

# LIVING UNCERTAIN CITIZENSHIP: EVERYDAY PRACTICES OF BOLIVIAN MIGRANTS IN CHILE

Megan Jessica Ryburn

Thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

School of Geography and School of Politics and International Relations

Queen Mary, University of London

November 2015

To Liz Ryburn, and in memory of Murray Ryburn

# DECLARATION

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# ABSTRACT

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This thesis examines the everyday citizenship practices of Bolivian migrants in Chile, and the ways in which migrant organisations influence these practices. It contributes to a growing body of literature that comprehends citizenship as both formal and substantive and is interested in migrants' incorporation within these different spheres. It is also situated within the incipient scholarship on South-South migration, and is among the first qualitative studies to address Bolivian migration to Chile. Bolivians conform one of the larger groups in an increasing migration flow to Chile, and are thought to be one of the most vulnerable. To date, however, there has been little that analyses their experiences in depth.

Working across space and scale, nine months of multi-sited ethnographic research aimed to begin to fill this knowledge gap. Throughout five sites in Chile and Bolivia, participant observation was undertaken with migrant organisations, at community events, and in migrants' homes. Additionally, semi-structured interviews were conducted with 60 migrant participants, and sixteen representatives of migrant organisations and the state. Empirically, the project indicates that many Bolivians in Chile endure multiple exclusions from citizenship. These occur transnationally and are caused by varied structural, but also agentic, factors. The intersectional approach taken underscores the social identities that make exclusions more likely. Nevertheless, through engaging in varied citizenship practices, often with support from organisations, migrants are able to achieve greater inclusion.

Conceptually, the thesis develops the idea of overlapping, fluid transnational spaces of citizenship, which represent its legal, economic, social, and political dimensions. They are produced through interrelations between processes from above, individual practices from below, and actions of migrant organisations. Migrants may be inside and outside different spaces of citizenship simultaneously. Those who live a complex array of inclusions and exclusions experience *uncertain citizenship*, the other core concept advanced in this work.

# ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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There have been so many people whose support has been fundamental during the past three and a bit years of research and writing. First, my most sincere thanks to Professor Cathy McIlwaine. Her expertise and research experience have been – and will continue to be – a source of great inspiration. I am also extremely grateful for her invariably insightful comments on my work, kindness, and generosity. Very many thanks too to Professor James Dunkerley, who has given such valuable feedback throughout the process, and whose breadth of knowledge, passion for his work, and encouragement has likewise been truly inspiring.

I am deeply indebted to all who participated in this project and to those who were colleagues, and became friends, at the migrant organisations with which I worked in Chile and Bolivia. I cannot name you here, but please know that the stories and knowledge that you shared with me have been my motivation on a daily basis. Thanks are also due to Dr Menara Lube-Guizardi and others at the Universidad Alberto Hurtado who generously invited me into their networks. This research would not have been possible without a Queen Mary Principal's Studentship, and additional funding for fieldwork from the Queen Mary Postgraduate Research Fund and the Society of Latin American Studies. I am very grateful for their support. Thank you also to Ed Oliver at Queen Mary and to Alice Volpi, graphic designer and good friend in Chile, for assisting with the production of maps and images.

My heartfelt gratitude to those who shared their homes with me in Chile and Bolivia; in particular Carolina, Daniela, Juan, Paty and Kati, María Rosa and Álvaro. Thank you so much for your warmth and openness, as well as humour and compassion in the face of earthquakes and food poisoning. And of course thank you to my Chilean family, who have always welcomed me with such open arms, and delicious vegetarian *asados*: Tía Nora, Tío Basilio, Rodrigo, Ale, Adelmo, Rocío, Camilo, and Joaquín. On the other side of the world, I am very grateful to Helen, Ruth, Paul, Jess and Maya, Lizzie and Philip who put me up and put up with me in London over the course of my studies. To Gran, Sue, Robin and Ben, thank you for your encouragement. To Finlay and Caitlin, thank you so much for your enthusiasm over the years, and for ensuring I never become too serious. Special thanks to my dear friend Helen for all of her support, particularly in the last few months, and even when we're on different continents. And to my other wonderful friends in the UK and scattered across the globe – Annabelle, Hayley, Julia, Kirsten, Lauren,

Rachel, Sarah, Suzy, Vicky, and all the members of Los Compadres and their families – thank you for providing light relief in the form of curries, Skype sessions, marathons, wine tastings, and so much fantastic music.

Finally, my deepest thanks to my fantastic husband Pablo for always being there in so many ways throughout all that this has entailed – it would take many more pages to fully acknowledge the magnitude of your contribution, from debates on epistemology to ensuring that I eat things other than chocolate. And to my mum, Liz, and in memory of my dad, Murray, for instilling in me through actions and conversations a concern with social justice, and for your constant support and inspiration over the years. This is dedicated to you both.

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# GLOSSARY AND ACRONYMS

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## Glossary of Spanish terms

<i>Bolsa laboral</i>	Employment programme
<i>Café con piernas</i>	Literally, café with legs; refers to a café/bar in Chile where the female wait-staff wear revealing clothing
<i>Campamento</i>	Self-built settlement; shanty-town
<i>Chile Crece Contigo</i>	Chile Grows with You. State-funded programme in Chile for expectant mothers, babies, and pre-school children.
<i>Comuna</i>	Administrative subdivision of Santiago, Chile; equivalent to a London borough.
<i>Consulado General de Chile</i>	General Consulate for Chile
<i>Departamento</i>	Country sub-division of Bolivia; province
<i>Migrant cité</i>	Tenement housing, occupied predominantly by migrants
<i>Nana</i>	Maid/nanny
<i>Parcela</i>	Agricultural smallholding
<i>Población</i>	Urban slum
<i>Puertas adentro</i>	Live-in
<i>Puertas afuera</i>	Live-out
<i>Toma</i>	Irregular squatter settlement

## Acronyms

<i>MAS</i>	Movimiento al Socialismo – Movement for Socialism. Left-wing political party, Bolivia.
<i>MTRV</i>	MERCOSUR Temporary Resident Visa.
<i>DAS</i>	Departamento de Asistencia Social – Department of Social Assistance, Chile.
<i>DEM</i>	Departamento de Extranjería y Migraciones – Department of Immigration, Chile.

# 1. INTRODUCTION

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Luz María was 19 and her partner Wilson was 22 when I met them. Both from the lowland *departamento* of Santa Cruz, Bolivia, Luz María's family lived in Plan 3000, a sprawling, poor neighbourhood on the outskirts of the city of Santa Cruz. Wilson was originally from Mairana, a small town on the edge of the densely forested Amboró National Park, but had moved to Plan 3000 in his late teens. They met when Luz María was at secondary school, and had a child shortly afterwards in 2012. They both had big ambitions – Wilson wanted to start a moto-taxi business, and Luz María wished to complete the university studies that she started when their little boy was a few months old.

By early 2013, however, they were in debt after borrowing money to cover healthcare costs for Wilson's chronically ill mother, and to pay for a motorbike so Wilson could start his business. In April that year, they discovered that Luz María was pregnant again. Very worried about the debt, and about telling their families they were going to have another child, they felt compelled to leave Bolivia for somewhere with greater economic opportunities. They hoped to pay off the loan and make enough to support their young family. Without telling anyone about the pregnancy, they left their one-year old in the care of Luz María's mother, and embarked on the 50 hour bus journey to Santiago, Chile. They had heard rumours that things were good there; you could earn a decent salary and send money home.

Once in Santiago, both started working for contractors – Luz María as a cleaner, and Wilson in construction. The hours were long and the pay was less than the minimum wage. Both were in the country on Tourist Visas, and therefore working unauthorised, which gave their employers leverage to exploit them. The couple were shocked by the cost of living in Santiago, and could barely afford the rent for the unfurnished, twelve metre square, windowless room in tenement housing that they found downtown. When Luz María was dismissed from her job when her pregnancy began to show, the situation became critical. Any money they managed to save was sent back to support their young son in Bolivia, and to keep the debt-collectors at bay. Even living on just rice and vegetables, they could not afford to pay for the MERCOSUR Temporary Resident Visas (henceforth MTRVs) that would allow them to work legally and in better conditions.

Nevertheless, Luz María was nothing if not resourceful, and set about making connections with people, and finding out about possible avenues of support. In addition to making friends with many in her neighbourhood, she discovered MigraRed, the largest migrant organisation in Chile. MigraRed supported the couple in applying for subsidies for their MTRVs through a programme run by the governmental Departamento de Asistencia Social [DAS – Department of Social Assistance]. This access to legal status made a difference to the type of construction work Wilson was able to obtain and, whilst money remained tight, they could manage to cover their expenses and eat a slightly better diet. Their second son was delivered safely in a public hospital in Santiago in December 2013.

This brief narrative relating Luz María and Wilson's migration trajectory is indicative of some fundamental characteristics of contemporary Bolivian migration to Chile revealed by this research. Typically of working age, and often quite young, increasing numbers of Bolivians feel compelled to migrate for economic reasons, sometimes as couples like Luz María and Wilson, but frequently alone, leaving behind partners and children. Chile's sustained economic growth and political and social stability have made it a progressively more popular destination in the region. Whilst not the very poorest, many Bolivians who arrive there have experienced marked marginalisation, or, if they are from higher socio-economic backgrounds, have felt unable to reach their potential through study and work in Bolivia. Significantly contingent on gender, ethnicity, and socio-economic background, amongst other factors, sometimes material improvement may be experienced upon moving to Chile. More often, however, Bolivian migrants live multiple exclusions. Nonetheless, either through individual practices, engagement with migrant organisations, or at times through informal political involvement, small steps towards greater inclusion are being made.

This research has sought to uncover and analyse the complexities of these multiple transnational inclusions and exclusions, and the structural factors, but also practices from below, that generate them. It has also aimed to innovate conceptually by reflecting upon the ways in which migration and citizenship are framed theoretically in existent research, proposing new ways through which this might be achieved. Furthermore, it has endeavoured to explore the effectiveness of multi-sited ethnography in this South-South migration context, drawing together different methodological approaches in the process, and bridging some of the gaps between them.

## RETHINKING MIGRATION AND CITIZENSHIP

This thesis thus responds to a variety of paucities in the existent scholarly work. Empirically, it answers calls for much greater academic engagement with the phenomenon of South-South migration (Hujo and Piper, 2010; Melde, Anich, Crush and Oucho, 2014). In spite of the increased academic interest in migration in recent decades (Levitt and Jaworsky, 2007), the South-South flows that conform nearly half of all international migration (Ratha and Shaw, 2007) have frequently been overlooked. With respect to Latin American migration, for example, a high volume of valuable contributions to contemporary migration studies from its early days onwards have come from the examination of Latin American migrant flows to the US (e.g. Grasmuck and Pessar, 1991; Rouse, 1991; Hardy-Fanta, 1993; Rosaldo, 1994b; Glick-Schiller, Basch and Szanton-Blanc, 1995; Levitt, 2001a; Hondagneu-Sotelo, 2001; Portes, Escobar and Arana, 2008) and later to the UK and Europe (e.g. Però, 2014; McIlwaine, 2011; Bermúdez, 2010). There remains, however, a dearth of work addressing international migration *within* Latin America, despite its significance (Martínez Pizarro, 2011).

With some notable exceptions (e.g. Acosta, 2015; Gideon, 2014; Stefoni, 2013; Lube-Guizardi and Garcés, 2013; Pavez Soto, 2012; Cano, Soffia and Martínez Pizarro, 2009), this is the case for migration to Chile, and for Bolivian migration within Latin America (although see, for example Bastia, 2012; Hinojosa Gordonava, 2008; Grimson, 1999). While there has been some limited quantitative work examining Bolivian migration to Chile (Rojas Pedemonte and Bueno Moya, 2014; Martínez Pizarro, 2011; Cano, Soffia and Martínez Pizarro, 2009), it has not exclusively addressed the case of Bolivians, and nor have there been in-depth qualitative studies that achieve this. This is despite the fact that Bolivians comprise the third largest migrant group in Chile, with an estimated population of 50,000 (Martínez Pizarro, 2011). The little work that has been done indicates that they are likely to be one of the most vulnerable groups in terms of access to legal status, social services, and decent work (Rojas Pedemonte and Bueno Moya, 2014; Cano, Soffia and Martínez Pizarro, 2009). The clear lack of research regarding this migrant group in a South-South context who seem to face particularly high levels of exclusion, combined with my on-the-ground experience volunteering for eighteen months with MigraRed in Santiago prior to undertaking doctoral studies, formed part of the motivation for carrying out this project.

It was additionally motivated by a desire to attempt to address conceptual gaps in existing research. Analysing migrants' lived realities through the lens of citizenship

has proven a fruitful approach for comprehending the transnational inclusions and exclusions that they face (e.g. Goldring and Landolt, 2013; Lee, 2010; Isin and Nielsen, 2008; Reed-Danahay and Brettell, 2008; Coutin, 2007; Menjívar, 2006; Ong, 1999). In particular, scholars of citizenship and migration have advocated a focus on migrant citizenship practices in order to comprehend how citizenship is actually experienced as opposed to how it is normatively represented (Ho, 2009; Staeheli, Ehrkamp, Leitner and Nagel, 2012). Such analyses have sometimes struggled, however, to consider holistically the 'formal' (legal status) and 'substantive' (social and political) aspects of citizenship (Holston, 1998) in such a way that accounts for the interactions between them, and the ways in which they are produced within and across nation-state borders.

A spatial approach to citizenship and migration has been adopted by some in order to attempt this (Goldring and Landolt, 2013; Lee, 2010; Isin and Rygiel, 2007; Menjívar, 2006; Coutin, 2003). I suggest, however, that the complexity of inclusion and exclusion is not fully recognised by the frameworks proposed to date. Spaces of citizenship have been conceptualised as binary (Isin and Rygiel, 2007; Coutin, 2003) or triadic (Goldring and Landolt, 2013; Lee, 2010; Menjívar, 2006). I contend, however, that the ways in which migrants engage with, and construct, spaces of citizenship are more messy and complicated than such theorisations would suggest. Furthermore, transnational, spatially aware perspectives on migration and citizenship have not generally been applied in South-South migration contexts, where research has focused chiefly on the migration-development nexus (Melde et al., 2014).

Nevertheless, in the Chilean context, some research *has* taken a transnational approach (e.g. Imilan, Garcés and Margarit, 2014; Lube-Guizardi, 2013; Stefoni, 2004, 2002), often with a keen awareness of the gendered experience of migration and the impact of other social identities on migrants' lived realities (e.g. Acosta, 2015; Stefoni, 2013). In addition to some broad overviews (Martínez Pizarro, 2011; Cano, Soffia and Martínez Pizarro, 2009), research has mostly focused on the experiences of Peruvians, particularly Peruvian women, concentrating on areas such as the creation of 'global care chains' (Acosta, 2015, 2013; Acosta and Setien, 2014), migrant health (Gideon, 2014; Cabieses and Tunstall, 2013; Núñez Carrasco, 2013), and migrant education (Pavez Soto, 2012, 2010). There has, however, been very little that explores, *inter alia*: migrants' negotiation of legal status; their political practices; or their formation and maintenance of social networks once in the 'receiving country'. Moreover, migrants' possibilities of access to social, economic, legal, and political arenas have rarely been examined in

conjunction, something which the spatially aware focus on citizenship that informs this research allows for.

In developing a methodology that was able to reflect this project's conceptual and empirical objectives, different methodological approaches were brought into dialogue. Multi-sited ethnography is considered particularly appropriate for researching transnational migration (Amelina and Faist, 2012) given its ability to overcome 'methodological nationalism' (Wimmer and Glick Schiller, 2002), and has been used effectively in a variety of contexts (e.g. Riccio, 2011; Mand, 2011; Vives, 2012). Some multi-sited ethnographies have, however, struggled to move beyond a static understanding of space, which can result in the multiple research sites being understood as disparate rather than part of an interconnected whole (Crang, 2011). Other methodological approaches such as 'global ethnography' (Burawoy, 2000) and 'counter-topographies' (Katz, 2001) have, on the other hand, achieved more sophisticated conceptualisations of space. I suggest that insights from them can be successfully incorporated into a multi-sited ethnographic methodology when used to address transnational migration. This enables greater comprehension of the physical and emotional journeys undertaken by migrants, and the ways in which they construct transnational social spaces. Furthermore, I propose that the physical and emotional journey of the researcher when undertaking multi-sited ethnography also be accounted for, thus responding to Bondi's (2003, 2012) call for greater consideration of the emotions of the researcher and the ways in which these may impact on the research. Thus this research identifies and aims to bridge gaps in methodological approaches taken to the study of transnational migration, in addition to recognising and beginning to address empirical and conceptual lacunae.

In so doing, it endeavours to 'theorise back' from the South (Slater, 1993; James and Vira, 2012; Williams, Meth and Willis, 2014) to provide an holistic, qualitative analysis of the lived citizenship practices of Bolivians in Chile. It thus contributes empirically to understandings of this migration flow, but also to wider theoretical and methodological debates within citizenship and migration studies. Drawing on nine months of multi-sited ethnographic fieldwork across five locations in Chile and Bolivia, including 60 semi-structured interviews with migrant participants and 16 with migrant organisation staff and other experts, it explores the following questions:

- In what ways are Bolivian migrants to Chile included in and excluded from formal and substantive citizenship, both in Bolivia and in Chile?



- Do migrant organisations influence the production of these inclusions and exclusions from citizenship, and if so how?
- Considering both structural processes and individual agentic practices, how can migrants' experiences of transnational inclusions and exclusions from citizenship best be conceptualised?
- To what extent is a multi-sited ethnographic approach to researching migration useful? Can it be enhanced through greater engagement with other methodological perspectives?

In addressing these questions, empirically it became apparent that Bolivian migrants in Chile experienced a wide range of exclusions from citizenship – in legal, economic, social, and political terms. By examining issues of access to *all* of these aspects of citizenship, this project took an innovative approach in a little-researched context. Patterns of exclusion were not simple; participants did not experience exclusion from all of these aspects of citizenship all of the time in both countries. Rather, their in/exclusions were complicated, fluid, and fluctuating. Indicating the importance of an intersectional approach to comprehending migration and citizenship, participants' varied backgrounds and social identities had a profound impact on the ways in which they were in- and excluded. Furthermore, they were often influenced by migrants' interactions with migrant organisations.

These dynamic experiences of lived citizenship – shifting and changing with participants' migrant trajectories – could not be fully comprehended using existing conceptualisations of citizenship and migration. Therefore this thesis proposes a novel conceptual framework for comprehending migrants' relationships to the different aspects of citizenship. It puts forward the concept of interlocking and fluid *transnational social spaces of citizenship*, representing its legal, economic, social, and political dimensions. Migrants may be positioned multiply and differently within and outside these spaces simultaneously. They are produced through interrelations between structural processes from above, individual migrant citizenship practices from below, and the actions and interventions of migrant organisations. In turn, the concept of *uncertain citizenship* refers to the complicated, changing inclusions and exclusions from these spaces lived by many migrants.

Not only was a fresh conceptual perspective required by this research; it was also necessary to innovate in relation to methodological approach so as to adequately capture

migrants' multifaceted experiences of citizenship across borders. Building on a legacy of employing multi-sited ethnography as methodology in migration studies, the research traced migrants' physical routes across borders, and engaged with their emotional journeys as it sought to analyse the ways in which they accessed and were marginalised from citizenship. The multiple locations of the research were understood as part of a mutable, three dimensional space created through migrants' transnational practices and relationships. I became a part of the construction of this space, and therefore reflection upon the physical and emotional journey that I also undertook within it was an important part of the methodology. The ways in which these key methodological, conceptual, and empirical contributions are developed throughout the thesis are outlined below.

## STRUCTURE OF THE THESIS

**Chapter 2** develops the conceptual framework of the thesis, drawing on literature on migration and citizenship. Beginning with research on migration, it examines three fundamental developments: that of a transnational approach to migration that accounts for space; an approach that is cognisant of the ways in which intersectionality affects people's lived experience of migration; and the increasing awareness of the importance of researching South-South migration. The second section considers scholarly work on citizenship. A brief introduction to classic perspectives is presented, before turning to address the ways in which intersectional and global South perspectives have been brought to bear on citizenship theory. The third section brings these literatures on migration and citizenship into dialogue to discuss spatial and intersectional approaches to citizenship used by migration scholars. Informed by this discussion, the final section comprehensively introduces the concepts of *transnational social spaces of citizenship* and *uncertain citizenship* that frame the research.

**Chapter 3** sets out the methodology employed in the research. The first section explores the rationale behind selecting multi-sited ethnography as the most appropriate methodological approach for addressing the research questions. It also discusses the ways in which the conceptualisation of space in multi-sited ethnography can be improved upon by drawing on other, similar methodological approaches. Field site selection and the specific methods used – participant observation and semi-structured interviews – form the next topic of the chapter, followed by discussion of positionality, power relations, and ethical considerations. Finally, the chapter reflects upon some advantages and challenges specific to multi-sited ethnography, suggesting that greater

discussion of emotional and physical responses to fieldwork should be incorporated in the writing up of research.

**Chapter 4** contributes necessary context for understanding the subsequent analysis of empirical data. An overview of migration flows from and to Bolivia and Chile is given first in order to provide the broad, 'macro' context of the lives of Bolivian migrants in Chile. This thesis also contends that an understanding of the 'micro' level of lived reality is crucial if we are to comprehend how *uncertain citizenship* affects migrants in their daily lives. Thus the second part of this chapter presents detailed analyses of six 'places of uncertain citizenship' that are embodiments of particular constellations of overlapping *transnational social spaces of citizenship*.

**Chapter 5** is the first of the chapters to examine these *transnational social spaces of citizenship*. It addresses the construction of the space of legal citizenship, bearing in mind its overlap and interaction with other spaces of citizenship. It highlights how participants in this research moved through a wide range of (ir)regular migratory situations, with no universal goal of naturalisation as Chileans. As the chapter explains, the reasons why statuses changed and evolved were many and varied, and were impacted upon by both structural and agentic factors. Building on previous scholarship, it suggests, therefore, that they are best understood as occurring within a fluid space, constructed in a multi-scalar process involving the state (through legislation and the practices of state actors), migrant organisations, and individual migrants. Uncertainty characterises migrants' experiences of legal citizenship.

**Chapter 6** focuses on participants' economic citizenship. Economic citizenship is often not adequately theorised, and simply considered as part of 'social citizenship'. The approach in this thesis represents a conceptual innovation through its recognition of economic and social citizenship as separate, though closely intertwined, spaces. The development of this approach has been influenced by feminist perspectives, which indicate that economic participation is crucial for full citizenship, and must, therefore, be given greater consideration than it is often accorded when understood as part of the social dimension of citizenship. In this research, economic participation was indeed fundamental to participants' experiences of citizenship, and was generally closely linked to their legal status. Frequently, economic marginalisation in Bolivia had obliged them to leave. Unfortunately, in Chile their exclusion would often continue as they struggled to find decent work, labouring in conditions of varying levels of exploitation. Some, however, enjoyed qualitatively better employment, and could send substantial

remittances to Bolivia or make savings. Migrant organisations were found to be both helping *and* hindering migrants' incorporation as economic citizens. Again, the varied inclusions and exclusions in this space of citizenship were best understood through the lens of uncertainty.

In **Chapter 7**, participants' ability to access social citizenship is investigated. Lister's (2003) use of Doyal and Gough's (1991) theory of human need is expanded to develop an integrated approach to examining a variety of social rights that are frequently considered separately within migration studies. Access to shelter, healthcare, and education are all considered as fundamental aspects of social citizenship, in addition to the ability to maintain significant primary relationships and construct social networks. As with legal and economic citizenship, participants frequently faced exclusions from social citizenship. This chapter analyses the structural and agentic causes of these exclusions, suggesting that, rather than being created at a legislative level, it is through the Chilean gatekeepers to such services that barriers to inclusion are formed with respect to housing, health, and education. Migrant organisations were found to be instrumental in breaking down barriers to a certain extent. With respect to the less tangible aspects of social citizenship, participants often engaged in practices to widen their social networks in Chile, thereby increasing the material and emotional support available to them.

**Chapter 8** explores the space of political citizenship. With reference to the literature that has examined migrants' formal political practices in South-North migration contexts, participants' engagement in voting and party politics is first discussed. Their involvement in the informal political practices often referenced in the South-North migration research, such as participating in social movements and hometown associations, is also analysed. These activities were generally viewed with ambivalence, and participation was not particularly significant. This chapter highlights, however, the importance of 'theorising back' from the South, suggesting that dance should be included in the canon of practices potentially considered as political by migration scholars. Extensive participant observation with a migrant dance fraternity indicated that dance, and specifically carnival dance, was a crucial way in which participants expressed their hope for greater inclusion in spaces of citizenship, and a resolution to their experiences of uncertainty.

Finally, **Chapter 9** concludes the thesis, drawing together its conceptual, empirical, and methodological contributions in relation to the research aims. In

particular, it reflects upon the ability of the conceptual framework of *transnational social spaces of citizenship* and *uncertain citizenship* to capture the nuance and complexity of migrants' lived experiences of citizenship. It also consolidates the key empirical findings, and indicates how the multi-sited ethnographic methodology employed complemented and enhanced the conceptual framing of the research. It finishes by emphasising the implications of the research contributions for policy-makers and migrant organisations, and suggests possible future research pathways.

## 2. TRANSNATIONAL SOCIAL SPACES OF CITIZENSHIP: A FRAMEWORK FOR ANALYSING MIGRANTS' IN/EXCLUSIONS FROM CITIZENSHIP

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Predicated on being a 'full member of a community' (Marshall, 1950, p.28), citizenship is one of the most powerful mechanisms of inclusion and exclusion. Citizens must be constructed in opposition to an 'other', and frequently that 'other' has been a migrant. Nevertheless, as is increasingly being recognised, the boundaries between citizen and migrant are – and always have been – frequently blurred. As Isin (2002, p.x) writes, '[C]itizenship and otherness are ... really not two different conditions, but two aspects of the ontological condition that makes politics possible'. This chapter traces developments in the literature that have been crucial to the generation of new ways of thinking about the relationship between citizenship and migration. Additionally, it seeks to expand on these developments by proposing the innovative concepts of *transnational social spaces of citizenship* and *uncertain citizenship*.

First, research addressing migration is considered. The development of a transnational perspective on migration that accounts for space, and an approach that is cognisant of the importance of intersectionality in affecting people's migration experiences, are both discussed. The small but growing work on South-South migration is likewise assessed in this first section. The chapter then turns to consider scholarly work on citizenship, presenting a brief introduction to classic approaches before indicating the ways in which an intersectional and global South perspective have also impacted on theories of citizenship. The bodies of literature on citizenship and migration are brought together in the third section of the chapter, which examines the ways in which migration scholars have incorporated an awareness of spatiality and intersectionality into their conceptualisations of citizenship. In addition, the potential for further advancing these conceptualisations is indicated here. Leading on from this, the fourth and final section provides a comprehensive introduction to the conceptual framework of overlapping, interlocking *transnational social spaces of citizenship* and *uncertain citizenship*, upon which the remaining chapters of the thesis build.

## PERSPECTIVES ON MIGRATION: TRANSNATIONALISM, INTERSECTIONALITY, AND THE VIEW FROM THE GLOBAL SOUTH

This first section, then, presents and analyses three key developments in approaches to migration studies over the past two decades, indicating how they inform the conceptual framing of this research. The emergence of a transnational and spatially aware approach to migration is addressed first, before turning to examine the growing recognition of the need for an intersectional perspective on migration that accounts for migrant agency. The section closes with discussion of the increasing calls for greater research on South-South migration, and the incipient work in this area.

### Accounting for cross-border ties: Transnationalism and transnational social spaces

Until fairly recently, the principal paradigms employed to analyse migrants' experiences were founded on the notion that the migrant, after having moved, would effectively break ties with the 'country of origin' (Glick-Schiller, Basch and Szanton-Blanc, 1995). As migration increased in the late nineteenth century, the process experienced by migrants upon arriving in a different nation-state was predominantly understood as one of assimilation. This model was promoted particularly by the Chicago School in the early twentieth century (Alba and Nee, 1997). In essence, the idea was that, over several generations, the economic and cultural structures of the majority group would absorb the minority group. The majority group would remain largely unchanged by the absorption, and the minority group would only retain some minor features of ethnic identification (Alba and Nee, 1997). In both popular parlance and academia in the United States particularly, the term the 'melting pot' was often used to refer to this assimilationist approach. To varying degrees, it was a paradigm that prevailed in Western countries until the 'differentialist turn' of the 1960s (Brubaker, 2001), heralded particularly by the publication of Glazer and Moynihan's (1970) *Beyond the Melting Pot*.

The differentialist turn recognised that not all migrants were assimilating, and that many were, in fact, retaining features of the culture of their country of origin. One reaction to this was the emergence of multiculturalism as an approach to migration in academia and the policy arena. Approaching migration from the perspective of multiculturalism, difference is recognised and acknowledged, and migrants are encouraged to maintain cultural practices from their country of origin. However, they are encouraged to do this from a position that is embedded within the 'settlement country' (Glick-Schiller, Basch and Szanton-Blanc, 1995), thus forming a 'cultural mosaic'

or 'tapestry' as opposed to a 'melting pot'. They will become an ethnic minority within the 'host country', united by a sense of belonging and citizenship to the wider populace (Però, 2011).

Whilst purporting to be very different, in a certain sense assimilation and multiculturalism are sides of the same coin (Glick-Schiller, Basch and Szanton-Blanc, 1995; Favell, 1998; Vertovec, 2001). They are both based on the notion of the nation-state and society as being one and the same (Levitt and de la Dehesa, 2003). From both perspectives, migration is understood as a discrete event; a decisive break in the life of the migrant as they move from one nation-state to another. They renounce their ties to the country of origin and enter into some form of integration process in the settlement country – it is not possible to remain part of more than one geographically bounded society. In the case of assimilation, they adapt completely to a new way of life. In the case of multiculturalism, they retain aspects of their cultural heritage but nonetheless focus on doing so within the context of the settlement country. It was to counter this understanding of migration as a definitive break with links to the country of origin that a transnational approach to migration emerged. It is important to note that neo-assimilationists (e.g. Alba and Nee, 1997; Brubaker, 2001) have developed a more nuanced understanding of assimilation, arguing that it may occur in some but not all arenas. It does not, however, take into account the cross-border dimension of migration, focusing as it does almost exclusively on processes in the settlement country. Nevertheless, it has been noted by scholars of transnationalism (e.g. Levitt, 2001b) that assimilation and transnationalism are not necessarily mutually exclusive.

The origins of a transnational approach to migration can be found in the work of Douglas Massey and colleagues on Mexican migration to the United States in the late 80s and early 90s. Massey et al. (1990) argued that there was a thick web of networks created by Mexican migrants linking them both to the United States and to Mexico. These links played a vital role in the daily lives of migrants. This approach was developed particularly in scholarship examining flows of Latin American and Caribbean migrants into the US (e.g. Rouse, 1991; Kearney, 1991; Basch, Glick-Schiller and Szanton-Blanc, 1994), and later with respect to migrant flows into Europe (for some early examples see Al-Ali and Koser, 2001; Al-Ali, Black and Koser, 2001; Østergaard-Nielsen, 2003; Ehrkamp, 2005; Caglar, 2006). Drawing on their own and other early research on the topic, Basch, Glick-Schiller and Szanton-Blanc (1994, p.7) developed the oft-quoted (e.g. Levitt and Waters, 2002, p.7; Leonard, 2006, p.159; Goldring and Krishnamurti, 2011, p.147) definition of transnationalism as 'the processes by which immigrants forge and



sustain multi-stranded social relations that link together their societies of origin and settlement’.

Whilst now very widely adopted as an approach to international migration research, the concept of transnationalism has not been without its critics. One criticism has been the extent to which transnationalism can be regarded as a new phenomenon (Levitt and Waters, 2002). In response to this, it has been argued that transnationalism is not new per se, but rather is a new *approach* to studying migration (Foner, 1997). Furthermore, whilst migrants in the past maintained transnational ties to an extent, technological advances have increased the ease with which such ties can be maintained (Glick-Schiller, Basch and Szanton-Blanc, 1995). However, the extent to which transnational links have been and are being maintained is debated. It has been argued that scholars of transnationalism have overstated the extent to which migrants do actually engage in practices that can be thought of as transnational, and, as a corollary of this, the importance of transnationalism as an approach to migration (Portes, Guarnizo and Landolt, 1999; Waldinger and Fitzgerald, 2004).

Some researchers have understood transnational practices in terms of *individual's* activities and occupations (Guarnizo, Portes and Haller, 2003). This does indeed lead to a restricted definition of what constitutes engagement in transnationalism, and consequently the extent to which actors are involved in transnational practices is seen as fairly limited (McIlwaine, 2012). The same could be said of the concept of ‘transnational communities’, which is similar and refers to ‘*groups of migrants* whose daily lives, work and social relationships extend across national boundaries’ (Fox and Rivera-Salgado, 2004, p.26 my italics). Levitt and Glick-Schiller’s (2004) *transnational social fields* goes some way to enabling a broader conceptualisation of transnationalism. Nevertheless, it still relies quite heavily on cross-border relationships between *individuals* as the principal form of transnational practice. Whilst the authors do briefly acknowledge the role played by institutions in the formation of social fields, this is not expanded upon. Moreover, as with studying transnational practices at the individual or community level, a ‘social fields’ conceptualization does not fully account for the importance of space and place in relation to transnationalism. In contrast to these understandings of transnationalism, the concept of understanding international migration as a process occurring within – and constantly shifting and re-shaping the boundaries of – ‘transnational social spaces’ was developed from the late 1990s. This spatially aware approach to transnationalism has increasingly gained currency (Faist, 1998; Jackson, Crang and Dwyer, 2004; Pries, 2005; Smith, 2005).

