

Immigration, Economic and Social Integration in Chile

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May 13, 2020

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Foreword

The following work is the Capstone Project of Marvin Wiley and Duowei Chen, completed in the spring of 2020 as a culmination of their Master of Arts degree in Latin American Studies for the Center for Latin American Studies (CLAS) at Georgetown University. It was completed with collaboration from John Griffiths, Director of Security and Defense Affairs at AthenaLab, a think tank based in Santiago, Chile, and under the academic advisement of Dr. Erick Langer, Professor of History at Georgetown University's Edmund A. Walsh School of Foreign Service, and Dr. Wael Moussa, Adjunct Professor at Georgetown University's Center for Contemporary Arab Studies (CCAS).

This project was born from Marvin and Duowei CLAS-sponsored semester abroad in Chile, in the summer of 2019. Their three-month academic and internship experience coincided with a dramatic surge in Venezuelan and Haitian immigrants in Chile, due to social, economic, and humanitarian crises in their countries. The pair witnessed many of these recent immigrants etching out a living on the streets and metro stations of Santiago selling everything from chocolate to used clothing, books and working as Uber drivers. The sound of Haitian creole being spoken filled the air around open markets as Haitian men, women and children jostled for spaces on the sidewalk to sell and barter their goods. Reports of racial abuse and discrimination experienced by Haitian and dark skinned immigrants drew their attention to explore how immigrant education levels and other sociodemographic factors impact their incomes and ability to integrate into the labor market and Chilean society. Marvin and Duowei worked with former Chilean government officials based in the United States and Chile in order to provide a quantitative and qualitative analysis of the economic and social situation of mostly recent immigrants in the cities of Santiago and Antofagasta to AthenaLab. The goal was to provide a final report, analysis and set of policy recommendations to the AthenaLab research team to further assess how joint efforts between the Chilean government and civil society can further support the economic and social integration of vulnerable migrants in Chile.

Marvin and Duowei would like to thank many people for their time, expertise, and patience throughout this project. Special thanks to Dr. Erick Langer for sharing his expertise on Chile and pushing us to understand the capacity in which the state can operate the way our policies might recommend; Dr. Angelo Rivero Santos for providing sound feedback on our Capstone Project; Prof. Wael Moussa who took the time to meet with us and share his quantitative experience; the Inter-American Dialogue for providing the survey data which the bulk of this project is derived from; friends that provided indispensable support during the research and interview process in Santiago; our capstone cohort for their invaluable feedback on our capstone and lastly, John Griffiths and the AthenaLab team for being open minded enough to allow us to examine the current migration challenges in ways that support the long term security and economic stability of the Chilean state and provides opportunities to immigrants to contribute and integrate economically and socially into Chilean society.

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List of Abbreviations

CASEN	National Socioeconomic Characteristics Survey Encuesta de Caracterización Socioeconómica Nacional
DEM	Chilean Department of Migration Departamento de Extranjería y Migración
FAEP	Public Education Support Fund Fondo de Apoyo a la Educación Pública
ILO	International Labour Organization
INE	Chilean National Statistics Institute Instituto Nacional de Estadísticas
IOM	International Organization of Migration
NSE	Non-standard employment
WHO	World Health Organization

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Executive Summary

This Capstone Project takes a closer look at the economic and social integration challenges facing immigrants in Chile today. The association of educational attainment on variations in income among immigrant groups and immigrant social acceptance were examined. Multivariable linear regression models, adjusted for sociodemographic characteristics, were used to examine the association of educational attainment on variations in income among immigrants in Chile. Immigrant incomes differ by how they are received in Chile, country of origin, gender, educational attainment level, residency status and time spent in Chile. These differences suggest profound impacts for certain immigrant groups' ability to integrate into Chilean society. Improving, expanding and measuring the effectiveness of immigration policies and initiatives on gender, ethnicity and privatizing and decentralizing the degree revalidation and recognition process can further improve immigrant social acceptance and the quality of immigrant participation in the Chilean labor market, which are associated with social and economic integration.

Introduction

The ongoing socioeconomic and political crisis in Venezuela, the humanitarian emergency in Haiti and restrictive immigration policies in North America has transformed Latin America and the Caribbean. In recent years, it has become more difficult for many people to migrate to traditional destinations such as the United States. Pre-existing social and economic conditions in the region negatively impact the most vulnerable residents by increasing the cost, physical, mental and economic, of escaping insecurity, poverty and death. People of indigenous and African descent, women, children and other marginalized groups have historically been denied access to quality education, economic opportunities and political power in countries across the region. These groups often lack the necessary access to financial, political resources and personal connections to migrate to places like Europe and the United States. Not to be deterred, the ever resilient, marginalized people of the region have also discovered that opportunity for a better life flows through the veins of Latin America.

With opportunities to migrate to North America and Europe becoming increasingly slim, an increasing number of people have looked to neighbor countries in the region like Colombia, Brazil and Chile as new destinations. With the ongoing crisis in Venezuela and Haiti, and countless problems in the region including the COVID-19 pandemic, are countries like Chile equipped to support the long term economic and social integration of immigrants from across the region?

This Capstone developed out of a need to address the economic and social integration challenges of immigrants in Chile and the unfulfilled promise of Latin America. Issues such as racial discrimination does not cease to exist when people arrive to their new adopted homes. Finding employment with previous job skills, degrees and certification is often difficult when moving to a new country. These problems are often exacerbated in times of domestic and international crisis. Although the social protests of fall 2019 and current COVID-19 emergency have supplanted the immigration stories that dominated the headlines in the summer of 2019, Duowei and Marvin strongly believe examining and supporting the economic and social integration of

immigrants is important now more than ever because in times of crisis, immigrants are more at risk of experiencing racial discrimination and economic insecurity, which directly impacts their ability to integrate economically and socially into Chilean society. We believe that taken as a whole, immigrants are an asset to Chilean society. The narrative of immigrants as threats to the state is a well worn topic explored previously in many ways including through the lenses of criminality. We will focus on the state of immigrants in Chile and examine the potential barriers to their integration and highlight the positive contributions they bring to Chilean society including education, technical skills, language skills and cultural diversity.

In order to provide background information and context to our research, we will first examine the following:

1. The current state of immigration in Chile today
2. A review of Chilean Immigration policies with a brief analysis
3. A review of current labor market conditions and challenges for some immigrants.

