentrations of immigrants. They assume that large concentrations of immigrants will prevent their full integration within the society.

The risk of insufficient integration would be higher if the foreign population occupies the lower positions of the socioeconomic hierarchy (Munster and Deurloo 2002). The same concern about the social, economic and spatial segregation of newcomers is already causing concern in the SMA context. A relevant question in this regard is whether immigrant concentration is large or small – as was analyzed before – and whether it shows some dynamics, possibly expressing the existence of particularly ethnic occupations as in many global city-regions (Waldinger 2001).

The term economic niche is used here to designate labour specialization involving the tendency of members of a specific national origin to concentrate in an activity or job associated with the production of goods or services (Wilson 2001). The knowledge of immigrant economies shows that they are not spread throughout the economy, but rather specialized in a few industries or business lines in which ethnic firms can enjoy competitive advantages (Wilson and Portes 1980, Waldinger 1994; 1996; 2001).

The assimilation theory began with the assumption that immigrants would arrive as “ethnics,” an identity reinforced by their tendency to re-create their own social worlds. As discussed in chapter 2, the economic progress of immigrants took the form of dispersion from the occupational or industrial cluster that the immigrants initially established. From the assimilationist standpoint, concentration is a source of disadvantage, to be explained by lack of skills and education. With acculturation and growing levels of education the U.S. experience shows that immigrants and their children naturally move upward by filtering outward from the ethnic niche (Wilson and Portes 1980).

However, today most scholars tend not to agree with this classical approach. The emphasis is on the connections that bring immigrants together and the resources generated by the contacts within the immigrant communities. The immigrants’ network constitutes a source of “social capital” providing social structures that facilitate the search for jobs and the acquisi-

tion of skills and other resources needed to move up the economic ladder. In other words, concentration is the best way, with the search for advancement using the collective as an informational base and support mechanism (Waldinger 1996). Of course, there remain numerous researchers who continue to argue that dispersion remains the best, the most common way by which immigrants and their descendants move up the economic ladder (Alba and Nee 1997).

Economic clustering among immigrants is pervasive, a characteristic found in every place, and typical of every major immigrant type. It is well known that immigrants tend to cluster in activities where others of their own kind have already become established. But what happens in those countries where immigration is a new phenomenon as in Chile?

This subchapter is designed to provide an entry into the scholarship discussion in this emerging area, stressing the point whether international immigrants in the SMA tend to develop concentrations in certain jobs and sectors of the economy, reflecting cultural characteristics, special skills, or opportunities available at the time of arrival.

4.7.1 Immigrants' education as a source of skills

The education level of immigrants was already under sharp debate during the 1970s, especially the issue of "brain drain." Nowadays the interest in highly skilled migration is more concrete and is significant for the formulation of selective admission policies designed to attract and retain highly skilled migrants (e.g. through point systems in Canada or through Green Card schemes in the U.S. and some European countries)⁷¹.

Giving the amount of attention paid to highly skilled migration it is easy to assume that the concept is well defined and that everyone is talking about the same subject. However the terms "skilled" and "unskilled" migrants still remain undefined. The final report of the Global Commission for International Migration (2005) even suggests that "the traditional distinction between skilled and unskilled workers is in certain respect an unhelpful one" and proposes the use of the term "essential workers" instead (GCIM 2005:7). Yet, this is certainly not what most governments have in mind when thinking about the design of specific policies to attract or reject immigrants.

In this study, in order to systematize the concepts of skilled and unskilled immigrants for statistical purposes, the level of educational attainment (e.g. primary, secondary, technical and university education) is used as a proxy. Even using this imperfect proxy for measuring the level of skills among migrant population, there are substantial deficiencies and gaps in the statistical data available, making it difficult to analyze the international mobility patterns to the SMA.

For instance the four main categories used in this study (primary, secondary, technical and university education) do not distinguish between the amounts of schooling completed. Rather than evaluating the economic and social effects of skilled immigration in the SMA labour

⁷¹ In many European countries highly skilled immigrants, like other labour migrants, need to pass an "economic needs test," demonstrating that a concrete job cannot be filled by domestic applicants. In the case of "points-system," the educational attainment together with occupation, age, language skills, etc., should align labour market requirements with a new labour supply generated through immigration.

market, the remaining paragraphs will show some findings necessary to consider in the formulation of the Chilean national migration policy.

Statistics from the 2002 census show that international migrants who reside in the SMA possess a relatively higher level of education when compared to the overall population of the SMA. For the entire city and among the population age 18 and over, 1.6% had no education and 22.9% had primary education whereas for the whole immigrant population in the same categories, census data show 0.5% and 7.4% respectively (Table 28 and Graph 35). The factor that might have contributed to these differences is that, on average, immigrants tend to be younger than the overall SMA population.

Statistics show that younger age cohorts tend to have a higher level of education than older cohorts. While more than four in every 10 immigrants possesses at least some university education, less than two in the entire SMA population does so. The proportion of the population who attained a university degree is 42.4% for immigrants and 16.8% for the overall SMA population.

Female immigrants to SMA tended to have lower education levels than their male counterparts. Proportionally more female immigrants arrived with no education or with a primary education. However, there were a high percentage of females with a university education (36.6%) if we compare this with the figures for the whole SMA (14.6%). Finally it is important to highlight that almost 50% of the male immigrants had a university education (Table 28).

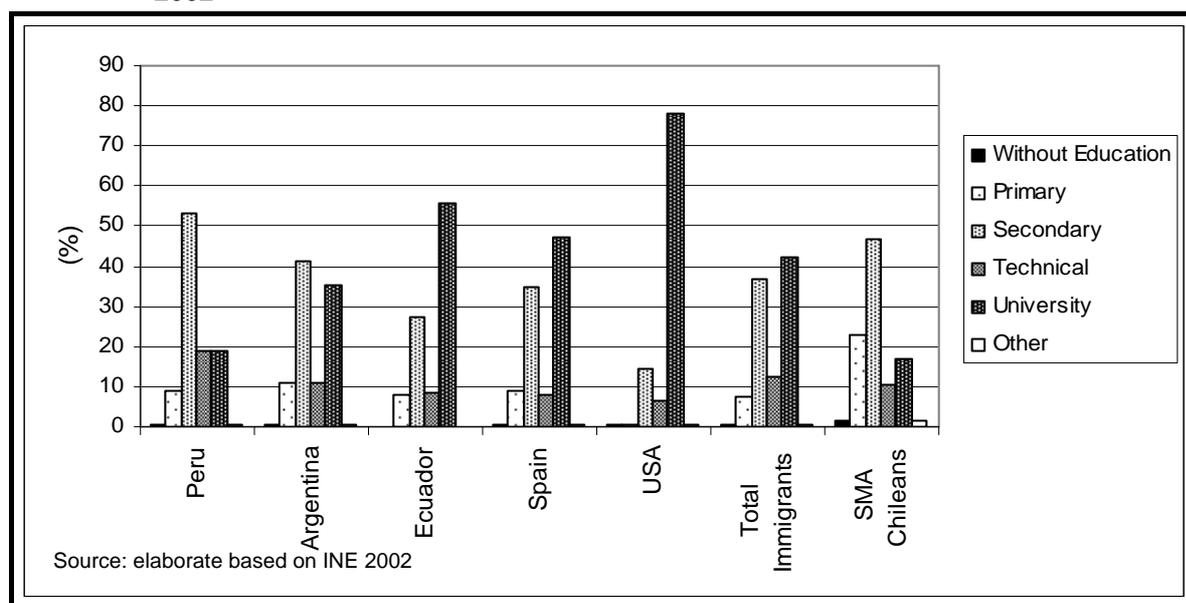
There are variations in the education levels among different countries. More than the 50% of the immigrants over age 18 from the U.S., France, Korea, Colombia, Cuba, Venezuela, Ecuador, Germany, Bolivia and Brazil had university educations, while the percentage in the case of Spain, Italy, China and Argentina is higher than 35%. Peruvians were more likely to possess a secondary education (53.1%). Nevertheless they had a relatively higher level of education when compared to the overall population of the SMA (Table 28).

In summary, international migration makes an enormous educational contribution to the pool of inhabitants in the SMA. Among immigrants aged 18 and over, 42% held a university education and a further 13% held some other form of post-secondary credentials such as a technical background. High levels of education can be found in almost all the immigrant groups, with the exception of Peruvians who are not unskilled at all but showed lower educational profiles in comparison with the other groups.

In most industrialized countries there is a bi-polar skills distribution of immigrants with disproportionate numbers of migrants in both the low-education and high-education categories. Both have come about less through deliberate policy choices and more through market forces and the free choices of individual migrants. In the SMA it seems that this bi-polar scheme exists among high-skills immigrants. In fact it can be distinguished among the “highly-skilled” cluster of immigrants characterized by those groups with more than 60% of the population over 18 with university educations and the “skilled” represented by those countries with percentages of immigrants between 35 and 59% with high educations.

It is necessary to stress that the analysis of the immigrant education level is based on those who answered the 2002 census of population. The incorporation of illegal immigration to the SMA – especially from bordering countries – can significantly modify the results.

Graph 35: Santiago Metropolitan Area: migrants and native population over 18 by education level, 2002



4.7.2 Economic niche as a reflection of occupational inequalities

The presence of immigrants with high educational credentials in the SMA has been well-documented. The question that arises is whether these high educational skills are reflected in the occupations the immigrants find in the metropolis or if they are forced to develop activities below the level of their skills. Immigrants' occupational skills are less frequently considered as data, but in many ways they add more relevant information about the probability of integration into the labour market. The International Labour Office (ILO) defines the International Standard Classification of Occupations (ISCO) ⁷². The Chilean Statistic National Institute (INE) follows this classification to facilitate international communication on occupational information, in particular the production and presentation of reasonably comparable statistics for different countries. ISCO-88 classifies persons through their actual and potential relation to jobs. Jobs are classified with respect to the type of work performed or to be performed. The basic criteria used to define the system of major, sub-major, minor and unit groups are the "skill" level and "skill specialisation" required to carry out the tasks and duties of the occupations. On the basis of the classification criteria, ISCO-88 organizes occupations in a hierarchical structure which consists of 10 major groups at the top level of aggregation, subdivided into 28 sub-major groups as describe below. Population born abroad was classified following the sub-major groups (2 digits) described in Table 29. For the purpose of aggregating occupations into broadly similar categories at different levels in the hierarchy, ISCO-88 introduces the concept of skill, defined as the skill level, i.e., the degree of complexity of constituent tasks and skill specialisation, essentially the field of knowledge required for competent performance of the constituent tasks.

⁷² Available on line: www.ilo.org/public/english/bureau/stat/class/isco.htm, retrieved May 2006.

PATTERNS OF INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION IN THE SANTIAGO METROPOLITAN AREA

Table 28: Santiago Metropolitan Area: migrants aged over 18 by country of birth, sex and levels of education, 2002 (In percentage)

Country of birth	Without education	Primary	Secondary	Technical	College/ University	Other	Total (No)
Peru	0,34	8,76	53,09	18,69	18,73	0,39	25.383
Male	0,10	5,55	52,25	17,27	24,45	0,38	9.590
Female	0,48	10,71	53,60	19,55	15,25	0,41	15.793
Argentina	0,56	11,13	41,40	10,91	35,36	0,65	13.865
Male	0,46	10,06	40,21	11,00	37,62	0,64	6.980
Female	0,65	12,21	42,60	10,81	33,07	0,65	6.885
Ecuador	0,23	7,90	27,46	8,26	55,91	0,23	4.709
Male	0,25	5,55	23,90	7,60	62,50	0,25	2.000
Female	0,22	9,63	30,08	8,75	51,05	0,22	2.709
Spain	0,62	8,75	34,63	8,06	47,45	0,48	5.163
Male	0,46	7,01	30,80	7,20	40,78	0,54	2.610
Female	0,78	10,54	38,54	8,93	47,45	0,43	2.553
USA	0,25	0,52	14,46	6,23	78,26	0,28	3.257
Male	0,23	0,74	16,08	4,64	78,13	0,17	1.747
Female	0,26	0,26	12,58	8,08	78,41	0,40	1.510
Brazil	0,13	5,31	30,17	11,64	52,49	0,26	3.109
Male	0,07	3,93	26,80	11,94	57,03	0,22	1.373
Female	0,17	6,39	32,83	11,41	48,91	0,29	1.736
Venezuela	0,05	1,66	25,72	13,69	58,39	0,49	2.045
Male	0,11	1,60	24,36	13,72	59,79	0,43	940
Female	0,00	1,72	26,88	13,67	57,19	0,54	1.105
Germany	0,34	2,44	29,46	13,31	54,35	0,11	2.668
Male	0,08	1,60	20,34	12,81	64,93	0,24	1.249
Female	0,56	3,17	37,49	13,74	45,03	0,00	1.419
Colombia	0,17	2,91	19,49	8,70	68,59	0,13	2.334
Male	0,00	1,17	16,70	6,89	75,05	0,19	1.030
Female	0,31	4,29	21,70	10,12	63,50	0,08	1.304
Bolivia	0,82	6,26	26,39	10,29	55,87	0,36	2.205
Male	0,39	4,15	18,61	6,46	70,20	0,19	1.037
Female	1,20	8,13	33,30	13,70	43,15	0,51	1.168
Cuba	0,00	2,25	14,56	15,95	66,81	0,09	2.136
Male	0,00	1,05	11,74	16,68	71,17	0,09	1.141
Female	0,00	3,62	17,79	16,29	61,81	0,10	995
Italy	0,28	11,72	38,58	10,84	38,11	0,47	2.141
Male	0,25	8,88	32,57	13,37	44,59	0,34	1.182
Female	0,31	15,22	45,99	7,72	30,14	0,63	959
France	0,12	1,73	17,61	7,85	72,50	0,19	1.618
Male	0,00	0,73	13,32	7,63	78,33	0,00	826
Female	0,25	2,78	22,10	8,08	66,41	0,38	792
China	3,29	6,68	42,75	8,32	38,85	0,10	973
Male	2,72	5,99	40,83	7,62	42,65	0,18	551
Female	4,03	7,58	45,26	9,24	33,89	0,00	422
Korea	0,94	1,30	27,21	4,71	65,84	0,00	849
Male	0,74	0,25	19,21	5,42	74,38	0,00	406
Female	1,13	2,26	34,54	4,06	56,04	0,00	443
Total Immigrants	0,46	7,38	36,88	12,45	42,41	0,42	87.054
Male	0,29	5,45	33,23	11,37	49,25	0,41	39.958
Female	0,61	9,02	39,98	12,45	36,60	0,42	47.096
SMA Chileans	1,56	22,85	46,93	10,39	16,82	1,45	3.589.590
Male	1,25	20,66	47,11	10,21	19,40	1,37	1.677.069
Female	1,84	24,77	46,77	10,54	14,56	1,52	1.912.521

Source: elaborate based on INE 2002

The occupation category is only available for a small number of immigrants, as table 31 shows (54.873). This is largely because many immigrants are not labour force participants (Table 21), they are children, students, housekeepers, retirees etc., (about 50% of the immigrants registered by 2002 census), or are labour market entrants without a specific intended occupation (so-called "new workers").

For those who have an occupation, and hence a skill level, table 31 and graph 37 show clearly that immigrants are involved in all economic activities. Nevertheless, 46% are concentrated in two main occupation sectors: elementary occupations (mainly domestic service) with 25.1% and professionals with 20.7%. Therefore the immigrants' occupation structure in the MSA shows important inequalities.

These inequalities are clearly shown in Graph 36. Having compared the percentage of every group in relation to the occupational structure of the Chilean SMA inhabitants, it is possible to distinguish six clusters:

1. Peruvians: 55% are working in elementary occupations and only 5.5% in professional activities. One of the main findings of Martínez (2003b) revealed that the level of education and job skills of the Peruvian community was considerably higher than what was originally perceived by the media and society. There are reasons that explain why 55% of working Peruvian migrants are concentrated in elementary occupations.

One often hears about Peruvians immigrants who are employed below their level of skill: the immigrant professional selling newspapers, driving a taxi cab or developing domestic activities. In fact, it has been argued that Peruvian workers in elementary occupations generally have a much higher educational level than their Chilean counterparts. This finding leads to other conclusions regarding the opportunities that Peruvians have to find work; they are often over qualified for the jobs that they have access to in the MSA. This is especially alarming due to the general lack of job mobility and job segmentation that occurs, especially among Peruvian women in domestic service (Stefoni 2002a).

Analysing the data of the 4.420 Peruvian women who requested visas during 1999 confirms that a significant percentage were not employed in domestic service before arriving in the country (Table 30). For example, 45.4% of the women who worked as technicians in Peru worked in domestic service in the SMA, as did 38% of the students and 23% of the professionals.

Peruvian immigrants' skills seem to be definitely under-utilized. Many reasons have been offered to account for the occurrence and persistence of employment discrimination despite market pressures: deeply prejudices, ignorance, social conformity, and established bureaucratic practice are some of these (Hill Mayer 2003).

2. U.S. Americans, Cubans, Germans, Spanish and Brazilians: As mentioned, these groups have higher educational qualifications (Table 28). This is reflected in their current occupations: most of them (over 25%) are working as professionals (trained scientists, doctors, economists, professors and engineers) and a few are occupied in elementary occupations (between 1.0 and 3.2%).

Table 29: International Standard Classification of Occupations (ISCO-88)

Major groups	Sub-major groups
1 Legislators, seniors officials and managers	11 Legislators and seniors officials 12 Corporate Managers 13 General Managers
2 Professionals	21 Physical, mathematical and engineering science professionals 22 Life science and health professionals 23 Teaching professionals 24 Other professionals
3 Technicians and associate professionals	31 Physical and engineering science associate professionals 32 Life science and health associate professionals 33 Teaching associate professionals 34 Other associate professionals
4 Office clerks	41 Office clerks 42 Customer service clerks
5 Service workers and shop and market sales workers	51 Personal and protective services workers 52 Models, salespersons and demonstrators
6 Skilled agricultural and fishery workers	61 Market-oriented skilled agricultural and fishery workers 62 Subsistence agricultural and fishery workers
7 Craft and related trades workers	71 Extraction and building trade workers 72 Metal, machinery and related trades workers 73 Precision, handicraft, printing and related trades workers 74 Other craft and related trades workers
8 Plant and machine operators and assemblers	81 Stationary plant and related operators 82 Machine operators and assemblers 83 Drivers and mobile plant operators
9 Elementary occupations	91 Sales and services elementary occupation 92 Agricultural, fishery and related labourers 93 Labourers in mining, construction, manufacturing and transport
0 Armed Forces	01 Armed forces

Source: elaborated based on ILO, ISCO-88 1987

Table 30: Santiago Metropolitan Area: Peruvian women migrants by former and actual declared occupation during 1999 visa application*

Former Activity	Declared Activity				Total
	Domestic Service		Without Activity		
	Total	(%)	Total	(%)	
Housekeepers	490	57.6	268	31.5	850
Domestic Service	497	65.1	253	33.1	763
Clerks	143	51.8	117	42.3	276
Students	322	38.0	404	47.6	847
Technicians	254	45.4	248	44.3	559
Professionals	105	23.4	216	48.3	447
Without activity	42	15.3	231	84.3	274
Other	85	21.0	158	39.1	404

* Application for permanent residence.

Source: elaborate based on Department of Foreign and Migration; Ministry of Interior

3. Bolivians: 12.2% are working in elementary occupations (lower figure than the SMA one) and 39% are professionals (almost double the percentage of natives). Most of the Bolivian migrant community is concentrated in the north of Chile, working in agriculture. The data showed that an impressive number of Bolivians living in the SMA work as professionals mainly in the health sector, contradicting other myths about the low qualifications of the immigrants from neighbouring countries.

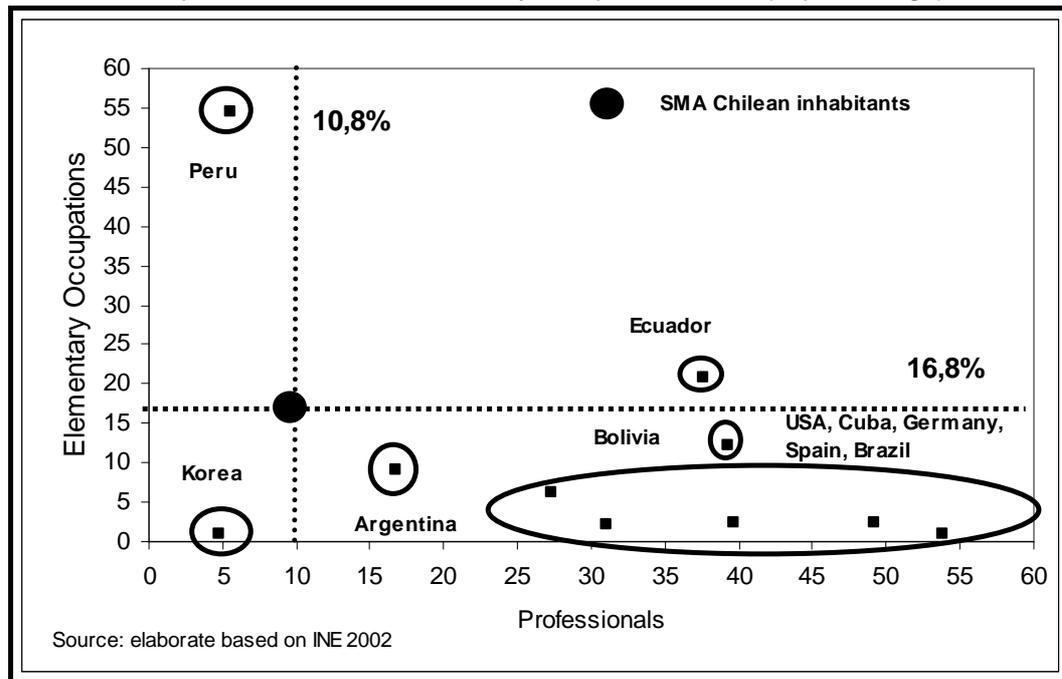
4. Ecuadorians: 20.9% are working in elementary occupations (higher figure than the Chilean residents) and 37.6% in professional activities. These facts show that this group is the most polarized of all the immigrants. Men are employed principally as professionals in the health sector while, as in the Peruvian case, most of the women are employed below their level of skill. Many qualified women agree to be employed in domestic service because it is easier to obtain employment. Furthermore, some of them live in the houses where they work, thus saving on rent, transportation and food, which enables them to send almost their total salary to their families in Ecuador. Valdivieso (2001) argues that although at first the idea of emigrating was a temporary project for the Ecuadorian women in order to solve problems of subsistence, the evidence shows that the process has gotten longer, beyond what they expected and seems to increase with time. In general, the contact networks of their country seem to be basic to finding work. An important element in the integration process is the participation in Ecuadorian communities where they obtain support and retain some of their identity.

5. Koreans: Low percentages of these immigrants are working as professionals or in elementary occupations. Most of them are occupied as general or corporate managers.

6. Argentines: 9.1% are working in elementary occupations and 16.8% in professional activities. Although this group can be classified as more selective than Chilean inhabitants, they participated in all economic activities like the Chileans. Regarding an OIM (2002) study, they do not have major integration problems due to their similarity to the Chilean population. There are no differences in work access and in remuneration levels if the immigrants are professionals.

To conclude, the analysis shows that the occupational distribution of immigrants in the SMA contrasts sharply with most industrialized countries where the bulk of arrivals are labourers and unskilled workers. In the Chilean case, professionals, technicians and legislators play an important role. Nonetheless, except for some of the Peruvians and Ecuadorian immigrants, there is little evidence of labour market segmentation.

Graph 36: Metropolitan Santiago Area: migrants and native population aged over 15 by participation in professionals and elementary occupations, 2002 (In percentage)



Considering all the economic activities (Table 31), there are variations in the distribution of occupations among the different countries. This information is extremely valuable for identifying the existence of economic niches.

Convention defines an ethnic niche as an occupation in which the percentage of workers that are group members is at least one and a half times greater than the group's percentage of all employment. Though most scholars seem willing to concur with this highly generalized definition, how to put it into practice has been a matter of some uncertainty. In addition it has been well researched that niches are the product of a network developing in a particular institutional context.

Within this frame, Waldinger (2001) defines a niche, in his research on five global-city-regions, as a category in which immigrants of a particular group are over represented by 50% or more in one economic activity.

In Chile the international migration process is a fairly recent phenomenon without strong historical precedent; thus a long and well established network has not developed among immigrants, nor is there the consolidation of certain economic niches. Consequently the existence of economic niches will be considered in those cases where immigrants of a particular group are represented by 40% or more in one economic activity. Following this explanation, in four cases it was possible to identify economic niches (Table 31 and Graph 37):

1. Peruvians in elementary occupations. As described, Peruvians represent elementary occupations (54%), especially in the category “sales and services”⁷³ (49.4%). Within this category the strong presence of Peruvian immigrants working as domestic servants is well known. The results of the last census showed that 74.8% of the Peruvian women over age 15 were occupied in elementary occupations.

Historically the demand for, and supply of, domestic service labour in Chile has been heavily dependent on economic cycles. In the last decades the country experienced a period of strong economic growth. During these times of economic expansion, the demand for domestic workers rises, and the supply of Chilean women who are likely to work in this sector declines due to more preferable job opportunities for lower class Chilean women. Following Hill Mayer (2003) women from the southern regions of Chile who have traditionally supplied the SMA as domestic servants have begun to have seasonal job opportunities in export agriculture, emigrating only to work as domestic servants during the off-season.

Furthermore, during the last decades the country has experienced sharp social transformations: fewer women stay at home as housekeepers and fewer offer to be personal household help. Stefoni (2002a) emphasizes that the participation of the economically active Chilean population in domestic service decreased from 7.6% to 4.7%⁷⁴. All these arguments lead to the first factor of attraction for Peruvian women to the SMA: There are conditions in the Chilean labour market that facilitate their insertion.

The second factor is associated with the internal economic and social conditions in Peru. Since the Fujimori regime, the neo-liberal economic restructuring policies have contributed to an increased out-migration of a large number of citizens. This has augmented the number of Peruvian migrants to Chile as entering Chile is easier and cheaper if compared with the U.S. or European countries. In most cases women enter on a tourist visa, valid for three months. With an employment contract, a Peruvian citizen in Santiago may apply for a temporary visa and, after two years, a permanent visa.

There are, however, special work permit rules for Peruvian citizens constituting additional barriers to migration of Peruvians to Chile: it must be certified that there is no Chilean who is interested in or who can do such work. To this end, the employer has to place an advertisement for the job in the newspaper three times and, if there is no Chilean who applies or meets the requirements, a Peruvian citizen can be hired.

However, all these complicate requirements, i.e., having a contract enforce the same labour rights and benefits as for native workers. Perhaps for this reasons Hill Mayer (2003) did not find lower average salaries for the Peruvian domestic servants and their Chilean counterparts⁷⁵. Furthermore, for many immigrants working as domestic servants has advantages: they do not require previous qualifications; they have a strong possibility of saving since they pay for neither food nor housing and they can earn a larger salary than in Peru.

⁷³ The three digit category includes: street vendors and related workers; shoe cleaning and other street service elementary occupations; domestic and related helpers, cleaners and launderers; building caretakers, window and related cleaners; messengers, porters, doorkeepers and related workers; garbage collectors and related labourers.

⁷⁴ Based on CASEN (Encuesta de Caracterización Económica Nacional) survey.

⁷⁵ Nevertheless many Peruvians work illegally due to the fact that they can find a job easier. Without a work contract the employers avoid the cost of social benefits. These groups become illegal workers and live in a vulnerable stage to claim or defend their rights.

Finally, Peruvian immigrants use the social networks that were established for coming to the SMA to obtain work. Stefoni (2002a) indicates that the majority have known someone who lives in Chile before coming and many of them obtain their first work through a friend or a relative. In alignment with these precedents Peruvian immigration is characterized by the formation of transnational groups based on relatives' relationships. It is how a first immigrant generation with a high number of relatives in the community of origin operates and is based on the sending of remittances to support the families they left behind. Most of the migrant workers want to return to their homes after they have saved money. Such immigration is more on an individual than a group basis.

2. U.S. Americans in professional occupations: 53.8% of the 1.654 U.S. Americans living and working in the SMA were employed as professionals particularly as teachers in private schools (17.9%), in professions related with mathematics and engineering (10.7%) and in religious activities (Table 31). Unlike other groups this economic niche has not been investigated in depth. U.S. Americans have emigrated mainly during the 1990s (Graph 25) and they show the highest level of education of all the immigrants: 78.3% possess a university degree (Table 28).

In Chile, there are three types of schools: municipal schools maintained by the municipalities, state-subsidised private schools (students do not pay fees) and private fee paying schools. The school system is one of the primary ways that class distinctions are maintained. The way to sure that children marry into the so-called "right" families is to send them to private schools where they will associate only with those from the "right" families. The elite private schools (which are not part of the voucher program) are very exclusive, expensive and most of them bilingual, especially in English. Also there is intense competition from the upper-middle class and those who are not the very elite to get their children into the best private schools. Teachers receive much higher salaries than public school teachers and a large percentage of foreign teachers, mainly U.S. Americans are hired. It is interesting is to highlight the high number of North Americans who are employed in religious activities. Of all the visas assigned to North Americans in 1999 (737), 30% declared their occupation as religious missionary or theologian. Many North Americans work as missionaries of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints or "Mormons"⁷⁶. The prosperity of this church is based on members' contributions (10% of their incomes). With these resources they finance a strong expansion in developing countries.

In Chile they have raised a temple, 500 chapels and a statistical centre where they assemble more information about Chileans – births, marriages and deaths – than the one that exists in the National Civil Record (CESNUR 2005). The Mormons use young male members for missionary work; this explains the high proportion of young men from the U.S. being employed as missionaries in the SMA.

3. Cubans as health professionals: Besides the U.S. Americans, Cubans belong to a professional niche. In fact 49.2% of the working population is occupied in this economic activity (Table 31). Nevertheless in their case the concentration is among life science and health professionals (21.55%). Table 28 shows the high percentage of Cubans at a professional

⁷⁶ The church arose in Fayette, New York in 1830. Its founder was Joseph Smith, who was proclaimed a prophet. After several communities were founded in search of the establishment of The New One Jerusalem, the Mormons established themselves in Salt Lake City, Utah.

level; 70% of the men and 60% of the women have a university profile. These figures indicate that a good educational profile would facilitate emigration from the island.

Cuba is developing a non-traditional exportation to Chile. Professionals of the health sector, teachers, engineers and businessmen look to Chile as a market that they perceive as successful for their development and leave the island in search of better economic perspectives. The last census data showed 2.472 Cuban living in the SMA, but according to the residents the number is higher: between 5 and 7.000⁷⁷.

The arrival of Cubans to Chile has little of the spectacular that characterized their entrance to the coasts of Miami. The causes are very different from the so called "balseros." Cubans who come to Chile arrive with their documents in order and they carry only one requirement: a letter of invitation sent by a Chilean citizen. The letter of invitation is one of the processes established by the government of Cuba for leaving the country, besides the official exits of authorities or delegations and the definitive exit, which is engaged with family reunification abroad.

Furthermore, there are strong historical links between Cuba and Chile due to the fact that many Chileans lived on the island during Pinochet's dictatorship and established nets of friendship. With the return of democracy many returned to Chile and they invited their friends to come. It was known that the country was growing and that many labour opportunities existed. The reasons for Cuban emigration are not only political. The Cuban revolution has delivered free education for all, a noble objective that nowadays has unwanted consequences: Cuba does not have a market for such a large number of professionals and many of them are employed in lower occupations. Apparently, these are the professionals who are coming to Chile. The main problem is that many cannot return to the island after their emigration process. This is especially true for doctors, who were publicly notified as "disloyal" to the Cuban revolution.

The Cuban community does not separate itself from Chileans; it is a dispersed community. The most habitual thing is that they bring together food and dance in Cuban places, where they interact with their compatriots. Nevertheless, the most common thing is their insertion in the Chilean society, with Chilean friends⁷⁸.

4. Koreans as General Managers: Koreans serve as the exemplar of the entrepreneurial type, mostly general managers. Although the community is not so numerous, the flow began in the late 1970s. In 1980, Chile and the Republic of Korea signed an agreement by which Koreans coming to the country were exempted from visa requirements. This agreement spurred immigration, although it lapsed some years later (Stoehrel 1997 in UN 1998a).

According to the last census, 968 Koreans live in the SMA on a permanent basis. The main reasons for migration were population growth and its consequences, including fierce competition for education and jobs. Other reasons include overwork and the high cost, in terms of quality of life, of getting ahead economically; to a lesser extent, reference was made to political and ideological repression, the spectre of war and the desire for adventure (UN 1998a).

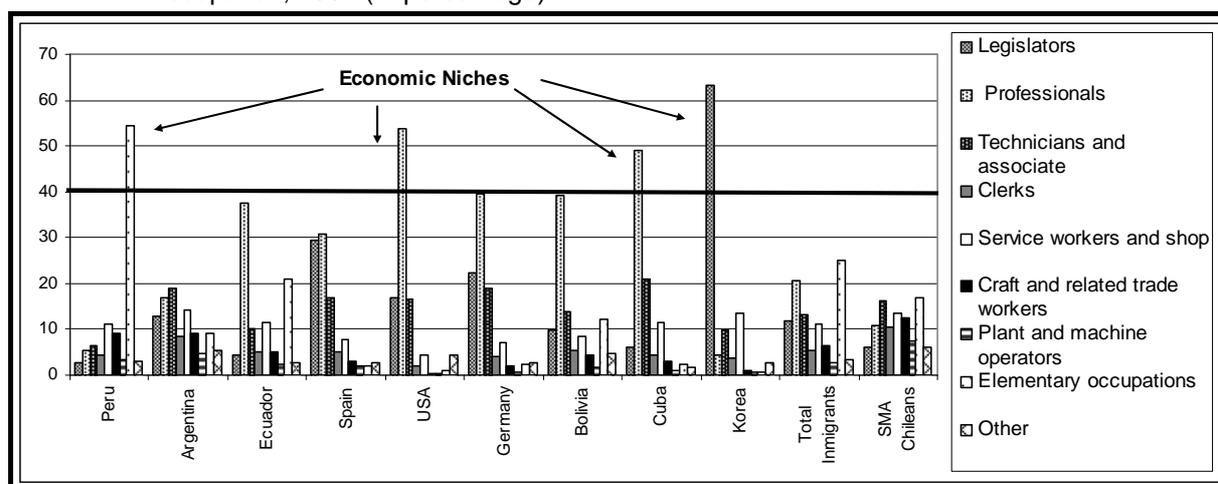
⁷⁷ Available on line: www.cubanos.cl. Retrieved May 2006.

⁷⁸ "La pequena Habana en pleno Santiago de Chile". Available on line: <http://www.vamoschile.com/interior.php?IDN=98>. Retrieved May 2006.

Korean immigration may be defined as legal, long-term and taking place on a group basis, both directly and in stages. It is also selective; they have skills (Table 28) and capital, and migrate voluntarily in search of better working conditions and living standards in socio-economic and socio-cultural terms than in their country of origin. It seems that many Korean immigrants have university qualifications that they usually do not use; there are architects, chemists, commercial engineers, etc., but most of them are working as general managers in small business. The place to which they choose to migrate has been decided rationally and evaluated on a cost-benefit basis. It is typical labour migration involving the transfer of investment capital which they themselves have built up, and success in their work in no way depends on labour market demand (UN 1998a).

The first generation of Korean immigrants have their own businesses and companies (almost 70% of the working population are employer and independent workers), and this greatly reduces the possibilities of exposure to discrimination. Their social interaction is limited primarily to employer-employee and/or customer relations. Their closest, most regular and most lengthy contacts with Chileans are with their employees. Korean families attach great importance to education. Nearly all the children study in private schools and many go to university. The generation born in Chile is the best adjusted and integrated (UN 1998a).

Graph 37: Santiago Metropolitan Area: migrants and native population aged over 15 by declared occupation, 2002 (In percentage)



Source:aborate based on INE 2002

4.7.3 Sectors of economic niches: Peruvians in the domestic service, Koreans in retail trade activities and the health sector as a growing niche.

The analysis of the migrants' distribution by type of occupation allowed identifying some economic niches regarding their level of skill. Nevertheless this approach only shows the educational background they have without enlightening about which sector of the economy they are working in. For instance the same professional (e.g. engineer, architect) can work either in the education sector or in the manufacturing one. In this context it becomes interesting to analyse the immigrant distribution by economic sector and the eventual formation of new economic niches.

The National Institute of Statistics in Chile uses the International Standard Industrial Classification of all Economic Activities (ISIC) developed by the United Nations Statistical Division. Data on those organisations, which work with, or produce the same product or service, is gathered together under the same industry heading. The scheme works broadly to a level of four digits. The first two digits identify the major industry group, the third digit identifies the industry group and the fourth digit the precise industry e.g. 36: Electronic and other electrical equipment, 367: Electronic components and accessories, 3674: semiconductors and related devices. The ISIC classification in a one digit level is the following⁷⁹:

- A. Agriculture, forestry and fishing
- B. Mining and quarrying
- C. Manufacturing
- D. Electricity, gas, steam and air conditioning supply
- E. Water supply; sewerage
- F. Construction
- G. Wholesale and retail trade; repair of motor vehicles and motorcycles
- H. Transportation and Storage
- I. Accommodation and food service activities
- J. Information and communication
- K. Financial and Insurance activities
- L. Real estate activities
- M. Professional, scientific and technical activities
- N. Administrative and support service activities
- O. Public administration and defence; compulsory social security
- P. Education
- Q. Human health and social work activities
- R. Arts, entertainment and recreation
- S. Other services activities
- T. Activities of householders as employers; undifferentiated goods-and services-producing activities of households for own use
- U. Activities of extraterritorial organizations and bodies

Due to the low participation of international migrants in economic activities related with sectors A, B, D, E, L, N and O, they were not included in the analysis.

Practically 60% of the immigrants are concentrated in four sectors of the economy (Table 32): activities of households as employers (20.1%); wholesale and retail trade (17.3%); manufacturing (10.8%) and professionals, scientific and technical activities (10.2%).

It is important to emphasize that the weight of immigrants working in domestic activities—considerably higher than the percentage of Chileans (7.2%) employed in the sector—is related to the large number of Peruvian citizens who are employed in domestic service (46.4%), a topic that has been deeply analyzed. Besides the Peruvians, only Ecuadorians (16.8%) and Bolivians (1.2%) present significant percentages in this sector (Table 32 and Graph 38).

⁷⁹ Available on line: <http://unstats.un.org/unsd/cr/registry/regcst.asp?Cl=2>. Retrieved May 2006.