Synthesising scholarship on the topic, Levitt and Jaworsky (2007, pp.131–132) define ‘transnational social spaces’ as ‘arenas’ that

are multi-layered and multi-sited, including not just the home and host countries but other sites around the world that connect migrants to their conationals and coreligionists. Both migrants and nonmigrants occupy them because the flow of people, money, and “social remittances” (ideas, norms, practices, and identities) within these spaces is so dense, thick, and widespread that nonmigrants’ lives are also transformed, even though they do not move.

Expanding further on the idea, they explain that, even though the number of people who engage in intensive transnational activity may be few, there are many more who take part in occasional activities. Over time ‘their combined efforts add up and can alter the economies, values, and practices of entire regions’ (Levitt and Jaworsky, 2007, p.132).

Such an understanding reflects three now well-established tenets underpinning the concept of space. First, and fundamentally, space is actively socially constructed and not a fixed and absolute entity; it was this realisation that lay at the heart of the ‘spatial turn’ in the social sciences in the late 1980s and early 1990s (Collyer and King, 2014, p.7). As Doreen Massey (2005, p.9), echoing Lefebvre (1991), explains, space is ‘the product of interrelations’. As a logical progression of this idea it must be understood that, second, space is a process – it is fluid and changing. Third, space must be approached from a perspective that considers ‘power geometry’ (Massey, 1994). That is, from a perspective that accounts for the power which a person has to negotiate and control the flows and processes that construct their social location (see below).

Thus, more fully than other approaches to transnationalism, the concept of ‘transnational social spaces’ challenges the ‘methodological nationalism’ (Wimmer and Glick Schiller, 2002) that would equate geographical space with societal space. It puts forth the idea that a social space may exist beyond, and indeed contest, the boundaries of the ‘national container society’ (Levitt and Jaworsky, 2007). Nevertheless, the importance of the state in forging, shaping, and restricting the creation of transnational social spaces cannot be overlooked, which was a danger in some of the early work on the subject that (over) eagerly assessed the potential of ‘transnationalism from below’ (Jackson, Crang and Dwyer, 2004). It must be kept in mind that it is not only individual migrants and non-migrants but also states, institutions and businesses at local, national, and international level that are involved in the construction of transnational social spaces.

Furthermore, the importance of place and the local must also be accounted for when approaching international migration from a transnational social spaces perspective. As Conradson and Latham remind us (2005, p.227), the advantage of transnationalism is that it 'enables us to consider what it means to live in an interconnected, topologically complex world without resorting to overly abstract or grand narratives of global transformation to describe that connectivity'. It must pay attention, therefore, to the everyday practices of those who lead transnational lives and the places that such practices create. A close analysis of such places can enable greater comprehension of transnational social spaces because 'place lies at the intersection of different spaces and moments in time' (Ehrkamp, 2005, p.349; see Chapter 3).

A transnational social spaces approach to international migration forms one of the building blocks of the conceptual framework of this research. This approach is informed by an understanding of space as a fluid, multi-dimensional process constructed through interrelations between varied actors. These actors may be states and institutions, as well as migrant and non-migrant individuals. It is necessary to be cognisant of these actors' relationships to place in order to understand how transnational social spaces are made and re-made. Additionally, the impact that intersecting social identities have on individual actors' ability to move within and manipulate transnational social spaces must be considered, to which discussion now turns.

### **Transnational social spaces from an intersectional perspective**

In addition to the criticisms of transnationalism analysed above, the initial failure of studies applying a transnational lens to international migration to acknowledge the critical impact of gender on migrants' practices has been highlighted. More recent criticism has emphasised the need not only for a gendered perspective, but the necessity of taking into account intersectionality more generally. Hondagneu-Sotelo (1992) was among the first to look at shifting gender ideologies across borders from a transnational perspective. Her work was followed by other studies approaching transnationalism from a similar standpoint (e.g. Hardy-Fanta, 1993; Hondagneu-Sotelo and Avila, 1997; Montoya, Hardy-Fanta and Garcia, 2000; Boyd and Grieco, 2003).

Mahler and Pessar (2001) have developed a particularly thorough approach to addressing cross-border shifts in how gender is constructed, and the ways in which gender influences transnational practices. Their 'gendered geographies of power' model is defined as 'a framework for analysing people's gendered social agency – corporal and

cognitive – given their own initiative as well as their positioning within multiple hierarchies of power operative within and across many terrains’ (Pessar and Mahler, 2003, p.818). It thus invites us to recognise gender as a social construct that may change across time and space, and both restrict and encourage certain practices. Their framework also, however, allows for the role of subjects’ agency in the construction of their gender and their subsequent (non-) engagement in particular practices that shape social spaces.

Recognising individual agency has been a key concern within feminist scholarship, not least in migration studies, where it has been seen as important to account for migrant agency in order to avoid viewing women as passive subjects and/or victimising those in marginalised situations (Kofman, 2000). Nevertheless, this concern must not be to the neglect of also addressing the important role of structural factors that contribute to the marginalisation of migrants born into certain ‘social locations’ within hierarchies of power, or who experience severe limitations to their mobility through forced displacement (Silvey, 2004). A ‘gendered geographies of power’ approach, with its acknowledgement of the importance of both structure and agency in forming subjects’ identities and influencing their practices, manages to balance both. As Mahler and Pessar state (2001), it also provides an excellent complement to a transnational social spaces perspective on international migration, accounting as it does for the differentiated possibilities of movement of gendered actors within such spaces. Furthermore, it can be usefully applied not only to gender identity, but also to many other social identities through an expansion of the framework to incorporate intersectionality more broadly (McIlwaine, 2010).

First coined by legal scholar Kimberlé Crenshaw in the early 1990s (e.g. Crenshaw, 1991), ‘intersectionality’ drew on previous feminist scholarship (e.g. hooks, 1987; Hill Collins, 2000 [1990]) to provide a term to refer to the ways in which race, ethnicity, class, and sexual identities (amongst others) have a significant impact on how gender is experienced, and vice versa. Clarifying the relevance of the concept to migration studies, McDowell (2008, p.469) explains that ‘immigrants are differently received and socialized depending on their position within racial hierarchies, gender, class backgrounds and income/consumption patterns both in their own country and in the country of immigration’. An intersectional, transnational approach to migration has increasingly been employed within the field (e.g. Menjivar, 1999; Yuval-Davis, Anthias and Kofman, 2005; Manalansan, 2006; Bastia, 2007; Herrera, 2011), sometimes with explicit reference to the concept of transnational social spaces (e.g. McIlwaine, 2010;

Anthias, 2012; Purkayastha, 2012). However, the majority of the work to date that has examined migrants' shifting social identities in transnational social spaces has focused on South-North migration to the neglect of analysing South-South migration, which is now addressed.

### **Migrating South: Transnational social spaces and intersectionality in a South-South context**

Hujo and Piper (2010, p.6) point to a 'dearth of knowledge on the dynamics of migration between countries in the South', and in general a profound lack of research on the topic (see also Campillo-Carrete, 2013; Melde et al., 2014). Arguably largely responsible for the scarcity of work on South-South migration is the Northern bias of academia more widely (see, for example Sundberg, 2005). Although perhaps stating it rather strongly, there is certainly some foundation for Crush and Ramachandran's (2010, p.10) contention that the disproportionate focus on South-North migration is 'perfectly consistent with the idea that what matters most in development is how the South can become more like the North and whether South-North migration hinders or helps that process'. Furthermore, Melde et al. (2014, p.7) remind us that most funders are located in the North, resulting in relatively little support for research that examines migration *within* the global South given the many Northern anxieties<sup>1</sup> surrounding migration flows to the North from the South. This is in addition to the more generalised tendency for migration research funding to be awarded for short-term projects that will offer solutions to 'migration problems', which leads to a subsequent lack of study of the 'nature, causes, and consequences of migration' (Berriane and de Haas, 2012, p.2).

Nevertheless, since Hujo and Piper (2007) first published on South-South migration there has been a slow but steady series of attempts to seriously address the flows that conform what Ratha and Shaw (2007) estimate to be nearly half of all international migration. Much of this work has been focused on the 'migration-development nexus', and differences between South-South and South-North migration have been highlighted and critiqued. These include: the lower wage differential between countries of the South and subsequent differences in patterns of remittance sending and impact on 'receiving countries' (Gindling, 2008; Facchini, Mayda and Mendola, 2013); the relatively lower skill level and socio-economic backgrounds of South-South migrants compared with their South-North counterparts (Hujo and Piper, 2007); and the neglect

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<sup>1</sup> See, for example, de Haas (2008) on the 'myth of invasion'.

by 'sending countries' of the potential for their nationals in other countries of the South to be 'development actors' – they have largely concentrated on their nationals who have migrated North (Berriane and de Haas, 2012). Some research has also addressed the impact of gender on South-South migration (Kofman and Raghuram, 2010), and the occurrence of xenophobia and racism towards those who migrate within the South (Crush and Ramachandran, 2010). A key deficit, however, has been very limited dialogue between migration-development literature and transnational studies literature (Melde et al., 2014, p.5).

Nevertheless, some scholarship has begun to bridge this divide, not least in the incipient research on migration in Chile. Whilst agreeing wholeheartedly with Hujo and Piper (2010) and others that there is a severe paucity of research on South-South migration, I suggest that they may potentially fall into one of the traps of Northern academic bias through neglect of some research on the subject published *in* the South, often in languages other than English (see also, for example Campillo-Carrete, 2013 where this issue is likewise evident). Additionally, some research that could be considered as addressing 'South-South migration' does not identify itself as such, preferring instead to refer specifically to the countries under study. This is understandable given the problematic nature of the terms global South and North, and the homogenising effect they can have (Melde et al., 2014; Chant and McIlwaine, 2009). However, I would suggest that greater use of the term 'South-South migration' as one way of categorising such studies may assist with knowledge sharing and construction, and thus, somewhat paradoxically, aid in promoting understanding of it as a heterogeneous phenomenon, but with marked points of difference compared with South-North migration.

Thus, as indicated in Chapter 1, through working with an under-researched migrant group in a South-South migration context, this research aims to address empirical lacunae. It also, however, hopes to contribute conceptually by bringing closer together the migration-development literature with that which takes a transnational, intersectional approach to migration in a South-South context. As will be explained below, the framework of *transnational social spaces of citizenship* allows for such a combination. Having in this section analysed the key research in migration studies – on transnational social spaces, an intersectional perspective on transnational migration, and South-South migration – that has informed the development of this framework, the next section of the chapter critically assesses the scholarship on citizenship that has also influenced its construction.

## PERSPECTIVES ON CITIZENSHIP: FROM LIBERAL TRADITIONS TO LATIN AMERICAN APPROACHES

Particularly since the middle of last century with the advent of T.H. Marshall's influential essay on 'Citizenship and Social Class', the concept of citizenship has moved out of the confines of political philosophy to be used in many and varied disciplines. As one would expect of a term used so widely, debate abounds as to its definition. This section begins with a necessarily highly selective and schematic overview of the principal traditions regarding the conceptualisation of citizenship. This short outline is followed by discussion of more recent feminist and Latin American perspectives on citizenship, in which intersectionality and spatiality are accounted for, and a focus on the *practice* of citizenship is paramount. It is the latter perspectives that have most relevance for the development of the concepts of *transnational social spaces of citizenship* and *uncertain citizenship*; however, they cannot be comprehended without some explanation of the former.

### Liberal and civic republican traditions

Broadly, there have been two main politico-philosophical schools of theory regarding citizenship: the liberal and civic republican traditions (Leydet, 2014; Lazar, 2013; Lister, 2003). Within the liberal tradition, one of the founding fathers is considered to be John Locke, whose *Two treatises of government* (1988, pp.352 [1689], §127), provides a key to understanding classic liberal conceptions of citizenship. 'Mankind,' he states, 'notwithstanding the Priviledges (sic) of the state of Nature, being put in an ill condition, while they remain in it, are quickly driven into Society'. In other words, from a liberal perspective, the individual comes *before* the collective and it is for the protection of the individual that society, consisting of citizens, is formed.

Within society, the liberty of the citizen-individual is paramount, as expressed in two further founding texts of the liberal tradition written exactly 100 years after Locke's *Treatises* – the Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen, passed by the French Constituent Assembly in 1789, and the United States Bill of Rights approved by Congress that same year. Article 4 of the Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen provides a succinct definition of the limitations of the rights of the citizen in a liberal regime:

Liberty consists in the freedom to do everything which injures no one else; hence the exercise of the natural rights of each man has no limits except those which assure to the other members of the society the enjoyment of the

same rights. These limits can only be determined by law (Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen, 2008 [1789], §4).

The Bill of Rights, on the other hand, makes clear another fundamental of the traditional liberal conceptualisation of citizenship: participation of the citizenry is primarily carried out through engagement with institutions of the state and through the election of representatives. The Bill of Rights also emphasises the citizen's right to property in Article 6, which sets out 'The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects' (The Bill of Rights, 2015 [1789], §6). Taking Locke's *Treatises*, the Declaration of the Rights of Man, and the Bill of Rights together, the central precepts underlying classic liberal notions of citizenship are made apparent. Individual liberty – conceived of as 'negative freedom', or the freedom to do what one likes as long as it does not impede others' right to do the same – and the right to property are vital. Participation in the running of society is largely through voting and the payment of taxes.

Just over 150 years after the Declaration of the Rights of Man and the Bill of Rights, the concept of liberal citizenship was reformulated in Marshall's seminal work 'Citizenship and Social Class'. In this essay, he defines three kinds of citizenship rights: civil, political, and social. Civil rights are related to the freedom of the individual; they consist of 'liberty of the person, freedom of speech, thought and faith, the right to own property, and to conclude valid contracts, and the right to justice' (Marshall, 1950, p.53). Political rights are those pertaining to political power, as an elector and as a potential representative. Finally, social rights include 'the whole range from the right to a modicum of economic welfare and security to the right to share to the full in the social heritage and to live the life of a civilized being according to the standards prevailing in the society' (Marshall, 1950, p.53).

Reflecting on British history over the past several centuries, Marshall argues that society has progressed by granting these rights more or less in the order civil rights followed by political rights followed by social rights. As is made apparent in the Declaration of the Rights of Man and the Bill of Rights, it is the state that bestows these rights on its citizens. The emphasis remains on negative freedom, and on participation through representative politics. Nevertheless, the inclusion of *social rights* distinguishes a Marshallian perspective from classic conceptualisations of liberal citizenship, and from later neoliberal understandings of citizenship (Faulks, 1998). I will return to this idea below.



In contrast to the liberal tradition, the civic republican tradition highlights the collective rather than the individual, with an emphasis on active engagement in society at its heart. Its roots can be traced back further than those of the liberal tradition, to Aristotle and the Athenian city-state (Lister, 2003). Aristotle's famous assertion that 'man is by nature a political animal' (Aristotle, 1996, p.13) indicates the fundamental difference between liberal and civic republican interpretations of citizenship: it implies that participating in the *polis*, the collective body of citizens, is crucial to citizenship and personhood.

Considered one of the key Enlightenment thinkers on civic republicanism, Rousseau, like Locke, argues that the individual comes before the collective; we move from a state of nature to one of 'civil freedom' in society. However, once in society the focus is on *collectively* generating and obeying the laws of civic rule through his interpretation of the 'social contract' whereby:

Each one of us puts into the community his person and all his powers under the supreme direction of the general will; and as a body, we incorporate every member as an indivisible part of the whole (1968 [1762], p.61).

Herein lies the crucial point of contention between the traditions. Whilst both start with the individual, who enters into society, in the liberal tradition, the individual has minimal responsibilities and political engagement occurs through representation. In the civic republican tradition, by contrast, direct political participation is vital – in the words of Castles and Davidson (2000, p.27), it is a tradition 'based on popular wisdom' through the active engagement of all in the creation and upholding of laws.

In the twentieth century, communitarianism emerged as a 'cousin' of civic republicanism (Lister, 2003, p.42; although see Assiter, 1999, pp.43–45 on other versions of communitarianism), further developing arguments about the importance of community and the collective in order to challenge the individualistic focus of liberal interpretations of citizenship. Lazar (2013, p.9) argues that the work of Hannah Arendt (1986 [1951]) provides the 'genealogical link' between civic republicanism and communitarianism because 'she stresses the naturalness of community belonging, as well as its importance'. Crucially, communitarians call into question the liberal notion that the individual is 'unencumbered' – that is, rational, autonomous, and self-sufficient (Sandel, 1984). Rather, they argue, the individual is very much 'encumbered' by community because we are 'social beings ... embodied agents deriving our self-understanding from the social world' (Assiter, 1999, p.43). Thus our actions as citizens are influenced by our relationships to our community. Whilst considered to offer

valuable contributions regarding how we might better comprehend citizenship (some of which have been taken on board by modern liberals e.g. Kymlicka, 1996), communitarianism has also not been without its critics. Indeed, both the broadly liberal and broadly civic republican traditions and their offshoots have been strongly critiqued from a variety of theoretical perspectives, not least a feminist one. These criticisms are now addressed.

## The feminist critique and Latin American approaches to citizenship

The feminist critique of both liberal and civic republican traditions of citizenship is founded on analysis of *who* the citizen is supposed to be – and by extension, who it is *not* supposed to be. Feminist interrogations of this question expose the answer to be ‘a definitely male citizen, and a white heterosexual, non-disabled one at that’ under the ‘universalist cloak of the abstract, disembodied individual’ (Lister, 2003, p.68). The supposedly universal, gender-neutral citizen is, in fact, profoundly gendered because of the classic binary created between public and private sphere (Pateman, 1988), whereby the rational and abstract is associated with the public sphere and masculinity, and the emotional and embodied with the private sphere and femininity. The citizen acts in the public sphere, so must be rational, capable of abstraction and therefore masculine (e.g. Assiter, 1999; Barron, 1993; Okin, 2008 [1989]). Moreover, as those working in the communitarian tradition had identified, this rational, autonomous citizen fits within a highly individualistic concept of citizenship.

Whilst a communitarian perspective did attempt to overcome the individualistic approach of liberal citizenship and, to a lesser extent, civic republicanism, feminist theorists critiqued it for its reification of the idea of community, and therefore its failure to admit difference (Young, 1986). Feminist scholar Iris Young attempted to partially build on communitarian ideas when she developed the idea of the ‘unoppressive city’ and a ‘politics of difference’ that encouraged ‘giving political representation to group interests and celebrating the distinctive cultures and characteristics of different groups’ (1986, p.22). Although meeting with sympathy for its attempt to recognise social identities other than gender that could also lead to exclusion, this approach was in turn critiqued as potentially essentialising given its reliance on establishing a clear, unified group identity in order to obtain political representation and recognition (Mouffe, 1995, pp.326–328).

More recent conceptualisations, such as Lister’s (2003, 1997) *differentiated universalism* have highlighted the fluidity and multiplicity of identity and group

belonging, but maintained the ideal of universal rights for all. Through a focus on agency, she proposes a synthesis of liberal and civic republican traditions:

Citizenship as participation [civic republican tradition] represents an expression of human agency in the political arena, broadly defined; citizenship as rights [liberal tradition] enables people to act as agents. Moreover, citizenship rights are not fixed. They remain the object of political struggles to defend, reinterpret and extend them. Who is involved in these struggles, where they are placed in the political hierarchy and the political power and influence they can yield will help to determine the outcomes. Citizenship thus emerges as a dynamic concept in which process and outcome stand in a dialectical relationship to each other (Lister, 1997, p.35).

Thus Lister is advocating an understanding of citizenship as both 'being' and 'doing'; as a status and a practice. Furthermore, she argues that citizenship occurs on multiple levels, blurring the perceived gap between public and private and giving prominence to the idea that the experience of citizenship is not limited to state-level interactions but also includes participation in more 'informal' arenas, such as collective participation in community organizations. As Goldring (2001) indicates, in a manner reminiscent of Mahler and Pessar's (2001) 'gendered geographies of power' framework, Lister is also highly aware of the impact of multiple social identities and locations within hierarchies of power on the ability of individuals to act at different levels (cf. Sassen, 2003). It is Lister's synthesis of the two traditions of citizenship theory – with its recognition of the importance of comprehending citizenship as it is lived day-to-day in addition to understanding it as a status – that has most influenced the development of the framework of *transnational social spaces of citizenship*.

Sometimes drawing directly on feminist critiques of citizenship such as those offered by Lister (e.g. Yashar, 2005; Alvarez and Dagnino, 1998), work in/from Latin America – especially, although not exclusively, within anthropology – has underscored the importance of a perspective on citizenship that takes into account not only the normative ideologies of citizenship, but also what happens on the ground. Such a perspective considers what citizens 'are' rather than what they 'should be' (Lazar, 2013, p.6) by examining *practices* of citizenship as they occur day-to-day. Much of the scholarship that does this has focused on social movements/mobilisations (Dagnino, 2003). Holston's (2008, 1998) work has been especially influential in this regard. In a similar way to Lister, he distinguishes between 'formal' and 'substantive' citizenship, defining them in the following way:

Formal citizenship refers to membership in a political community – in modern history, preeminently, the nation-state. Substantive citizenship

concerns the array of civil, political, and social rights available to people (Holston, 1998, p.50).

Using a predominantly ethnographic approach, he has explored the strategies employed by those living on the peripheries of São Paulo, Brazil to challenge the limited rights actually available to them, in spite of their nominal formal citizenship status. In doing this, Holston (1998, p.47), contends, they generate a new 'insurgent' citizenship through 'everyday practices that, in different ways, empower, parody, derail, or subvert state agendas'.

Holston's cognisance of the role of the state *as well as* the part played by non-state actors in forming and contesting citizenship is important. Some work on social movements and mobilisations in Latin America can neglect to consider the fundamentality for the construction of citizenship of processes happening 'from above' in addition to practices 'from below' (van der Ree, 2011). Notable contributions in/from Latin America that do consider both processes from above and practices from below include Caldeira's (2001) work, also addressing urbanisation, violence, and citizenship formation and contestation in São Paulo, and Lazar's (2008) interrogation of the meanings of citizenship in the predominantly Aymara city of El Alto, Bolivia. They address the ways in which citizenship may be understood from below, suggesting, for example, that it is important to consider the non-Western conceptualisations of citizenship held by indigenous peoples in particular (e.g. Lazar, 2008; see also Richards, 2013). Nonetheless, they make abundantly clear the crucial role of the state and its citizenship regime in restricting and enabling the practice and formation of citizenship. Whilst non-state actors play a crucial role in shaping and pushing the boundaries of citizenship in a process that is always '*imparfaite*' (imperfect/unfinished) (Balibar (2001, p.211) translated in Clarke, Coll, Dagnino and Neveu, 2014, p.11), the top-down ideas – or 'regimes' (Lazar, 2013, p.10) – of citizenship prevalent in each nation-state also play a fundamental part in this process (cf. Aretxaga, 2003).

Dagnino (2005, 2003) indicates that the top-down conceptualisation of citizenship in Latin America has been in the past several decades a largely neoliberal one (cf. Postero, 2007; Yashar, 2005). As with other liberal perspectives on citizenship, a neoliberal approach is also individualistic. In contrast to a Marshallian social liberal understanding of citizenship, however, a neoliberal perspective

establish[es] an attractive connection between citizenship and the market. Being a citizen comes to mean individual integration into the market as a consumer and as a producer ... In a context in which the state is gradually

withdrawing from its role as guarantor of rights, the market is offered as a surrogate instance of citizenship (Dagnino, 2003, p.216; cf. Hindess, 2002).

Whilst a market-oriented understanding of citizenship does play an important role in colouring top-down processes and discourses in Latin America, Ferguson (2015, p.4) has recently cautioned against those working in fields relating to development falling into a 'politics of denunciation' in which 'neoliberalism' is seen as an all-encompassing 'malevolent' power. This is something that Dagnino (2003, pp.215–218) is perhaps in danger of doing by repeatedly referring to nebulous 'neoliberal forces'. Indeed, particularly in light of Evo Morales' stellar rise to power and Michelle Bachelet's far more moderate but nonetheless significant social and political reforms, ethnographic accounts of citizenship in Chile and Bolivia (e.g. Richards, 2013, 2003; Silva, 2013; Rojas, 2013; Lazar, 2008) suggest that, although a neoliberal perspective on citizenship has previously and continues to exert a powerful influence over top-down policies and practices, it would be a mistake to characterise all top-down approaches to citizenship in these countries as simply 'neoliberal'.

Reflecting on both the feminist critique and approaches from/in Latin America, it is possible to arrive at several important conclusions regarding conceptualisations of citizenship. First and fundamentally, citizenship must be understood as a process that is constructed in part 'from below' through the *everyday practices* of actors who have differentiated access to substantive rights depending on their social identities. I suggest that this emphasis on practices is perhaps the most crucial contribution to conceptualisations of citizenship to come from both feminist scholarship and that which has addressed citizenship in Latin America. Nevertheless, it is important not to lose sight of the role of the state and its regimes and discourses in the construction of citizenship. The state, however, ought not to be considered as a monolith with one coherent doctrine of citizenship.

## CITIZENSHIP AND MIGRATION: A PRODUCTIVE DIALOGUE

Some of the most useful conceptual suggestions about how we might best understand this process of citizenship construction by state and non-state actors have been produced by empirically examining citizenship and migration together. In addition to accounting for the impact of divergent social identities on migrants' experiences of citizenship, such perspectives have highlighted the need for a more overtly spatial approach to understanding citizenship. These contributions are addressed here,

although, as outlined in Chapter 1, the more specific literature on different aspects of migration and citizenship is discussed in depth throughout Chapters 5 to 8.

### The everyday construction of citizenship

One consequence of examining transnational migration and citizenship together has been a proliferation of reformulated normative frameworks for comprehending citizenship (Ho, 2008; Staeheli et al., 2012). Some of the most well-known contributions have included Soysal's (1994) 'post-national citizenship', in which she contends that a citizenship based on 'universal personhood' as opposed to a nation-state based citizenship is emerging, and will continue to emerge, as a consequence of increasing transnational migration. Soysal's perspective has certain similarities with that of Benhabib (2004), who proposes a model of citizenship based on 'moral universalism' and 'cosmopolitan federalism'. Bauböck (1994), by contrast, argues for 'transnational citizenship', where citizenship is conferred at a transnational level. As he sees it, transnational means below the level of international law and universal human rights, but above the level of the nation-state. In the words of Ho (2008, p.1290), however, these and other '[n]ormative models of citizenship advance ways of understanding citizenship in a transnational world, but such models tend to overlook the lived experiences of citizenship, the agency of individuals, and reify citizenship as a monolithic instrument of state power.'

Drawing (implicitly or explicitly) on feminist and other critical theory, Ho (2008) and others (e.g. Yuval-Davis and Werbner, 1999; Reed-Danahay and Brettell, 2008; Staeheli et al., 2012) suggest, therefore, that it is vital to consider how citizenship is practised and experienced in the everyday by those who maintain lives across borders. As with scholarship on social movements and citizenship in Latin America, however, so too with transnational migrants' experiences and reconfigurations of citizenship: it is important not to neglect to consider the fundamental role of the state and its actors in constructing citizenship. There has been a considerable body of work that examines formal practices of citizenship – predominantly visa acquisition (e.g. De Genova, 2002; Bloch, Sigona and Zetter, 2011; Anderson, 2013) and extra-territorial voting (e.g. Østergaard-Nielsen, 2003; Lafleur, 2013; McIlwaine and Bermudez, 2015) – to which this thesis is indebted, and which is discussed in depth in Chapters 5 and 8 respectively. This work generally does not, however, also fully consider substantive aspects of citizenship. Reed-Danahay and Brettell (2008, p.2) indicate the importance of scholarship on migration and citizenship that is able to account for 'formal legal and jural frameworks that determine possibilities for immigrant belonging or exclusion, and ... formal practices

such as naturalization, and voting' in addition to "on the ground" vernacular practices employed by immigrants and those who come into contact with them'.

Amongst those who have sought to consider how both migrants' practices and structural factors construct citizenship, Ong's (1996, 1999) Foucauldian analysis has been particularly influential. Reflecting on her ethnographic research with Chinese migrants in the US, she developed a critique of Rosaldo's (1994b) concept of 'cultural citizenship'. Rosaldo (1994b, p.57) proposes 'cultural citizenship' as a term to refer to 'the right to be different (in terms of race, ethnicity, or native language) with respect to the norms of the dominant national community, without compromising one's right to belong, in the sense of participating in the nation-state's democratic processes'. Ong, however, contends that Rosaldo, by focusing exclusively on the bottom-up practices of excluded subjects, neglects to understand that migrants (and other excluded groups) cannot free themselves of the ways in which the state and its actors choose to define who 'belongs'. Thus Rosaldo 'indicates subscription to the very liberal principle of universal equality that he seeks to call into question' (Ong, 1996, p.734).

Ong, by contrast, draws on Foucault's theories of governmentality and subjectification to propose that citizenship be comprehended as a process of 'self-making and being-made by power relations that produce consent through schemes of surveillance, discipline, control, and administration' (Ong, 1996, p.737). Thus it is through complex interactions between state, civil society, and non-state actors that citizenship and its exclusions are produced. As other migration scholars have also indicated (e.g. McIlwaine, 2007; Mercer, Page and Evans, 2008), civil society is best understood as heterogeneous, fluid, and dynamic – therefore the groups within it, such as migrant organisations, may have diverse visions of citizenship, aims and objectives. A crucial emphasis in Ong's approach is on power relations; citizenship is experienced differently according to people's social identities and position within hierarchies of power. Ong's conceptualisation has been widely incorporated into studies of migration and citizenship (e.g. De Genova, 2002; Coutin, 2003; Stanley, 2008; Mandel, 2008).

Although they do not reference her work, another, similar approach to that of Ong (1999, 1996) has been developed by Staeheli et al. (2012), who propose that we analyse the 'ordinary' of citizenship. They suggest that thinking about citizenship as 'ordinary' encourages us to consider 'the ways in which laws and social norms are entwined with the routine practices and experiences of daily lives, as citizens – and other political subjects – negotiate exclusion and marginalization' (ibid., p.630). This is because

'ordinary' is able to encapsulate both the routine and everyday as well as the notion of 'social and legal order' if we look to its Latin etymology (ibid.). As with the approach proposed by Ong (1996), their framework also encourages us to take an intersectional perspective to comprehending migrants' in/exclusions from citizenship. This thesis draws on the conceptualisations proposed by both Staeheli et al. (2012) and Ong (1996, 1999) to consider how citizenship and its exclusions are constructed in the everyday through the lived practices of migrants, but also the processes and actions of the state and its actors, and of civil society organisations and institutions. Attention is paid to the ways in which migrants' social identities may restrict or facilitate certain practices, in addition to certain reactions from state and civil society actors.

### **Migration and citizenship from an intersectional, spatially aware perspective**

Staeheli et al. (2012, p.641) exhort us to think spatially about citizenship, arguing that citizenship 'is inseparable from the geographies of communities and the networks and relationships that link them'. Others (e.g. Coutin, 2003; Isin and Rygiel, 2007; Lee, 2010) have also noted the importance of thinking spatially about migration and citizenship. Unlike Staeheli et al. (2012), however, they have attempted to develop more complete frameworks for holistically considering migrants' transnational inclusions and exclusions from formal and substantive elements of citizenship, all taking an intersectional perspective. Nevertheless, I suggest that (cf. Goldring and Landolt, 2013), whilst making important advances, spatial conceptualisations of citizenship to date have been unable to fully account for the empirical complexities of migrants' experiences and everyday practices, often tending towards either binary or triadic understandings of space and citizenship.

With regards to binary interpretations, Isin and Rygiel (2007), for example, expand on Agamben's (1998) concept of 'spaces of abjection' to develop their idea of 'abject spaces', which is also similar to Coutin's 'spaces of non-existence' (2003). These spaces exist in opposition to spaces of citizenship. 'Abject spaces' are an attempt to overcome one of the key criticisms of Agamben's 'spaces of abjection' and 'bare life' – namely, that these concepts do not account fully for location, materiality, and agency (Lee, 2010; Walters, 2003). Isin and Rygiel's (2007) abject spaces attempt to account for diversity in location and materiality and they are comprehended as spaces where those reduced to bare life can nonetheless engage in powerful political acts of resistance to claim their rights and challenge sovereign power.



However, as Lee (2010, p.65) cogently argues:

[I]n reconceiving bare life as political beings by way of their public and collective acts that break through the confines of camp, doesn't this line of inquiry recapitulate Agamben's immobile binary between the political life of citizenship and the depoliticized state of bare life, with the only difference being that the latter (depoliticized remainder) can now also transform and elevate into the former (politicized humans)?

Drawing on Bhabha (1990) amongst others, Lee (Lee, 2010, p.71; cf. Menjívar, 2006) instead proposes that we examine a third space of citizenship that

suggests a more complex dynamic of agency than both Agamben and his critics realize – an agency that is not unidirectional, but is just as ambiguous and interstitial as sovereign power – and a greater range of subjects who may be read as reinscribing themselves as "citizens" without directly taking the route of political life.

The empirical example he gives of a third space of citizenship is the houses in which undocumented female migrants work in domestic service in the United States. In these spaces, he claims that migrant workers engage in 'dissident practices that detour around the conventional political subscript of citizenship' (2010, p.72).

I contend that, whilst they certainly represent key advances in the field, none of the above approaches are quite adequate to describe and analyse the complexities of migrants' experiences of citizenship. Goldring and Landolt (2013) offer one of the few attempts to go beyond binary and tripartite conceptualisations of space by considering 'non-citizenship' as an 'assemblage' in which power relations and migrants' agency both interact to affect the statuses they hold. However, they still lean heavily towards considering citizenship and non-citizenship as separate, albeit overlapping, categories and focus predominantly on the legal aspects of citizenship with limited consideration of its substantive elements.<sup>2</sup> The latter is also a concern with the spatial conceptualisations of citizenship offered by Isin and Rygiel (2007), Coutin (2003), and Lee (2010). In the concluding section of this chapter, I detail the conceptual framework for addressing migration and citizenship that I have developed in an attempt to respond to some of the limitations of the approaches proposed thus far.