Next, we'll then provide a literature review, description of the data used for our research as well as the methodology, including the economic model used. This is followed by a detailed discussion of the results of the regression analysis before a conclusion is presented. Lastly, and based on our analysis, we provide recommendations to the Chilean state. We know that educational attainment has a positive association on income rates for immigrants. However, we know educational attainment alone does not explain income rates and its association to economic and social integration. We wanted to answer the research question, what is the association of educational attainment on **variations** in income among immigrants in Santiago and Antofagasta, Chile? Variations matter and it often gives clues to what might be causing these differences and how they impact immigrant social and economic integration. When answering this question, we decided to include variables such as social acceptance, country of origin, immigration status, length of time in Chile, age and gender. We used various methods to conduct our research including quantitative and qualitative analyses of primary and secondary sources. Specifically, we completed a statistical analysis of a 2018-19 Inter-American Dialogue survey of immigrants in Chile in the cities of Santiago and Antofagasta. We completed descriptive analyses of the data

and multiple linear regressions to answer our primary research question and test our hypothesis, that higher levels of educational attainment results in higher levels of income for certain immigrant groups as opposed to other immigrant groups, specifically, Haitians. Based on the results we obtained from running our linear regressions, our findings revealed unsurprising and novel outcomes. To start, we found a positive association of higher educational attainment and higher levels of income. Although this outcome is not a surprise, subsequent adjusted models and regressions revealed interesting results that speak to some of the challenges of socially and economically integrating immigrants in Chile.

Furthermore, educational attainment and income ranges varied significantly based on country of origin, gender, age, residency status and other factors. Also, all other immigrants surveyed earn higher incomes than Haitian immigrants. Immigrants with higher levels of educational attainment, regular residency status and more time spent in Chile are more likely to earn higher incomes than those with lower levels of educational attainment, irregular residency status and less time spent in Chile. We found it unusual that recent immigrants from Venezuela earn similar or higher incomes than Haitians who have spent more time in Chile. Immigrants normally have an advantage being in a country for longer periods of time compared to recent immigrants. Longer times spent in the country usually allows immigrants to develop relationships and integrate socially and economically into society. Quantitative and qualitative data suggests migration status, gender, and social acceptance play significant roles in the ability of some immigrant groups such as Venezuelans in integrating socially and economically compared to Haitians. Compared to the other immigrants in the survey, Haitians are economically disadvantaged due to lower income levels which can be attributed to numerous factors such as low levels of educational attainment, their migration status and social acceptance measured by how they feel received by Chileans. By addressing the issues that negatively impact Haitians and other immigrant groups such as women, Chile has an opportunity to better socially and economically integrate lower income earning immigrant populations into higher quality jobs in the labor market which could potentially have numerous benefits including improved labor productivity and deeper integration of Chile into the global economic and social system.

Before diving into the discussion of the research question, understanding the contemporary history of immigration in Chile and how the Chilean government policy responses is critical to recognize the numerous challenges immigrants face. The next two sections explore the constantly evolving nature of immigration in Chile and the most recent policy reactions to the surge in migration flow.

Chile and migration today

A Snapshot

The migration phenomenon in Chile is constantly evolving. In the last few years, there has been a major influx of immigrants from across Latin America and the Caribbean, but Venezuelans and Haitians have gained the most attention due to their respective political, economic problems and ongoing humanitarian crises. There are many perceptions of immigrants in Chile. For example, the number of people from certain countries, their levels of education, regions of Chile they reside in and ages of migrants among many others. What is the reality? What can the numbers tell us about the true state of migration in Chile and its importance for Chile's future? Let's take a look.

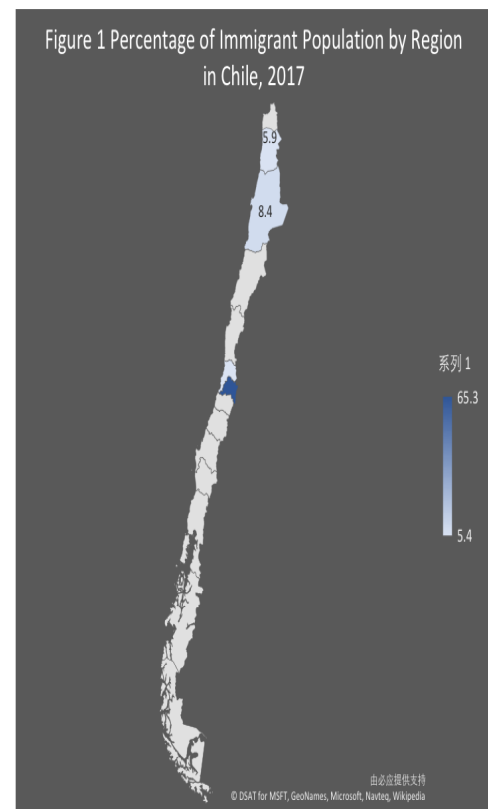
What data should we examine to understand the growth of the immigrant population in Chile?. Using data from the Chilean National Statistics Institute (INE in Spanish acronym) published in 2018, the 1992 Census counted 105,070 foreign-born persons residing in Chile, representing 0.8 percent of the total population.¹ How have migration population rates changed over the years since 1992? Foreign born persons residing in Chile were 1.3% of the total population in the 2002 census, or 187,000 persons, and they reached 4.4% in the 2017 census, with 746,456 international immigrants according to the INE.² The rapid growth of international migrants as a percentage of the total Chilean population from 2002 to 2017 signals a major shift in traditional migration patterns in Latin America and in Chile. Immigrants have been a part of Chile's culture

¹ Chilean National Statistics Institute (INE), Sociodemographic Characteristics of International Migration en Chile Census 2017, November 2018.

² Ibid.

for decades but now with regional events taking place in neighboring countries during the past years, the face of immigration has been changing along with the number of immigrants arriving to Chile.

Where exactly are they going in Chile and why? The answer reveals a few hints on where policy makers should focus their efforts in supporting immigrant social and economic integration and the communities they reside in. According to the 2017 Census, 85% of the international immigrant population in Chile is concentrated in four regions, two in the north and two in the central region. In order of prevalence they are (Figure 1): Santiago Metropolitan region (65.3%), Antofagasta (8.4%), Tarapacá (5.9%) and Valparaíso (5.4%).³ Although this is important, the number of immigrants as a percentage of the total population in the principal northern regions is a microcosm of the future of Chile. For example, immigrants make up the following percentages of the total population in these northern regions: Tarapacá (13.7%), Antofagasta (11.0%), Arica y Parinacota (8.2%) according to the INE⁴. Antofagasta along with Santiago in the central region will be the primary focus of this project. The regions in the north, along with Santiago, are the frontlines of migration. It is critical to understand



what is happening in Santiago and Antofagasta with respect to the economic and social status of immigrants. Such understanding is paramount in creating a comprehensive public policy that supports immigrants and Chilean citizens alike. With the changing demographics in the country, Chile must work to understand how this will change its society and prepare for the challenges and opportunities these changes will bring in the years to come.

³ Ibid

⁴ Ibid

Why Chile?