Table 31: Santiago Metropolitan Area: migrants aged over 15 by country of birth and main occupations, 2002 (In percentage)

Economic Activities	Peru (20.801)	Argentina (8.426)	Ecuador (3.305)	Spain (2.308)	USA (1.654)	Germany (1.153)	Bolivia (1.135)	Cuba (1.578)	Korea (596)	Total Immigrants (54.873)	SMA Chileans (2.108.407)
1. Legislators	2.86	12.94	4.27	29.42	16.81	22.29	9.78	6.03	63.26	11.87	6.20
Legislators, seniors officials	0.08	0.27	0.30	0.74	1.57	1.04	0.53	0.32	1.01	0.59	0.06
Corporate Managers	0.32	2.25	0.64	4.98	3.81	5.38	1.41	1.08	6.71	2.08	0.67
General Managers	2.46	10.42	3.33	23.70	11.43	15.87	7.84	4.63	55.54	9.20	5.47
2. Professionals	5.50	16.81	37.61	30.89	53.87	39.72	39.30	49.19	4.53	20.65	10.78
Physical, math and engineering	1.40	4.27	2.81	7.54	10.70	11.54	8.55	8.94	0.84	4.68	2.57
Life science and health	1.50	1.80	28.71	3.42	3.99	5.29	17.18	21.55	0.84	5.22	1.52
Teaching	0.88	3.73	1.79	7.15	17.90	9.45	5.11	10.14	0.50	4.20	3.25
Other	1.72	7.01	4.30	12.78	21.28	13.44	8.46	8.56	2.35	6.54	3.44
3. Technicians and associate	6.36	18.96	10.31	16.77	16.69	18.81	14.01	20.98	9.74	13.10	16.15
Physical and engineering	1.62	3.60	1.48	2.12	2.18	2.17	1.85	3.17	0.34	2.26	2.93
Life science	0.38	0.55	0.94	0.39	0.18	0.69	0.79	1.77	0.00	0.49	1.01
Teaching associate	0.11	0.66	0.27	0.35	1.09	0.43	0.44	1.08	0.00	0.44	0.79
Other	4.25	14.15	7.62	13.91	13.24	15.52	10.93	14.96	9.40	9.90	11.42
4. Clerks	4.24	8.50	5.11	5.24	2.18	3.99	5.47	4.56	3.69	5.30	10.47
Office clerks	2.61	5.71	2.81	3.90	1.39	3.47	4.32	3.42	2.18	3.50	7.68
Customer service	1.63	2.79	2.30	1.34	0.79	0.52	1.15	1.14	1.51	1.80	2.79
5. Service workers and shop	11.07	14.19	11.59	7.75	4.42	7.03	8.37	11.40	13.59	11.29	13.67
Personal and protective	6.92	5.76	5.99	2.38	2.00	3.04	3.00	7.60	6.67	5.63	6.35
Models, salespersons	4.15	8.73	5.60	5.37	2.42	3.99	5.37	3.80	12.92	5.66	7.32
6. Skilled agricultural / fishery	0.84	0.45	0.33	0.39	0.24	0.17	0.53	0.06	0.17	0.54	0.91
Market oriented	0.84	0.45	0.33	0.39	0.24	0.17	0.53	0.06	0.17	0.54	0.90
Subsistence	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.01
7. Craft and related trade workers	9.20	9.29	5.20	3.16	0.24	2.16	4.31	2.92	1.01	6.49	12.40
Extraction and building	3.04	2.55	0.82	0.43	0.00	0.17	0.35	0.32	0.00	1.81	4.06
Metal machinery and related	2.67	3.33	1.45	1.04	0.06	1.13	0.88	1.58	0.17	2.04	3.88
Precision, handicraft, printing	0.87	1.08	1.27	0.43	0.12	0.43	0.79	0.32	0.34	0.75	1.12
Other	2.62	2.33	1.66	1.26	0.06	0.43	2.29	0.70	0.50	1.88	3.34
8. Plant and machine operators	3.34	4.85	2.21	1.91	0.36	0.78	1.68	1.01	0.51	2.73	7.53
Stationary plant and related	0.30	0.24	0.09	0.04	0.00	0.00	0.18	0.00	0.00	0.17	0.36
Machine operators/assemblers	1.70	0.94	0.79	0.35	0.00	0.00	0.53	0.06	0.00	0.96	2.06
Driver and mobile operators	1.34	3.67	1.33	1.52	0.36	0.78	0.97	0.95	0.17	1.59	5.11
9. Elementary occupations	54.50	9.19	20.91	2.08	0.96	2.35	12.25	2.28	0.84	25.09	16.80
Sales and services	49.40	5.89	18.61	1.43	0.60	2.17	11.45	1.52	0.84	22.19	11.58
Agricultural, fishery	0.22	0.18	0.15	0.13	0.06	0.09	0.18	0.00	0.00	0.15	0.43
Mining, construction	4.88	3.12	2.15	0.52	0.30	0.09	0.62	0.76	0.00	2.74	4.79
0. Armed forces	0.01	0.24	0.24	0.09	0.30	2.60	0.00	0.19	0.16	0.12	0.80
Ignored	2.08	4.58	2.22	2.30	3.93	0.10	4.30	1.38	2.50	2.82	4.29
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: elaborate based on INE 2002. Note: The total population over 15 years working or looking for job 1 week before the census is shown in parenthesis.

In the case of the wholesale and retail trade sector, all the groups show figures higher than 10%. Koreans stand out especially with 68.4%, a number that widely overcomes the 40% established to define an economic niche (Graph 38). The analysis in detail indicates that all the groups are orientated preferably towards the retail trade (Table 32).

Manufacturing is the third sector in importance (10.8%). Of the Koreans, 16% were working in this area. Korean immigrants include small businessmen who have mainly set up garment manufacturing companies. The first immigrants during the 1980s went into the textile trade and textile manufacturing. Small Korean businessmen bought used or low-cost machinery in the Republic of Korea and imported it into Chile under various duty-free schemes. Over time, when textile markets were liberalized and Asian countries began manufacturing on a large scale and at low cost, the Koreans moved out of textile manufacturing and began importing Asian textiles and selling them in Chile (UN 1998a).

Korean immigration has stopped during the last decade. The new immigration policies require more investment capital than many candidates can muster. There is also competition by other Latin American countries that impose fewer requirements on immigrants. According to the UN study, (UN 1998a) no Korean immigrants come to Chile to work as labourers.

In the case of Argentineans, Spanish, Brazilians and Peruvians, their contribution is mainly in the manufacturing of food products while Germans are highly concentrated in the chemical industry (Table 32). Professional scientific and technical activities are sectors that Germans (18.5%) and U.S. Americans (16.9%) dominate. Most of them are working in head offices, management and management consultancy activities.

Although human health and social work activities do not have an important role within the total immigrant population (7.5%), three groups, Ecuadorians (30.7%), Cubans (25.2%) and Bolivians (21.4%), show an important number of their population working in these types of activities. The percentages reflect the increasing number of doctors, dentists, nurses and other health related professionals who have moved to the SMA looking for better opportunities. For some years the topic of foreigners working in the health sector has been under sharp discussion in the media and between scholars and the civil society.

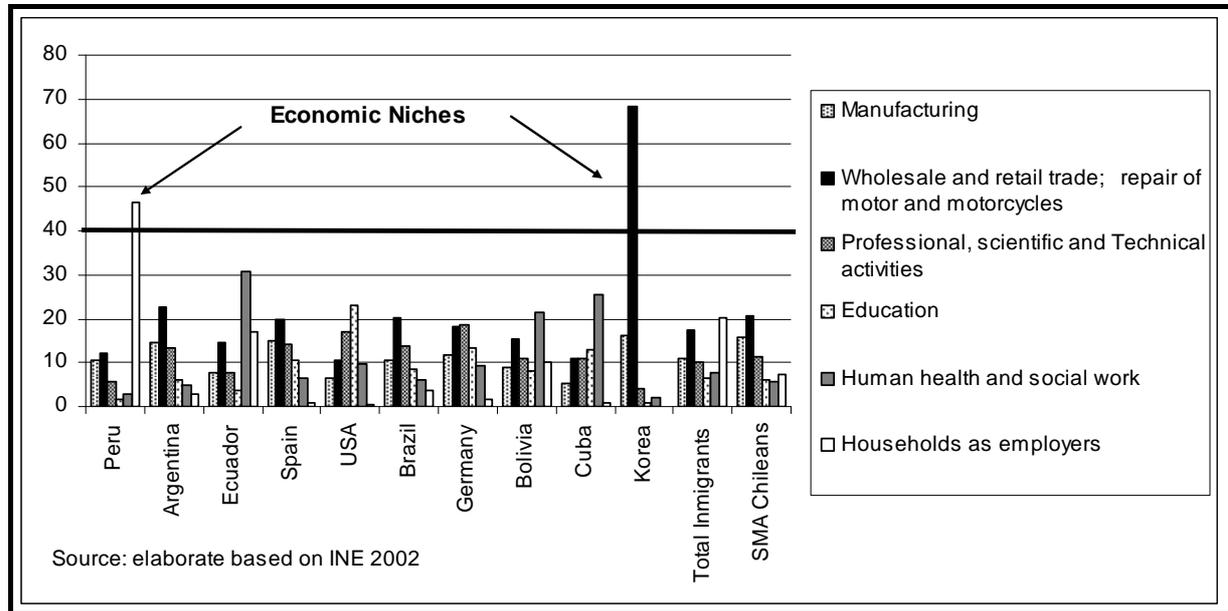
At the beginning of 2000 the issue of Latin American doctors' residing in Chile, abruptly entered the public health agenda. Under modernization of the public sector, the government ordered foreign doctors to practise in public doctors' offices where Chilean professionals had not appeared. The conclusion was that Chilean doctors, including new graduates, preferred to work in particular clinics or to install private consultations instead of consigning half a day of work to public health.

In 1999 the proportion of foreign doctors working in the public sector was 25%, that is to say, 340 of the 2.000 who were employed in the country. The majority had particular consultations in private centres, directed fundamentally to a medium-low socioeconomic sector (Revista Qué Pasa, 1999a).

In Chile there are two modalities under which foreign professionals can practise: agreements that allow automatic title validation or revalidation, and the professional title through an examination by the University of Chile (Estevez et al. 2000). In the case of the automatic revali-

dition, the country has international agreements with Ecuador, Uruguay, Colombia and Brazil⁸⁰. There is a similar agreement with Argentina, but it is still under study.

Graph 38: Santiago Metropolitan Area: migrants and Chilean population aged over 15 by main economic sectors, 2002 (In percentage)



Doctors and other professionals only need to go to the Ministry of External Affairs to begin to practise in the country without any academic control. Between 1985 and 1999, 80% of the certificates given by the Chancery to foreign doctors went first to Ecuadorians; they are followed by Colombians, Uruguayans and Brazilians. Nevertheless it has been detected that some doctors use loopholes in the law to practise in Chile. For example, if Ecuador has a bilateral agreement with Bolivia, a Bolivian doctor can be registered in Ecuador and later practise in Chile using the automatic agreement between Chile and Ecuador. As well, there are cases of Argentinean doctors who by a bilateral agreement with Uruguay have been recognized as doctors in Chile.

For many people this system of automatic confirmation holds a great danger for the public safety. The central argument is that the Chancery cannot be an organism of professional accreditation. The Chilean Medical Association reacted in opposition to the official disposition as the preparation that is demanded of doctors from other countries is of minor quality compared to that of the Chileans and, therefore, they demand major changes before confirming studies and degrees to foreign doctors.

Between 1995 and the year 2000, 1.600 Ecuadorian doctors revalidated their degree automatically; until October 2005 seventy-eight had been credited under this concept⁸¹. According to the Rector of the University of Chile⁸², the authority must suspend the application of these agreements, develop a diagnosis and look for a solution that is sustainable from the

⁸⁰ International agreement with Ecuador was signed in 1917, with Uruguay in 1916, with Colombia in 1921 and with Brazil in 1978.

⁸¹ Available on line: www.elsur.cl/edicion_hoy/secciones/ver_rep.php?dia=1131159600&id=2335 - 24k.

⁸² Interview in www.cooperativa.cl (20 October 2005).

political point of view. He proposed to install a national professional examination not only for foreigners with doctors' degrees but also for all Chilean doctors every year. He argues that this would be the best way of providing safe medical practise to the people.

On the other hand, the revalidation of a professional degree is not a simple process: the applicant is required to deliver the legalized precedents (diploma, concentration of notes, study plan and curriculum); these are studied and evaluated as to immediate revalidation or if curricula requirements must first be increased. During 1985 and 1998 (Graph 39) 651 applications were received, but only 303 were passed. As for those who surrendered to evaluation, 28% came from Bolivia, 18% from Peru, 18.5% were Chileans returned from exile, and 12.7% were from Cuba, 4.6% from Argentina, 1.7% from Venezuela and 6% from Europe and the U.S. (Revista Qué Pasa 1999a).

During recent years the number of applications has increased. In 2003 the University of Chile revalidated close to 290 degrees, 137 of which were for the medical area (Medicine and Dentist). This number compared with an average of 400 automatic professional revalidations per year, shows the urgency to discuss and solve this topic (Revista Que Pasa 1999a).

In October 2005, the dramatic case of a young woman who had a surgical intervention and ended with severe cerebral damage which caused her death, opened again the polemic. The woman was operated on by an Ecuadorian doctor, for a low price, in a medical centre not equipped for this kind of procedure. Due to this case the words "doctor" and "Ecuadorian" are today in Chile synonymous with negligence. The responsibility of the media has been significant in the Chilean perception of Latin American doctors through this one case.

4.7.4 Conclusions

Finally and as a summary regarding economic segregation and ethnic niches the following results can be highlighted:

Increased immigration to the SMA in the last decade (5.5%) has led to concerns over the displacement of native-born workers and the possibility of lower wages for those native-born workers who must compete with this immigrant pool. However it seems that the intensity of competition between native and immigrant workers will not only be a function of the size of the immigrant flow -only 2% in the case of the SMA- it will also depend on the ability of foreigners to enter occupation segments that are compatible with their human capital characteristics and the extent to which jobs are occupied by natives.

The empirical results suggest that traditional human capital segmentation based on educational characteristics may not be adequate to understand immigrant incorporation in the SMA labour market. In general immigrants to the SMA showed higher education skills than natives even in the secondary market⁸³ (e.g. elementary occupations).

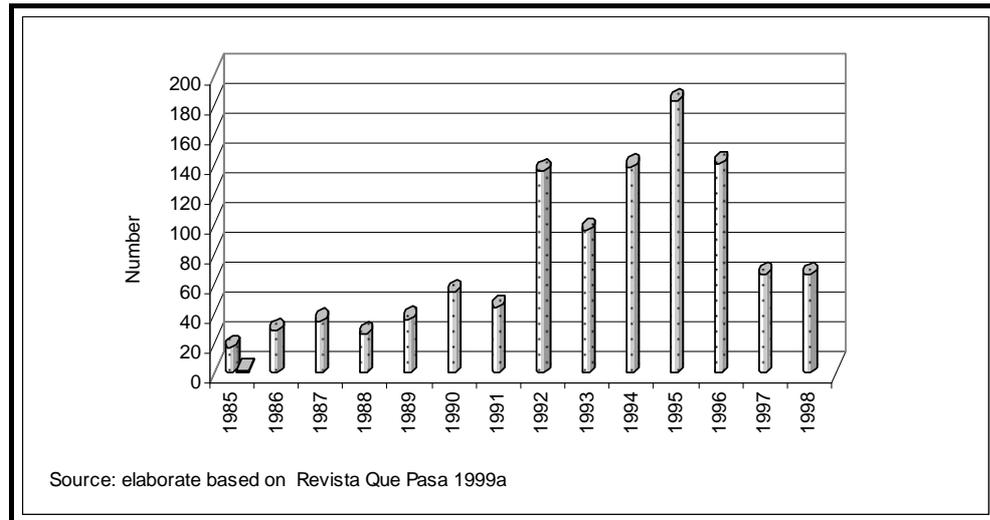
⁸³ The labour market is divided into two major sectors, the secondary and primary. The secondary sector is characterized by the absence of job hierarchy and low wages, while the primary sector offers well-defined promotional paths, job security and higher wages. Many reasons appear (institutional structure, cultural factors, illegal conditions, etc.) to constrain movement from the secondary to the primary sector (Dickens and Lang 1985; Boston 1990).

Table 32: Santiago Metropolitan Area: migrants aged over 15 by country of birth and main economic activities, 2002 (In percentage)

Economic Activities	Peru (20.801)	Argentina (8.426)	Ecuador (3.305)	Spain (2.308)	USA (1.654)	Brazil (1.498)	Germany (1.153)	Bolivia (1.135)	Cuba (1.578)	Korea (596)	Total Immigrants (54.873)	SMA Chileans (2.108.407)
C. Manufacturing	10,52	14,38	7,84	14,90	6,65	10,48	11,62	9,07	5,26	16,28	10,83	15,65
Foods Products	18,55	20,79	18,82	31,40	18,18	14,65	9,70	13,59	19,28	0,00	18,93	18,46
Textiles	7,58	5,94	5,02	7,27	3,64	5,73	4,48	7,77	3,61	29,90	7,91	6,35
Wearing apparel	11,42	9,82	14,29	7,27	0,00	11,46	4,48	21,36	9,64	48,45	11,37	11,81
Chemicals	5,12	6,93	7,72	7,85	14,55	13,38	21,64	11,65	16,87	0,00	7,64	7,03
Other	57,33	56,52	54,05	46,22	63,64	54,78	59,70	45,63	50,60	21,65	54,15	56,35
F. Construction	6,07	5,61	2,03	4,46	1,94	3,27	3,05	3,26	2,60	0,34	4,48	7,58
G. Wholesale and retail trade; repair of motor and motorcycles	12,28	22,66	14,67	19,89	10,58	20,36	18,30	15,42	11,03	68,46	17,25	20,45
Wholesale and retail trade and repair of vehicles	13,31	11,94	10,31	6,97	5,71	10,49	9,00	7,43	10,92	1,96	10,22	12,16
Wholesale trade	13,11	14,67	14,23	16,78	30,86	16,72	28,91	10,86	16,09	28,92	18,65	10,39
Retail trade	73,58	73,39	75,46	76,25	63,43	72,79	62,09	81,71	72,99	69,12	71,13	77,45
H. Transportation and Storage	3,62	7,87	3,45	6,28	6,83	7,88	7,81	4,85	4,69	1,85	5,41	7,92
I. Accommodation and Food	4,73	5,12	4,51	5,24	2,24	6,21	2,17	1,67	7,98	0,84	5,17	3,11
J. Information and communication	0,68	2,34	0,94	1,30	1,93	1,54	1,65	1,32	3,49	0,50	1,42	1,06
K. Financial and Insurance activities	0,90	3,57	1,88	4,59	5,21	3,54	3,13	3,96	2,72	0,84	2,51	3,05
M. Professional, scientific and Technical activities	5,74	13,42	7,72	13,99	16,93	13,75	18,47	11,01	10,84	4,19	10,19	11,31
P. Education	1,66	6,20	3,69	10,49	22,96	8,68	13,23	8,19	12,86	0,84	6,27	6,17
Q. Human health and social work	3,01	4,69	30,71	6,28	9,79	6,01	9,11	21,41	25,29	2,01	7,55	5,55
R. Arts, entertainment and recreation	0,82	3,82	1,12	2,77	4,06	5,07	2,26	1,85	5,89	0,17	2,26	1,46
S. Other services	1,12	2,27	1,36	1,34	1,33	3,14	0,87	1,59	2,34	0,50	1,49	2,17
T. Households as employers	46,38	3,03	16,82	0,78	0,36	3,60	1,57	10,22	0,76	0,00	20,12	7,17
U. Extraterritorial Organizations	0,21	0,68	0,54	1,26	2,54	2,80	1,99	1,32	0,57	1,68	1,27	0,06
Other sectors (A, B, D, E, L, N, O)	2,26	4,34	2,72	6,43	6,65	3,67	4,77	4,86	3,68	1,50	3,80	7,29

Source: elaborate based on INE 2002. Note: in parenthesis, in the first row, shows the population over 15 years old working or looking for job 1 week before the census. This was the universe used for the calculation.

Graph 39: Chile: evolution in doctor's title revalidation (1985-1998)



The immigrant educational profile is better than that of the Chilean MSA inhabitants. In this sense fears about immigrant “quality” have been exaggerated and there is no evidence of an impact on lowering wages for native-born workers.

As Kugler and Spycher (1992) argued (in Golder 1999), results show that skilled immigrants and natives are complements, while unskilled natives and immigrants are substitutes. Those immigrants working in the primary sectors - education (U.S. Americans) and health (Cubans and Ecuadorians) - complement the natives, despite the fact that the evidence shows that there is a market supply in these sectors of the economy. Those with the motivation and resources to emigrate are seldom from the neediest segments of the source country population, but rather are more often the skilled and semi-skilled. Their emigration represents a subsidy to the MSA from the nation that trained them, as well as a loss of valuable talents to their homeland.

In the case of immigrants working in the secondary market (Peruvians and Ecuadorians), during the Chilean economic expansion the demand for domestic workers rises, and the supply of Chilean women who are likely to work in this sector declined due to more preferable job opportunities for lower class Chilean women in the agriculture area.

These immigrants, especially women, tend to cluster in activities where others of their own kind became established during the 1990s. Initial placements may be affected by any range of factors – prior experience, cultural preferences, or historical accident.

But once the initial settlers have established, subsequent arrivals tend to follow behind, preferring an environment in which some faces are familiar and finding that personal contacts prove the most efficient way of finding a job. More relevant, the predilections of immigrants match the preferences of employers who rely on their workers for recommendations, particularly in activities related to domestic service. They appreciate network recruitment for its ability to attract applicants quickly and at little cost; they value it even more for its efficiency.

Immigration does not just expand the supply of labour, it also increases demand. Immigrant expenditures on consumer goods, cars, and houses generate multiplied effects rippling through the economy to spur job growth for natives as well. Immigrants also average higher self-employment rates, creating their own business (Koreans) demand for related business

services and materials, often from non-immigrant suppliers. While this increases labour market segmentation, immigrant niches absorb workers who might otherwise have to compete with natives for jobs elsewhere. Still another explanation is that many of the most recent immigrants are more complements than substitutes, since they take the low-status work that even low-wage natives tend to spurn.

Chapter 5 Social space of immigrants in the Santiago Metropolitan Area – on the way to a model for understanding spatial patterns

5.1 Dimensions of immigrant social structure: factor analysis

Up to now, the different characteristics, e.g., origin, destination, age, occupation, sex, educational profile, etc. of the international immigrants in the SMA have been analysed in a disjointed fashion that has failed to advance an integrated treatment of the diverse variables or their spatial distribution. Accordingly, the geographical literature especially that related to intra-urban social ecology is limited to a diversity of studies showing the spatial distribution of urban populations and their interrelations with other components of the urban system (Clark 1992; Bashi and Mc. Daniel 1997; Wong 1998) without treating the ethnic dimension in a separate way.

In the present study, the factor analysis method is applied to the entire immigrant population living in the SMA to provide a frame of reference that will serve as the basis of the socio-ecological findings and conclusions reached. It is important to note that factorial studies of migrants are not, heretofore, available and, consequently, empirical generalizations and theoretical statements on socio-ecological distribution of immigrants based on the factorial approach do not exist. Nevertheless, this first study serves as the foundation for further discussions by providing empirical data and the basis for a factor-analytical model of immigration applicable to other metropolitan cases.

5.1.1 Selection of variables

As described extensively in the methodological framework (chapter 2.4), 427 variables describing social, economic and mobility characteristics of the immigrants were selected from the 2002 SMA population census. Since factor analysis only admits a number of variables equal to or less than the number of units of observation (343 districts in this case), it was necessary to filter the original variable set. The number of variables was reduced to 74 (Appendix 2) according to the highest values of standard deviation. Subsequently, a correlation analysis was applied selecting those variables with correlation values greater than 0.7 (Appendix 3) to achieve the final number of 46 variables (Appendix 4).

5.1.2 Assessment of the appropriateness of the data for factor analysis

Two main issues must be considered when judging the suitability of a particular data set for factor analysis: sample size and the strength of the relationship among the variables. There is a sharp discussion among authors concerning the size of the sample set, but in general the recommendation is “larger is better”. Factors obtained from small datasets do not generalize as well as those derived from larger samples. Following Tabachnick and Fidell (1996), it is best to have at least 300 cases for factor analysis. In the case of the SMA, the number of districts is 343 given that the 34 communes are further divided into districts. Some authors suggest that it is not the overall sample size that is of concern but the ratio of cases to vari-

ables. Nunnally (1978) recommends a 10 to 1 ratio, or 10 cases for each variable to be factor-analysed.

Tabachnick and Fidell (1996) suggest that 5 cases for each variable are adequate in most instances. In this research, the case-to-variable ratio of 7.45:1 is deemed acceptable (343 districts and 46 variables) and consistent with the literature. The second issue to be addressed concerns the strength of the inter-correlations between variables. Some authors recommend an inspection of the correlation matrix for evidence of coefficients greater than 0.3. In the present study, few correlations of the carefully selected 46 variables fell below this level, thus, supporting the validity of the factor analysis procedure. Additionally, the procedural integrity is further supported by a statistical measure generated by SPSS to help assess the factorability of the data, i.e., the Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin (KMO) measure of sampling adequacy. The KMO index ranges from 0 to 1, with 0.3 suggested as the minimum value for a good factor analysis (Tabachnick and Fidell 1996). The KMO obtained in this case was 0.924.

Finally, a variable's communality must be estimated prior to performing a factor analysis. Communalities exhibit the proportion of a variable's variance described by a factor structure. Table 33 reveals that the communality values are rather high - 83% of the variables have more than 70% of their variance explained by the factors. The only variables exhibiting a value lower than 0.6 are: "foreign population living in houses with two households" (0.50) and "foreign population living in houses with three households" (0.50). Thus, the validity of the chosen variables is strongly supported by the significant proportion of the variance explained by the factors. This communality result is significant because it demonstrates that all variables in the sample set were well chosen in the domain of inquiry, although, admittedly, it can never be certain that all necessary variables have been sampled.

5.1.3 Factor extraction

The procedure of factor extraction involves the determination of the smallest number of factors that can be used to best represent the interrelations among the set of variables. It is well known that it is up to the researcher to determine the number of factors describing the relationship between variables.

Tabachnick and Fidell (1996) recommended adopting an explanatory approach experimenting with different numbers of factors until a satisfactory solution is found. However, there are a variety of procedures that can be used to identify the number of final factors or dimensions: Kaiser's criterion, Cattle's Scree test and Duntemann's variance explain criteria. Table 34 shows those factors that presented an eigenvalue equal or superior than zero. Eigenvalues are also called *characteristic roots*. The eigenvalue for a given factor measures the variance in all the variables accounted for by that factor. If a factor has a low eigenvalue, then it is contributing little to the explanation of variances in the variables and may be ignored as redundant compared to more important factors. The second column of the table shows the eigenvalue, i.e. the variance of factors that were successively extracted. In the third column, these values are expressed as a percentage of the total variance. As it can be seen, factor 1 accounts for 37% of the variance, factor 2 for 17%, and so on. As expected, the sum of the eigenvalues is equal to the number of variables. The fourth column contains the cumulative variance extracted. Only factors with eigenvalues greater than 1 were retained. In essence,

this is like saying that unless a factor extracts at least as much as the equivalent of one original variable, it will be excluded; such a criterion was proposed by Kaiser (1960) and is probably the most widely used. Following Kaiser's criterion we would retain the first seven factors.

Table 33: Santiago Metropolitan Area: final communalities of the 46 selected variables (in %)

1	Foreign population living in a rented house	0,697
2	Foreign population living in houses with four or six rooms	0,770
3	Foreign population living in houses with more than six rooms	0,845
4	Foreign population living in houses with two households	0,500
5	Foreign population living in houses with three households	0,509
6	Foreign households with car	0,942
7	Foreign households with pick up trucks	0,830
8	Foreign households with freezer	0,740
9	Foreign households with stereo	0,739
10	Foreign households with dishwasher	0,848
11	Foreign households with microwave	0,902
12	Foreign households with telephone	0,857
13	Foreign households with cell phone	0,740
14	Foreign households with Video Cassette Recorder (VCR)	0,848
15	Foreign households with TV cable/satellite	0,890
16	Foreign households with computers	0,937
17	Foreign households with internet connection	0,958
18	Foreigners head of households	0,732
19	Foreigners without marital status	0,633
20	Foreigner's offspring of the head household	0,780
21	Foreigners working in the live-in domestic service	0,911
22	Foreigners aged between 6 and 14	0,783
23	Women foreigners aged between 25 and 40	0,835
24	Foreigners older than age 65	0,894
25	Foreigners that arrived to the country between 1950 y 1959	0,885
26	Foreigners \geq age 5 living in the same commune as in 1997	0,759
27	Foreigners \geq age 5 that were living in other country in 1997	0,791
28	Foreigners \geq age 18 with high school or technical education	0,706
29	Foreigners \geq age 18 with university education	0,920
30	Foreigners \geq age 15 wage earning employees	0,693
31	Foreigners \geq age 15 working in the domestic service	0,922
32	Foreigners \geq age 15 working as physical, math and engineering professionals	0,660
33	Foreigners \geq age 15 working as life science and health professionals	0,883
34	Foreigners \geq age 15 working as teaching professionals	0,759
35	Foreigners \geq age 15 working as other professionals scientific and intellectuals	0,613
36	Foreigners \geq age 15 working as non qualified workers in sales and services	0,850
37	Foreigners \geq age 15 working in the education sector	0,740
38	Foreigners \geq age 15 working in human health and social work activities	0,862
39	Foreign households with domestic employees	0,908
40	Foreigners born in Argentina	0,855
41	Foreigners born in the United States	0,624
42	Foreigners born in Peru	0,875
43	Foreigners born in Germany	0,714
44	Foreigners born in Italy	0,868
45	Foreigners \geq age 15 working or studying in the same commune they live	0,942
46	Foreigners \geq age 15 working or studying in a different commune they live	0,945

Table 34: Santiago Metropolitan Area: factor matrix without rotation

Factor	Initial Eigenvalues		
	Total	% of Variance	Cumulative %
1	17,03	37.02	37.02
2	8,00	17.40	54.42
3	4,10	8.93	63.36
4	3,36	7.32	70.68
5	1,94	4.33	75.01
6	1,29	2.81	77.82
7	1,05	2.0	80.13
8	0,87	1.9	82.02
9	0,77	1.7	83.69
10	0,67	1.7	85.17
11	0,65	1.2	86.59
12	0,52	1.5	87.74
13	0,48	1.5	88.79
14	0,47	1.3	89.82
15	0,41	0.9	90.72
16	0,38	0.83	91.55

Factor analysis gives the option to rotate the matrix. Rotation serves to make the output more understandable and is usually necessary to facilitate the interpretation of factors. While the sum of eigenvalues is not affected by rotation, it will alter the eigenvalues (and the percent of variance explained) of particular factors and will change the factor loadings. Since alternative rotations may explain the same variance, i.e., have the same total eigenvalue, but have different factor loadings, different meanings may be ascribed to the factors depending on the rotation, especially given that factor loadings are used to intuit the meaning of factors.

For this investigation, an orthogonal solution, called “*varimax*”, was selected that allows determination of independent (uncorrelated) factors. Varimax is an orthogonal rotation of the axes to maximize the variance of the squared loadings of a factor (column) on all the variables (rows) in a factor matrix and has the effect of differentiating the original variables by extracted factor. Varimax method attempts to minimize the number of variables that have high loadings on each factor. This is the most common orthogonal rotation option. The new eigenvalues are shown in Table 35. The number of factors with eigenvalues greater than one was also 7 as for the un-rotated matrix, but as mentioned earlier, the rotation alters the eigenvalues and the percentage of the explained variance. Factor 1 accounts for 15% percent of the variance, factor 2 for 6%, factor 3 for 4.8%, factor 4 for 3.5%, factor 5 for 2.4% and so on.

Table 35: Santiago Metropolitan Area: factor matrix with varimax rotation

Factor	Initial Eigenvalues		
	Total	% of Variance	Cumulative %
1	15,011	32.63	32.63
2	6,775	14.72	47.36
3	4,862	10.57	57.93
4	3,591	7.80	65.73
5	2,421	5.26	71.00
6	2,130	4.63	75.63
7	2,070	4.50	80.13

Thus far, factorial analysis is treated as a data reduction method, that is, as a method for reducing the number of original variables. The question then is how many factors do we want to extract? Note that as consecutive factors are extracted, they account for less and less variability. The decision of when to stop extracting factors, basically, depends on when there is only very little "random" variability remaining. The nature of this decision is arbitrary; however, various guidelines have been developed (Brislin et. al 1973).

A general but not a very useful answer to this question is that a sufficient number of factors should be maintained so as to retain information and manage, simultaneously, the greatest descriptive depth. It is always better to choose over-factoring (too many factors) over under-factoring (too few factors). Over-factoring is likely to lead to a solution where the major factors are well estimated by the obtained loadings but where there are also additional poorly defined factors (with few, if any, variables loading well on them). Under-factoring is likely to lead to factors that are poorly estimated, that is to say, poor correspondence between the structure of the true factors and that of the estimated factors, a more serious problem.

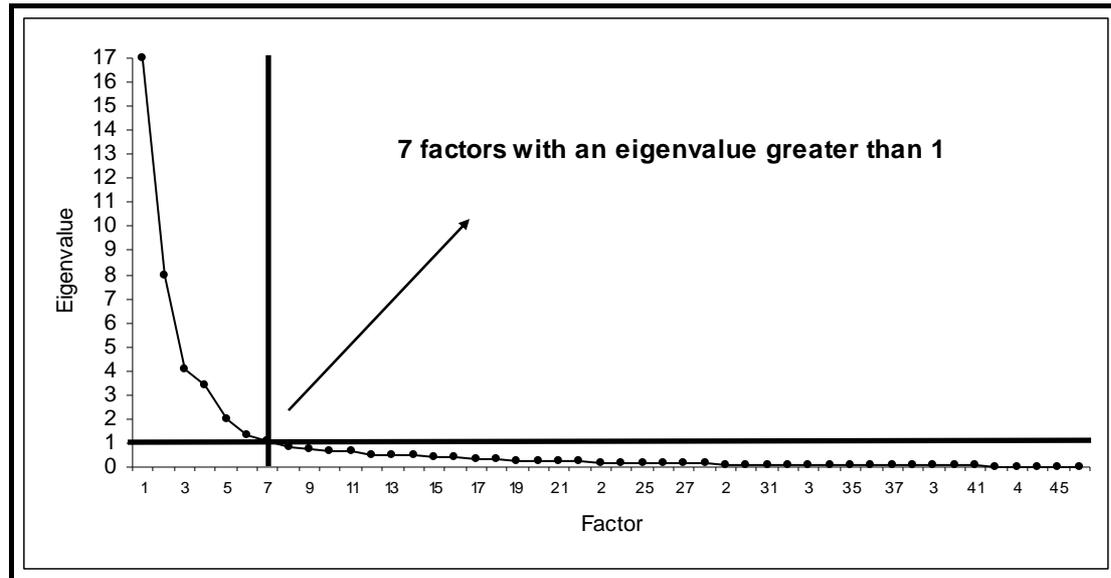
Diverse authors have suggested rules to decide what constitutes a useful factor; one of the more popular and intuitively more satisfactory rules of decision is that offered by Kaiser (1960). He argues that every variable of the analysis has a variance of 1.0, so they should be supported only by those factors that consider at least the maximum of variance for one variable. Cattell (1979) criticizes Kaiser because his criteria reduce the factors in small studies (less than 20 variables) and increase them in the larger studies (more than 50 variables). He proposed the "scree test" (Figure 5.1). This involves plotting each of the eigenvalues of the factor and inspecting the plot to find a point at which the shape of the curve changes direction and becomes horizontal.

Cattell recommends retaining all factors above the elbow, or break in the plot, as these factors contribute the most to the explanation of the variance in the data set. This rule is sometimes criticised for being amenable to researcher-controlled "fudging", (Dunteman 1989). Indeed, picking the "elbow" can be subjective because the curve has multiple elbows or is a smooth curve. As Figure 5.1 shows, Cattle's solution it is not useful to make a decision about the number of factors that can be selected for the SMA; after the 7th factor, the curve is rather smooth. Furthermore, Dunteman (1989) argues that researchers may be tempted to set the cut-off at the number of factors desired by their research agenda. In most cases, the scree criterion tends to yield more factors than the Kaiser criterion. In the present case, both approaches lead to the same number of factors.

As the main objective of the factorial analysis is to reduce the number of variables to composite factors, some researchers simply use the rule of keeping enough factors to account for 90% (sometimes 80%) of the accumulative variance. Where the researcher's goal emphasizes parsimony (explaining variance with as few factors as possible), the criterion could be as low as 50%, (Dunteman, 1989).

Following this last criteria for determining the number of factors, the decision was made to work with the number of factors that altogether explain ~70% of the common variance of the input. The first five factors of the rotated loading matrix (Table 35) explain 71% of the variance and represent the final variable selection. Thus, the orthogonal-rotated matrix successfully enabled the reduction of 46 original variables in to 5 composite factors.

Figure 16: Santiago Metropolitan Area: scree plot solution (without rotation)



Source: elaborate by the author

5.1.4 Factor interpretation

Once the numbers of factors have been determined, the next step is to interpret them. Table 36 contains the rotated factor matrix showing the rotated factor loadings, or the correlations between the variable and the factor loadings. Because these are correlations, the values range from -1 to +1. Now we have a highly interpretable solution that represents almost 70% of the data.

The next step is to name the factors. This is a crucial stage of the analysis as the interpretation of a factor's meaning, i.e., rendering the composite variables, depends on the correlations that the original variables present. These correlations are specified in the loading matrix (Table 36) and, according to which variables present the highest correlations in each factor, can be named. Naming the factors can be difficult due to the fact that multiple attributes can be highly correlated with no apparent reason. Thus, the process is subjective based on the inspection of the loadings and the personal experience. Nevertheless, there are a few rules suggested by methodologist⁸⁴: be brief and communicate the nature of the underlying construct.

Given that the factor names already existing in the literature (chapter 2.3.6) are associated more with studies involving the distribution of the native population in urban areas, the goal of this study is not to validate a theoretical structure. In this study the names try to communicate the conceptual structure behind the patterns and are chosen according to the positive loading. Therefore, in some cases they have a neutral status, e.g., Factor 1: socioeconomic status and Factor 5: daily intra-metropolitan mobility; while in other cases, they show a clear set of conditions, e.g., Factor 2: recent immigrants living alone and being employed, Factor 3: low skill immigrants especially employed in households, and Factor 5: early immigration.

⁸⁴ www.socialresearchmethods.net

Table 36: Santiago Metropolitan Area: rotated factorial loading matrix

VARIABLES	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3	Factor 4	Factor 5
Foreign households with car	0,92	-0,06	0,18	0,15	0,07
Foreign household with internet connection	0,92	0,10	0,22	0,06	0,09
Foreign households with computers	0,91	0,04	0,12	0,14	0,09
Foreign households with microwave	0,90	-0,03	0,12	0,23	0,06
Foreign households with T.V cable/satellite	0,88	0,15	0,17	0,17	0,07
Foreign households with Video Cassette Recorder (VCR)	0,85	-0,01	0,25	-0,10	-0,06
Foreign households with telephone	0,82	-0,27	-0,07	0,13	-0,07
Foreigners age ≥ 18 with university education	0,82	0,26	-0,05	0,20	0,08
Foreign households with stereo	0,81	-0,09	0,09	-0,14	-0,09
Foreign households with freezer	0,80	0,01	0,25	-0,02	0,19
Foreign households with dishwasher	0,76	0,05	0,48	-0,02	0,17
Foreign households with domestic employees	0,76	0,01	0,56	0,01	0,14
Foreign households with pick up trucks	0,75	-0,08	0,37	0,25	0,21
Foreigners born in Germany	0,75	0,12	0,02	0,09	0,02
Foreigners born in USA	0,74	-0,03	0,18	-0,01	0,17
Foreign households with cell phone	0,73	0,37	0,14	0,03	0,08
Foreigners age ≥ 18 with high school or technical education	-0,73	-0,08	0,05	-0,27	-0,01
Foreigners age ≥ 15 working as physical and math professionals	0,71	0,23	-0,12	0,05	0,06
Foreigners age ≥ 15 working as other professionals	0,65	0,05	-0,03	0,05	0,04
Foreign population living in houses with three households	-0,59	0,13	0,30	-0,03	0,01
Foreign population living in houses with two households	-0,51	-0,11	0,22	-0,07	-0,19
Women foreigners aged between 25 and 40	0,25	0,85	0,15	-0,17	0,06
Foreigners head of households	0,15	0,82	-0,07	0,02	0,02
Foreign population living in a rented house	-0,18	0,78	0,06	-0,09	-0,15
Foreigners age ≥ 5 living in other country in 1997	-0,23	0,78	0,29	-0,17	0,12
Foreigners age ≥ 5 living in the same commune as in 1997	0,11	-0,77	-0,18	0,27	-0,13
Foreigner's offspring of the head household	-0,01	-0,76	-0,03	-0,36	-0,21
Foreigners born in Argentina	-0,37	-0,75	-0,22	-0,29	-0,02
Foreigners aged between 6 and 14	-0,30	-0,72	-0,05	-0,31	-0,21
Foreigners born in Peru	-0,43	0,71	0,36	-0,07	-0,07
Foreigners age ≥ 15 wage earning employees	0,13	0,70	0,31	-0,23	-0,01
Foreigners age ≥ 15 working in the domestic service	0,31	0,28	0,85	-0,04	-0,09
Foreigners working in the live - in domestic service	0,27	0,32	0,83	-0,05	-0,10
Foreigners age ≥ 15 working as non qualified workers	0,08	0,26	0,83	-0,09	-0,13
Foreign population living in houses with four or six rooms	-0,08	-0,27	-0,73	0,03	-0,35
Foreign population living in houses with more than six rooms	0,54	0,06	0,67	0,04	0,28
Foreigners born in Italy	0,11	-0,12	0,01	0,91	0,09
Foreigners that arrived to the country between 1950-1959	0,26	-0,09	-0,03	0,90	0,06
Foreigners older than age 65	0,23	-0,07	-0,12	0,88	0,04
Foreigners without marital status	-0,47	0,28	-0,03	0,51	-0,83
Foreigners age ≥ 15 working or studying in a different commune	-0,19	-0,13	-0,03	-0,08	-0,94
Foreigners age ≥ 15 working or studying in the same commune	0,22	0,12	0,04	0,09	0,93
Foreigners age ≥ 15 working in the education sector	0,40	-0,04	-0,14	0,00	0,01
Foreigners age ≥ 15 working as teaching professionals	0,45	0,06	-0,12	0,07	0,05
Foreigners age ≥ 15 working as health professionals	0,32	0,08	-0,23	0,02	-0,06
Foreigners age ≥ 15 working in health and social activities	0,25	0,00	-0,31	-0,04	-0,07

Source: elaborate by the author

The factors identified in this study can be explained and described in the following way:

Factor 1: Socioeconomic status

Considering the differences in indicators, units of analyses, and the type of methodologies used in the diverse studies of ecology factorials, the most prominent aspect of this first socioeconomic factor is the general correspondence with the international results (Table 7). As described in chapter 2.3.6, most of the big cities in the world, considering total residents and not only immigrants, appear to reflect no more than three aspects of internal social differentiation – socioeconomic, ethnic and familism. As Timms (1976) argues, a factor interpreted as socioeconomic status or social range gives the impression of being universal and shows, in general, a strong correlation with variables referring to the proportion of the workforce classified as professional or managerial, select manual workers, highly educated people with incomes superior to the average and occupying housing of a quality superior to the average.

