

Relational Inclusion of Migrants in Chile: Towards a Statistical Measurement Model

Inclusión relacional de personas migrantes en Chile: hacia un modelo de medición estadístico

Pablo Ignacio Roessler Vergara,¹ Constanza Camila Lobos Guerrero,²
Nicolás Rojas Pedemonte³ & Francisco Rivera Rojas⁴

ABSTRACT

This article presents an exercise whose objective is to measure the quality of the daily relationships experienced by the migrant population in Chile, based on the 2019 *Voces Migrantes* [Migrant Voices] survey, which is representative at a national level. From an intercultural approach, a statistical index of relational inclusion (SIRI) is proposed that addresses three dimensions: rootedness in Chile, coexistence with the receiving society, and the presence of support networks. The main results show three fundamental elements for the experiences of inclusion of migrants in Chilean society: projected time in the receiving country, having experienced discrimination, and having access to local support networks. It also highlights the prevalence of low SIRI scores among migrants without residence permits and those born in Haiti. This index was developed from an exploratory and confirmatory factor analysis that presents important strengths and elements to be adjusted in future studies.

Keywords: 1. relational inclusion, 2. rootedness, 3. coexistence, 4. Latin America, 5. Chile.

RESUMEN

En el presente artículo se expone un ejercicio cuyo objetivo es medir la calidad de las relaciones cotidianas que la población migrante experimenta en Chile, a partir de la encuesta Voces Migrantes 2019, representativa a nivel nacional. Desde un enfoque intercultural, se propone un índice estadístico de inclusión relacional (INIR) que aborda tres dimensiones: el arraigo en Chile, la convivencia con la sociedad receptora y la presencia de redes de apoyo. Los principales resultados muestran tres elementos fundamentales para las experiencias de inclusión de migrantes en la sociedad chilena: tiempo de proyección en el país, haber experimentado discriminación, y contar con redes locales/baquiánas de apoyo. Destaca la prevalencia de puntajes bajos en el INIR en migrantes sin permiso de residencia y en los nacidos en Haití. El índice se elaboró a partir de un análisis factorial exploratorio y confirmatorio que presenta importantes fortalezas y elementos por ajustar en futuros estudios.

Palabras clave: 1. inclusión relacional, 2. arraigo, 3. convivencia, 4. Latinoamérica, 5. Chile.

Date received: October 19, 2020

Date accepted: October 21, 2021

Published online: October 15, 2022

¹ Fundación Servicio Jesuita a Migrantes, Chile, pablo.roessler@sjmchile.org, <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-1216-0699>

² Universidad Alberto Hurtado, Chile, coni.lobosguerrero@gmail.com, <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-8273-2170>

³ Universidad Alberto Hurtado, Chile, nrojas@uahurtado.cl, <https://orcid.org/0000-0001-7041-7053>

⁴ Consultora Ekhos, Chile, francisco.rivera@ekhos.cl, <https://orcid.org/0000-0003-0395-3758>



INTRODUCTION

Although migration processes are typical of human history, today they have acquired particular characteristics due to international mobility and the crossing of borders between States. We live in an increasingly interconnected world, but national boundaries continue to be of great relevance at an institutional and social level (Castles, 2010; Ramírez Gallegos, & Álvarez Velasco, 2009).

The phenomenon of migration and its resulting inclusion/exclusion processes involve both those who leave their countries—who in this study will be understood as migrants—, but also concern the host society, thus behaving according to a relational and intergroup nature (Mains et al., 2013). Thus, this study sets forth an instrument that, from an intercultural approach, measures the quality of everyday relationships that the population arriving in Chile states having experienced.

For this, the context of migration processes in Chile is first addressed in a succinct manner; then the intercultural theoretical approach and the studies related to the theme that are essential to understanding the results of the instrument are presented. Thereafter, the operationalization and the statistical exercise developed are presented, and this paper is then completed by presenting the results obtained and our main conclusions.

Migration in Chile

In describing the migration process in Chile, it is important to point out that this is not a new phenomenon in the history of the country, as it has rather been constitutive of its history and of its own conformation as a national State in the 19th and 20th centuries, when the State implemented successive policies meant to attract European immigrants.

Currently, the process of international migration to Chilean territory differs from the earlier waves mentioned above, both because of the role of the State and because of the places of origin of those arriving in Chile now. This contemporary flow began in the 1990s, coming mainly from bordering countries such as Peru, Bolivia and Argentina (Cano & Soffia, 2009), increasing in the 2010s both in quantity and diversity of origins, mainly intracontinental. Thus, since 2010 the inflow of Colombian and Dominican immigrants has increased, and that of Haitians and Venezuelans taking the lead since 2015. In this new scenario, and according to the latest estimate of migrant population by the Instituto Nacional de Estadística & Departamento de Extranjería y Migración (INE & DEM, 2021) [National Institute of Statistics & Department of Foreigners and Immigration], the foreign community would amount to 1 492 522 people in December 2020, representing about 8% of the total population of the country, thus increasing significantly in relation to 2017, where there were 746 565 foreigners according to census data. Such drastic increase becomes evident when comparing the current figures with the 2002 Census (INE, 2003), where the foreign population living in Chile amounted to only 195 320 (Servicio Jesuita a Migrantes, 2020).

This state of things is more complex and diverse than that of previous decades, as it has been met with an immigration law (*Decree Law 1094*) dating from 1975, typical of an

economic, social and political context very different from the one Chile and the world are currently experiencing (Ministerio del Interior, 1975). This law has been deemed an insufficient regulatory framework for the complexities of the current migration process. On the one hand, the body in charge (Department of Foreigners and Immigration) was established at a time of lower migration flows, and so the way it works has rather hampered the regularization processes of foreigners in recent years (Aninat & Sierra, 2019; Galaz Valderrama, Rubilar Donoso, Álvarez Martínez-Conde, & Viñuela Evans, 2017), and on the other hand, the functioning of this same institution has evidenced human rights gaps by focusing on a securitization approach typical of the National Security doctrine, which emphasizes border control and not in the living conditions of migrants (Vásquez, Finn, & Umpierrez de Reguero, 2021). As a result of this imbalance between the institutional framework and new migration trends, in 2021, after several years of scrutiny in the Chilean Congress, a new migration law was enacted that incorporates, on the one hand, advances in the guarantees for the rights of migrants, as well as elements of continuity on the management of human mobility from the security approach (Oyarzún Serrano, Aranda, & Gissi, 2021; Vásquez et al., 2021).

As for the environment upon arrival and relations with Chilean society, recent studies have reported unfavorable perceptions on the new Andean and Caribbean migration flows (Márquez & Correa, 2015; Méndez, 2019; Rodríguez & Gissi, 2019; Rojas Pedemonte, Gálvez, & Silva, 2019). Some experts associate this with the way in which Chilean identity has been constructed as a colonial enclave in the national common sense: excluding “what is amerindian” and “what is black” from the position of “what is white” (Larraín, 2010; Tijoux, 2019). Other studies complement the above by stating that in unequal societies such as Chile, migrants are perceived even more as competition for resources which are scarce by excluded sectors of the receiving society (Méndez, 2019; Roessler, 2018). Likewise, it has been identified that at times when the economic situation in Chile is perceived to be negative, attitudes towards immigration worsen (González, Muñoz, & Mackenna, 2019). Undoubtedly, the current panorama of migration not only brings new inhabitants to the country, but also new social relations. Much has been theorized on the coexistence between communities of diverse origins; we will briefly introduce some of these theoretical developments below.

The assimilationist model can be found among the most traditional views; this model involves integrating foreign populations or minority groups into the logic of the hosting society, at the cost of abandoning their particular cultural expressions, giving them scarce recognition. As a response to this assimilationist model, multiculturalism aims at institutionalizing cultural diversity by means of policies of recognition and tolerance; multiculturalism has been criticized for dismissing the power relations that exist between minority and hegemonic groups (Vansteenberghe Waeterschoot, 2012). Critical perspectives have developed a third model, which this study partakes of and will detail below.