Chile has been lauded as a model country in Latin American for its relative social and economic stability in recent decades and the strength of its political institutions. For these reasons, Chile has become an alternative destination for migrants fleeing the crisis in Venezuela and other parts of the region. Chile also stands out not only due to the increased immigration rates during the past five years but also because the increased visibility of migration in a country that has historically received migrants from mostly European or indigenous backgrounds. Some politicians have politicized the arrival of migrants of African descent despite the fact there have been an increase of migrants from neighboring countries for decades and longer. Migrants from Peru and Argentina, for example, have been able to blend into Chile's mestizo population. With the increased visibility of migrants and Chile's own social, economic and political concerns, migration has increasingly become a topic of importance for the Chilean state.

Migration Policy Background and Context

Recent Trend in Migration Flow in Chile

Beginning in the 1990s, the return to democracy, continuous economic growth, and consolidated political stability encouraged former exiled Chileans to return to their home country to search for better opportunities in Chile. The same was true for immigrants of neighboring Peru and Bolivia. By the first decade of the twenty-first century, the immigrant population reached to 305,212 people, growing 190 percent compared to 1992.⁵ Yet, despite the growing pattern in immigration, the proportion of foreign-born among Chile's total population was just 1.8 percent in 2010, a figure that was lower than the world's average (3.2%), and far lower than that of Argentina (30%) in the country about the same time.⁶ The Chilean Department of Migration's (DEM, Spanish acronym) estimates also show that most of this growth came from immigrants

⁵ Departamento de Extranjería y Migración de Chile (DEM). "Anuario Estadística Nacional 2005-2014." <https://www.extranjeria.gob.cl/media/2019/04/Anuario.pdf>

⁶ Cristián Reveco & Brendan Mullan, "Migration Policy and Development in Chile." *International Migration*, vol. 52 (5), 2014, pp.2-3.

from neighboring Peru, Argentina, and Bolivia, representing 30.4 percent, 19.9 percent and 6.4 percent, respectively; and both Haitians and Venezuelans merely accounted for less than 2 percent of this population, equivalent to 57,990 in 2014.

Since the second half of the 2010s, Chile has seen a dramatic surge in immigration originating from Haiti and Venezuela as citizens from these two countries flee their countries' political, economic and humanitarian crises. This trend has radically transformed the demographics of immigration in Chile. By the end of 2019, according to INE's estimates, the immigrant population had grown to 1.49 million with Venezuela being the leading country of origin (455,494), Peruvians being the second largest population (235,165) and Haitians the third largest population (185,865).⁷ These upward trends in Venezuelan and Haitian immigration coincide with many other multilateral organizations' calculations. For example, according to the International Organization for Migration (IOM), Chile has received an estimated 363,000 Venezuelans in the period 2015-2019, from 8,000 in 2015 to 371,000 by May 2019, becoming the third popular destination country for Venezuelan migrants after Colombia and Peru, surpassing the United States (351,000, 2017 data) and Spain (323,575).⁸ With no end in sight to the crisis in Venezuela, this trend will probably continue. In the case of Haiti, a series of natural disasters coupled with a stagnant economy, and the imposition of harsher immigration policies in the U.S., have driven the shift in Haitian migration pattern to Latin America, including Chile as a popular destination, although the Dominican Republic is still the top destination for Haitian migrants. INE data shows that the number of Haitians arriving in Chile in the period 2010-17 grew by 857 percent compared to the period 2000-09, with a total 178,980 Haitians residing in the country by 2018.⁹

⁷ Instituto Nacional de Estadísticas (INE). "Estimación de personas extranjeras residentes en Chile al 31 de diciembre de 2019." March 2020.
<https://www.extranjeria.gob.cl/media/2020/03/Presentación-Extranjeros-Residentes-en-Chile-31-Diciembre-2019.pdf>

⁸ International Organization for Migration (IOM). "Migration Trend in the Americas." October 2019.
https://robuenosaires.iom.int/sites/default/files/Informes/Migration-Trends-in-the-Americas-October_0.pdf

⁹ Instituto Nacional de Estadísticas (INE). "Estimación de Extranjeros Residentes en Chile 2018."
[Departamento de Extranjería y Migración | Gobierno de Chile](#)

2019 Migration Reform and Policies

In recent years, as growing immigrant arrivals from Venezuela and Haiti have posed pressing challenges to Chile's fragmented migration policy, advocates began to call for an updated migration policy to accommodate the new situation. In 2018 the government of Sebastián Piñera decided to reform the 1975 Migration Law, which effectively barred most foreigners from entering the country and did not provide any rights for immigrants, and implemented a series of accompanying migration policies. It is important to note that subsequent governments after the return to democracy attempted to address increasing immigration and the needs of immigrants but were not comprehensive and limited in nature. For the sake of the focus of our Capstone, we will focus on recent changes in immigration policy. This section examines two important steps, regularization and migration law reform, taken by the Piñera government in the period of 2018-19 to deal with the changing immigration situation and what impacts these measures have had on immigrants.

Extraordinary Migratory Regularization Program. In April 2018, the Piñera government developed the Extraordinary Migratory Regularization Program as part of the proposal to reform the Migration Law. This mechanism is open to all immigrants in irregular migration situations, including Venezuelans and Haitians, and it permits close to 1.1 million irregular immigrants to obtain a temporary or permanent visa.¹⁰

2019 Migration Law. On April 8, 2018, President Piñera signed the proposal to reform Migration Law, which included a series of entry requirement measures (a tourist visa requirement for Haitian citizens and a Democratic Responsibility Visa¹¹ requirement for Venezuelans) to ensure safe, orderly and regular migration.¹² On 14 August 2019, the Chilean Parliament passed the

¹⁰ International Organization for Migration (IOM). "UN Migration Agency Supports Migrant Regularization Process in Chile." April 2018.

<https://www.iom.int/news/un-migration-agency-supports-migrant-regularization-process-chile>

¹¹ The Democratic Responsibility Visa allows Venezuelan migrants and refugees a temporary residence permit for one year, extendable for one and the possibility to later request the definite residence in Chile. This type of visa can only be applied in Chilean consulates abroad.

¹² Gobierno de Chile. Nueva Ley de Migración: las nuevas medidas. August 2019. [New Immigration measures](#)

proposal of the new migration law, which replaced the 1975 Migration Law issued in the era of the Pinochet dictatorship and was created to address threats of national security irrelevant to the economic and development of the country.¹³ Furthermore, the new migration law reiterates universal access to public services, education, healthcare, labor market, and social security, for the immigrant population.

New Migration Policy Analysis and Limitations

For the next section, and for greater context, we'll take a deeper dive into the details and limitations of the new immigration law and its impact on immigrants, the current labor market integration of immigrants and education statistics of immigrants, before we examine the methodology and data used to conduct our research and answer our research question.