In the present case, this factor presents the high variable loadings in clear indicators of socioeconomic status (Table 36). This is especially apparent for those indicators associated with household electronic equipment, including internet connectivity (0.92), personal computer (0.91), cable/satellite TV (0.88), video-cassette recorder (0.85), telephone (0.82), stereo (0.81), and cell phone (0.73). Additionally, domestic appliances, e.g., microwave (0.90), freezer (0.80) and dishwasher (0.76), reveal high loadings in this factor. Furthermore, variables connected with tenancy of vehicles like households with car (0.92) and households with pick-up truck (0.75) have high weightings. Variables associated with education level, including immigrants over 18 with university education (0.82), immigrants working as physical, mathematics and engineering professionals (0.71), and immigrants working as other professionals (0.65) also stand out. Finally, highly weighted variables such as households with domestic employees (0.76), population born in Germany (0.75), and population born in the U.S (0.74) are also present.

Reciprocally, the low scores in this factor are reached in variables like immigrants with high school or technical education (-0.73), and those related with housing overcrowding: population living in houses with three (-0.59) or two households (-0.57). Following Timms (1976), the low values in a socioeconomic factor are associated with variables related to select professionals, manual workers, low levels of education and less than average housing quality.

Factor 2: Recent immigrants living alone and being employed

As described earlier, most of the recent Latin-American immigrant workers in the SMA arriving after the 1990s intend to work a few years and then return to their respective countries of origin. Such cases were especially prevalent with Peruvian and Ecuadorian women. Most live alone or with cohabitants in rented houses without their families. Due to these considerations, the factor was named in accordance with the high main positive loadings. Some of these characteristics are described by factor 2. The variables with positive values are: women aged between 25 and 40 (0.85); head of households (0.82); living in rented houses (0.78); living in another country in 1997 (0.78); born in Peru (0.71); and wage-earning employees (0.70). Reciprocally, the negative loadings in the factor are defined specifically for: populations living in the same commune in 1997 (-0.77); foreigner's offspring of the head of household (-0.76), immigrants born in Argentina (-0.75) and foreigners' aged between 6 and

14 (-0.72). This factor can be associated, in certain form, to the “*familism*” factor commonly obtained in studies of factorial ecology (Table 7).

Familism is characterized by the decisive influence of the family characteristics more than those referring to profession or consumption. Generally, the variables are related to the number of individuals per family, the proportion of single women, or those working out of the home, the number of children, and the proportion of owners or renters.

Factor 3: Low skill immigrants, especially employed in households

This third factor is characterized by high positive loadings on the presence of immigrants working in the domestic service (0.85), foreigners working as live-in domestic service (0.83), immigrants working as non-qualified workers (0.83)⁸⁵, and populations living in houses with more than six rooms (0.67). The most probable explanation of this last variable is related with big houses where they work as live-in domestic employees, as well with residential or “*conventillos*”⁸⁶ located in central areas of the city. Frequently, low-income immigrants rent a room or share a room with other immigrants to save money. Only one variable presents a negative value in this factor: foreign populations living in houses with four to six rooms. As with factor 2, the name reflects the main positive loadings.

Factor 4: Early Immigration

The fourth selected factor is related to the time of arrival of the immigrants. It shows positive high loadings in variables such as: foreigners arriving between 1950 and 1959 (0.90), immigrants older than age 65 (0.88), populations born in Italy (0.91), and foreigners without marital status (0.51). As the rotated factorial matrix does not show negative loadings, the factor was named with the “early” adjective.

Factor 5: Daily intra-metropolitan mobility

The last factor refers to the intra-metropolitan mobility of the immigrants. The variables involved are linked to a particular question of the census related to the commune in which one works or studies? The two variables allowing interpretation of this factor were: foreigners older than 15 working or studying in the same commune as they live (0.93), and foreigners older than 15 working or studying in a commune different than where they live (-0.94).

During the naming process of the factors, it could be noted that it was getting more difficult due to the progressively decreasing number of variables involved in the characterization, i.e., 21 in the first, 10 in the second, 5 in the third, 4 in the fourth, and 2 in the fifth. Once the factors were named, the challenge was then analysing their spatial distribution in the SMA. This was possible using the “scorer matrix” or “final matrix”, the final stage of the factor analysis. This final matrix provides the weight of the five factors in each of the 343 districts that shape the SMA.

⁸⁵ Included in this category are: street vendors such as shoe shiners and other street service elementary occupations, domestic and related helpers, cleaners and launderers, building caretakers, window and related cleaners, messengers, porters, doorkeepers and related workers, garbage collectors and related labourers.

⁸⁶ Housing of collective character, aligned around a common space, lacking in the hygienic services like drinkable water and sewer (Hidalgo et al. 2005).

5.1.5 Spatial patterns

Based on the above results the following spatial patterns concerning the immigrants in the SMA can be identified:

Factor 1: Socioeconomic status

In order to create the spatial representation of the results, the weights reached by the socio-economic factor were distributed following the intervals shown in Table 37.

Table 37: Intervals for Factor 1

Interval	Classification	Frequency	%
2.0 – 3.2	Very high	26	7.6
1.1 – 1.9	High	23	6.7
0.0 – 1.0	Medium	94	27.4
0.7 – 0.1	Low	119	34.7
1.7 – 0.8	Very Low	81	23.6
Total districts		343	100.0

The spatial distribution of the immigrants' socioeconomic statuses in the SMA shows a strong concentration pattern in the case of those foreigners who present high or very high socioeconomic conditions (Figure 17). Table 37 shows that they are found in only about 14% of the metropolitan districts.

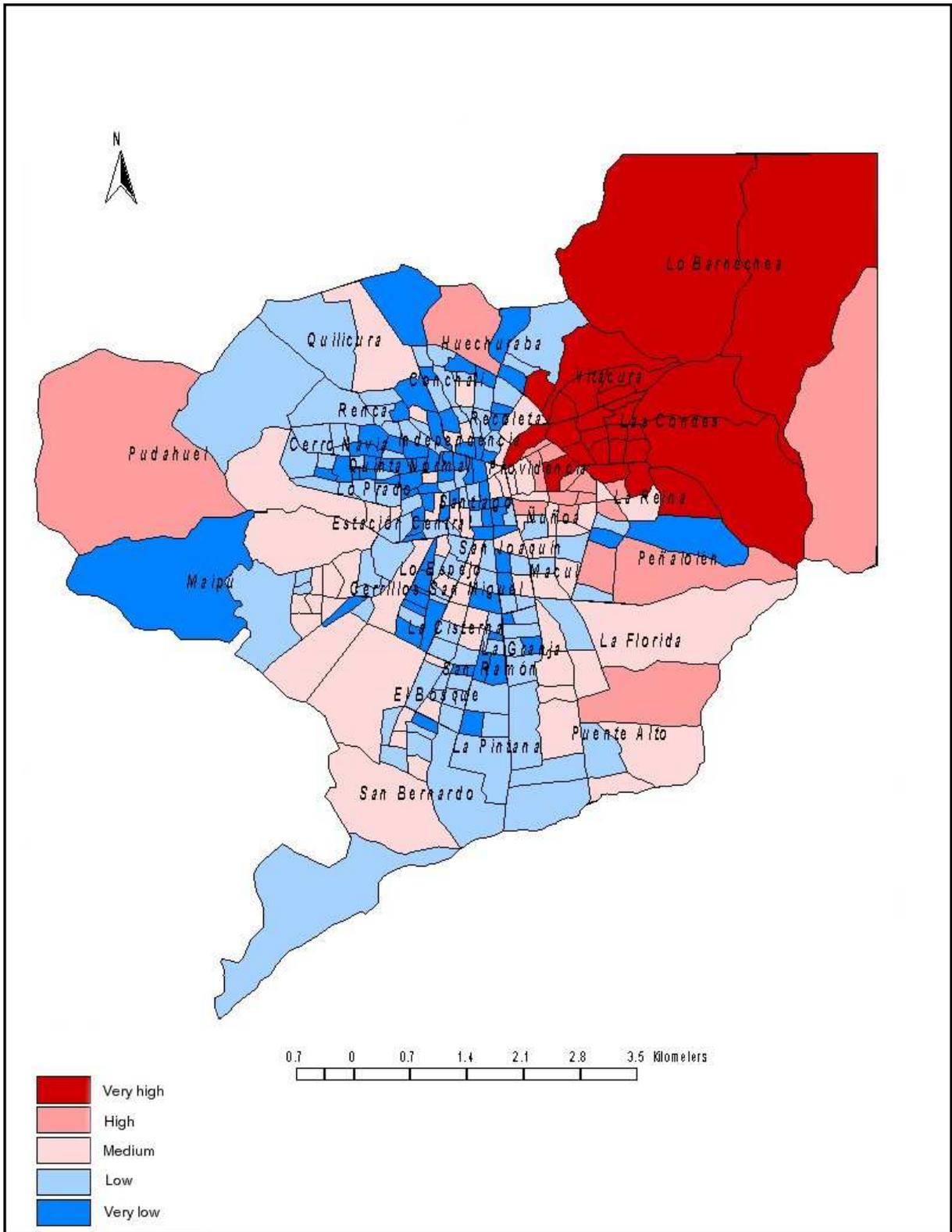
In particular, immigrants with very high socioeconomic status are distributed in a “wedge” that is projected from the commune of Providencia towards the northeast sector of the city, including all the districts of Vitacura and Las Condes municipalities. In this area live mainly Germans and U.S immigrants. Households have a high endowment of electronic equipment and domestic appliances. Additionally, most of the immigrants have a car and domestic employees, as well as high education levels and, generally, professional occupations.

This distribution confirms the results obtained through the index of segregation (chapter 4.6), where the European groups, principally German and Spanish, present a pattern of major segregation with the Latin Americans. This is a clear indication of a voluntary segregation process that follows the residential location of the Chilean high socioeconomic class.

To the northeast, the presence of the very high status is projected towards one district in the commune of Huechuraba. This sector concentrates a recent location of the Santiago metropolitan elite. Huechuraba cannot be characterized as a rich commune given that poor populations dominate the communal space in the north. However, its particular location near the Andes, the recent construction of one of the most advanced technological parks, and the development of new cultural centres and private schools in the surrounding areas are among the main factors of attraction. Nevertheless, the elite live in gated communities with high security systems, in practice, a clear barrier to non-residents.

To the southeast, a projection of the very high status to select districts in the commune of La Reina exists. These districts have a privileged view over the city and most of the properties are on lots exceeding 1000 square meters in area.

Figure 17: Santiago Metropolitan Area - Factor 1: Socioeconomic status



Source: elaborate by the author based on INE 2002

The high socioeconomic pattern presents an interesting spatial discontinuity that involves isolated sectors of different communes: Pudahuel, Puente Alto, Peñalolén, Huechuraba, and Lo Barnechea. In the first two communes Chilean population of high socioeconomic status are not represented, nevertheless, these districts of peripheral emplacement have experienced a suburbanization process in the latter years. Gated communities of high architectural quality have been constructed that attract high-income populations searching for better environmental conditions.

Aside from this sectoral distribution, it is possible to recognize a spatial continuity in the high socioeconomic statuses in Providencia, Ñuñoa, La Reina and Peñalolén communes. Once more, it is verified that immigrants of the highest socioeconomic status are distributed following the Chilean population preferences. In the medium socioeconomic status, the sectoral structure is consolidated, occupying districts in communes with peripheral location, e.g., La Florida, Puente Alto, Maipú, Pudahuel and Quilicura, as well as central locations, e.g., Santiago, Conchalí, Recoleta, San Miguel, Ñuñoa and Providencia among others.

Among immigrants who live in those districts presenting negative factor loadings (low and very low status) foreigners with high school education or technical studies prevail and, especially, those who live in overcrowded conditions. It is important to note that the lowest socioeconomic dimension is associated more with the immigrants' living conditions rather than the traditional educational level. Accordingly, the results suggest that the most vulnerable groups are not those with the lowest education profile. These groups are concentrated in the central sectors of the city (commune of Santiago) towards the north and the south with near-spatial continuity. In communes like Quinta Normal, Normal, Cerro Navia, Lo Prado, La Granja and La Pintana, the entirety of the immigrant population presents a low or a very low socioeconomic status.

More than 50% of the city districts are inhabited by immigrants who present a low or very low socioeconomic status (Table 37). It is important to emphasize that 23 (44.8%) of the 29 districts that shape the commune of Santiago are classified with a low or very low status - an observation that exemplifies the typical deterioration of the metropolitan Latin-American central spaces.

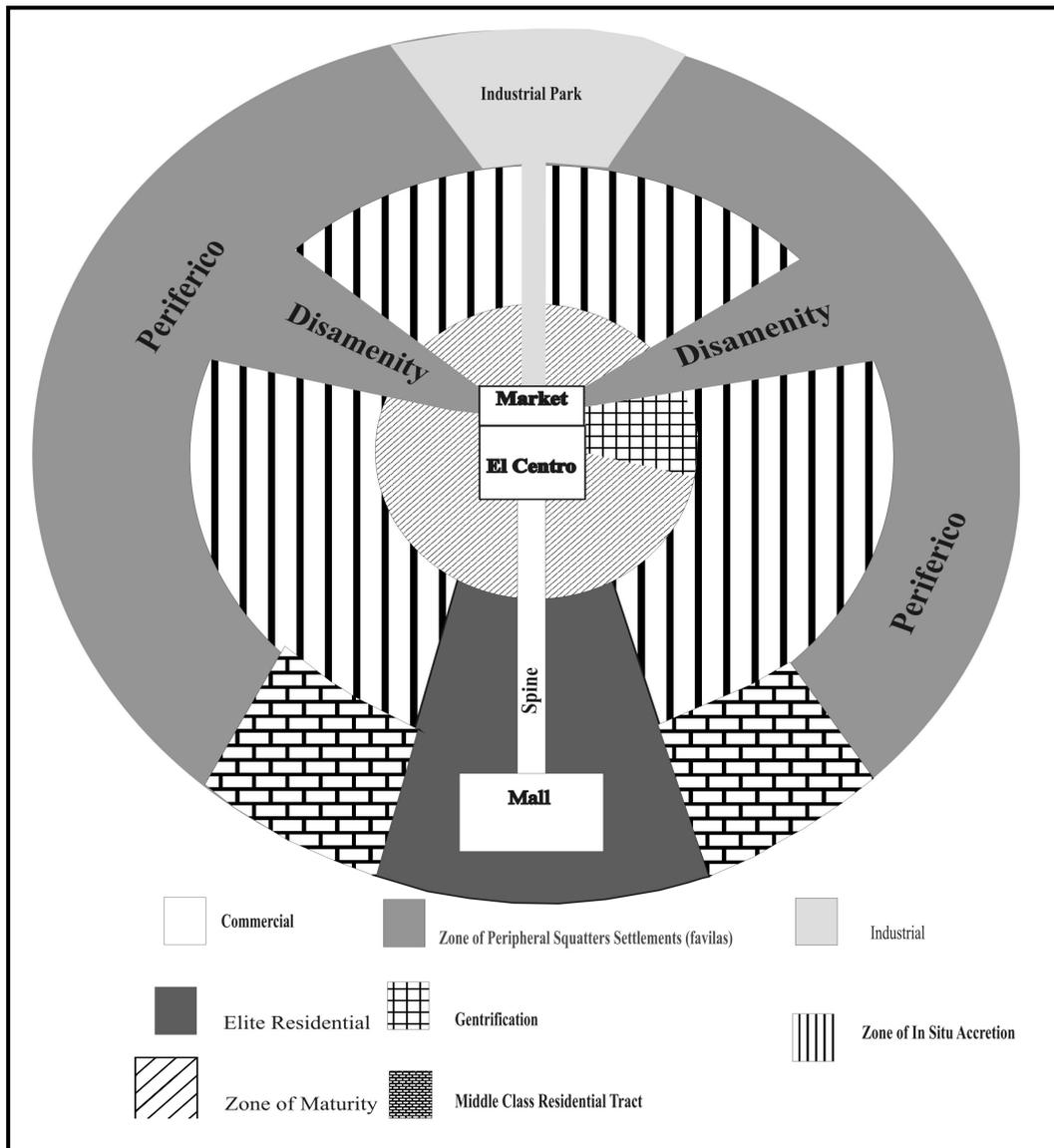
In conclusion, the socioeconomic factor conforms spatially to the sectoral structure suggested by Berry and Kasarda (1977). It is demonstrated that, in general, the spatial distribution of the socioeconomic status of the immigrants tends to be coincidental with the socioeconomic division of the native population. International migrants living in the SMA like the urban elite of the principal Latin-American cities live near the "commercial spine" of the city constituted by the main street axis Providencia - Apoquindo - Las Condes. Following Ford (1996), the foreign elite move away from the centre in peripheral direction in the form of a reversed wedge (Figure 18).

The socioeconomic lower status population, the only with negative values, are concentrated, preferentially, in the central sectors of the city. This distribution, principally in the cases of Santiago and Quinta Normal communes, is not coincidental with the place of residence of the lowest native social class. The explanatory factor is the overwhelming weight that the overcrowding variables reached in this factor. Many of the larger, older homes in these communes rent rooms to immigrants - a way of living that is not very popular among the Chilean population.

Factor 2: Recent migrants living alone and being employed

The spatial expression of the highest values reached by factor 2 is clearly central, primarily focused in the northern areas of the Santiago commune and near districts of Estación Central and Independencia municipalities (Figure 19). These 22 districts are inhabited by those immigrants living in another country in 1997, women aged between 25 and 40, born in Peru, wage-earning employees, head of households, and living in rented houses.

Figure 18: Model of the Latin American city structure



Source: Ford 1996

These central sectors of the city have suffered, during the last decades a constant process of deterioration and population's loss. This phenomenon is part of the metropolitan dynamic and responds to a world wide Latin American pattern outlined by different authors.

For instance, Gormsen (1991) argues that in cities with fast growth in their expanding process towards the periphery experiment a sharp deterioration in their older central areas losing

population progressively. The same author points out that in the central areas of the big Latin-American metropolises the number of residents is almost zero existing old buildings with a great number of poor families that inhabited deteriorated neighbourhoods characterized by seriously architectural damaged, with insufficient sanity, poorly ventilated rooms, a high level of noise, contamination of the air and non existence of open spaces in the surrounding area. The process of renting rooms at low cost and for short periods to immigrants intensifies the process of deterioration.

Table 38: Intervals for Factor 2

Interval	Classification	Frequency	%
2.0 – 2.7	Very high	22	6.5
1.1 – 1.9	High	29	8.5
0.0 – 1.0	Medium	110	32.1
0.7 – 0.1	Low	111	32.3
2.3 – 0.8	Very Low	71	20.6
Total districts		343	100.0

Some of the big houses that remain in these sectors were some years ago the most elegant of the city and at present they have been remodelled, being rented by rooms, or demolished to construct buildings of departments. Furthermore the characteristics of the housings turn out to be the most suitable, in terms of price, for the recent immigrants.

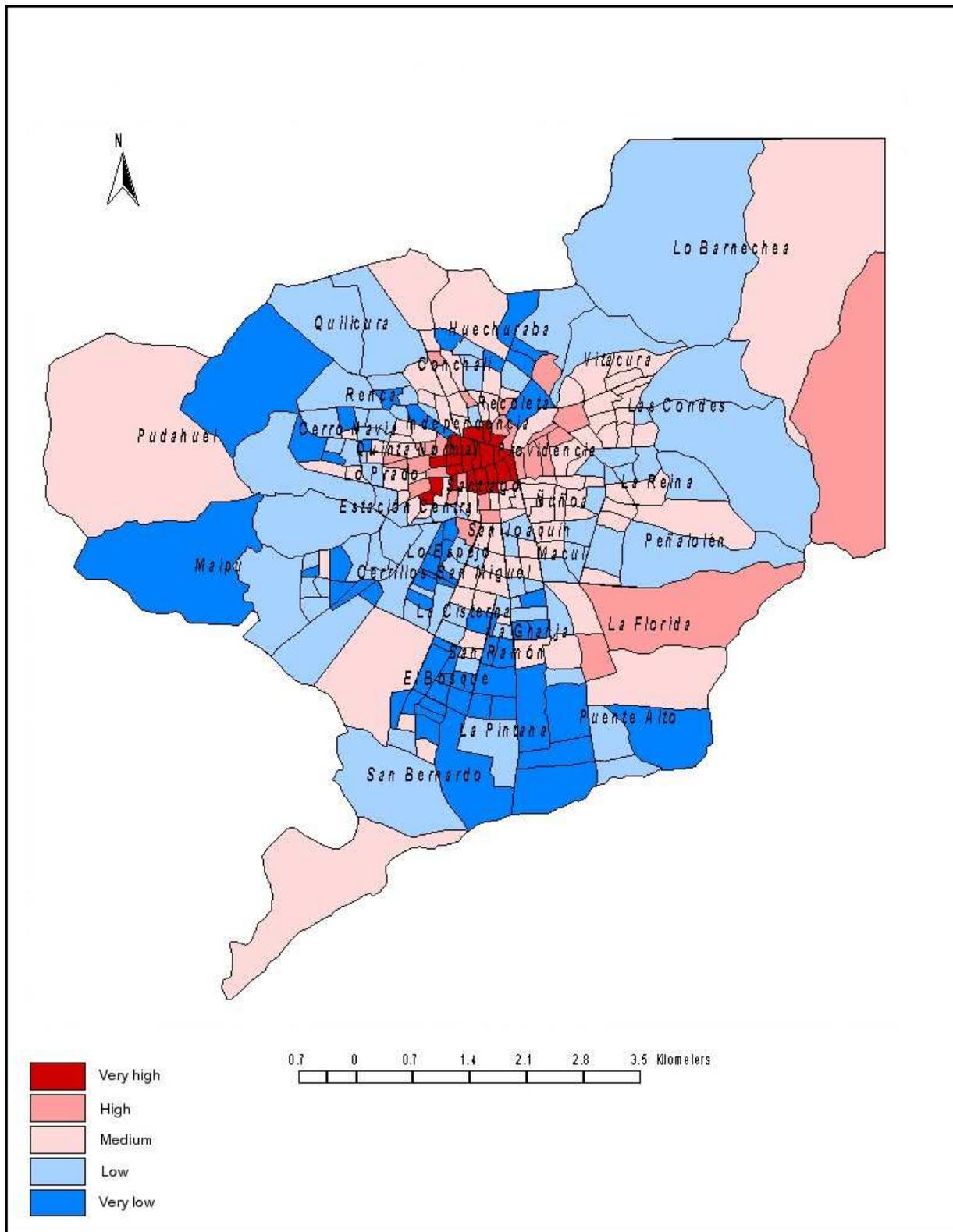
The high values in this factor tend to increase the central ring, adding districts located in the communes of Providencia, Recoleta, Lo Prado y San Joaquín. Isolated districts are founded in Lo Barnechea, Huechuraba, La Florida y San Joaquín. The high values reached in Providencia and the medium weights that present some districts of rich communes like Vitacura, Las Condes and La Reina allow presuming that among immigrants who present the described characteristics (recent arrival, young women, Peruvians, renting houses and wage earning employees) exist diverse socioeconomic levels.

The negative loadings associated to the medium low and low classifications are located in the metropolitan periphery, principally in the south of the city. In other words in 52.9% of the SMA districts live immigrants that were residing in the same commune in 1997, born in Argentina and with ages between 6 and 14.

Therefore these variables that characterize this factor have certain similarities with those that define the familism dimension described by Berry and Kasarda (1977). In the city centre live immigrants without children, especially women from Peru who arrived after 1997 while in the periphery are located those immigrants who live with their families.

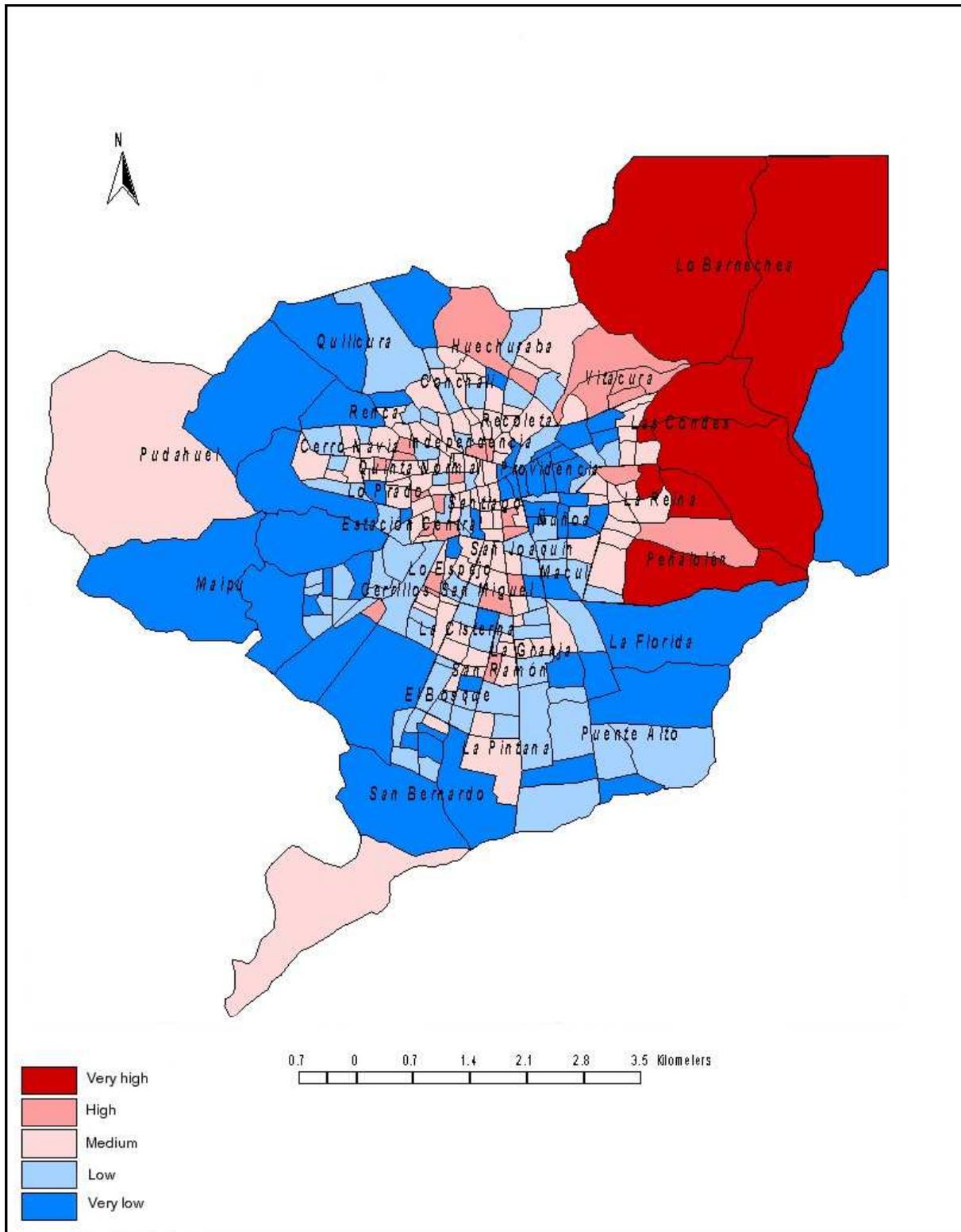
In summary the resultant pattern shows a concentric - sectoral structure. In the interior city ring are located the highest values whereas in the rest of the city the other categories are distributed in sectoral distribution.

Figure 19: Santiago Metropolitan Area - Factor 2: Recent migrants living alone and being employed



Source: elaborate by the author based on INE 2002

Figure 20: Santiago Metropolitan Area - Factor 3: Low skilled immigrants, especially employed in households



Source: elaborate by the author based on INE 2002

Factor 3: Low skill immigrants, especially employed in households

Factor 3 is characterized by its positive loadings regarding the presence of immigrants working in the domestic service, especially, live-in domestics, working as non-qualified workers⁸⁷, and living in houses with more than six rooms. This last variable can be related with the houses where they work as live-in domestic employees or the “*conventillos*” where they might live in central areas of the city.

As described earlier, despite the significant number of immigrants working in elementary occupations, mainly women, the very high values of this factor are concentrated in only 8 districts in the northeast area of the SMA where the Chilean elite is dominant. The high values are also located in the eastern area of the city, but there are some isolated districts in the central areas as well. The rest of the positive values are distributed in random sectoral way (Figure 20).

The single variable “foreign population living in houses with four or six rooms” describes those districts presenting negative loadings in this factor, i.e., “low” and “very low”. Consequently, further interpretation is difficult.

In synthesis, the resultant pattern shows a concentric sectoral structure. The higher values are located in the northeast area of the city, while the lower are distributed preferentially in the periphery.

Table 39: Intervals for Factor 3

Interval	Classification	Frequency	%
2.0 – 4.7	Very high	8	2.3
1.0 – 1.8	High	28	8.2
0.0 – 0.9	Medium	120	35.0
-0.7 – -0.1	Low	108	31.5
-2.5 – -0.8	Very Low	79	23.0
Total districts		343	100.0

Factor 4: Early immigration

Unlike the first three analyzed factors, factor 4 was classified under 3 ranges due to the less-significant amplitude of the data (Table 40). The fourth factor is characterized only by positive loadings: foreigners arriving between 1950 and 1959, older than age 65, and born in Italy.

⁸⁷ This category includes: street vendors and related workers like shoe cleaning and other street services' elementary occupations; domestic and related helpers, cleaners and launderers; building caretakers, window and related cleaners; messengers, porters, doorkeepers and related workers; garbage collectors and related labourers.

Table 40: Intervals for Factor 4

Interval	Classification	Frequency	%
0.7 – 1.8	High	33	9.6
0.0 – 0.6	Medium	122	35.6
1.1 – 1.0	Low	188	54.8
Total districts		343	100.0

The spatial distribution of the highest values is sectoral, positioned principally in communes of high and medium socioeconomic status as La Reina, Las Condes and Ñuñoa. Nevertheless, towards the south, these immigrants are located in communes of lower social status like San Joaquín, Lo Espejo, Macul, San Miguel and La Cisterna (Figure 21).

Interestingly, this factor is spatially distributed without distinction of socioeconomic status. Moreover, Figure 21 shows that some immigrants live in peripheral districts where rural characteristics still exist.

Factor 5: Daily intra - metropolitan mobility

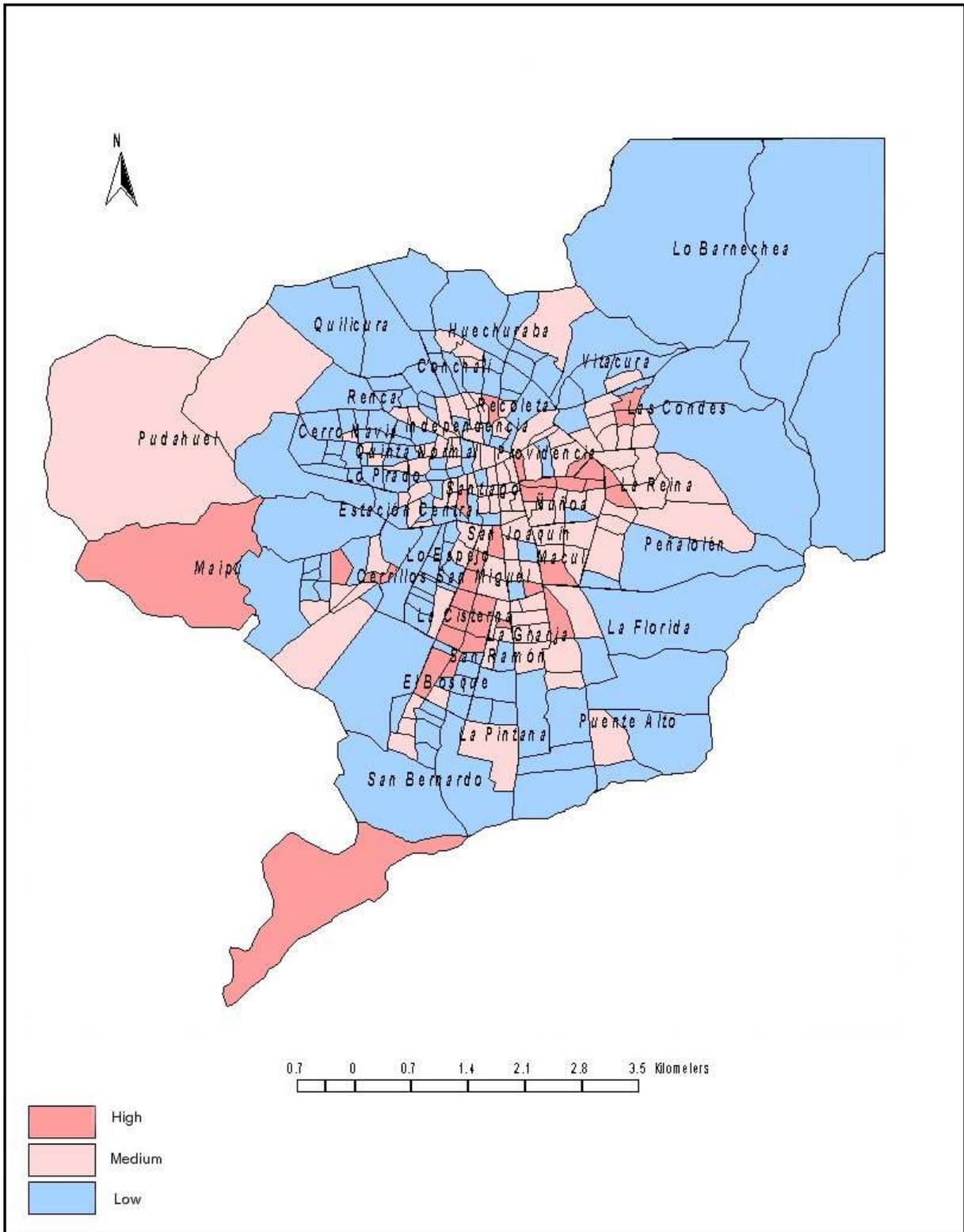
The factorial matrix reveals that factor 5 presents the highest positive and negative loadings in variables associated with intra-urban mobility of migrants. The positive loading is given by the variable: foreigners working or studying in the same commune where they live and the negative one is the opposite: foreigners working or studying in a different commune than that which they live.

Table 41: Intervals for Factor 5

Interval	Classification	Frequency	%
0.8 – 2.6	Very high	69	20.2
0.1 – 0.7	High	117	34.1
0.9 – 0.0	Medium	112	32.6
1.9 – 1.0	Low	33	9.6
4.7 – 2.0	Very low	12	3.5
Total districts		343	100

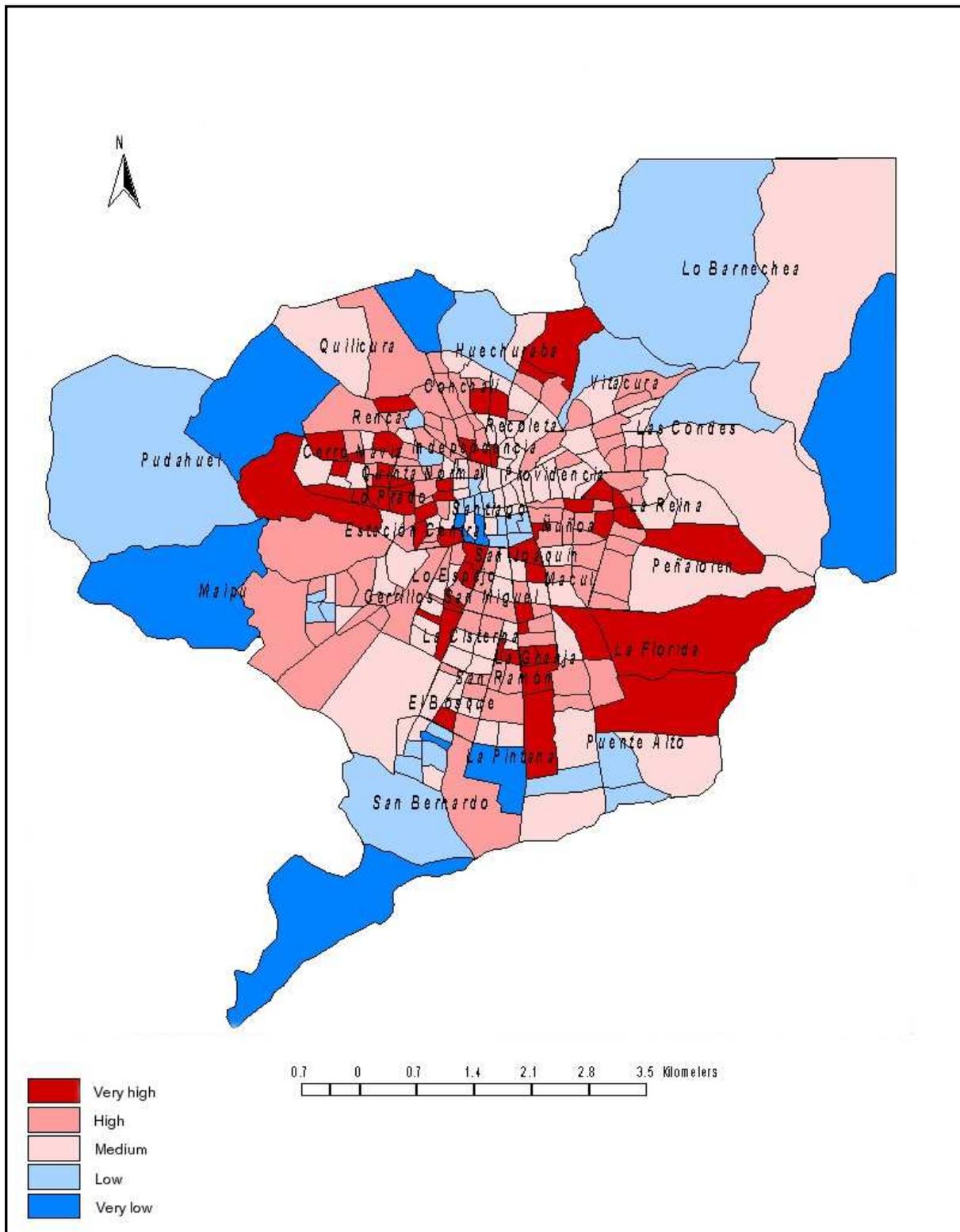
Verification of the apparent insignificance of the mobility of the immigrants within the city is of interest considering the positive high values indicating that 46% of the immigrants work or study in the same commune where they live (Table 41).

Figure 21: Santiago Metropolitan Area - Factor 4: Early immigration



Source: elaborate by the author based on INE 2002

Figure 22: Santiago Metropolitan Area - Factor 5: Daily intra-metropolitan mobility



Source: elaborate by the author based on INE 2002

The spatial distribution of factor 5 (Figure 22) reveals a concentric structure. A small internal ring, including districts of Santiago and Estación Central communes, is characterized by a low internal mobility; that is to say, the majority of the immigrants work and study in the same commune where they reside. The second ring is characterized by positive medium high and very high values. It is possible that most of these immigrants work in the central or the north-east sector of the capital. Finally, the exterior-peripheral ring, as it can be expected, presents a low intra-metropolitan mobility.

Currently, most of the peripheral regions are undergoing a suburbanization process marked by the growth of new residential areas comprised of the traditional rural population coexisting with a population of high and very-high socioeconomic status. Such areas generally offer the high and very-high socioeconomic populations promise of a better quality of life. Interestingly, the concentration of foreign population living in these districts is rather low.