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<sup>2</sup> For further discussion of their conceptualisation and its contributions towards thinking about legal citizenship specifically, see Chapter 5.

## UNCERTAIN CITIZENSHIP: IN/EXCLUSIONS FROM TRANSNATIONAL SOCIAL SPACES OF CITIZENSHIP

Drawing on key developments in the migration and citizenship literature, this conceptual framework, then, views migration and citizenship from the combined perspectives of transnationalism, intersectionality, and spatiality. Influenced by the literature on South-South migration and that which addresses citizenship in Latin America, it is also highly conscious of the need to carefully consider contextual factors. *Transnational social spaces of citizenship* are first addressed, before outlining the concept of *uncertain citizenship*. The two are, however, very much part of an integrated approach.

I suggest that *transnational social spaces of citizenship* are the arenas in which migrants' relationships to citizenship can be understood as occurring. This reflects an understanding of transnational spaces as fluid and multi-dimensional (Collyer and King, 2014). Drawing on Ong (1996), these border-spanning spaces are produced through interactions between state actors and a wide range of non-state actors – migrant and non-migrant, including migrant organisations within civil society. International bodies such as the United Nations (UN) and International Labour Organisation (ILO) may also play a role in their production. Expanding the 'gendered geographies of power' approach to incorporate intersectionality more overtly (Mahler and Pessar, 2001; Pessar and Mahler, 2003; McIlwaine, 2010), and building on the intersectional perspectives already taken within the research on migration and citizenship, this framework also allows for the ways in which people's positions within these spaces are deeply affected by their social identities including, amongst others, gender, nationality, ethnicity, and class. This combination of a Foucauldian perspective on the production of citizenship with an intersectional approach to transnational migration ensures that both structure and agency are considered. Moreover, it is an approach that requires a comprehensive understanding of context, history, and place, and so enables consideration of differing migration flows and experiences, including those within the global South.

As already indicated in Chapter 1, within the context of my research, *transnational social spaces of citizenship* were best understood as representing its legal, economic, social, and political elements, consequently reflecting both its formal and substantive components and giving due weight to each. Clearly these four different spaces reference Marshall's (1950) thinking about the civil, political, and social spheres of citizenship; however, they also build on it in important ways. Primarily, the idea that these spaces are constructed through structural and agentic processes encourages us to

think about citizenship not just in terms of the passive reception of rights by subjects, but also in terms of active participation by analysing the everyday citizenship practices of migrants and other actors. It thus draws on both liberal and civic republican approaches, as Lister (2003, 1997) does in the development of her feminist approach to citizenship, and reflects the focus on citizenship practices taken by those working on migration and citizenship (Reed-Danahay and Brettell, 2008; Ho, 2008; Staeheli et al., 2012). Additionally, in its consideration of the economic and social in particular, this approach offers an opportunity to bring into dialogue the literature on transnational migration and citizenship, which largely comes from the global North, with that which has examined the migration-development nexus in South-South migration contexts.

As mentioned above, Chapters 5 to 8 explore in depth the literature relevant to each of the spaces of citizenship analysed, and indicate the contributions made by this research in each domain. It is, however, worth highlighting at this stage that allowing for a more robust consideration of the economic in conjunction with citizenship's other spaces represents an important innovation. Whilst Marshall considered protection from poverty as a social right, he did not expand further on the economic aspect of citizenship. Some feminist scholars (Kessler-Harris, 2003; Pateman, 1990, pp.179–209), however, have argued that economic incorporation through equal access to paid employment is fundamental to women's citizenship and thus the economic must be given greater consideration in debates on citizenship. Riaño (2011) draws on their arguments to recommend a more complete analysis of economic citizenship when researching migration. She points to the powerful impact that nationality and migratory status as well as gender and other identities can have on equal access to paid employment, and vice versa. Such arguments have been further developed in the creation of the conceptual framework of this thesis, and are discussed in detail in Chapter 6.

Turning back to the wider conceptual contributions made through this research, I conclude this section by outlining the concept of *uncertain citizenship*. This represents an attempt to recognise the complex inclusions and exclusions from citizenship that migrants may experience simultaneously, and intends to go beyond binary and triadic spatial understandings of citizenship. At any one time, a migrant may be positioned differently, and multiply, in each of the overlapping *transnational spaces of citizenship*. Perhaps she is on the very periphery of legal citizenship in one nation-state – holding a tourist visa, for example – whilst in full possession of legal citizenship in another where she does not currently reside. She has left one country because she could not find waged employment there, and is precariously incorporated in the space of economic citizenship

in the other – whilst precariousness may be a feature of particular spaces (see Chapter 6), *uncertain citizenship* is not defined by it. With respect to social citizenship, she had better access to quality housing in the country she has left than in the country where she lives at present. In terms of the political, she exercises her right to extra-territorial voting, and also is a grassroots activist in the country where she is living.

Almost all of these aspects of her citizenship could shift and change depending on both her exercise of agency through everyday citizenship practices, and on structural factors. Her different positions within these spaces are highly contingent on her social identities – both in terms of how she is perceived and how she perceives herself – and also grounded in place and historical context. She is neither entirely a citizen, nor a ‘non-citizen’, nor in a clearly delineated ‘third space’ of citizenship. Rather, there is an unpredictable quality to her experiences of citizenship across multiple dimensions, and to conceptualise it as *uncertain* enables an analysis that can encompass its fluid and multifarious exclusions and inclusions.

## CONCLUSION

Reflecting on the research on migration and citizenship discussed in this chapter, a range of important insights can be identified. Migration is most productively understood from a transnational social spaces perspective, where these spaces are produced by migrant and non-migrant actors, and subjects’ positions within them are affected by their intersecting social identities. A spatial perspective is likewise useful for understanding citizenship as a process, produced through interrelations from above and below, by state and non-state actors. Citizenship also has both formal and substantive elements. Finally, when analysing migration and citizenship, an acute awareness of context and place is necessary; trends in South-South migration may differ from those in South-North migration, and citizenship may be understood differently in the global South in comparison with the global North.

The framework I propose brings together these insights and builds upon them. *Transnational social spaces of citizenship* are produced through interrelations between the state and its actors, civil society, and individual actors. The four spaces identified in this research – legal, economic, social, and political – interconnect and influence one another. Impacted by their social identities, migrants may be positioned multiply and differently in each space, experiencing *uncertain citizenship* – a complicated array of inclusions and exclusions at once. Through their engagement in everyday practices of

citizenship they may attempt to move through these spaces, and perhaps challenge their boundaries. In so doing, they may be helped, but also hindered, by groups within civil society, such as migrant organisations. The next chapter addresses appropriate methodological approaches for comprehending the construction of *transnational social spaces of citizenship* and migrants' experiences of *uncertain citizenship*.

### 3. CONSTRUCTING A MULTI-SITED ETHNOGRAPHY FOR RESEARCHING MIGRANTS' CITIZENSHIP PRACTICES

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Within migration studies, ethnography has been a popular methodological approach used by many respected scholars in the field. It has been defined as participant observation plus, with the *plus* incorporating interviews, surveys, archive work, and statistical modelling, amongst other techniques (Crang and Cook, 2007; see also Bernard, 2006). The grounding of ethnography in participant observation means that it pays particular attention not only to what people say they do, but to what they actually do (Garapich, 2008). Thus it is a methodology that is able 'to engage ... with 'real world' messiness' more effectively than many other methodological approaches (Crang and Cook, 2007, p.14).

As a consequence, an ethnographic approach has been seen as particularly appropriate for researching citizenship practices (see, for example Lazar, 2008; Daro, Fox and Holland, 2008), which has been reflected in research carried out by those studying migrants' citizenship practices (Reed-Danahay and Brettell, 2008; Però, 2011; Garapich, 2008). The emergence of *multi-sited* ethnography has also impacted profoundly upon those working on migrants' citizenship practices – and within migration studies more broadly – as it is a methodology that allows for a more holistic understanding of the different cultures, contexts, and identities that influence migrants' daily lives (Amelina and Faist, 2012). It has also been feted as a methodological approach that is particularly responsive to feminist concerns regarding researching intersectionality as lived experience, as well as one which allows room for reflexivity.

In the sections which follow, I outline why I selected multi-sited ethnography as an appropriate methodology for the study of migrant organisations and migrants' everyday citizenship practices from an intersectional perspective, where these practices are understood as occurring within transnational spaces of citizenship. In the first section I examine the development of multi-sited ethnography, its use in migration studies, and how multi-sited ethnography can incorporate reflexivity and positionality. Second, I discuss how I worked with a multi-sited ethnographic methodology. I explore the construction of research spaces through the selection of fieldwork sites and the

specific methods used, which incorporated participant observation and a total of 76 semi-structured interviews with migrants, staff from migrant organisations, and other experts in migration. I then address some of the issues pertaining to gender, boundary creation and maintenance, and the ethics confronted in the course of the research. Finally, I examine the physical and emotional challenges specific to multi-sited ethnography, suggesting the advantages and disadvantages that these have for the researcher and the research.

## THE DEVELOPMENT OF MULTI-SITED ETHNOGRAPHY

In 1995, George Marcus explained his conceptualisation of 'multi-sited ethnography'. Whilst carrying out ethnographic research in multiple sites was not a new idea in itself, Marcus offered a more profound rationale than had previously been given for the use of such methods. His was a methodology that proposed to allow for the acknowledgement of the multitudinous connections of places across space and time, thus avoiding cultures being understood as discrete, bounded entities. This can be read as a response to the spatial turn within the social sciences, which had at its core the realization that space is socially constructed (Falzon, 2009; Lefebvre, 1991).

Marcus (1995, p.97) argued that a multi-sited approach had arisen particularly from the use of ethnographic methods in 'interdisciplinary (in fact, ideologically anti-disciplinary) arenas' including feminist studies and cultural studies. Work in such arenas challenged the common notion of the distinction between world system and separate 'lifeworlds' of individual subjects, a distinction that had formed the basis of much ethnography. Using this model, ethnography was seen as an exercise in explaining the lifeworlds of subjects and then illustrating how these fitted in a grand world system proposed by Wallerstein (Marcus, 1995, p.98).

A multi-sited approach, on the other hand, understood subjects to be at once in and of the 'world system'. The identities and contexts of subjects were so many, so fluid, and operating across so many scales, that the local could not be understood as simply fitting neatly under a broad, umbrella-like structure. Cultures were not pure, separate entities existing side by side in splendid isolation in a world system because, to borrow from Comaroff and Comaroff (2003, p.151), culture was 'simultaneously supralocal, translocal, and local, simultaneously planetary and, refracted through the shards of vernacular, cultural practices, profoundly parochial'. Thus, whilst Marcus has been accused of advocating holism in the sense of understanding everything as a

comprehensive whole in the vein of Wallerstein (for example, 1979), this accusation has been soundly refuted (see, for example, Falzon, 2009, p.13). Marcus was indeed advocating greater contextualization, but certainly accepted that multi-sited ethnographies could only ever provide partial analyses, just as single-sited ethnographies always had, despite some arguments to the contrary.

To reflect the multiple contexts and identities of research participants, and to try and capture the simultaneity of the supralocal, translocal, and local, Marcus (1995, p.105) proposed that

[m]ulti-sited research [be] designed around chains, paths, threads, conjunctions, or juxtapositions of locations in which the ethnographer establishes some form of literal, physical presence, with an explicit, posited logic of association or connection among sites that in fact defines the argument of the ethnography

In order to achieve this, he recommended following ‘the people’, ‘the thing’, ‘the metaphor’, ‘the plot, story or allegory’, ‘the life or biography’ or ‘the conflict’.

However, in spite of Marcus’s original intentions when he set out the rationale behind multi-sited ethnography, there has been a tendency over the past decades for those using the methodology to focus primarily on its most literal aspects. As Coleman and von Hellermann (2011) explain, researchers have often focused on the physical practice of ‘being there’ in more than one site. This has sometimes been to the neglect of Marcus’s original intentions of reflecting on the constructed nature of space and capturing the simultaneously local, translocal and supralocal, whilst acknowledging shifting contexts and identities.

The problem, as Crang (2011) outlines, is that the locations that make up a ‘multi-sited ethnography’ continue to be too often understood as discrete and loosely linked together as opposed to always in/of the same world system as Marcus intended. To avoid this, Crang (2011, p.37) suggests that we conceptualize the multiple locations in which research is carried out as ‘one site stretched and distended, cutting through topographical places with links creating topological spaces’. Furthermore, he indicates that we need to acknowledge that our own locations, past and present, and including the academic sites in which we work, are numbered amongst the multiple locations that form the ‘stretched and distended’ field site as well.

I suggest that Katz’s (2001) concept of *counter-topographies* can be useful for aiding understanding of how multiple locations can constitute the same site. For Katz (2001, p.1228), ‘doing a topography’ is a research method which involves ‘carry(ing) out



a detailed examination of some part of the material world, defined at any scale from the body to the global, in order to understand its salient features'. Counter-topographies are created through using metaphorical contour lines to link different specific topographies. Contour lines on topographical maps 'reveal a terrain's three-dimensional shape' but translated into the metaphorical sense intended by Katz (2001, p.1229), they represent 'not elevation but particular relations to a process'. Therefore they can be used to create counter-topographies which 'maintain[s] the distinctness of a place while recognizing that it is connected analytically to other places' (2001, p.1229). Visualising it thus, the multiple locations of the field site do indeed become part of one three-dimensional 'stretched and distended' site or space.

There is a further problem, however, to which Crang (2011) also points. Even if the multiple locations are conceived of as part of one three-dimensional site using Katz's counter-topographies as a means of encouraging such an understanding, this still leaves us with a 'curiously static' sense of space (Crang, 2011, p.38). The movements and flows so important to Marcus's project can risk being ignored. I propose that this problem can perhaps be addressed by turning to Burawoy et al.'s (2000) global ethnography methodology.

Lapegna (2009) has suggested that multi-sited ethnography and global ethnography are dichotomous. However, I follow Epstein et al. (2013) and Nagar et al. (2002) in seeing them as complementary. Rather than contradicting the central tenets of multi-sited ethnography, I suggest that global ethnography builds on them and makes clearer some of the intentions of multi-sited ethnography. In particular, the global ethnography methodology recommends a focus on *global connections* – which are 'chains, flows connections' (Burawoy, 2000, p.31) – in our fieldwork across multiple locations as a means of understanding the roles of *global forces* and *global imaginations* in the everyday lives of research participants. Due to the crucial mention of 'flows' in particular, I understand this as illustrative of how we can focus our attention on comprehending the locations where we carry out ethnographic study as being part of a fluid, three-dimensional site which is in and of the world system.

Furthermore, that which has been deemed the 'mobilities turn' (Sheller and Urry, 2006; Büscher, Urry and Witchger, 2010) provides suggestions as to how to better recognise the constant flows within and between sites. It promotes research that tries to 'move with, and be moved by, the fleeting, distributed, multiple, non-causal, sensory, emotional, and kinaesthetic' (Büscher, Urry and Witchger, 2010, p.1). Büscher et al.

identify Marcus's multi-sited ethnography as a methodology that can fall within the 'mobilities paradigm'; however, the examples of multi-sited ethnography given in their book are much more intensely mobile – or perhaps better said, acknowledge far better the intensely mobile nature of their methods – than some other multi-sited ethnographies. Thus they also acknowledge to a greater degree the flows and connections between and especially within sites.

Illuminated by insights from Katz's counter-topographies, Burawoy et al.'s global ethnography, and work within the 'mobilities paradigm', multi-sited ethnography provides a means of conducting research that allows for consideration of the multifarious connections between locations and the people who live and move between them. These locations are conceptualized as part of one fluid and three-dimensional space. Thus in its ability to consider multiple perspectives across scales, multi-sited ethnography is also multi-sighted (Coleman and Von Hellermann, 2011). The exciting possibilities of such a methodology for studies of migration have been recognised by various scholars over the past few decades.

### **Multi-sited ethnography as methodology in migration studies**

Rouse (1991) conducted one of the first studies of migration to use multi-sited ethnography. Indeed, his work on Mexican migration is mentioned by Marcus (1995) as an example of what multi-sited ethnography should be aiming to achieve. Rouse followed Mexican migrants moving between Aguililla in Michoacán and nearby Redwood City in California over an extended period. Undertaking this research highlighted for him 'the social nature of space as something created and reproduced through collective human agency' (1991, p.11), thus leading him to understand the locations as part of a 'transnational migrant circuit'. As Marcus puts it (1995, p.106), by so doing 'in the spirit of contemporary, self-consciously multi-sited ethnography, he materializes a new object of study, a sense of a diasporic world independent of the mere movements of subjects from one place to another'. Rouse is also careful to always examine his role in the creation of the research, highlighting the shifting identities/categories of both himself and his research participants as he moves through the 'transnational migrant circuit'.<sup>1</sup>

More recently, work by Vives (2012), Mand (2011), and Riccio (2011), has also provided excellent discussion of the relative merits of using multi-sited ethnography in

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<sup>1</sup> I find the concept of a 'transnational migrant circuit' a little limiting in its suggestion of circular motion alone. As discussed above, however, conceptualizing the locations of research as part of a holistic space is essential to any ethnography that is truly multi-sited.

migration studies. Reflecting on her experiences of carrying out multi-sited ethnography in Spain and Senegal, Vives explains that she was able to achieve three things using this methodology. She 'established the broader context of migration ... increased opportunities for reciprocity and participation, and [saw the] emergence of strategic agency on the part of migrants' (2012, p.67).

In relation to the first point, that of establishing the broader context of migration, by 'being there' in both sending and receiving countries, Vives (2012, p.67) was able 'to understand how identities and positionalities before, after, and during migration shape the opportunities that are available to [migrants] – and how these positionalities are tied to processes on a larger scale' (see also Riccio, 2011). There is a clear relationship between Vives's second and third points regarding multi-sited ethnography offering greater opportunities for reciprocity and participation and for recognition of the strategic agency of migrants. She argues that 'reciprocity implies acknowledging the agency of participants' (2012, p.71). Vives explains that participants appreciated her efforts to understand the contexts of their lives in both Senegal and Spain, thus acknowledging that they were people beyond their status of 'migrant'. Similarly Riccio viewed his movement between Senegal and Italy as creating a 'virtuous spiral' because the more that he understood about each context, the more research participants welcomed and trusted him (Riccio, 2011, p.81).

This understanding of the different contexts in research participants' lives also enabled Vives to acknowledge to a greater extent their strategic agency. She argues that often migrants are portrayed as 'uncritical, almost passive communicators of their migration experiences' (2012, p.74). Understanding some of the different contexts of their lives helped her to better comprehend that 'just like researchers, migrants are strategic agents who manipulate their identities and narrate their stories with a goal in mind' (2012, p.74).

Likewise, Mand (2011) reflects on the ways in which multi-sited ethnography enabled greater reciprocity and participation with research participants, and also led her to have a greater awareness of their strategic agency. As she grasped the different contexts of her participants in England, Punjab, and Tanzania, she came to better understand their different identities and the ways in which they negotiated them according to context. She comprehended what Marcus meant when he said that subjects are 'counterparts rather than others' (Marcus, 2011, p.17) as she considered not only the

identities of her research participants but also her own identities and the complex ways in which they interacted in the research process.

Another similarity in Vives's and Mand's work is that they both offer a cautionary note about some of the difficulties of undertaking multi-sited ethnography that spans more than one country. Both address the fact that it is a methodology that can be restrictive for two reasons. The first is that it is financially quite costly, and obtaining funding for the necessary travel across borders can be a challenge. Second, it requires researchers to negotiate their own multiple identities repeatedly as they cross borders; they may face exclusion from certain sites on the basis of these identities (for example, their own migration status), or these identities may lead to their being exposed as particularly vulnerable in certain locations.

Perhaps reflecting some of these restrictions, some studies of migrants demonstrate what I would argue is a multi-sited/multi-sighted sensibility but the research is based in one country. Però (2008) and Garapich (2008) have produced such studies, focusing on the everyday citizenship practices of migrants. Both researchers are aware of the multiple identities of their research participants, how these may change according to context and scale, and how these identities may affect participants' everyday citizenship practices. They emphasise the suitability of ethnographic methods for such studies because, as Garapich (2008, p.141) writes, a focus on 'what people actually say and do (or don't say or do for that matter) in everyday interaction is paramount. A perspective that treats ethnic and national identities as relational and dynamically and situationally constructed is also of crucial importance'. Moreover, they address the ways in which migrants interact with migrant organisations, demonstrating a concern for the impact of institutions and organisations on research participants. This can be missing from some multi-sited ethnography that is carried out in more than one country, something which is perhaps the case to a degree in the work by Rouse (1991), Mand (2011), and Vives (2012).

Ideally research on migration should, as Riccio (2011) argues, attempt to work in both the sending and receiving country, *and* consider the importance of institutions in the lives of migrants. It thus needs not only to be carried out in multiple locations, but also across multiple scales. Moreover, as discussed in the next section, it is essential that multi-sited/multi-sighted ethnography also incorporates the locations and positionality of the researcher and not only those of the research participants.

## Accounting for power imbalances in the researcher/research participant relationship

Here I explore the gradual move that has occurred in academia towards greater theorisation of the power imbalances between researcher and research participants, and address how this can be incorporated in multi-sited ethnography. As outlined in Chapter 2, feminist scholarship has experienced a shift from theorising primarily on gender alone to considering the critical impact of other aspects of intersectionality on human experience. Together with this growing awareness of the importance not only of gender but also of other identities/categories in the lives of research participants, there has also been debate around how the researcher's own identities and the ways in which she is categorised impact on the kinds of knowledge that she produces. In other words, exploring the ways in which 'power and difference' influence the relationship between researcher and research participants has been central to feminist concerns (Vives, 2012, p.63).

As Rose (1997, p.307) explains, preceded by the realization that there could be no single feminism given the great diversity within the category 'women' (see for example Mohanty, 1988), feminist scholars began to recognize the complexities of the dynamics at play between researcher and research participants. Even if both researcher and research participants were women, this did not make them united as equals. There could be multiple differences between them in terms of, *inter alia*, ethnicity, class, sexuality, and age – and fundamentally, therefore, differences in their position within structures of power. Clearly, this entailed significant imbalances in researcher/research participant relationships.

Following this realization, there was initially a hope that the use of certain qualitative methods, particularly in-depth interviewing, and a focus on collaboration between researcher and research participants would lead to 'non-exploitative' research whereby researcher and research participants produced knowledge as equals (McDowell, 1992). However, as McDowell (1992, p.408) contests, this was in fact 'a utopian ideal' that could not be achieved. It is impossible to entirely mitigate the inherently unequal power dynamics in the relationship between researcher and research participants. It is, after all, the researcher who has the final say on how 'data' is interpreted and represented.

McDowell, like other feminist scholars, was not arguing that we should abandon projects of collaboration between research and research participants. However,

influenced particularly by Haraway (1991), she suggested that instead of continuing to hope that we can completely overcome the unequal researcher/researched relationship through such strategies, 'we must recognize and take account of our own position, as well as that of our research participants, *and write this into our research practice* rather than continue to hanker after some idealized equality between us' (1992, p.409 *her italics*). In sum, reflexivity is essential.

Rose (1997) similarly drew on Haraway (1991) to argue that we must write our positionality into our research practice and acknowledge the limited, situated nature of the knowledges we produce. However, Rose cautions against what she refers to as 'transparent reflexivity'. This is 'reflexivity' taken to the extreme of believing that we can fully comprehend our context, identities, and the ways in which others categorise us, and incorporate this in our research. Clearly this is a contradiction in terms because at the very heart of the concept of reflexivity lies the acknowledgement that we are '[U]n-centred, un-certain, not entirely present, not fully representable' (Rose, 1997, p.317). Consequently, she argues that to avoid the oxymoron of 'transparent reflexivity' we should ensure that we include in our research recognition of the gaps and fallibilities in our comprehension, thus acknowledging our positionality and the situated, partial knowledges that we produce.

Questions of positionality and situated knowledge can be particularly complex when researchers from the North conduct research in the South (Jazeel and McFarlane, 2007; Raghuram and Madge, 2006). In addressing some of these issues in a Latin American context, Sundberg (2005) combines post-colonial and feminist theories (see also Radcliffe, Laurie and Andolina, 2004). She argues that within Latin American Studies there has been a particular tendency towards performing the 'god-trick' (a term coined by Haraway to describe the way in which researchers lay claim to objectivity by adopting an omnipresent 'gaze from nowhere'). Many researchers working on Latin America have ignored both their own corporeality and their own geographical locations, and by so doing have constituted themselves 'as the ultimate authority in the production of knowledge about other people and places' (Sundberg, 2005, p.25). To combat this, Sundberg sees practising reflexivity in our research and writing as crucial. Nonetheless, she acknowledges that employing such a strategy of reflexivity can be difficult as it challenges continuing conventions in many academic disciplines. It is, however, vital that we attempt it because the imbalances in the relationship between researcher/research participants (which can be especially significant if the researcher is from the North and the research participants from the South) are even more pronounced if we only 'reveal

the social circumstances and geographies of others without simultaneously unveiling our own' (Sundberg, 2005, p.27).

In sum, in feminist epistemologies reflexivity has been understood as a strategy for making clear two related concepts centred on power and difference in the relationship between researcher and research participants. First, that the identities and contexts of *both* are multiple and fluid. They interact in diverse ways that cannot be fully comprehended. Second, that knowledge is always situated and limited, and is a product of the dynamic relationships between the identities and contexts of research participants and researcher.

In part echoing and influenced by feminist scholarship, ethnographers similarly began to critique relations of power and difference in ethnographic research from the 1980s onwards. It gradually became recognized that 'ethnographers are often insufficiently self-conscious about the activities of observation and representation' (Herbert, 2000, p.561). As a consequence, many ethnographers – feminist and otherwise – began to move towards greater reflexivity in their research practice.

As was the tendency across other disciplines, many classic ethnographies had been constructed in such a way as to 'write out' the researcher in the belief that this distancing served to make the account more 'objective' and 'scientific'. If anything touching on the personal experience of the ethnographer was included, it was often in a few pages at the beginning of the ethnography, in an appendix, or as a separate text, sometimes a novel (Tedlock, 1991). This lack of problematization, or even just acknowledgment, of relationships between researcher and research participants led to two main critiques of ethnography as method and text.

The first, made particularly of ethnographers *from* old colonial powers working in countries that were or had been dominated *by* these colonial powers, was that this lack of discussion of the relationship between researcher and research participants meant that the fundamentally uneven power relations generated by colonialism – power relations that often arguably allowed such ethnographers to carry out their fieldwork – were simply glossed over (Katz, 2001; Kobayashi, 1994). This critique was not just relevant to those carrying out research in colonies or former colonies, however, but rather to ethnographers more broadly given that the power dynamics between researchers and research participants are always uneven, and it is often these power dynamics that allow the ethnographic study to be carried out (Gilbert, 1994).

The second criticism was that the 'writing out' of the author meant that differences between the ethnographer and research participants, and also connections between them, were not theorized. The multiple identities and contexts of both, and the ways in which they interacted, were ignored. The knowledge produced in such accounts was thus not portrayed as situated or limited but as a holistic account of a culture. Moreover, this culture was seen as a bounded entity, pure and uninfluenced by connections with other times and spaces (Crang and Cook, 2007). This tendency began to be challenged particularly in the 1980s during what Marcus and Fischer (1999) termed an 'experimental moment' in ethnography. As in feminist work across disciplines, ethnographers began to write the multiple identities and contexts of researcher and research participants into their texts in order to expose knowledge as partial and situated.

Multi-sited ethnography, in fact, explicitly grew out of concerns for greater reflexivity within ethnography, and in his 1995 paper Marcus engages directly with Haraway's (1991) discussion of the positioning of the researcher. He explains that multi-sited fieldwork must always be 'conducted with a keen awareness of being within the landscape, and as the landscape changes across sites, the identity of the ethnographer requires renegotiation' (Marcus, 1995, p.112).<sup>2</sup> Thus in multi-sited ethnography, the changing identities and contexts of not only the research participants but also the researcher are constantly being reflected upon.

As Vives (2012) has highlighted, multi-sited ethnography as methodology therefore provides a good fit with feminist epistemologies. It is a methodology well-suited to the use of Mahler and Pessar's (2001) 'gendered geographies of power' framework expanded to incorporate intersectionality more overtly. Using multi-sited/multi-sighted ethnography, the researcher is able to consider how the different identities and categories of intersectionality shift and change as people move across borders and in and out of different contexts, whilst simultaneously maintaining an acute awareness of their own positionality, and consequently the limited and situated knowledge produced.

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<sup>2</sup> Marcus has further developed his ideas on reflexivity and the production of knowledge through the concept of *paraethnography*, whereby ethnographies are created through reflexive collaboration between researcher and research participants; this approach has thus far generally been used for the study of settings where participants hold a particular scientific/technical knowledge (Holmes and Marcus, 2008; Marcus, 2009).



## CONSTRUCTING A MULTI-SITED/MULTI-SIGHTED ETHNOGRAPHY

My research set out to follow both ‘the people’ and their practices, a category that could perhaps be added to Marcus’s suggestions of things which can be followed. My interest in the study of the movement of people and practices suggested to me early on that multi-sited ethnography may be an appropriate methodological approach to take given the precedent set for its use within migration studies. It was, however, the more profound rationale behind the approach – as outlined above – that convinced me that it was the most appropriate methodology for my purposes. Specifically, it allowed, first, for a multi-scalar and fluid conceptualization of space, and second, for ample consideration of the shifting identities and categories of intersectionality that would affect participants’ citizenship practices as they moved within and across borders. Here I discuss the construction of space through the selection of sites for the research and then the specific methods used to explore participants’ citizenship practices from an intersectional perspective.

### The construction of space through site selection

When carrying out multi-sited ethnography the researcher is not, of course, merely passively ‘following’ but rather actively involved in the construction of the space that is constituted by the research sites. Said construction certainly requires flexibility on the part of the researcher; however, there are practicalities to be taken into consideration, as well as the research questions being posed and the existent literature on the topic, which all impact on the types of following that will be undertaken. Falzon (2009, p.11) refers to responding to this balance of considerations in selecting research sites as ‘satisficing’, a term that he borrows from economics. In economics it refers to business people’s practice of ‘look[ing] for courses of action which both satisfy and suffice’. My particular brand of satisficing resulted in the selection of five research sites – Santiago and Arica in Chile, and the *departamento* [region] of La Paz and cities of Oruro and Santa Cruz in Bolivia, as indicated in Figure 3.1.

Figure 3.1 Map showing fieldwork locations in Chile and Bolivia



Source: Edward Oliver, Queen Mary University of London, 2015

**Key**

● = Fieldwork location

### *Santiago, Chile*

I began in Santiago and spent five months there for a number of reasons. First, there is a high concentration of migrants in Santiago – over half of the total migrant population in Chile resides in Santiago (Arriagada Luco, 2005) – which is a reflection of the overall importance of Santiago in Chile. Just under a third of the population of Chile (approximately six million people) lives there (Instituto Nacional de Estadísticas Chile, 2013), and there are significant differences in infrastructure and employment opportunities between Santiago and the rest of the country (Arriagada Luco, 2005). Second, much research on migration in Chile has been conducted in Santiago and thus in order to compare with and contribute to this it was important to gain a sense of Bolivian migration in Santiago. Third, I had previously spent two years living in Santiago and had volunteered for the majority of those two years with the Santiago branch of MigraRed (a pseudonym), an international migrant organisation (discussed in more detail below). They offered to collaborate with me for this research. Thus it was a combination of following the people, addressing my research questions, taking into consideration previous research, and certain practicalities that led to the selection of Santiago as the initial site.

I spent five months there because I assumed that the process of making and gaining the trust of the initial contacts so fundamental to the success of my research, and adjusting to the fieldwork process, might require some time. Of course, in a city of six million people it is not the whole city that is the research site but rather some specific locations within it. In the selection of these specific locations within the site I would argue that one does largely ‘follow the people’. The *comunas* in which I primarily worked through a process of ‘following the people’ were Santiago Centro, Independencia, and Recoleta; contiguous *comunas* in the city centre. Some locations within these *comunas* will be discussed in more depth in Chapter 4, and then in the successive analytical chapters as necessary.

From Santiago I returned briefly to the UK, which, in the spirit of including the locations of the researcher as sites in a multi-sited ethnographic project, is important to mention. My time in the UK gave me an opportunity to review my research to date and to return to South America with a clear sense of what I hoped to achieve during the next stage of my fieldwork. This next stage occurred in the three sites in Bolivia and in Arica.

### *La Paz and Oruro, Bolivia*

For practical reasons, during this second stage of research I went first to the *departamento* of La Paz, travelling there by plane from Santiago to Arica and then by bus from Arica to the city of La Paz, drawing on mobile ethnographic methods in order to experience part of the journey as many of my participants had and would upon their return to Bolivia to visit. I spent three weeks in the *departamento* of La Paz, both in the city of La Paz itself as well as in the city of El Alto.<sup>3</sup> In deciding to include the *departamento* of La Paz as one of my sites, I was following the people. Around half of my participants from Santiago were from this *departamento* and I knew that it was likely that many who went to Arica would also be from there because of its proximity to Arica. Furthermore, the headquarters of MigraRed Bolivia, part of the same network as MigraRed Chile, are based in El Alto, and they were willing to receive and assist me.

As well as spending time at the MigraRed offices in El Alto and in the surrounding *zona* – which has high levels of out-migration to neighbouring countries including Chile – I met with friends and family members of participants in both El Alto and La Paz. As experienced by other researchers (Mand, 2011; Vives, 2012), I was given a warm welcome by these friends and family members. As the aforementioned researchers have likewise been prevailed upon to do, I was requested to transport gifts for participants back to Chile.<sup>4</sup> I was not only the bearer of gifts but also the bearer of news as to loved ones' well-being; the one who had hugged them and shared a meal with them most recently. I thus found myself part of the transnational social spaces constructed by my participants, and had the sense of knitting their locations closer together with my actions.