AN INTERCULTURAL APPROACH TO THE STUDY OF MIGRANT INCLUSION

Taking into account the limitations of the previous models, the approach of this article is that of critical interculturality. This model highlights communication and dialogue as central axes in the promotion of positive and symmetrical relationships between diverse human groups (Stefoni Espinoza, Stang Alva, & Riedemann Fuentes, 2016). This approach sets forth that horizontal communication, made possible by diversity, allows meeting face to face and so being able to know “the other,” this occupying the space that ignorance and prejudice would otherwise fill in. By daily exercising such intention in this type of relationship, this critical approach seeks to unveil and transform colonial power structures and hierarchical relationships that inferiorize, dehumanize, racialize and invalidate certain groups, making it difficult for them to access their rights and full participation in society (Diez, 2004; Walsh, 2012).

But how would the daily relations between migrants and non-migrants be seen from an intercultural approach? We argue that these would go beyond the coexistence of “those who are different from each other,” communication being central to equal rights (Diez, 2004). This essential understanding will enable feelings of belonging and rootedness with the host community, as will enable for the ties between its members to be symmetrical and horizontal, and for a deep contact to take place that gives rise to dialogue and the exchange of knowledge (Tubino, 2005). This encounter in diversity would reduce the emergence of prejudices based on dehumanizing social structures that inferiorize certain human beings and groups, such as the racism derived from the colonial model (Diez, 2004; Walsh, 2012).

In line with the above, the inclusion of migrants depends on the institutional and sociocultural conditions ingrained in the common sense of the host society and thus on the relationship with the migrant communities. Regarding the former, the institutional conditions and public policies on migration matters are essential, specifically in the measure they facilitate regularization (or not) and thus access to opportunities (Galaz Valderrama et al., 2017; Galaz Valderrama & Montenegro Martínez, 2015). As for the field of daily relations, it is necessary to dismantle the social and political construction of immigrants as an illegitimate presence in a national territory, as a “problem” and not as an opportunity or a mere reality of human history (Domenech, 2014; Roessler, 2018). Along with this, this critical perspective invites us to dismantle the racialization imprinted on specific national origins that arrive with the current flows to Chile, fueled by the colonial construction of national identity, which results in experiences of discrimination and segregation (Stang Alva, Roessler Vergara, & Riedemann Fuentes, 2019; Stefoni Espinoza et al., 2016).

Based on the above, this article sets the challenge of building an instrument to measure the quality of everyday relationships experienced by migrant populations in Chile. The analysis is based theoretically on the intercultural approach, but also on the experience of intervention and the studies carried out by the Jesuit Refugee Service in the last two decades in Chile.⁵ By

⁵ The Jesuit Refugee Service is a foundation whose mission is to contribute to the construction of an inclusive Chile by means of legislative and cultural changes, through experience, support and

focusing on the ties perceived by migrants with the host community, material dimensions such as access to rights, employment and/or economic capital are discarded, which are undoubtedly essential to measure in future studies on socioeconomic insertion. Similarly, our analysis will investigate the variations of this relational index according to characteristics such as economic capital, access to rights and immigration status.

DIMENSIONS OF MIGRANT INCLUSION

From the intercultural approach, the dimensions accounted for in this study to elaborate a statistical index of relational inclusion (SIRI) are the following:

- a) Rootedness in the host community as perceived by the migrant: prospect to stay in and belong to the receiving society.
- b) Everyday coexistence with the receiving community: horizontal, friendly relations, free of perceived discrimination.
- c) Access to support networks: ties that allow the migrant meeting and holding deeper contact with others in the country, and access to the opportunities offered by the receiving society.

Next, the way in which current studies and evidence have addressed these dimensions of the migrant population in receiving societies is detailed. It is worth noting that although the SIRI includes “relational” in its concept, it seeks to go beyond what Walsh (2012) calls “relational interculturality,” since this perspective refers mainly to the exchange of knowledge between different cultures, omitting the power relations that may exist in said nexus. In this sense, the SIRI includes the perspective of critical interculturality.

Rootedness and Prospect of Staying

This dimension addresses the identification of migrants with the social context in which they arrive and so their life projects in that place.

The concept of rootedness can be understood as “the process and effect through which a particular relationship with the territory is established, in which one metaphorically ‘takes roots’ in it for various reasons, developing ties that sustain some kind of ‘attachment’ with the place” (Quezada, 2007, p. 43). Rootedness speaks of a relationship being created by settling in a place to further a life project.

Contrastingly, leaving behind family, friends and reference groups constitutes an experience of rupture and “uprooting” from the origin: spaces of representation, identity, daily life and social relations are broken (Márquez & Correa, 2015).

Discrimination, in turn, exacerbates these perceptions of uprooting among migrants, hindering their inclusion processes, affecting the possibilities of accessing opportunities and

multidimensional counseling. It is present in various Latin American countries, including Chile. For more details, see www.sjmchile.org.

building friendships (Cuchumbé-Holguin & Vargas-Bejarano, 2008). On the contrary, and following after Güell (2011), identification with a community will allow migrants a fuller exercise their life options. This requires for them to be recognized as legitimate (and not partial) holders of rights (Domenech, 2014; Roessler, 2018). According to Gissi Barbieri, Ghio Suárez & Silva Dittborn (2019), elements such as job success, and the participation in processes of cultural admixture and intercultural coexistence are circumstances under which rootedness occurs among the migrant population, enabling the undertaking of family and personal projects in the receiving location.

Rootedness is then considered an important dimension when measuring relational inclusion, as it makes visible to what extent is the presence of the migrant person more than merely physical, developing a sense of belonging (Diez, 2004) and, therefore, longer lasting projects in the receiving society (Gissi et al., 2019). In this sense, with the objective of measuring rootedness, indicators were selected for the SIRI that show the prospects of staying and undertaking projects in Chile, as well as the desire for nationalization.

Symmetrical Coexistence with the Receiving Society

This dimension seeks to identify potential relational asymmetries between the migrant and non-migrant populations, or if, on the contrary, these ties are more symmetrically constructed (Tubino, 2005). Giménez Romero (2005) proposed that coexistence means living in harmony with others, which is achieved through a process of construction, learning, tolerance, creation of common norms, and conflict regulation. Therefore, this process requires adaptability from the different cultures that develop in a given region; that is to say, it is a joint task.

Studying the occurrence of discrimination is fundamental given the impact that such experiences can have in the current life of those who arrive in a new country (Urzúa, Heredia, & Caqueo-Urizar, 2016). In this sense, it has been observed that the experiencing of discrimination in Chile is more frequent among immigrants and even more so among those from countries with a greater Afro-descendant component (Rojas Pedemonte et al., 2019).

The negative views and different forms of discrimination against the migrant population in Chile originate from different roots, which have been exposed in various studies. On the one hand, racism and colonial legacies originated in the conformation of Chilean identity (Tijoux, 2019), as did a context of inequality and social inequity (González et al., 2019; Roessler, 2018). Certainly, the role of the media and political discourse is not innocuous either (Méndez, 2019).

In this way, so as to measure the dimension of symmetrical coexistence, the experiencing or lack of friendly relations between migrants and locals, bad experiences with Chileans, as well as experiences of direct discrimination were investigated.

Support Networks

Support networks are crucial for migrants, both for the creation of opportunities and for personal well-being.

On the one hand, family support networks, as a primary group, are fundamental in terms of well-being, containment and security (Guzmán-Carrillo, González-Verduzco, & Rivera-Heredia, 2015). In this sense, migration studies themselves think of migration not only as individual movement for subsistence, but as a family strategy (Stark & Levhari, 1982).

To this respect, the available literature has pointed out the importance of the quantity, diversity and quality of support networks both in relation to access to opportunities and in terms of mental health and well-being for the migrant population. Studies affirm that the support and presence of migrant and non-migrant family, friends and/or neighbors are more significant than the assistance provided by local institutions, since the former are more suited to the needs of migrants (Hombrados-Mendieta, García Cid, Gómez-Jacinto, & Palma García, 2016).