5.1.6 Conclusions

It is generally agreed among social ecology factor studies that there exists more than three axes of social differentiation - socioeconomic status, familism and ethnicity - as the results for the SMA demonstrate. Considering the data of the population census from 2002, the social space of the immigrants living in the metropolis is characterized by 5 factors or "latent dimensions". All of them can be associated with some of the classic land use models, but the spatial structures are not so simple and, in some cases, there exists a combination of two models (Figure 23).

The socioeconomic factor proposed herein is coincident with the scholars' description despite its non-traditional interpretation, i.e., the lower socioeconomic status is associated more with the immigrants' living conditions (overcrowding) than with a low education level. It confirms, once again, that in the case of legal immigration or those who answered the census, the SMA attracts immigrants with medium or high educational profile. Moreover, it demonstrates that the spatial distribution of the socioeconomic status of the immigrants tend to be coincidental with the socioeconomic distribution of the native population. Thus, the observed spatial segregation is not a product of one's country of origin or a particular ethnicity, but the immigrants' spatial distribution follow, at least in the high socioeconomic group, that of the native distribution.

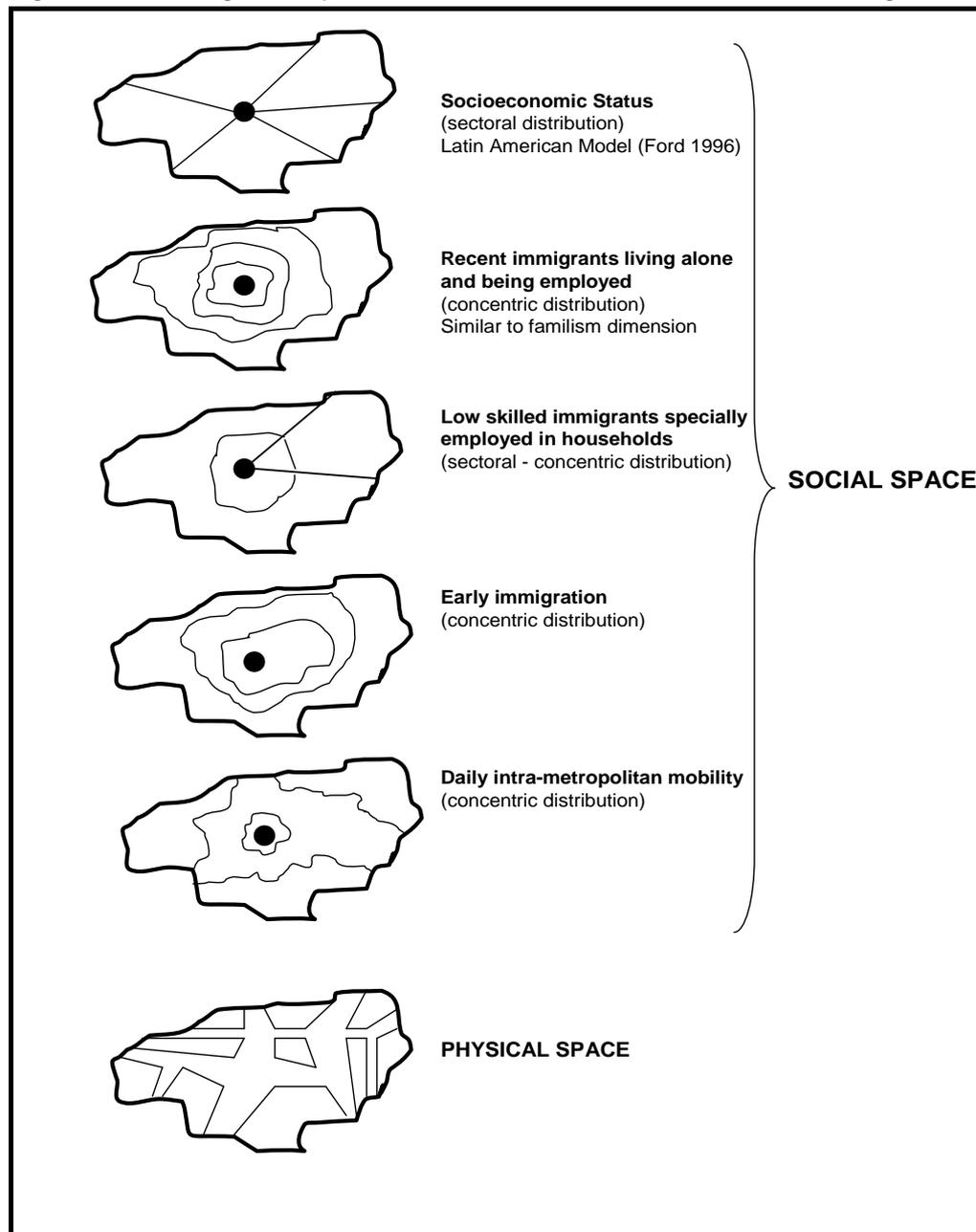
The second factor "recent migrants living alone and being employed" reveals the relevance of the recent character of the SMA immigration process. Moreover, the variables that characterize this factor share certain similarities with those defining the familism dimension in traditional studies, e.g., individuals living alone, without children in the internal ring, and families in the periphery.

The third factor "low skilled immigrants specially employed in households" highlights one pattern deeply described, namely, the presence of immigrants, especially Peruvians and Ecuadorians, working and living in high socioeconomic households. Some of these immigrants live in the "elite" areas of the city and demarcate a clear pattern of live-in domestic work.

The fourth factor "early immigration" shows enduring importance of early immigrants (especially Italians) in the city, while factor five "daily commuting" clearly signals the growing importance of internal mobility in a large metropolis.

In summary, the results of the factor analysis were readily interpreted and provide a comprehensive overview of the SMA immigrants' social structure that was not completely in-line with the ex-ante expectations regarding socioeconomic status and familism. The aim was the detailed analysis of one of the traditional dimensions, e.g., ethnicity. The results revealed new factors reflecting the current reality in the SMA that are necessarily associated with time of arrival, work integration, internal mobility, and household conditions.

Figure 23: Santiago Metropolitan Area: latent dimensions of international migration



Source: adapted from Murdie 1969

Ultimately, two major problems arise that are associated with the use of quantitative approaches (in this case: factor analysis). Firstly, while factor analysis is a useful descriptive procedure that can classify areas according to a range of dimensions, it is unable to treat the dynamics or processes underlying these classifications (chapter 2.3). Such processes in-

clude labour market circumstances, barriers in the housing market, and the real condition of the migrant, i.e., legal/illegal.

Secondly, quantitative approaches fail to address behavioural elements such as discrimination or auto-segregation. This is not to suggest that quantification is not an important part of the analytical process, but the shortcomings of studies based entirely upon quantification arise largely out of their theoretical focus on independent patterns that have a supposed regulatory effect upon human behaviour.

5.2 Spatial analysis of the immigrants' social structure: cluster analysis

A general question facing researchers in many areas of investigation is how to organize observed data into meaningful structures, that is, to develop taxonomies. Given the above, cluster analysis can be used to discover structures in data without providing an explanation/interpretation. Cluster analysis simply discovers structures in data without explaining why they exist.

The current factorial analysis has yielded 5 dimensions about which the immigrants are distributed in the SMA according to their demographic, economic and social characteristics. While such a multi-dimensional district-wide distribution of SMA immigrants can be envisioned, the picture remains complex and in need of further analysis.

A cluster analysis was, thus, performed using the factor scores from the 5 principal factors over the 343 districts using Ward's algorithm in SPSS. This methodological approach clusters the districts presenting similar loadings in the factors, i.e., it identifies the number, type and location of the varying immigrant groups that define the basis of the urban social structure. An important question remaining to be answered concerns the number of clusters existing in the data. In practice, the analyst rarely knows ahead of time how many clusters may exist in the sample (chapter 2.4.2).

Therefore, the dendrogram solution was employed in this study to identify a possible cutting line (Appendix 5). In the absence of any *a priori* expectations as to a "true" number of immigrant types, the cluster solution of 10 was selected, thus providing a range of solutions with sufficient level of disaggregation to illustrate the complexity of the immigrant distributions in the SMA. Too much disaggregation and the number immigrant types would become excessive and overly complex with respect to comprehension and effectiveness of reporting.

5.2.1 Immigrants types: spatial distribution of clusters

The most important stage of cluster analysis is the interpretation of the results. To accomplish this, the cluster solution was crossed with the average factor scores to determine which factors were important to defining each "immigrant type".

Table 42 shows the 10-cluster solution and the 5 principal factors' averages. The solution allows examination of the factors characterizing the different immigrant types. From this investigation, the features defining each immigrant type can be identified and classified, or named.

Table 42: Santiago Metropolitan Area: clusters by frequencies and averages scores per factor

Cluster	Average Factor 1	Average Factor 2	Average Factor 3	Average Factor 4	Average Factor 5
1	0,660	0,358	-1,059	-0,043	-0,148
2	-0,842	1,293	0,401	0,043	0,227
3	-0,333	-0,769	-0,504	-0,375	1,086
4	-0,265	-0,552	-0,379	0,877	-0,145
5	-0,140	0,575	-0,290	-0,238	-1,421
6	1,049	-0,210	-0,143	0,139	-0,567
7	-0,813	-0,261	0,874	-0,034	-0,698
8	-0,617	-1,205	0,270	-0,047	-0,100
9	0,562	-0,769	-0,311	0,587	0,121
10	1,975	-0,302	2,221	-0,216	0,452

Type 1: Immigrants with medium socioeconomic status

When performing a typology analysis, it is normal for a certain proportion of the cases to be average with regards to the variables of interest. As mentioned in the description of factor 3, difficulty arises when analysing the negative loading of this factor. By describing cluster 1 as the “absence of low-skill population employed in households”, it is observed that the description shows no degree of specialization in terms of occupation for either low or high-skills, and may include a wide range of immigrants. Given that fact, such immigrants exhibit no clear distinguishing features with regard to the dataset used. It follows that other variables may be more important in identifying their unique characteristics.

As Table 43 reveals, type 1 is the cluster with the greatest population involvement (29.33%). The complexity and diversity of this cluster is clearly shown in Appendix 6, which displays the 67 districts and the respective loadings in the two most important factors, considering the general average, from the 5 original factors selected. The diversity is so high that these immigrants are living in different residential sectors of the city, for instance, in districts with high socioeconomic status such as Las Condes and Providencia, medium-high status as in Ñuñoa and Lo Barnechea, medium as in La Florida and Maipú, and low-status as in Lo Prado, Pedro Aguirre Cerda and Renca (Figure 5.9). At least in this case, the average of the factor loading is insufficient to describe the most important immigrant group in qualitative terms.

Type 2: Recent immigrants living alone, employed and with a very low socioeconomic status (mainly Peruvians and Ecuadorians)

Immigrants of type 2 have the highest average score for factor 2, i.e., they arrived after the 1990s, especially from Peru and Ecuador, and work as wage-earning employees. Most live alone without their families in rented houses.

As well, type 2 has a negative loading in factor 1 and, therefore, immigrants living in these districts belong to the low socioeconomic status and have a high school or technical education and live in houses with two or three households (Table 42). As Table 43 shows, this cluster is the third most important in terms of number of immigrants (16.8%). Spatially, immigrants are distributed in central communes (Santiago, Estación Central, Quinta Normal, Independencia and San Miguel) with isolated representation in the medium and peripheral rings of the city (Appendix 7 and Figure 24).

Type 3: Established immigrants with a low intra-metropolitan mobility

Immigrants of type 3 have a high negative loading in factor 2 and a positive loading average in factor 5 (Table 42). Regarding the former factor, as it has a negative loading, most of the represented immigrants have resided in the same commune for at least 5 years and there exists a significant presence of children aged between 6 and 14. The high positive value in factor 5 shows that, among this type, most of the immigrants work and study in the same commune where they live. Fifty-eight districts (16.9%) comprise this cluster representing 7.8% of the immigrant population (Table 43). The majority of the districts tend to be located in the periphery of the city (Appendix 8 and Figure 24).

Table 43: Santiago Metropolitan Area: clusters by migrants' population

Cluster	Districts N°	%	Migrant Population	%
1	67	19.5	31.704	29.33
2	62	18.1	18.147	16.79
3	58	16.9	8.498	7.86
4	6	1.8	651	0.60
5	17	4.9	2.703	2.50
6	36	10.5	16.718	15.46
7	40	11.7	5.585	5.17
8	30	8.7	3.602	3.33
9	6	1.8	817	0.76
10	21	6.1	19.686	18.21
Total	343	100	108.111 ⁽¹⁾	100.0

⁽¹⁾ The total foreign population living in the SMA and registered by the 2002 census, using REDATAM software is 108.775. From these 664 immigrants were ignored.

Type 4: Early immigrants

Immigrants in the type 4 cluster demonstrate a high positive loading in factor 4 (Table 42) and, therefore, are identified as “early immigrants”. They arrived between 1950 and 1959, were born in Italy, and are older than age 65. Table 43 shows that it is one of the smallest clusters comprised of only 6 districts (1.75%) and 0.6% of the total migrant population. Regardless, this cluster type demonstrates that early immigration can still be recognized in the SMA (Appendix 9 and Figure 24).

Type 5: Recent migrants with a very high intra - metropolitan mobility, living alone and employed

High negative loadings in factor 5 (Table 42) suggest that these migrants have a high daily intra-metropolitan mobility and most work or study in a different commune where they live. To obtain a clearer picture of this type, it is important to analyse the second most important factor. Factor 2 has a positive medium loading that can be interpreted as recent female immigrants employed, living alone or sharing a house. Type 5 represents 17 districts (5%) of the SMA comprised of 2.5% of the immigrants. Its spatial distribution is semi-periphery (Appendix 10 and Figure 24) and includes communes with different socioeconomic status.

Type 6: Immigrants with high socioeconomic status and high intra - metropolitan mobility

Migrants in cluster type 6 are characterized by a positive loading in factor 1 and a negative loading in factor 5 (Table 42). It is interesting to note that there is limited correspondence between the 36 districts involved and the location of the high socioeconomic status of the native population. Communes such as Pedro Aguirre Cerda (PAC), Cerrillos, Conchalí or San Joaquín are not among the communes hosting the elite of the SMA (Appendix 11 and Figure 24). Once again, the variables involved in the factor definition can provide an explanation. Type 6 represents 10.5% of the districts and 15.5% of the immigrants (Table 43).

Type 7: Immigrants with very low socioeconomic status, low-skill and especially employed in households

The type 7 cluster has a negative loading in factor 1 and, therefore, is characterized as a low socioeconomic status. As well it has a positive loading in factor 3 and, consequently, reflects the presence of low-skill migrants primarily employed in households (Table 42). The 40 district mainly represented (11.7%) are located in the intermediate ring of the city including 5.17% of the immigrants (Appendix 12 and Figure 24). Moreover, factor 5 presents a high negative value signifying that most of the migrants live in the same commune as where they work.

Type 8: Established immigrants living with their families and with a low socioeconomic status

High negative scores for factor 2 suggest that these immigrants are living in the same commune for at least 5 years with their families. As well, it presents a negative loading in factor 1 and, therefore, indicates a low socioeconomic status (Table 42). The 8.7% of the SMA districts comprising type 8 comprehend 3.3% of the immigrants (Table 43). There is a coincidence with the districts where the low socioeconomic natives reside (Appendix 13 and Figure 24).

Type 9: Established immigrants living with their families and with a medium socioeconomic status

Immigrants in cluster 9 have high negative scores in factor 2 and are, consequently, living in the same commune for at least five years with their families. They have positive values in factor 4 as well and, thus, include immigrants arriving in the 1950s mainly originating from Italy. Only 1.75% of the districts are characterized by these characteristics that represent 0.8% of the immigrants (Appendix 14).

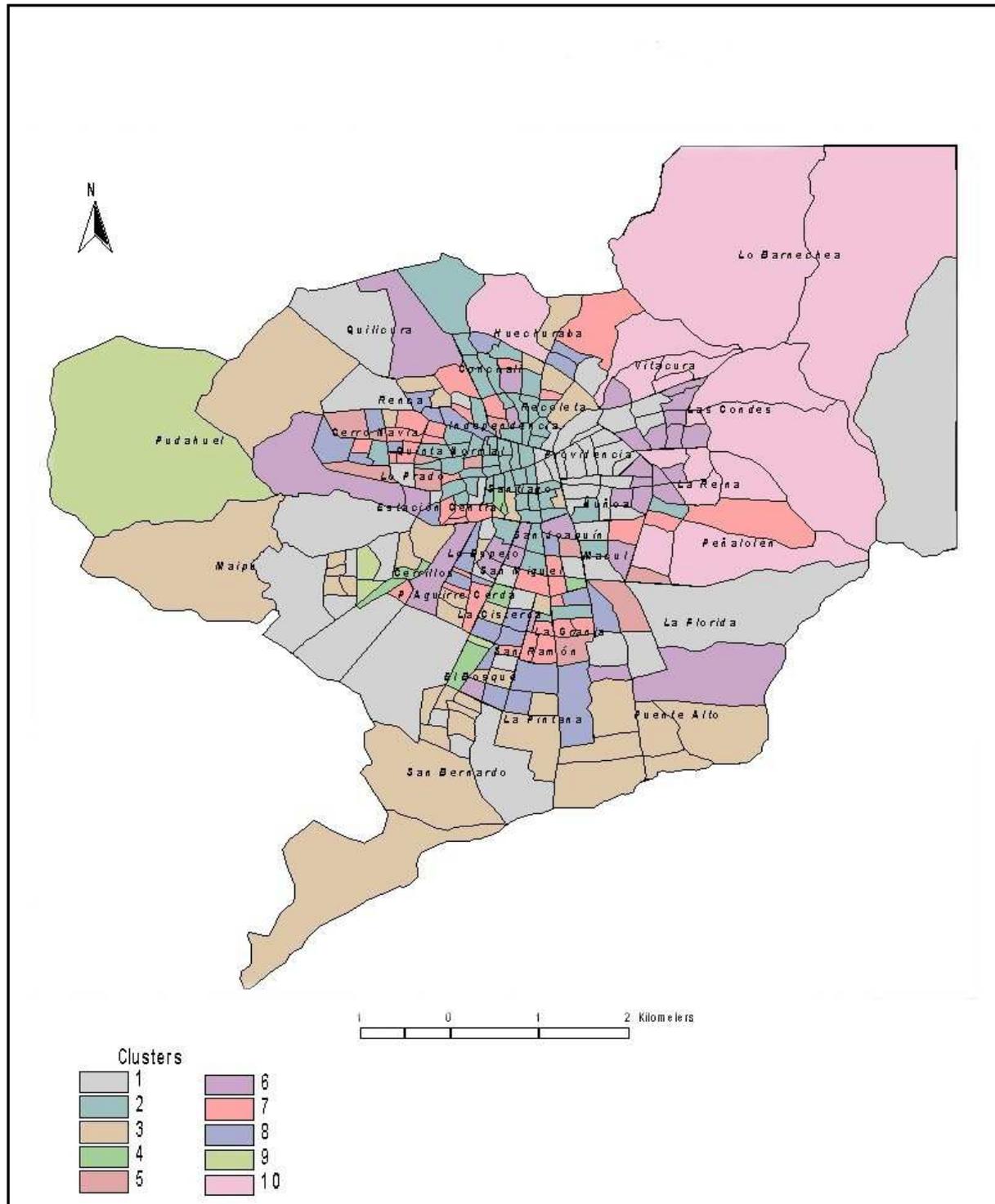
Type 10: Immigrants with a very high socioeconomic status and low-skill immigrants especially employed in households

The final cluster, type 10, is one of the more interesting due to the fact that it shows the coexistence of two totally different types of immigrants in a similar area of the city.

In this case, factor 1 reaches its highest positive average, showing the presence of the immigrant elite, i.e., households well equipped with electronics and domestic appliances, immi-

grants with university education working as professionals, and households with domestic employees. Additionally, factor 3 has the highest positive loading in cluster 10. This result can be interpreted as the presence of non-qualified immigrants working as live-in domestic service. In these districts, the Chilean elite reside and employ most of these low-skilled immigrants in their houses. Eighteen percent of the immigrants live in the 21 districts (6.1%) that shape this cluster Appendix 15 and Figure 24).

Figure 24: Santiago Metropolitan Area: spatial distribution of clusters

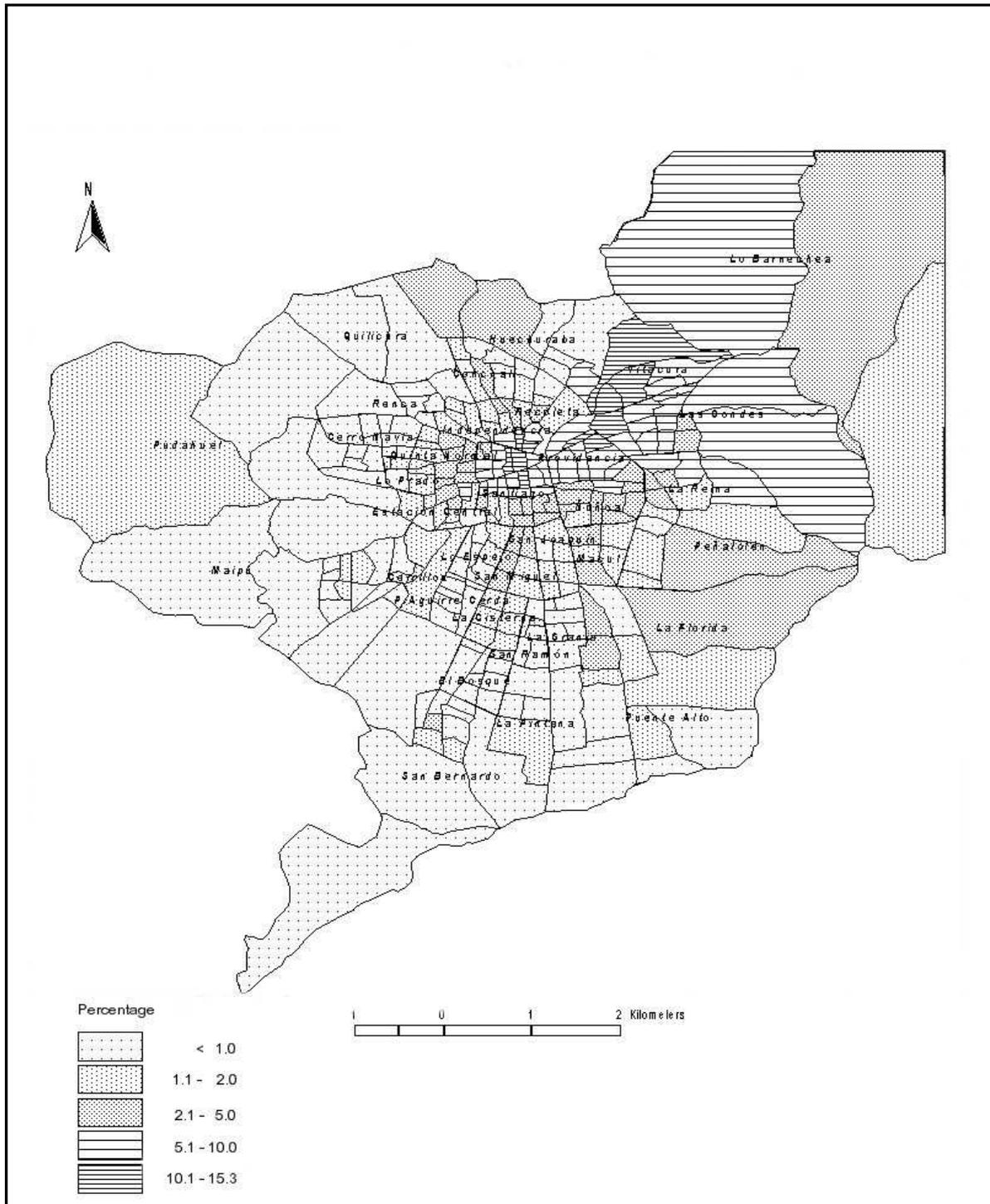


Source: elaborate by the author based on INE 2002

5.2.2 Schematic representation of the immigrants' social structure

Cluster analysis was used to classify 343 districts into 10 different immigrant social areas in the SMA. As noted in chapter 4, many of the districts are represented by a low or very low number of migrants. Figure 25 shows that in most of the districts of the southern and western areas of the city, immigrants represent less than 2% of the total population.

Figure 25: Santiago Metropolitan Area: migrants by district, 2002 (In percentage)



Source: elaborate by the author based on INE 2002

The most important immigrants' concentrations are located in the central-eastern communes of the city following two main elements:

- **The location of the main job opportunities, including financial services, service sector, construction and, predominantly employment in high status households.** Although the SMA contributes 48% of Chile's Gross Domestic Product and its economy grew more rapidly than the national economy (Dockendorff et al. 2000), the city combines areas of unequivocal economic success (central and east), areas of partial or limited success, and other areas that have remained marginalized (mainly south).
- **The current SMA socioeconomic differentiation.** As in most of Latin American cities, the socioeconomic status plays a dominant force in the city (Figure 18). The SMA is very segregated in socioeconomic terms and clearly differentiated according to family income. Therefore, there exists a strong relationship between geographical location and social status. Higher income groups concentrate in six of the city's 34 communes (Dockendorff et al. 2000) resulting in major differences in both the quality and quantity of infrastructure and services as well as housing. Regarding the spatial distribution of immigrants, the general trend is to live with Chilean counterparts rather than live in ghettos of low, medium or high class.

To obtain a clear and better picture about the social space of the immigrants in the SMA, a schematic representation of the immigrants' social space (Figure 26) was developed utilising two main elements of the analysis, namely, the cluster output (Figure 24) and the percentage of immigrants by district (Figure 25). While the cluster map of the immigrants may be overly complex, it is now possible that the schematic representation is too simplistic. The key consideration is the future accommodation of key elements without compromising the simplicity and the immigrants' process orientation.

The aforementioned schematic representation is characterized by a zone of low immigrant representation, a downtown area extended to the north that concentrates recent flows, and a series of semi-concentric rings, in which, the immigrants' residential quality increases with distance from the city centre. Though not cartographically depicted in the representation, all main areas are assumed to contain mixed types of immigrants and land uses to some extent, e.g., residential, retail, office, dining and recreational establishments, and small industrial concerns. Unfortunately, these land uses cannot be visually incorporated.

The schematic representation (Figure 26) incorporates four main areas, as follows:

Zone of low attraction: An area where the percentage of immigrants by district is lower than 2%. More than the 50% of the SMA communes belongs to this category due to two main facts. First, these communes are far from the economic opportunities, provision of public services is limited, and mobility is restricted. Second, in general, the peripheral west and south areas of the city concentrate the lowest-income population and exhibit significant levels of infrastructure and equipment deterioration. Those immigrants with a similar socioeconomic status prefer to live in central areas of the city nearer the job opportunities or in the same houses where they work as domestic employees.

Zone of recent immigrants, living alone and with a very low socioeconomic status: The Central Business District (CBD) in the SMA has always been the economic and administrative core of the city, but its expansion to the east was evident after the 1930s. In a short time

the central square *Plaza de Armas* became the node of the CBD evolution towards the east. During recent decades, streets were widened, old mansions demolished, parking garages and lots created, skyscrapers-office towers built, shopping malls developed, and a variety of hotels, restaurants and arenas erected in and about the CBD in the context of an urban renewal process.

However, some parts of the administrative and financial centre of the city saw a continuous loss of population in recent decades. People from high and medium income sectors left the city centre and chose to reside in the eastern communes near the cordillera. In contrast, the poor of the central area were slowly pushed out to the peripheral areas with a corresponding negative impact on their access to urban goods and services. Additionally, increasing pollution and congestion have convinced many companies to locate elsewhere. Some central areas still suffer a deep process of deterioration that threatens small and old buildings alike.

Recent migrants, living alone, and especially women from Peru and Ecuador rent rooms or even cubicles in old houses or apartment in order to save money and with the plan to return as quickly as possible to their mother-countries. Their living conditions are often precarious and/or crowded. They work in low-skilled activities such as street services, domestic helpers, cleaners, building caretakers, window cleaners, messengers, porters, doorkeepers, etc.

Another important characteristic of this area is the role of the central square, *Plaza de Armas*, for many immigrants, especially low-skilled Peruvians. This square is not only the heart of downtown Santiago, but also a centre for most activities and almost a necessary place to cross by for anybody walking in the city centre. Although recently remodeled, it retains their lively activity, in the form of street artists and painters. One of its corners, the northwest, is called Little Lima (*Pequeña Lima*), given the large number of Peruvians frequenting the spot, waiting for a job opportunity through the Peruvian network or meeting their counterparts.

Zone of medium socioeconomic status: During the 1950s, the wealthy metropolitan population move outward from the CBD to new modern houses with more open spaces. These formerly fashionable neighbourhoods are currently the communes of Providencia, Nuñoa and some sectors of Las Condes. The old and big houses are now apartments mixed with old houses where an aging population coexists with couples without children or people living alone.

This area is essentially an extension of the CBD with a number of modern offices, hotels, and retail structures quite separate from the more traditional market districts of the CBD. It is here that immigrants with a medium socioeconomic status live among Chileans with medium and high status. As it was described in the cluster 1 discussion, it is difficult to proceed with further descriptive detail regarding the specific profile of these migrants. As Figure 26 shows, this zone expands to the south-east of the metropolis, especially, towards the residential commune of La Florida. This municipality has experienced a high population growth during the last 20 years. Many Chileans from the medium class have moved searching for better environmental conditions. Big houses, near the Andes, convenient prices, and the extension of the metropolitan subway are among the primary reasons of attraction.

Immigrants with medium socioeconomic status, mainly Argentineans follow the residential options of the medium Chilean class.

Zone of high socioeconomic status: In most of the models concerning the Latin American city structure, there is a dominant element called “the commercial spine” (Griffin and Ford 1980; Ford 1996). The spine is essentially an extension of the CBD that contains the most important urban amenities, as well as most of the professionally built upper-class and upper-middle-class housing stock. In the case of the SMA, immigrants of a high socioeconomic status live around this spine, articulated by Apoquindo and Las Condes Streets. Communes such as Las Condes, Vitacura and La Reina shape this zone. Therefore, there exists a perfect match with the socioeconomic status of the Chilean inhabitants. Furthermore, immigrants with a high socioeconomic status have a high intra-metropolitan daily mobility. It is believed that many of the represented immigrants work in central communes in finance activities or in the north periphery where many head quarters of international companies are located.

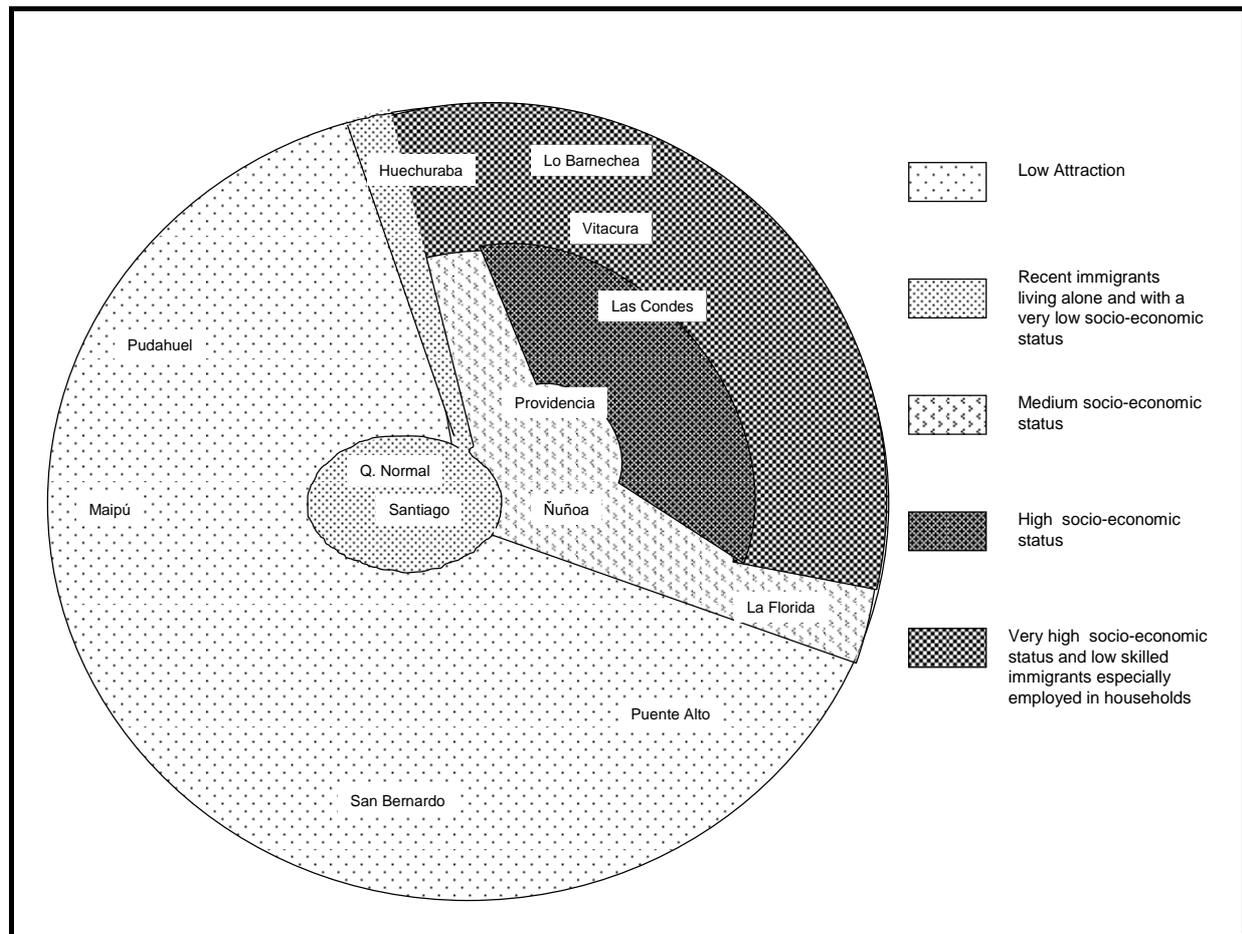
Zone of very high socioeconomic status, and low-skilled immigrants, especially employed in households: The results of the economic metropolitan transformations are more visible and apparent at all scales and have contributed to the increasing fragmentation and privatization of urban space. This urban trend has a strong impact in the “rich” part of the city, with new spatial expressions including gated communities, shopping malls, country clubs, and industrial parks, and an increasingly dynamic and mobile population. The Chilean Metropolitan socioeconomic elite occupy an inordinate amount of space in relation to their numbers in the urban context. Slightly less than five percent of the elite population dominates a disproportionately large area of the city where the “better residences”, namely, solid, large, brick or concrete houses, can be found.

The emergence of gated communities for medium and high-income groups located in non-traditional areas of residence, e.g., commune of Huechuraba (Figure 26), is, perhaps, the most notorious change in the spatial structure of the SMA. Wealthy residents have essentially established citadels as a means of protecting and enhancing their position of power, wealth and status, while those living in poverty often reside in degraded, informal settlements. In such cases, electrified gates and armed guards are the ways employed to make public space private, especially when they imply strong contrast with the surrounding poor.

In this context two different types of international migrants can be found, those who belong to the very high socioeconomic status and those low-skilled especially employed in households. In the first case, immigrants with a very high socioeconomic status, mainly European or U.S citizens, are living in households with a high endowment of electronic equipment and domestic appliances. As well, most have a car and domestic employees. Additionally, they have a high education level and work, generally, as professionals. The second groups belong to the opposite social class. They work in the domestic service, especially as live-in servants, working as non-qualified employees.

The coexistence of these two opposing social groups of migrants living in the same area is one of the most important features of the SMA immigrants' social space. This situation can be linked with the dual labour theory (chapter 2.2.4) in terms of employment opportunities for migrants. In the “rich” sector of the city, there are residents working in two different sectors: the primary composed of well paying jobs with benefits offered to well-educated people, and the secondary market, with low wages and undesirable working conditions.

Figure 26: Santiago Metropolitan Area: schematic representation of the immigrants' social space, 2002



Source: elaborated by the author 2006

In areas of high employment⁸⁸, the jobs are unattractive to native workers and they provide an opportunity for migrants to fill the positions (Massey 1998). This dual labour market means that immigrants from Europe, the U.S., and Latin America are able to find employment opportunity in the primary and secondary labour market in the SMA.

What has been effectively introduced is an overview of the current immigrant social space in the SMA. While this is useful as an end in itself, it serves primarily as a means to aid the current discussion of the national migration policy. For example, not all of the recent immigrants, especially, those that arrived after the 1990s, can be analyzed as the same group and the socioeconomic condition is not linked with the arrival time. What is clear is that districts exist in the city that are more vulnerable than others and require more attention from the city and the municipalities involved.

⁸⁸ In December 2000 the unemployment rate in the SMA was 13.4%; in 2001: 13.1%; in 2002: 11.9%; in 2003: 11.7%; in 2004: 12.1% and in 2005: 10.5%. Available on line: <http://www.economiaynegocios.cl/indicadores> Retrieved May 2006.

Chapter 6 Migration policies - recommendations for the Chilean policy discussion

6.1 Overview

“Immigration policies are a mix of international, national, and local rules, plus programs that aim to facilitate the admission and integration of some foreigners and to prevent the entry and stay of others” (Martin and Martin 1999:1).

Since many years, immigration has not only been highly discussed on national political agendas, but has also taken an increasingly prominent role in international media and policy agenda as well as in public debate. It is pivotal in determining how individuals respond to the opportunities offered and constraints imposed by the world around them and how policy makers seek to manage the behaviour of individuals.

Migration is an eminently political topic. Over the last decades, the politicization of the issue has been evidenced by a series of developments. The following can be highlighted: the fear in European countries of an invasion by citizens from new EU member countries with each enlargement of the Union; the questioning of the role of immigrants in the economic and social upheavals triggered by the financial crisis in Southeast Asia; restrictive policies and anti-immigration backlash in the wake of the terrorist attacks in New York, Madrid and London; renewed outbreaks of xenophobia in several African countries, and the exploitation of immigration issues by some politicians to gain electoral support (IOM 2003). In his book “Who are we?” Huntington (2004) applies his cultural civilization framework to what he sees as the internal risk to the U.S. from heavy, sustained Hispanic, particularly Mexican, immigration. In the case of Chile one may mention speculations on the magnitude, characteristics and repercussions of the immigration from neighboring countries. All the examples illustrate the close link between economic, political and social issues when dealing with mobility. More than ever before, migration is the target of psychological, economic and public relations considerations.

As discussed in chapter 3.1, the evidence demonstrates the emergence of a paradox in the new century. While the global economy contributes with larger and more diverse flows of immigrants from developing countries, it simultaneously creates conditions within developed nations that promote the implementation of restrictive immigration policies (Durand and Massey 2003). The forecast of international movements centres the discussion around which forces will prevail: those that promote the restriction of the international migration or those that propitiate its expansion.

Not under discussion is the fact that countries must elaborate on policies that enable them to govern migrations (ILO 2005). This implies that international movements are beneficial as much for the “sending” countries as for the “receiving” ones. In the sending countries, links with the nationals who emigrate with consular assistance is necessary for the solution of their problems and for the establishment of networks that allow them to contribute to the development of the country. In the receiving countries, it is important to assure that flows are legally arranged and with a regular character (residence permission), thereby facilitating integration. In both cases it is necessary to design and evaluate the policies within a framework of civil participation that legitimizes the contribution of migrants.

As with all policies, that of migration requires a suitable diagnosis, allowing for the establishment of the real dimension of the situation. It must achieve a suitable statistical base and cross investigations that measure the real impact of migrations in the area. Statistics show the amount of foreign population living in a country, the places of residence, their origin, and the activities that they develop. The investigations determine the impact of the flows on the labour markets, on the demand of social services and on other relevant aspects. Without a suitable diagnosis, policies have the serious risk of not appropriately solving the existing problems and of using inadequate instruments.

Here one has to consider the temptation to establish policies on the basis of public opinion as well as deficits regarding consistent studies that realize the true magnitude of the phenomenon. This is probably the most sensitive element in the design of the policies that are adopted in many states: to fight against mistaken and simplistic images that exist with respect to migration (Recolons 2001).

6.2 Main components of migration policies

Migration policies have three main components to deal with: control of flows, the relations within the countries that generate immigrants, and the problem of integration. They result in two big topics of concern with respect to global and local dimensions: the reception and the treatment of migrants.