From La Paz, I travelled to Oruro for carnival for five days, stopping in the town of Patacamaya, a site of much out-migration to Chile, for a short visit organised by the social director of MigraRed Bolivia. In Oruro again I was following the people, but particularly their practices. The migrant organisation-dance fraternity Corazón de Tinkus – with whom I carried out participant observation in Santiago (see below) – was to travel from Santiago to Oruro to participate in carnival and so I was to meet with them

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<sup>3</sup> The sprawling, largely indigenous city neighbouring and connected to La Paz. It has a population of around 850,000.

<sup>4</sup> This resulted in an unfortunate incident where a bag of coca leaf tea intended for a participant nostalgic for a taste of home was seized at the border. Fortunately the other presents made it successfully across!

there. Perhaps more fundamentally, however, I was following what I had come to understand as the citizenship practice of dance,<sup>5</sup> so crucial to Bolivian identity, to observe it in its most important annual manifestation. This allowed me to better understand how citizenship practices are carried out across space/time.

### *Arica, Chile*

After my brief stay in Oruro, I travelled to Arica via La Paz. I remained in Arica for six weeks. Again, I had selected Arica for a variety of reasons. One of the primary reasons was demographic – a high percentage of the population of Bolivian migrants in Chile live in the north of the country (Instituto Nacional de Estadísticas Chile, 2013) because of its proximity to Bolivia. I was also influenced by the literature on migration in Chile. As mentioned above, the vast majority focuses on migration to Santiago and, whilst there is a strong case for studying the phenomenon in Santiago, such a high degree of Santiago-centricism in the field can be to the detriment of understanding migration in other parts of the country, as Lube Guizardi and Garcés (2013), two of the few scholars to work on migration in other regions of Chile, argue. I wanted to better understand regional variations in experiences of migration and migrants' citizenship practices. A further reason for selecting Arica as a research site was that again I could count on the support of MigraRed Chile as they have an office there and were happy to collaborate.

Arica, with a population of a little over 160,000, is smaller than any of the other sites where I carried out research, and it is possible to walk from one side of the town to the other in slightly over an hour. It is considered a city because of its strategic importance on the Chilean border with Peru and its proximity to Bolivia, because it possesses a port, and because it is one of the relatively few urban areas in the Atacama Desert. In many respects, however, it is better classed as a town, not only because of its small size but also because of the limited availability of many things associated with the modern city (large shops, tall buildings, extensive public transport etc.) and its proximity to the countryside. Whilst in both Arica and Santiago, as well as the sites in Bolivia, I was engaged in urban ethnography, the difference in scale and mobility was marked.

In Santiago, I was constantly mobile. As I followed people and practices, all day I took buses and the metro, frequently encountering parts of the city with which I was not familiar. In Arica, by contrast, whilst still very mobile, movement was through walking, or occasionally in *colectivo* [collective taxi], and I soon grasped a sense of the town/city

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<sup>5</sup> Discussed in depth in Chapter 8.

as a whole. In both Santiago and Arica, as well as my other sites, I was cognisant of the relevance of the 'new mobilities paradigm' as I observed and participated in movement (Sheller and Urry, 2006), trying to capture the impact of mobility on other people's lives. The pace was wildly different, however, and in some respects the slower speed of Arican life made the flows and connections within the site and with other sites easier to trace.

### *Santa Cruz, Bolivia*

The final site of my research after six weeks in Arica was the city of Santa Cruz in Bolivia. Santa Cruz emerged as a site during my time in Santiago as it was the native city of around one third of participants. I was already aware of significant regional differences within Bolivia; however the strength with which my participants identified as '*cambas*' [colloquial term for people from Santa Cruz] confirmed the importance of taking this site into consideration. In Santa Cruz, I was again able to meet with a family member of a participant and I was also fortunate enough to be able to spend time with two participants themselves and meet their extended families – one was back in Santa Cruz for an extended holiday and the other had just moved back to Santa Cruz semi-permanently after 15 years in Santiago. I also spent time with organisations that had a connection with return migrants or the children of migrants.<sup>6</sup>

The five sites and multiple locations within them were certainly deeply interconnected. The movements and flows between and within them – not just of people but also of practices, ideas, and goods – meant that it was easy to comprehend how they formed part of one fluid space crossing nation-state boundaries. Their construction thus was born out of collaboration with participants and migrant organisations as I followed them and their practices, read relevant literature, and took into consideration certain practicalities. My movement between these sites allowed for a much deeper understanding of each of them than could ever have been afforded by remaining in only one. As Falzon (2009, p.8) contends, space and time are, in a sense, 'methodologically interchangeable', and what multi-sited ethnography may lack in time spent in one place, it more than makes up for in space. Through comparison of the specificities of place and how this impacted on participants' citizenship practices as they moved between them, I comprehended much more about the meanings and changes in such practices than I would have had I remained in one site.

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<sup>6</sup> Although unfortunately I was unable to spend as much time with these organisations as I would have liked due to a severe bout of food poisoning that left me extremely unwell for five days. I was unable to extend my stay in Santa Cruz as my flights could not be changed.

## Multi-scalar methods for examining citizenship practices from an intersectional perspective

Here I examine the methods that enabled me to address my research questions from a multi-scalar and intersectional perspective. As noted in the introduction, the core methodological framework of the research incorporated participant observation and a total of 76 semi-structured interviews. Participant observation formed the foundations of my research; as discussed above, it is an invaluable method for investigating everyday citizenship practices (Garapich, 2008; Lazar, 2008; Però, 2008). Moreover, it was particularly through participant observation that I was able to carry out genuinely multi-scalar research and gain insight into the role played by migrant organisations in influencing migrants' everyday citizenship practices. Additionally, participant observation was fundamental to understanding the contexts from which migrants had come in Bolivia. I carried out 60 semi-structured interviews with migrant participants, which contributed to give the necessary depth to understand migrants' everyday citizenship practices. Finally, I conducted 14 semi-structured interviews with staff from migrant organisations and experts on migration, and additionally was in close contact with a further 14 key informants in Arica and Bolivia (see Appendix 1 for details of all interviews and contact with key informants). This contributed to my understanding of the interplay between structural and agentic factors in constructing spaces of citizenship.

### *Participant observation*

Much of the participant observation I engaged in stemmed from contact with migrant organisations. Thus I will briefly describe the migrant organisations working in Chile. More detailed description and analysis is provided throughout the thesis when relevant. I also carried out participant observation additional to that engaged in with migrant organisations, which is explained below.

#### The migrant organisation landscape in Chile

In comparison with the UK and US, for example, there are few migrant organisations operating in Chile. All migrant organisations and their staff are given pseudonyms in this thesis to ensure the anonymity and confidentiality of staff members with whom I worked and conducted interviews. To the best of my knowledge, there is one large organisation, MigraRed, which operates throughout the country and works directly with migrants (rather than solely on research for policy etc.). They have offices in Santiago, Arica, and Antofagasta, and also work in various other Latin American

countries, including Bolivia. In Santiago, in addition to MigraRed, Asistencia al Migrante is the other main organisation. Both MigraRed and Asistencia al Migrante are funded by congregations of the Catholic Church and focus on providing legal and social services for vulnerable migrants. In Arica, in addition to MigraRed, Apoyo para Personas Migrantes works with migrants of all nationalities providing similar services. They are funded by a denomination of the Protestant Church.

There are then a range of smaller, grassroots community organisations. In Santiago, the largest is Entrelazando Migrantes Latinoamericanos, which is run on a voluntary basis and is for migrants from all Latin American countries. Their goal is to create support networks between migrants and spread relevant information about visas and suchlike. I was not aware of an equivalent in Arica. The other grassroots community organisations in both Santiago and Arica tend to be focused on one nationality, or on particular neighbourhoods. Amongst Bolivians in Santiago, the community organisations of which I was aware were the Club Social de Bolivia and Corazón de Tinkus. The Club Social de Bolivia organises occasional fundraising events and entertainment for Bolivians in Santiago, and Corazón de Tinkus is a dance fraternity that performs Bolivian dances. In Arica, there is a dance fraternity that performs Waka Waka (a Bolivian carnival dance), and the group Vecinos Bolivianos, an informal network of Bolivian residents in and around Arica that organise events such as the distribution of Christmas presents to the children of migrants with scarce resources. I conducted participant observation with MigraRed in Santiago, Arica, and El Alto, and with Corazón de Tinkus in Santiago. I also interviewed representatives of all of the other migrant organisations mentioned here. For further details about the interviews and indication of which migrant participants had contact with migrant organisations, see Appendix 1.

#### Participant observation with migrant organisations

As mentioned above, I had volunteered with MigraRed in Santiago for two years previously and so was familiar with the organisation and knew many of the staff well. I liaised with my former manager prior to commencing fieldwork in Santiago in order to be able to immediately start participant observation upon my arrival. I spent approximately 20 hours a week with MigraRed Santiago from September 2013 to January 2014, working as a volunteer in whatever capacity I could. In return, I was invited to attend many meetings and observe the work of the different teams on a day-to-day basis. My experience in the Arica office was very similar, although I was there for a shorter time. One of the key activities I engaged in there was assisting with conducting



a questionnaire survey with 46 Bolivian truck drivers and their families who regularly come and stay in and around the port of Arica. In the spirit of reciprocity, I also presented preliminary findings from my research to both offices at the end of my fieldwork.

In my participant observation with MigraRed I was constantly operating with multiple constituencies of research participants – I worked directly with migrants, with the staff and volunteers of the organisation, and in conjunction with experts from academia and government. I was able to learn how the largest migrant organisations in Chile function, and how it interacts with migrants and influences their citizenship practices. From them, I also gained a better understanding of the laws affecting migrants in Chile, and of the daily struggles and discrimination that so many migrants face.

As already stated, MigraRed works with migrants of all nationalities. In Arica, many of these migrants are Bolivian and thus through my work with MigraRed I was able to have a great deal of contact with the Bolivian population of the town, as well as with grassroots Bolivian organisations there. In Santiago, however, only a minority of the migrants with whom MigraRed works are Bolivian. Moreover, much of MigraRed Santiago's contact with Bolivian migrants is through the provision of legal, social, and psychological advice rather than through supporting and networking with Bolivian grassroots migrant organisations. Therefore, in order to gain insight into grassroots migrant organisations more involved with the Bolivian population in Santiago, I needed to search outside MigraRed's networks.

Following conversation with friends with some knowledge of Bolivian migration in Chile, I found Corazón de Tinkus and contacted them via their Facebook page. They are a small organisation that began in 2010 to promote Bolivian culture, and particularly the dance of *tinkus*, in Santiago. Run by a couple who are Bolivian and Chilean, there are around 30 members. Roughly one third of the members are Bolivian and the others are Chilean and Peruvian. Whilst the organisation is above all a dance fraternity that performs at a variety of events, they also provide a support network for Bolivian migrants in Santiago and are an important point of contact for many in the Bolivian community, not just those who are officially members.

After exchanging messages via Facebook and speaking on the phone, I met with the leader of the organisation at one of their bi-weekly rehearsals in September 2013. It was agreed that I could participate in the group as long as I abided by the conditions of membership in the same manner as any other member and that I could interview members of the group in the future should this be helpful for my research. From

September to December, I participated in the rehearsals and in street performances, fundraising activities, and social events run by the organisation. I gained insight not only into the citizenship practice of dance, so fundamental to Bolivian conceptualizations of citizenship, but also into many other aspects of the experiences of Bolivian migrants in Santiago.

When in Bolivia, contact with migrant organisations was likewise essential to my research. As mentioned, in the *departamento* of La Paz, MigraRed was the organisation with which I had most contact. As in Chile, I volunteered to assist in whatever way I could – from preparing food for the children involved in an educational programme to writing explanatory documents about migration law in Chile to enable the organisation to better inform Bolivians considering emigrating. I also designed a workshop to the same end to be used by MigraRed Bolivia in conjunction with MigraRed Arica – the pilot was a success and they plan to continue to use it. Again, in return for my assistance I was invited to participate in workshops and meetings with other migrant organisations and was introduced to migration experts (see Appendix 1 for details), and consequently was working across multiple constituencies as I had in Chile.

#### Additional participant observation

In addition to my participant observation with MigraRed Chile, Corazón de Tinkus, and MigraRed Bolivia, I was engaged in participant observation in other locations on a less regular basis. Through contact with migrant participants, I was variously invited to attend Catholic and Evangelical church services, meals, parties, and a baby shower, amongst other activities. In these activities, I was expected to be a participant more than an observer, which in the case of the church services led to rather complex discussions about my religious beliefs, and in other cases could sometimes be challenging in relation to defining the boundaries of my role in participants' lives (see below).

There were also occasions on which I was more an observer than a participant – this was particularly the case in the public places frequented by migrants that became important locations for my research in Chile, such as the Plaza de Armas in Santiago, the main city square, and El Agro, the central market, in Arica. In Bolivia, I also engaged in observation in public places such as the *barrios* near MigraRed in El Alto and that of Plan 3000 in Santa Cruz. Observing carnival in Oruro was also critical to my research. It was through such observation in public places that I came to better comprehend the national and regional differences in citizenship practices, and the impact that intersectionality

can have on citizenship practices. After each 'session' of participant observation, I would write up fieldnotes that contained the most detailed description I could produce of events and actors. Following the recommendation of anthropologists such as Bernard (2006) I also kept a diary to record my more personal experiences, which has served as a reminder of how my emotions and thought processes may have impacted on the data collected.

### *Semi-structured interviews*

In addition to participant observation, I proposed to carry out a short questionnaire survey (with 100 migrant participants) and semi-structured interviews (with 35 migrant participants and 10 to 15 representatives of migrant organisations). As I will explain, the realities of working with a vulnerable and hard-to-reach population meant that I had to alter my research methods to an extent. The questionnaire survey proved not to be an effective method for working with this particular population; however the semi-structured interviews were invaluable for better understanding migrants' citizenship practices from an intersectional perspective.

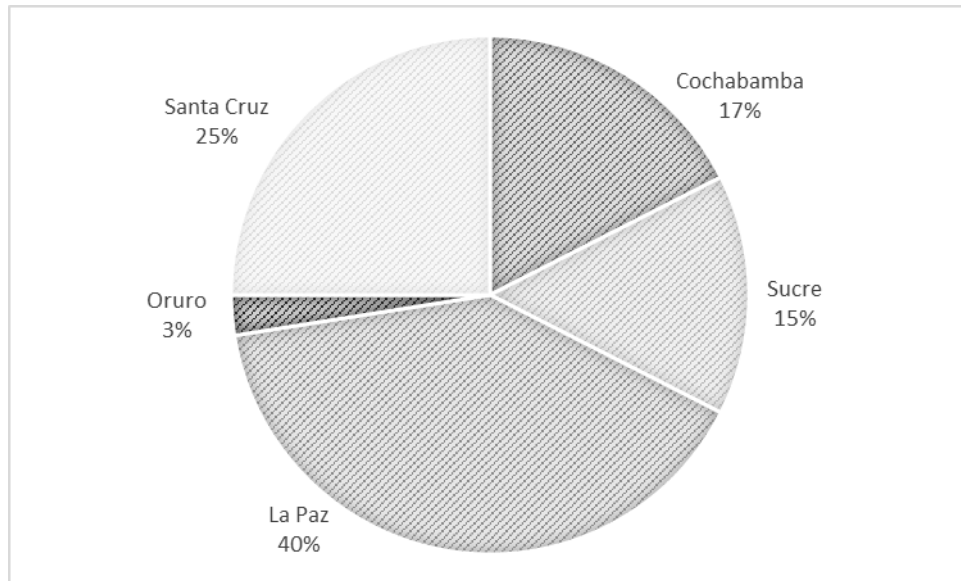
### *Access*

The most significant problem I encountered in carrying out my research was the difficulty of accessing the Bolivian migrant population in Chile. I had thought snowballing would be an effective means of contacting possible participants and that once I had established a few contacts, the rest would rapidly follow. Whilst this was the case to a degree, establishing initial contacts was very difficult. I met with a high level of distrust and my credentials and motives were frequently challenged – why was a New Zealand/British researcher from London interested in this topic? What benefit was there for participants? No doubt this was due to the life experiences of many potential participants – as I discovered, many had suffered discrimination, marginalisation, and labour exploitation in Chile, understandably making them wary of the new and untested. Some migrants were in irregular migratory situations and naturally this too made them reluctant to speak to me. Through participant observation, I was able to gradually overcome these obstacles to a certain extent. Time spent with potential participants assured them of my motivation for carrying out the study and I was able to explain that, whilst there was no immediate tangible benefit to those who participated, it was hoped that the study would assist long-term with improving conditions for migrants in Chile, and particularly for Bolivians.

Following making the initial contact, I found that snowballing usually worked to make one more contact, and then it frequently ceased to function. I think that this was again due to issues of trust – the initial contacts had usually been made through participant observation and consequently felt more confident in participating as they knew me relatively well. They also felt confident enough to put me in contact with a friend or family member of theirs. The friend or family member did not know me so well, however, and therefore felt less inclined to pass on details of further potential participants. Fortunately, MigraRed in both Santiago and Arica assisted me with contacting potential participants once they were sure that my research was directed at supporting migrants in Chile and could be beneficial to this cause.

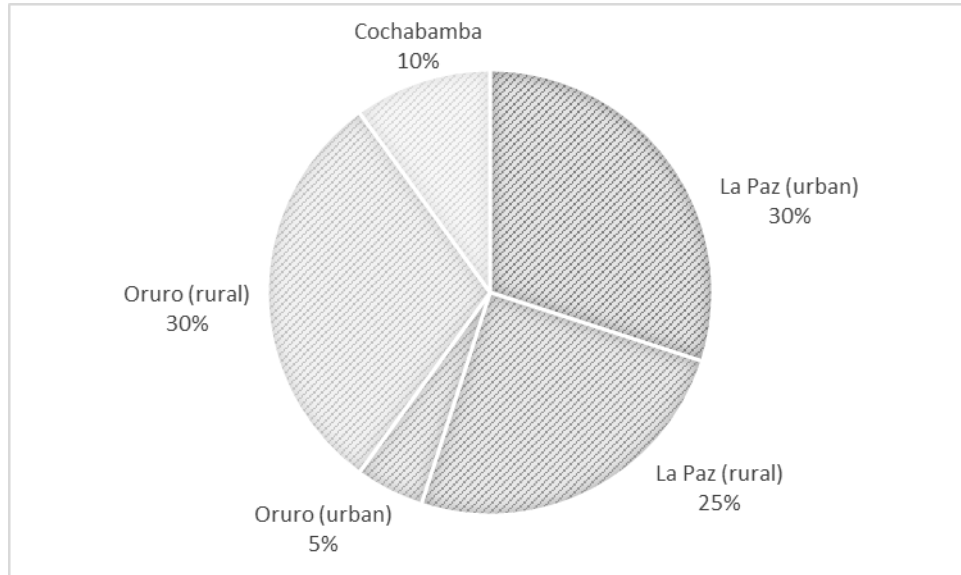
As a consequence of the problems encountered in the recruitment process, it was almost two months before I was able to conduct my first semi-structured interview with a migrant participant; however, once I began the interview I realised the richness of the data I was able to gather through this method. Semi-structured interviews were the most appropriate form of interview to carry out because they are particularly well-suited to studies in which the researcher is likely to only have one opportunity to interview the participant and where there is interest in discussing a particular topic (Bernard, 2006). I decided that, given the excellent quality of the data thus obtained and the difficulty of recruiting participants, I would discard the short questionnaire as it produced a ‘thinner’ kind of data but required a similar effort to recruit participants. Instead I would increase the number of semi-structured interviews I conducted to 60 interviews with migrant participants. Of course, the sample I eventually reached could not be considered representative given the hard-to-reach nature of the population and the sampling methods that subsequently needed to be applied. Nevertheless, I achieved a good spread in terms of the *departamentos* from which participants came in Bolivia (see Figures 3.2 and 3.3) and interviewed people with an age range from 19 to over 65, but with a mean age of 33.5. The majority of migrants in Chile are of working age, concentrated between 15 and 44 years (Stefoni, 2011, p.33). Participants’ gender is discussed below, and other characteristics such as socio-economic background, education, employment and legal status are explored in depth in Chapters 5 to 8 (see Appendix 1 for a full list of interviewees).

Figure 3.2 Santiago migrant participants' regions of origin in Bolivia<sup>7</sup>



Source: Interview data (n=40)

Figure 3.3 Arica migrant participants' region of origin in Bolivia



Source: Interview data (n=20)

<sup>7</sup> Note: all participants in Santiago were from urban areas, as opposed to under half of participants in Arica.

The other obstacle I faced was actually meeting to conduct the interview once the person had agreed to participate. I had approximately an additional 20 potential participants with whom I never managed to arrange an interview, even though they had agreed to take part in the study. Even the interviews that were successful took around three phone calls to arrange (following initial contact), and participants frequently postponed or in some cases did not turn up or were not at home when I went to conduct the interview. In the majority of cases, we did eventually manage to carry out the interview but I learned that it was standard for participants to arrive fifteen, and sometimes up to 45 minutes late.

Nonetheless, once we did manage to meet and carry out the interview, participants were almost invariably friendly, helpful, and interested in the project. Appropriate procedures for obtaining informed consent were followed before beginning the interview. Participants were given written and oral information about the research and were asked to sign a consent form (see Appendix 2). Anonymity was guaranteed, and all names have been changed. Participants were aware that they could withdraw from the research at any time with no negative consequences. The topics in the interviews included: participants' reasons for migration and their experiences of migration to date; their everyday citizenship practices in Bolivia and in Chile; any involvement with migrant organizations; and how the ways in which they identify themselves and are categorized by others may change and affect their citizenship practices. I finished interviews by asking what they thought were the most significant challenges facing Bolivian migrants in Chile, and what ideas they had for overcoming these challenges (see Appendix 3). The interview schedule was designed in part based on interview schedules successfully used for the project *The Latin American community in London* (McIlwaine, Cock and Linneker, 2011).

I conducted all interviews in Spanish and allowed the participant to lead the interview, keeping a checklist of what topics and questions we had covered without necessarily asking all of the questions directly – this ensured a more natural conversation and enabled participants to speak more freely (Valentine, 2005). On some occasions, Spanish was not the participants' first language; at home they spoke Aymara or Quechua, of which I have no knowledge. In many cases, their Spanish was fluent; however in rural Arica there were five occasions on which participants noticeably struggled with the language. In four of these cases, the participants were women from

rural areas in the *departamento* of La Paz. I learned during my time in Bolivia that it is relatively common for women from such rural areas where indigenous languages predominate to have less schooling and consequently less knowledge of Spanish than their male counterparts (see Chapter 7). This meant that our conversation was stilted and their answers were briefer than the answers of those who were fluent Spanish speakers. It was made more difficult by the fact that, whilst fluent, Spanish is not my first language either; it is significantly more challenging to conduct an in-depth conversation when neither of you are speaking the language you are most confident in. Whilst I do not consider that it was a particularly limiting factor for the study I was carrying out, were I to conduct further research in Arica with the Bolivian migrant population working in agriculture, I would consider learning Aymara and/or using an interpreter so as to have greater access to the opinions and experiences of Aymara-speaking Bolivians – although I am aware that using an interpreter may be problematic in itself and that it is important to acknowledge the additional power dynamics that it brings to the research process (Temple and Young, 2004; Edwards, 1998).

The formal part of the interview lasted between 30 minutes and an hour and a half. However, the entire process normally occurred over a period of approximately two hours because we would often eat together and there would be questions about the study to answer. Participants were not given any material incentive to complete an interview; however I did bring or purchase food and drink when appropriate. Sharing food together is an important part of Bolivian culture (Lazar, 2008) and this helped to emphasise the reciprocal element of the interviews and our shared engagement in the creation of knowledge. Interviews were conducted in a range of locations including public places such as the Plaza de Armas, cafés and *fuentes de soda* [diners], the offices of MigraRed, and the rooms or houses of participants. I was careful to always ensure that someone knew of my whereabouts when conducting interviews to avoid any safety issues.

#### Recording interviews

I was able to audio record the vast majority of interviews in Santiago – in only one case did a participant decline to be recorded. Audio recording of interviews in Arica was much more complex. Lack of legal status was one factor that explained the reluctance to be audio recorded, as situations of irregularity were more common in Arica than Santiago (see Chapter 5). Moreover, differences in the levels of education of participants and ethnicity seemed to be contributing factors to the decision whether or not to allow me to audio record interviews. The average level of education of participants

in Arica, especially of those working in agriculture as many did, was lower than that of participants in Santiago (see Chapter 7). I found that a lower level of education tended to correspond with a reluctance to be audio recorded (as well as with an increased likelihood that participants would be in irregular situations). Power relations were no doubt at play here; my level of education and consequent location within 'gendered geographies of power' stood in sharp contrast to theirs and as much as I tried to emphasise the fact that my participants were in fact the knowledge-bearers, this could not be mitigated.

Furthermore, ethnicity was, I think, a key factor. The majority of participants in Arica were from rural Aymara communities. In many cases, Aymara was their first language and they identified with Aymara culture. In Santiago, this was not the case. Most participants in Santiago had been urban dwellers in Bolivia, and few identified strongly as indigenous. The abuses that the Aymara and other indigenous populations in Bolivia have suffered as a result of colonisation and its continuing aftermath are well documented (e.g. Klein, 2010; Webber, 2011). Furthermore, sadly in Chile this is not only a memory but a lived reality maintained by widespread and institutionalised discrimination towards indigenous peoples. It is little wonder that a white outsider researcher would be associated with 'the establishment' and therefore indigenous Bolivians could well be reluctant to even participate in the study, let alone be audio recorded.

In total, I was able to record fourteen of the 20 interviews I conducted in Arica. The remaining six I still considered crucial to my research as they were nearly all carried out with Aymara Bolivians working in agriculture in the Valle de Azapa. There was no other means of accessing the information that they were able to provide me with and I decided that the benefits of carrying out these unrecorded interviews far outweighed the fact that I did not have an audio record of them. During each of these interviews I took notes, which I wrote up in long form immediately afterwards. The fourteen audio recorded interviews from Arica and the 39 from Santiago were all transcribed in full for analysis.

My contact in Bolivia with the friends and family members of participants from Chile were more informal because of the relationship on which they were founded. As mentioned in the section on participant observation, such participants saw me as a connection with their loved ones in Chile and thus the formality of a recorded interview was not appropriate. Rather, in the majority of cases I engaged in extensive conversation



with them on the topics that I wished to explore – the context of their daily lives in Bolivia before and after the migration of their family members and friends; migration from Bolivia more generally; their opinions of the economic, political, and social situation in Bolivia and their involvement in each of these spheres. I spent between several hours and several days with these friends and family members, visiting their homes and seeing their cities through their eyes, and consequently the information that I gathered was very rich.

The interviews I conducted with representatives of migrant organisations and experts in migration were different again and I was able to record and transcribe all but one of these in Chile. Gaining access to interview these participants was far more straightforward than gaining access to migrant participants. I was interviewing them in a relationship as colleagues, interested to hear their opinions on a topic that motivated both of us. They understood better the purpose of research and its potential impact and so in the majority of cases I was not faced with questions as to my motives and my qualification to be carrying out such a study.

In Bolivia, audio-recording interviews with migrant organisation staff and experts was not particularly appropriate given the nature of our relationship and the cultural context. In the case of all nine participants, they were so enthusiastic about the research that they put aside a minimum of three hours and sometimes a whole day or more to speak and work with me. They took me to see different places they thought relevant to my research, presented me with material that might be of use, and invited me to their houses to eat and even spend the night. I took notes and wrote up our extensive conversations in long form as soon as possible afterwards. Their warmth, encouragement, and extensive knowledge about the processes of out-migration from Bolivia provided me with inspiration and greatly enhanced my understanding of the context from which migrants to Chile come.

#### Interpretation and analysis

The interview transcripts, interview notes and all fieldnotes from participant observation were coded using NVivo 10 and then printed out in hard copy for reference. I analysed all interview transcripts in Spanish, only translating the sections to be cited in the thesis after analysis – following Temple and Young (2004, p.174) I found analysing in Spanish to be important for maintaining proximity to the participants' narratives. Coding and interpretation was an 'iterative rather than linear' process (Kitchin and Tate, 2000, p.239), in which I came back to the data repeatedly as my ideas developed over

time. Having transcribed one third of the interviews myself soon after conducting them, and proofread the others as soon as they were ready (generally two weeks to a month after interview), I found that I already had great familiarity with the material (Seale, 2004), which was very helpful for enabling me to engage with my research questions during and after fieldwork. Before fieldwork, I imagined that formal and informal *political* practices of citizenship would be the primary focus of the research. However, I rapidly realised through the interviews and participant observation in people's homes and neighbourhoods that – as discussed in the Chapters 1 and 2 – whilst important, they were only one aspect of citizenship. It was important to participants to also tell me about their entanglements with legal, economic, and social citizenship and thus I was inductively prompted to give greater consideration to these spheres of citizenship from the early stages of fieldwork onwards. I approached coding with these broad themes in mind; however there was also a great deal that came out of the transcripts and notes themselves as I took distance from them and examined them in detail with a fresh perspective once back in the UK. Consequently, analysis and interpretation was dialogic and creative (Kitchin and Tate, 2000) and occurred during and after fieldwork and as I wrote.

### *Boundary creation and maintenance*

Returning to my experiences in the field, issues pertaining to researcher/research participant boundaries and how they were affected by my gender, as well as some other ethical issues, merit further analysis and explanation.<sup>1</sup> Here I analyse complications I encountered in relation to my gender and the creation of boundaries. Then I address two particularly complex ethical issues I encountered, and finish by discussing social media in relation to the researcher/research participant relationship.

As mentioned above, on the whole the interviews I carried out with representatives from migrant organisations were usually less fraught with complexities arising from power imbalances. On one occasion I was challenged as to my motives and qualifications by the representative of a migrant organisation, however. He implied that, by virtue of being a foreign, white, blonde woman, I was to be little respected and my research was likely to be of no value. It was unpleasant to be confronted like this, but

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<sup>1</sup> Ethical approval for the project was granted by the Queen Mary Research Ethics Committee in May 2013, prior to embarking on fieldwork (see Appendix 4).

symptomatic of the *machismo* that pervades Chile and Bolivia that women face on a daily basis there.

Whilst this case was the exception with regards to relationships with representatives of migrant organisations, gender, and specifically *machismo*, had a significant impact on my relationship with migrant participants. It was difficult for me to recruit male participants, particularly from lower socio-economic backgrounds. In Santiago I conducted interviews with 28 female participants and 12 male participants and with 13 female and seven male participants in Arica. Again, power dynamics were clearly at play and I think that I was seen as potentially threatening by some men. One participant who eventually agreed to take part said to me that he had been worried he would not know the answers to the questions I was going to ask; he thought that they were related to mathematics and literacy, even though I had explained the study to him. This was quite revealing and helped me to understand how I could be perceived from the perspective of some male participants.

The other issue in regard to working with male participants, and particularly young male participants, was that it was sometimes hard to make clear the boundaries of the researcher/research participant relationship. I was careful to establish from the outset my role as a researcher; unfortunately, however, some participants made inappropriate advances which left me feeling uncomfortable and at times vulnerable. As a consequence, my confidence in relation to recruiting men for the research was affected, further adding to the difficulties I experienced.

On the other hand, my gender made it easier to relate to women and I could quickly develop rapport through discussing stereotypically 'female' gendered topics such as relationships and children. Many interviews with women started with queries as to my marital status and then questions as to whether my partner 'treated me well'. I found this complicated to respond to because of the undertones of female subservience and the possibility of violence against women which it implied, but I came to understand it as an entreaty to enter into a relationship of reciprocal exchange where details about our personal lives could be exchanged.

As a researcher, this kind of entreaty is of course complex to address. Feminist scholars have noted the importance of reciprocity in the exchange of information between researcher and research participant (e.g. McDowell, 2008). As stated above, I certainly subscribe to this view and for me sharing food was a physical representation of its importance. However, boundaries must be set and maintained for the protection of

both the researcher and the participant, as became apparent with some male participants. Whilst happy to answer direct questions about myself, I tried to always clarify that the relationship between my participants and me was more akin to that of colleagues on good terms than of close friends. I was also sometimes cast in the role of advisor by my participants, because of my knowledge of migration law and my work with MigraRed. When I was asked questions about how to apply for visas, for example, I would provide participants with information about the free attention provided by MigraRed and encourage them to seek this out, rather than putting myself in a position of responsibility for which I was not qualified.

There were, however, two occasions on which I felt ethically compelled to shoulder more responsibility than I normally would have. In the first instance, I uncovered a case of human trafficking for labour exploitation in the course of carrying out participant observation and interviews. I immediately discussed it with my supervisor at Queen Mary, University of London, and with staff at MigraRed, who all offered excellent advice and support. The problem was that I had been the one to uncover it and MigraRed is under-funded and under-staffed. As a consequence, whilst I could count on their support, I needed to take a lead role in liaising with police – including taking one victim to the police station where I waited for nine hours while she was interviewed and made a witness statement. I also had to make a statement to the police. As the police and government in Chile are only just coming to grips with the problem of human trafficking (see Chapter 6), dealing with this particular case was fraught with problems and there was confusion as to what steps should be taken.

On the second occasion, the response by the authorities was much swifter and my role was more minimal. During an interview, a woman informed me that her two-year old child was being sexually abused and that she was also being psychologically and physically abused. Again, after the interview I contacted my supervisor and MigraRed immediately. The social worker at MigraRed asked me – as someone who had established trust with the participant – to try and persuade her to come to the offices and report the abuse. If this failed, we were obliged by law to report it ourselves, which was likely to instigate what could have been a traumatic intervention by social services and the police. The participant was persuaded to come to the offices, and from there on the case was sensitively and efficiently dealt with by social workers and police.

These were two occasions on which my role shifted from that of researcher to that of advisor and activist. It was stressful and emotionally difficult but the ethics of both

situations demanded that I act outside my role as researcher. I was, however, careful to always proceed only on the advice of my supervisor and experts on the ground. It was in these instances in particular that I realised how invaluable it is to work in conjunction with a professional organisation when conducting research with potentially vulnerable populations.