In this sense, the mobilization of networks of co-nationals already settled to aid in obtaining jobs and thus developing trajectories of occupational mobility is quite relevant. Here, local support networks have proven to be more effective (Badwi, Dziwornu, & Overå, 2017). Having close contacts provides support to newly arrived migrants and refugees, both for insertion into the labor market and in the field of housing (Ahmad et al., 2020). In Chile, the importance of family networks has been studied, as well as that of those that go beyond the family, especially local ones that provide journeying guidance, also known as *baquian*⁶ networks (Servicio Jesuita a Migrantes, TECHO-Chile, Departamento de Sociología Universidad de Chile, & Centro Vives UAH, 2020; Troncoso, Troncoso & Link, 2018). It is the latter that, in most cases, provide the necessary information on local dynamics (López-Morales, Flores Pineda, & Orozco Ramos, 2018).

Also, wide support networks are essential not only in order to access opportunities such as jobs and housing, but also for stability in terms of well-being, given that there are antecedents of their critical role in determining health (Wang & Dong, 2018). In this sense, they have been pointed out as factors that increase well-being among migrants since they counteract discriminatory experiences and the difficulty of developing good relationships with the local community (Urzúa et al., 2016). The availability of broader networks, with close ties and high level-kinship, leads to a lower propensity for depression, which shows that the quantity and quality of social networks are factors that protect mental health (Li, Dong & Kong, 2019).

This way and according to studies, the family (nuclear or extended) constitutes a primary support network that can aid migrant insertion in the host society in terms of support and security. Yet the access to broader networks remains essential (even more so if *baquian*

⁶ According to the RAE (2020), a *baquiana* person is one who is an expert “in paths (...) and shortcuts, and who acts as a guide to travel through them”.

networks can be found among them), since these enable better access to information and provide greater support than those that are constituted by relatives only. In this way, the different types of networks just described are included as indicators in the support networks dimension: family networks, migrant networks outside the family, and local/*baquian* networks.

Segmentation Variables

To test the effectiveness of the SIRI—as will be described in more detail in the methodology section—as the factorial analysis is carried out, cross hypotheses and tests were carried out with certain variables considered critical in the inclusion of migrants in Chile. Particularly, segmentation variables have been selected: economic insertion, immigration status, time in Chile, access to housing, years of education, sex, and age.

Economic insertion is a fundamental area, given that one of the main motivations that drive displacement is the search for job opportunities (Stefoni & Bonhomme, 2014). Although finding a job is essential when arriving in the host country, it must be considered that higher unemployment rates are reported in the first years, as well as informal jobs, which is detrimental to the migrants' ability to acquire sufficient income (National Productivity Commission, 2019; Fuentes & Vergara, 2019). This setback generates difficulties in daily life and in the development of migration projects.

In the first years after settling, in addition to economic difficulties, the migrant population reports low attendance to school (Expósito, Lobos & Roessler, 2019), low access to health services (Benítez & Velasco, 2019), and lower access to formal housing (Servicio Jesuita a Migrantes et al., 2020; Troncoso et al., 2018). This is mainly explained by the limited access of migrants to information and opportunities, given their scarce social capital during their initial period in the destination country (Hernando, 2019), added to the lack of official channels to provide them counseling (Agencia de Calidad de la Educación, Servicio Jesuita a Migrantes y Estudios, y Consultorías Focus, 2019; Troncoso et al., 2018).

Now, much of what happens in the initial period is related to their immigration status, given the difficulties in accessing residence permits in Chile due to the cumbersome, expensive and extensive nature of the current process (Aninat & Sierra, 2019). Not having a residence permit hinders basic aspects of daily life, such as access to formal housing (Troncoso et al., 2018) or health services (Cabieses, 2019).

A critical point that has been studied in migrants is their access to housing and their habitability conditions. In this area, higher levels of overcrowding are observed than in the local community (Razmilic, 2019; Servicio Jesuita a Migrantes et al., 2020), which impacts quality of life and sanitation conditions (Benítez & Velasco, 2019). This reality, without a doubt, is not homogeneous among the migrant population, with some specific migrant communities being the most affected in terms of access to housing (Servicio Jesuita a Migrantes et al., 2020).

It has also been identified that it is not possible to affirm that the educational level of migrants is an effective factor that protects against poverty and exclusion, as it is among the local population (Bravo, 2019; Expósito et al., 2019). In this sense, it is argued that skills-based underemployment – which occurs when a person works in a job that requires lower qualifications than they possess – is evident among foreigners with higher education levels. Similarly, the years of education could be relevant in achieving employment for the migrant population, regardless of the qualifications required for the given job (National Productivity Commission, 2019).

On the other hand, one of the main demands by teachers who work with migrants pertains the language barrier faced by foreign students in national schools, mainly non-Spanish speakers (Agencia de Calidad de la Educación et al., 2019; Stefoni Espinoza et al., 2016). Along this line, not speaking the language of the receiving country implies a set of difficulties in the adaptation process that causes an information deficit and greater obstacles to access the fields of work, health and others. In this regard, the Haitian community is the majority non-Spanish-speaking population in Chile, which, in addition to the language difference, faces difficulties derived from racism and discrimination against people of African descent (Rodríguez & Gissi, 2019).

METHODOLOGY

The index was elaborated based on the Migrant Voices survey, which was carried out in-person during the fourth quarter of 2019 by the Jesuit Refugee Service, in collaboration with Ekhos Consulting and the Vives Center of the Alberto Hurtado University. This survey was the first nationally representative survey focused on the migrant population, present in all regions, reaching a sample of 1,025 cases, with a sampling error of +/-3.05% and 95% confidence rate. It is noteworthy that 52% of the sample were women ranging in age between 30 and 54 years (62.5%). The majority of those surveyed were born in Venezuela (23%), Peru (18%), Haiti (14%), and Colombia (12%) (Servicio Jesuita a Migrantes & Consultora Ekhos, 2019). These distributions are consistent with the 2018 migrant population estimate from the INE, which was made use of to prepare the sample (National Institute of Statistics & Department of Foreigners and Immigration, 2019).

With the original questions from this survey, the concept of relational inclusion was operationalized based on the previously mentioned breakdown of the relationships between migrants and non-migrants, from an intercultural approach. Thus we arrived at the following configuration.

Table 1. Theoretical operationalization of the index of relational inclusion (SIRI)

Concept	Dimensions
<i>Relational inclusion</i> : community and subjective ties of migrants in their social contexts of destination, accounting for their rootedness, and the quantity and horizontality of daily relations with the community established in Chile.	<p>Rootedness and prospect of staying</p> <p>Coexistence with the receiving society</p> <p>Support networks in Chile</p>

Source: Own elaboration.

The questions selected from the Migrant Voices survey were recoded into dummy variables (dichotomous with values 0 and 1), assigning a score of 1 to the options that pointed towards positive or inclusion elements, and 0 to all the others (both intermediate and negative).

The analysis for index validation was in two stages. The first consisted of carrying out an exploratory factor analysis (EFA) to investigate the behavior of the different indicators in the elaboration of the index, as well as the statistical reliability of the model. This analysis was developed from the dialogue between theoretical decisions from the results obtained, selecting the most parsimonious model (Watkins, 2018). The second stage consisted of confirming what was observed in the exploratory phase through a confirmatory factor analysis (CFA), where the comparative adjustment indices were made use of.⁷

Finally, the questions selected after the aforementioned validation process and their consequent transformation into dummy variables are those presented in Table 2.

From among the methodological limitations, it is important to point out that the initial objective of the survey was unrelated to the elaboration of this index, and so there were no question items with a standardized scale aimed at addressing the concept we propose hereby. Added to this limitation are possible biases of social desirability in the replies of migrants to Chilean interviewers about how their experience of inclusion has unfolded. Nonetheless, this is still an up-to-date and nationally representative survey for the migrant population.

⁷ The Confirmatory Factor Analysis (CFA), and that of Root Mean Square Error of Approximation (RMSEA), to determine the model's goodness of fit (Brown, 2006).