6.2.1 Regulation of flows and illegal migration

Flow Control

Currently more and more countries worldwide apply restrictive immigration policies. The terrorist attacks have led in many countries, particularly OECD, to strengthen controls on frontiers. It has also led to international cooperation among the respective services of intelligence (e.g. Schengen treaty). The debates, which are centred on the relationship of safety and freedom, multiply and have led many people to place terrorism, delinquency, and immigration in the same dangerously xenophobic equation.

The control policies, excluding those for safety reasons, are justified on the basis that no society can absorb a huge number of people because of the scarcity of resources or the internal problems (unemployment) that they need to face. The control of flows is systematized across the control of borders, with either no immigration or with quota policies. These policies are based on two aspects: the quantitative one, which tries to establish the number of immigrants necessary to support a certain quality of life; and the qualitative one, which establishes the “necessary type” of immigrants required, producing an effect of stigmatization (IOM 2003).

Though the global paradigm of zero immigration is still very popular in many European countries, diverse reasons come together to explain its overall ineffectiveness (OECD 2003b). The most important one is that democratic societies can not reject two fundamental rights that enable certain immigrants to settle in their territories: the right to live as a family, which gives place to the family reunification, and the right of asylum, recognized internationally.

They are the two main reasons behind international migration to Europe, in spite of the increasing barriers in the borders.

Nevertheless by the end of the 1990s many European countries had modified their legislations to attract skilled workers and to allow the access of foreign students to their labour markets (under certain conditions and to occupy specific occupations). Aging population in most OECD countries and the related increased need for health care are rising the demand for medical personnel. The same applies to teachers, translators, or human resource personnel in science and technology (HRST) in the biomedical or agro-food sectors (UN 2005).

In France, Ireland, the Netherlands, and the United Kingdom, the entrance of foreign workers is based on decisions made at the national or regional level. The occupations addressed by these decisions included information and telecommunication (IT) specialists, highly-skilled workers and, in some cases, biotechnology, medicine, health care and education professionals. For instance Germany has developed a special programme to recruit IT specialists⁸⁹ to facilitate the entry of highly-skilled workers (Straubhaar 2000; OECD 2002).

In the U.S., considering that family preferences are the cornerstone of permanent immigration, the country still admits a large number of highly-skilled foreign professionals and workers. In Australia, Canada and New Zealand permanent immigration is subject to a points system with the emphasis on the potential immigrants' profile such as age, education skills, and work experience. In Japan and Korea most foreign worker flows consist of migrants with short-stay work permits. Both countries share a determination to confine immigration to skilled workers (OECD 2003b).

Although the majority of programmes target skilled workers, some OECD member countries have also appealed to unskilled foreign labour, especially in agriculture, construction and household services (Italy, Spain, Portugal and Greece). During the past few years southern European countries have signed bilateral agreements with Poland, Ukraine and Romania for the recruitment of foreign workers (OECD 2003b).

Undocumented Migration

The illegal sphere around international migration has become one of today's major, global economic issues (Alofs 2003). Although the difficulties vary among countries, no democratic state is able to come close to the total control of their entrances, either by places not authorized or by regular border controls. In addition, the majority of immigrants enters legally and become illegal later (Commission of the European Communities 2004). Many come from countries whose nationals do not need a visa; others enter with permission to stay for a short duration, or with a student or tourist visa, and then become illegal when participating in economic activities for which they do not need permission. During last years many countries made significant changes in their regulatory framework (UN 2004). Some implemented the

⁸⁹ Germany introduced a Green Card scheme in August 2000 aimed at specifically recruiting IT specialist to respond to a predicted national shortage. The scheme allowed the recruitment of up to 20.000 specialists among 2000-2005. Applicants are permitted to stay for a maximum of five years, and they can bring their families with them. However they are not permitted to apply for permanent residence. Approximately half of the 20.000 permits were issued until 2004. (Commission of the European Communities 2004).

need for visas from certain countries. For example Ecuadorians and Colombians require a visa⁹⁰ for all the Schengen countries.

Denmark plans to impose a security deposit to grant visas to those who visit their family residing in the country. All these strategies are designed to limit the number of people who prolong their stay without justified cause (OECD 2003b). Some countries have signed bilateral agreements for the admission of migrants in illegal situations (Germany and Albania, 2002 and Spain-Mauritania, 2003). Nevertheless, the most significant reforms have happened in the new member states of the European Union (Czech Republic and Hungary) and in neighboring countries like Romania and Bulgaria; these two countries have increased penalties for citizens captured in illegal situations in countries of the EU (IOM 2003).

For a really effective entrance and exit control besides regular admission into the country, it is necessary to control the permanency of the immigrant. This turns out to be particularly difficult in democratic societies where control is not socially accepted. In addition, the efficiency of these controls is associated with the possibility of expulsion, which needs not only a high budget, but also a country ready to admit the expelled ones. In fact, the majority of expulsion orders in European countries do not materialize.

Beyond their limited efficiency, control policies generate considerable and increasing costs, e.g. logistic and human resources, and produce unwanted consequences such as human tragedies through the increase of a clandestine industry (smuggling of illegal aliens), and saturation of the established mechanisms for the demand of asylum. Consequently, policy control helps to establish illegal immigrants; when the entry cost is higher, the inclination of the immigrant to remain is much greater than the desire to risk leaving and not be able to return.

This perspective raises the question, whether there is an exact number of immigrants who can be officially accepted into the host country. It turns out to be extremely difficult to subordinate integration to the control policies (OECD 2003b).

Amnesty Programs

Illegal immigration does not seem to have an easy solution. One of the most common options is to promote extraordinary regularization processes also known as amnesties. This alternative is recurrent in South European countries (e.g. Italy and Spain) as well in the U.S. Nevertheless its efficiency is doubtful. Always, each policy is expected to be the last one but turns out to be the penultimate one⁹¹.

The best example is its own recurrence. In addition, regularizations have the risk of attracting solicitors who were not planning to stay in the country, producing what is known as a "called" effect, especially in territories without effective internal borders, such as the Schengen countries within the European Union (Clemente et al. 2005).

⁹⁰ As with most Latin citizens, Colombians and Ecuadorians did not need visas to enter Spain until recently. The rapid growth of these immigration flows finally led to the implementation of a visa requirement for citizens of those two countries. Colombia has required a visa since 2001 and Ecuador since June 2003.

⁹¹ In 1995 Spain launched a regularization program that ultimately had little impact; only 23.000 immigrants of 44.000 applications were legalized. In 1991, with the help of immigrant organizations, more than 110.000 immigrants applied for legal status. However, after three years, 50% of those immigrants had fallen back into an illegal status. Additional regularization programs have taken place in 1996, 2000, and 2001 to compensate for ineffective and restrictive admissions policies (Ortega 2003).

A preferable option is authorization on an individual basis, using mechanisms tied to employment or to family reunification. Yet this option results in a new dilemma: if the demanded time is very long or the conditions very strict it can transform into another bureaucratic solution; if the time is short and the conditions generous, it can generate the effect of induction or incentives.

6.2.2 The alternative of co-development

The second issue of migration policies centres on the analysis, and eventually the elimination, of those reasons that promote emigration through cooperation. In this context the concept of co-development arises⁹². It was introduced for defining a type of cooperation that included sharing responsibility and resources among the countries involved.

The proposal is based on the flows' management, bilateral commitments, integration of the already established immigrants and their contribution as vectors of development in their countries of origin. Thus, the strict sense of co-development covers all actions driven either by civil services or by social organizations. The aim is to link communities of resident immigrants in the destination country with the social and economic development of their countries of origin, favouring human development in their societies of origin and favouring new relations between the host society and that of origin⁹³.

There is no categorical definition of co-development in absolute terms; rather, the meaning is understood gradually, through practice, and from the perspective of plurality. For instance, public authorities tend to see co-development as a tool for controlling migration. Financial institutions see it as a way to attract remittance business. Others see it as a way to resolve problems of immigrant employment saturation or ineffectiveness of the old development model. Nevertheless there are some authors (Arango 1994; Vanneckhaute 2002) arguing that international cooperation is not an alternative to emigration; the quantity of funds assigned is scarce and diminishing, converting the topic to pure rhetoric in order to solving the causes of emigration.

In the European Union supranational institutions do not exist for the control of international migration. In spite of this, all the member countries are places of entry, smuggling or final destination (OIM 2003b). Also in North America, joined across a free trade agreement (NAFTA)⁹⁴, bilateral policy and effective strategies to reduce illegal immigration do not exist. A similar situation occurs in Asia and Africa. Among the Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) countries, governments have focused upon a strict economic agenda, ignoring practically all the social aspects. Among the South African Development Community (SADC), labour regulation policies lack coordination. The regulations of entry are often complex; and it is possible that it is even more difficult to travel between two member countries of the SADC than to a third country (Mulenga 2000).

⁹² The term co-development was introduced by Sami Nair in 1997 at that time charged with the Inter-ministerial Mission for Migration and Co-development of the Government of France (Ramírez et al. 2005).

⁹³ Francisco de Vitoria Social Foundation, http://213.229.161.87/web/default.asp?id_pagina=3306.

⁹⁴ In January 1994, Canada, the United States and Mexico launched the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) and formed the world's largest free trade area.

The Common Market of the South (MERCOSUR) and the Andean Community seem to be those who are more advanced in achieving agreements concerning the protection of the social, economic and labour rights of the labour migrants (OIM 2003b).

Receiving countries must help to eliminate the reasons that promote emigration by including countries of origin in international cooperation. It is true that this issue is more rhetorical than effective, and is far from having the same importance as the other two (flow regulation and social integration). It is a challenge that requires the involvement of both sides of the immigrant coin.

6.2.3 Social integration

In the analysis process of integration policies it is risky to generalize even inside the same country due to the fact that the application of these policies is mainly in the control of local authorities rather than state administrations. In this way, they can be practiced with considerable margins of autonomy.

Integration not only depends on the promotion of policies, but also on the structural characteristics of the society. Successful experiences often coexist with practices of segregation, social exclusion and xenophobia. The adverse conditions in which the processes of integration have developed contribute to these latter trends. Among these conditions are minor economic growth as compared with previous times, the poor quality of the jobs occupied by immigrants, and the scarce opportunities for social mobility. The strong resistance of the societies to fully incorporate the immigrants cannot be ignored. This resistance is partly associated with the role of the media, the adverse conditions created by the control policies, and the fight against non documented immigration.

At present, "integration" is a word present in political, academic and media language with relation to international immigrants and their descendants. Nevertheless, the principal obstacle for, and danger of, its acceptance is that it would hide what would be nothing more than an attempt at assimilation, that is to say, trying to eliminate any significant and specific sociocultural feature of the immigrant population (Recolons 2001).

The model of assimilation is recognized in France, where the secular culture, republican and centralist, historically does not recognize in a clear way the existence of minority groups, and therefore tries to impose a direct relation, without mediators, between the individuals and the State.

There is a long-standing tradition of immigration from former French colonies to France, itself, in search of jobs and money to send home. In France, they find themselves in a paradoxical situation that is common in the industrialized world: immigrants are needed for their inexpensive labour but unwanted due to their cultural differences. French citizenship and the future of foreigners in French society has become a pressing political issue. In November 2005, nationwide disturbances demonstrated the limits of the traditional French model of assimilation, in which immigrants are expected to adhere to French cultural norms to gain acceptance.

Many of the rioters were youths of North and West African descent, born in France but often lacking a clear place in French society⁹⁵. African immigrants in France, whether officially recognized or not, simply demand an end to the country's discriminatory policies, which make life difficult for those who simply look foreign. They demand recognition that they do make positive contributions to French society, a political necessity for immigrants to stay in the country (Brottem 2006).

Integration is more than assimilation; it is the process through which, over time, newcomers and hosts form an integral whole (Papademetriou 2003). Therefore integration is a process that affects the whole society. In this process, tensions and conflicts are predictable and, to a certain degree, inevitable, as happens in other fields of competitive society.

In Europe the different integration approaches, as the French assimilationist and the multiculturalists in the United Kingdom (Bore 2001), Netherlands and Sweden, are in need of deep re-examination (Brubaker 2001, Papademetriou 2006). Up to now, policies of integration have been discussed exclusively in state or sub-state frames, with scanty agreements in the community agenda.

Traditionally, two big integration policy models can be identified through the expressions of "exclusion" and "inclusion" (Jiménez 2000). The exclusion policies refer to the situation in which immigrants are incorporated only into certain areas of the society (e.g. labour work) but access to other areas is denied (e.g. citizenship, political participation, social security). It can take place through legal mechanisms (refusal of naturalization or distinctions between the rights of the natives and of the non-natives) or through informal practices (xenophobia and discrimination). In this respect immigrants turn into minorities without rights, being part of the society, but excluded from the nation. This condition places the immigrant in a position of weakness. Some employers take advantage of such situations and promote this exclusion model.

Integration, within the framework of inclusion policies, is the process by "which immigrants become accepted into societies, both as individuals and as groups" (Pennix 2003:1) This definition is deliberately vague since the particular requirements for acceptance by a receiving society vary greatly from place to place. The openness of this definition also reflects the fact that the responsibility for integration rests not with one particular group, but rather with many stakeholders: immigrants, the host government, institutions, and communities among others.

In this context, it is critically important that all actors in the integration process become connected by sound integration policy. Formulating the appropriate policy depends greatly on conditions at all levels, from town halls to national capitals. A long-term framework that balances the concerns of all stakeholders so that they may succeed is more important than a shortsighted policy that puts politics before realities and can lead to losses on all sides (Pennix 2003).

To face the different topics derived from the impact of international migration, some European municipalities have formulated strategies for the social integration and the reduction of

⁹⁵ French Interior Minister and leading Presidential candidate Nicholas Sarkozy was quick to react to the riots with a threat to expel foreigners who participated, whether they are legal or not. Sarkozy's infamous reference to the rioters as "*racailles*" or scum, only added to the tensions between the authorities and France's immigrant communities.

marginality. Stuttgart and Birmingham constitute examples in the adoption of an immigration policy of incorporation (UNCHS - Habitat 1996).

In accordance with Papademetriou (2003), no matter how prepared any society may think it is to receive immigrants; it must be much better prepared in the years ahead because immigration levels will continue to increase. Demographic forces in the advanced and developing worlds almost guarantee it.

6.3 Migration policies in Latin America

In Latin America immigration policies are still in an early stage. To the contrary, emigration policies have been in the centre of attention as it was discussed in chapter 3.3.4. Traditionally, no responsibility for immigrants was claimed. Currently there is a growing tendency to institute policies committed to nationals living abroad. Countries are concerned about the effects of emigration both in countries of arrival and in the home country. The remittances transfer mechanism and the destination of these resources are important subjects in government policies. Another relevant issue is the possibility of voting abroad in elections held in the country of origin⁹⁶ (IOM 2003).

The principle of dual nationality has been traditionally denied in most Latin American countries, but nowadays is granted in countries such as Colombia, Mexico and the Dominican Republic, countries with high emigration flows. Also, some countries have been intervening in defence of emigrants' human rights. For example, a proactive consular policy aims at linking communities of nationals with the country of origin; some initiatives are oriented to protect social labour and strengthen culture. In order to do this, the consulates try to identify problems and seek solutions for the national community abroad through effective ongoing actions⁹⁷ (IOM 2003).

The process is more complex for immigration policies. Most of the movements within the Latin American Region are linked with work and labour (Perez 2005). As in other world regions, Latin American governments appear to be creating a means to maintain traditional restrictive policies and to search for new areas and alternatives. The common pattern is a restrictive approach established to protect labour markets hit by crisis and high unemployment levels. The dream of free Latin American circulation clashes with the existing restrictive laws. The lack of reciprocity and homogeneity in migratory issues leads each government to arrange unilaterally the destiny of the migrants.

Regarding IOM (2003), there is a crisis in terms of migration governability⁹⁸ in the Region. The most visible manifestations include the growth of illegal migration, the increase in incidents of discrimination, the inconsistency between migration policies and the regional economic integration areas, and problems in bilateral relations between countries with cross-border migration flow.

⁹⁶ In South America this right has already been granted in Argentina, Brazil, Colombia, Peru and Venezuela. It is still under discussion in Chile and Uruguay.

⁹⁷ Mexico is an interesting example with 43 consulates in the U.S. Recently some Central American presidents are negotiating the situation of illegal immigrants after hurricane Katrina in Chicago.

⁹⁸ Migration governability means the possibility of governments to reconcile the characteristics, causes and effects of migration movements with the social demand and expectations relating to them.

During the past ten years bilateral and multilateral migration agreements⁹⁹ have generally aimed at improving the existing migration flow, including the regularization of immigrants; facilitating the deportation of illegal immigrants; establishing more border controls and organizing the flow of already established migrant workers.

Small advances in the South American region have recently been reached by migratory agreements realized between Argentina and Bolivia, Argentina and Peru, and with the signature of the Ministers of Interior and of the Presidents of the MERCOSUR¹⁰⁰ plus Chile and Bolivia, where they will allow free residence for their members (Santillo 2005, Perez 2005).

In May 2004, the Ministers of the Interior's Meeting of the MERCOSUR and Associated States¹⁰¹ took place in Santiago, Chile. The result was the "Declaration of Santiago" about migratory principles, expressing the necessity to rely on a new migratory policy for the region that strengthens the Latin American process of integration. The following are the principal approved aspects¹⁰²:

- To recognize the important contribution of the migrants in the formation of the States
- To strengthen the initiatives to facilitate and to regularize the migratory flows in the region
- To assure the migrants the respect of human rights and to recognize International Conventions
- To reaffirm the State's commitments to give and to promote international protection to refugees
- To ask countries outside of Latin America to grant within the region a just and humanitarian treatment toward emigrants, in conjunction with the treatment offered to natives in their respective countries
- To emphasize the importance of family reunification as a necessary element for the stability of the immigrants
- To reaffirm the commitment to attack the illicit traffic of migrants, the traffic in minors and other forms of transnational crimes, and to develop instruments of interchange and cooperation
- To condemn practices of xenophobia, deportations in mass or in groups, and detentions without legal support
- To admit that migrations require a multidisciplinary and multilateral treatment
- To recognize the importance of policy links with natives in the exterior

In Latin America a complex network of bilateral or sub-regional agreements dominates, tending to converge on a scheme of integration for the region. The emphasis has been placed on legal procedures that, with enough frequency, are not fulfilled. For instance, in MERCOSUR,

⁹⁹ During the past 50 years 168 bilateral agreements were signed, 42% among Latin American countries and 58% with countries in other regions (OIM 2003).

¹⁰⁰ Argentina, Brazil, Paraguay and Uruguay signed in 1991 the Asuncion's Agreement, creating the Common Market of the South (MERCOSUR). The basic aim is the integration across the free traffic of goods, services and productive factors through the establishment of a common trade policy and the coordination of macroeconomic and sectoral policies.

¹⁰¹ Argentina, Brazil, Paraguay, Uruguay, Bolivia, Chile and Peru

¹⁰² Available on line: http://www.digemin.gob.pe/f_home_digemin.asp?cpd=385

70% of the resolved judicial procedures among the countries are not incorporated in the respective national legislations (Foxley 2005). As a consequence, the implementation of the approved issues is very weak.

Santillo (2005) argues that analysis of the successive declarations of the Latin American governments on the topic of immigration shows a contradiction. On the one hand, they approve the struggle against the traffic of migrants, the defence and protection of the human rights. On the other hand, they do not ratify International Conventions and do not change their own legislations. In some countries, some regulations continue being restrictive; this allows the immigrants' abuse from criminal organizations and illegal activities.

Governments try to arbitrate directly in the conflicts. Others look to fulfil the deficiencies with unusual offers: the formation of the MERCOSUR parliament and a common currency. Ultimately integration exists more on paper than in reality. Business trade between countries of the region is scarcely 20% of the total trade, while in East Asia it is 50%, and in the European Union 65% (Foxley 2005).

These antecedents and figures aim at the necessity of a new emphasis in the integration efforts discussed currently in regional political agendas. There are two main issues: the first one deals with integration through energy and infrastructure networks. The second issue is the Latin Americanization of the leading companies in each country, as they look for strategic alliances in order to become productive actors on a worldwide level. This change of emphasis to integration from productive resources upwards would have several advantages. It would create economic interdependences that would reduce historical political differences.

As elsewhere in the world, it seems that the so-called "migration governability crisis" (OIM 2003 b) shows the growing difficulties that states face in managing migration alone. This turn has led to the growth of alternative migration management approaches, such as bilateral and multilateral agreements.

Finally, in conclusion it can be argued that in terms of government response, Latin American migration flows have changed considerably over the last decade (chapter 3.3.4). These changes have been accompanied by new government perceptions of migration issues and the adoption of new policies in most of the countries. The issue raises real questions and challenges that need answers as much from the conceptual perspective as from the political-institutional one. Each process of integration admits different visions and involves diverse thoughts that determine the course, depth and values incorporated in its developments.

From the sovereignty perspective, issues such as nationality, who can enter and remain in the territory and what rights they have, are part of the current discussion. The evolution of the migratory subject and free circulation in the MERCOSUR demonstrates that neither of the two approaches is sufficient to sustain international migratory policies (Perez 2005). At the present time international migration is a topic that involves the internal nature of each country within an international context.

6.4 History of migration and migration policies in Chile

The analysis of the Chilean censuses registries shows that the foreign population has not had a significant demographic impact (Graph 40). The geographic conditions have contributed to this demographic isolation, as well as scarce State initiatives promoting the entrance of immigrants into the country.

6.4.1 Selective admission and European dominance since the early days of immigration

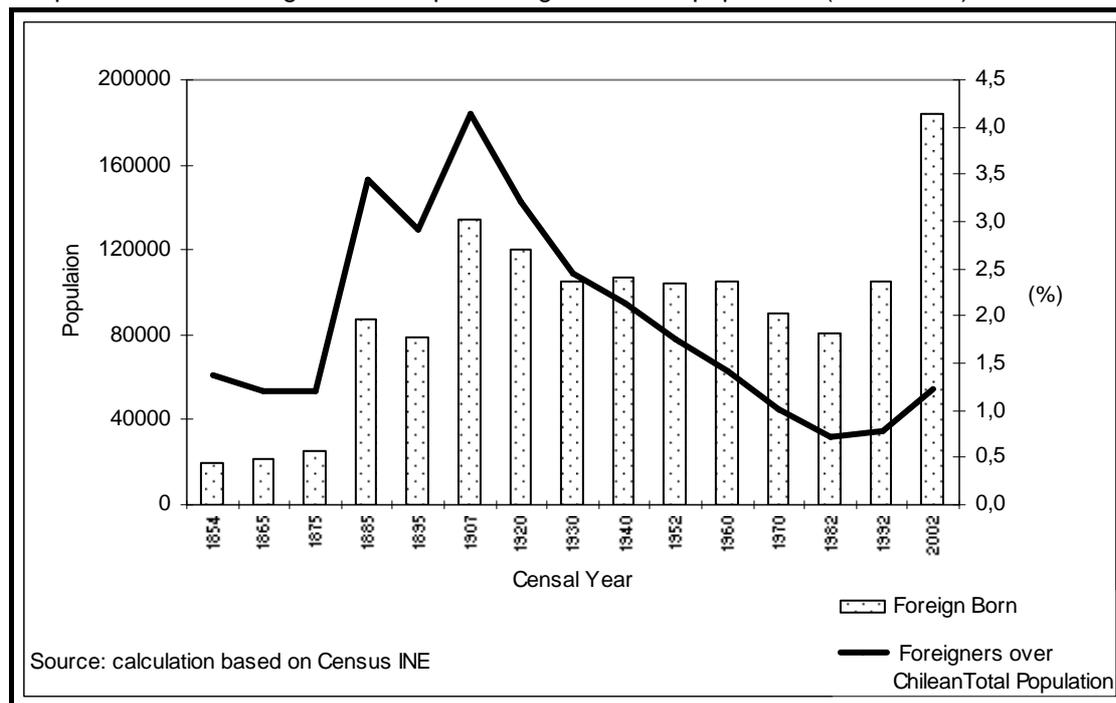
The policy attempts have had an eminently “selective nature” that is clearly observed in the first State policies dealing with the migratory issue:

- The first law to attract European migrants was published in 1824. Among the guarantees granted to the immigrants, the tax exemption for ten years stands out and the concession of fiscal areas to initiate their activities (Bravo 2000).
- In 1845, with the purpose of integrating extensive zones of the territory, a new law of immigration was published, supporting the German immigration to the Province of Valdivia (Krebs et al. 2001). The intention of this law was extended in 1851, with a new norm that allowed the President of the country to rule over uncultivated lands in order to foment colonization processes. It was through this legislation that the colonization process in Valdivia and Llanquihue continued (Krebs et al. 2001).
- In 1865 the government created a National Commission to support immigration. A controversial report was published in which the immigrants were classified according to their origin and possible contribution to the growth of the country. The entrance priorities were centred on Germans, Italians, Swiss, Basques, Belgians, Irish, Scottish, English, French, and finally Spanish. The report stressed that Asian and black emigration was not considered desirable by the Chilean government.
- After the pacification of the Araucanía in 1883¹⁰³, the government modified its migratory policy to strengthen the agricultural and industrial sector of the country. It inaugurated the General Agency of Immigration and Colonization of Chile in Europe. In this period the aim was to avoid what had happened in the south where the German settlement, far from integrating with the Chilean population, stayed absolutely isolated. It was hoped that this would stimulate the arrival of Europeans, preferably those from central and northern countries (Krebs et al. 2001).
- In 1889 the Office of Immigration was created to guide the unexpected newly arrived immigrants. Following Bravo (2000) spontaneous immigration was always more numerous than immigration fomented by the State, which always had the characteristic of being selective.

In summary, during the 19th century, regulatory laws were introduced to foment the presence of European immigrants. As Norambuena (2003) argues, during this period immigration was seen as the best way to improve Chileans' habits and customs, like the best instruments of progress that simultaneously guarantee the advantage of mixing races.

¹⁰³ The conquest, or "pacification" of the Araucanía, between 1862 and 1883, meant the political subjugation of the *Mapuche* population by the Chilean State.

Graph 40: Chile: foreign born and percentage over total population (1854-2002)



At the beginning of the 20th century the agrarian model of colonization assumed by the country, generated an intense public debate. The open door policy was not equal to all foreigners, as it encouraged the selection of immigrants. The strategy, from a selectivity point of view, was successful due to the fact that in all the censuses of the 19th century, Europeans exceed 50% of the foreign population (Graph 41). Nevertheless in quantitative terms the result was not the expected one; during the 19th century the percentage of foreigners did not exceed 3.5% of the national population (Graph 40).

At the end of the 19th century, and after Chile defeated Bolivia and Peru in the Pacific War (1879-83)¹⁰⁴, nitrate mines in areas conquered during the war became the source of huge revenues. By 1910 Chile had established itself as one of the most prosperous countries in Latin America. This economic growth is reflected in the first population census of the 20th century (1907). Here the highest number of immigrants of the century (135.000) was reached, a figure that represented 4% of the total population of the country (Graph 40). With the nitrate exploitation¹⁰⁵, the country managed to develop a spectacular economic prosperity that attracted many foreigners. In addition to the European traditional countries, new centres of origin such as China, Greece, Turkey, Palestine, Syria, Poland and Croatia¹⁰⁶ were attracted.

¹⁰⁴ The War of the Pacific began on the heels of an international economic recession that focused attention on resources in outlying zones. The decisive cause of the war between Chile and Bolivia was the violation by Bolivia of the Treaty of boundaries in effect between the two countries since 1874. The reaction of the Chilean government was the occupation of the port of *Antofagasta* in 1879. The Peruvian intervention in the conflict had its origin in the Treaty of the Alliance executed between this country and Bolivia in 1873.

¹⁰⁵ After the Pacific War, important nitrate deposits passed into the hands of the Chilean oligarchy. The Pacific War resolved the question of these deposits in favour of Chile in 1883. The country took possession of the ancient Peruvian provinces of Tacna and Arica.

¹⁰⁶ They are identified as Austro-Hungarians in the censuses reports.

Some of these new groups of immigrants were not received as well as the Europeans (British, Germans, Swiss, French) particularly the Chinese, Arabic and Asian. For instance, Rebolledo (1994) refers to *turcofobia* regarding discrimination attitudes concerning Palestinian, Syrian and Lebanese¹⁰⁷ immigrants who were kept for decades. One of the principal factors of rejection was economic. Preferring to work in trade and commercial activities, their importance to the economy was questioned. To contribute in an effective form to the progress of Chile it was felt necessary to be dedicated to agriculture, fishing, or the mining industry (Rebolledo, 1994).

In the following decades of the 20th century the foreign resident population slowly diminished¹⁰⁸ (Graph 40). Early, in 1918, and due to the First World War, selective immigrants' recruitment was stopped. Fears regarding massive refugees' flows led to strongly restricting their entrance to the country. During the Second World War, the migratory policy was hardened; the government demanded that all foreigners who wanted to come to the country had to possess enough money to be independent for at least six months; in a parallel move, the entry of relatives of those immigrants who had lived in Chile less than two years was suspended.

Thanks to a previous agreement signed before the outbreak of World War II, annual quotas of 50 to 60 Jewish families were allowed to enter the country. Nevertheless, these numbers were exceeded and more than 300 families were accepted by the end of 1938. The policy was based on the criteria "to open the doors with limitations" to those refugees whose antecedents of honesty and work were guaranteed for the "well-being of the republic" (Norambuena 2003).

Another important initiative was the Spanish refugee initiative (from the Spanish Civil War). In 1939 approximately 2.500 arrived. Pablo Neruda, the Chilean consul in Spain¹⁰⁹, was given responsibility for shipping 2.000 Spanish refugees to Chile. Neruda received presidential instructions regarding the profile of the new immigrants: bring people who know how to work the land or skilled workers (Ferrer Mir 1989).

At the end of the Second World War a series of initiatives to receive the displaced ones were taken. The profile of the "wanted" immigrant does not differ much from those described in the previous century.

Characteristics for racial harmony among the immigrants and the Chilean race, climatic equivalence with the country of origin, and an aptitude for being employed in industry and in the agricultural sector were stressed (Norambuena 2003). The new requirements of selectivity are reflected in the census figures. Contrary to what was expected, an increase in the number of foreigners due to the war, the census of 1952 shows a new decrease in the total number of foreign residents (Graph 40). Immigrants numbering 103.878, mainly European, were concentrated in the Provinces of Santiago and Valparaiso.

The predomination of European immigrants until the 1970s (Graph 41) is a reflection of the effort of the Chilean State to promote settling them in some areas in the south of the country.

¹⁰⁷ Pejoratively until today they are recognized as "Turks".

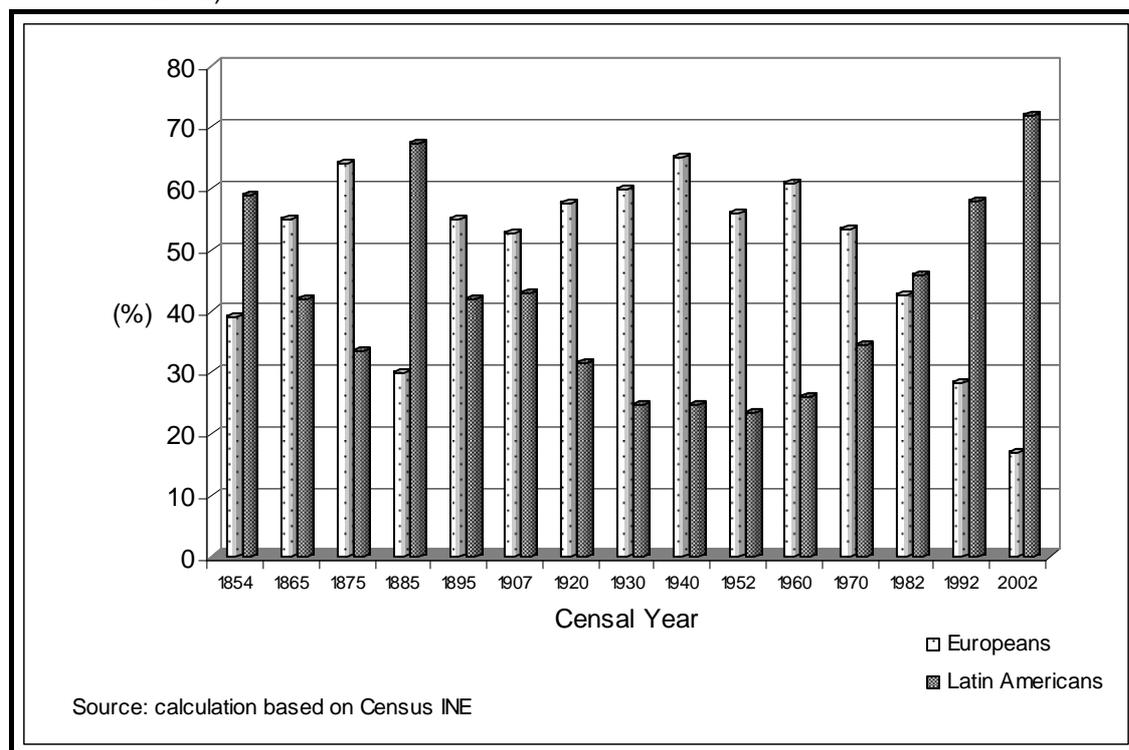
¹⁰⁸ Large-scale synthetic nitrate production became possible after the 1908 discovery of a process for producing ammonia from atmospheric nitrogen and hydrogen. This fact was the main factor of the Chilean nitrate decay and the consequent closing of the *salitreras* plants and the decay of life in *Pampas*, caused not only a diminution in the number of foreigners, but also the displacement of thousands of Chileans to central valleys, the Santiago capital, and the port of Valparaiso.

¹⁰⁹ Following the election in 1938 of President Pedro Aguirre Cerda whom Neruda supported, he was appointed special consul for Spanish emigration in Paris.

As it has been described, official decisions promoted not only selective immigration, but also assistance for spontaneous immigration. Though the initiatives undertaken were oriented to promote the development of the agricultural sector, most of the migrants ended linking themselves with urban base economic activities.

Although the colonization process in the south of the country is perceived up to today as successful, not all the experiences of European settling were positive. Martínez (1997) mentions frustrating experiences in localities near Santiago, La Serena and especially in the Region of “El Maule,” the location of the last group of German colonists¹¹⁰.

Graph 41: Participation of Europeans and Latin Americans in the stock of Chileans' migrants (1854-2002)



6.4.2 Military government and sharp rise of emigration

The international migratory situation in Chile during the last three decades cannot be understood without including the deep political, ideological, economic, and social changes that have affected the country since the 1970s.

In the presidential elections of that year, the left opposition was associated in a coalition known as “Unidad Popular” (Popular Union) who candidate, Salvador Allende, has presented a program of government that included the nationalization of the major industries, banking, and communications. As the winner of the elections, but with the support of only 37% of the

¹¹⁰ In 1961 there was established the "Sociedad Benefactora y Educacional Dignidad" near the city of Parral. Several hundred people were living there, the majority of German nationality, who were developing agricultural, commercial and welfare activities financed by the State. Throughout the years, numerous incidents and public denunciations of the character of this colony occurred. In the 1990s the Government cancelled the colony's legal rights.

Chileans, Allende turned into the first president chosen with a socialistic program in a non-western communist country.

After assuming power, the Popular Union rapidly began to implement its program. In the area of structural reforms, two basic measures were immediately begun. First, agrarian reform was greatly intensified, and a large number of farms were expropriated. Second, the government proposed to change the constitution in order to nationalize the large copper mines, which were jointly owned by large United States firms and the Chilean state.

All did not remain well in Allende's economy. The macroeconomic policies rapidly generated a situation of repressed inflation. During the first quarter of 1973, Chile's economic problems became extremely serious. Inflation reached an annual rate of more than 120%, and foreign exchange reserves held by the Central Bank were barely above US\$40 million. By then, the black market covered a widening range of transactions in foreign exchange. The fiscal deficit continued to climb as a result of spiraling expenditures and of rapidly disappearing sources of taxation. For that year, the fiscal deficit ended up exceeding 23% of GDP (Aylwin et al. 1983).

The depth of the economic crisis seriously affected the middle class, and relations between the Popular Union government and the political opposition became increasingly confrontational. On September 11, 1973, the regime came to a sudden and shocking end with a military coup and President Allende's suicide. Unlike the majority of the Latin American countries, Chile did not have a tradition of military intervention. The country was considered one of the most stable democracies in Latin America. However, in September 1973, general Pinochet assumed the control of the country. The military coup was characterized by the repression of legitimate political activities and massive detention of the followers of Allende's government. Torture and disappearances were frequent, especially in the first months of the dictatorship¹¹¹.

In the beginning of the 1970s, Chile received many refugees and exiled politicians who arrived after Allende's election, fleeing rightist governments or supporting what they considered to be a unique socialistic experience. In the middle of 1972, the Allende government calculated the number of refugees at about 5.000 (ACNUR 2000). As was expected, the military government imposed severe controls on those people who were categorized as "international terrorists"; some of them suffered pursuit, torture, and disappearance (OAE 1974). In 1975, the military government published the law decree 1094 known as "Immigration Law," which remains in force at present. In it are defined immigrant categories as well as regulations concerning entry, residence, control and foreigners' expulsion. This legislation was the reaction of a military dictatorship to facing the topic of migration from the perspective of national safety and the entry prevention of "dangerous" or "terrorist" elements.

From the beginning, the dictatorship used exile as one of the strategies to control and modify the Chilean political map. On the basis of Law Decree 81, from November 1973, which gave the regime unconditional authority to expel citizens, the expulsions were carried out.

It was allowed that the arrested, with and without condemnation, could ask for freedom with the condition of being expelled immediately from the country. Thousands of Chileans left the country for political reasons, some expelled by the dictatorship, others took refuge in embassies, and many escaped on their own.

¹¹¹ More than about 4.000 persons died and almost 60.000 were arrested (ACNUR 2000).

The Chilean exile was characterized by its multiple migratory waves, with diverse countries of reception in Latin America, Northern America, Australia, and Western and Eastern Europe. It was a multi-class phenomenon that affected ministers of State, high public employees, intellectuals and professionals, peasants, and the working class. Though it has been a topic of discussion in public debate and in the media, statistics on the number of persons who left the country during the dictatorship does not exist.

The figures go from 200.000 up to a million. Information in the *Vicaría de la Solidaridad*¹¹² estimated that between 1973 and 1987 more than 260.000, returned to the country (Rebolledo and Acuna 1999). Other sources calculate that the total number of those who fled the regime, either voluntarily or expelled, were not less than 200.000 persons (ACNUR 2000).

In 1975 radical economic liberal reformers came to power in Chile. The dictatorship used offensive monetary measures to reduce budget deficit and inflation. The pronounced goal was an efficient allocation of each resource on the market and a huge reduction of public spending. The new rulers privatized a vast number of state owned companies. In addition, they introduced an expansive export policy and an opening of the economy to the global market. The ideal state was considered to be only concerned with defence, law and order, and the central bank.

Within few years, the Chilean economy showed very positive reactions to these measures, then known as "the Chilean miracle"¹¹³. The neo-liberal reformers resulted in very efficient production based on strong competition. During this time vast structural reforms took place in the realm of social policy. Structural reforms in labour (e.g. cutting the unions' power in wage negotiations so they were unable to improve the situation of the workers); health (the sector was privatized by law, creating two different systems: one modern and private for the rich and one State based for middle class and poor people); social insurance (the new system is based on "individualized capitalization"), and education (privatized and decentralized).

Though political reasons might be the principal explanation of the Chilean Diaspora in the world, the number of Chileans abroad includes a population composed of emigrations accumulated over years; depending on the particular event experienced, the country has responded to political factors as well as to economic ones. It is important to consider the economic crisis at the beginning of the 1970s, the one of the 1980s¹¹⁴, and the high numbers of the young population that go abroad to study, mainly postgraduate programmes in the U.S. or Europe.

Martínez (1997) supports that Chileans residing abroad increased to almost 182.000 after the 1970s. In the 1980s the number was about 370.000, and in the 1990s the calculation reached 363.000. In these estimations some individuals are omitted, as they do not include the undocumented migrants.

¹¹² In 1973 the *Comité de Paz* (Committee of Peace) was created to support those people persecuted by the dictatorships. In 1975 it was forbidden. One year later the Cardinal of Santiago Raúl Silva Enríquez, created the *Vicaría de la Solidaridad*, an organization that played an important role protecting human rights. The fundamental aims of this Catholic organization were to defend the life of the prosecuted and to obtain the freedom of the arrested.

¹¹³ The "Miracle of Chile" is a phrase coined by Milton Friedman to describe the political results of the liberal economic reforms implemented in Chile under Pinochet's dictatorship.