In this digital era, social media further complicated the ethics of the researcher/research participant relationship – I certainly had not considered the impact that Facebook of all things might have on my research before leaving for the field, and there is as yet little written on this.<sup>2</sup> As I am sure other researchers who are the holders of Facebook accounts have found, once I began to conduct interviews I was bombarded with ‘friend’ requests from participants. I had to improvise a response to this. I felt that, again in the spirit of reciprocity, it would be impolite to refuse to ‘add’ people but, highly aware of the need to maintain my participants’ anonymity as well as my own privacy, I accepted such requests but stringently restricted what they could see of me and of others through increasing the privacy settings of my account.

In sum, boundary creation and maintenance were affected in my research in ways that I did not entirely anticipate. Although accustomed to the *machismo* pervasive in South America, I had not expected it to impact my relationship with participants to such a degree. Nonetheless, although this was sometimes complex to negotiate, it provided great insight into the ways that gender influenced the daily practices and lived experience of participants. Likewise I had not predicted the complex ethical issues that arose as a consequence of the two cases discussed above. They demanded that I re-negotiate the boundaries I had created as a researcher and take a more active role in participants’ lives. Finally, social media also had an effect on my relationship with participants in a way that I had not been prepared for. This is highly likely to continue to be a challenge for researchers and it is to be hoped that more work will be done on defining good practice in relation to this.

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<sup>2</sup> There is a burgeoning body of literature directly related to the impact of online social networking on our lives and the use of data collection from social network sites as a qualitative research method (e.g. on the former boyd and Marwick, 2011; Horst and Miller, 2012. On the latter Murthy, 2008; Berg and Lune, 2011). I could not, however, find scholarship addressing the impact of online social networking on the researcher/research participant relationship in the way that I experienced it.

## Isolation and empathy: the physical and emotional consequences of multi-sited ethnographic research

The above are challenges that could impact on any social science researcher using qualitative methods. I wish to conclude this chapter by examining the particular physical and emotional challenges that ethnography, and specifically multi-sited ethnography, can present to the researcher. One of the aspects of ethnography that makes it a unique methodology is its encompassing use of the researcher as the primary research tool. Such use of the researcher arguably means that she is invested 'body and soul' in the project – perhaps more so than when using other qualitative research methods. As discussed above, within feminist scholarship on qualitative research methods and particularly ethnography, in recognition of this there has been a turn towards greater use of reflexivity in the writing up of ethnographies and acknowledgement of the positionality of the researcher and its impact on the subjectivities of the research. There has, however, been concern that there can be too much emphasis on the role and sensibilities of the researcher, which can take the focus away from the research questions at hand (e.g. McDowell, 1992).

Whilst I think that it is certainly important not to slide into psychoanalysis of the self when writing up research, I would argue that – in much the same way as scholars would analyse the validity and reliability of a research tool such as a questionnaire and how this may have affected data collection – a brief analysis of the physical and emotional challenges confronted by the ethnographer illuminates the findings and analysis (cf. Davies and Spencer, 2010). Furthermore, as Warden (2013) points out, this kind of frank discussion is helpful to other researchers who have not yet embarked on fieldwork.<sup>3</sup>

Such an analysis also speaks to the growing body of work on 'emotional geographies' that has built on feminist theorists' development of concepts of positionality and reflexivity (Schurr and Abdo, 2015; Bondi, 2003). Emotional geography aims to express 'a sense of emotional involvement with people and places, rather than emotional detachment from them' (Davidson, Smith and Bondi, 2012, p.2), and concerns itself with how emotions are embodied, produced and represented, particularly with reference to place. Nevertheless, the focus has often been predominantly on the

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<sup>3</sup> This also became apparent in the popular panel on fieldwork at the Postgraduates in Latin American Studies Conference 2014 at the University of Sheffield in which I participated. Masters and PhD student who were preparing for fieldwork had many questions regarding the physical and emotional aspects of this kind of research to which they felt they could not find adequate answers in the literature.

emotions of *participants*, and 'there remains considerable reluctance to discuss the emotional impact of research on researchers themselves, at least in print' (Bondi, 2012, p.231; although see for example Schurr and Abdo, 2015; Smith, 2014). I share with Bondi, however, the belief that

reflecting on the rich and diverse qualities of researchers' emotional responses to fieldwork experiences may be important to our continuing capacity to conduct fieldwork, to interact sensitively with research participants, and to develop rich understandings of what it is we do.

Thus in the final section of this chapter, I will briefly examine some of the physical and emotional challenges that I experienced in 'the field', and the advantages and disadvantages that they had for my research.

'Being there' in numerous places presents a particular challenge to the multi-sited ethnographer. The culture shock of the new and the process of adaptation (Irwin, 2007) is replicated several times. This is physically and mentally tiring not only because of the repeated necessity of adapting but also because of the travel involved. In single-sited ethnography by contrast this process generally is only experienced twice – upon going to the field and upon return. I found the constant travel, particularly during the last stage of my fieldwork between Arica and the three sites in Bolivia, exhausting and unsettling. It inhibited my ability to build support networks, which had emotional consequences when I face challenges in the field. It did, however, increase the empathic relationship I had with my participants as I myself experienced some of the emotions associated with migration. This heightened empathy enabled me to better communicate with participants and, I would argue, enhanced the data I collected (cf. Bondi, 2003).

The most challenging incident from a personal perspective was the 2 April 2014 earthquake in the north of Chile that I had the misfortune to experience – Arica was very close to the epicentre. The following are extracts from the account I wrote to family and friends:

It was a fairly brusque movement and there was so much *noise* of things falling in all of the flats in my block (which is four storey – I'm on the fourth). From where I was standing, I could see out through the French doors of the balcony as all the lights of the city turned off. Overhead cables swung into each other causing flares of light and loud booms and cracks. It lasted two and a half minutes and was 8.2 on the Richter scale.

...

Then the tsunami evacuation sirens started sounding. Something about that awful wail does give a sense of impending doom – I think they should

consider playing a cheerful and motivating song instead. 'Shake, rattle and roll', perhaps?

...

The worst thing about the evacuation was that some people got in their cars to move to higher ground, which we've all been expressly told not to do. Arica is so laid out that even if you are on the beach you have time to get to higher ground on foot after an earthquake. People were driving like crazy and with no streetlights or traffic lights it was very dangerous. Fortunately no pedestrians were injured, but I did see someone run over and kill a pet dog because they were driving recklessly, which was upsetting.

On the way I chatted with quite a few people and I struck up conversation with a Bolivian migrant (what are the chances!) and ended up giving her my cardigan and a pair of socks as the poor thing had been in a supermarket wearing just a t-shirt and it was starting to get cold (Extract from personal email to family and friends, 4 April 2014).

Three things strike me on re-reading this extract. The first is the level of description. The vivid writing expresses the visceral way in which I experienced the earthquake. I felt panicked, alone, and upset by people acting outside the social norms. I still experience a jolt of fear when a window shakes in its frame because of the wind, or a train rocks, or a plane rumbles as it takes off. The second is the degree to which I tried to react with humour and convey a sense of calm to family and friends. Both relate to my point about the sense of isolation and lack of support networks that multi-sited ethnography in particular entails. I felt the precariousness of life and a sense of dreadful loneliness, similar to what Warren (2013, p.158), drawing on Nordstrom and Robben (1995, p.13), refers to as 'existential shock' when the researcher experiences for the first time a violent situation to which participants are accustomed. Chileans are familiar with very strong earthquakes and so in general react to them much more calmly than foreigners do, often with black humour – one of the most popular Chilean cocktails is called a *terremoto* [earthquake], and is chased with *réplicas* [aftershocks]. I tried to imitate this response as I reached out to my support networks on the other side of the world, but in reality I was very affected by the trauma I experienced.

The third aspect that draws my attention is how noticeable it is that my research stayed at the forefront of my mind. My encounter with a Bolivian migrant remains central to my memories of that night, and I recall how we remained together for several hours after the earthquake, bound together both by the fact that we were outsiders and by my knowledge of, and participation in, the transnational social spaces in which she moved. In spite of over two years spent living in Chile, I felt more in common with her that night than with the Chileans who surrounded us.



This illustrates the particularities of multi-sited ethnographic research. A heightened sense of isolation is created as the researcher moves away from their usual support networks and engages in movement between sites, which complicates the creation of new support networks. This could have a negative impact on the emotional health of the researcher, as the constant movement could likewise have on their physical health. On the other hand, this enhanced understanding of the different sites and the movement that form part of the research participants' lives produces the 'virtuous spiral' referred to by Riccio (2011). The researcher feels greater empathy for the participants, and thus her ability to gather data and then analyse it is perhaps increased.

## CONCLUSION

Multi-sited ethnography provided a methodology that fitted exceptionally well with my research questions. It enabled me to follow the people and their practices within transnational spaces of citizenship, maintaining a sense of the multiple intersections and flows within these spaces. Moreover, the specific methods I employed allowed me to work across scales in a multi-sited fashion. Participant observation and semi-structured interviews were the ideal complement to one another in allowing me to work with migrant participants, migrant organisations, and experts on migration, taking into account intersectionality.

I faced challenges common to many who conduct qualitative social research with vulnerable populations. Power dynamics were ever-present, and impacted particularly on access and the process of conducting interviews. There were also challenges that I think are more specific to ethnographic research, especially multi-sited ethnographic research. Conducting multi-sited fieldwork was at times an isolating experience, but it also generated greater empathy with participants, which was invaluable in improving my ability to gather and analyse data. For those working on migration, multi-sited ethnography offers great depth and breadth. It is important, however, to maintain a perspective that views the sites included as part of one constructed, fluid, and three dimensional whole. Moreover, it is vital that researchers be aware of, and prepared to confront, challenges particular to a methodology that requires great physical and emotional commitment on their part in what can be difficult contexts. The next chapter gives further detail of the context in which I was working, both from a macro perspective and from the vantage point of migrant participants.

## 4. CONTEXTUALISING THE RESEARCH: PLACES OF UNCERTAIN CITIZENSHIP

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In the room where my niece lives you can fit a double bed and a single, and nothing else. And we all squashed in there, and we lived four grown-ups and a little girl. Five people ... In the single bed, there was my husband, me, and we put a soft toy or something alongside so that if we rolled off, we'd fall on that. I mean, it's not a bed, it's a mattress on the floor. We were like that for March, April, May, about two months while we looked for another room. April was when my sister arrived. Then in that same room it was my niece, her husband, my husband and me, my sister, and two children. There were seven of us.

Diana, 28, from Santa Cruz, Bolivia

Here Diana describes the chronic overcrowding she has experienced whilst living in tenement housing occupied predominantly by migrants in Santiago, Chile. There are pockets of such housing – hidden in plain sight – dotted throughout the central *comunas* [local authorities] of the capital city. They are a manifestation of what it means to experience uncertain citizenship.

Place matters. As Massey (2005, p.131) contends, 'If space is ... a simultaneity of stories-so-far, then places are collections of those stories, articulations within the wider power-geometries of space'. That is to say, places do not pre-exist but rather 'are shaped by often oppressive institutional forces and social relationships' (Hubbard, Kitchin and Valentine, 2004, p.6). They are not abstract, however, but rather articulated through embodiment; understood and created through the physical and experiential (Thrift, 2003, pp.103–104). Therefore emotions may 'become integral to how places are imagined and portrayed' (Bondi, Davidson and Smith, 2012, p.6), as the literature on emotional geography contends. Places are consequently comprehended in a variety of ways by different people, but they also have shared meaning.

For participants in this research, there were certainly particular places that were collections of their 'stories-so-far', and which it is important to comprehend in order to make sense of how uncertain citizenship affects migrants in their daily lives. Therefore, prior to embarking on discussion of the construction of and interactions between spaces of citizenship in Chapters 5 to 8, this chapter will explore six 'places of uncertain citizenship' that exemplify the lived reality of uncertain citizenship. Before doing this,

however, the chapter will ‘zoom out’ to provide some broader context to the lives of Bolivian migrants in Chile, providing an overview of migration flows from and to Bolivia and Chile.

## THE BIG PICTURE: MIGRATION FLOWS FROM AND WITHIN BOLIVIA AND CHILE

This section briefly provides key information about migration trends in Bolivia and Chile. It begins by examining shifting trends in Bolivian migration, from the rapid increase in internal migration seen from the 1950s onwards, to the out-migration very common today. It then turns to discuss migration patterns from and to Chile, indicating the significant changes that have occurred since the return to democracy in the 1990s.

### Shifting patterns in Bolivian migration

It is estimated that around 706,000 Bolivians, or 6.8 per cent of the population, currently reside outside the country (Pereira Morató, 2011, p.9), although some estimates put the figure as high as 14 to 23 per cent of the population (Bolivia Cultural, 2013).<sup>1</sup> Whilst historically Bolivia has actively pursued policies of encouraging immigration in order to populate what was portrayed as an ‘uninhabited country’, for many years now it has been a country of negative net migration (Pereira Morató, 2011). This has been combined with a continuous flow of internal rural-urban migration from the 1950s onwards (Klein, 2011; Blumtritt, 2013).

#### *Internal migration*

Although there is significant debate as to the degree of change brought about by the 1952 Bolivian Revolution (see, for example Dunkerley, 2013; Klein, 2011; Hylton and Thomson, 2007), it does seem that it sparked an increase in internal rural-urban migration. Whilst in 1950, 73 per cent of the population was classified as rural, by 1976 this figure had fallen to 50 per cent (Klein, 2011, p.235). A combination of factors can be posited as contributing to this demographic shift. In particular, in this period healthcare and education improved significantly and became more readily available to a greater percentage of the population. Largely as a consequence of better healthcare, there was a

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<sup>1</sup> It is very difficult to accurately estimate the size of the Bolivian population currently residing outside the country as there is no comprehensive, electronic database for recording the exits and entrances of migrants in Bolivia (Pereira Morató, 2011, pp.18–19). Moreover, as discussed in Chapter 5, many enter or remain in destination countries without documentation, thus making accurate statistics even more difficult to obtain.

population boom, and the improvements in education led to a rapid increase in literacy levels. A growing population and a sense of the possibility of upward mobility due to better education and changes in the social structure encouraged many to move to the cities in search of work.

This internal migration flow would continue and increase particularly from 1971 to 1978, during General Hugo Banzer's dictatorship. This period saw massive modernisation of urban areas, most notably in the Santa Cruz region. Whilst the population had previously been clustered in the West and around the cities of La Paz, Potosí and Oruro, people began to move eastwards, with the importance of the cities of Cochabamba and Santa Cruz growing significantly (Klein, 2011). Although it was predominantly a period of urbanization, migration from the highlands to certain rural areas was also a feature. This was largely due to the burgeoning coca trade concentrated in the Chapare Province, which had been fuelled particularly by the construction of better roads that aided the transportation of the coca leaf (Klein, 2011; Webber, 2011).

Rural-urban migration in Bolivia has continued up until the present day, with approximately 67 per cent of the population classified as urban<sup>2</sup> in the 2001 census (Instituto Nacional de Estadísticas Bolivia, 2012). In the 2012 census, Santa Cruz emerged as the region with the largest population, closely followed by the La Paz region, with most growth in the city of El Alto (Instituto Nacional de Estadísticas Bolivia, 2012). These changes in population distribution within the country have been accompanied by mass out-migration since the 1970s.

### *Out-migration*

The late 1970s and early 1980s was a chaotic and brutal epoch in Bolivian politics. Following the fall of the Banzer dictatorship in 1978, a transitional military regime was installed while the civilian political parties regrouped and reorganized. This was briefly followed by a period of civilian government, before the forceful installation of a military junta under General Luis Garcia Meza in 1980. Meza remained at the head of the junta for one year, and a series of other temporary juntas followed his rule. This was a period of extreme violence and repression, and one which left the economy devastated due to corruption and mismanagement by both state and private sector (Klein, 2011, pp.237–238).

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<sup>2</sup> In Bolivia, the definition of urban is a 'locality with more than 2,000 inhabitants' (CELADE/CEPAL, 1999).

Throughout this time, however, the population remained mobilised and politically aware (Webber, 2011), and democratic, civilian government returned in 1982 under the presidency of Hernán Siles Zuazo. His government could not, however, resolve the economic crisis and thus elections were brought forward to mid-1985. Víctor Paz Estenssoro assumed the presidency for the third time – 33 years after he first became President – and implemented Decreto Supremo N° 21060 on August 29 1985. It incorporated a series of tough orthodox measures intended to bring the economy under control, and ushered in an era of neoliberalism that has arguably continued in some form until the present day (Webber, 2011; Dunkerley, 2007a).

The immediate impact of these measures – which included devaluation of the currency, reduction of government expenditure, and privatization of natural resources, state-owned enterprises, and public services – could be classed to some degree as short-term ‘political and fiscal successes’ (Klein, 2011, p.246). Nonetheless, the longer term impact was a lack of economic growth and increased social injustice. Unemployment rose to 20 per cent, particularly due to the collapse of the tin industry, which also severely impacted upon organised labour. Working conditions became increasingly precarious for many, and there was a significant increase in informal labour with the poor pay and long hours that this often entailed (Webber, 2011, pp.21–26).

The economic uncertainty in this period led to a marked increase in out-migration, especially to Argentina (Pereira Morató, 2011; Mondaca Plaza, 2007; Bastia, 2007; Preston, 2002). During this period, Buenos Aires became the favoured destination for Bolivian migrants to Argentina, where many became involved in garment manufacturing. Following the 2001 Argentinean crisis, however, and the devaluation of the Argentine peso, those Bolivians who were compelled to migrate began to look to other destinations as well, and the Bolivian population resident in Argentina declined (Bastia, 2007), although there were still approximately 345,272 Bolivians resident in Argentina in 2010 (Pereira Morató, 2011, p.36).

Outside Latin America, Spain became popular, and in 2009 it was recorded that there were 222,497 Bolivians residing in Spain (Pereira Morató, 2011, p.36). This was motivated in large part because it was not necessary for Bolivians to possess a visa to move to Spain until 2007. The United States was also an increasingly appealing option for those with the resources to leave Latin America (Pereira Morató, 2011). From 2001 to 2008 – the years in which many Bolivians moved to Spain and the United States as well as other destinations outside Latin America – the amount sent back to Bolivia in

remittances boomed, reaching 7.4 per cent of Bolivian GDP in 2007 (Klein, 2011, p.283; see also Chapter 6).

There were many on lower incomes, however, who could not afford to leave the continent, but who nonetheless still felt it imperative to leave the country. Whilst there had been marked improvements in access to healthcare and education since the 1970s, as Bolivia entered the twenty-first century it remained one of the poorest countries in Latin America, having suffered years of economic turmoil and neoliberal policies unfriendly to those not in the upper echelons of society. In 2007 it was estimated that 60 per cent of Bolivian homes could not meet minimum Bolivian government standards in terms of housing and adequate access to potable water, food, and sanitation (Klein, 2011, p.282). In 2011, just over 45 per cent of Bolivians were estimated to be living below the national poverty line, and in 2012 it was calculated that eight per cent of the population lived on less than US\$1.25 per day (World Bank, 2015).

From the early 2000s, Brazil, and particularly São Paulo, increased in popularity as a destination for Bolivian migrants with limited economic resources and little formal education. Estimates put the Bolivian population in São Paulo at 20,388 in 2000, and it is now thought that between 50,000 and 80,000 Bolivians reside there (Pereira Morató, 2011, pp.38–39). As in Buenos Aires, the vast majority work in the textile industry (Bolivia Cultural, 2013; Satie Bermudes, 2012). Within Latin America, the other major shift in Bolivian migration away from Argentina has been to Chile, although there is far less information available on Bolivian migrants in Chile than there is on their counterparts in Brazil and Argentina. This is in spite of the significant numbers entering Chile, especially when one considers the markedly smaller population of Chile in comparison to Brazil.<sup>3</sup> Chile may have now overtaken Brazil as a migration destination for Bolivians (Los Tiempos, 2013). In 2009 it was estimated that the population of Bolivians in Chile was 24,116 (Martínez Pizarro, 2011, p.128), however the *Consulado General de Chile* [General Consulate for Chile] declared in 2011 that there were approximately 50,000 Bolivians residing permanently in Chile – of those, some 30,000 were thought to have irregular migratory status (Pereira Morató, 2011, p.39; see also Chapter 5).

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<sup>3</sup> The current population of Chile is approximately 17.8 million in comparison with a population of over 200 million in Brazil (CEPAL, 2015).

Suffice it to say that it seems likely that the flow of Bolivian migrants into both Chile and Brazil is set to continue, particularly given the impact that the recession has had on Europe and the United States and the fact that Brazil and Chile, although affected, have been a lot less damaged (Cárdenas and Henao, 2010). Between 2007 and 2009, the remittances entering Bolivia from Spain diminished by 18.9 per cent and those from the US decreased by 24.2 per cent. In this same period, the remittances entering the country from Brazil increased 72.1 per cent, and those from Chile augmented by 22 per cent (Pereira Morató, 2011, p.50). Migration to Chile and Brazil is an attractive option because, whilst there have certainly been some improvements in the standard of living and levels of social equality in Bolivia in recent years, the fact remains that Bolivia is still placed 108 out of the 187 countries on the Human Development Index in comparison with Chile at 40 and Brazil at 85 (UNDP, 2013).

### **Chile: An increasingly popular migrant destination**

In 1990, 17 years of dictatorship under General Pinochet finally came to an end in Chile when democratically elected President Patricio Aylwin was inaugurated on 11 March. As is well-known, the dictatorship saw massive human rights abuses, including the murder or disappearance of over 2,200 people by government agents, and the torture of nearly 30,000 (Chilean National Commission on Truth and Reconciliation, 1993; Comisión Nacional sobre Prisión Política y Tortura, 2005). Considerably less well documented, although increasingly recognised, was the exile of approximately 200,000 people; two per cent of Chile's 1973 population (Wright and Zúñiga, 2007). Already a country of negative net migration (Martínez Pizarro, 2011), the number of Chileans outside the country grew rapidly. Furthermore, very few foreigners moved to Chile during this period.

Whilst gradually Chileans who had been in exile did return following the end of the military regime, in 2005, it was estimated that over 850,000 Chileans reside outside the country (Martínez Pizarro, 2011). The majority live in Argentina, the US, and Sweden. Around 57 per cent were born in Chile, and 43 per cent overseas. Nearly 70 per cent are men. Motives given for leaving the country are primarily for economic reasons or to join family members, although 12 per cent cite political reasons (Martínez Pizarro, 2011, p.132), and are likely to be those who went into exile.

The number of Chileans outside the country is still far more than the 352,344 migrants estimated to be living in Chile in 2010 (Departamento de Extranjería y

Migración, 2010), the most recent estimate available.<sup>4</sup> Nevertheless, the number of migrants in Chile has increased significantly since the end of the dictatorship. In 1992, there were an estimated 114,597 foreigners living in Chile, or 0.9 per cent of the total population. By 2002, this had increased to 184,464 – 1.2 per cent of the population – and the 2010 estimate corresponds to just over two per cent of the population. It is likely that the actual number of migrants in Chile is higher, given that the 2010 estimate is based on those who have applied for visas and are therefore in regular migratory situations.

Using the 2010 estimate, it is thought that 37 per cent of the migrant population in Chile is Peruvian, 17 per cent is Argentinean, and nearly seven per cent is Bolivian, followed by Colombians and Ecuadorians (Martínez Pizarro, 2011, pp.128–129). Again, however, these may not be accurate figures as they account for the population with visas. Using these statistics, the estimate for the Bolivian population is 24,226; however, as noted above, the Consulado General de Chile puts the figure at around 50,000 once migrants in irregular situations are accounted for. This latter estimate for the Bolivian population in Chile was thought likely by the Bolivian Consul in Santiago whom I interviewed, and he believed it may be even higher.

Regardless of the absolute veracity of the figures, they are nonetheless indicative of important trends in migration to Chile. Peruvian, Bolivian, Colombian, and Ecuadorian migration augmented significantly in the period 1992 to 2010, whilst Argentinean migration – in the past the most important migrant flow into Chile – decreased (Martínez Pizarro, 2011). Argentineans are the outliers in other respects, too. A higher percentage of child migration and an even split between genders indicates a tendency towards family migration, and Argentineans are also more likely to remain permanently in Chile, do not tend to cluster in one region, and on average have better incomes than other migrant groups (Stefoni, 2011). All other groups have seen a marked feminisation of migration in recent years, and a strong tendency towards settling in Santiago although, as noted in Chapter 3, there are many Bolivians living in the Arica and Parinacota Region, and other migrant groups are increasingly present in the north of the country as well (Departamento de Extranjería y Migración, 2010).

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<sup>4</sup> From the 2010 annual report of the Departamento de Extranjería y Migración [Department of Immigration]. The 2012 census was declared unreliable by the Chilean Instituto Nacional de Estadísticas [National Institute of Statistics], and all data from this is currently under review and unavailable (Instituto Nacional de Estadísticas Chile, 2014).



The increase in migration to Chile can largely be explained by the steady economic growth and the political and social stability that Chile has experienced since the fall of the dictatorship (Gideon, 2014, p.173; Martínez Pizarro, 2011, pp.126–127; Stefoni, 2011). As indicated above with respect to Bolivia, this stability and growth compares especially favourably to the socio-economic and political circumstances of other countries in the region from which migrants are coming. For example, Chile became a member of the OECD [Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development] in 2010, and was the first South American country to join. Thus in some respects it is perhaps more comparable with countries considered part of the global North than those of the global South, and this is undoubtedly part of its allure for migrants.

Nevertheless, Chile is consistently well below average with respect to many OECD social indicators (OECD, 2014). In spite of sustained economic growth, it has a Gini coefficient of 0.49, making it the most unequal country in the OECD, and average within Latin America (OECD, 2013; Brandt, 2012), thus situating it in an ambiguous position between global North and global South. As this research will indicate, migrants, and particularly Bolivian migrants, are often some of the most marginalised and discriminated against in this highly unequal society, and generally do not reap the benefits of living in a country considered one of the 34 most ‘developed’ in the world. The next part of this chapter sets the scene for understanding the peripheral, uncertain lived realities of many participants in this research.

## SETTING THE SCENE: SIX PLACES OF UNCERTAIN CITIZENSHIP

Having presented key information to enable a broad understanding of the context of participants’ migration to Chile, I turn now to providing an analysis of the context from the perspective of participants’ themselves. Six places are discussed here, and all in different ways were representations of the uncertain citizenship felt by many participants. The focus on these particular places emerged through thematic analysis of participants’ narratives, as expounded through the semi-structured interviews conducted. All of the places discussed here were central to the narratives of various migrant participants (Kohler Riessman, 2005). These places were vividly described, and participants often wished to talk about them in detail. The descriptions participants offered in interview were complemented by participant observation carried out in these places before, during, and after interviews in a process of ‘following’ coherent with the core values of multi-sited ethnography (Marcus, 1995) discussed in Chapter 3.

Five were places lived in by participants: the *migrant cités* [tenement housing] of Santiago; the rooms of those in domestic service working *puertas adentro* [living in] in Santiago; *bodegas* [warehouses] in both Santiago and Arica; and *parcelas* [smallholdings] and *campamentos* [self-built settlements; shanty-towns] and *poblaciones* [urban slums] in Arica. The case of the sixth place presented here – the Chilean-Bolivian border at Lake Chungará – is slightly different as it was a place of transit rather than habitation, but a place that nonetheless was an embodiment of uncertain citizenship. All are places on the margins (Shields, 1992) – in some cases literally on the geographic periphery, as with the border at Lake Chungará; in other cases figuratively peripheral to the centre of society, as with the *migrant cités* that are, ironically, located in the heart of the capital city. They are places which perform a clever *trompe l'oeil*, being at once invisibilised and yet highly visible. And thus they are places of liminality, full of ‘ambiguity and paradox’ because they cannot be defined by a stable or recurrent condition (Turner, 1967, p.97). Many migrants have inhabited or passed through more than one of these places, sometimes in more than one country, and in them many have felt fear and insecurity.

### The *Migrant Cité*, Santiago

The term *cité* has more than one meaning in modern Santiago. In its original sense when it first came into use in the late nineteenth century, it referred to the housing created for the urban working class, generally by the philanthropic arm of a business for its workers or through Catholic Church funding (Villalba, 2006). A *cité* typically consisted of two rows of small terraced houses facing each other across a narrow passageway, which served as a communal outdoor space for the inhabitants of the houses. Each house had its own toilet, washing and cooking facilities. This was in contrast to the *conventillos*, which were simply rooms off an outdoor passageway or courtyard with shared toileting, washing, and cooking facilities in the passageway or courtyard (Villalba, 2006).

There is now a certain romanticizing of the old *cité* and the notion of community life that it seems to promote. In parts of Santiago, such as Barrios Yungay and Brasil, the old *cités* – which were constructed up until around the 1950s – have been gentrified and there are campaigns to restore and save more of them (Nuestro, 2003). The places in which participants in this research were living have far more in common with the old *conventillos* than the *cités*, but in popular parlance this kind of dwelling is also referred to as a *cité*, perhaps to veil their unhappy reality. In order to be consistent with the language of home and housing used in Santiago, but to also recognize the stark contrast between the traditional *cité* and the residences of participants in this research, I will use

the term '*migrant cité*' to refer to the places of non-citizenship in which participants lived.

Almost half of the 40 participants in Santiago lived in *migrant cités*. They were men and women, from different *departamentos* of Bolivia, with differing socio-economic backgrounds and levels of education. The majority had finished secondary school but had no further education. In general, although not in all cases, they came from working class or lower middle class backgrounds in Bolivia. A typical *migrant cité* consists of several rooms – generally up to around 10 – off a central passageway, which is sometimes covered by a roof but quite often exposed. The façades of the houses tend to look rather bare but reasonably maintained, and from the street their size gives the impression that each house must be occupied by one family. However, this impression belies the reality within whole blocks of such houses in central *comunas* in Santiago. The rooms in these *migrant cités* are not normally single occupant rooms; rather they are shared between couples, families, or sometimes non-family groups. There is often serious overcrowding, and constant movement of people, as the extract from the interview with Diana above indicates.

In fact, Diana had already moved through various places of uncertain citizenship, including the *villas miserias* and sweatshops of Buenos Aires. She described living there as giving a sense of being 'piled on top of one another, like little rats' – vividly emphasising the chronic overcrowding characteristic of both places of uncertain citizenship in which she has lived, and the sense of dehumanisation that life in these places entailed for her. She and her husband had continually experienced exclusion from spaces of economic, social, and sometimes legal, citizenship as they moved from Bolivia to Argentina, back to Bolivia, and then to Chile. This was powerfully represented through the kinds of places which they had been compelled to inhabit.

Other migrants in the Santiago *migrant cités* share in similarly overcrowded conditions with non-family groups. This is often the case for young women who come alone to Chile and work in cleaning, or for young men who work in construction. Diego, 21, also from Santa Cruz and working in construction, shared with three other men in a room that he described as being two by three metres square. When he first arrived, he slept on a pile of several sheets of cardboard as he could not afford a mattress. He was working on a tourist visa, and so had no access to legal citizenship, and consequently was also excluded from economic citizenship as he was unable to find work which paid him the minimum wage.

Figure 4.1 Migrant cité from outside, Recoleta, Santiago



Source: Author

Rosa, 29, from Sucre, was similarly excluded from economic citizenship, having lost her job upon becoming pregnant. She had also experienced exclusion from spaces of social citizenship (although not from legal citizenship), and in particular had struggled to obtain quality healthcare throughout a complex pregnancy. For Rosa, one of the worst aspects of living in a *migrant cité* was the difficulty of access to the bathroom and to water. She shared a bathroom with 10 other people and there was no hot water, which was proving particularly difficult with a new-born baby. Such circumstances were common throughout *migrant cités*.

Temperatures in Santiago can drop to several degrees below zero in the winter, making a lack of hot water particularly problematic at this time of year. Furthermore, *migrant cités* are unheated and frequently have ill-fitting roofs that let in wind and rain. Cristina, 37, who, like Diana, had lived in other marginal places, including on the streets in Cochabamba, Bolivia, described the winter conditions in her *migrant cité*:

**MR:** And are there leaks?

**Cristina:** Water, yes. Actually, the roof fell in and ever since, every year I've been saying [*to the landlord*], "Don Guillermo, please fix the roof because it's letting in water".

**MR:** Of course. Well, there are also exposed cables so it could be dangerous.

**Cristina:** "Yes," he says, "let's just cover it with some bin bags," and, well, that's it. The water really flows in badly here. No, here it fills up with water.

**MR:** And is it cold in the winter?

**Cristina:** Yes, it's cold. Ugh, in the winter you really get cold. It's horrible, we walk around numb from cold.

As indicated above, exposed electricity cables hanging in the passageways are also a common feature of the *migrant cités*. This can pose a serious fire hazard, especially as cooking is done in spaces that are rarely well ventilated – either in people's rooms (some of which are windowless) or in the passageway. Clothes washing and drying facilities are also limited and clothes are hung to dry in the passageways or in participants' rooms, quite frequently near the cooker.

*Migrant cités* are places of overcrowding, privation and sometimes extreme poverty, as well as danger in relation to the health and safety of their inhabitants. These characteristics were stressed repeatedly by participants in their narratives, and I also bore witness to them through participant observation. *Migrant cités* meet many of the UN-HABITAT (2007) criteria that define a dwelling as a slum household. Hidden in plain sight behind the façades of what look like single-family occupied houses in central *comunas* of Santiago, the very word *cité* also serves to invisibilise them, conflating them as it does with a romanticized vision of the original *cités* of the nineteenth century. They are liminal places with a sense of insecurity and impermanence due to the high turn-over of inhabitants – who do not have legal tenure – and the very materials from which they are made.