The Extraordinary Migration Regularization program helps improve migrant social integration. This program marks a positive step of Chile's response to the regional migration crisis. It permits Venezuelans and Haitians who have entered the country prior to 8 April 2018 to regularize with a temporary residence for one year regardless of residence status. A lack of access for irregular immigrants to obtain proper documentation may lead to a series of challenges: productively integrating them into Chilean society; being more likely to be forced into the informal sector; leaving them vulnerable to labor exploitation and prone to victimization by criminal organizations. Therefore, only with legal status immigrants have access to the formal labor sector and fulfill the development potential.

The Extraordinary Migration Regularization program helps address national security concerns and sets the stage for policymakers to design further concrete integration actions. This program serves as a legal framework to manage migration flows in order to improve governance and control over immigrants. As indicated explicitly in the document,¹⁴ it gives the government relatively detailed information about immigrants living within its borders. On this

¹³ Cristián Reveco & Amanda Levinson. "Chile: A Growing Destination Country in Search of a Coherent Approach to Migration." Migration Policy Institute. June 2012.

<https://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/chile-growing-destination-country-search-coherent-approach-migration>

¹⁴ Gobierno de Chile. Nueva Ley de Migración: las nuevas medidas, August 2019. [New Immigration measures](#)

basis, policymakers can create targeted policies to bring them into the legal system and provide social protection.

Stricter entry requirements impose challenges for Venezuelan and Haitian immigrants.

Despite positive outcomes that could be derived from the regularization for immigrants already entering the country, the 2019 Migration Law has imposed stricter entry requirements specifically for Venezuelans and Haitians migrants on their way toward Chile.¹⁵ There is no doubt that these measures pose a significant challenge for these migrants: for most Venezuelans to obtain a new passport the official cost in November 2019 exceeded USD 200 whereas their real minimum salary has ranged between approximately USD 5-20 in recent years.¹⁶ Furthermore, widespread corruption in the process of obtaining passports further creates even higher cost barriers. Most importantly, these requirements may not be able to slow migration flow but redirect many migrants from legal to illegal routes, increasing the possibility of being exploited by smugglers and human traffickers. Lastly, Although Haitians make up the third largest immigrant group, the new immigration law specifically makes it harder for them to gain legal entry into the country. As stated earlier, they must now apply for 30 day tourist visas in Haiti. Residents from other latin American countries like Colombia can enter Chile as a tourist without applying for a visa. Critics argue the law towards them discriminates against them on the basis of origin and the color of their skin. Although this is hard to prove the policy is racially motivated or due to the perception of all Haitians being poor, it is clear that Venezuelans immigrants outnumber Haitians yet Haitians have the strictest immigration rules. Keep this in mind as you read the results of our research and regression analysis and the challenges they face.

Concrete actions remain to be done to further address social integration challenges. While facilitating the regularization process and granting universal access to public services are essential steps in helping to integrate immigrants, concrete policy actions are still of great

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ Luisa Feline Freier. "Five Reasons Why Latin American Host Countries Should Grant Legal Status to Venezuelan Migrants." Migration Policy Institute. February 2020.
<https://www.migrationportal.org/insight/five-reasons-latin-american-host-countries-grant-legal-status-venezuelan-migrants/>

importance. In fact, providing immigrants equal rights to education, healthcare and labor markets as nationals has long been a commitment by the Chilean state, as articulated in the *Instructivo Presidencial No. 009* issued in 2008.¹⁷ What is missing is a series of concrete measures to further address some concerns raised in recent years pertaining immigrant social integration, such as the scope of healthcare, “brain drain,”¹⁸ poverty¹⁹ and income inequality²⁰ between immigrants.

What is missing in the new immigration law in terms of labor market integration of immigrants? When it comes to labor market access, many studies have shown that Venezuelans immigrants are more likely than Chilean nationals to have professional or technical education, but they face high barriers to get their credentials recognized in order to get a job matching their professional skills. Though the new migration law modernizes the process of revalidation of foreign academic titles, the high bar still remains in place.²¹ For example, migrants from Venezuela and Haiti face two major barriers in getting their academic title revalidated: first, Chile has not signed revalidation conventions with Venezuela and Haiti, so the only way to do so is through regular revalidation process; second, the average revalidation process lasts more than five months and it requires legalization of original documents in their country of origin.²²

¹⁷ Gobierno de Chile. Instructivo Presidencial No.9. September 2008.
https://transparenciaactiva.presidencia.cl/normativa_a8.html

¹⁸ In some cases, Venezuelans’ credentials are not recognized by host-country employers and industry groups, these migrants will be unable to practice in the fields for which they have been trained. The resulting unemployment or underemployment is a loss for both host communities and the migrants themselves. See Andrew Selee and Jessica Bolter. “*An Uneven Welcome: Latin American and Caribbean Responses to Venezuelan and Nicaraguan Migration.*” Migration Policy Institute, February 2020. Pp. 47.

¹⁹ The UN’s Economic Commission for Latin American and the Caribbean indicates that the poverty rate for immigrants was 5.9 percentage higher than that of nationals. See *Panorama Social de America Latina 2019*, pp.196.

²⁰ José Tomás Vicuña. “At this inflection point in politics and migration, Chile can (re)imagine its future.” Migration Policy Institute. February 2020.

²¹ The new law stipulates that it can only be carried out by the University of Chile or through international conventions;

universities that are accredited for more than six years or in the equivalent tranche of accreditation shall have the attribution to revalidate and validate degrees obtained abroad. See *Nueva Ley de Migración: las nuevas medidas.*

²² More information on the academic title revalidation process see University of Chile <https://www.uchile.cl/portal/presentacion/relaciones-internacionales/revalidacion-de-titulos-extranjeros/154844/etapas-del-proceso#1>, and the application online system in Chile <https://reconocimientodetitulos.minrel.gob.cl>.

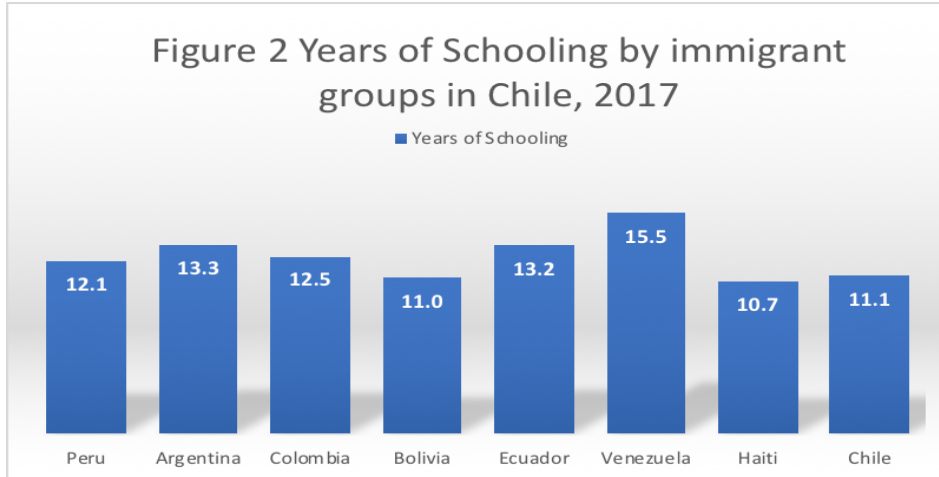
A Brief Analysis of Labor Market Conditions for Immigrants

To assess immigrant social and economic integration, this section examines how well foreign-born workers are integrated into Chile's labor markets by analyzing a series of key labor market indicators by using data from the 2017 Casen survey²³. We found that there is a gender gap among immigrant workers in terms of both income and access to the labor market, and that Haitians remain the weakest position in comparison with other immigrant groups. We also found that the quality of jobs of immigrants as a whole remains a concern. In this way, this section also sets the stage for the following sections on our empirical model and policy recommendations.