¹¹⁴ Due to external changes, increasing international interest rates, the fall of commodity prices and the holding back of credits the miracle changed into a nightmare known as "recession": budget spending was reduced and wages were cut; private banks were rehabilitated by the State; unemployment rose and wages went down. The GDP fell to a record low and many companies went bankrupt.

In August 1988, in the framework of the campaign to win the plebiscite¹¹⁵, the military regime officially stopped the Chilean exile. The process did not begin at a specific moment since the military had established a selective return process through a system of “lists” that began to operate in 1982.

In September 1988, the military dictatorship signed the United Nations Convention against using torture. Nevertheless the request was not decreed until March 11, 1990 and did not apply retroactively. Gradually, the military government prepared to face an eventual defeat in the plebiscite. This one took place in October 1988 when almost 55% of the Chileans rejected the plan of Pinochet to remain in power for eight years more.

In spite of the strong control over foreigners and forced exile for many Chileans, the dictatorship fomented foreign investment and promoted exports. The Chilean economic model was known in its first stage, from 1974 to 1982, by the reduction of the State as a productive, financial and regulatory agent and by polemic policies of market liberalization. These facilitated the arrival of migrants with economic resources and high levels of education (Doña and Levinson 2004). In spite of this selectivity, the military dictatorship discouraged more immigration to the country. As a result, in the population census of 1982 foreign residents reached the lowest number of the 20th century with only 80.479 persons, less than 1% of the country's population (Graph 40).

6.4.3 The recovery of democracy

Two significant factors that promoted important changes in migratory flows took place at the end of the 1980s: first, the plebiscite of 1988 when the continuation of Pinochet in power was rejected and, second, the increasing economic stability of the country along with the deterioration of the political and economic situation in Latin American countries.

The new political and economic situation of the country was reflected in the population census of 1992, when 105.070 foreigners were registered (Graph 40). Though the percentage of the total population continues to be low, the growth rate turns out to be the highest (2.9%) of the last 70 years (Table 18).

The interpretation of this slight increase in the migratory stock presents serious difficulties; the return of many exiles during this period leads one to think that many children of Chileans born outside the country belong to the category of foreign immigrant.

Nevertheless not many explanations exist; the exact number of those who have returned to the country is not known; associate statistics do not exist and if there is some data they do not distinguish between those returned who were born in Chile or abroad.

For those in exile, the return also was a process with multiple flows. It did not have massive characteristics, due to the fact that it is linked with family and personal decisions more than State policies. These facts make it more difficult to quantify the process.

The help programs for the reinstatement of the returned Chilean population were not part of a global strategy. Funds destined for this aim were strongly questioned, and arose principally

¹¹⁵ In 1980, a new constitution was approved, which prescribed a single-candidate presidential plebiscite in 1988 and a return to civilian rule in 1990. Pinochet lost the 1988 plebiscite, which triggered multi-candidate presidential elections in 1989 to choose his replacement.

from an agreement signed between the Chilean and German governments in 1990¹¹⁶. If it is considered that the return process began in the 1980s, in 1993 it was estimated that about 200.000 political emigrants were still living abroad (Rebolledo and Acuña 1999).

Table 44: Population born in Chile and living in selected countries during the 1990s and 2000.

Country of Residence	Number	Percentage	Country of Residence	Number	Percentage
Argentina	218.217	44,82	Denmark	1.307	0,27
Bolivia	3.909	0,80	Spain	18.083	3,71
Brazil	20.437	4,20	Finland	218	0,04
Colombia	1.496	0,31	France	11.207	2,30
Ecuador	4.948	1,02	United Kingdom	5.131	1,05
Paraguay	2.264	0,47	Greece	395	0,08
Peru	4.652	0,96	Hungary	97	0,02
Uruguay	1.726	0,35	Ireland	158	0,03
Venezuela	20.787	4,27	Luxemburg	127	0,03
South America	278.436	57,19	Nederland	2.840	0,58
Costa Rica	1.277	0,26	Norway	5.743	1,18
El Salvador	209	0,04	New Zealand	756	0,16
Guatemala	185	0,04	Poland	23	0,00
Nicaragua	115	0,02	Portugal	190	0,04
Panama	975	0,20	Slovak Republic	5	0,00
Central America	2.761	0,57	Sweden	27.528	5,65
Canada	25.860	5,31	Switzerland	5.318	1,09
USA	84.875	17,43	Europe	83.640	17,18
Mexico	3.848	0,79	Turkey	45	0,0
North America	114.583	23,53	Australia	6.917	0,17
Austria	841	0,17	Japan	486	0,1
Belgium	3.644	0,75	Other	7.448	1,53
Check Republic	29	0,01	Total immigrants	486.868	100,0

Source: calculation based on CEPAL-CELADE 2000 and OECDb 2004.

Results of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores 2005) indicate that at the present almost 860.000 Chileans live outside the country. However detailed statistics is not available. In our case it was possible, with difficulties, to re-constitute the estimated stock of Chileans living abroad (Table 44). The information for Latin America, the US and Canada was obtained from the IMILA project (CEPAL - CELADE 2000); nevertheless each country has carried out its census in a different year. For the countries of the OECD the data

¹¹⁶ Germany provided Chile approximately US\$6 million, under the concept of a loan with an annual interest of 2% and 30 years term, including a grace period of ten years. In addition the German government donated US\$ 5 million to support feasibility studies, qualification and consultant's office for the return population projects (Revista Que Pasa 1999b).

was obtained from population census and records for the year 2000. For this reason the number of Chilean residents in Mexico, Canada and the US was updated following this source. Lamentably there was not had access to the number of Chilean residents in Germany and Italy, countries recognized as important destinies during the 1970s. The final result shows around 500.000 Chileans living abroad, mainly in countries of South America (57%).

Concerning political refugees, the proximity of the borders and cultural similarities are factors for explaining why most of those who asked for refuge in Chile came from Latin American countries. Refugees numbering 279 entered the country between 1992 and 2000, mainly Peruvian, Cubans, Ecuadorians, and Colombians (La Tercera 2000). Compared with other countries, the number is low; nevertheless, in the Chilean context the subject is new; its incorporation into the political agenda consolidates slowly, mainly like a principle of historical reciprocity.

Since the end of the military regime periodic free elections have been carried out, through four governments elected following the re-establishing of democracy. The number of immigrants rose to 184.464 in 2002 and the growth rate reached 5.8% throughout the four democratic governments; this is the highest immigrant growth rate in the Chilean history.

6.4.4 The current discussion and national policy challenges

In the middle of the 1990s the immigrants' presence became obvious in the country; they were a topic of conversation and appeared in the media regarding certain specific subjects such as the situation of the political refugees and the conflict provoked by the incorporation of Cuban, Peruvian and Ecuadorean doctors into the primary health care system. The topic has been part of the public agenda and discussed within the society. Nevertheless the country was not prepared for this new immigration climate. For the first time a migratory process of significant magnitude arose, not precipitated by the State. Aylwin's government (1990-1994) proposed a legal project at the beginning of the 1990s but due to its weaknesses it was withdrawn.

At the end of 1997, immigrants from different places in the world, especially Latin America, spent days at the Department of Foreign Affairs in Santiago waiting for visa regularization.

This alerted the interest of the mass media and of the Chileans: the deficient government's attention made clear the importance of the number of immigrants from Peru, Argentina, and Bolivia who were in the country¹¹⁷. The image of the "most modern country of South America," the most developed and the one with the most stable economy showed its fragility. The amnesty process of 1998 partially relieved the documentation problem¹¹⁸.

¹¹⁷ On December 6, 1997 the newspaper "La Tercera" published the headline: "Veloz aumento de extranjeros en Chile" ("Foreigners' fast increase in Chile"), and daily "La Cuarta" would do the same thing with: "Locura por vivir en Jaguarlandia" ("Madness for living in the Jaguar land").

¹¹⁸ In 1998, the government of Eduardo Frei (1994-2000) developed a legalization program to permit illegal immigrants to obtain a temporary visa, which would be valid for a year. This process legalized 16.764 Peruvians and 2.116 Bolivians. Few immigrants took advantage of the program because of the cost and time involved in the process (Doña and Levison 2004).

At present, the existing legal framework¹¹⁹ only regulates the entrance, residence, definitive permanence, exit, deportation and control of foreign population. Nevertheless it does not recognize the reality of labour immigrants, one of the most important flows to the country. Moreover the legal frame does not allow the entrance to those persons without a profession or economic resources that let them live in Chile without being a “social burden”¹²⁰. Thus the current Chilean legislation just recognizes as a “resident” those immigrants with a contract, students, temporary or refugees¹²¹. Besides the interpretation of the law, its effective application, in most of the cases depends on the discretionary criteria of the police officer of migration. These criteria can be applied in a discriminatory way, invoking elements of economic and ethnic character (Universidad Diego Portales 2005).

Therefore the immigrant is in a vulnerable situation because of their limited rights and their inability to defend them. For instance, the topic of visas is one of the problems that the immigrants must confront¹²². To be able to work, a contract visa must be requested. This one may be granted on the basis of a work contract with a specific employer. If for some reason the employer ends the contract, the visa also ends. The described situation leaves migrants at great disadvantage regarding the employer.

A new migratory law is urgent since in the last years there have been an increase in xenophobic speeches that affect especially Peruvian and Bolivian residents in the country. Because of suitable legal protection, the media, some politicians and social actors feed xenophobic and racist prejudices¹²³.

The survey of the Instituto Ciencias Sociales (ICSO) of the University Diego Portales¹²⁴ concludes that 59.2% of Chileans think that foreign residents are a risk for the labour sources of the Chileans. This fear is greatest in Santiago and in the northern zone of the country where most of the migrants are located. As a result of this apprehension there are obvious popular conclusions: 51.3% of the Chileans believe the State should establish restrictions to the foreign workers. Again the most drastic are the inhabitants of Santiago with 57%.

The immigrant is perceived as a predator that eliminates job possibilities, establishing a direct competition with the natives. As they have more need, they charge less for their work and accept inferior labour conditions.

Besides, there exists the vision that immigrants ruin public services, especially education and health. As with the labour topic, the problem arises with undocumented immigrants, since they are exposed to improper practices from employers (low salaries and extensive days of work), which can affect the labour conditions of other workers. The precarious day-to-day conditions that immigrants must face and the absence of social and legal protection favour the emergence of criminal actions as mechanisms of survival in an environment that ex-

¹¹⁹ Decree Law 1.094, article 1 (1975). The Decree No 597, from 1984 was modified in May 2000. It approves the new foreign regulation. Nevertheless it only classifies the legal standing of foreigners as tourists, residents or official residents.

¹²⁰ Decree Law 1.094, article 15, number 4 (1975).

¹²¹ Decree Law 1.094, article 22 (1975).

¹²² Available on line: <http://www.extranjeria.gob.cl/>

¹²³ Culturally the image of Chile as a homogeneous country where discrimination is only by class is dominant. The presence of new foreigners coincides with the reactivation of the Mapuche's movements. Such homogeneity is very relative and strong discrimination movements exist.

¹²⁴ The survey was conducted in August 2005 considering 1302 persons around the country.

cludes and isolates them. Other associated dangers are the emergence of mafias that regularized the permission papers at the margin of the law (Stefoni 2002b).

Also in the survey mentioned above, 63.3% of the polled population believes that there are more resident foreigners than the Chilean society can stand. Another concern is the fact that the majority believes that immigrants have a low cultural level. According to the authors of the study, the levels of the Chilean immigrants' rejection are higher than the world average.

It is essential to contribute to new agendas arguing against the anti-migration attitude of society. It is important to rely on a modern migratory policy, but it is more important that the Chilean population stops being afraid of the foreigners' presence. The integration and acceptance of the immigrants will allow optimising the advantages and reducing the costs of a process that doesn't seem to stop (Stefoni 2002b).

The joint Agenda elaborated by the OIM (International Organization of the Migrations) and the government of Chile (OIM 2004)¹²⁵, established the following programs and work-areas for the period 2004-2005:

- Formulation and application of a migration policy;
- Awareness to the natives resident in the exterior;
- Implementation of agreements with the Plan of Action of the South American Conference for Migrations;
- Training of government employees and leaders of opinion in migratory issues;
- Analysis and reflection on the processes of integration;
- Generation and development of strategic information for the decision making processes in public migratory policies through the creation and operation of the South American Observatory on Migrations (OSUMI) and the development of the Centre of Migratory Information of Latin America (CIMAL);
- Elaboration of a strategy of promotion of the migrants' human rights; and
- Development of programmes linked with the regional migration process

Up to now (May 2006) the proposed goals have not been fulfilled and the country still does not rely on a migratory updated policy. In this context it turns out interesting to think about some elements necessary to incorporate to the current discussion.

6.5 Migration management in the Santiago Metropolitan Area

Chile is still in the process to elaborate a national migration policy. The Ministry of Interior is the institution in charge, along with other functions, to draw up a proposal and to present it to the Senate for discussion. In this section this issue is taken up. However, the idea is not to develop recommendations for the whole country but to limit them to the Santiago Metropolitan Area.

¹²⁵ Available on line:
www.oimchile.cl/documentos/AGENDA_CONJUNTA_2004_RESUMEN_abril2004.doc.

Taking under consideration that the 61% of the international migrants are living in the MSA and almost 50% of them live in 5 of the 34 communes of the SMA, the findings of this study and the related recommendations, however, can be a contribution to the national discussion. If it is possible to understand the situation in this rather small part of the country, one may find a key to policies and strategies which are relevant also for other regions in terms of the main elements to be incorporated.

Until now international migration represents only 1.2% of the total population of Chile and only 2% of the MSA population. This percentage shows that migration is not a “massive” process, and as the scientific discussion shows, in a globalized economy it is difficult to work on forecast. However, now is the correct moment to work on a general framework for a national policy and to tackle the challenge of management of international migration in the country.

The following chapter deals with the management of international migration in the SMA and its challenges. It is based on the considerations above in this chapter and on the results obtained in chapters 4 and 5. It takes up four main issues as requirements for an improved management: diagnosis based on proper data and information; an adequate institutional framework and the participation of stakeholders; international cooperation, as well as emphasis on the integration of migrants. These issues are dealt with in the following sections.

6.5.1 Strengthening the diagnosis regarding immigration

Regarding data for migration management, Chile regularly carries out population censuses every ten years. However, they include only two questions on international migration, namely those concerning the place of birth and the place of residence of the population at a given time in the past (5 years).

As it was presented and analyzed in chapter 4, data is available on different levels, such as the national, regional, communal, district and block levels, and with specific software it is possible to analyze the socioeconomic attributes of those who are recognized have been born in another country. In spite of the data is very complete international migration is a dynamic phenomena and it is important to make a closer monitoring, especially in those cases, as the Chilean one, where international migration is a rather new situation.

As applied in chapter 4, one alternative to the use of census data is to use the statistics on visa and residence permits elaborated by the Ministry of Interior. However, until now this data remains mostly unknown, it is difficult to access it, and potential users are rare. Furthermore, this source of information registers the moment at which the legal procedure is carried out or is granted or when the permission to stay in the country is renewed and in most of the cases these administrative procedures do not necessarily coincide with the exact moment of the migration. It is necessary to have more systematic information associated with the immigrants (e.g. nationality, place of born and former employment) and to give annual reports that can be useful for the research community, public organizations and especially the media. This is one of the ways to stop rumors and speculation regarding the real immigrant situation in the country.

Statistics concerning population movements across frontiers or through international airports as well those coming from consular registers are not published. This is other important issue

due to the fact that the main immigrants' flows come from Latin American countries. Most of these migrants¹²⁶ can stay in the country with a tourist visa for 3 months. When the visa is not valid anymore they just go to the frontier and enter again. From a scientific point of view this is extremely valuable information for the study of transmigration. From a governmental point of view this could also be a way to understand and measure illegal migration.

Finally it is also necessary to more clearly define who are considered as international migrants in Chile, those who have been born abroad or those who have a different nationality? This issue was more in depth analyzed in chapter 2.1. The choice of the place of birth for the definition seems to coincide with the international trend. The relevance of the issue of adequate information and monitoring can be highlighted looking at the following example:

The main results from the diagnosis in the SMA show that in terms of origin, 64% of the immigrants are from South America. Moreover, results show that international migration is a recent process. In the case of Ecuadorians, Colombians, Cubans and Peruvians more than the 80% of the immigrants have arrived since the 1990s. The current flow has a spontaneous character; it is mainly labour migration with a strong participation of women from bordering countries. Regarding the consequences of international migration, it can be said that immigrants strongly contribute to the educational level of the population in the SMA. Among those aged 18 and more, 42% hold a university education and a further 13% hold some other form of post secondary credentials.

Regarding the spatial distribution, most of the migrants are concentrated in few communes. Therefore it is not a phenomenon that affects the 34 municipalities of the SMA with the same intensity. It is concentrated in a specific part of the city (central-east) mainly in the "rich" communes. Concerning intra-urban segregation, these are not ghettos at all. Immigrants choose their residential location considering their incomes (possibility to pay) or the labour market (living in the houses where they work as domestic servants). Consequently the spatial distribution of migrants follows the socioeconomic pattern of the SMA inhabitants.

As a result, it could be seen that there are still good chances to manage international migration in the metropolis. However, public opinion seems to be different as it follows the typical negative perception of immigration and establishes myths regarding migrants. Better information and its dissemination could help here. This becomes especially important when following Riesco (2003) looking at the figures of the last census of population. The figures are disquieting¹²⁷, because they demonstrate a scarce population for the country and with dangerous signs of stagnation in future. Here immigration could play a vital role. However, this can only be effective if public opinion becomes more realistic. Any policy of settlement must be designed jointly with a migratory policy and this one must concentrate on the real necessities and possibilities of the country. It is necessary to clarify whether there is a necessity to attract migrants or not.

¹²⁶ Bolivia was an exception for many years. Since September 2005, Bolivian tourist do not need passport to travel, as tourist, to Chile.

¹²⁷ The population of Chile will continue to grow in spite of the fertility rate descent (1.35 children per family during the next ten years). By 2050 it is expect the population surpass 20 million (CELADE 2005). However these projections also show that Chile's population is ageing and towards mid century there will be more grown up adults than children, as a result of a gradual birth declination and a sustained increase in living expectations.

6.5.2 Improvement of the institutional framework and the participation of stakeholders

The increase of international migration to Chile, especially the new migratory flow coming from neighbouring countries, has made waves in the media and has prompted a great national debate about migration policy. As it was analyzed in chapter 6.4.4 discussions about the new migration policy are taking place since the beginnings of the 1990s, however, still without concrete results. Until now, the institutional arrangements are deficient: The current legislation involves only three levels of government as stakeholders in the regulation of international migration (Graph 42), the national level with the Ministry of Interior, and two regional levels, the Region (*Intendencias*) on the one hand and the Provinces (*Gobernación*) on the other.

The turn of century may be seen as the threshold between a period when the government could handle the low flow of international immigration as well as emigration and a new era which calls for a process of defining a new institutional framework to manage the issue of the recent immigration patterns. The Chilean government has to reorganize the administrative structures and their functions in order to deal with migration issues. Definitely, the government's role as the principal stakeholder in policy making needs to be strengthened, but its position and principles regarding international migration have to become clearer.

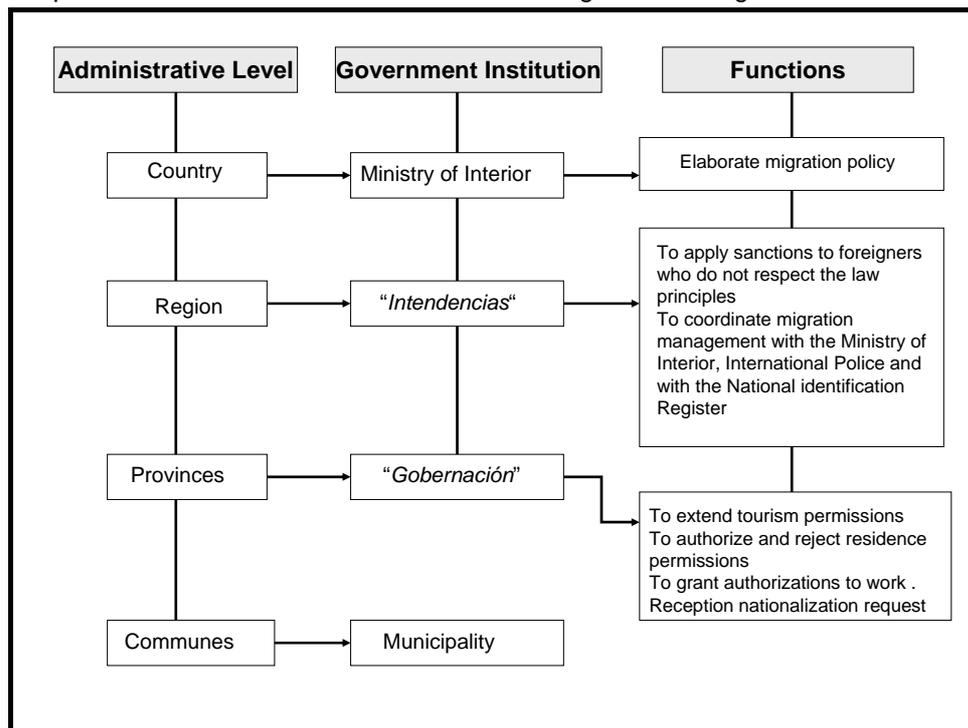
The reform may also increase the responsibilities of the Ministry of Interior in this field. However, it also seems to be necessary to increase the participation of other ministries dealing with migration, such as Foreign Affairs, Justice, Education, Culture, Planning, Labour, Housing and Health. One conclusion of this study shows that one of the most important lines of action is to establish an overall coordination framework, such as an inter-ministerial commission responsible for immigration issues. It should contribute to a more holistic vision of immigration and a common understanding of immigration as a phenomenon that is desirable for Chile.

For example, the study has shown that most of the migrants are rather well integrated into the labour market and there is not much job competition. However, results for the SMA also indicate that skilled immigrants are "complements" while unskilled natives and immigrants are "substitutes". Conflicts arising from this situation should be envisaged and tackled by this inter-ministerial commission. Other topics to be dealt with would include the regulation of migratory flows, and the integration of resident foreigners and their families into the Chilean society.

Concerning the municipal role, Graph 42 shows that in the current institutional framework, communes do not have any kind of role. This is due to the fact that, as it was discussed above, the actual migration law dates back from 1975, when all mayors were designated by the military regime.

It was only after the Pinochet dictatorship, that democratic municipalities were established, oriented to solving the internal communal problems with a set of competencies (e.g. regarding education and health) that allow the mayors to go beyond their role as managers. Besides in the case of the SMA, municipalities define themselves as cities within the metropolis and most of the mayors even don't see the necessity to share a common metropolitan legal and institutional framework. Moreover, they do not recognize the Regional Government as their representation (Schiappacasse and Müller 2004).

Graph 42: Institutional framework for the management of migration in Chile



Source: elaborate by the author based on <http://www.extranjeria.gob.cl>

On this background, it seems to be urgently necessary to discuss the future role of municipalities in the immigration topic. International experience shows that there are successful ways to decentralize the management of migration and to develop information systems at the local level. Such alternatives would allow a better control system and the possibility to work in integration programmes closely with the immigrants' profile in a local level.

In addition to governmental institutions, an additional number of actors who try to generate discussions and influence political decision-making in the area of immigration should be considered, such as political parties, trade unions and professional organizations, immigrant associations, churches and associations of religious character, non-governmental organizations that, either directly or indirectly, are involved in offering assistance to immigrants, as well as University institutions and research centres (e.g. CEPAL, FLACSO) that are dedicated to research in the area of international migration.

The increase and diversification of migratory flows in the SMA have been reflected in the creation and strengthening of various associative movements. They concentrate on the defence of immigrants' rights and the possibility to offer different forms of assistance for their integration into the society, mainly for those most in need (e.g. working in domestic services), through non-governmental organizations, e.g. religious institutions, namely those related to the Catholic Church. Here it cannot be the intention to give a full picture here and to describe their activities. However, many of them have been mentioned in this study. The message here is that it is absolutely necessary to identify all the main stakeholders involved with the topic and to incorporate them in the current policy discussion.

Perhaps this is one of the bottlenecks in the national policy debate and its poor results until now. Unquestionable it is not an easy subject. There are many actors and different positions. However it is necessary to open the debate and to promote public and private participation

as in liberal democratic systems the question “who makes migration policy” is always connected with a more specific question: to what extent does policy reflect the interests and preferences of stakeholders, e.g. of a majority of citizens, small interest groups, or simply national constitutional principles (Martínez-Herrera and Moualhi 2004).

6.5.3 Fostering international cooperation

A migratory policy that tries to be modern and to reflect the public’s demands would have to admit that immigration to Chile is a fact of reality. Migratory phenomena are not short-term processes. If the reasons that provoke them are not modified, the flows will continue.

Considering that the country’s growing economic strength will likely continue to attract migrants, it is necessary to work on a policy that will benefit both migrants and nationals alike. Nothing indicates that in the short term important changes will occur in neighbouring countries. Initial proposals of migration policies suggest that Lagos’ government tried to strengthen the image of Chile as an open and receiving country. While nothing has been formally agreed upon, his government’s main objectives were to legalize the status of all those who resided in the territory, improve the link with Chilean nationals in the exterior, integrate and modernize the administration along the borders, and encourage regional cooperation on migration issues with other South American countries (Doña and Levison 2004).

Regarding this issue, international experiences indicates that the following should be considered while elaborating a migration policy (Borge 2006):

- structural elements of the countries involved in the phenomenon such as historical, economic, political and social conditions;
- current incidents, such as economic or political crises and natural disasters;
- the impact of international changes like schemes of integration or commercial agreements;
- the respect of international regulations and the search for bilateral or multilateral agreements in migratory issues; an interesting example is Spain that has signed agreements with Poland, Romania, Bulgaria, Ecuador and Colombia among others, these agreements consider the administration and the supply of migrant manpower, their rights, the labour and social conditions, the regulation of the temporary workers, and the regularization of the return process¹²⁸.
- an in-depth analysis of national regulations connecting migration with international regulations; this should incorporate an evaluation of the already existing agreements among the embassies and consulates.

Regarding international cooperation and agreements, there are especially three fields of concern: professional standards, opportunities related to the education system and its consequences as well as cross-border arrangements. They will be discussed in the following paragraphs.

The importance of international agreements and cooperation regarding professional standards can be seen from the following example of the health sector: In Chile, at the end of the

¹²⁸ Available on line: <http://canales.laverdad.es/especiales/leyextran>.

1990s, the topic of foreign professionals living and working in the country became gradually part of the national discussion, especially in the health sector. Although from an overall standpoint health and social work activities do not have an important share within the total immigrant stock in the SMA (chapter 4.7.2), results showed three groups (Ecuadorians, Cubans and Bolivians) with an important proportion of their residents working in this sector of the economy.

One of the reasons for this is that since the middle of the 1980s, the number of foreign medical graduates has shown a sharp rise. Most of them work as primary care physicians in inner city clinics and take jobs most national graduates would not be interested in. However, a few of them have undergone specialization or subspecialty training, and are very successful in their practices. The lack of interest of Chilean professionals to work in the public sector explains the government's concern to promote hiring foreigners. Chilean doctors, including the recently graduated, prefer to work in the private sector where they can get higher salaries. The crisis in the public sector still continues and for example in 2004, the health authorities in the north of the country (e.g. Antofagasta) promoted the arrival of Uruguayan doctors through consulate assistance.¹²⁹

In Chile the practice of medicine is regulated by law. A valid title of "*Médico-Cirujano*" (Physician-Surgeon, the equivalent of the U.S.'s MD) issued by one of the Universities accredited by the Ministry of Education is the only requisite for practice. Foreign medical graduates must pass an examination at the University of Chile before being granted permission to practice. However, graduates from Ecuador, Uruguay, Colombia and Brazil are exempted from this prerequisite by treaties signed in the beginning of 20th century. This exemption has generated a deep controversy in the civil society, universities, professionals associations and politicians, exacerbated by some scarce medical negligence stressed by the media.

The revision and modification of such old treaties seems to be urgently necessary. However, it is not a simple procedure because it requires new bilateral agreements, and some countries have not shown interest in their revision. For example, a new migration policy has to regulate the norms for foreign professionals working in Chile. It is not justified that some professionals require evaluation and others not. It is also necessary to work on standards for the accreditation of those who want to work in Chile, without nationality distinctions, and to Chileans that want to work in other Latin-American countries. Standards should be set by the governments accordingly.

There are a lot of examples for this: In Australia, physicians who are seeking permanent residency are required to pass an examination administered by the Australian Medical Council. This examination is set at the standard of medical knowledge, clinical skills and attitudes required of newly qualified graduates from Australian medical schools. In Canada, international physicians must take the Medical Council of Canada Evaluating Examination and must fulfill registration requirements of licensing bodies. In order to practice in the United States, physicians trained abroad must pass a clinical skills assessment exam. In addition, they must complete graduate training in most cases (Bourassa et al. 2004).

Another important issue of international cooperation is education: Results of the data analysis show that the SMA is not only a potential market for immigrants looking for a job but that

¹²⁹ The offer included US\$ 1.800 monthly (11 hours a week). The salaries of Uruguayans' doctors in average are US\$300 per month, working 8 hours per day (El Mercurio 2006).

more than 15% of the immigrants over the age of 15 were studying (chapter 4.4). Among some groups the percentage of secondary and university students is higher than 25% (Venezuela, Brazil and USA), a fact that opens a new question about the attraction of the SMA regarding education for young, especially Latin American immigrants.

The international trend is to recruit foreign students not only because the tuition fees paid generate a direct financial benefit to the universities concerned but also because they provide a potential reserve of highly qualified labour that is familiar with prevailing rules and conditions in the host country. Data suggests that after their graduation many of these students remain in the host country. For example in the U.S., 47% of foreign born Ph.D. graduates remain in the country (OECD 2002).

Regarding the issue of education, it becomes necessary to establish an active policy regarding universities' agreements, scholarship and loans. In Chile public and private universities are expensive. To obtain a loan is rather difficult for a foreign student. Therefore, Chile needs policies that allow for both temporary and permanent resident status for those that want to be part of the university system. It is necessary to revise the current visa structure to increase the flow of foreign Latin American talent to Chile, and to loosen current rules for the provision of students' visas. Both steps will make it easier for foreign students to be educated, and eventually become entrepreneurs in the country.

This situation needs to be understood as an advantage for the country. There is evidence that confirms that skilled immigration can have a positive impact on the scientific and technological assets of receiving countries and therefore on innovation and economic performance. The question is how to make Chile more attractive for highly-skilled individuals such as graduate students, information technology (IT) specialist and business managers? Some of these highly-skilled immigrants migrate on a temporary basis, while others migrate with an intention to settle permanently in the country. Here state policies are extremely important.

Like other categories of migrants, skilled people mostly move in response to opportunities abroad that are better than the ones available at home as well as in response to migration policies. Following OECD (2002), many factors play a role in the decision of the highly-skilled to migrate and in their choice of destination, including intellectual pursuits and research or language training. In the cases of academic research, the conditions in the host country regarding support for research as well as the demand for R&D staff and academics can be an important determinant in the migration decision and destination. This is another important challenge not only for the Chilean State but also for public and private universities. Among entrepreneurs, the climate for innovation generally, and for business start-ups and self-employment in particular, may play an important role in the decision of the highly-skilled to move abroad. As it was analyzed in chapter 1 Chile, and mainly the SMA are well evaluated in these topics among the Latin American countries (Table 2 and Graph 1).

Finally, regarding international agreements, especially among Latin American countries, it is necessary to find solutions regarding remittances and issues of social security, such as the free movement of pensions etc. It is essential to establish an active policy with relation to this, at least in a regional context. It requires an adequate support system that does not imply high costs for immigrants. A migratory policy would have to consider the immigrant population within a concept of opening integration as an element of the country's development. In this context, it is definitively necessary to make a step forward towards the concept of a Latin American citizenship.

6.5.4 Shaping public opinion and strengthening integration policies

As indicated above (chapter 6.4.4), the Diego Portales University (2005) conducted a survey designed to gauge opinions among the Chilean general public opinion regarding migration issues. It seems that over the years a rather negative perception of immigrants has evolved in the Chilean society. The study showed an exaggerated perception of the number of foreigners, something the media to a large extent is made responsible for. However, from a scientific standpoint it has to be mentioned that such surveys have to be more systematic in order to understand the perception and attitudes of the population towards international migrants.

In this context the Spanish know-how is an interesting experience to be learnt from. Since the year 2000 questions related to migration issues are included in a national survey on a monthly basis. Immigration appears as an unsolicited response to the question: "What are in your opinion, the three biggest problems currently faced by Spain?" Secondly, a survey (carried out once a year) gives more attention to the migration issue by including a set of questions regarding population attitudes on a broader range of issues: the right of a person to live in another country, the friendliness of feelings towards nationals of various countries, the level of concern about mixed marriages, the education of immigrant minors, the fact of living or working in proximity with immigrants, as well as attitudes towards the laws on foreigners, their rights, and social integration (Zapata Barrero 2003). Such kinds of surveys allow understanding the main negative perceptions regarding immigration (e.g. level of education, job competition), and they can help to develop educational programs and an evaluation of the role of the media shaping the citizen's perception.

It is well known that migration may cause many effects and that – in case they are not handled adequately – may lead to negative externalities, such as xenophobia or social dissatisfaction. Governability in this field depends on a lot of factors. One of the most important elements is an integration approach based on detailed information which can draw a true picture about the situation in the country or a region such as the SMA, political will and the development of adequate means to manage migration issues.

The integration of immigrants in Chile is still in an early stage of development. However, there is an ongoing open debate about it. In future, a migration policy will have to concentrate more on efficient means of integration. It needs to facilitate the process of obtaining visas, incorporating educational opportunities for the children of immigrants, and creating a program that opens more opportunities for immigrants to political participation, social security, and health benefits. Such measures should help to overcome the negative perception regarding immigrants and to face the greatest challenge of migration, i.e. to integrate all groups of immigrants into the society.

One of the most important aspects here is the role of the municipalities in the processes of migrants' integration. Especially the social, economic, cultural as well as security issues of migration should be under the responsibility of municipalities. This will be a big challenge for the country as a large number of questions have to be solved, such as questions related to financial support, technical capacities and the shaping of local strategies.

During the 15th Ibero-American Summit in October 2005 former President Lagos said that Chile is dealing with migration, and trying to find ways to ensure basic rights for immigrants, whether they have their papers in order or not. "We are receiving migrants from neighbouring

countries, and we are concerned about what to do with them. We have established that the children of these migrants have the right to an education in Chile, even if they are undocumented"¹³⁰. It seems and it is hoped that Bachelet's government (2006- 2010) will follow the same principles.

¹³⁰ Available on line:
http://www.chileangovernment.cl/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=211&Itemid=5.

Chapter 7 Conclusions and recommendations

By reviewing the most significant approaches on the topic of international migration and general antecedents (census data, visa registers, documents) that are based on the current global, national and local (SMA) situation, **four objectives** were defined:

1. To identify major patterns of international migration as a context for comparison and understanding the migration flows to Chile, and especially to the Santiago Metropolitan Area.
2. To contribute to a better understanding of recent international migration flow to the Santiago Metropolitan Area, as an example of a new centre of growing importance in Latin America, through the analysis of their demographic, economic, social and spatial main characteristics.
3. To examine and analyze the dimensions of the immigrants' social space, following a factorial ecological approach and to summarize the main results through a cluster analysis.
4. To formulate major recommendations regarding the current discussion on the national migration policy based on the findings of the analysis.

These objectives are reflected in research questions (Table 1) and associated hypotheses (chapter 1.3). Due to the possibility of analysing international data about migration and the availability of the most recent **Chilean census data and visa records**, all these issues were analysed following primarily a quantitative approach. The conclusions are structured such that the main findings are linked with the objectives, research questions and hypothesis defined (Figure 5).

7.1 Theoretical background and methodological options

The **definition of an international migrant** in the Chilean case has been crucial for this analysis. After analysing international contributions and definitions, it can be concluded that neither classification is complete or completely suitable. However, taking into consideration, for the purpose of this study, the statistic data base available, an international migrant is considered to be a person who was born outside the country and who, in the moment of the census implementation, was residing in Chile, especially in one of the 34 communes of the Santiago Metropolitan Area.

Until now, there is a wide variety of **theoretical approaches** concerning international migration, such as the classical and the neoclassic one, the approaches related to the new economy of migration as well as structural and more recent approaches, e.g. concentrating on issues such as the role of immigration networks, transnational communities and remittances. Whereas some of these theoretical considerations look at migration processes from a "micro level" point of view and especially scrutinize the reasons behind migration, others add a structural dimension to the discussion and look at migration from an institutional perspective. In general, however, there is little consideration of spatial patterns and their influence on the dynamics of cities whereto migration takes place.

Regarding the development of urban areas there is also a number of theoretical approaches and attempts to describe patterns of urban expansion and residential segregation. Contributions, e.g. in the field of urban geography, mainly concentrate on elaborating general models about the socio-economic differentiation of the urban space. Until now, however, there are only few attempts to identify such patterns regarding international migration, the decisive factors behind such patterns and their spatial incidence.

In this study, efforts are undertaken to link both, international migration and urban dynamics. Based on detailed census data and visa records, patterns of international migration in the Santiago Metropolitan Area are derived and the immigrants' social space is characterized.

The **main methodological approaches** were the following:

- In order to understand the Chilean immigrant situation in the Latin American context, the method of Nyusten and Dacey (1968) was applied allowing the creation of a network of relationships based on the concept of "dominant flows" through the analysis of the orientation and the intensity of the flows.
- Three segregation indexes (dissimilarity, isolation, and interaction) were calculated (Massey and Denton 1988) in order to find out whether and to what extent there are spatial patterns of segregation within the metropolis.
- To analyze the presence of economic niches in the SMA, Waldinger's (2001) definition was incorporated. He defines a niche as a category in which immigrants of a particular group are over represented by 50% or more in one economic activity. Since international migration in Chile is a fairly recent phenomenon without strong historical precedent, the existence of economic niches where immigrants of a particular group are represented by 40% or more in one economic activity were considered.
- A factorial approach was used to describe the immigrants' social differentiation and to identify spatial patterns of migrants in the SMA. Moreover, a related cluster analysis was conducted as a step forward towards a model for understanding migration within the framework of urban dynamics.

Though the census is the principal source for analyzing international migration, important limitations arise. Censuses do not include the whole immigrant population. For instance, those that reside illegally declare Chile as their country of birth. Nevertheless, the most important limitation was a methodological one: censuses refer to the migrants' accumulated stock in the moment of the census. This implies that the temporality of the phenomenon stays out of the analysis, especially in the study of transnational communities.

7.2 Patterns of international migration

From an analysis of the migrants' current distribution within the world's different regions, it is possible to highlight the recent **international migration trends**. Migrants represent only 2.9% of the global population and nearly half are female (UN 2002). However, the socio-economic and political visibility of migrants, especially in highly industrialized countries, is much greater than this percentage suggests.

To classify countries in a dichotomous way, through receiving and sending, is increasingly ambiguous; the current situation of many countries and regions is unknown due to the prolif-

eration of territories with migrants in transit and the configuration of international circuits that overcome specific countries. The majority of migrations take place within large geographical regions and most of the migrants or refugees remain inside their regions of origin as in the former Soviet Union, Sub-Saharan Africa, Asia, or Latin America.

Regarding the **Chilean immigrant situation in the Latino American context**, in spite of the vigorous increase of the number of immigrants in Chile during the last decades, the stock is minimal if it is compared with other Latin American countries such as Argentina, Venezuela and Costa Rica. During the 1990s not all Latin American immigrants found their destiny in Argentina and Venezuela. Sociopolitical conflicts in Central America during the 1980s, together with economic stability, precipitated an important migration flow to Costa Rica.

The census of 2000 registers about 300.000 immigrants, principally from Nicaragua. This number represents almost 8% of the total population, demonstrating that Costa Rica is currently a country of migratory attraction on a regional scale.

The analyzed antecedents indicate that **more than one pole of attraction** exists for the Latin American international movements. The economic and political stability and the educational possibilities rank Chile as "another" pole of attraction for the regional migrants. The country appears as an "intervening opportunity" in the migrants' decision process, where factors, such as the time-cost distance would grant competitive advantages over countries like the U.S, Spain or Italy.

The adjustment of Latin American countries to the migratory pattern is explained by the **structural approaches and the network theory**. The immigration takes place from countries less developed towards those with better economic opportunities. The economic, political and social dynamics inherent to Latin-American countries and the increasing restrictive immigration policies in Europe as well in the U.S, constituted macro precedents that do not necessarily affirm the continuation of this situation in the future.