Table 2. Questions and indicators that make up the SIRI

Original question asked	Indicators
<p>Q46. If you lost your current job, would you stay here, move to another city in Chile, go to another country, or return to your country of origin? 1. I would stay here / 2. I would change cities in Chile / 3. I would go to another country / 4. I would return to my country of origin</p>	<p>i1. Prospect to stay in Chile (in case of losing their livelihood): 0) “Would leave” 1) “Would stay”</p>
<p>Q48. How long do you prospect living in Chile? 1. If it were up to me, I would leave today / 2. In 1 year / 3. In 1 to 5 years / 4. In 5 to 10 years / 5. I want to stay here indefinitely</p>	<p>i2. Prospect of living in Chile equal to or longer than five years: 0) “No” 1) “Yes”</p>
<p>Q44. If a person becomes a Chilean citizen, they lose their original nationality. Taking this into account, would you become a Chilean citizen? 1. Yes / 2. No</p>	<p>i3. Intention to become a citizen: 0) “No” 1) “Yes”</p>
<p>Q35. When you interact with Chilean nationals, how friendly have your experiences been? 1. Very friendly / 2. Fairly friendly / 3. Barely friendly / 4. Unfriendly</p>	<p>i4. How friendly is the relationship with Chileans: 0) “Barely friendly or unfriendly” 1) “Fairly friendly or very friendly”</p>
<p>Q36. How often have you had bad experiences with Chileans, such as tensions, fights or conflicts? 1. Always / 2. Almost always / 3. Sometimes / 4. Barely ever / 5. Never</p>	<p>i5. Frequency of bad experiences with Chileans: 0) “Always, almost always, sometimes” 1) “Barely ever, never”</p>
<p>Q38. Have you felt discriminated against for any of the following reasons that I will mention? (Options: Yes or No) Being an immigrant / Skin color / Physical appearance / Nationality</p>	<p>i6. Discrimination experience: 0) “In at least one area” 1) “In none of the areas”</p>
<p>Q16.1. If you need help with work matters, legal, economic, health or other issues, who of the following people would you turn to first?: A family member or partner 1. Yes / 2. No</p>	<p>i7. Faced with problems of different kinds: a family member would support you 0) “No” 1) “Yes”</p>
<p>Q16.2. If you need help with work matters, legal, economic, health or other issues, who of the following people would you turn to first?: A co-national friend, neighbor or co-worker / classmate 1. Yes / 2. No</p>	<p>i8. Faced with problems of different kinds: a co-national would support you 0) “No” 1) “Yes”</p>
<p>Q16.3. If you need help with work matters, legal, economic, health or other issues, who of the following people would you turn to first?: A Chilean friend, neighbor, or co-worker/classmate 1. Yes / 2. No</p>	<p>i.9 Faced with problems of different kinds: a Chilean would support you 0) “No” 1) “Yes”</p>

Source: Own elaboration based on the questionnaire of the Migrant Voices survey (Servicio Jesuita a Migrantes & Consultora Ekhos, 2019).

RESULTS

EFA and CFA Results

As for the results of the EFA, different survey questions were successively tested for the identification of the different indicators that would allow measuring the three dimensions of the views index in the methodology section. The structure of indicators with the best factorial load and reliability was chosen. Thus, in a selective process, some questions were eliminated and others were added. The best model accounted for three factors that are consistent with the theoretical dimensions devised in advance, as shown in Table 3 below.

Table 3. Final model of factor loads for the elaboration of the statistical index of relational inclusion

		Factors		
		I	II	III
i1	Prospect to stay in Chile (in case of losing their livelihood)	.535	.127	-.064
i2	Prospect of living in Chile equal to or longer than five years	.626	-.043	-.029
i3	Intention to become a Chilean citizen	.491	-.132	.125
i4	How friendly is the relationship with Chileans	.126	.371	.186
i5	Frequency of bad experiences with Chileans	.036	.613	-.045
i6	Discrimination experience	-.038	.662	.068
i7	Faced with problems of different kinds: a family member would support you	.171	.071	-.005
i8	Faced with problems of different kinds: a co-national (outside the family) would support you	-.01	.155	.54
i9	Faced with problems of different kinds: a Chilean would support you	.017	-.08	.86

N=1.025.

Source: Own elaboration based on the Migrant Voices survey (Servicio Jesuita a Migrantes & Consultora Ekhos, 2019).

Table 3 shows higher factor loads in factors I and II, which correspond to the dimensions of prospect to stay in Chile and coexistence with the host society.⁸ Factor III, on the other hand, shows the zero-factorial load of family networks, an indicator that we decided to keep in any case in order to incorporate the diversity and number of support networks that a migrant person can access in the host society (Hombrados-Mendieta et al., 2016), as well as to make visible (instead of omitting) that said variable would not be markedly influencing the relational inclusion experiences of foreigners in the receiving society to the same extent as outside-of-the-family migrant networks indeed do, especially when it comes to local or *baquian* networks (Badwi et al.,

⁸ Only the indicator related to the intention of becoming a Chilean citizen would be below 0.5 in dimension 1, and the indicator associated with friendly relations when interacting with Chileans in dimension 2.

2017). Moreso, family networks could even play a seclusive role, since the protection of primary networks would not greatly stimulate bonding with the community settled in Chile.

On the other hand, a high factorial load was identified in the prospect time in Chile indicators (i2), dimension 1 of rootedness; in experiences of discrimination (i6), dimension 2 of coexistence; and especially that of local support networks (i9), dimension 3 of support networks. The foregoing evidences how important the prospect to stay in Chile is for rootedness and belonging in the local community (Gissi Barbieri et al., 2019). It also highlights the relevance of suffering discrimination and rejection in the inclusion experiences of those who arrive in Chile (Urzúa et al., 2016), but above all the importance of having access to local or *baquian* networks, and how these enable a better insertion in the local logics and culture (Badwi et al., 2017; Hombrados-Mendieta et al., 2016). This may explain why the communality of said indicator is 0.72. Thus, the development of support networks between migrants and non-migrants is a strong indicator of inclusion. This is relevant because it reveals a great capacity to break down prejudices, installing knowledge about the “other” in the place that would otherwise be occupied by stigma (Ikeda & Richey, 2009).

The intrafactorial correlations show dimensions that are independent of each other.⁹ These dimensions with which relational inclusion is measured are: *Rootedness and prospect to stay*,¹⁰ *Coexistence with the receiving society*,¹¹ and *Support networks in the receiving society*.¹²

Finally, the model with the best fit obtained the 0.65 ordinal alpha.¹³ Although it does not exceed the recommended 0.7, it is close to optimal performance with dimensions that are independent of each other.¹⁴

Finally, the following should be taken into account: a) the nature of this exercise as inaugural and unprecedented on the measurement of the inclusion experiences of migrants approached from their daily relationships, in the national context; b) that we worked with the only national-level representative survey for migrants, which allows knowing the migrants’ process of relational inclusion, whose questions were not constructed as a homogeneous scale (for this reason they were made into dummies), nor designed to generate an index; and that, c) this article

⁹ The correlations are: F1-F2= 0.326; F1-F3= 0.322 and F2-F3= 0.26

¹⁰ Factor I, made up of indicators 1, 2 and 3.

¹¹ Factor II, indicators 4, 5 and 6.

¹² Factor II, indicators 7, 8 and 9.

¹³ It was decided to survey the ordinal alpha instead of the Cronbach’s alpha (which was 0.66 anyway), given the limitations of the latter in cases where it is not possible to assert the continuity of the variables (Elosua Oleden & Zumbo, 2008).