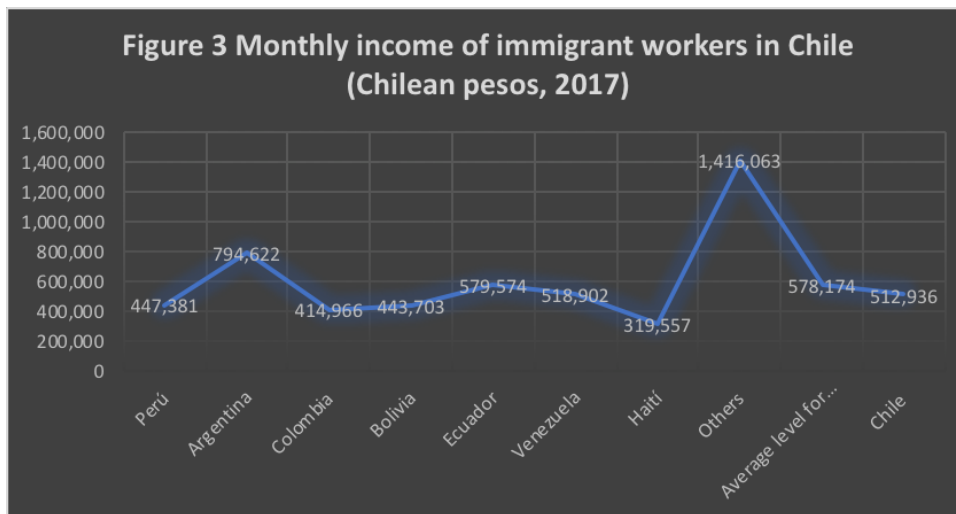
A gender gap prevails among immigrants in the labor market. Data from the 2017 Casen survey indicates that among immigrants the employment rate is much lower for women (66.8%) than for men (84.7%), and the labor participation rate is also far lower for female immigrants (73.6%) than male counterparts (89.8%), suggesting that female immigrant workers often have less access to the labor market than male workers. Similarly, unemployment rates are slightly favorable for male immigrant workers (5.8%) than that for female workers (9.2%). In terms of monthly income, a gender gap also persists. Male immigrant workers earned 677,000 Chilean pesos, compared to 462,000 Chilean pesos on average for female workers.

Haitians are the most vulnerable among immigrant groups in terms of educational attainment and monthly income. According to the 2017 Casen survey, the pattern of educational attainments suggests that immigrant workers from Haiti are the least educated among immigrant groups. The average years of schooling for Haitians aged 18 and above is 10.7 in comparison with 13.2 for all immigrants on average, whereas Venezuelans stand out with the highest years of schooling of 15.5. When it comes to monthly income, the average income of Haitians is 319,557 Chilean pesos, representing the most vulnerable immigrant group in Chile.

²³ CASEN 2017 Encuesta, Ministerio de Desarrollo Social.
http://observatorio.ministeriodesarrollosocial.gob.cl/casen-multidimensional/casen/casen_2017.php



Source: Casen 2017 Survey

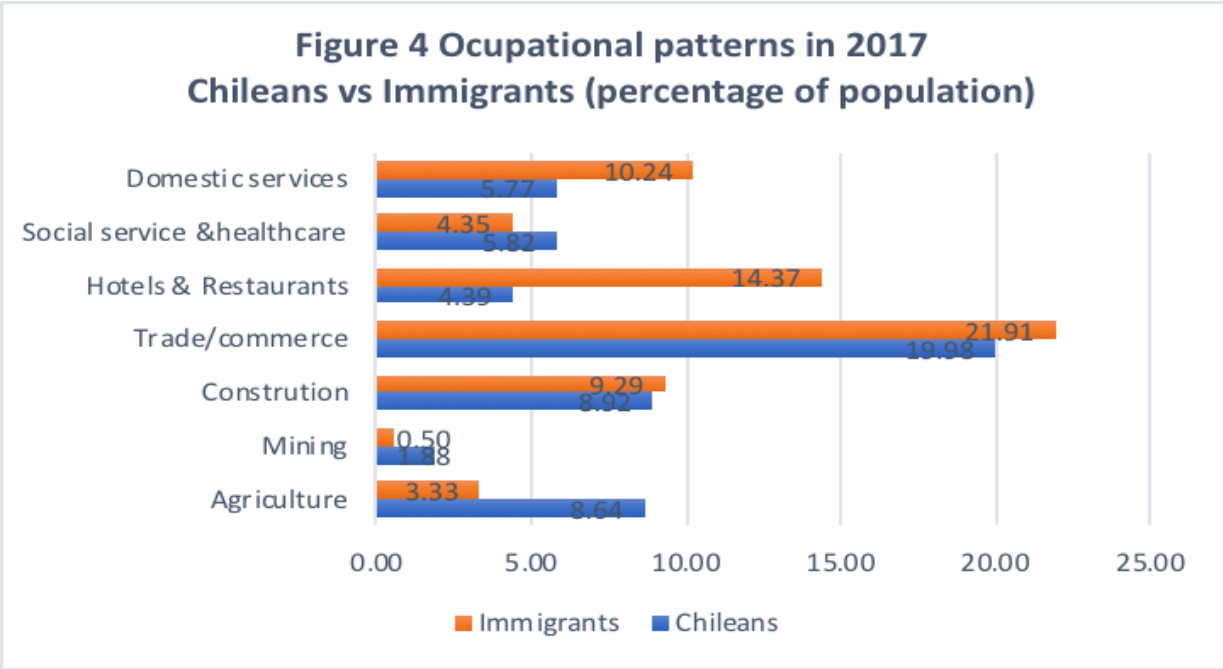


Source: Casen 2017 Survey

Immigrant workers are more likely to be employed in sectors prone to non-standard employment. Even though the Casen 2017 data shows that immigrant workers seem to be well-integrated into the labor market in terms of labor participation rate and employment rates, integration in terms of employment quality is less secure. To assess the quality of employment for immigrant workers in Chile, the concept of non-standard employment (NSE) is applied in this study. NSE can be defined as employment that is “full time, indefinite, as well as part of a subordinate relationship between an employee and an employer.”²⁴ NSE includes temporary

²⁴ International Labour Organization ILO (2016), Non-Standard Employment around the World: Understanding Challenges, Shaping Prospects, pp. 7.