### Working *Puertas Adentro*, Santiago

To be a *nana puertas adentro* [live-in maid/nanny] is a job description set out in a turn of phrase that seems to be peculiar to Chile. Whilst of course the concept of domestic workers 'living in' is widespread throughout Latin America and much of the rest of the world, it would appear that the term *nana puertas adentro* is a Chileanism. *Nana* is the word generally used in Chile to refer to female domestic workers. There is a less demeaning term – *asesora de hogar* [loosely, female household employee] – but I use

*Figure 4.2. Bathroom, migrant cité, Recoleta, Santiago*



Source: Author

*Figure 4.3. Cooking facilities, migrant cité, Recoleta, Santiago*



Source: Author

*nana* here deliberately because of the connotations of gendered, and potentially racialised, power relations which it conveys (see Chapter 6). Moreover, the sense of 'behind closed doors' that can be implied through *puertas adentro* makes the phrase seem unwittingly appropriate given the exploitative labour and living conditions to which many women working as *nanas* are subjected.

As has been discussed more extensively in a United States context (e.g. Glenn, 2007; Hondagneu-Sotelo, 2007; Lee, 2010) in crucial ways women, because it is invariably women, in these roles 'have been denied full citizenship – that is, they have not been recognized as fully independent and responsible members of the community, entitled to civil, political, and social rights' (Glenn, 2007, p.48). As in the *migrant cités*, in the houses where women work *puertas adentro* the occupation of spaces of uncertain citizenship becomes articulated in places. Of course, the big houses – typically in the wealthy eastern suburbs of Santiago – where women employed as *nanas* work and live are certainly vastly different from the *migrant cités* in terms of the material comfort they offer. Though small and usually next to the kitchen, laundry or the room where the baby sleeps, the rooms in which these women sleep are furnished and warm. Nonetheless, women working and living in these places are cut off from family, social networks, and the normal fabric of everyday social life. Like the *migrant cités*, the very private sphere of the family home in which *nanas* work and live is hidden from public view. And yet all work, caring work included, should be subject to public sphere regulations (see Chapter 6). However, in the houses where migrant women work as *nanas*, a liminal borderland is created as private and public, and boundaries of work and life, are blurred (Stefoni and Fernández, 2013). This was made starkly clear to me when interviewing one woman, Magdalena, 38, from El Alto, near the house where she worked and lived.

Like Magdalena and the vast majority of participants, I did not have a car in Santiago and was reliant on public transport. To travel to the house where Magdalena was a *nana puertas adentro* from the centre of Santiago, I had to take the metro and then two buses, the second of which only ran once every hour. The journey by public transport took an hour, not including time spent waiting for the bus, after which I had to walk for 15 minutes to get to the house in Alto Macul, in the foothills of the Andes in the south-east of the city.

The house was in a gated community with a small plaza. Here I sat on a bench with Magdalena while we talked. She only had 40 minutes because, although it was 7pm and she had started her working day at 8am, her employer needed her to finish cooking

the evening meal and then clear up. She worked Monday to Saturday but thought she might look for a job in another house on Sundays as well because, living and working in such an isolated place, she thought that she had little chance of forming a social life in her time off and so may as well spend it working.

Magdalena was the only participant working as a *nana puertas adentro* whom I interviewed at her place of work. Whilst there are many Bolivian migrant women working as such in Santiago, they are a very difficult group to access precisely because of how cut off they are from social networks. Consequently I was unable to interview many women in these roles or carry out participant observation in their life/workplaces. However, the detailed descriptions of the houses where they worked given in the narratives of the other four participants who were employed *puertas adentro* at the time of interview, and the two who had been employed as such previously, were very similar to the house in Alto Macul where Magdalena worked.

Likewise, the punishing work schedule was similar for all of these women, and signified an exclusion from spaces of economic citizenship in which workers' rights are respected. All also commented on the infringement of their ability to participate in spaces of social citizenship; namely their ability to form and maintain social networks, as well as relationships with their families. The great irony, of course, is that it is their vital participation in the fabric of another family's social life that disallows them their own. Insecurity was a further feature of their lives in these places, as many faced the constant worry of losing their jobs without notice and having nowhere to go. In sum, isolation and exclusion from participating in various spaces of citizenship was a feature of life in these hidden – yet visible – places.

### ***Bodegas, Santiago and Arica***

*Bodega* refers here to the places of uncertain citizenship within or adjacent to storage warehouses where some participants were or had been living. Four women, two in Santiago and two in Arica, were living in such circumstances at the time of interview and one (in Santiago) had been up until a week prior to interview. All gave ample evidence that they knew of other migrant women and some men, of Bolivian and other nationalities, living in similar circumstances.

Following indications given to me by the Bolivian consul in Santiago regarding Bolivian migrants living and labouring in marginal conditions, in October 2013 I visited for the first time the wholesale clothes shopping arcades along Santiago's main avenue, La Alameda, in the *comuna* of Estación Central. The very first Bolivian migrant I spoke to



and consequently interviewed that day – Cata, 25, from El Alto – was one of the victims of trafficking for labour exploitation mentioned in Chapter 3. She was living with several other people in a *bodega* next to the clothes shop where she worked. She was working twelve to sixteen hours a day, six days a week, and had not been paid for five months.

The ease with which I found such a participant, the consul's implicit knowledge of such goings on, and subsequent interviews and conversations with other migrants, made it clear that this area of the city abounded with such places of marginality. It is potentially comparable, though on a smaller scale, to the sweatshops of São Paulo and Buenos Aires in which Bolivian migrants labour (Satie Bermudes, 2012). There remains much more research to be done into these places, and the exclusions from spaces of citizenship that they represent, but it is challenging due to the risks to the researcher and participants given the illegal activities in which their employers are engaged.

Kinberley, 26, from La Paz, whom I interviewed after meeting Cata, was the participant mentioned above who had previously been living in a room adjacent to a warehouse. The room was provided for 'free' and she was required to live there as one of the conditions of her employment, selling clothing wholesale in the shopping arcade next to the warehouse. She described the experience of first arriving at that room:

**MR:** And was it... was the room a warehouse as well, or was it a room?

**Kinberley:** It was a room, it was a room. And beside it was the warehouse. But there were some people who slept in the warehouse, they slept like that.

"Ooh," I said, "What should I do?" Because the first time I arrived and entered the house, the house was dirty, and I said to myself, "Where have I ended up?"

I went upstairs. I don't know, I didn't like it. Now, "What should I do?" Like that. I'm here but I can't go back.

This was a place that caused her to feel fear and insecurity, but she felt she could not leave. Cata and her fellow worker, Marta, 35, from a rural community in the *departamento* of Oruro, also felt trapped, and indeed, were generally only able to leave the building where they were living on Sundays because of the stipulations of their employers. Moreover, there was a sense of danger and clandestine activity in the area. As with the façades of the *migrant cités*, the shopping arcade and house fronts along La Alameda in this part of the city hid the reality within. In the small shopping arcade where Cata and Marta worked (which was very similar, and on the block next to, the one where Kinberley had worked), the majority of the shops sold clothing at wholesale prices. Cata informed me – and I could verify – that nearly all of the shops were staffed by migrant

workers. She told me that most of them lived and worked in conditions similar to her own.

Furthermore, in the same arcade, there was a *café con piernas* [literally, café with legs], a euphemism for a café where the wait-staff are women wearing minimal clothing. In the most mild *cafés con piernas*, the women wear blouses and very short skirts. At the other end of the spectrum, such establishments are essentially strip clubs. *Cafés con piernas* are a fairly accepted and normalized part of Santiago culture, and those that are legal are openly advertised. However, there are some that are not openly advertised, which may be a front for brothels.

The *café con piernas* in the arcade where Cata and Marta worked seemed highly likely to be one of the latter. It was hidden away at the back of the arcade and the door and windows were blacked out. Cata and Marta said that the women working there were mainly Colombian migrants and they thought that they were involved in sex work. There are clear gendered, racialised stereotypes of different nationalities at work in Chile, which have an impact on migrants (van Dijk, 2005). Colombian and Central American women in particular can be seen as an exotic and sexualized Other; the continuation of a long history of racist, gendered stereotyping of afro-descendent and *mestiza* women as sexually available (see, for example Viveros Vigoya, 2012). Arguably, this can increase their vulnerability to sexual exploitation in Chile, as has been shown is the case, for example, for Filipino women in other contexts who are stereotyped in a similar way (Pettman, 2010). Whilst the women in the *café con piernas* in the arcade where Cata and Marta worked may have been there voluntarily, given the circumstances in which others in the arcade were working there was a distinct possibility that they were being sexually exploited. Overall, within the arcade there was a sense of a sordid twilight underground world in which migrant workers were effectively trapped day and night.

In Arica, sisters Isabela, 20, and Antonia, 25, also lived in poor conditions where they felt unsafe. They too were hidden in plain sight. The flower stall where the sisters worked in El Agro, Arica's main market, was an enchanting mass of colours, scents, and neat, orderly displays. However, Isabela and Antonia laboured there up to sixteen hours a day, six days a week, and then went to sleep in a room off one of the warehouses behind El Agro. Just as for the women in Santiago, the room was provided as part of the job. There they slept three to a mattress, with no cooking facilities and a rudimentary bathroom. There was no lock on the door, leading to a profound sense of insecurity for the women.

Figure 4.4. Flower stall, El Agro, Arica



Source: Author

These kinds of *bodegas* in Santiago and Arica are places where inhabitants are denied participation in multiple spaces of citizenship. Participants living there experienced feelings of entrapment and fear. Due to the provision of rooms in *bodegas* by employers, these places enabled and exacerbated labour exploitation. They were invisibilised by the commercial bustle of shops and markets, ensuring that they remained unregulated and passed unnoticed.

### *Parcelas, Arica*

The fertile Valle de Azapa which spreads out to the south-east of Arica provides much of the produce that is sold in El Agro where people like Isabela and Antonia work. The Valle de Azapa itself is also home to places of uncertain citizenship, and has a long history of being so. Arica and the Valle de Azapa were part of Peru prior to the War of the Pacific of 1879–1883, in which Peru and Bolivia lost swathes of territory to Chile, resulting in Bolivia becoming landlocked. For many centuries, this area and other parts of modern-day southern Peru were agricultural heartlands of the Viceroyalty and then the Republic. Much of the agricultural work was carried out by slaves brought over from Africa.

The history of slavery in the area is today memorialized in the 'The Slave Route', a 30 kilometre trail through Arica and the Valle de Azapa established by afro-descendants in the area, and officially recognized by the Chilean *Ministerio de Bienes Nacionales* [Ministry of National Heritage] in 2009 (Tapia, 2009; La Ruta del Esclavo en el Valle de Azapa, 2006). Briones Valentín (2004) explains that, rather than the large plantations and *haciendas* of other areas of southern Peru, the Valle de Azapa was characterized by smaller units of production worked by fewer slaves than on the large plantations. Of the slave population in the region, she says:

Attempts to marginalize them from all social, official and economic recognition, from cultural and religious duties, had an immediate and everyday effect (Mellafe, 1964). But, on the other hand, we know that in spite of these measures, the black community managed to reinvent itself time and time again from this "no place" (Briones Valentin, 2004, p.814 my translation).

Today in the Valle de Azapa, I would contend that the ghost of the colonial slavery regime lingers on in more than just the memorial sites along 'The Slave Route' trail. So too does the legacy of violent racism towards Peruvians and Bolivians that was a product of the 'Chileanization' of the region following the War of the Pacific (Skuban, 2007; Freeman, 2015).

The model of small units of production as opposed to large-scale industrial operations continues to predominate in Azapa. Here some of the crops of colonial times are still produced – olives and cotton, to give just two examples. Tomatoes, peppers, sweetcorn, cucumbers, avocados and mangoes, amongst other fruit and vegetables, are also cultivated. A farm where such activities are carried out is referred to as a *parcela* – a common enough word for 'smallholding'. In Arica and the Valle de Azapa, however, the particular understanding of the word is that it is a smallholding worked chiefly by migrant labour.

In general, those who labour there also live there. As with the *bodegas* or working *puertas adentro*, the provision of accommodation is part of the work agreement. In all of these cases, there is a symbiosis between exclusion from spaces of citizenship and being forced to live in such places. Six of 20 participants from the Arica area lived and worked on *parcelas*. This is probably where the majority of Bolivian migrants in the area work

*Figure 4.5. Parcelas in the Valle de Azapa*



Source: Author

*Figure 4.6 Peppers for harvest, parcela, Valle de Azapa*



Source: Author

and live, however they are a challenging group to access because they spend most of their time on the *parcelas*, which are private property. Each *parcela* is run by one owner, generally referred to by the workers as the *patrón*, a term which has decisively colonial overtones. There are then managers who oversee the work on a daily basis.

On the *parcelas*, workers are excluded from multiple spaces of citizenship. Labour exploitation is rife. Workers I spoke to laboured for up to twelve hours per day, and often had only one half-day off per week. They earned less than the minimum wage, did not have contracts, and were encouraged by their employers to remain on tourist visas, which exacerbated their job insecurity. The very long hours worked mean that they were cut off from society and had few means of accessing information about labour rights, health services, or education. The living conditions are also extremely poor. I visited two *parcelas*, and participants' narratives revealed the similar living conditions on other ones.

One evening in March 2014, I went to interview Luisa, 25, at the *parcela* where she lived. We walked down a long driveway shaded by mango trees to get to the shelter where she, her husband, their two children aged six and five, and Luisa's sister lived. It was built of ply-wood and corrugated iron with a dirt floor. There was a sheet separating the two 'rooms', where they slept on mattresses on the floor. A covered area outside served as a kitchen, where Luisa did the cooking squatting beside a small camping stove. They shared a bathroom, a 50 metre walk from their shelter, with the 20 other workers on the *parcela*.

Marcos, Nina, both 24, and their eighteen month old son lived in a similar shelter on a different *parcela*. They had one room with ply-wood walls and a concrete floor, and the three of them shared a mattress on the floor. Cooking facilities were the same as for Luisa. Again they shared a bathroom with the other workers. It had no shower and to wash they had to use large buckets of cold water. Esperanza, 53, a teacher and Bolivian migrant herself, who works at a school teaching five and six year olds in the Valle de Azapa, confirmed to me that these kinds of conditions were common on all of the *parcelas*. Many of her pupils lived on *parcelas*, and she said that they were frequently unwell, which she thought was related to their inadequate housing.

Workers' positionality within racialised, ethnicised hierarchies of power played a role in their exclusion from spaces and places of citizenship. Esperanza informed me that nearly all of the workers on the *parcelas* were of Aymara or sometimes Quechua descent from Bolivia and Peru, which corroborated my findings. Some, particularly the

women, spoke limited Spanish and had not finished their schooling. All of the participants who lived on *parcelas* were originally from rural communities in the departments of Oruro and La Paz, which they said were very poor. Discrimination on the basis of nationality, ethnicity, and socio-economic status certainly seemed to contribute to making participants more vulnerable to living and working in such harsh conditions, as an overt example of racist talk indicated. The *patrón* on the *parcela* where Marcos and Nina worked – who was one of the most responsible employers in the Valle de Azapa according to a migrant organisation – told me in a conversation about employing migrant workers that Aymara Bolivians were ‘slow-witted’ and did not take initiative. Perpetuated by centuries of discrimination, it would appear that places of uncertain citizenship remain a hidden feature of the Valle de Azapa.

### *Campamentos and poblaciones, Arica*

In Arica, many Bolivian migrants who do not live on the *parcelas* live in *campamentos* on the outskirts of the town or in *poblaciones*, which are conglomerations of housing in the town itself that meet the UN-HABITAT (2007) definition of ‘slum households’. Similar to the *migrant cités* of Santiago, they are constructed of non-durable materials and there are problems with overcrowding and access to sanitation. Four participants lived in such housing in the town itself, and one participant, Julieta, 43, a full-time mother who had previously worked on the *parcelas*, lived in a shanty-town called Campamento Coraceros on the outskirts of the city.<sup>5</sup>

Campamento Coraceros is one of a series of shanty-towns constructed on land occupied by the inhabitants without planning permission. On the geographical periphery of the town, they are in a legal grey area making them simultaneously part and not-part of the town. Julieta described this uneasy relationship with respect to access to water. We had been discussing living conditions there:

**Julieta:** It’s a shanty-town, it’s not the city.

**MR:** Yes. So is it difficult?

**Julieta:** Yes, it lacks electricity, also, they bring us water in tankers, they bring it every Tuesday. They give us, they give me two drums and so this is what I have to make last a week.

**MR:** Oh, that’s not very much. [Julieta lives with her husband, two teenage children, and her three year-old]

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<sup>5</sup> I had hoped to carry out more research in the shanty-towns, with plans to go and visit Julieta there and meet her friends and neighbours. However, due to the earthquake I was unable to carry out these plans.



**Julieta:** Yes, but I don't mind, it's water, it's not much but they give me water. It would be worse to have nothing, so I'm ok with it.

**MR:** I guess. So there isn't mains water and connection to the sewerage system?

**Julieta:** No, no, no there isn't.

**MR:** Ok. And are there plans to install this?

**Julieta:** No.

As Julieta explains, the *campamentos* and *poblaciones* of Arica are again places on the margins where the minimum required for survival is scraped together. Here again multiple exclusions from spaces of citizenship interact and overlap. Life in these places is extremely precarious – Julieta is aware that she could be evicted at any moment, just as those in all of the other places of uncertain citizenship discussed so far could be forced to leave without notice.

Figure 4.7. *Campamento Coraceros, Arica*



Source: Techo, Arica, 2014

## The Bolivian-Chilean Border at Lake Chungará

The places discussed so far have been in many senses figurative borderlands. They are there and not-there, hidden in plain sight, on the margins, as I have argued, and here migrants' uncertain relationship to spaces of citizenship is physically manifested. Lake Chungará is a literal borderland, demarcating the boundary between Bolivia and



Chile; however, it has much in common with the other places in a more figurative sense as well. Whilst, as I have contended in Chapter 2, Coutin's (2003) discussion of 'spaces of non-existence', which is built on the concept of borderlands, somewhat oversimplifies the distinction between non/citizenship, her discussion of borderlands as existing in places other than on literal geographical frontiers is nonetheless helpful. She provides the following definition, which illustrates the combination of literal and figurative elements:

Borderlands are spaces that deny categories and paradigms, that "don't fit," and therefore reveal the criteria that determine fittedness, spaces whose very existence is simultaneously denied and demanded by the socially powerful. Borderlands are targets of repression and zones of militarization ... Borderlands are marginalized yet strategic, inviolate yet continually violated, forgotten yet significant (Coutin, 2003, p.171).

The physical geography of Lake Chungará marks it as somewhere outside normal paradigms. One of the highest lakes in the world, Chungará sits at 4,500 metres above sea level. The *altiplano* landscape is barren yet beautiful, covered in pampa and snowy peaks, grazed by llama, alpaca, and vicuña, and a feeding ground for flamingo. At such great height, altitude sickness inevitably affects many who travel between Bolivia and Chile via Lake Chungará. Understandably for a place that is so inhospitable, there are limited services at the border – only a couple of small shops and a few makeshift restaurants, although there are larger townships nearby.

Not only is it a place of exception in terms of physical geography, however. Application of the law on the Chilean side of the border as people cross over from Bolivia can be arbitrary and discriminatory. Here Bolivians' right to freedom of movement and to migrate is frequently questioned, although there is often no basis for such questioning under Chilean law. Under the MERCOSUR agreement, Bolivians should be able to cross freely with only their identity card and enter Chile as tourists (see Chapter 5). The MTRV to allow migrants to work is acquired once in Chile. Other than their identity card, Bolivians crossing to Chile may be required at the border to show 'proof of solvency', a vague concept that is nowhere clearly defined. What is interesting with regards to this point is that questioning about funds appears to be entirely arbitrary, and those crossing the border are asked about their financial situation – or not – on the basis of their appearance.

Many participants, particularly those in Arica and especially those of indigenous ethnicity with lower levels of education, had experienced discrimination at the border,

sometimes to the point of being prohibited entry into Chile. Here Kevin, 48, an Aymara Bolivian who has lived in Arica for 23 years, owns a small taxi firm, presents on the local radio, and has Chilean permanent residency, narrated to me recent experiences of crossing the border:

Of the 45 or so who were on the bus, at least ten to fifteen returned. They said to you, “Well, and where are you going?”

“Iquique,” you replied.

“To do what?” It was enough to hesitate about something, turn around, and they made you go back, even if you had money.

And you know that those who speak Aymara, most of us are from the countryside, and, how can I say this, sometimes they don’t express themselves well. They don’t explain themselves properly ... And well, last week I was crossing and they say, they ask me, “Where are you going?”

“To Arica,” I replied.

“To do what?”

“My family’s there.”

“How long have you lived there?”

They start to ask you things.

*Figure 4.8. Lake Chungará*



Source: Author

Julieta had similar experiences of trying to cross the border with her two children when they were young, and twice was prohibited from crossing on the basis that she had no proof of funds. On one occasion, a border agent also told her that they suspected her of trying to enter Chile to sell her children, and as a consequence would not let her cross. Sadly, whilst extremely upsetting for Julieta and evidence of a discriminatory attitude towards poor indigenous people from the *altiplano*, there are reports of parents selling their children into forced labour in agriculture in Peru (United States Embassy, 2013), and in general Bolivia has a very high rate of internal and external child trafficking for labour and sexual exploitation (SAIS, 2010). There is also evidence of trafficking for organ harvesting (SAIS, 2010; Scheper-Hughes, 2009). Children of indigenous descent from the Bolivian *altiplano* are reportedly the most at risk group (SAIS, 2010). Consequently, the border agent's suspicion may have been founded upon real – though poorly expressed and racialised – concern.

That this level of discrimination and arbitrary decision making on the part of border police is a reality at the Chungará border was confirmed by staff working for MigraRed Arica, who had seen and heard about it very frequently. People would often become stranded at the border waiting to try and cross into Chile, and struggle to cope with the altitude and lack of services available at the border. Here on this threshold, as in the other places of uncertain citizenship, Bolivian migrants were marginalized and excluded from spaces of citizenship.

## CONCLUSION

This chapter has provided some necessary context for understanding the analysis of Bolivian migrants' uncertain citizenship that follows in the subsequent four chapters. The first section gave the fundamental 'big picture' information for understanding Bolivian and Chilean migration flows, outlining patterns of internal and out-migration in Bolivia, and explaining the recent increase in migration to Chile. The second has focused on providing context from the perspective of migrant participants by examining six places of uncertain citizenship. Marginalisation and liminality were features of all of the places foregrounded through participants' narratives and visited in the course of participant observation. Overlapping exclusions from different spaces of citizenship were expressed in divergent ways in these places, and relationships between space and place were complex and fluid. Nonetheless, there were many commonalities between them, not least the fact that these were not places chosen and claimed by

participants. It was rather through necessity that they must either inhabit or pass through these places on their migration journey.

To return to the story of Diana, she, like so many participants, longed to occupy a different place; a place which represented full participation in all spaces of citizenship. In her case, this would be a small piece of land where she could build a little house on the outskirts of Santa Cruz, Bolivia. Speaking of this dream, Diana expressed the hope at the heart of many migrant stories: 'to endure ... and then to return and live happily in ... your country, in the place where you're from'. In the meantime, endurance meant continuing to live on the margins in a place uncertain citizenship. As I move to examine the complicated patterns of exclusion from and inclusions in spaces of citizenship experienced by participants, beginning with legal citizenship, it is salutary to remember the embodied reality of uncertain citizenship as articulated in the places discussed in this chapter.

## 5. THE BOUNDARIES OF LEGAL CITIZENSHIP: NEGOTIATING (IR)REGULAR MIGRATORY STATUS

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Beimar, 28, was one of the few research participants to have lived in both Arica and Santiago. When I met him, he worked loading and unloading produce coming in from the *parcelas* in the Valle de Azapa to be sold in El Agro, Arica. Negotiating my way through the labyrinth of the entirely male-dominated produce loading bays at the back of El Agro, trying to find Beimar at the end of his shift in order to carry out our interview, I certainly made an incongruous sight. Several strange looks and unhelpful comments later, I eventually located him, and we began a lengthy and informative interview. Perhaps because I had met him through a mutual friend, Beimar was very candid with me about his many movements through different spaces of legal citizenship.

Beimar was from Oruro, Bolivia, and there he had undertaken some technical studies after completing his military service. He first came to Chile in 2010 for a three month period over the Chilean summer. He arrived on a Tourist Visa, and spent his time travelling around Arica, Iquique, and finally Santiago where he stayed with his brother. He returned to Bolivia, but was drawn back to Chile the next summer, thinking it would be good to make some money in Santiago. Again he entered on a Tourist Visa, but this time went straight to stay with his brother in the capital. His brother found him a job working in a market garden on the outskirts of the city. Whilst strictly speaking not 'undocumented' because he possessed a Tourist Visa and had a passport, to work on such a visa was irregular.

Beimar moved further into irregularity as he overstayed his Tourist Visa. He switched jobs and began working in a *fuenta de soda* [fast-food diner] in one of Santiago's international bus terminals, flipping hamburgers for long hours each day. His employer knew about his irregular migratory situation, and used it to his advantage. The promise was to pay Beimar cash at the end of a six-month period, giving him only small *adelantos* [advances] in the meantime. Beimar, trusting his employer, saw this as a means of saving. The amount promised was US\$230 per month, far below the minimum wage. Nonetheless, Beimar was happy to settle for this because he knew he would not get the minimum wage unless his migratory situation was regular, and his brother and friends kept dissuading him from applying to regularize, saying the process was very complex. The end of six months' hard work arrived, and, to Beimar's shock, his employer only

handed over the equivalent of two months' salary. When Beimar complained, his employer said the money had run out and then threatened to report him to 'Immigration'.

Unsure what to do and cowed by the threat of being reported to the border agency, Beimar left Santiago for Arica, hoping there would be better opportunities there. He began working in El Agro for a wage of around US\$6 per day cash in hand at the end of his shift. He continually demonstrated that he was reliable and hard-working, and gradually his wage improved. He then changed employer on the promise of a better salary paid to him monthly. After several months of working in this job, Beimar persuaded his employer to grant him a loan to pay the cost of a visa application, and the fine accrued through being in an irregular migratory situation.

Beimar managed to regularize his situation, moving to a MTRV. Through careful study of the rather challenging requirements, he worked hard over the next year to comply with the conditions for application for Permanent Residency. At the time of interview, his application for Permanent Residency was being processed. Beimar's negotiations of the complexities of legal citizenship did not end there, however. When I interviewed him, his girlfriend, who is from Bolivia, had just moved to Chile on a Tourist Visa to be with him. She was four months pregnant. If she did not manage to change her migration status to temporary or permanent residency by the fifth month of pregnancy, there was a real possibility that their child may be born *hijo de transeúnte* [child of transient parents]. This generates a series of legal difficulties for the child and parents, and had happened to Beimar's nephew, born in Santiago, so Beimar was very conscious of the problem.

In sum, Beimar had moved through many shifting irregular and regular migratory situations during his time in Chile, and was preparing to support his girlfriend and unborn child in their acquisition of regular migratory status. His case is illustrative of some of the multiplicity of positions with respect to the space of legal citizenship in which migrants in Chile may find themselves, and some of the processes and practices which produce this space. Its construction and the ways in which migrants move through and within it is the focus of this chapter.

## TOWARDS A SPATIALLY AWARE, DYNAMIC CONCEPTUALISATION OF LEGAL CITIZENSHIP

As indicated in Chapter 2, often in migration studies a great deal of emphasis can be placed on researching migrants' legal status. It is very well-established that their position in relation to legal citizenship is indeed highly significant in the everyday lives of most migrants (Coutin, 2003), and therefore deserves scholarly attention. Nonetheless, it is important to note that the disproportionate focus of policy makers and the media on migrants' legal status may lead to a distorted perspective and over-emphasis on this particular aspect of citizenship. Statistics and stories regarding 'illegal immigration' score easy political points and sell more papers; they fuel the popular discourse that creates certain types of migrants as 'Non-Citizens' or 'Failed Citizens' (Anderson, 2013). As De Genova (2002, p.421; cf. Black, 2003) has pointed out, some researchers have rather uncritically carried out studies of migrants' legal status 'from the standpoint of the state' due to the demand to produce research which has relevance for (and supports the perspective of) decision-makers.

Inherent to the production of both uncritical and critical perspectives on migration, legal status, and the state is the choice and use of language to delineate migratory status. 'Illegal' has tended to be, and continues to be, the term employed by the state and the popular media to define that which is not legal citizenship (Anderson and Ruhs, 2010, p.175). However, the criminalisation of the subject that it implies (McIlwaine, 2015, p.495) means that it has generally been discredited by academics and to a degree in wider society in some contexts – for example, in some Canadian cities where the 'No One is Illegal' movement has been particularly strong (Nyers, 2011). This still leaves a variety of terms: 'unauthorised', 'undocumented', 'non-status', and 'irregular' are some of the most common.

'Unauthorised' could be critiqued as having similar, although milder, connotations as 'illegal' – a sense of deliberate rule-breaking activity is still implied by this term. 'Undocumented' is preferred by some scholars (e.g. De Genova, 2002) and has been replaced with 'non-status' by others (e.g. Nyers, 2008). Arguably, 'undocumented', whilst free of negative associations, is unclear as many migrants who could be classed as such do possess some documents (McIlwaine, 2015, p.495), be they genuine or not (Anderson and Ruhs, 2010, p.176). I would likewise argue that non-status, borrowed from migrant social movements and admirable in its political objective to be an inclusive term denoting all those without permission to permanently remain in a country (Nyers,

2008, p.126), is nonetheless somewhat lacking analytically. It is too broad, too general and could refer to too many types of status – in fact to the point of unintentionally stripping migrants of agency by declaring them to have ‘no status’. ‘Irregular’ is the term for which the majority of scholars settle, although it is acknowledged that this too has its limitations (Koser, 2005, p.5). I suggest that it should be deployed in the context of describing a person’s *migratory situation* rather than the person themselves (as in *irregular migrant*). Thus it is clear that it is not the defining feature of a person,<sup>1</sup> but rather describes a particular situation which they are in.

The terms which researchers choose to employ reflect a deeper concern with how they understand the production of legal citizenship. On this issue, De Genova (2002) provides a comprehensive review of literature written on what he refers to as migrant ‘illegality’. He suggests that much of the research carried out on migration could be classified as falling into two categories. The vast majority has examined migrant ‘illegality’ from a quantitative perspective, viewing it as a policy problem to be ‘solved’ from above without delving into the everyday lived realities of migrants in irregular situations. On the other hand, the research that *has* examined, ethnographically or otherwise, the perspective of migrants experiencing irregularity has sometimes swung the other way and ignored the legal and policy dimensions that generate the possibility of ‘illegality’. De Genova (2002) further suggests that both the legal and policy dimension – the view from above – and migrants’ lived experiences – the view from below – must be examined if we are to fully understand how migrant ‘illegality’ is produced, and what its implications are for those who experience it. Some scholars, such as Coutin (1998; cf. Ong, 1996), take an explicitly Foucauldian approach in order to do this, examining the power relations involved in the production of migrant ‘illegality’. Others have also written convincingly from a less overtly Foucauldian perspective of the need to analyse the issue in a way that incorporates both structure (above) and agency (below) (Anderson and Ruhs, 2010; Bloch and Chimienti, 2011). As well as understanding the production of ‘illegality’ spatially from above and below, it must also be understood temporally. In particular, De Genova (2002) stresses the importance of understanding

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<sup>1</sup> A tentative parallel could be drawn here with the use of inclusive language when discussing mental health and disability issues. Such language avoids defining a person by a condition or situation – for example, a person *has* bipolar disorder, they are not ‘bipolar’; a person is not ‘wheelchair-bound’ but rather is a ‘wheelchair user’ (see, for example Office for Disability Issues, 2014).



the legal and policy dimensions in historical perspective, something which he critiques some scholars (e.g. Coutin, 2003) for failing to do.

Reed-Danahay and Brettell (2008) likewise emphasise the importance of examining legal citizenship from both above and below, and of historically situating law and policy regarding migration. However, they go further than De Genova, in discussing the importance of recognising the complex interplay which legal citizenship has with other aspects of citizenship – political, economic, and social, for example. Others (e.g. Black, Collyer, Skeldon and Waddington, 2006; Koser, 2010; Bloch, Sigona and Zetter, 2011; Goldring and Landolt, 2013; McIlwaine, 2015) write of another common pitfall in migration research which De Genova does not fully discuss – the problematic binary sometimes created between those who have regular migratory status and those whose status is irregular. The issue here is that this binary does not reflect the complex reality of migrants' many movements through different types of regularity and irregularity. The story of Beimar at the start of this chapter certainly illustrates this empirically.

Attempts have been made to overcome this binary interpretation in recent years. Menjívar (2006), for example, presents the idea of 'liminal legality' as a third status in between legality and illegality. However, as Goldring and Landolt (2013) convincingly argue, this results in the replacement of a 'dichotomous model' with a 'tripartite one', whereby the boundaries of different statuses are still clearly delineated and the overlap and interplay between them is not fully accounted for. By contrast, they propose a model in which non-citizenship is understood as an 'assemblage' that

invokes the complex and dynamic web of differently positioned social actors, institutions, regulations, and so on, working at various levels and scales, that together constitute non-citizenship. It also invites attention as to how non-citizenship is assembled over time and across space, presenting a dynamic conceptualisation of the chutes and ladders of legal status (ibid., p.16).

This is similar to McIlwaine's (2015, p.494) 'webs'; a conceptualisation of migrant (ir)regularity which is likewise concerned with 'captur[ing] the dynamism of migrant irregularity over time, space and scale as well as a degree of migrant agency' and is critical of the production of a binary of regularity/irregularity. Through a detailed analysis of the practices used by the Latin American migrant community in London to enter and remain in the UK, McIlwaine illustrates the immense complexity of negotiating a system that differentiates and discriminates between different nationalities. She highlights the need to address the whole spectrum of (ir)regular statuses that migrants may experience and, like Goldring and Landolt (2013), examines both structural and agentic factors contributing to the production of these multiple statuses. Due to the scope

of their work, however, neither McIlwaine nor Goldring and Landolt are able to discuss fully the interactions between legal citizenship and other dimensions of citizenship, although they do acknowledge this.