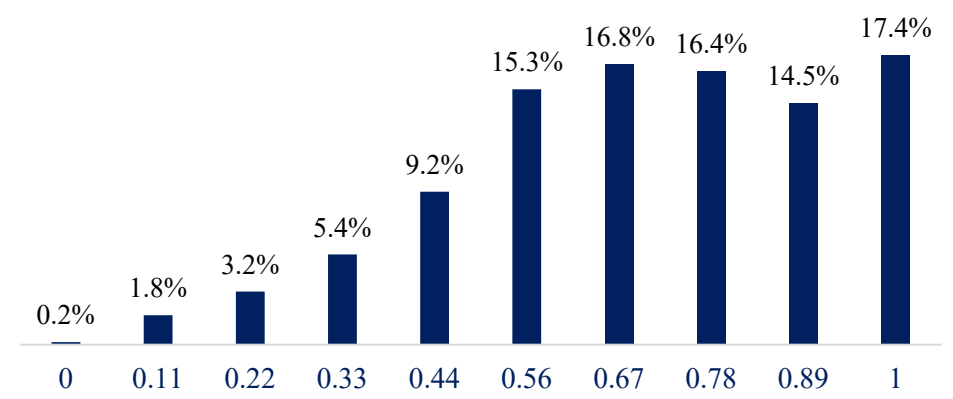
¹⁴ The fits show a CFA of 0.89, close to the 0.90 value, point from which it can be understood as a good fit model. In turn, the RMSEA was 0.07, which also evidences an adequate fit by being lower than 0.08. This confirmed the elaboration of a parsimonious solution with no drastic simplification of the model (Brown, 2006).

aims at raising considerations for a new battery of questions able to measure the concept of relational inclusion consistently.

Distribution of the Statistical Index of Relational Inclusion (SIRI)

Thus, we proceeded to calculate the index according to the indicators set out in the methodology. Graph 1 illustrates a distribution tending heavily to the right, which is reflected in the fact that the mean is 0.69 and that 50% of the cases have a 0.67 score or higher. The foregoing reflects “positive” figures on the process of migrant inclusion, but it will be relevant to observe how these figures vary in different groups of foreigners in Chile.

Graph 1. SIRI distribution, by score



N=1.025.

Source: Own elaboration based on the Migrant Voices survey (Servicio Jesuita a Migrantes & Consultora Ekhos, 2019).

In order to understand in a more “didactic” manner how the index works, it was divided into thirds according to its distribution. Thus, 35% have a score from 0 to 0.56, 33.2% a score from 0.57 to 0.78, and 31% of 0.79 or higher. This way, three groups were created per SIRI score: a “low” score one, a “medium” score one, and then a “high” score one. Then, crossings were made of the variables that the available literature considers relevant for migrant inclusion in Chile, thus making it possible to know which groups of the migrant community represented the highest low score percentage.

Performance of the Index in Migrant Groups

In order to find out if the SIRI varies according to certain characteristics of the migrant population, crossings were made of “critical” variables related to socio-labor insertion, access to housing, immigration status, educational level, mother tongue, length of stay in Chile, nationality, and others of a sociodemographic nature (Table 4).¹⁵

¹⁵ For a future analysis (beyond the scope of this article), it might be interesting to perform a multivariate analysis by means of regression, so as to see which characteristics are most significantly associated with

Table 4 shows certain groups of the migrant community in which there is a higher percentage of people in the low SIRI score group. Thus, in variables associated with economic insertion in Chile, there are significant disadvantages among the most vulnerable groups in terms of their relational inclusion experiences in Chile. Among those under lacking occupational situation, 42% scored low in SIRI, against only 34% among the non-lacking, this showing a statistically significant difference between both groups ($p=0.005$). In our context, those who do not have a job but are looking for one are categorized as “lacking” (Ministerio de Desarrollo Social, 2016), including also those who do not work due to physical disabilities, as well as retired people, given how difficult are the circumstances of these groups in Chile (Tobar Pailamilla, 2018; Vidal Espinoza, & Cornejo Valderrama, 2016).

Table 4. SIRI distribution, by migrant groups of interest

Variables of interest	Categories	Low SIRI score, by category (%)
Working status ***	Lacking	42.2
	Not lacking	33.6
Per Capita Income of the household ***	Below poverty line	40.9
	Above poverty line	32.6
Has a residence permit ***	No	57.5
	Yes	32.3
Year of arrival in Chile **	2017	38.5
	Before 2017	31.9
Lives in an overcrowded household *	Yes	43.4
	No	33.2
Achieved higher education ***	No	38.8
	Yes	30
Mother tongue ***	Other than Spanish	52.4
	Spanish	30.7
Country of birth ***	Haiti	53.1
	Other countries	30.2
	Colombia	39.6
	Other countries	34
Age brackets ***	18 to 29 years	41.2
	30 years or more	32.3
Sex *	Women	36.8
	Men	33

N=1.025.

Note: Asterisks indicate statistically significant associations between the groups compared. *** $p<0.01$ ** $p<0.05$ * $p<0.1$

Source: Own elaboration based on the Migrant Voices survey (Servicio Jesuita a Migrantes & Consultora Ekhos, 2019).

The percentage of people who scored low in SIRI is also higher among those who live in a household with per capita income below the poverty line—which, at the time of the survey (2019), was 164 605 Chilean pesos per person—in relation to those who live with per capita

SIRI variability, where the association of the other characteristics is also known (Agresti & Finlay, 2009).

income above the poverty line, for the former being over 40% ($p=0.000$). The relevance of these elements in the SIRI variation can be explained by the importance of the economic factor in the relational experience of the migration process in the destination country (Gissi et al., 2019; Stefoni & Bonhomme, 2014), which, from an intercultural approach, impacts on the perceptions of rootedness, belonging and well-being in said country (Tubino, 2005).

The migrants presenting low SIRI scores the most—from the groups investigated in Table 4—are those who do not have a residence permit, either temporary or permanent,¹⁶ reaching almost 60%, compared to only 32% of those who have a permit ($p=0.000$). There is also, but to a lesser extent, a difference based on the length of stay in Chile. Thus, 38.5% of those who had been in the country for two years at the time of the survey (having arrived in 2017), can be found in the low score group, while it decreases to 31.9% among those who arrived before 2017 ($p=0.037$). The foregoing may explain that a large part of the difficulties emerging in the first period pertain immigration status irregularity (Fuentes & Vergara, 2019; Servicio Jesuita a Migrantes et al., 2020), which can generate perceptions of exclusion in the local community, and with it a lower level of relationships in conditions of equality, in turn diminishing intercultural communication (Tubino, 2005; Walsh, 2012).

As for habitability, the Migrant Voices survey (Servicio Jesuita a Migrantes & Consultora Ekhos, 2019) allows measuring overcrowding, as a good proxy for the quality of life in Chile (Razmilic, 2019; Servicio Jesuita a Migrantes et al., 2020). Thus, 43.4% of those who live in conditions of overcrowding score low in SIRI, this reaching only 33% for those who do not live in overcrowding ($p=0.055$). These living conditions are also shown as associated with the experiencing of relational inclusion in the receiving community, by generating daily experiences of exclusion in the very place where migrants live.

In investigating whether the educational level of migrants could be related to better experiences of inclusion in Chile, it was observed that 38.8% of those who did not attend higher education are in the low SIRI score group, those who did attend being 30% ($p=0.001$). Although their educational level does not guarantee for migrants to occupy a job position in accordance with their skills (Bravo, 2019), it has been however identified that it does result in lower unemployment rates (Comisión Nacional de Productividad, 2019), which can eventually in turn generate feelings of inclusion and rootedness (Gissi Barbieri et al., 2019).

Another group also concentrated—at more than 50%—in the low SIRI group is made up of people whose mother tongue is not Spanish. Meanwhile, only 31% of Spanish speakers are in the low score group ($p=0.000$). To understand this, it must be taken into account that 84% of the sample's non-Spanish speakers reported Creole as their mother tongue. This is reflected in the distribution of the Haitian community, at 53% in the low SIRI score group, compared to the rest of the migrants, only reaching 30.2% in the low score group ($p=0.000$). This may be evidencing greater difficulties faced by Haitians in their inclusion process due to language differences, as well as due to elements of racism in Chilean society (Rodríguez

¹⁶ Those who have a tourist visa, expired or pending permits, or who are in an irregular situation as a result of entering the country through an unauthorized crossing.

& Gissi, 2019; Tijoux, 2019), product of ingrained colonial relations that inferiorize, dehumanize and invalidate certain groups due to their cultural and genetic origin (Diez, 2013; Walsh, 2012). This is relevant, given that it intensifies as well (although to a lesser extent) in Colombian people, as shown in Table 4; the host community also imprints racializing attributes on this community (Gissi Barbieri, Pinto Baleisan, & Rodríguez, 2019).