(fixed-term contract), casual, seasonal, part-time works, multi-party employment (dispatch), and self-employment. NSE can pose challenges for workers, enterprises, the overall performance of labor markets and economies as well as societies at large.²⁵ In particular, NSE workers have less employment security, less income security, and limited access to representation and social security. In Chile, immigrant workers are more likely than native-born workers to be in sectors prone to NSE. The 2017 Casen survey data shows that immigrants that are employed in trade, hotel and restaurant services, private housing services, and construction accounts for 21.9%, 14.4%, 10.2%, and 9.3%, respectively, of the immigration population, and each share is much higher than that of native-born workers. The largest gap in employment shares of foreign-born workers compared to native-born workers falls into the hotel and restaurant service sector, with the former being 14.4% compared to 4.4% of the latter. A similar gap is also seen in private housing service (10.2% versus 5.8%).



Source: Casen 2017 Survey

²⁵ Ibid. pp. xxi.

Literature Review

There are many studies that examine the relationship between immigrant education attainment rates and income in the United States and Europe. It is widely known that education has a positive relationship to income. From a general perspective, these studies supported our expected outcomes with respect to the income levels of Haitian immigrants because we saw similar patterns with other less educated immigrants in other parts of the world. We used these studies to understand the basic situation of new immigrants in their adopted countries but found there to be a gap in the current literature examining how the variations in immigrant education attainment levels impact income, economic and social integration in Latin America. This recent immigration phenomenon allowed us to 1) use a quantitative model to examine and explain the variations in education attainment levels and incomes of various immigrant groups in Santiago and Antofagasta, Chile and 2) control and adjust our model to take into account socio demographic variables like country of origin, gender, social acceptance and time in country among others to determine how this socially and economically impacts immigrant groups differently in Chile, to our knowledge has never been adequately done.

Many studies look at immigrant economic and social integration from one or two perspectives such as education or participation in the labor market. Our research not only examines these factors, but many others in the context of a mass influx of immigrants arriving in a country like Chile, which is socially, culturally and economically different than countries in Europe or the United States that have a longer history managing smaller waves of immigrants.

Methodology and Data

With a better understanding of the current conditions facing immigrants, especially Haitians, we can discuss the methodologies for our qualitative and quantitative approach to understanding the role of educational attainment in immigrant social and economic integration into the labor market in Chile. The research contained in this capstone includes a fusion of primary, secondary

sources and statistical data from a multitude of international, national and local sources. Interviews with Chilean government, law enforcement officials, civil society leaders and private sector administrators support and inform the historical and most recently published literature on this topic. Our research methodology included the following activities:

Qualitative: The qualitative portion of this capstone comes from traditional scholarly materials, descriptive statistics, and international organization reports. Specifically, we used the 2017 Casen survey of immigrants in Chile as a means of understanding of the realities of challenges and adversities immigrants face in integrating into Chile's labor market. By examining the survey data we analyze some of key labor market indicators, labor participation rate, educational attainment, and income level, to illustrate a general picture of the challenges and performance of immigrants in the labor market. Specifically, as shown in the previous section which analyzed the economic and social integration of immigrants in Chilean society, we used the 2017 Casen survey.

Quantitative: A major challenge of research regarding the effect of educational attainment on immigrant social and economic integration in Chile is incomplete data on levels of education at the individual and municipal level. Throughout our research, we found that reliable data on immigrants' educational attainment has been absent in any of the official statistics of Chile.

Due to the lack of accurate data collection on educational attainment of immigrants in Chile, we used the survey responses from the **2018-19 Inter-American Dialogue survey of immigrants in South America**, made available by the Dialogue's Migration, Remittances & Development program. Our use of this unpublished survey has been granted full authorization. To test the effects of immigrants' educational attainment on their income level, we hypothesize that the higher levels of educational attainment lead to higher income levels for immigrants, primarily for Venezuelans and Haitians. A brief summary of the survey data is the following:

Table 1: Educational attainment of Immigrant Respondents²⁶

Educational Attainment Level	Frequency of Recorded Observations
Elementary education	10.95%
Secondary education	67.16%
Tertiary education (University level)	21.89%

Upon initial analysis of the Inter-American dialogue data, the most common response of those surveyed stated that “the highest level of education completed” is secondary education (67.16%), as shown in Table 1. In this context, secondary education is categorized from the following two survey responses: “high school completed” and “university incompleted”. At the country-specific level, the survey data indicates that 71.57% of Haitian respondents, 56.67% of Venezuelan respondents, and 70.15% of respondents of other nationalities fell into the category of secondary education (Table 2).

Table 2: Educational attainment of Immigrant Respondents (by country of origin)²⁷

	Elementary	Secondary	Tertiary
Overall immigrants	10.95%	67.16%	21.89%
Haiti	23.53%	71.57%	4.90%
Venezuela	1.00%	56.57%	42.43%
Others	9.45%	70.15%	20.40%

As indicated in Table 3, a significant proportion of respondents (36.57%) reported their monthly income range level being 301,000-400,000 Chilean pesos (around \$350-460 USD). At the country-specific level, nearly half Haitian respondents fell into the lowest range of income level

²⁶ 2018-19 Inter-American Dialogue survey of immigrants in South America.

²⁷ Ibid.

of 201,000-300,000 Chilean pesos (\$230-350 USD), and more than 40% of Venezuelan respondents earned a monthly income between 301,000-400,000 Chilean pesos (\$350-460 USD).

Table 3: Range of income levels of Immigrant Respondents (by country, Chilean pesos)²⁸

	201-300,000	301-400,000	401-500,000	501-600,000	more than 601,000
Overall	28.61%	36.57%	18.16%	7.46%	9.20%
Haiti	48.05%	32.35%	9.80%	4.90%	4.90%
Venezuela	24.24%	43.43%	21.21%	4.04%	7.08%
Others	20.90%	35.32%	20.90%	10.44%	12.44%

Empirical Model

With these observed statistics, we hypothesize that higher levels of educational attainment have a positive relationship with higher levels of income range. Given that our investigation seeks to better understand the association between immigrant educational attainment and their income level in Chile, we created an empirical model that examines the effect of the levels of educational attainment of immigrants on the levels of income, while taking into account the factors affecting their income level, such as gender, country of origin, immigration status, age, time spent in Chile, and location of residence, and sense of receipt level. Our linear regression model is as follows:

$$Y(\text{income level}) = \beta_0 + \beta_1(\text{education}) + \beta_2(\text{country of origin}) + \beta_3(\text{gender}) + \beta_4(\text{age}) + \beta_5(\text{receipt level}) + \beta_6(\text{status}) + \beta_7(\text{time in Chile}) + \beta_8(\text{residence location})$$