7.3 Migration trends in Chile

In recent decades, the evolution of the foreign resident population in Chile reveals that international migration has not had a significant impact on the demographic structure of the country until the beginning of the 1990s. Both the geographical conditions and scarce initiatives of the State to foment immigration have influenced the reduced historical flows. Additionally, political and economic conditions, principally during the 1970s, have influenced significantly the fact that Chile is recognized more as a territory of emigration than one of immigration. Approximately 500.000 to 800.000 Chileans live abroad.

In the beginning of the new millennium, the results of the 2002 census showed that although immigration has increased by 75% since 1992, the situation is much less severe than speculated. This sharp increase can be understood as a **normal trend** in a globalized economy and it can not be typified as a "massive immigration". Approximately 185.000 persons born abroad reside in the country. Nevertheless the immigrants' magnitude (it is the largest number in absolute terms registered in the Chilean history) the figure represents only 1.2% of the total population, with higher percentages reported in censuses from the 19th and 20th centuries.

Although Argentines are the dominant group in the country, their growth rate is more limited than the one registered for Peruvians and Ecuadorians. Furthermore, countries such as Germany, Spain and Italy in the past contributed with important immigrants' flow today shows negative or very low growth rates. It is a question of a past immigration, a population who has aged and does not have a constant inflow anymore.

The data analysis allows for the identification of **new trends** in the migratory movements towards Chile. These tend to coincide with the international patterns in terms of diversity and complexity of the flows and the feminization of the movements.

Indeed, the new Chilean migratory scene shows that the number of countries of origin of immigrants has increased from 48 in 1970 to 176 in 2002. New countries join the national scene, though with small figures: Ukraine, Romania, Pakistan, Angola, Algeria, South Africa, Malaysia, Jordan and Morocco among others. As well, a world pattern that also appears in Chile is the so called feminization of the movements. Since 1982, women are dominant in immigration, although since 2002 their presence is mainly significant in the age group between 20 and 54, that is to say in the economically active group.

7.4 The new face of migration in the SMA

At the present foreigners represent 2% of the SMA population, a figure much lower than the one registered in European metropolitan areas. In cities such as Madrid, London, Paris, Brussels, Berlin or Frankfurt, the percentage of foreigners ranges between 14 and 30% of the total population.

Data reflect that in the last decade, the number of immigrant has increased almost by 60% in the SMA. An analysis of the year of arrival confirms that it is a recent and ascending process. Almost 73% of the foreign population has lived in the city since the beginning of the 1990s and roughly 35% have immigrated after the year 2000. That is to say, in a period of less than 2 years (2000-2002) approximately 38.000 immigrants came to the SMA.

This is one of the principal arguments supporting the fact that the city is experiencing a **new migratory dynamic**. Its growth has been increasing, principally concentrated in the beginning of the new millennium. One of the main research questions is what type of international migrants does the SMA receive?

The new immigration dynamic is characterized by the South American immigrants' predominance, led by Peruvians, Argentines and Ecuadorians. Additionally data shows that during the last decade the SMA has not been attractive for European and Asian population. The total immigrant stock in the SMA shows a slight predominance of women (53%). The most important element is women's strong predominance in the recent Peruvian and Ecuadorian immigration flow. The distribution by sex and age of these immigrants turns out to be very different from the European groups (Spanish and German) who settle down for many decades in the city.

Not only do the different groups of immigrants have a diverse demographic profile, but also data shows strong differences in their incorporation into the **job market**. The immigrants' high participation within the economically active population is an indicator that labour is the principal motive of the new immigration flow. Peruvians and Ecuadorians register the highest rate of activity, considerably higher than that of the Chilean inhabitants of the SMA.

Regarding the labour force participation, wage earning dominates (58%) and almost all the countries analyzed show percentages superior to 50%. However gender differences are pronounced. Among women, domestic service constitutes the second source of occupation with a 19%, a percentage 3 times higher than the participation of Chileans in the SMA labour force (6.5%). This figure is due to the high amount of Peruvian (70%) and Ecuadorian (30%) women employed in the domestic service.

The second attraction to the metropolis seems to be **education**: 15.1% of the immigrants over age 15 were studying. It is remarkable to note that in some groups the percentage of secondary and university students is higher than 25% (Venezuela, Brazil and USA), a fact that opens a new question about the attraction of the SMA regarding education for young immigrants. Moreover, results show that migrants make an enormous contribution to the pool of educated metropolitan inhabitants. Among immigrants aged 18 and over, 42% held a university education and a further 13% held some other form of post-secondary credentials such as a technical background. High levels of education can be found in almost all the immigrants groups, with the exception of Peruvians who, while not unskilled, showed lower educational profiles in comparison to other groups.

Consequently data supports the **first hypothesis**, *“like most global world cities, the SMA attracts two major streams of migrants. On one hand those who occupy the upper levels of their occupational hierarchies and on the other hand are low-skill workers, marginalized”*.

However it seems that the traditional bi-polar scheme with disproportionate shares of migrants in both the low and the high education categories is not so sharp in the SMA. In fact the distinction can be made between the *“highly-skilled”* cluster of immigrants characterized by those groups with more than 60% of the population over 18 with university education and the *“skilled”* represented by those countries with percentages of immigrants between 35 and 59% with high education. It is necessary to stress that the analysis of the immigrant education level is based on those who answered the 2002 census of population. The incorporation of illegal immigration into the SMA – especially from neighbouring countries – can modify significantly the results.

The question how **selective** the migration process is and what its consequences for residential patterns in the metropolis are is difficult to answer. Despite the rather limited presence of foreigners, they are more visible in some communes of the city. Almost 50% of immigrants live in 5 of the 34 communes of the SMA. These communes present a spatial contiguity that is projected from the city centre towards the nor-east of the city.

In this *“spine”* live the high status Chilean population and it concentrates the best endowment of services and metropolitan infrastructure. Some of the immigrants, especially Europeans, had the possibility of renting or buying a house in the area because of their socioeconomic status. Nevertheless there is an important group of Peruvian women working in the domestic service that live in the houses where they work. This concentration of ethnic minorities does not seem to generate strong tensions as is seen in other world capital cities. As well, immigrants in the SMA live in central areas of the city, as they do in many U.S metropolises.

A study of the **spatial patterns of segregation** and the recognition of immigrant minorities within the metropolis show that residential segregation presents different characteristics if it is analyzed from a metropolitan perspective or from a smaller spatial resolution (district).

The SMA presents lower segregation than European and North American cities. Results established by evaluating the country of origin show that bigger immigrant groups are less segregated. Argentinean, Ecuadorians, Brazilians and Peruvians have the lowest index; in other words they are more evenly distributed over the city. The greatest numbers are Germans, U.S Americans and Spanish. These groups appear to be as segregated as ethnic minorities in European and U.S metropolitan areas.

Consequently, the highest segregation indexes are associated with immigrants with high socioeconomic status and economic integration. This is an indication of a voluntary segregation process recognized in the literature as “**self segregation**” (Anas 2004), “voluntary ghettos”, (Bauman 2001) or “upper class ghettos” (Musterd and Ostendorf 1998 in Marcuse 1993; 2001).

On a district level the indexes of segregation reach lower values. Nevertheless, the relationship between the percentage of immigrants and level of segregation is inversely proportional. In those communes with a low amount of immigrants the segregation is higher (Santiago, Nuñoa and La Florida).

The analysis of immigrants’ residential segregation is a good approximation for future challenges to be faced by the SMA. Although do not exist statistics for determining how many immigrants enter the country temporarily (*sojourners* or *commuters*) and how many are permanently established, results reflect the actual pattern of segregation of those declared to have been born in another country and to reside in Chile in the last population census. The results only represent a quantitative approach of the problem. The quantitative measurement of the residential segregation is not understood if it is not analyzed from its different dimensions. In spite of having incorporated an accurate level of spatial analysis as the census district, it is necessary to complement these results with a more qualitative vision of the immigration phenomenon, incorporating reasons for and consequences of segregation in the metropolitan space.

The existence of **economic niches**, in other words those migrants’ groups that are represented by 40% or more persons in one economic activity, 4 cases were identified: Peruvians in elementary occupations, U.S Americans in professional occupations, Cubans as health professionals and Koreans as general managers. Results are in alignment with the **second hypothesis** of this study that “*some immigrant groups have reached population thresholds that permit the identification of economic niches*”.

The analysis of information concerning 4.420 Peruvian women who requested visa during 1999 showed that a significant percentage was not employed in domestic services before arriving to the country. Definitely, Peruvian immigrants’ skills are under-utilized. Many reasons have been offered to account for the occurrence and persistent employment discrimination despite market pressures: deeply ingrained prejudices, ignorance, social conformity, and established bureaucratic practice are some of these. As a consequence, at least for Peruvians female migrants, data confirms the **third hypothesis**, according to which “*low-skill workers are employed below their levels of skill. Those occupied in low-skill activities have a higher social status in terms of education in their countries of origin and in some cases they are overqualified for the jobs they have access in the metropolis*”.

The **consequences** of international migration in the SMA, show empirical results suggesting that traditional human capital segmentation based on educational characteristics may not be

adequate to understand immigrants' incorporation in the labour market. In general, migrants have higher educational skills than natives, even in the secondary market. In this sense, fears about immigrant "quality" have been exaggerated and there is no evidence of lower wages for native-born workers.

Certainly, increased immigration in the last decade has led to **concerns** over the displacement of native-born workers and the possibility of lower wages for those native-born workers who must compete with this immigrant pool. However, it seems that the intensity of competition between native and immigrant workers is not only a function of the size of the immigrant flow - only 2% in the case of the SMA - it also depends on the ability of foreigners to enter occupation areas that are compatible with their human capital characteristics and the extent to which jobs are occupied by natives.

Results show that skilled-migrants and natives are complementary to each other, while unskilled natives and migrants are substitutes for one another. Those migrants working in the primary sector - education (U.S Americans) and health (Cubans and Ecuadorians) - are "complement" with natives, due to the fact that there is a market supply in these sectors of the economy. Their emigration represents a subsidy to the SMA from the nation that trained them, as well as a loss of valuable talents to their homeland. This is not the case for immigrants working in the secondary markets (Peruvians and Ecuadorians). During the Chilean economic expansion, the demand for domestic workers has risen, and the "supply" of Chilean women who are likely to work in this sector has declined, due to more preferable job opportunities for lower class Chilean women in the agriculture sector.

In conclusion the analysis shows that the **occupational distribution** of immigrants contrasts sharply with the situation in most industrialized countries, where the bulk of arrivals are unskilled workers. In the SMA, professionals and technicians play an equally important role, and, except for some of the Peruvians and Ecuadorians immigrants, there is little evidence of labour market segmentation.

7.5 Sociospatial structure of international migrants

What are the factors or dimensions behind the immigrants' residential segregation? A factor analysis method was applied to the whole immigrant population living in the SMA, and considering the data of the 2002 census, the **social space of the immigrants** living in the metropolis is characterized by **five factors**. All of these can be associated with some classic land use models, but the spatial structures are not so simple and in some cases there is a combination of two models.

The **socioeconomic factor** is coincident with researcher's description but, despite the factor's interpretation is not the traditional one: the lower socioeconomic status is more associated with the immigrants' living conditions (overcrowding) than with a low education level. Once again it confirms that, in the case of those who answered the census, the SMA attracts immigrants with medium or high educational profiles. In addition it demonstrates that the spatial distribution of the socioeconomic status of the immigrants tends to coincide with the socioeconomic distribution of the native population. The spatial segregation is not with regard to a country of origin or a particular ethnic group; in the high socioeconomic group, the immigrants' spatial distribution follows the native distribution.

The **second factor**, “recent migrants living alone and being employed”, shows the relevance of the recent migration process in the SMA. Moreover, the variables that characterize this factor have certain similarities to those that define the familism dimension in traditional studies: individuals living alone, without children in the internal ring and families in the periphery.

The **third factor**, “low skilled immigrants specially employed in households” highlights the presence of immigrants, especially Peruvians and Ecuadorians, working and living in high socioeconomic households. Some of them are living in the “elite” part of the city, showing a clear pattern of live-in domestic work.

The **fourth factor**, “early immigration”, shows that the presence in the city of early migrants (mainly Italians) is still important, while **factor five** “daily commuting” points out the growing importance of internal mobility in a large metropolis.

If one asks whether these factors are coincident with those found in traditional studies one may conclude that they are not in alignment with preliminary expectations (socioeconomic, familism and ethnicity). The aim was to analyze in detail one of these traditional dimensions (ethnicity). The outcome shows that new factors reflect the current reality in the SMA and are critically related with time of arrival, work integration, internal mobility, and household conditions. Therefore, results are not in alignment with the **fourth hypothesis** of this study according to which it was estimated that *“the immigrants’ social space in the SMA is characterized by the main traditional dimensions found in classic urban factorial studies: socioeconomic status and family status”*.

Cluster analysis was used to classify 343 districts into 10 different clusters. The most important **immigrants’ concentrations** are located in the central-east communes of the city following **two main patterns**: the location of the main job opportunities (financial, services, construction, and particularly employment in high status households) and the current SMA socioeconomic differentiation.

To obtain a clear and better **picture about the social space of the immigrants** in the metropolis, a schematic representation of their social space was developed by taking two main elements of analysis: the cluster output and the percentage of immigrants by district. The representation is characterized by a zone of low immigrant attraction, a downtown area (extended to the north) concentrating recent flows, and a series of semi-concentric rings where the immigrants’ residential quality increases with distance from the city centre. Therefore, results are in alignment with the **fifth hypothesis** of the study according to which *“not all the metropolitan districts are equally attractive or accessible to the different immigrants groups. Immigrants tend to form clusters by socioeconomic status in a limited number of metropolitan districts, following the residential segregation pattern of the Chilean population”*.

7.6 Policy recommendations

In the middle of the 1990s the migrants’ presence became obvious in the country. It was, and it still is, a topic of **public discussion** in the media regarding certain specific subjects. For example, one such subject is the conflict provoked by the incorporation of Cuban and Ecuadorean doctors into the primary health care system. The topic has long been part of the public agenda and is discussed within the society.

Nevertheless, the country was **not prepared** for this new immigration climate. For the first time a migratory process of significant magnitude arose, not precipitated by the State.

Up to now international migration represents 1.2% of the total country population and only 2% of the SMA population. This percentage shows that it is **not a “massive” process**, but as the scientific discussion shows, in a globalized economy, it is difficult to work on forecast. So far international migration in the main city of the country is under control and spatially manageable. Therefore, it is the **correct moment** to work on the general structure of the **national policy** and to tackle the challenge of international migration management. At present, the **legal framework** only regulates the entrance, residence, definitive permanence, exit, deportation and control of foreign population. It does not recognize the reality of labour immigrants. The legal frame also, does not allow entrance to those persons without a profession or economic resources that permit them live in Chile without being a “social burden”.

Thus the current Chilean legislation recognizes a “resident” as those immigrants with a contract, students, temporary or refugees. Furthermore, the law involves **only three government stakeholders** in the process, the Ministry of Interior, the Region (Intendencias) and the Provinces (Gobernación). It is necessary to involve the **participation** of other ministries dealing with migration, such as Foreign Affairs, Justice, Education, Culture, Planning, Labour, Housing and Health. One conclusion of this study shows that one of the most important lines of action is to coordinate an overall framework that understands immigration as a phenomenon that is desirable for Chile. In this context, it seems to be necessary to discuss what will be the **role of the municipalities** in the immigration topic.

In addition to governmental institutions, **different types of actors** have to be incorporated in the national discussion. These include members of the political parties, trade unions, professional organizations, immigrant associations, churches and associations of religious character, non-governmental organizations, universities, etc.

The new migration policy also has to regulate the **norms** for foreign professionals working in Chile. The revision and modification of old bilateral treaties is an important issue. It is necessary to work on standards for the accreditation to those who want to work in Chile, without nationality distinctions, and to Chileans that want to work in another Latin-American country. These standards must be set by the governments.

Concerning **international cooperation**, the country provides not only a potential market for those immigrants looking for a job, but also an appealing metropolis regarding **education** for young Latin American’s immigrants. It becomes necessary to establish an active policy regarding universities agreements, scholarship and loans. Like many migrants, those people who have a skill background mainly moved in response to opportunities abroad that are better than those available at home, as well as in response to the migration policies of each country.

Finally, when examining international agreements, especially among Latin Americans countries, it is necessary to find solutions to the issue of **social prevision**. It is essential to establish an active policy with relation to its recognition in a regional context. As well, the topic of remittances, principally to neighbouring countries, requires a safe and fast support system that does not imply high costs for immigrants.

It is well-known that migrations cause many effects that, if not handled adequately, can lead to negative externalities, such as xenophobia or social dissatisfaction. **Governability** in this

field depends on efficiency; that is to say, the success of a migration policy are closely joined to the realism of the problem and the means to manage it. The previous government has become aware of this, and it is hoped that the actual government is going to intensify the efforts.

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1 National Population Census Form

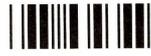


REPUBLICA DE CHILE
INE
INSTITUTO NACIONAL DE ESTADÍSTICAS
XVII CENSO NACIONAL DE POBLACION Y VI DE VIVIENDA

Los datos que el INE solicita son CONFIDENCIALES
El Artículo 29 Ley 17.374 establece el SECRETO ESTADISTICO

CUESTIONARIO CENSAL CENSO 2002

A. IDENTIFICACION



NUMERO DEL PORTAFOLIO

Copie aquí el número del Portafolio

Traspase este número a cada cuestionario

VIVIENDA N°

HOGAR N°

Sí este Cuestionario es continuación del anterior rellene aquí

↓

CONTINUACION

CALLE O CAMINO

N° **BLOCK N°** **PISO** **DEPTO. N°**

USE SOLO EL LAPIZ ENTREGADO, COMPLETE EL CUESTIONARIO RELLENANDO EL O LOS OVALOS Y, CUANDO CORRESPONDA, ESCRIBA CON LETRA DE IMPRENTA MAYUSCULA, NO ACENTUE LAS PALABRAS, NO TACHE, SI ES NECESARIO BORRE CON LA GOMA ENTREGADA, ESCRIBA CON ESTE TIPO DE LETRAS Y NUMEROS

A B C D E F G H I J K L M N Ñ O P Q R S T U V W X Y Z 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

Marque Así NO marque así

B. VIVIENDA

DATOS DE LA VIVIENDA

1. INDIQUE EL TIPO DE VIVIENDA:

a. VIVIENDA PARTICULAR

Casa 1

Departamento en edificio 2

Piezas en casa antigua o en conventillo . 3

Mejora, mediagua 4

Rancho, choza 5

Ruca 6

Móvil (carpa, vagón, container, bote, lancha, similar) 7

Otro tipo de vivienda particular 8

b. VIVIENDA COLECTIVA

Ejemplo:
Residencial, Hotel, Hospital, etc 9

Si la vivienda es Colectiva, pase a la Sección «D. NUMERO DE PERSONAS EN EL HOGAR». Si se encuentra sin huéspedes, termine la entrevista.

2. INDIQUE SI LA VIVIENDA ESTA:

a. OCUPADA

Con personas presentes 1

Con personas ausentes 2

b. DESOCUPADA 3

Si la vivienda se encuentra «Ocupada con personas ausentes», regrese al terminar su recorrido.

SOLO PARA VIVIENDAS PARTICULARES OCUPADAS CON PERSONAS PRESENTES

3. LA VIVIENDA QUE USTED OCUPA ES:

Propia (Pagada totalmente) 1

Propia (Pagando a plazo) 2

Arrendada 3

Cedida por Trabajo o Servicio 4

Gratuita 5

4. EL MATERIAL DE CONSTRUCCION PREDOMINANTE ES:

a. EN LAS PAREDES EXTERIORES:

Hormigón armado, piedra 1

Ladrillo 2

Paneles estructurales, bloque (prefabricado) . 3

Madera o tabique forrado 4

Internit 5

Adobe, barro empajado 6

Desechos (lata, cartones, plástico, etc.) 7

b. EN LA CUBIERTA DEL TECHO:

Tejas (arcilla, metálica, cemento) 1

Tejuela (madera, asfáltica) 2

Losa de hormigón 3

Zinc 4

Pizarreño 5

Fibra de vidrio/Femocolor 6

Fonolita 7

Paja embarrada 8

Desechos (lata, cartones, plástico, etc.) 9

c. EN EL PISO:

Parquet 1

Baldosín cerámico 2

Entablado (madera) 3

Alfombra muro a muro 4

Baldosas de cemento 5

Plásticos (flexit, linóleo, etc.) 6

Ladrillo 7

Radier 8

Tierra 9

5. EL ALUMBRADO ELECTRICO PROVIENE DE:

Red pública (Cía. Electricidad) 1

Generador propio o comunitario 2

Placa solar 3

NO TIENE ALUMBRADO ELECTRICO 4

6. EL AGUA QUE USA ESTA VIVIENDA PROVIENE DE:

Red pública (Cía. Agua Potable) 1

Pozo o noria 2

Río, vertiente, estero 3

7. A ESTA VIVIENDA LLEGA AGUA POR:

Cañería dentro de la vivienda 1

Cañería fuera de la vivienda, pero dentro del sitio 2

NO TIENE AGUA POR CAÑERÍA 3

8. EL SERVICIO HIGIENICO (W.C.) DE ESTA VIVIENDA ES O ESTA:

Conectado a alcantarillado 1

Conectado a fosa séptica 2

Cajón sobre pozo negro 3

Cajón sobre acequia o canal 4

Químico 5

NO TIENE SERVICIO HIGIENICO (W.C.) 6

9. ¿CUANTAS DUCHAS TIENE ESTA VIVIENDA?

NO TIENE DUCHA

1 2 3 4 5
o más

10. SIN CONSIDERAR EL O LOS BAÑOS, ¿CUANTAS PIEZAS EN TOTAL TIENE ESTA VIVIENDA INCLUIDA LA COCINA?

TOTAL DE PIEZAS:

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
o más

INDIQUE EL O LOS USOS QUE TIENE CADA PIEZA

USO DE LAS PIEZAS	Dormitorio	Living-comedor	Living	Comedor	Cocina	Trabajo remunerado	Estudio	Otro uso
	Pieza 1							
Pieza 2								
Pieza 3								
Pieza 4								
Pieza 5								
Pieza 6								
Pieza 7								
Pieza 8								
Pieza 9								
Pieza 10								

USE SOLO EL LAPIZ ENTREGADO, COMPLETE EL CUESTIONARIO RELLENANDO EL O LOS OVALOS Y, CUANDO CORRESPONDA, ESCRIBA CON LETRA DE IMPRENTA MAYUSCULA, NO ACENTUE LAS PALABRAS, NO TACHE, SI ES NECESARIO BORRE CON LA GOMA ENTREGADA, ESCRIBA CON ESTE TIPO DE LETRAS Y NUMEROS

A B C D E F G H I J K L M N Ñ O P Q R S T U V W X Y Z 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

Marque Así NO marque así

11. ¿CUANTOS HOGARES HAY EN ESTA VIVIENDA?

1 Continúe en «C. DATOS DEL HOGAR»

2 3 4 o más

PARA LOS OTROS HOGARES DE LA VIVIENDA:
 - Utilice un cuestionario para cada hogar adicional.
 - En ellos repita **VIVIENDA N°**, anote el número del siguiente **HOGAR** y escriba el número de **PORTAFOLIO**.
 - Deje en Blanco la Sección «**B. VIVIENDA**».
 - Comience la entrevista en «**C. DATOS DEL HOGAR**»

C. DATOS DEL HOGAR

12. ¿CUAL ES EL PRINCIPAL COMBUSTIBLE USADO PARA COCINAR?

Gas natural	1
Gas licuado	2
Parafina	3
Leña, aserrín	4
Carbón	5
Electricidad	6
Energía Solar	7
NO COCINA	8

13. ¿CUANTAS PIEZAS USA ESTE HOGAR SOLAMENTE PARA DORMIR?

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 o más

14. ¿DISPONE ESTE HOGAR DE DUCHA?

SI NO

15. ¿TIENE ESTE HOGAR ALGUNO DE LOS SIGUIENTES ARTEFACTOS Y/O SERVICIOS?

	SI	NO
T.V. blanco/negro		
T.V. color		
Videograbador, pasapeliculas		
Conexión T.V. Cable/Satélite		
Minicomponente y/o equipo alta fidelidad		
Lavadora		
Secadora o Centrífuga		
Refrigerador		
Congelador		
Horno microonda		
Lava-vajillas		
Calefont		
Teléfono celular		
Teléfono red fija		
Computador		
Conexión a Internet		

16. ¿TIENE ESTE HOGAR ALGUNO DE LOS SIGUIENTES VEHICULOS DESTINADOS SOLO PARA USO PARTICULAR?

	SI	NO
Bicicleta		
Moto, motoneta, bicimoto		
Furgón (ejemplo: Utilitario)		
Automóvil, station		
Camioneta, van, jeep		
Lancha, velero, bote		

D. PERSONAS QUE COMPONEN EL HOGAR

NUMERO DE PERSONAS EN EL HOGAR

- En el primer o único cuestionario del hogar, anote el número de **HOMBRES**, de **MUJERES** y el **TOTAL** de personas que lo componen.
 - Recuerde que a cada persona indicada, debe censarla en la Sección «**E. PERSONAS EN EL HOGAR**».

Antes de proceder a censar a cada una de las personas en la sección «**E. PERSONAS EN EL HOGAR**»:
 - Anote en la primera línea de cada página, el nombre de cada una de las personas que alojaron aquí anoche: En la primera página escriba persona N°1. nombre del Jefe/a de hogar; en la segunda página persona N° 2.. nombre del cónyuge, conviviente/pareja y así sucesivamente hasta completar todos los miembros del hogar.
 - Si hay más de 6 personas en el hogar y utiliza otros cuestionarios, repita en ellos: **N° de Portafolio**, **Vivienda N°**, **Hogar N°** y, además rellene el óvalo **CONTINUACION** y siga en la sección «**E. PERSONAS EN EL HOGAR**».
 - Compruebe que el número anotado para la última persona del hogar, sea igual al **TOTAL** de la sección «**D. PERSONAS QUE COMPONEN EL HOGAR**».

NO OLVIDE INCLUIR:

- Las personas que residen en este hogar pero que no alojaron en él anoche por razones de trabajo (ejemplo: persona que trabaja en turnos)
- Los ancianos
- Las «guaguas» nacidas antes de las 0 horas del día 24 de Abril de 2002
- Los fallecidos después de las 0 horas del día 24 de Abril de 2002

NOMBRE DEL CENSISTA

FIRMA

E. PERSONAS EN EL HOGAR

PERSONA N°	NOMBRE	
PARA TODAS LAS PERSONAS		
17. ¿CUAL ES SU RELACION DE PARENTESCO CON EL JEFE O JEFA DEL HOGAR?		
	Cuñado/a	9
Esposo(a)/Cónyuge	2 Padres	10
Conviviente/Pareja	3 Suegro/a	11
Hijo/a	4 Otro Pariente	12
Hijastro/a	5 No Pariente	13
Yerno/Nuera	6 Servicio doméstico puertas adentro	14
Nieto/a	7 MIEMBRO HOGAR COLECTIVO	15
Hermano/a	8	15
18. SEXO		
<input type="checkbox"/> Hombre <input type="checkbox"/> Mujer		
19. ¿CUANTOS AÑOS CUMPLIDOS TIENE?		
-Si la persona aún no cumple 1 año, anote 00. -Si la persona tiene 1 a 99 años anote 01,05,10,19,43,.....,99.		
-Si la persona tiene 100 años o más, complete las cifras faltantes		
20. ¿PRESENTA USTED, ALGUNA DE LAS SIGUIENTES DEFICIENCIAS?		
Ceguera total		1
Sordera total		2
Mudez		3
Lisiado/Parálisis		4
Deficiencia mental		5
NINGUNA DE LAS ANTERIORES		6
21. ¿PERTENECE USTED A ALGUNO DE LOS SIGUIENTES PUEBLOS ORIGINARIOS O INDIGENAS?		
Alcalufe (Kawashkar)		1
Atacameño		2
Aimara		3
Colla		4
Mapuche		5
Quechua		6
Rapa Nui		7
Yámana (Yagán)		8
NINGUNO DE LOS ANTERIORES		9
22. CUANDO USTED NACIO, ¿EN QUE COMUNA O LUGAR VIVIA SU MADRE?		
En esta Comuna	En otra comuna	
Nombre de la Comuna o Lugar En otro país Nombre del País Año llegada al país →		
23. ¿VIVE USTED HABITUALMENTE EN ESTA COMUNA?		
SI	NO	→ ¿En qué comuna vive?
Nombre de la Comuna o Lugar En otro país Nombre del País		
24. ¿EN QUE COMUNA O LUGAR VIVIA USTED EN ABRIL DE 1997 ?		
En esta Comuna	En otra comuna	
Nombre de la Comuna o Lugar En otro país Nombre del País		
25. ¿SABE USTED LEER Y ESCRIBIR?		
SI	NO	
26. ¿CUAL ES EL ULTIMO NIVEL Y CURSO QUE APROBO EN LA ENSEÑANZA FORMAL?		
NUNCA ASISTIO	1 Media Agrícola	9
Pre-básica	2 Media Marítima	10
Especial/Diferencial	3 Normal	11
Básica/Primaria	4 Técnica Femenina	12
Media Común	5 Centro de Formación Técnica	13
Humanidades	6 Instituto Profesional	14
Media Comercial	7 Universitaria	15
Media Industrial	8	15
Curso/Año	1° 2° 3° 4° 5° 6° 7° 8°	
27. ¿CUAL ES SU ESTADO CIVIL O CONYUGAL ACTUAL?		
Casado/a	1 Anulado/a	4
Conviviente/pareja	2 Separado/a	5
Soltero/a	3 Viudo/a	6
28. ¿QUE RELIGION PROFESA?		
Católica	1 Musulmana	6
Evangélica	2 Ortodoxa	7
Testigo de Jehová	3 Otra religión o credo	8
Judaica	4 Ninguna, ateo, agnóstico	9
Mormón	5	9
29. ¿EN CUAL DE ESTAS SITUACIONES SE ENCONTRABA LA MAYOR PARTE DE LA SEMANA PASADA?		
Trabajando por ingreso	1	Pasar a pregunta 30 y siguientes Pasar a pregunta 33 y siguientes
Sin trabajar, pero tiene empleo	2	
Buscando trabajo, habiendo trabajado antes	3	
Trabajando para un familiar sin pago en dinero	4	
Buscando trabajo por 1ª vez	5	
En quehaceres de su hogar	6	
Estudiando	7	
Jubilado o Rentista	8	
Incapacitado permanentemente para trabajar	9	
Otra situación	10	
30. ¿EN ESTE TRABAJO ES (O ERA)?		
Trabajador asalariado (Ej.: empleado, obrero, jornalero, etc.) ..	1	
Trabajador de servicio doméstico	2	
Trabajador por cuenta propia	3	
Empleador, empresario o patrón	4	
Familiar no remunerado	5	
31. ¿QUE OCUPACION O TIPO DE TRABAJO DESEMPEÑA ACTUALMENTE O DESEMPEÑABA SI ESTA CESANTE? Ej.: Mecánico automotriz; Profesor Universitario; Mueblista en fábrica; Camarógrafo; Diseñador gráfico; Cajera en...; Vendedor de...; etc.		
Nombre de la Comuna		
32. ¿A QUE SE DEDICA PRINCIPALMENTE EL ESTABLECIMIENTO DONDE TRABAJA O TRABAJABA SI ESTA CESANTE? Ej.: Fábrica de...; Venta de comida preparada; Fondo ganadero; Empresa conservera; Supermercado; Taller de reparación de...; Banco; etc.		
33. ¿CUAL ES LA COMUNA DONDE UD. TRABAJA O ESTUDIA? (Haga esta pregunta sólo a las personas que contestaron las alternativas 1, 2, 4, o 7 en la pregunta 29)		
En esta Comuna	En otra comuna	
Nombre de la Comuna		
SOLO PARA MUJERES DE 15 AÑOS O MAS		
34. ¿CUANTAS HIJAS E HIJOS NACIDOS VIVOS HA TENIDO EN TOTAL?		
NINGUNO	Si no ha tenido hijos nacidos vivos, continúe con la siguiente persona del hogar.	
CANTIDAD →		
35. ¿CUANTOS ESTAN VIVOS ACTUALMENTE?		
NINGUNO	CANTIDAD →	
36. ¿CUANDO NACIO SU ULTIMO HIJO/A NACIDO VIVO?		
Mes	Año	

Appendix 2 Santiago Metropolitan Area: Selected variables considering the standard deviation (In percentage)

N°	Variable	St. Dev
1	Foreigners living in rooms as boarders	7,41
2	Foreigners living in owned house	15,06
3	Foreigners living in rented houses	16,74
4	Foreigners living in houses with one room	3,49
5	Foreigners living in houses with two and three rooms	9,55
6	Foreigners living in houses with four to six rooms	15,12
7	Foreigners living in houses with six or more rooms	15,56
8	Foreigners living in houses with one household	13,50
9	Foreigners living in houses with two households	8,05
10	Foreigners living in houses with three households	4,29
11	Foreign households with car	20,53
12	Foreign households with pick up trucks	10,48
13	Foreign households cooking with natural gas	22,06
14	Foreign households cooking with propane gas	22,23
15	Foreign households with freezer	8,98
16	Foreign households with stereo	9,57
17	Foreign households with dishwasher	10,49
18	Foreign households with microwave	19,48
19	Foreign households with telephone	18,71
20	Foreign households with cell phone	13,52
21	Foreign households with Video Cassette Recorder (VCR)	15,82
22	Foreign households with TV cable/satellite	21,23
23	Foreign households with computer	22,18
24	Foreign households with internet connection	20,45
25	Foreigners as head of households	7,46
26	Foreigners without marital status	4,11
27	Foreigner's offspring of the head of household	9,53
28	Foreigners working in live-in domestic service	4,98
29	Foreign population in relation to the total district population	2,76
30	Foreign population in relation to MSA total population	36,17
31	Foreigners aged between 6 and 14	6,71
32	Foreigners aged between 15 and 24	6,70
33	Foreigners aged between 25 and 64	10,65
34	Foreigners older than age 65	6,97
35	Foreigners arrived in the country between 1980 and 1989	5,49
36	Foreigners arrived in the country between 1970 and 1979	2,44
37	Foreigners arrived in the country between 1960 and 1969	2,01
38	Foreigners arrived in the country between 1950 and 1959	3,45
39	Foreigners arrived in the country between 1940 and 1949	2,03
40	Foreigners ≥ age 5 living in other commune of the MSA in 1997	11, 88
41	Foreigners ≥ age 5 living in another country in 1997	11,52
42	Foreigners ≥ 18 age with primary education	7,32
43	Foreigners ≥ 18 age with high school or technical school education	12,38
44	Foreigners ≥ 18 age with university education	15,77
45	Foreigners ≥ 15 age living together without marital status	8,47
46	Foreigners ≥ 15 age single	7,45
47	Foreigners ≥ 15 age with evangelic religion	6,23
48	Foreigners ≥ 15 age working with a salary the week before the census	10,18
49	Foreigners ≥ 15 age studying the week before the census	7,62

Appendix 2 (continuation)

N°	Variable	St. Dev
50	Foreigners ≥ 15 age working as wage earners the week before the census	12,01
51	Foreigners ≥ 15 age working in domestic service the week before the census	9,16
52	Foreigners ≥ 15 age working as employers or businessmen the week before the census	4,69
53	Foreigners ≥ 15 age working as managers of small enterprises	4,69
54	Foreigners ≥ 15 age working as physical, math and engineering professionals	3,10
55	Foreigners ≥ 15 age working as life science and health professionals	5,19
56	Foreigners ≥ 15 age working as teaching professionals	3,00
57	Foreigners ≥ 15 age working as other professionals, scientifics and intellectuals	3,84
58	Foreigners ≥ 15 age working as building trade workers	3,20
59	Foreigners ≥ 15 age working as non qualified shop salespersons and demonstrators	9,61
60	Foreigners ≥ 15 age working as non qualified building workers	4,04
61	Foreigners ≥ 15 age working in the construction sector	4,87
62	Foreigners ≥ 15 age working in the education sector	4,03
63	Foreigners ≥ 15 age working in the human health and social work activities	5,54
64	Foreigners ≥ 15 age working in activities of households as employers of domestic personnel	9,32
65	Foreign population born in Argentina	15,99
66	Foreign population born in the United States	2,72
67	Foreign population born in Peru	16,94
68	Foreign population born in Korea	2,15
69	Foreign population born in Germany	2,25
70	Foreign population born in France	2,18
71	Foreign population born in Italy	3,29
72	Foreign population born in the United Kingdom	2,00
73	Foreigners ≥ 15 age working or studying in the same commune they live	12,89
74	Foreigners ≥ 15 age working or studying in a different commune they live	12,92

Appendix 3 Santiago Metropolitan Area: Correlation analysis between the selected variables with the highest standard deviation

Variables	Correlation
1 – 4*	0,699
2 – 33*	-0,635
3 – 41	0,707
4 – 2*	0,695
5 – 23*	-0,658
6 – 7	-0,731
7 – 28	0,802
8 – 9**	-0,773
9 – 8	-0,773
10 – 8	-0,701
11 – 24	0,938
12 – 28	0,822
13 – 14**	-0,997
14 – 13**	-0,997
15 – 24	0,813
16 – 21	0,791
17 – 28	0,889
18 – 23	0,926
19 – 18	0,825
20 – 22	0,755
21 – 24	0,871
22 – 24	0,918
23 – 24	0,963
24 – 23	0,963
25 – 33	0,703
26 – 45	0,787
27 – 31	0,735
28 – 17	0,889
29 – 30**	0,739
30 – 29**	0,739
31 – 65	0,768
32 – 46*	0,660
33 – 48	0,758
34 – 38	0,854
35 – 34*	-0,492
36 – 35*	-0,371
37 – 35*	-0,252

Variables	Correlation
38 – 34	0,854
39 – 69*	0,601
40 – 41	-0,825
41 – 40	-0,825
42 – 20*	-0,653
43 – 44	-0,862
44 – 23	0,878
45 – 26*	0,787
46 – 32*	0,660
47 – 65*	0,626
48 – 33	0,758
49 – 46*	0,637
50 – 7*	0,635
51 – 64	0,985
52 – 53*	0,619
53 – 24*	0,655
54 – 44	0,718
55 – 63	0,866
56 – 62	0,805
57 – 44	0,702
58 – 61*	0,606
59 – 51	0,907
60 – 44*	-0,621
61 – 58*	0,606
62 – 56	0,805
63 – 55	0,886
64 – 51	0,985
65 – 31	0,768
66 – 11	0,712
67 – 41	0,724
68 – 29*	0,428
69 – 24	0,744
70 – 54*	0,633
71 – 38	0,839
72 – 24*	0,685
73 – 74	-0,977
74 – 73	-0,977