Finally, when observing some sociodemographic variables, the age group between 18 and 29 years old is the one with the highest percentage of low SIRI score, at 41.2%, compared to the 32.3% of the other age groups ($p=0.000$).¹⁷ On the other hand, women recorded a higher percentage in the lowest third of inclusion (36.8%) compared to men (33%) ($p=0.051$). The latter can also be interesting to study from an intersectional perspective, as patriarchal culture is also a manifestation of dehumanizing and inferiorizing relationships (Walsh, 2012).

Based on our observations, it can be pointed out that the SIRI would indeed be more critical among the most vulnerable groups of the migrant population. Specifically, where there is a higher prevalence of low SIRI score is among those who do not have residence permits (58%), those who were born in Haiti (53%), and those who have a mother tongue other than Spanish (52%). As such, the probabilities of scoring low in SIRI are evidenced as higher among the critical groups of the migrant population, which sheds light on the good construction of our methodological index.

CLOSING REMARKS

Among the main findings of this study, the dimensions following below stand out as relevant in measuring the levels of relational inclusion among migrants, that is, in terms of their relational experience within the host society:

- a) The prospect of staying in the receiving country in terms of longer-term projects.
- b) Experiences of discrimination and rejection.
- c) The fundamental role of local support networks, as guides or *baquian* aids to navigate the local culture and logic.

This makes sense given that, in order to provide space for communication under equal conditions between migrants and non-migrants, as posited by the intercultural approach, the following is relevant: feelings of belonging and with it the prospect of a life project in the host community; the existence of symmetrical bonds without discrimination or inferiorization experiences; as well as a deep contact enabling encounters and exchanges of knowledge, so as to know “the other” by means of direct experience (Diez, 2004; Stefoni Espinoza et al., 2016; Tubino, 2005; Walsh, 2012).

It is evident that the SIRI would be lower among the most vulnerable and excluded groups of the migrant population living Chile. Thus, the prevalence of a low SIRI score is higher

¹⁷ Understanding why this dynamic emerges in the young age group in relation to the others would be relevant for future studies on migrant youth.

among those who do not have residence permits and among people born in Haiti. In the first case, this evidences the way in which an irregular immigration status can generate experiences of exclusion by limiting equal access to rights in relation to nationals, and thereby creating a perception of a lower level of symmetrical relationship, this in turn reducing the possibilities of intercultural communication (Tubino, 2005; Walsh, 2012). As for Haitian migrants, the significant impact of experiencing discrimination can be seen in how the receiving society attributes racializing and inferiorizing characteristics and values to this community (Rodríguez & Gissi, 2019), which can cause serious deficits in the perception of inclusion by the host community (Diez, 2004; Walsh, 2012).

On the other hand, when it comes to the performance of this same index (SIRI), our study constitutes an encouraging exercise in the construction of a device aimed at measuring the quality of relationships in the daily lives of migrants in Chile, from an intercultural approach and based on a nationally representative survey. Regarding its validation, the results of the Exploratory Factor Analysis (EFA) and the Confirmatory Factor Analysis (CFA) show that it is a perfectible model that has virtues and potentialities for the study of the relational inclusion of migrant populations. Its weaknesses expose the need to elaborate—in a new survey—a battery of questions with a standardized scale (ideally, a Likert type one of four options, being 1=Strongly disagree and 4=Strongly agree). This invites for future exercises to adjust the indicators discussed here, so as to clarify statements and positions. Undoubtedly, we also acknowledge as timely to consider the incorporation of migrant pollsters in the process, thus reducing possible social desirability biases due to pollsters being locals.

Now, among the virtues of the index presented hereby, accounting for three independent dimensions stands out, which shows a high potential for future exercises. Indeed, the future battery of questions could be elaborated following the operationalization model proposed here. Otherwise, the model we developed showed a good fit when performing the Confirmatory Factor Analysis (CFA of 0.89, and RMSEA of 0.07).

In short, this research raises opportunities for the statistical analysis of the migratory experience at a relational level, but also important challenges regarding the construction of new study instruments. It highlights the heuristic potential of the critical intercultural approach and, above all, the actual possibility of multidimensionally operationalizing the social inclusion of migrant populations while emphasizing the relational sphere. Thus, this study helped identify the migrant population groups under harsher critical conditions, which can be a great contribution to the deployment of public policies aimed at increasing the availability of support networks for those seeking new life opportunities in Chile.

Certainly, future exercises will allow adjusting this index, and will be able to address in greater depth the links explored here between socioeconomic and relational inclusion. Economic shortages have a relational correlate, and this study opens way to new questions, but above all to opportunities for new exercises and analyses.

REFERENCES

- Agencia de Calidad de la Educación, Servicio Jesuita a Migrantes, y Estudios y Consultorías Focus. (2019). *La interculturalidad en la escuela: orientación para la inclusión de estudiantes migrantes*. Santiago: Author.
- Agresti, A. & Finlay, B. (2009). *Statistical methods for social sciences*. New York: Pearson Prentice Hall.
- Ahmad, F., Othman, N., Hynie, M., Bayoumi, A. M., Oda, A., & McKenzie, K. (2020). Depression-level symptoms among Syrian refugees: findings from a Canadian longitudinal Study. *Journal of Mental Health*, 30(2), 2461-2549. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09638237.2020.1765998>
- Aninat, I. & Sierra, L. (2019). Regulación inmigratoria: Propuestas para una mejor reforma. In I. Aninat & R. Vergara (Eds.), *Inmigración en Chile. Una mirada multidimensional* (pp. 31-64). Santiago: Fondo de Cultura Económica.
- Badwi, R., Dziwornu, A., & Overå, R. (2017). The importance and limitations of social networks and social identities for labour market integration: The case of Ghanaian immigrants in Bergen, Norway. *Norsk Geografisk Tidsskrift*, 72(1), 27-36. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00291951.2017.1406402>
- Benítez, A. & Velasco, C. (2019). Desigualdades en salud: Brechas en acceso y uso entre locales e inmigrantes. In I. Aninat & R. Vergara (Eds.), *Inmigración en Chile. Una mirada multidimensional* (pp. 191-235). Santiago: Fondo de Cultura Económica.
- Bravo, J. (2019). Mitos y realidades sobre el empleo en Chile. In N. Rojas Pedemonte & J. T. Vicuña (Eds.), *Migración en Chile: Evidencias y mitos de una nueva realidad* (pp. 49-72). Santiago: LOM Ediciones.
- Brown, T. A. (2006). Confirmatory Factor Analysis for Applied Research. In T. A. Brown (Ed.), *Methodology in the social sciences* (pp. 40-102). New York: The Guilford Press.
- Cabieses, B. (2019). Salud y migración: un proceso complejo y multidimensional. In N. Rojas Pedemonte & J. T. Vicuña (Eds.), *Migración en Chile: Evidencias y mitos de una nueva realidad* (pp. 143-170). Santiago: LOM Ediciones.
- Cano, V. & Soffia, M. (2009). Los estudios sobre migración internacional en Chile: apuntes y comentarios para una agenda de investigación actualizada. *Papeles de Población*, 15(61), 129-167. Retrieved from <https://www.redalyc.org/articulo.oa?id=112/11211806007>
- Castles, S. (2010). Understanding global migration: A social transformation perspective. *Journal of Ethnic Migration Studies*, 36(10), 1565-1586.
- Comisión Nacional de Productividad. (2019). Migración, productividad y economía. In *Informe Anual 2018 Comisión Nacional de Productividad* (pp. 14-41). Retrieved from <http://www.comisiondeproductividad.cl/>