Figure 4, Linear Regression Model

Where Y is the dependent variable, *range of monthly income*. The principal independent variable, *level of educational attainment (dummy)*, is measured at primary, secondary, and

²⁸ Ibid.

tertiary education. When examining the association between income level and educational attainment, we control for the following variables: *country of origin* (Venezuela, Haiti, and others), *gender* (male and female), *location of residence* in Chile (Santiago or Antofagasta), and *immigration status* (legal and illegal), and age, time spent in country, and sense of receipt. To highlight a few key control variables, we control for gender and age because immigrants are frequently young males (15-34) and they are more likely to earn higher income.²⁹ We control the time spent in the country because this variable has an impact on immigrants' ability to integrate in the labor market. We control for location of residence because the survey was conducted primarily in Metropolitan Santiago and Antofagasta. Finally, we control for immigration status because those without legal status are less likely to produce optimal labor market outcomes for themselves and the host country overall.

Results

The results of the multiple linear regression model (Table 4) examines the magnitude and significance of the variables being tested. After running the regression, there are many variables that tested statistically significant in explaining immigrants' income level.

Table 4: Explaining the immigrants' income level in Chile³⁰

Variables	Income level
Secondary education	0.171 (0.2580)
Tertiary education	1.240** (0.5385)
Haitian (Secondary education)	0.171 (0.2580)
Venezuelan (Secondary education)	0.535 (1.1188)
Haitian (Tertiary education)	1.240**

²⁹ Casen 2017 Survey, Chile.

³⁰ 2018-19 Inter-American Dialogue survey of immigrants in South America.

	(0.5386)
Venezuelan (Tertiary education)	0.981 (1.1236)
Location of residence (Metropolitan Santiago)	0.495** (0.1570)
Age	0.006 (0.0065)
Gender (male)	0.645*** (0.1206)
Time spent in Chile	0.048* (0.0244)
Receival level	0.220*** (0.0834)
Status (legal)	0.400*** (0.1436)
Observations	397
R-squared	0.2401
Standard errors in parentheses *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1	

Educational attainment: The explanatory variable that has the greatest effect on income range level is whether or not a respondent has a tertiary education. Taken immigrants as a whole, obtaining a tertiary education increases the monthly income by \$1,240 Chilean pesos over the lowest educational attainment (elementary). However, obtaining a secondary education proves not to be a statistically significant factor in explaining immigrant's monthly income.

Country of origin. If we look at specific immigrant groups, for Haitian immigrants, obtaining a tertiary education increases monthly income by \$1,240 Chilean pesos over those who have elementary education, while acquiring a secondary education is not tested statistically significant in explaining their income level. For Venezuelan immigrants, either secondary or tertiary education proves not to be a statistically significant factor in explaining their income level in

Chile.

Control variables. A select number of control variables in the model are worthy of further examination. Our results in Table 4 show that legal status, sense of receipt, time of residency, and location of residency are significant and positively related to income levels, while age was not statistically significant. Generally speaking, males immigrants were more likely to have higher monthly income than females. In fact, the results show that for male immigrants, their monthly income is \$645 Chilean pesos more than that of female counterparts while controlling other variables. This finding coincides with the fact that there was a gender gap in immigrants' income level, as discussed in the previous section, which provides clear evidence that gender issues play an important role in their income level in Chile.

Similarly, the results indicate that immigrants having legal status are more likely to have higher income. An increase in \$400 Chilean pesos for legal immigrants in comparison with those remaining illegal in Chile. And if a respondent resides in Metropolitan Santiago, there is an increase in \$459 Chilean pesos more than those residing in Antofagasta. Finally, a one unit (month) increase in time spent in Chile proved also to be a statistically significant factor, resulting in additional \$48 Chilean pesos.

Implications of the findings. These findings partially support our hypothesis that higher levels of education lead to higher levels of income for immigrants in Chile because only those who have tertiary education are more likely to have higher income than those who just completed elementary education (reference group), while those with secondary education do not. In addition to educational attainment, whether an immigrant possesses legal documents, gender, location of residence, and how long they have spent in the country proved to be statistically significant factors in their income level. The implication of these results should, therefore, be a major consideration for the Chilean government and policymakers to better help vulnerable immigrant groups through targeted policies and programs. We believe that greater success in supporting immigrants with credential revalidation and gender pay gap issues can be a major factor in improving their economic and social integration in Chilean society.

Conclusion

Immigrant social and economic integration is crucial to Chile's future. With low native population birth rates, low educational attainment levels and domestic problems rising from inequality, immigrants are potential assets for the Chilean state's efforts to integrate the country into the global economy. However, failure to properly integrate immigrants, especially recent immigrants such as Haitians and Venezuelans can further exacerbate current social and economic problems. The current COVID-19 pandemic threatens not only to disrupt Chilean society and economy, but possibly increase xenophobia and discrimination already experienced by Haitians and other immigrants who are already seen as being poor and unhygienic. With already reduced access to quality healthcare and education in Chile, many immigrants are exposed to COVID-19 due to the types of jobs they perform in the labor market and dense living arrangements of those living in Santiago and Antofagasta. The inability of lower income earning immigrants such as Haitians to work from home exposes this community to COVID-19. Proposed policies by the Chilean state to issue a "discharge certificate" to people who recovered from COVID-19 will potentially put vulnerable people including immigrants more at risk of contracting the disease. The health ministry announced that those who have recovered from the virus will be given a "discharge certificate" and be exempt from adhering to quarantines or other restrictions, according to Newsweek.³¹ This contradicts the World Health Organization (WHO) which stated there is currently no evidence that people who have recovered from COVID-19 and have antibodies are protected from a second infection.³² Not only is this policy dangerous to low income immigrants working in informal jobs with access to little or no benefits, it affects native Chileans as well.

³¹ Newsweek, Chile counts those who died of Coronavirus as recovered because they're 'no longer contagious,' health minister says.
<https://www.newsweek.com/chile-counts-those-who-died-coronavirus-recovered-because-theyre-no-longer-contagious-health-1497775>

³² World Health Organization, "Immunity passports" in the context of COVID-19.
<https://www.who.int/news-room/commentaries/detail/immunity-passports-in-the-context-of-covid-19>

By looking at variations in educational attainment and its association to immigrant income, we are providing a window into what factors impact immigrant income, or the ability to earn money to live, participate and ultimately integrate into Chilean society. Our findings show that higher levels of education, specifically university level education, leads to higher levels of income for immigrants. It is understood that many immigrants arrive in Chile with various levels of educational attainment and in the case of most Haitians, non-native level Spanish ability which directly impacts their ability to integrate into schools, jobs and the wider society. In the case of immigrants with high levels of educational attainment, higher levels of income and labor market participation doesn't tell the full picture of labor and economic integration in Chile.