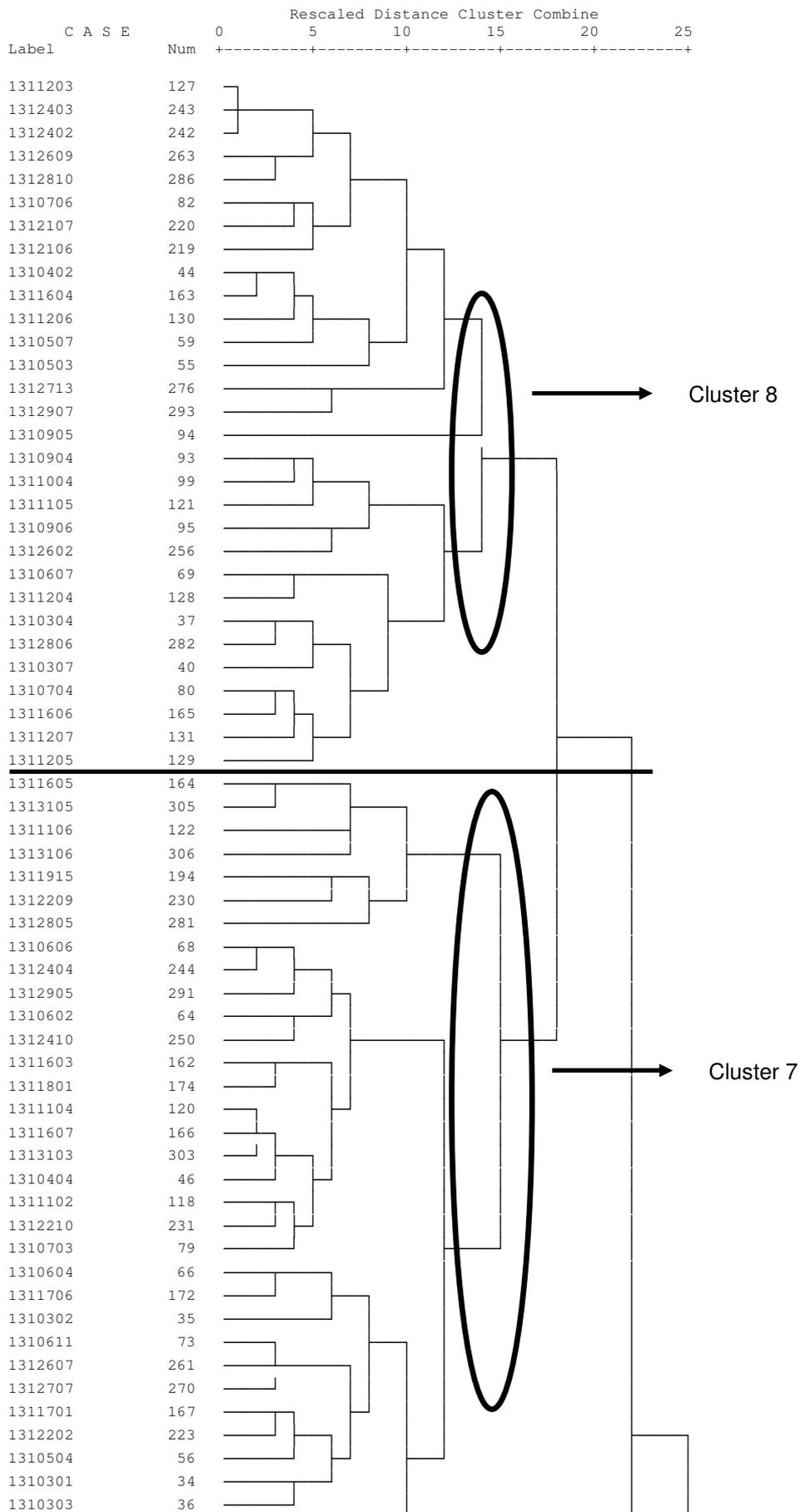
(*) eliminated by first correlation (below 0,7)

(**) eliminated by iteration and second correlation (below 0,7)

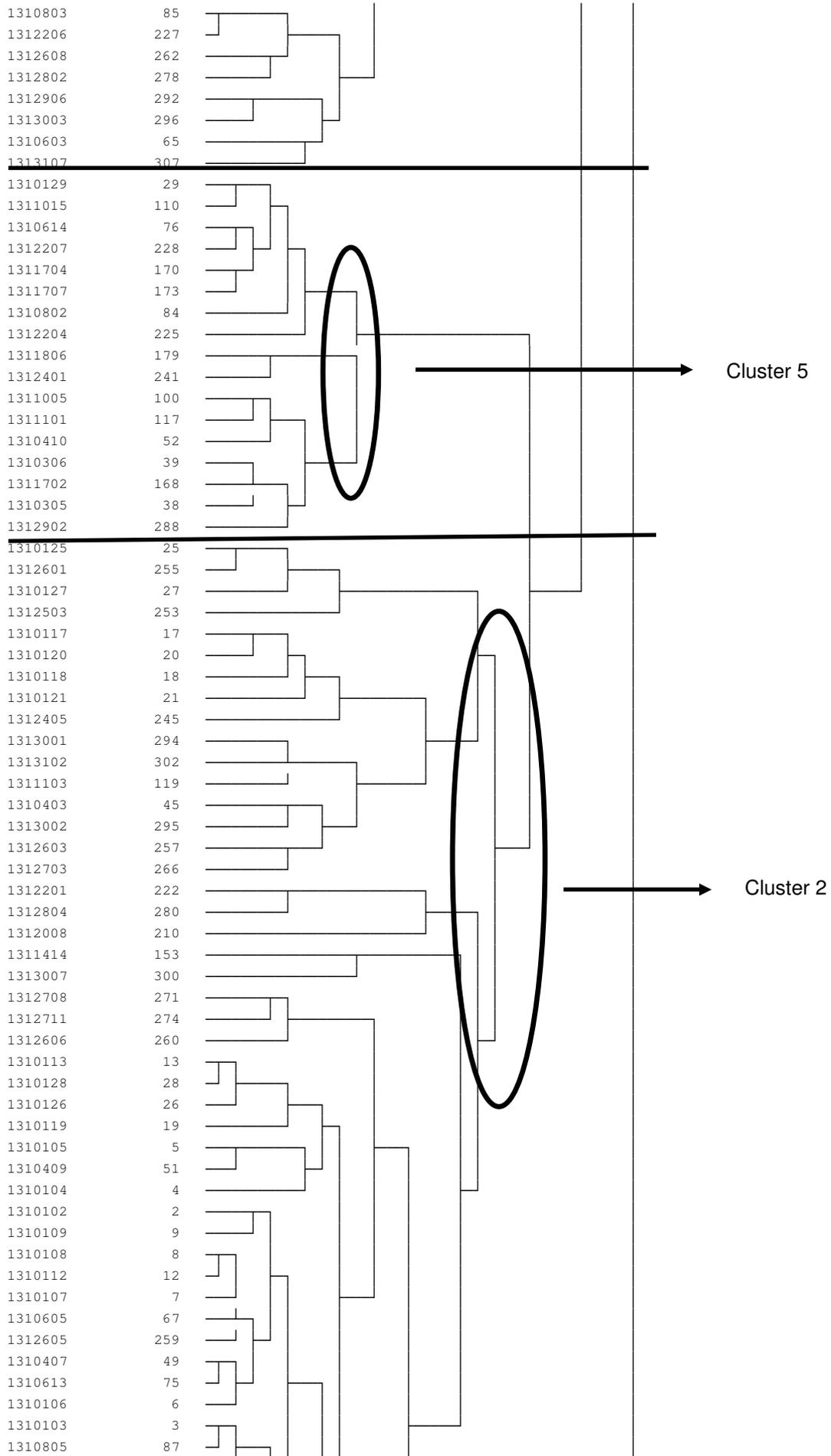
Appendix 4 Santiago Metropolitan Area: Finally selected variables

N°	Variables
3	Foreigners living in rented houses
6	Foreigners living in houses with four to six rooms
7	Foreigners living in houses with six or more rooms
9	Foreigners living in houses with two households
10	Foreigners living in houses with three households
11	Foreign households with car
12	Foreign households with pick up trucks
15	Foreign households with freezer
16	Foreign households with stereo
17	Foreign households with dishwasher
18	Foreign households with microwave
19	Foreign households with telephone
20	Foreign households with cell phone
21	Foreign households with Video Cassette Recorder (VCR)
22	Foreign households with TV cable/satellite
23	Foreign households with computer
24	Foreign households with internet connection
25	Foreigners as head of households
26	Foreigners without marital status
27	Foreigner's offspring of the head household
28	Foreigners working in live-in domestic service
31	Foreigners aged between 6 and 14
33	Foreigners aged between 25 and 64
34	Foreigners older than age 65
38	Foreigners arrived in the country between 1950 and 1959
40	Foreigners \geq age 5 living in another commune of the MSA in 1997
41	Foreigners \geq age 5 living in other country in 1997
43	Foreigners \geq 18 age with high school or technical school education
44	Foreigners \geq 18 age with university education
48	Foreigners \geq 15 age working with a salary the week before the census
51	Foreigners \geq 15 age working in domestic service the week before the census
54	Foreigners \geq 15 age working as physical, math and engineering professionals
55	Foreigners \geq 15 age working as life science and health professionals
56	Foreigners \geq 15 age working as teaching professionals
57	Foreigners \geq 15 age working as other professionals, scientifics and intellectuals
59	Foreigners \geq 15 age working as non qualified shop salespersons and demonstrators
62	Foreigners \geq 15 age working in the education sector
63	Foreigners \geq 15 age working in the human health and social work activities
64	Foreigners \geq 15 age working in activities of households as employers of domestic personnel
65	Foreign population born in Argentina
66	Foreign population born in the United States
67	Foreign population born in Peru
69	Foreign population born in Germany
71	Foreign population born in Italy
73	Foreigners \geq 15 age working or studying in the same commune they live
74	Foreigners \geq 15 age working or studying in a different commune they live

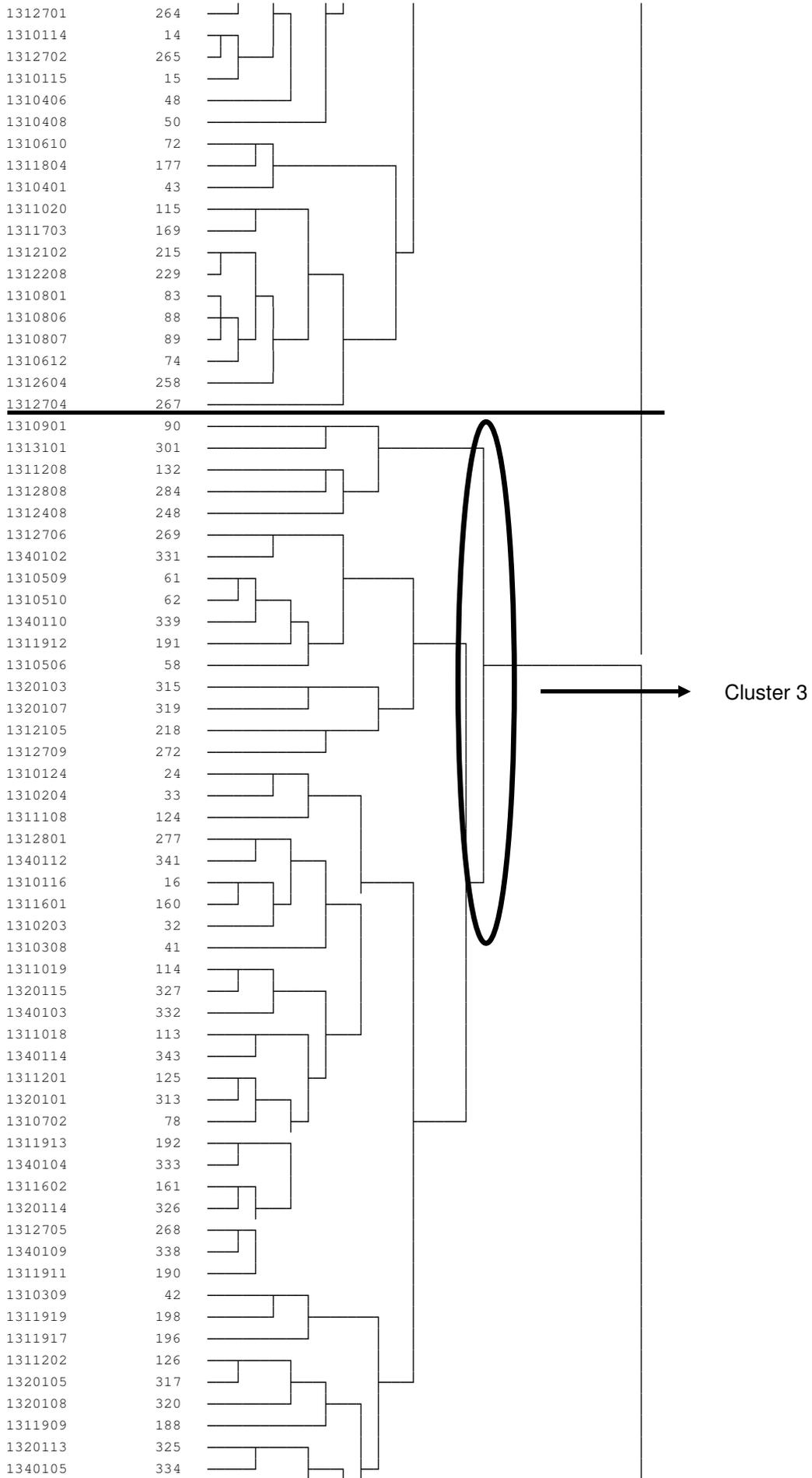
Appendix 5 Santiago Metropolitan Area: Dendrogram of Cluster Analysis output



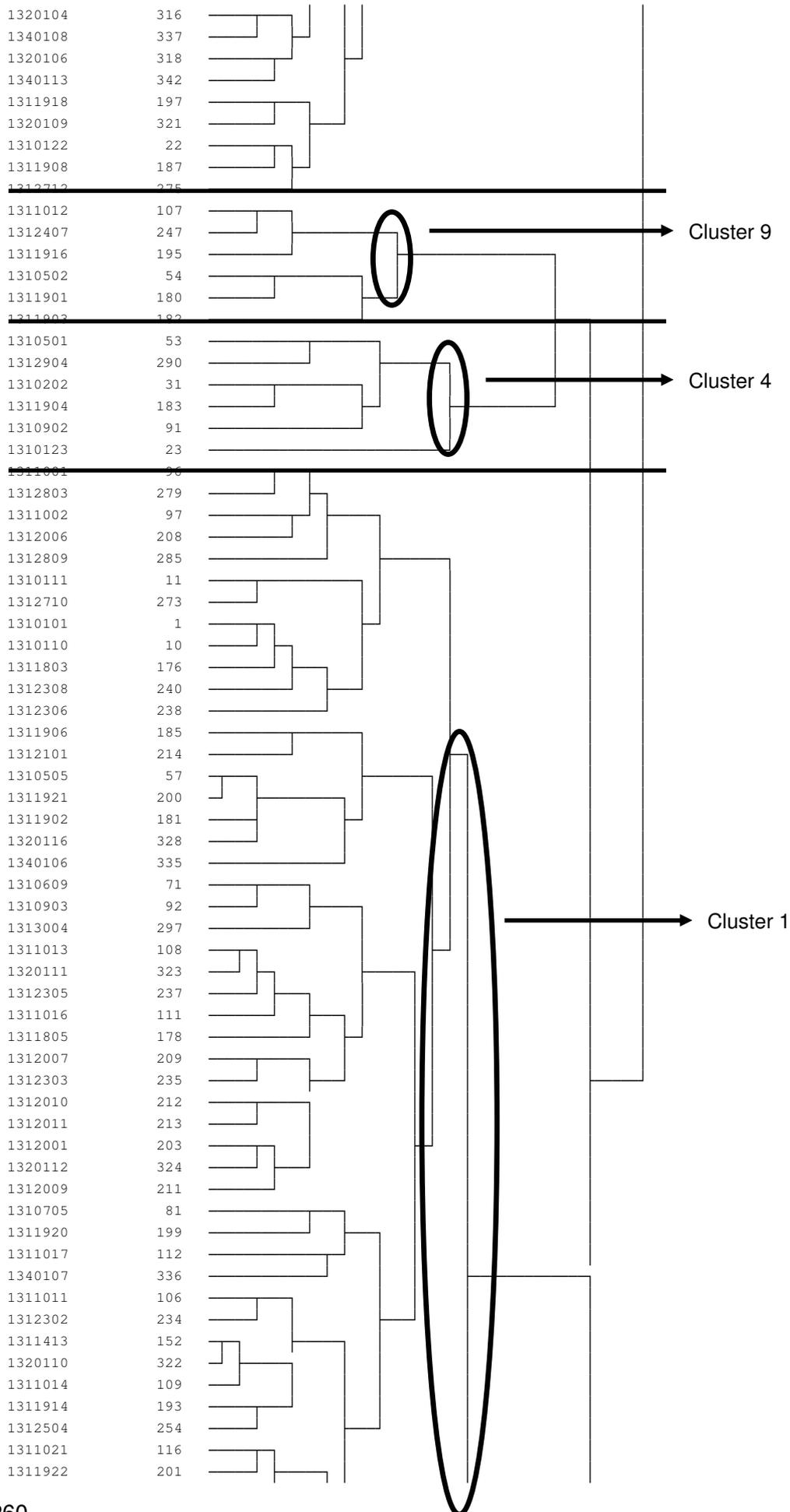
PATTERNS OF INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION IN THE SANTIAGO METROPOLITAN AREA



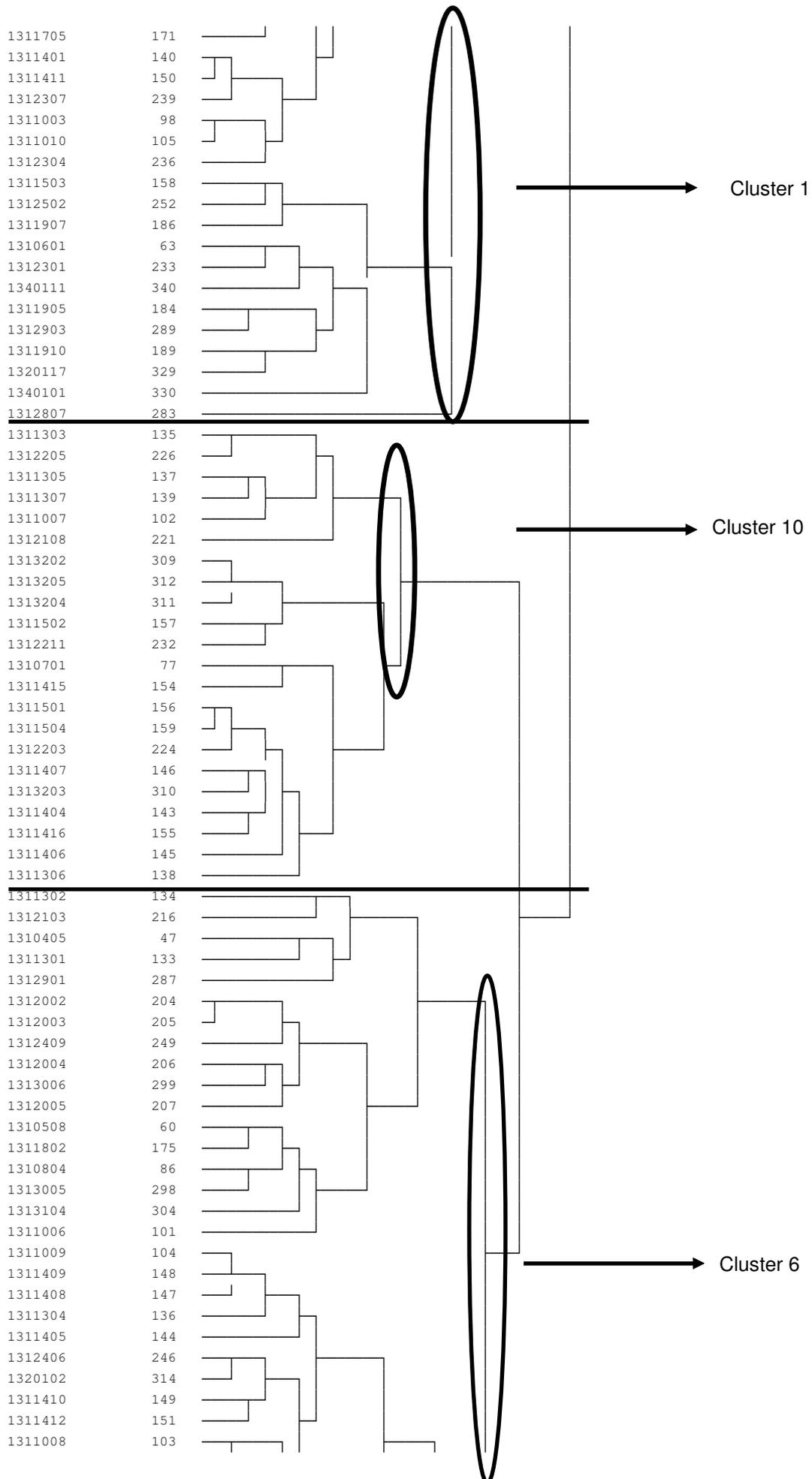
PATTERNS OF INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION IN THE SANTIAGO METROPOLITAN AREA

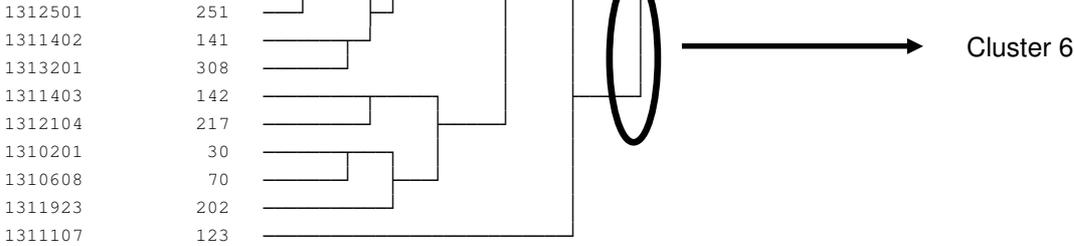


PATTERNS OF INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION IN THE SANTIAGO METROPOLITAN AREA



PATTERNS OF INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION IN THE SANTIAGO METROPOLITAN AREA





Appendix 6: Santiago Metropolitan Area:

Cluster 1 by districts and by main factor scores

Commune, District	Factor 1	Factor 3
Santiago; Huelén	0,692	-1,693
Santiago; V. Mackenna	0,666	-1,746
Santiago; San Isidro	-0,003	-1,168
E. Bosque; Aviadores	-0,156	-1,079
E. Central; E. Central	0,507	-0,520
E. Central; Las Rejas	0,116	-0,768
Huechuraba; Pirámide	3,204	-0,079
La Cisterna; Lo Ovalle	0,475	-0,758
La Florida; F. Oriente	0,275	-0,876
La Florida; La Alborada	0,165	-1,219
La Florida; S. Raquel	0,815	-1,053
La Florida; S. Amalia	0,779	-1,023
La Florida; San Jorge	0,476	-1,670
La Florida; María Elena	0,201	-0,791
La Florida; P. Arenero	-0,077	-1,147
La Florida; G. Arriagada	0,525	-1,098
La Florida; Av. Trinidad	0,259	-0,708
La Florida; Lía Aguirre	0,646	-1,043
Las Condes; E. Militar	2,351	-1,159
Las Condes; E. Español	2,110	-0,799
Las Condes; C. San Luis	2,498	-1,828
Barnechea; Farellones	1,656	-2,501
Lo Prado; Oscar Bonilla	-0,054	-0,783
Macul; Pedreros	0,041	-0,590
Macul; V.Santa Carolina	0,863	-0,838
Maipú; Los Libertadores	0,575	-1,069
Maipú; Las Industrias	0,546	-1,804
Maipú; San Martín	0,787	-0,540
Maipú; Maipú Poniente	-0,179	-1,027
Maipú; O_Higgins	0,879	-1,142
Maipú; Las Lomas	0,701	-1,308
Maipú; Los Pajaritos	0,561	-0,844
Maipú; Las Parcelas	0,622	-0,891
Maipú; Simón Bolívar	0,500	-1,401

Commune, District	Factor 1	Factor 3
Nunoa; Simón Bolívar	1,450	-1,151
Nunoa; Santa Julia	0,235	-1,226
Nunoa; Plaza Zañartu	0,948	-1,279
Nunoa; Piscina Mundt	0,636	-1,239
Nunoa; C. Errázuriz	1,191	-0,941
Nunoa; H.de Carabineros	0,806	-0,733
PAC; La Victoria	0,048	-1,008
Providencia; Condell	0,944	-0,988
Providencia; P. Valdivia	1,469	-1,577
Providencia; Los Leones	1,786	-1,520
Providencia; Pocuro	2,081	-1,029
Providencia; D. Almagro	1,307	-0,178
Providencia; Bustamante	0,600	-1,428
Providencia; P.V Norte	1,906	-0,595
Providencia; H. Militar	1,097	-2,139
Quilicura; Lo Echevers	-0,257	-1,060
Quilicura; M.A. Matta	0,680	-1,434
Recoleta; San Cristóbal	0,224	-0,775
Renca; J.M Carrera	-0,018	-0,452
Renca; El Perejil	-0,191	-0,753
Renca; Chungará	-0,369	-0,974
S. Joaquín; E. B. Norte	0,392	-1,081
S. Miguel; Atacama	0,198	-0,678
P. Alto; Los Jardines	0,127	-1,010
P. Alto; El Labrador	0,252	-1,391
P. Alto; Los Toros	0,701	-1,256
P. Alto; Porvenir	0,337	-1,196
P. Alto; Padre Hurtado	0,289	-1,298
S. Bdo.; O'Higgins	0,551	-0,888
S. Bdo.; Cerro Negro	-0,317	-1,012
S. Bdo.; Maestranza	0,878	-0,490
S. Bdo.; Chena	0,237	-1,192
PAC; Navidad	-0,308	-0,156

Appendix 7 Santiago Metropolitan Area:

Cluster 2 by districts and by main factor scores

Commune, District	Factor 1	Factor 2
Santiago; Moneda	-0,939	2,522
Santiago; Amunategui	-0,914	2,481
Santiago; Brasil	-0,376	2,220
Santiago; Chacabuco	-0,690	2,238
Santiago; Portales	-1,224	2,351
Santiago; Matucana	-1,168	2,445
Santiago; San Saturnino	-1,020	1,967
Santiago; Mapocho	-0,979	2,364
Santiago; Universidad	-1,239	2,690
Santiago; Almagro	-0,526	1,818
Santiago; Porvenir	-0,798	1,606
Santiago; San Diego	-1,253	2,031
Santiago; Carmen	-1,266	0,631
Santiago; Victoria	-1,278	1,006
Santiago; Valparaíso	-0,459	1,339
Santiago; Franklin	-1,664	0,924
Santiago; Matadero	-1,348	1,261
Santiago; Exposición	-1,387	1,321
Santiago; San Alfonso	-0,675	2,072
Santiago; Avenida España	-0,904	1,583
Santiago; Ejército	-0,604	1,885
Santiago; Conchalí	-0,510	0,951
Conchalí; Pomaire	-1,021	-0,054
Conchalí; Monterrey	-0,427	-0,024
Conchalí; El Cortijo	-1,248	1,314
Conchalí; Luther King	-0,579	0,238
Conchalí; Municipalidad	-0,505	1,018
E. Central; La Araucana	-1,429	2,153
E. Central; Pila del Ganso	-0,515	1,652
E. Central; U. Técnica	-0,836	1,214
E. Central; B. Mercado	-1,264	2,364

Commune, District	Factor 1	Factor 2
Independencia; Independencia	-1,167	2,454
Independencia; Santa Laura	-0,342	0,948
Independencia; El Molino	-0,599	1,462
Independencia, E. Medicina	-1,445	2,570
La Florida; Sótero del Río	-1,051	1,054
La Granja; Malaquías Concha	-0,601	-0,079
Las Condes; H. Carabineros	0,093	0,694
LO Prado; T. Antártico	-1,021	1,123
Macul; Camino Agrícola	-0,269	0,770
Nunoa; Estadio Nacional	-0,382	0,195
PAC; Estadio Yarur	-0,679	1,055
Penalolén; José Arrieta	-0,647	0,583
Penalolén; Q. Camarones	-0,695	0,918
Pudahuel; Estrella de Chile	-0,927	-0,235
Quilicura; San Ignacio	-0,906	2,484
Q. Normal; Municipalidad	-0,815	0,542
Q. Normal; Yungay	-1,260	1,141
Q. Normal; Villa Sana	-1,039	1,353
Q. Normal; Quidora	-0,787	1,247
Q. Normal; Mercurio	-0,865	0,635
Recoleta; Recoleta	-1,016	2,245
Recoleta; Cerro Blanco	-0,750	1,769
Recoleta; C. General	-0,595	0,879
Recoleta; Lo Aránguiz	-0,473	0,548
Recoleta; C. Católico	-0,905	1,268
Recoleta; Emiliano Zapata	-0,963	0,851
Renca; Santa María	-0,788	0,230
San Miguel; Barros Luco	-0,596	0,481
San Miguel; Lo Vial	-0,448	0,525
San Miguel; Ciudad del Niño	-0,169	0,309
San Ramón; Las Américas	-1,057	0,543

Appendix 8 Santiago Metropolitan Area:

Cluster 3 by districts and by main factor scores

Commune, District	Factor 2	Factor 5	Commune, District	Factor 2	Factor 5
Santiago; Santa Elena	0,260	1,364	Pudahuel;Pudahuel	-0,824	3,219
Santiago; P. O_Higgins	0,380	3,584	Pudahuel;Salzburgo	-1,083	0,922
Santiago; San Eugenio	-0,168	2,019	Recoleta; Israelita	-0,711	0,103
Cerrillos; Divino Maestro	-0,389	0,625	Recoleta; R. Buin	-0,876	0,330
Cerrillos; Lo Errázuriz	-0,458	0,704	Recoleta; Arco Iris	-0,114	0,685
C. Navía; Victoria	-0,259	0,083	Renca; Renca	-0,090	1,119
C. Navía; Río Viejo	-0,954	-0,256	Renca; C. Colorado	-0,813	0,694
E. Bsque; Santa Elena	-1,181	0,090	San Ramón;Modelo	-0,666	0,093
E. Bosque; Cóndores	-1,038	0,159	Pte. Alto; Pte.Alto	-0,584	1,478
E. Bosque; Parcelas	-1,840	0,486	Pte. Alto; Vizcachas	-0,913	0,044
Huechuraba; Pincoya	-0,776	0,083	Pte. Alto; Regimien.	-0,697	1,337
La Cisterna; La Cisterna	-0,685	0,887	Pte. Alto; B. Mena	-1,346	0,465
La Florida; P. Arenas	-0,759	0,523	Pte. Alto; Tocornal	-1,194	1,112
La Florida; Manutara	-0,518	0,500	Pte. Alto; Gabriela	-1,449	0,194
La Granja; S.Rosa	-0,221	0,107	Pte. Alto; S. Carlos	-1,015	0,715
La Pintana; Mapuhué	-0,711	3,024	Pte. Alto;S. del Río	-0,460	0,603
La Pintana; S. Ricardo	-1,207	0,143	Pte. Alto; A. Prat	-0,737	1,395
La Pintana; Primavera	-0,841	0,262	Pte. Alto; E. Libert	-1,653	2,472
Lo Espejo; Lo Espejo	-0,349	0,946	Pte. Alto; T. Bello	-0,643	1,607
Lo Espejo; Las Torres	-0,841	0,504	San. Bdo.; E.Infant.	-0,920	0,290
Maipú; Portales	-0,436	1,328	San Bdo.; C. Barca	-1,753	1,207
Maipú; Templo Votivo	-0,516	1,182	San Bdo.; S. Marta	-1,169	3,279
Maipú; Las Heras	-1,056	1,314	San Bdo.; Hospital	-0,859	1,046
Maipú; Blco. Encalada	-0,741	-0,111	San Bdo.; Nos	-0,662	1,854
Maipú; Rinconada	-1,349	4,686	San Bdo.; Nogales	-0,591	1,897
Maipú; San José	-0,734	0,284	San Bdo.; Chena	-1,627	0,587
Maipú; El Carmen	-0,536	0,618	San Bdo.;Herrera	0,537	3,840
Maipú; El Bosque	-0,819	0,633	San Bdo.; Estación	-1,356	1,874
Maipú; La Feria	-1,066	0,141	San Bdo.; Morros	-0,501	2,608

Appendix 9 Santiago Metropolitan Area:

Cluster 4 by districts and by main factor scores

Commune, District	Factor 4
Santiago; Club Hípico	1,057
Cerrillos; Villa México	0,886
El Bosque; El Bosque	1,829
La Cisterna; Ochagavía	0,807
Maipú; Feria Internacional	0,000
San Joaquín Edwards Bello Sur	0,684

Appendix 10 Santiago Metropolitan Area:**Cluster 5 by districts and by main factor scores**

Commune, District	Factor 2	Factor 5
Santiago; Quinta Normal	2,737	-2,603
Cerro Navia; Dalmacia	0,625	-1,690
Cerro Navia; El Montijo	-0,127	-1,292
Conchalí; El Comendador	0,028	-0,843
E. Central; Aeropuerto	0,292	-1,175
Independencia; Juan Antonio Ríos	0,468	-0,932
La Florida; San Rafael	0,033	-1,280
La Florida; San José de la Estrella	0,389	-1,094
La Granja; La Granja	0,232	-1,282
Lo Prado; Blanqueado	1,344	-2,503
Lo Prado; California	0,944	-1,445
Lo Prado; Neptuno	0,770	-1,509
Macul; Ignacio Carrera Pinto	0,721	-1,567
Penalolén; Torres de Macul	0,452	-0,645
Penalolén; Avenida Parque	0,582	-1,550
Pudahuel; Municipalidad	0,007	-1,367
San Joaquín; El Pinar	0,285	-1,375

Appendix 11 Santiago Metropolitan Area:

Cluster 6 by districts and by main factor scores

Commune, District	Factor 1	Factor 5
Cerrillos; Cerrillos	0,633	-0,165
Conchalí; La Palma	0,291	-1,653
E. Bosque; León XIII	0,267	-1,360
E. Central; Las Parcelas	1,013	0,274
Independencia; Hipódromo	0,401	-0,413
La Florida; Walker Martínez	0,817	-0,482
La Florida; Santa Julia	1,597	-0,485
La Florida; Santa Inés	1,562	-1,036
La Granja; San José de La Estrella	-0,251	-0,932
La Reina; Larraín	1,425	-1,274
La Reina; Lynch Norte	0,916	-0,930
La Reina; Parque La Quintrala	1,593	-0,463
Las Condes; Estadio Palestino	2,320	0,363
Las Condes; Hospital Fach	1,879	0,539
Las Condes; Estadio Italiano	2,143	-0,032
Las Condes; Chapiquiña	1,987	-0,441
Las Condes; El Pillán	2,163	-0,095
Las Condes; Sebastián El Cano	2,153	-0,316
Las Condes; Vaticano	2,145	-0,006
Macul; Macul	0,460	-0,636
Maipú; Ciudad Satélite	1,194	0,202
Nunoa; Pucará	1,564	-0,766
Nunoa; Plaza Los Guindos	1,396	-0,607
Nunoa; Chacra Valparaíso	1,010	-0,886
Nunoa; Plaza Ñuñoa	1,470	-0,498
PAC; La Marina	-0,259	-1,309
PAC; Miguel Dávila	0,031	-0,391
Pudahuel; Santa Corina	0,508	-0,842
Pudahuel; Federico Errázuriz	0,122	-1,367
Quilicura; Quilicura	0,362	-0,610
San Joaquín; San Joaquín	0,067	-0,934
San Miguel; Salesianos	0,687	-0,255
San Miguel; El Llano	0,820	-0,127
San Ramón; General Körner	-0,395	-1,453
Vitacura; Naciones Unidas	2,397	-0,099
Pte. Alto; El Peral	1,266	-0,938

Appendix 12 Santiago Metropolitan Area:

Cluster 7 by districts and by main factor scores

Commune, District	Factor 1	Factor 3
Cerro Navia; Cerro Navia	-0,850	0,442
Cerro Navia; Janequeo	-0,767	0,372
Cerro Navia; José Joaquín Pérez	-1,330	1,375
Conchalí; Eneas Gonel	-0,369	0,267
E. Bosque; Sargento Aldea	-0,791	0,248
E. Central; Maestranza	-0,274	1,063
E. Central; Hermanos Carrera	-1,195	0,838
E. Central; Nogales	-1,398	1,672
E. Central; Infante Cerda	-0,379	0,569
E. Central; Ecuador	-1,326	1,821
Huechuraba; Avenida Principal	-0,254	0,363
Independencia; Miraflores	-0,907	0,678
La Granja, San Gregorio Poniente	-0,733	0,594
La Granja, Avenida Central	-0,896	0,879
La Granja; San Gregorio Oriente	-1,015	0,933
Lo Espejo; Población Caro Sur	-0,849	0,277
Lo Espejo; Quiriquina	-1,725	1,692
Lo Espejo; Clara Estrella	-0,772	0,540
Lo Prado; Lo Prado	-0,840	0,640
Lo Prado; Costa Rica	-1,035	0,738
Macul; Lo Plaza	-0,154	0,718
Maipú; Esquina Blanca	-0,412	3,059
Penalolén; Peñalolén	-1,073	1,438
Penalolén; Villa Los Lagos	-1,431	0,734
Penalolén; Diagonal Las Torres	0,521	2,335
Penalolén; Gabriela Mistral	-0,348	0,432
Pudahuel; La Estrella	-0,631	-0,204
Pudahuel; San Daniel	-0,649	0,929
Q. Normal; Cónsul Poinsett	-0,698	1,207
Q. Normal; Catamarca	-1,121	0,968
Recoleta; Quinta Bella	-0,757	0,633
Renca; Lo Ruíz	-0,911	0,372
Renca; Planta Eléctrica	-0,714	0,906
San Joaquín; La Castrina	-0,512	0,520
San Joaquín; Pedro Mira	-0,962	0,964
San Miguel; Lo Mena	-0,784	1,165
San Ramón; Paraguay	-0,468	0,317
San Ramón; La Bandera	-1,022	0,778
San Ramón, San Ramón	-1,699	1,105
San Ramón; Parque La Bandera	-0,995	0,569

Appendix 13 Santiago Metropolitan Area:

Cluster 8 by districts and by main factor scores

Commune, District	Factor 1	Factor 2
Cerro Navia; Población Roosevelt	-0,494	-1,228
Cerro Navia; Violeta Parra	-0,506	-1,068
Conchalí; Juanita Aguirre	-0,635	-1,483
El Bosque; Capitán Avalos	-0,350	-1,398
El Bosque; El Almendro	-0,679	-1,086
Estación Central; Chuchunco	-0,185	-0,421
Huechuraba; República de Francia	-0,410	-2,050
Huechuraba; Parque del Recuerdo	-1,227	-2,149
La Cisterna; El Parrón	0,057	-0,939
La Cisterna; Vicuña Mackenna	-0,328	-0,038
La Cisterna; La Cultura	-0,355	-0,695
La Florida; O' Higgins	0,484	-0,628
La Granja; Parque Intercomunal	-0,327	-1,106
La Pintana; Pablo de Rokha	-1,124	-1,445
La Pintana; Antumapu	-0,613	-1,481
La Pintana; La Platina	-0,422	-1,470
La Pintana; Rey Don Felipe	-1,098	-2,162
La Pintana; Vicente Llanos	-0,752	-1,490
Lo Espejo; Población Caro Norte	-0,848	-1,756
Lo Espejo; Carlos Dittborn	-0,388	-2,309
PAC; Lo Valledor Norte	-1,103	-1,076
PAC; Lo Valledor Sur	-0,951	-1,546
Pudahuel; Embalse Lo Prado	-0,743	-1,039
Pudahuel; Barrancas	-1,187	-1,564
Q. Normal; Carrascal	-0,271	-0,896
Q. Normal; Frontera	-0,563	-0,401
Recoleta; El Salto	-0,518	-0,328
Renca; José Miguel Infante	-0,650	-1,353
Renca; Clotario Blest	-1,415	-1,160
San Joaquín; Las Industrias	-0,924	-0,380

Appendix14 Santiago Metropolitan Area:

Cluster 9 by districts and by main factor scores

Commune, District	Factor 2	Factor 4
El Bosque; Lagos de Chile	-1,333	-0,058
La Florida; San Pedro	-0,730	0,275
Maipú; Cinco de Abril	-1,118	0,686
Maipú; Ramón Freire	-0,891	0,312
Maipú; Nueva San Martín	-0,983	0,454
Pudahuel; Lo Aguirre	0,439	1,851

Appendix 15 Santiago Metropolitan Area:

Cluster 10 by districts and by main factor scores

Commune, District	Factor 1	Factor 3
Huechuraba; Huechuraba	1,195	3,734
La Florida; Canal Las Perdices	0,896	1,082
La Reina; Príncipe de Gales	1,880	1,335
La Reina; Plaza Ossandón	2,397	2,520
La Reina; La Reina	2,388	3,306
La Reina; Aeródromo Tobalaba	0,518	0,591
Las Condes; Las Condes	2,678	3,128
Las Condes; Los Dominicos	2,097	1,694
Las Condes; Cerro Apoquindo	2,263	2,211
Las Condes; San Carlos de Apoquindo	2,430	4,742
Las Condes; Cerro Calán	2,370	2,501
Las Condes; La Dehesa	2,832	4,030
Las Condes; El Arrayán	2,206	1,876
Las Condes; Lo Barnechea	2,248	3,059
Penalolén; Lo Hermida	1,628	2,203
Penalolén; Viña Macul	1,313	0,886
Penalolén; Simón Bolívar	0,271	0,111
Vitacura; Estadio Manquehue	2,461	1,641
Vitacura; Lo Curro	2,926	3,277
Vitacura; Club de Golf	2,375	1,360
Vitacura; Vitacura	2,110	1,353