- Cuchumbé-Holguin, N. & Vargas-Bejarano, J. C. (2008). Reflexiones sobre el sentido y génesis del desplazamiento forzado en Colombia. *Universitas Humanística*, (65), 173-196. Retrieved from <https://www.redalyc.org/articulo.oa?id=791/79106509>
- Ministerio del Interior. (1975, July 14). *Decreto Ley 1094. Establece normas sobre extranjeros en Chile*. Retrieved from <https://bcn.cl/2fxa8>
- Diez, M. L. (2004). Reflexiones en torno a la interculturalidad. *Cuadernos de Antropología Social*, (19), 191-213.
- Diez, M. L. (2013). Repensando la interculturalidad en socioantropológica de la investigación educación: aportes a un campo problemático. *Docencia*, 51, 4-17.
- Domenech, E. (2014). “Bolivianos” en la “escuela argentina”: representaciones acerca de los hijos de inmigrantes bolivianos en una escuela de la periferia urbana. *REMHU: Revista Interdisciplinaria Da Mobilidade Humana*, 22(42), 171-188. Retrieved from <https://www.scielo.br/j/remhu/a/tKqR6yVwPTCRBbgJqxfXNJy/?lang=es>
- Elosua Oviden, P. & Zumbo, B. (2008). Coeficientes de fiabilidad para escalas de respuesta categórica ordenada. *Psicothema*, 20(4), 896-901. Retrieved from <http://www.redalyc.org/articulo.oa?id=72720458>
- Expósito, F., Lobos, C., & Roessler, P. (2019). Educación, formación y trabajo: barreras para la inclusión en migrantes. In N. Rojas Pedemonte & J. T. Vicuña (Eds.), *Migración en Chile: Evidencias y mitos de una nueva realidad* (pp. 107-142). Santiago: LOM Ediciones.
- Fuentes, A. & Vergara, R. (2019). Los inmigrantes en el mercado laboral. In I. Aninat & R. Vergara (Eds.), *Inmigración en Chile. Una mirada multidimensional* (pp. 65-99). Santiago: Fondo de Cultura Económica.
- Galaz Valderrama, C. & Montenegro Martínez, M. (2015). Gubernamentalidad y relaciones de inclusión/exclusión: Los dispositivos de intervención social dirigidos a mujeres inmigradas en España. *Universitas Psychologica*, 14(5), 1667-1680. <https://doi.org/10.11144/Javeriana.up14-5.grie>
- Galaz Valderrama, C., Rubilar Donoso, G., Álvarez Martínez-Conde, C., & Viñuela Evans, S. (2017). Posibilidades y límites para la inclusión social: perfiles y vías de instalación de la población dominicana en Chile. *Revista Trabajo Social*, (92), 1-14. Retrieved from <http://revistatrabajosocial.uc.cl/index.php/RTS/article/view/1749/1781>
- Giménez Romero, C. (2005). Convivencia: Conceptualización y sugerencias para la praxis. *Cuadernos Puntos de Vista*, (1), 7-32. Retrieved from [https://www.conapred.org.mx/documentos_cedoc/CARLOS_GIMENEZ_convivencia\[1\]\[1\].pdf](https://www.conapred.org.mx/documentos_cedoc/CARLOS_GIMENEZ_convivencia[1][1].pdf)
- Gissi Barbieri, E. N., Ghio Suárez, G., & Silva Dittborn, C. A. (2019). Diáspora, integración social y arraigo de migrantes en Santiago de Chile: imaginarios de futuro en la comunidad venezolana. *Migraciones*, (47), 61-88. <https://doi.org/10.14422/mig.i47y2019.003>

- Gissi Barbieri, E. N., Pinto Baleisan, C., & Rodríguez, F. (2019). Inmigración reciente de colombianos y colombianas en Chile: Sociedades plurales, imaginarios sociales y estereotipos. *Estudios Atacameños*, (62), 127-141. <https://doi.org/10.22199/issn.0718-1043-2019-0011>
- González, R., Muñoz, E., & Mackenna, B. (2019). Como quieren en Chile al amigo cuando es forastero: Actitudes de los chilenos hacia la inmigración. In I. Aninat & R. Vergara (Eds.), *Inmigración en Chile. Una mirada multidimensional* (pp. 321-346). Santiago: Fondo de Cultura Económica.
- Güell, P. (2011). Desarrollo humano, capacidades y sentido de pertenencia. In M. Hopenhayn & A. Sojo (Eds.), *Sentido de pertenencia en sociedades fragmentadas, América Latina desde una perspectiva global* (pp. 149-158). Buenos Aires: Siglo XXI Editores/Comisión Económica para América Latina y el Caribe.
- Guzmán-Carrillo, K. Y., González-Verduzco, B. S., & Rivera-Heredia, M. E. (2015). Psychological resources and the perception of migration in children from migrant families. *Revista Latinoamericana de Ciencias Sociales, Niñez y Juventud*, 13(2), 701-714. <https://doi.org/10.11600/1692715x.13210130614>
- Hernando, A. (2019). Es un largo camino todavía: Inmigrantes, pobreza y vulnerabilidad en Chile. In I. Aninat & R. Vergara (Eds.), *Inmigración en Chile. Una mirada multidimensional* (pp. 283-320). Santiago: Fondo de Cultura Económica.
- Hombrados-Mendieta, I., García Cid, A., Gómez-Jacinto, L., & Palma García, M. de la O. (2016). Resiliencia, apoyo social y satisfacción vital de la población inmigrante. In D. Carbonero, E. Raya, N. Caparrós, & C. Gimeno (Coords.), *Respuestas transdisciplinarias en una sociedad global: Aportaciones desde el trabajo social* (pp. 1-11). Logroño: Universidad de la Rioja. Retrieved from https://publicaciones.unirioja.es/catalogo/online/CIFETS_2016/Monografia/pdf/TC218.pdf
- Ikeda, K. & Richey, S. (2009). The Impact of Diversity in Informal Social Networks on Tolerance in Japan. *British Journal of Political Science*, 39(3), 655-668. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0007123408000574>
- Instituto Nacional de Estadísticas (INE). (2003). *Censo 2002. Síntesis de Resultados*. Santiago: Comisión Nacional del XVII Censo de Población y VI de Vivienda. Retrieved from <https://www.ine.cl/docs/default-source/censo-de-poblacion-y-vivienda/publicaciones-y-anuarios/2002/sintesis-censal-2002.pdf>
- Instituto Nacional de Estadísticas (INE) & Departamento de Extranjería y Migración (DEM). (2021). *Estimación de personas extranjeras residentes habituales en Chile al 31 de diciembre de 2020. Informe metodológico*. Retrieved from https://www.ine.cl/docs/default-source/demografia-y-migracion/publicaciones-y-anuarios/migraci%C3%B3n-internacional/estimaci%C3%B3n-poblaci%C3%B3n-extranjera-en-chile-2018/estimaci%C3%B3n-poblaci%C3%B3n-extranjera-en-chile-2020-metodolog%C3%ADa.pdf?sfvrsn=48d432b1_4