In sum, research that is successfully able to address the multiple possibilities of (ir)regularity does so in such a way so as to avoid creating a dichotomous binary. Furthermore, it is able to account for the processes from above and practices from below which generate (ir)regularity, sometimes taking an explicitly Foucauldian perspective on power relations in order to achieve this. It is temporally as well as spatially aware, acknowledging the historical dimension of migration law and policy, as well as its ever-changing nature, and the corresponding shifting character of migrants' practices from below. Finally, ideally legal citizenship is addressed as only one aspect of citizenship, which interacts in multiple ways with other aspects.

In this chapter, I aim to take into account these valuable insights, which have been developed in a South-North migration context, and examine their applicability in a South-South migration context. To the best of my knowledge, the legal dimension of citizenship has yet to be fully addressed in Chilean literature on migration, and indeed, in the context of South-South migration more generally (Koser, 2005, p.9). As explained previously, in Chile, the literature on migration has tended to focus on economic and social facets of migration, often from a gender perspective (e.g. Lube-Guizardi and Garcés, 2013; Stefoni, 2013; Gideon, 2014).

In keeping with the overarching conceptual framework of this research, I understand legal citizenship as a transnational, dynamic, three-dimensional space that is also intertwined with other spaces of citizenship. As migrants attempt to access and move through the space of legal citizenship, they may be classed as being in a wide variety of irregular and regular migratory situations. Very frequently, their legal status is characterised by insecurity and uncertainty. The space of legal citizenship is constructed through migrants' own practices, those of migrant organisations, and those processes occurring at a legislative level. I begin in the next section by examining the latter set of processes as they occur in the Chilean context, before turning to explore practices from below.

## PROCESSES FROM ABOVE: LEGISLATION AND ITS APPLICATION

This section proposes to examine the processes from above that distinguish between and discriminate against certain migrant bodies, thus contributing to the

construction of the space of legal citizenship. It begins by addressing Chilean migration legislation ‘on paper’, as it were, situating this legislation in an historical context of exclusion of foreigners, and indicating the ways in which this mentality remains the driving force behind the legislation as it stands today. The ways in which this legislation is enforced day-to-day also form a fundamental part of the power relations that construct the space of legal citizenship. Thus this section additionally addresses the application of migration legislation by public functionaries on a daily basis, as well as the strategies engaged in by employers to use legislation to their advantage when hiring migrant workers.

### Chilean migration legislation ‘on paper’

Maximiliano,<sup>2</sup> lawyer for the human rights division of the *Corporación de Asistencia Judicial* [Legal Aid Agency] explained in an interview that Decree Law 1094, the most important legal instrument governing migration in Chile

is a norm dictated under the state of exception in the year 1975, which establishes a police regime ... with regards to foreigners in Chile. Let’s start with that; that is our premise.

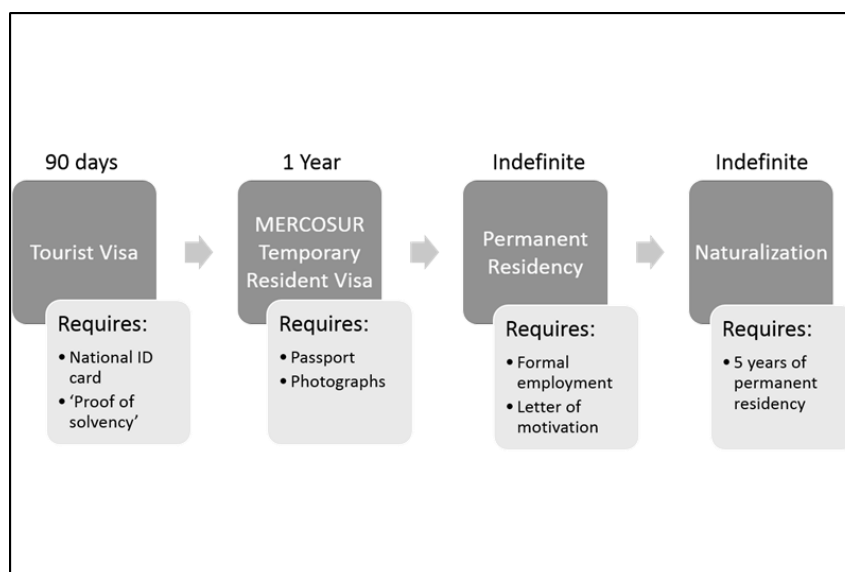
It was a prevailing concern with protecting Chile from ‘subversive’ elements that generated this law (Núñez Carrasco, 2008, p.31), and saw the expulsion of many foreigners from Chile, as well as the exile of approximately 200,000 Chileans (see Chapter 4). Modifications to Decree Law 1094 have since been made in 1993, 1996, 1998, and 2000, and at first glance the processes by which Bolivians and migrants of other nationalities now enter the country and acquire visas seem straightforward and unremarkable; indeed, they may seem far easier than for migrants in the US or Western Europe. As I will illustrate, however, the logic of exclusion which provided the ideological foundations of Decree Law 1094 is still pervasive.

In order to understand the underlying logic of exclusion, it is first necessary to have a firm understanding of the mechanics of the processes governing the acquisition of regular migratory status. Below is a diagram indicating in simplified terms the mechanics of the process for Bolivian migrants as it appears *at face value*:

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<sup>2</sup> A pseudonym.

Figure 5.1. Simplified representation of regular migratory status acquisition for Bolivian migrants in Chile



Source: Own elaboration from Departamento de Extranjería y Migraciones (2014a)

Under the MERCOSUR agreement, since 2009 Bolivian, Uruguayan, Paraguayan, Argentinean, and Brazilian citizens have been able to enter Chile as a tourist and then apply for a MTRV before their permission to stay as a tourist expires (see Figure 5.1). For nationals of these countries, in order to enter as a tourist it is necessary to present a national identification card, and, technically, to be able to provide proof of ‘financial solvency’ (Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores de Chile, 2014). To obtain a MTRV, applicants in Santiago must send by registered post: a photocopy of their passport including the page with their entry stamp into Chile, a photocopy of the Tourist Card given to them when they entered the country, and three photographs. Applicants in all places other than Santiago must go to their Provincial Government office and present in person: their passport and two photocopies, their Tourist Card and two photocopies, and two photographs (Departamento de Extranjería y Migración, 2014c).

The MTRV allows the bearer to undertake any employment or other legal activity in Chile. After holding a MTRV for one year, it is possible to apply for Permanent Residency. In order to apply for Permanent Residency, the applicant must be able to show that they are currently formally employed with a contract and that they have been paying health and pension contributions for a year.<sup>3</sup> They must also present a range of

<sup>3</sup> As in the UK, these contributions, along with other taxes, are automatically deducted from the employee’s salary before it reaches their bank account if they are a dependent worker. They must be enrolled in the health and pension systems and paid through the correct channels in order for this to happen.

documents in addition to those necessary for obtaining the MTRV, including a letter indicating their motives for wishing to remain in the country (Departamento de Extranjería y Migración, 2014b). After holding Permanent Residency for five years, it is possible to apply to naturalize and become a full Chilean citizen.

This process sounds simple, linear, and indicates a hierarchical conceptualization of different citizenship statuses on the part of those responsible for the creation of the system (cf. Castles, 2005). On closer examination, however, there are some anomalies that indicate, even 'on paper', an underlying tendency towards exclusion and discrimination. This becomes even more apparent when the practices of those applying the law and the practices of migrants' employers are taken into consideration, as they will be below.

'On paper' one of the first noticeable anomalies is that it is only necessary to have a national ID card to enter Chile if you are from a MERCOSUR country; however, it is necessary to possess a passport to apply for the MTRV. This information is not widely publicised in Chile, and certainly not in Bolivia. Typically, poorer Bolivians will not have a passport because of the cost of obtaining one. Therefore they may enter Chile with their ID card, only to find that they need a passport in order to obtain a MTRV. If they are in Santiago, they can apply for a passport via the Bolivian Consulate located there, although the cost is higher than if they had applied in Bolivia. If they are in Arica (and the north of Chile more generally), they are not permitted to apply for a passport via the Consulate, but rather will have to return to Bolivia in order to apply; this will, of course, incur some considerable cost. This first bureaucratic obstacle to regular migration seems to target Bolivians intending to migrate to the north of Chile – whether deliberately or not (see De Genova, 2002 for excellent discussion of intended and unintended consequences of migration law). Those in this group frequently come from rural indigenous communities in Bolivia where poverty is widespread.

A second incongruity apparent 'on paper' is found within the fee structure for visa applications. The cost payable for the different nationalities upon applying for a MTRV in Chile is indicated in Table 4.1:

*Table 5.1 Fees for MERCOSUR Temporary Resident Visa by country*

<b>Country</b>	<b>Cost (US\$)</b>
Argentina	100
Brazil	100
Bolivia	283
Paraguay	312
Uruguay	65

Source: Own elaboration from Ministerio del Interior y Seguridad Pública (2014)

The fee is supposed to be reciprocal, so comparable to the fee payable by a Chilean applying for a similar visa in the partner country (Ministerio del Interior y Seguridad Pública, 2014). The current fee for a Chilean to apply for a similar visa for Bolivia is US\$85 (Consulado General de Bolivia en Chile, 2014). Prior to September 2013, the fee for a Bolivian to obtain a MTRV in Chile was US\$150 before rising to US\$283 in that month. Whilst I could not find an official explanation for the rise in the fee, staff at migrant organisations thought that it was likely to be for geopolitical reasons – namely Bolivia’s decision to take Chile to The Hague over the land and sea access dispute. It appears to be a deliberate attempt to exclude Bolivians from the country, again targeting poorer migrants especially. It bears repeating that the monthly minimum wage in Bolivia is approximately US\$200 and in Chile it is approximately US\$334 – this gives some idea of what US\$283 means in real terms to many migrants (who often do not earn even the minimum wage, as Beimar’s case illustrates).

Finally, the requirements for application for Permanent Residency also seem to impact negatively on poorer Bolivian migrants. Migrants must be formally employed in order to apply for Permanent Residency. As will be discussed below, however, it is beneficial to employers *not* to formally contract migrants, particularly those employed in manual labour, who are inevitably earning low wages. If they are not formally employed and their MTRV is due to expire, migrants can apply to renew it for a further year. The cost, however, is the same as the cost for the original MTRV (US\$283), whereas the cost for Permanent Residency is approximately US\$95. Again, the fee structure seems to chiefly prejudice migrants working in low-end jobs.

Examined from an intersectional perspective, these anomalies 'on paper' seem to predominantly impact on poorer Bolivian migrants. In the case of the national identification card/passport issue, they appear to disproportionately affect indigenous Bolivians from rural communities, given this group's propensity for migrating to the north of Chile. These incongruities speak to the fact that the exclusionary and discriminatory ideological roots of Chile's migration law still lay the foundations for policy today. Moreover, they provide conditions propitious to positioning migrants outside the bounds of legal citizenship as high costs encourage migrants into situations of irregularity – be it through working on a Tourist Visa, overstaying a Tourist Visa, or failing to renew a MTRV.

### **Migration legislation applied: Public functionaries**

The application of migration legislation often seems to be characterised by arbitrariness and discrimination, again contributing to the construction of differentiated access to the space of legal citizenship. As with the law 'on paper', for a variety of reasons those most negatively affected appeared to be poorer Bolivians and those of indigenous descent. First, one fundamental aspect of how legislation is applied is people's ability to access information regarding its impact on their daily lives. In the case of migration law in Chile, such information is by no means easily accessible. The main source is the website of the Departamento de Extranjería y Migración [Department of Immigration – henceforth DEM]; however, many migrants do not have ready internet access and/or do not know how to use the internet. This was the case for a significant minority of participants in my research. Furthermore, the language used on the website is dense and its layout unintuitive. Even participants with university education reported difficulties understanding it.

The other major means of obtaining official information – by going in person to the DEM – likewise is not straightforward. The queue to ask for information or to make visa applications is one and the same, so queues are very long; the offices open at 08:30 and close at 14:00, but people queue from 06:00. Whilst unlikely to be intentionally discriminatory, the lack of easily accessible official information on Chilean migration law has the effect of excluding migrants with limited resources and those who are less educated. Furthermore, information is generally only available in Spanish, making access more difficult for those who speak Spanish as an additional language – this impacts particularly on Aymara Bolivians in the north of Chile, as some participants indicated.

If the lack of accessible information could be classed as unintentionally discriminatory, the attitudes of some border agents and other public officials involved in the application of migration legislation certainly cannot. Migrant participants, migrant organisations, and lawyers reported poor treatment on the part of many public officials attending migrants. Diana, 28, described the treatment she received at the DEM:

[They] attend you very badly in all honesty and it makes you not want to ask anything ... I think that people who are going to do those things to do with migrants should have more training in customer service, you know? I mean, in how to treat people. How can I explain it? There are people from my country who maybe don't know how to read, how to write, they should be patient with those people.

In addition to a generally negative attitude towards some groups of migrants, there was evidence of specific instances of discrimination and arbitrary decision-making by public officials. As discussed in Chapter 4, Bolivians identified by border agents as 'indigenous' and 'poor' would often be asked for additional information as they crossed in to Chile. Nebulously defined 'proof of financial solvency' would be required of some Bolivians but not others, as would demands as to their plans in Chile. Furthermore, Gabriela, the lawyer from MigraRed Arica, informed me that border agents would sometimes refuse to stamp certain Bolivians' passports as they entered Chile. The lack of a stamp means that it is then impossible for that person to apply for the MTRV as they do not have proof of entry into Chile (see above).<sup>4</sup> Indicating a by now familiar pattern, this practice seemed to disproportionately affect Aymara Bolivians from rural backgrounds who intended to work in agriculture in the Norte Grande. Thus before even entering the nation-state, certain bodies were inscribed as unfit for entry into the space of legal citizenship.

Migration legislation was also sometimes applied in an arbitrary and discriminatory fashion once across the border. According to staff at MigraRed in both Santiago and Arica, immigration officers would on occasion ask migrants for additional documentation not required by law, such as a work contract when applying for the MTRV. When migrants were unable to produce this documentation, their application would be denied. It was noted by Gabriela (herself a Bolivian) that the processing time for Bolivians' visa applications, notably Permanent Residency, was also often significantly longer than the processing times for applications by migrants of other

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<sup>4</sup> If Bolivians in Santiago apply for their passport through the Bolivian Consulate, it is stamped at this time.



nationalities. This was not only the case for service users to whom she provided legal advice, but in her own case as well, indicating that in this instance discrimination may have occurred on the basis of nationality rather than socio-economic status and/or ethnicity.

A further practice of the state that Gabriela informed me of was the enforcement of the Temporary Work Permit in Arica. Technically, while the MTRV is being processed, if the applicant wishes to work during this time (approximately 100 days), they should apply for a Temporary Work Permit, the cost of which is US\$150 for Bolivians. In Santiago, this is not enforced. In Arica, however, when Bolivians go in person to the Provincial Government office to make their application for the MTRV (see above) they are automatically required to also obtain a Temporary Work Permit. This means that the cost of the MTRV in Arica is effectively US\$433 for a Bolivian compared with US\$283 in Santiago. Again, it would seem that this has a particular impact on Aymara Bolivians from rural backgrounds as they are the group who predominantly migrate to work in this part of Chile.

This collection of arbitrary and discriminatory practices from above, combined with the difficulties of obtaining easily digested information regarding migration legislation, augments the exclusionary characteristics already present in Chilean migration legislation 'on paper'. Again, those who are from lower socio-economic backgrounds and those who are indigenous are the most affected. Here we have further evidence of the processes that contribute to the construction of the space of legal citizenship, and the selection of those deemed worthy for inclusion in this space.

### **Migration legislation applied: The role of employers**

Employers also play an important role in the construction of the space of legal citizenship from above. As has been observed for many decades in contexts of South-North migration, irregularity acts as an excellent structural enabler for maintaining a cheap workforce (Portes, 1978; De Genova, 2002; Anderson, 2007a; Bloch and Chimienti, 2011). Irregularity may enable employers to avoid giving their workers contracts, paying them the minimum wage, ensuring they are enrolled in health and pension plans, and so on and so forth. They can both cajole and coerce their workforce through presenting themselves as a benevolent protector willing to give an irregular migrant 'a chance', but also use the threat of reporting workers to the authorities should they be non-compliant. Therefore, in some cases, employers may engage in a range of strategies to encourage their workers to remain in irregular situations.

This was no less true in the Chilean context than in contexts of South-North migration. In Chile, active encouragement of irregularity occurred particularly in the construction and cleaning sectors, and above all in the *bodegas* and *parcelas* in Arica (see Chapter 4). Nonetheless, there were also cases in which employers assisted their workers in obtaining regular status. Here I will very briefly outline some of the most common processes by which employers in Chile either complicate or facilitate Bolivian migrants' ability to regularise their situation. A more thorough analysis of other elements of the relationships between work and legal status will be carried out in Chapter 6.

I begin with the case of those working irregularly on Tourist Visas. In Arica, instead of applying for the MTRV, workers are often encouraged to exit and enter Chile every three months in order to remain perpetually on Tourist Visas. Thus they are not 'undocumented' per se but are in a highly irregular migratory situation which is beneficial to their employers for the above-mentioned reasons. All migrants I spoke to who were living and working on *parcelas* or in *bodegas*, and several working in other sectors, had been in this situation. Many had been working like this for over a year and up to three or more.

In Santiago, due to its distance from the border, this is generally not a viable strategy. Migrants are still often encouraged to work on their Tourist Visa in their first few months in the country, but then are more likely to regularise by applying for the MTRV. Some, however, overstay their Tourist Visa with encouragement from their employer. Kinberley, 24, who had been briefly in the *bodegas* said that when she enquired about obtaining an MTRV because she did not want to overstay her Tourist Visa, her employer replied, 'But what do you need that for? ... Because we're going to... when you leave [Chile] we're going to pay your fine'.<sup>5</sup> Kinberley explained that employers in such places would sometimes refuse to allow employees to leave their workplace or living quarters during working hours, thus ensuring that it was near impossible for them to obtain the MTRV. She indicated that this was part of a coercive strategy to maintain employees entirely dependent on employers and in fear of being reported to the authorities should they complain about working conditions.

More common, however, is for employers in Santiago to facilitate employees' applications to the MTRV by allowing them time off work to complete the process. By

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<sup>5</sup> The fine refers to the amount payable upon leaving the country for overstaying a Tourist Visa. It is set at the discretion of the border agent.

allowing this, employers ensure that they are employing 'documented' workers and therefore are not at risk of being fined for the employment of an 'undocumented' workforce should they be subject to an inspection by the *Departamento de Trabajo* [Department of Labour]. This does not mean, however, that employers necessarily then give migrant employees a contract, pay their health and pension contributions, or even pay them the minimum wage in some instances (see Chapter 6).

On the other hand, there was some evidence of instances in which employers had been extremely solicitous with regards to migrants' ability to regularise their situation. There were cases where employers would lend their employees the money to pay for their visa application, as with Beimar, or even pay the application fees for them. Amanda, 25, for example, was supported both financially and in terms of negotiating the bureaucratic process by the family for whom she worked as a *nana puertas adentro*, and had managed to complete the transition from temporary to permanent resident very smoothly.

The role of the employer as part of the processes from above which construct the space of legal citizenship cannot be underestimated. Unfortunately, in many cases employers acted to impede migrants' ability to occupy spaces of legal citizenship. There was some heartening evidence that this was not always the case, however. The concern, nevertheless, is that it depended on the goodwill or otherwise of the employer, and they possessed a great deal of power to manipulate migration legislation to their advantage. When combined with other processes from above – the application of migration legislation by public functionaries and the legislation 'on paper' – the effect is stark discrimination against particular groups of migrants.

## PRACTICES FROM BELOW: MIGRANT AGENCY AND MIGRANT ORGANISATIONS

It is not only these processes from above which produce differentiated access to the space of legal citizenship, however. In the concern to address the structural elements that can be neglected in some qualitative studies of irregularity/regularity (De Genova, 2002), it is crucial not to let the balance slide the other way into neglect of the role of migrant agency. Anderson and Ruhs (2010) and Bloch and Chimienti (2011) have written convincingly of the need to avoid 'oversimplifying a vision of irregular migrants either as "victims" of exploitation or as "villains" who broke the laws' (Anderson and Ruhs, 2010, p.177) by fully acknowledging migrant agency. This echoes arguments about

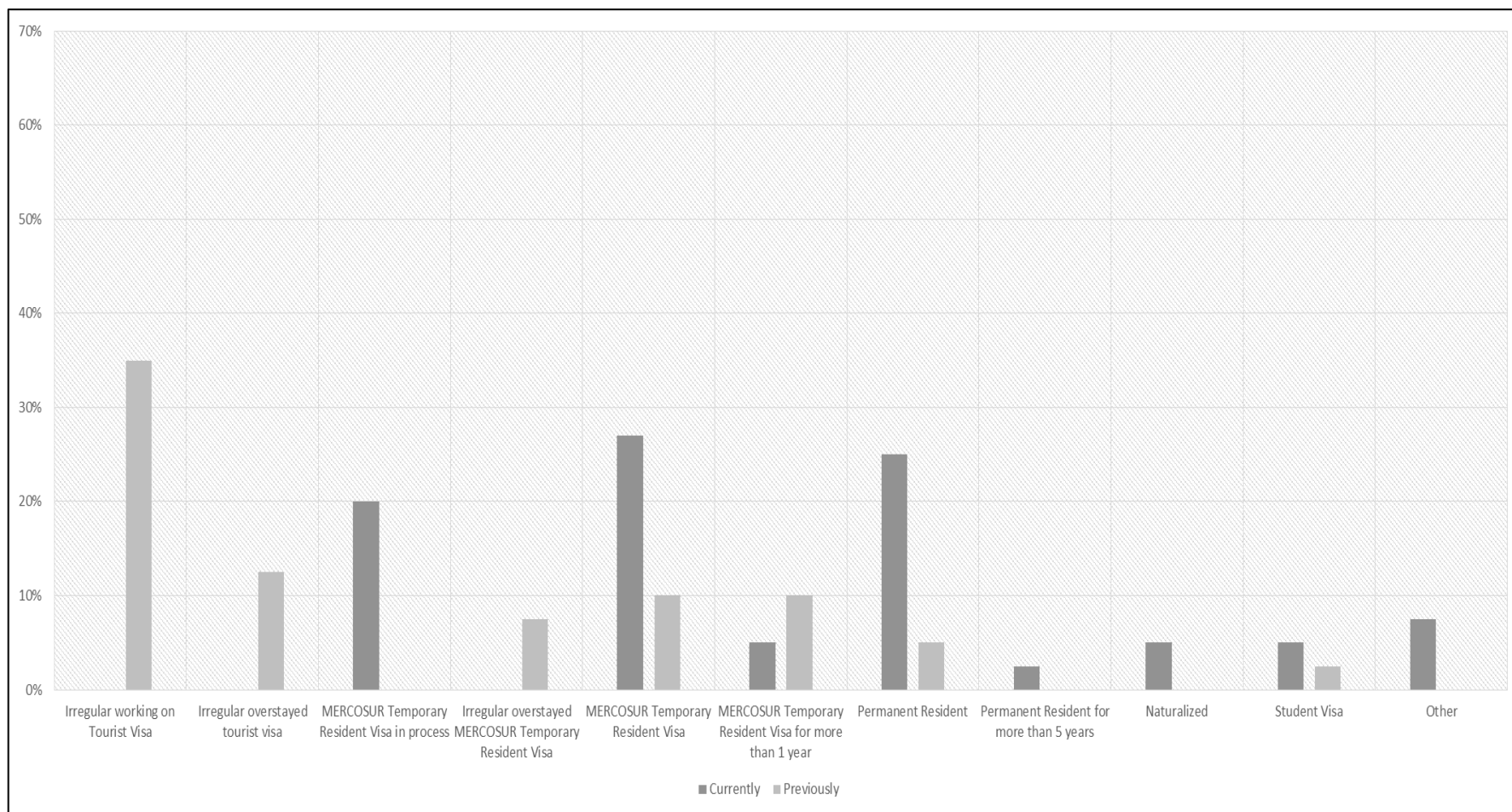
the importance of acknowledging agency that have come from within more ethnographic accounts of citizenship practices (e.g. Ong, 1996; Holston, 2008; Reed-Danahay and Brettell, 2008; Però and Solomos, 2013; Lazar, 2013), as discussed in Chapter 3. Specifically in relation to legal citizenship and migration, I would add that, in line with McIlwaine (2015) and Goldring and Landolt (2013), it is also detrimental to focus only on those migrants in situations of irregularity as this may run the risk of contributing further to the concept of an irregular/regular binary.

Bearing all this in mind, here I propose to examine, in so far as is possible, the full gamut of ways in which participants attempted to negotiate legal citizenship, analysing the everyday citizenship practices that they used to do so. It is crucial to acknowledge, however, that movement into and within this space was always fluid and shifting and there was no 'end-state' (Duvell and Jordan, 2003). I first address the individual practices used by participants to move into and within the space of legal citizenship. Then I examine the role played by migrant organisations and collective organising in enabling such movement.

Before turning to analyse these practices, however, it is important to convey a sense of the multiple situations of (ir)regularity experienced by participants at the time of interview, and through which they had passed previously. Figures 5.2 and 5.3 below are an attempt to give some sense of this. There are, of course, difficulties with representing information about changing legal statuses, which were constantly in a state of flux, in such a static manner. However, it does give some sense of the degree to which the model of linear progression from one regular status to another did not apply to many of the research participants, and complements the subsequent discussion by providing a visual guide for understanding the complex array of (ir)regular statuses to which reference will be made.

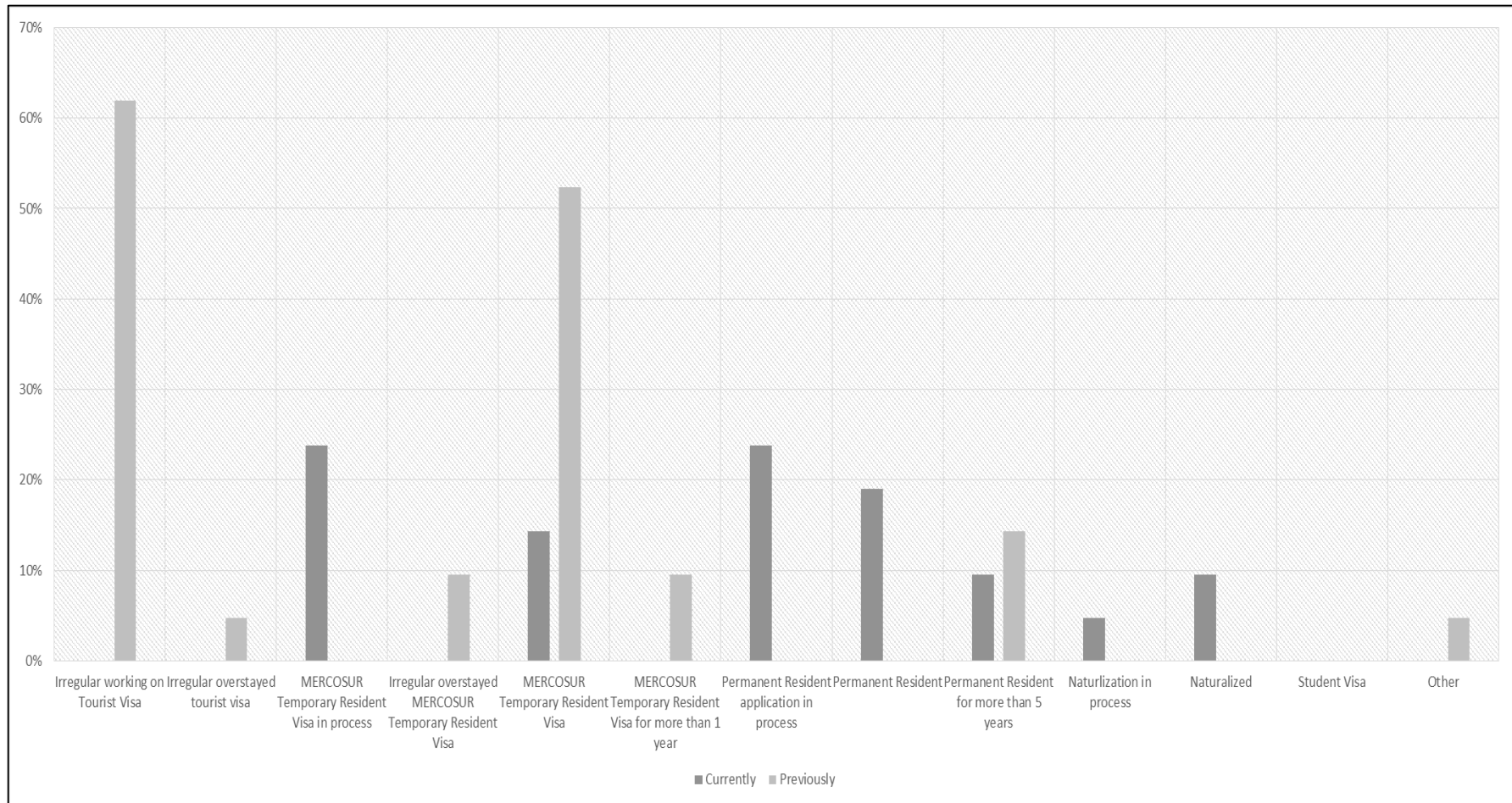
With respect to this complexity, note that – as amply illustrated through Beimar's story at the start of the chapter – some participants had possessed more than one (ir)regular status previously, and some had possessed none of them; therefore the percentages in the 'previous' categories do not add up to 100. In relation to this, information regarding those previously on a Tourist Visa and *not* working is not given, as this applied to all participants at some stage, and therefore does not constitute a useful category for analysis. Furthermore, it is important to emphasise that, whilst there were similarities between the experiences of migrant participants in Santiago and Arica with

Figure 5.2. Current and previous (ir)regular migratory statuses of participants in Santiago



Source: Own elaboration from interviews with migrant participants, Santiago, 2013 (n=40)

Figure 5.3. Current and previous (ir)regular migratory statuses of participants in Arica



Source: Own elaboration from interviews with migrant participants, Arica, 2014 (n=21)

regards to the migratory status(es) that they had held, there were also marked differences between the two locations. This highlights the importance of bearing in mind the impact of place on the generation of (ir)regularity, and is something that will be discussed in more detail below.

## Practices from below: Individual migrant agency

Here I examine two sets of practices from below that impacted particularly on their position with respect to the space of legal citizenship, and indeed, on the very construction of this space. First, the relationship between individual migrant agency and irregular situations is discussed, exploring the degree to which it was migrants' active decision to remain outside the space of legal citizenship. Second, migrants' practices once within the space of legal citizenship are addressed. The focus in this second section is particularly on practices engaged in for obtaining Permanent Residency, and for naturalising.

### *Individual migrant agency outside the bounds of legal citizenship*

Migrants practices with regards to the two principal types of irregular situations in which participants had been are discussed here. As is indicated in Figures 5.2 and 5.3, these two types of situation arose from a) working on a Tourist Visa or b) overstaying either a Tourist Visa or MTRV. It is important to note that this research does not address irregular situations resulting from clandestine entry into Chile. In the vast majority of cases, Bolivians do not enter Chile unauthorised. Rather, as should be clear by now, if irregularity occurs it is because they move into irregular situations after entering in a regular fashion. This is in contrast to people of other nationalities subject to more restrictive entry and visa requirements – in particular Colombians and to an extent Peruvians – who may enter the country at unauthorised points, mainly in the Atacama Desert.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> As is inevitably the case with clandestine practices, it is difficult to find reliable statistics on the number of people entering Chile in this manner. However, from January to May 2014, there were 91 arrests of people trying to enter Chile on foot through the Atacama Desert. Of these, 54 were Colombians and 30 were Peruvians (Soy Arica, 2014). This corresponds with my experience in MigraRed Arica, where, during my time there, lawyers and social workers attended several cases – mainly involving Colombians but also some Peruvians and an Ecuadorian – of people who had entered the country on foot through the desert following the old railway tracks connecting Peru and Chile. This is extremely dangerous due to potential dehydration, adverse weather conditions, and the continuing presence of landmines. There *are* some cases of Bolivians entering clandestinely. In general, however, those entering in such a way are likely to be involved in illegal activities rather than entering in order to work. The limited evidence available suggests that they

Figures 5.2 and 5.3 illustrate that 35 per cent of participants in Santiago and over 60 per cent of participants in Arica had been in irregular situations because they were working on a Tourist Visa – none were in this situation at the time of interview, although five participants in Arica had only begun the process of applying for the MTRV the day prior to interview, something which will be discussed below. The motivation for working on a Tourist Visa differed according to location, accounting for the difference in percentage. In Santiago, participants would work on a Tourist Visa due to financial necessity. They did not have the funds to enable them to remain unemployed while they waited to be able to apply for their MTRV, nor often the funds to pay for the visa application itself, and so took the decision to work in spite of the immigration regulations. Most in Santiago, however, did have the intention of applying for the MTRV when they decided to work on the Tourist Visa, even if this intention was not always then made reality.

As discussed above, the geography of Arica led to employers, particularly on the *parcelas*, encouraging their migrant employees to remain as perpetual ‘tourists’, entering and exiting Arica every three months in order to renew their Tourist Visas. Migrants were not always simply victims of their employers’ demands, however. Some participants, particularly initially, did not see the value of the MTRV. They thought that the cost was prohibitive and that they would have more freedom simply coming and going as a tourist. Interestingly, some also thought that it gave them power over their employer on the *parcela*. Julieta, 42, now a full-time mother but with several years previous experience working on the *parcelas*, succinctly explained the potential relationship between the *patrón* and the worker on a Tourist Visa:

Because [the worker is] undocumented, the *patrón* he says to the worker, “Where are you going to go and complain? I’m not going to pay you” or “I’m not going to worry about your health, where are you going to go?”