Although evidence shows immigrant workers make more money than native Chilean workers,³³ immigrant workers are often overqualified for the jobs they are employed in. An education-occupation mismatch or skills mismatch negatively impacts the ability of immigrants to contribute to the economic productivity of Chile and to integrate socially by developing relationships with civic and professional organizations in their respective fields. The difficulty of receiving recognition of their academic, professional degrees and certifications reduces social and economic integration. Without recognition and licensure to work in their chosen fields, immigrants lose out on opportunities to earn higher incomes, advance in their occupations and develop key professional and personal relationships with other Chileans that lead to social integration.

Qualitative and quantitative evidence suggest gender and ethnicity plays a role in immigrant's abilities to integrate socially and economically into society. Our data reveals that gender is statistically significant in determining higher levels of income of immigrants in Chile. It comes as no surprise that men make more money than women. The roots of this problem need to be addressed to support women in having access to higher incomes and integrating economically into Chilean society. Race and ethnicity plays a role in the ability of immigrants to access jobs

³³ According to the 2017 Casen survey, the average monthly income for immigrant workers was 578,000 Chilean pesos, which was higher than the average income for native-born workers (513,000). See more information http://observatorio.ministeriodesarrollosocial.gob.cl/casen-multidimensional/casen/docs/Resultados_Inmigrantes_casen_2017.pdf

and therefore higher incomes. Haitians and darker-skinned immigrants have been discriminated against socially and economically in Chile. This form of discrimination and bias directly impacts their ability to intergrate socially and economically into Chilean society.

Recommendations

Based on the results of our research, there are key areas where government and civil society can continue to support the social and economic integration of immigrants, especially Haitians, in Chile.

- **Reduce barriers to credential revalidation and recognition of foreign degrees**

The University of Chile is the official institution legally permitted to recognize and revalidate, professional degrees and academic degrees obtained abroad.³⁴ It was previously stated earlier that the process to revalidate degrees takes up to 5 months and if the application is denied, applicants must wait one year to reenter the process.³⁵ For Venezuelan and Haitian immigrants, this is simply too long of a process to go without using their skills and credentials due to the dire conditions of many arrivals. **Decentralization** and **privatization** of this service and process could lower costs and reduce the time it takes to receive a final decision on their revalidation and recognition status. Also, Chile should consider signing revalidation conventions with Venezuela and Haiti, at the very least with some highly regarded institutions in those countries. Since many recent immigrants often arrive in Chile without a job, it is pertinent that they get their education and professional credentials validated as quickly as possible to utilize their experience and skills to obtain quality employment in the local labor market.

³⁴ Revalidation of Foreign Titles, University of Chile.

<https://www.uchile.cl/portal/presentacion/relaciones-internacionales/revalidacion-de-titulos-extranjeros/159574/reconocimiento-de-titulos-extranjeros-mediante-convenios>

³⁵ More information on the academic title revalidation process see University of Chile.

<https://www.uchile.cl/portal/presentacion/relaciones-internacionales/revalidacion-de-titulos-extranjeros/154844/etapas-del-proceso#1>

- **Expand and increase collaborations with civil society, business community to provide more Spanish language instruction to recent Haitian immigrants**

Learning Spanish is key to finding sustainable work and job opportunities for many recent Haitian immigrants and their families. There are religious organizations that offer Spanish classes to Haitian immigrants. Interestingly, church leaders have been motivated to provide classes by the business community. Local church leaders said that the businessman's request encouraged them to move from ideas to a definite plan according to *Aventist Review*, the flagship journal of the Seventh-day Adventist Church³⁶. This underscores the need for more and improved **public-private partnerships** to provide Spanish language classes to Haitians in ways that support the needs of the local labor market and Haitians. **Formalized and coordinated relationships** between the local business community, education institutions and civil society organizations including churches could support in increasing enrollments of Haitian Adults into Spanish language classes and access to employment with the support of the government to ensure compliance to labor laws and prevent exploitation of workers.

The State already offers funding for Spanish language classes for Haitian adults through FAEP, a fund dedicated to supporting public education, more than \$ 272 billion was awarded for FAEP projects, which will go directly to the benefit of all public schools in the country, according to the Chilean Ministry of Education.³⁷ Colleges and Universities offer Spanish Classes for Haitian Adults which are funded with FAEP resources. The Pontifical Catholic University of Chile offers in person Spanish classes to Haitian adults but the classes are missing a labor objective in its teaching. The focus is primarily on learning Spanish to support their children in the education system. For example, One objective of the course is to understand basic

³⁶ In Chile, Adventists offer Spanish Classes to Haitian Refugees, *Aventist Review*.

<https://www.adventistreview.org/church-news/story13301-in-chile-adventists-offer-spanish-classes-to-haitian-refugees>

³⁷ Mineduc provides more than \$272 billion for projects that strengthen public education, Ministry of Education. <https://www.mineduc.cl/faep-2019/>

information about themselves and the closest environment, in relation to their children's school life and their own daily life³⁸ This is important, but learning Spanish vocabulary related to obtaining work is important as well. To our knowledge, there is not a nation wide coordinated program between the state, civil society and businesses to address the social and economic importance of providing Spanish language classes in a more coordinated fashion.

- **Invest and prioritize measuring the effectiveness of programs and initiatives like Sello Migrante and Compromiso Migrante**

Sello Migrant and Compromiso Migrant are social programs established to increase the integration of immigrants into Chilean society and reduce ethnic and gender discrimination in the work place, schools and local communities. Specifically, The Migrant Seal (Sello Migrante) is a recognition that the State delivers, through the Department of Immigration and Migration (DEM) of the Ministry of the Interior and Public Security, to municipalities that develop plans, programs and actions aimed at the inclusion of the migrant population according to the Chilean government.³⁹ In the context of COVID-19, the work of these programs will become more important than ever. The support these programs provide immigrants in finding jobs and accessing public services are crucial to Haitian immigrants who earn less money than some other immigrant groups and often work in the informal economy. **Measuring the outcomes** of these programs will provide evidence of their **effectiveness** to taxpayers who will become increasingly critical of these social programs in the light of COVID-19. It will support Haitians and other immigrants who rely on these services during a time of great need. For example, **data collection by independent parties** through surveys can provide evidence of the effectiveness of these government social programs and initiatives and justify their existence. Measurement can also **identify shortcomings** of the programs and provide opportunities for reevaluation and **immigrant participation** in the improvement and implementation of these programs.

³⁸ Pontifical Catholic University of Chile. Classes of Spanish as a foreign language for adult Haitians immigrants. <http://programas.letras.uc.cl/index.php/cursos-de-espanol-lengua-extranjera-para-haitianos>

³⁹ Department of Immigration and Migration (DEM). Migrant Seal. <https://www.extranjeria.gob.cl/sello-migrante/>

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