- Larraín, J. (2010). Identidad Chilena y el Bicentenario. *Estudios Públicos*, 120, 5-30. Retrieved from https://www.cepchile.cl/cep/site/artic/20160304/asocfile/20160304095416/rev120_jlarra_in.pdf
- Li, M., Dong, X., & Kong, D. (2019). Social networks and depressive symptoms among Chinese older immigrants: Does quantity, quality, and composition of social networks matter? *Clinical Gerontologist*, 44(2), 181-191. <https://doi.org/10.1080/07317115.2019.1642973>
- López-Morales, E., Flores Pineda, P., & Orozco Ramos, H. (2018). Inmigrantes en campamentos en Chile: ¿mecanismo de integración o efecto de exclusión? *Revista INVI*, 33(94), 161-187. <https://doi.org/10.4067/s0718-83582018000300161>
- Mains, S. P., Gilmartin, M., Cullen, D., Mohammad, R., Tolia-Kelly, D. P., Raghuram, P., & Winders, J. (2013). Postcolonial migrations. *Social & Cultural Geography*, 14(2), 131-144. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14649365.2012.753468>
- Márquez, F. & Correa, J. J. (2015). Identidades, arraigos y soberanías: Migración peruana en Santiago de Chile. *Polis, Revista Latinoamericana*, 14(42), 167-189. <https://doi.org/10.4067/s0718-65682015000300009>
- Méndez, R. (2019). Migración, datos y perspectivas para un diálogo complejo. In N. Rojas Pedemonte & J. T. Vicuña (Eds.), *Migración en Chile: Evidencias y mitos de una nueva realidad* (pp. 375-392). Santiago: LOM Ediciones.
- Ministerio de Desarrollo Social. (2016). Metodología de medición de pobreza multidimensional con entorno y redes. Santiago: Author. Retrieved from http://observatorio.ministeriodesarrollosocial.gob.cl/storage/docs/pobreza/Metodologia_de_Medicion_de_Pobreza_Multidimensional.pdf
- Oyarzún Serrano, L., Aranda, G., & Gissi, N. (2021). Migración internacional y política migratoria en Chile: tensiones entre la soberanía estatal y las ciudadanías emergentes. *Colombia Internacional*, (106), 89-114. <https://doi.org/10.7440/colombiaint106.2021.04>
- Quezada Ortega, M. de J. (2007). Migración, arraigo y apropiación del espacio en la recomposición de identidades socioterritoriales. *Cultura y Representaciones Sociales*, 2(3), 35-67. Retrieved from http://www.scielo.org.mx/scielo.php?script=sci_arttext&pid=S2007-81102007000200003&lng=es&tlng=es
- Ramírez Gallegos, J. & Álvarez Velasco, S. (2009). “Cruzando Fronteras:” una aproximación etnográfica a la migración clandestina ecuatoriana en tránsito hacia Estados Unidos. *Confluente*, 1(1), 89-113. Retrieved from <http://dialnet.unirioja.es/servlet/articulo?codigo=4800640&orden=1&info=link>
- Razmilic, S. (2019). Inmigración, vivienda y territorio. In I. Aninat & R. Vergara (Eds.), *Inmigración en Chile. Una mirada multidimensional* (pp. 101-147). Santiago: Fondo de Cultura Económica.

- Real Academia Española (RAE). (2020). Baquiano. In *Diccionario de la lengua española*. <https://dle.rae.es/baquiano?m=form>
- Rodríguez, J. C. & Gissi, N. (2019). Biografías, fronteras y tránsitos: comunidad haitiana y falta de reconocimiento en la plural sociedad chilena. *Revista Chilena de Antropología*, (39), 20-37. <https://doi.org/10.5354/0719-1472.2019.53719>
- Roessler, P. (2018). Pensamiento nacionalista-territorializado y percepción de “desubicamiento” del inmigrante: el camino hostil de las construcciones de identidades chilenas en la convivencia escolar. *Revista Calidad en la Educación*, (49), 50-81. <https://doi.org/10.31619/caledu.n49.576>
- Rojas Pedemonte, N., Gálvez, D., & Silva, C. (2019). Condiciones de vida de los migrantes en territorio chileno: caracterización comparativa con la población nacional y sus contextos de origen. In N. Rojas Pedemonte & J. T. Vicuña (Eds.), *Migración en Chile: Evidencias y mitos de una nueva realidad* (pp. 261-296). Santiago: LOM Ediciones.
- Servicio Jesuita a Migrantes. (2020). *Migración en Chile. Anuario 2019, un análisis multisectorial*. Santiago: Autor. Retrieved from <https://www.migracionenchile.cl/anuario-migracion-2019/>
- Servicio Jesuita a Migrantes, TECHO-Chile, Departamento de Sociología Universidad de Chile, & Centro Vives UAH. (2020). *Acceso a la vivienda y condiciones de habitabilidad de la población migrante en Chile* (Report no. 3). Santiago: Author. Retrieved from <https://www.migracionenchile.cl/informe-vivienda/>
- Servicio Jesuita a Migrantes & Consultora Ekhos. (2019). Voces Migrantes. Primera encuesta nacional a personas migrantes [Database]. Servicio Jesuita a Migrantes. Retrieved from <https://www.migracionenchile.cl/voces-migrantes/>
- Stang Alva, M. F., Roessler Vergara, P. I., & Riedemann Fuentes, A. (2019). Re-producción de fronteras en el espacio escolar. Discursos y prácticas de distinción nacional(ista) en escuelas con alumnado migrante en la Región Metropolitana de Chile. *Estudios Pedagógicos (Valdivia)*, 45(3), 313-331. <https://doi.org/10.4067/s0718-07052019000300313>
- Stark, O. & Levhari, D. (1982). On migration and risk in LDCs. *Economic Development & Cultural Change*, 31(1), 191-196. <https://doi.org/10.1086/451312>
- Stefoni, C. & Bonhomme, M. (2014). Una vida en Chile y seguir siendo extranjeros. *Si Somos Americanos. Revista de Estudios Transfronterizos*, 14(2), 81-101. <https://doi.org/10.4067/S0719-09482014000200004>
- Stefoni Espinoza, C., Stang Alva, F., & Riedemann Fuentes, A. (2016). Educación e interculturalidad en Chile: un marco para el análisis. *Estudios Internacionales*, 48(185), 153-182. <https://doi.org/10.5354/0719-3769.2016.44534>
- Tijoux, M. E. (2019). “No soy racista, pero...” In N. Rojas Pedemonte & J. T. Vicuña (Eds.), *Migración en Chile: Evidencias y mitos de una nueva realidad* (pp. 351-376). Santiago: LOM Ediciones.

- Tobar Pailamilla, N. R. (2018). Administradoras de fondos de pensiones y el nivel de calidad de vida real obtenido en el sistema de pensiones de Chile [Bachelor degree thesis, Universidad Técnica Federico Santa María]. <https://repositorio.usm.cl/bitstream/handle/11673/47817/3560900259640UTFSM.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y>
- Troncoso, M., Troncoso, C. G., & Link, F. (2018). *Situación habitacional de las personas migrantes en algunas comunas urbanas de la Región Metropolitana y Antofagasta*. Santiago: Servicio Jesuita a Migrantes. Retrieved from <https://bit.ly/37LzYuF>
- Tubino, F. (2005). La praxis de la interculturalidad en los Estados Nacionales Latinoamericanos. *Cuadernos Interculturales*, 3(5), 83-96. Retrieved from <http://www.redalyc.org/articulo.oa?id=55200506>
- Urzúa, A., Heredia, O., & Caqueo-Urizar, A. (2016). Salud mental y estrés por aculturación en inmigrantes sudamericanos en el norte de Chile. *Revista Médica de Chile*, 144(5), 563-570. <https://doi.org/10.4067/S0034-98872016000500002>
- Vansteenbergh Waeterschoot, G. (2012). Coexistencia de los tres modelos de integración en España. *Barataria. Revista Castellano-Manchega de Ciencias Sociales*, (13), 225-237. Retrieved from <http://www.redalyc.org/pdf/3221/322127623014.pdf>
- Vásquez, J., Finn, V., & Umpierrez de Reguero, S. (2021). Cambiando la cerradura. Intenciones legislativas del proyecto de ley de migraciones en Chile. *Colombia Internacional*, (106), 57-87. <https://doi.org/10.7440/colombiaint106.2021.03>
- Vidal Espinoza, R. & Cornejo Valderrama, C. (2016). Trabajo y discapacidad: una mirada crítica a la inclusión al empleo. *Papeles de Trabajo*, (31), 110-119. Retrieved from http://repositorio.ucm.cl/bitstream/handle/ucm/640/vidal_r_trabajo.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y
- Walsh, C. (2012). Interculturalidad y (de)colonialidad: Perspectivas críticas y políticas. *Visão Global, Joaçaba*, 15(1-2), 61-74. Retrieved from <https://portalperiodicos.unoesc.edu.br/visaoglobal/article/view/3412/1511>
- Wang, B. & Dong, X. (2018). The association between personality and loneliness: Findings from a community-dwelling Chinese aging population. *Gerontology and Geriatric Medicine*, 4. <https://doi.org/10.1177/2333721418778181>
- Watkins, M. W. (2018). Exploratory factor analysis: A guide to best practice. *Journal of Black Psychology*, 44(3), 219-246. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0095798418771807>