And so the worker says as well, “Because I have no contract, I can just go, I mean, I can do what I like for the *patrón*, if I want to do it, I do it; if I don’t, I don’t.”

There are neither rights nor obligations.

This fits with Bloch and Chimienti’s argument (2011, p.1278), drawing on Heyman and Smart (1999), that ‘looking at agency allows us to see irregularity as something that can be envisaged by some groups as a resource in a particular context’.

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tend to be women being used as drug mules or being trafficked for sexual exploitation. It was outside the scope of this project to investigate this particular type of irregularity.



However, the degree to which remaining on a Tourist Visa could be categorised as indicating a more profound form of resistance to powerful actors and structural factors through utilising strategies akin to Scott's 'weapons of the weak' (1987) is debatable (McIlwaine, 2015, pp.506–507). As Julieta and others who had worked on Tourist Visas explained, it slowly became apparent that being in this situation was actually more beneficial to the *patrón* than to the worker.

Nevertheless, participants still found the MTRV expensive and also restrictive. Some wanted to spend less than a year at a time in Chile and to be able to freely come and go between their home town or village and Arica or the Valle de Azapa, reflecting the seasonal nature of much of the work in which they were engaged. During the visa application process it is necessary to remain in Chile, which some people found challenging as this process can last 100 days or more. A further underlying factor that may have motivated people on the *parcelas* – the vast majority of whom were Aymara – not to apply for the MTRV was its incongruity with an indigenous perspective on the geography of the area; namely the artificiality of the borders that carve up what once would have been land freely and frequently traversed (see for example Berganza Setién and Cerna Rivera, 2011 on this point).

If there was certainly a degree of migrant agency involved in participants being in irregular situations due to working on Tourist Visas, the reasons for participants entering into and remaining in the second type of irregular situation seemed to be more dictated by structural factors. Financial difficulties were the primary reason people overstayed their Tourist Visas or MTRV. They simply could not afford to pay the high visa application cost. Luz María, 19, who was seven months pregnant at the time of interview, told me that she and Wilson had been eating only rice and vegetables and sometimes going hungry in their attempts to save enough to pay the costs for both of them to apply for the visa. Wilson had been working on a Tourist Visa for less than the minimum wage, as had she until she lost her job because of her pregnancy. In spite of their efforts to save, both moved further into irregularity as they overstayed their Tourist Visas.

Their case is fairly representative of many of the roughly 20 per cent of participants in Santiago and 13 per cent in Arica who had been in irregular situations due to overstaying. There were participants who – like Beimar initially – made more of an active choice to overstay. They thought that the cost of the MTRV, and the complexity of negotiating the bureaucratic system in order to apply, outweighed the benefits. They were, however, in the minority. Whilst it could be said that there was a degree to which

remaining in irregular situations, mainly in the case of those in Arica, was dependent on active decision-making on the part of participants, it would seem that overall discriminatory structural factors played the key role in maintaining them in these disadvantaged positions.

### *Individual migrant agency within the space of legal citizenship*

Individual agency played a greater role in participants' movements between migratory statuses once they were already within the bounds of legal citizenship. Although there was certainly a minority of participants who slipped back into irregular situations (e.g. those who had possessed MTRVs but overstayed), the majority remained within the space of legal citizenship once they had first entered. It was generally migrants' individual active pursuit of migratory status change that led them to become Permanent Residents, and equally their own decisions and actions were fundamental to whether they would naturalise or not.

As discussed above, it was quite often difficult for participants to move from possessing the MTRV to holding Permanent Residency within the period of a year due to the problem of ensuring that their employers formally contracted them and paid contributions to their health and pension schemes (see Chapter 6 for further discussion). For now, suffice it to say that the most common strategies employed by participants in order to meet the formal employment criteria for Permanent Residency were persistent 'chasing up' of their employer on this point or, if that failed, finding alternative employment.

Once these criteria had been met, participants generally found the application process for Permanent Residency relatively straight-forward, given their familiarity with Chilean bureaucracy by this stage. The main obstacle was the sometimes excessive wait for the application to be processed (see above). Furthermore, the paperwork required was still by no means easy to obtain or fill in. Amanda, to whom we have already been introduced, explained that, after having had assistance from her former employer with the application to the MTRV, she was then able to apply for Permanent Residency herself:

**A:** Yes, for that one, the first visa, my boss said to me, "It's already paid, I've deposited the money". Everything, he helped me to organise it, all of that. And for this last one, it's me who's done it, let's say. I've deposited the money, gone to fetch this piece of paper and the other, gone to the Notary Public. All of that.

**MR:** How did you work out how to do it?

**A:** On the internet, and the Bolivian Consulate helped a lot too. Because I also went there. “You have to do this, and that,” they told me. That’s how I managed it, yes, that’s how I managed it.

Amanda was proud of the way she had managed to negotiate the complex system, using her own initiative without help from either her employer or a migrant organisation. Other participants similarly told me with some pride of having managed to acquire Permanent Residency in this way. Their relief at obtaining this more stable legal status was palpable.

However, once participants had Permanent Residency, they were not necessarily interested in naturalising. It seemed that emotional factors were the most influential in whether participants decided to do this or not (Coutin, 2007). Once in possession of Permanent Residency they gained most of the rights of full Chilean citizens, and after five years with Permanent Residency could apply for housing subsidies and vote in municipal elections. The practical incentives for naturalising were therefore low. As indicated in Figures 5.2 and 5.3, a total of three participants had naturalized as Chileans, and one was in the process of doing so. Three more were eligible but had not done so. All who had naturalized had only done so once Chile began to accept dual nationality ten years ago. Prior to this they would have had to renounce their Bolivian nationality in order to gain Chilean nationality, and none had wanted to do this for emotional reasons. Of the three who were eligible to naturalise but had not done so, all had been in resident in Chile for more than 30 years. They likewise cited emotional reasons for their decision not to naturalise. The emotional should certainly not be neglected in studies of citizenship, and considering ‘emotional subjectivities’ can illuminate the ways in which people ‘emotionally negotiate the power relations of citizenship governance’ (Ho, 2009, p.789).

As Kevin, 45 – who was in the process of naturalising – explained, people had a sense that they were betraying Bolivia upon naturalising as Chileans due to deep-seated feelings about the War of the Pacific and ongoing geopolitical rivalry between the two countries. Moreover, Kevin said that for many years there had been a pervasive myth that, upon acquiring Chilean nationality ‘you had to sing the [Chilean] national anthem and spit and stamp on the Bolivian flag’. As bizarre and unlikely as this sounds, it was certainly a myth with some currency, and one which I heard repeated by another participant, José, 47, who had moved to Chile as a toddler but still had not naturalised.

Thus practicality encouraged participants to apply for Permanent Residency, which they generally did on their own initiative and with little recourse to migrant organisations or other collective support. Naturalizing, however, was viewed as a

process which entailed emotional considerations as well as practicalities and therefore was approached with greater circumspection. This certainly complicates the notion of citizenship status acquisition as a linear process with the end goal as nationality, and highlights the important role of migrants' agency in constructing the space of legal citizenship.

### Practices from below: Collective organising and migrant organisations

If participants did not seek support to obtain Permanent Residency or to naturalise, this was not the case for those who hoped to regularize their situations, for which participants often sought the support of migrant organisations. The cases I will focus on here are those of participants working on Tourist Visas on *parcelas* in Arica who wished to obtain the MTRV, and visa overstayers in Santiago who hoped to regularise.

#### *Collective organising and migrant organisations in Arica*

The *parcelas* in the Valle de Azapa, where the majority of participants who had been working on Tourist Visas were situated, were very isolated (see Chapter 4). It was difficult for migrants here to access information about visa applications, and often even more difficult to manage to negotiate the time off necessary to visit the Provincial Government offices in Arica in order to make the application. Two migrant organisations – MigraRed Arica and Radio Atacama – played an important role in enabling migrants on the *parcelas* to access information regarding visa applications.

In 2013, MigraRed Arica had conducted a survey on the *parcelas* to find out about migrants' working conditions. In order to gain access, they had had to negotiate with the owners of the *parcelas*. Their strategy had been to explain the benefits of employing workers in regular migratory situations to the owners, highlighting in particular the fines to which they could be subjected through non-compliance. They then offered to assist the owners with free legal advice for them and their employees in return for access to conduct the survey. Once access had been gained, MigraRed Arica was able to give migrant workers information about the MTRV and their labour rights both orally and in the form of brief, easy-to-read pamphlets whilst conducting the survey. MigraRed Arica has also focused on building strong relationships with schools in the Valle de Azapa. Here they hold workshops about the MTRV application process and free legal advice 'clinics' at times of day when migrant workers on the *parcelas* are most likely to be able to attend.

Radio Atacama is a local radio station that transmits to Arica and the surrounding area. The focus of the radio station is on promoting indigenous Andean cultures, in particular Aymara culture, and many of its programmes are in Aymara. Every weekday

from 10:00 to 11:00, they broadcast 'An Hour with Bolivia'. This programme is particularly targeted at the Bolivian migrant population in Arica and the surrounding area, and is presented in a mixture of Aymara and Spanish. One of the key focuses of the programme is conveying information about visas and labour rights to the migrant population.

Both MigraRed Arica and Radio Atacama played a crucial role in providing otherwise isolated migrant workers on the *parcelas* with access to information about regularising. The case of Luisa, 25, is illustrative. She had come and gone between Oruro and the Valle de Azapa as a tourist since 2007, in recent years with her partner and two small children, who were similarly all in possession of Tourist Visas. However, she had come to see working on a Tourist Visa as extremely precarious, saying that it gave employers the power 'to enslave you ... you're afraid, you don't have the right to demand anything'. She began to listen to Radio Atacama as she worked in the fields picking tomatoes, and it was here in 2013 that she heard information about the MTRV and the assistance available at MigraRed Arica in order to access the visa. It was a great help that the information was given in Aymara, her first language, as her Spanish, whilst very good, was not completely fluent.

Armed with this information, Luisa negotiated several days off work in order to visit the MigraRed office in Arica and then from there to complete her application at the Provincial Government Office. Luisa was earning around US\$12 per day – less than the minimum wage – and so the US\$433 fee she had to pay for the MTRV application and the Temporary Work Permit required in Arica used up all of her savings. Nonetheless, she felt much safer and more protected with the MTRV, and at the time of interview was applying for her children's visas.

Luisa also wanted to help more migrant workers to access the visa, and offered to put up posters and hand out leaflets from MigraRed which I had with me when I interviewed her. This was a small but brave act of resistance (cf. Scott, 1987; Prasad and Prasad, 2000; Holston, 2008; see Chapter 6 for greater discussion of practices of resistance) as Luisa was very aware that her employer would rather employ workers on Tourist Visas than those on MTRVs, and so she ran some personal risk by publicizing the latter. As I left, she told me that she knew where she would put most of the posters – on the fence on the roadside outside her *parcela*. But she would also put one on the bare walls of the shelter where her family lived as she liked the message they had on them: 'We are human beings, not just labourers'.

On another *parcela* where I conducted five interviews, participants had similarly become aware of the MTRV through MigraRed Arica and Radio Atacama. Rather than going individually to Arica in order to apply, however, they had organized collectively to petition their *patrón* to take them all to the Provincial Government offices to begin the visa application process. They were also negotiating with him to cover 40 per cent of their visa costs. One of the interviewees, Marcos, was the most senior worker and therefore charged with speaking directly with the *patrón*. However, when I asked another participant, Lisa, 25, who did the organising, she replied with a grin that it was the women who got things done, just as in her rural community in the *departamento* of Oruro. Whilst the sample was too small to draw any substantive conclusions, my discussions with Lisa, Luisa, other participants working on *parcelas*, and staff at MigraRed Arica, did hint at its being women who took the lead in organising to regularise their migratory situations. This provides an interest point of comparison with findings from research undertaken with Latin American migrants in other contexts, where it has been noted that – sometimes but not always – women have tended to be more involved than men in informal organising and migrant politics (e.g. Hardy-Fanta, 1993; Montoya, Hardy-Fanta and Garcia, 2000; Jones-Correa, 1998; McIlwaine and Bermúdez, 2011).

It would seem that there is certainly potential for collective organising on the *parcelas* in Arica with the support of migrant organisations. Although they were some of the most marginalised of all participants, once workers on the *parcelas* became aware of their rights through the work of organisations such as MigraRed Arica and Radio Atacama, they demonstrated an ability to organise and collectively bargain to re-negotiate their positions with respect to the space of legal citizenship.

### *Collective organising and migrant organisations in Santiago*

In Santiago I did not find much evidence of collective organising in order to move into the space of legal citizenship. One reason for this was the scattered distribution of the Bolivian migrant population throughout the city, making it more difficult for them to meet, and indicating the clear impact of place on the potential for collective organising. Nonetheless, informal social networks were an important tool for passing information about how to apply for visas and, crucially, about how to access legal advice and support from MigraRed Santiago.

As explained above, the majority of visa overstayers were based in Santiago, and most had been in this irregular situation due to financial difficulties which had prevented them from paying for the MTRV. In this situation of irregularity, the migrant has an

opportunity to pay a fine and then regularize their situation by applying for the MTRV. The amount of the fine is set at the discretion of the immigration officer overseeing the case, and can vary between one and twenty monthly minimum wages (i.e. between US\$342 and US\$6840). Generally, the fines are set relatively low; however, even US\$342 plus the US\$283 for the visa is a very significant sum for a migrant earning at or below the minimum wage.

Exposing some of the contradictions inherent in a state relying increasingly on a cheap migrant workforce to carry out manual labour but requiring them to pay high fees in order hold regular status (cf. De Genova, 2002, p.422), since 2012 the DAS has been funding MigraRed approximately US\$38,000 per annum to support 'migrants in regular situations'. The funding can be employed in a variety of ways, but the majority is used to pay the costs of visa applications for migrants who have overstayed their Tourist Visas, or who are about to overstay. In a Kafkaesque bureaucratic sleight of hand, MigraRed carries out an assessment of the finances of migrants in this situation, and negotiates with the DEM to lower the fine payable for overstaying. This can normally be reduced to approximately US\$60. MigraRed then uses funds provided by the DAS to cover the costs of the fine and the application for the MTRV.

Between May and November 2013 MigraRed assisted 36 Bolivians using funds from the DAS. In 34 cases, the funding was used to pay fees for the MTRV and for any fines. The social worker in charge of administering the DAS funds for MigraRed told me that they had seen a significant increase in the numbers of Bolivians applying for financial assistance since the increase in the Bolivian MTRV tariff in September 2013. I interviewed nine of the 36 people who had been assisted through the DAS/MigraRed programme in 2013. I also assisted a Haitian migrant in completing the paperwork necessary to apply for DAS support for fine and visa costs.<sup>2</sup>

Eight of the Bolivians I interviewed had overstayed Tourist Visas or MTRVs. All had been working in precarious domestic or manual labour, hoping to save enough to pay the visa costs but rarely earning even the minimum wage. In various cases, interviewees had small children, and three had been pregnant at the time of applying to MigraRed for assistance. Two interviewees had chronic illnesses. These factors all incurred costs which increased the difficulty of saving to pay for the visa application. It

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<sup>2</sup> And thus witnessed the absurdity of the forms to be completed. We spent several hours playing around with the form's family budget declaration to ensure he was sufficiently 'poor' to be eligible – this was a man who was unemployed with a family of four to support, and whom one felt really should have been eligible for refugee status given the circumstances of his departure from Haiti.

was mainly through informal networks that these participants had heard about MigraRed and had consequently attended drop-in sessions in order to ask for advice and eventually receive financial assistance. As one participant, Rosa, 29, put it, this assistance had been essential in enabling her to feel 'a lot calmer'. She had been in a difficult situation as she was six months pregnant, unemployed due to her pregnancy<sup>3</sup> and unsupported by her ex-partner, and also suffering from Chagas Disease.

In Santiago as well as Arica, therefore, migrant organisations played a fundamental role in enabling migrants to move from spaces of legal non-citizenship to spaces of citizenship. Due to the different contextual factors and geography of Santiago, however, there were no clear examples of collective organisation on the part of migrant participants. Rather individuals approached MigraRed for assistance, although they may have been informed of the existence of the organisation by other migrants.

## CONCLUSION

As Beimar's story at the beginning of this chapter illustrated so clearly, migrants may move through a wide range of (ir)regular migratory situations. Furthermore, there is no universal goal of eventual naturalisation. The concept of linear progression from one (ir)regular migratory status to another is often not applicable. The reasons for which migrants possess and change migratory statuses are many and varied, influenced both by structural and agentic factors. Building on some of the most recent research in this area, this chapter has aimed to show that it is helpful to conceive of different migratory statuses as part of a fluid space of legal citizenship. This space is constructed in a multi-scalar process involving the state (through legislation both on paper and in practice), migrant organisations, and individual migrants.

In spite of some potential for exercising agency, for many participants, their relationship to legal citizenship was dictated by processes from above, and they only felt able to influence it to a limited degree. There were recurring questions in their narratives that indicated this. Would they be asked at the border to prove they were fit to be awarded legal status in Chile by showing proof of solvency? Was it best to remain working on a Tourist Visa as their employer suggested, despite the risks? How on earth would they raise the funds to pay for their visa costs? Would naturalising as Chilean

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<sup>3</sup> As will be discussed in Chapter 6, it was common for women to be dismissed from work when their employers discovered they were pregnant.

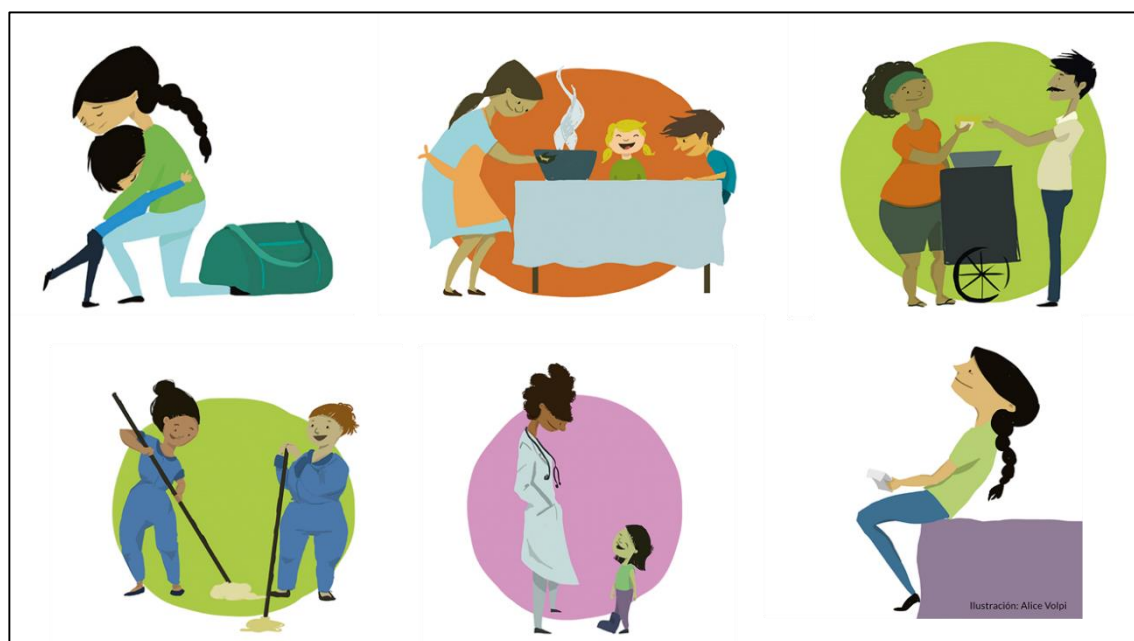


make them less Bolivian? With respect to this aspect of citizenship, then, they were living with uncertainty. Whilst it is important not to overstate the place of legal citizenship in migrants' lives and to fully acknowledge the many other dimensions of citizenship, the legal element was nonetheless of real significance to the majority of participants. This was not least because of its bearing on their position with regards to other spaces of citizenship, as will be demonstrated in the chapters which follow, turning now to economic citizenship.

## 6. LIVING THE CHILEAN DREAM? EXPERIENCES OF ECONOMIC CITIZENSHIP

For International Women's Day 2015, a Brazilian graphic designer residing in Chile concerned with migrant rights produced an evocative homage of images of working migrant women. Reproduced below in Figure 6.1, they speak profoundly to the 'migrant division of labour' (Wills et al., 2009) existent in Chile, the macro-economic conditions and 'global care chains' (Hochschild, 2000; Parreñas, 2000) that produce this division, and its affective dimensions. Whilst, as the image of the doctor indicates, some female migrants in Chile are able to work in their profession, the vast majority – regardless of their level of education – are employed in domestic labour, petty commerce, or cleaning. Further demonstrating the gendering of migrant labour, men tend to be employed in construction or agriculture.

*Figure 6.1 Illustrations for International Women's Day 2015 as a homage to migrant women in Chile*



Source: Alice Volpi, 2015

Racialization plays an additional role in creating a hierarchy between and within these divisions. Both female and male migrants in Chile frequently experience labour exploitation to varying degrees, as well as discrimination in the workplace, and are likely to feel unable to reach their full potential in their working lives. The consignment of

migrants to 'unskilled' labour in Chile through gendered and racialised processes, and the negation of labour rights in many cases, mirrors similar patterns seen in contexts of the global North in relation to migration from the global South.

Migrants' economic exclusion is not limited to difficulties accessing decent work in the receiving country, however. They may also struggle to access financial services, and may experience hardship as they make sacrifices in order to send money 'back home'. Furthermore, for many, the very reason for migration has been economic marginalisation in the home country, caused by a variety of factors. Nonetheless, exclusion is only part of the story. As they pursue the 'Chilean dream' – a phrase increasingly used (often with a heavy dose of irony) to describe the motivation behind coming to Chile – some migrants may indeed experience greater economic integration in some respects. This may be through remittances or savings which allow for eventual improvement in the standard of living; through a more fulfilling job than in the country of origin; or through greater disposable income. Moreover, these inclusions and exclusions co-exist and interrelate across borders.

This chapter examines the production of these inclusions and exclusions, and, in keeping with the broader conceptual framework of the thesis, understands them as occurring in relation to a transnational space of economic citizenship. Those who contend with multiple, simultaneous exclusions and inclusions can be thought of as experiencing 'uncertain economic citizenship' – and, of course, this may overlap with other dimensions of uncertain citizenship. The first section of the chapter engages with research relevant to the concept of spaces of economic citizenship. The subsequent four sections analyse research participants' interactions with the Bolivian-Chilean space of economic citizenship.

## **DEFINING SPACES OF ECONOMIC CITIZENSHIP: ACCESSING DECENT WORK AND BEYOND**

Some of the literature most relevant to spaces of economic citizenship is considered here in order to elucidate the concept, and the ways in which migrants are included and excluded from it. First, the topic of employment is addressed, beginning with the production of gendered and racialised migrant divisions of labour. Engaging with scholarship on precarious employment and labour exploitation, theorisation of the working conditions experienced by those at the bottom end of this hierarchy is then discussed. Finally, the section reflects upon the potential for spaces of economic

citizenship to function as a construct that accounts for more than simply employment, indicating that the development of this idea will be one of the foci of the chapter.

## Accessing decent work: Gendered, racialised hierarchies in the labour market

Access to decent work is central to the idea of economic citizenship, which, as indicated in Chapter 2, I contend should be analysed discretely from social citizenship, the topic of Chapter 7. Riaño (2011, p.1543), for example, designates economic citizenship as 'equal opportunity of access to jobs which correspond to [one's] professional qualifications and have long-term prospects'. Given the focus on professional work implied by this definition, however, I suggest that it may be more inclusive to think in terms of 'equal opportunity of access' to '*decent work*'. Decent work is defined as follows by the International Labour Organisation (ILO, 2006):

- It is productive and secure work;
- it ensures respect of labour rights;
- it provides an adequate income;
- it offers social protection;
- it includes social dialogue, union freedom, collective bargaining and participation.

It has increasingly been recognised that 'equal opportunity of access' to decent work by no means exists for many migrants. Rather, their ability to obtain work is profoundly affected by intersectionality: their categorisation by the state, employers, the media, and the general public on the basis of, inter alia, their (perceived) national, racial, ethnic, and gender identities often ascribes them certain positions within labour market hierarchies. Indeed, Riaño (2011), examining the labour participation experiences of female Latin American, Middle Eastern and Southeast European migrants in Switzerland concludes that 'formal and informal processes of inclusion and exclusion exist which lead to the unequal position of migrant women vis-à-vis the state and society' (p.1544).

Her work speaks to that of other scholars who similarly have examined the gendered and racialised processes that cause migrant women to be positioned unequally in terms of their capacity to enter into decent work. This scholarship largely began in the 1990s as a reflection of changes in migration flows as they became ever more feminised, and also as a 'reaction to previous bias whereby migration was depicted as quintessentially masculine' (Datta et al., 2009, p.853). Fundamental was research by Parreñas (2000) and Hochschild (2000), in which Hochschild (2000) developed the now

well-known – but critiqued (e.g. Yeates, 2012) – concept of ‘global care chains’ to refer to what Parreñas (2000) had previously called ‘the international division of reproductive labour’. ‘Global care chains’ is a short-hand for the transnational processes of gendering and racialisation of paid and unpaid reproductive labour whereby women from the global South (generally) are paid to carry out reproductive labour previously carried out unpaid by women from the global North (generally) who have now entered the workforce, usually as professionals. The concept also takes into account the caring work that the women from the global South leave behind, and the women who take their places to do this. Within research on Latin America migration, Hondagneu-Sotelo (e.g. 2007 [1992]) has been particularly influential in examining female migrants’ roles in paid reproductive labour.

Similarly in Chile since the early 2000s there has been increasing engagement with comprehending the power relations that result in migrant women’s relegation to ‘unskilled’ caring and cleaning work (e.g. Thayer, 2013; Acosta, 2013; Stefoni, 2009). Emphasis has been placed on the historical processes, dating back to colonial times, that have inscribed certain migrant women’s bodies as appropriate for caring and cleaning work (e.g. Stefoni and Fernández, 2013). The everyday working conditions of migrant women (the focus has been predominantly on Peruvians) have been described to an extent (e.g. Arriagada and Moreno, 2013; Acosta and Setien, 2014), and the discrimination that they face in their daily lives has also been documented (e.g. Cano, Soffia and Martínez Pizarro, 2009). There has, however, been relatively little that examines the working conditions of women employed other than in cleaning and caring.

Furthermore, whilst it is laudable that the voices of migrant women in Chile are beginning to be heard, it is vital not to neglect the labour experiences of migrant men. As recent scholarship has indicated (Datta et al., 2009; McDowell, 2008) a perspective that accounts for the impact of gender on migrants’ experience of work ought not to wholly focus on women. Indeed, a failure to consider the experiences of migrant men – who may be pushed into low-end employment through many of the same processes of exclusion confronted by migrant women – potentially overlooks the complexities of racialization and ethnicization that act in conjunction with gender discrimination to marginalise migrants (cf. Wills et al., 2009). A genuinely intersectional examination of migrants’ access to economic citizenship must consequently also consider the lived realities of migrant men, as well as the experiences of women in sectors other than cleaning and caring (cf. Yeates, 2012). This chapter, therefore, aims to provide analysis of the bulk of the spectrum of Bolivian migrant women and men’s employment in Chile.

## Accessing decent work: Precarious employment and labour exploitation

In addition to considering the ways in which gendered, racialised labour market hierarchies are produced and act to prevent migrant women and men from accessing decent work, it is also vital to detail and theorise the conditions under which migrants labour. This enables a fine-grained understanding of the everyday difficulties that they face in accessing decent work, and thus being included in spaces of economic citizenship. I suggest that the concept of precarious work, related to the idea of precarity – from the French *précarité* (Waite, 2009) – combined with a more detailed taxonomy of what constitutes labour exploitation may be helpful for achieving this. In its broadest sense,

precarity designates that politically induced condition in which certain populations suffer from failing social and economic networks of support and become differentially exposed to injury, violence, and death (Butler, 2009, p.ii).

It is thus a condition engendered by uneven, discriminatory power relations – such as those that produce the abovementioned hierarchies in the labour market. Moreover, it suggests the constant interplay of the social, economic, and political in generating the condition.

Within migration studies, this interplay has been examined particularly with regards to the relationships between the economic and politico-legal (e.g. Anderson, 2010; Lewis, Dwyer, Hodgkinson and Waite, 2014; Waite, 2009). Under analysis are the ways in which certain immigration regimes create some migrants as ‘illegal’ or as having limited rights, thereby increasing the likelihood that they will by necessity engage in particular employment niches and relations, which can be understood as precarious. Such precarious employment has been identified by Rodgers and Rodgers (1989, p.5) as that which involves ‘some combination’ of ‘instability, lack of protection, insecurity and social or economic vulnerability’, and this definition has gained currency with many writing on the topic (e.g. Lewis et al., 2014; Anderson, 2007b, 2010; Waite, 2009; Barbier, 2004; Duell, 2004).

Anderson (2010, 2007b; cf. Tsianos and Papadopoulos, 2006) has identified the role of the temporal in connecting these factors (for example, unpredictable shift work and anti-social hours are likely to be experienced by migrants with shifting, non-permanent legal status), and in linking precarious work back to the more general *précarité*:

The effect of precarious work is, as it were, the flipside of the celebration of the ‘work-life balance’, when a person’s economic productivity becomes the

overwhelming priority. In this sense precarious work results in *précarité*, a more general concern with precariousness of life which prevents people from anticipating the future (Barbier, Brygoo and Viguier, 2002) (Anderson, 2010, p.304).

While I prefer to refer to precarious work, as it is more specific, like Anderson I acknowledge its etymological and philosophical indebtedness to the concept of precarity.

It is also instructive to note that precarious work has been preferred as a term over 'vulnerable' work(er) (Anderson, 2010; Waite, 2009) because of its greater capacity for acknowledging the agency of the worker rather than simply victimizing them. Furthermore, it is more able to encompass a wide variety of situations that nonetheless have points of comparison. When contemplated together, they can provide a powerful indictment of the structural causes leading to increased casualization and lack of protection of many in the workforce – from the migrant in an irregular situation working double shifts as a cleaner to the freelance worker in creative industries moving from project to project. Thus precarious work as a concept has a great deal of analytical potential as it is able to contemplate both structure and agency, and the unifying features of a wide variety of employment situations.

Nonetheless, in a similar vein to Lewis et al. (2014), I propose that in order to better operationalise the concept of precarious employment, particularly in relation to migrant access to decent work, it is helpful to reflect upon ideas around labour exploitation and unfree labour. Specifically, I find illuminating Skrivankova's (2010) 'continuum of labour exploitation', which she has developed so as to move beyond the binary of forced labour/decent work in order to consider the many blurred, grey areas in between. She explains that

[t]he space between these two variables [decent work and forced labour] is filled with situations that do not comply with the principles of decent work and represent some form of violation of standards, starting from more benign forms (e.g. discrimination, payment under minimum wage, breach of contract), with increasing severity, leading to the most serious form of violation, forced labour (2010, p.18).

Trafficking may or may not be present in conditions of forced labour. To illustrate her point, Skrivankova presents a series of cases of migrant workers in different exploitative situations, explaining how they would be classified under present international and domestic law. In several cases, prosecution would not be possible (often due to the worker's immigration status) despite the obvious violations of labour rights. Skrivankova concludes that recognition of the existence of a continuum of labour

exploitation would improve the ability to protect workers', and particularly migrant workers', rights.

Lewis et al. (2014) incorporate the work of Skrivankova into a broader discussion of unfreedom and precarity, developing the concepts of 'hyper-precariety' and a 'continuum of unfreedom'. The latter draws on Marxist interpretations of labour in capitalist societies (cf. Strauss, 2012) by questioning the concept of 'free labour' and indicating the power relations that mean that one is often compelled to, rather than free to, commodify one's labour. Whilst the 'continuum of unfreedom' concept is perhaps useful because it draws attention to the power relations producing exploitative employment situations, arguably the more immediately comprehensible term 'continuum of labour exploitation' is preferable because it seems likely to have the potential to more easily bridge the gaps between law, policy, and academia. Moreover, when combined with 'precarity' and 'precarious work' (already widely used within policy-making circles), the role of power relations is acknowledged, as explained above. 'Hyper-precariety' could, on the other hand, prove a useful analytical tool. The authors explain that 'the viscerally lived unfreedoms within some migrants' working lives brought about by the layering of insecurities produced by labour and immigration regimes is better conceptualized as hyper-precariety rather than 'merely' precarious' (Lewis et al., 2014, p.14). This seems an apt concept for theorising the extreme economic exclusion, and its attendant consequences, experienced by some migrants.

In sum, the conditions in which many migrants work can be understood through the lens of precarious employment and a continuum of labour exploitation. The concept of hyper-precariety may also have analytical mileage. Combined they allow for greater comprehension of the multiple positions in which migrants may find themselves within and outside of the space of economic citizenship. Furthermore, in conjunction with theorisation of the gendered, racial hierarchies in the labour market, they provide a framework for understanding the structural conditions, but also agentic decisions, which result in migrants being positioned thus.

### **Considerations beyond access to decent work**

In addition to considering access to decent work, the concept of spaces of economic citizenship aims to incorporate additional economic considerations. For example, Datta (2009) has highlighted migrants' financial exclusion, stressing the paucity of research to address the issue, even though migrants are more likely than the average population to be 'unbanked' or 'semi-banked' (possessing access to only the



most basic of current accounts and lacking access to savings schemes or credit). As Datta explains (2009, p.333), a purview that is transnational in its scope is vital for understanding migrants' financial exclusion:

Not only do many migrants support the family members whom they have left behind through remittances, but they also have financial histories, assets and/or liabilities in home countries which intersect with, and shape, financial practices in host countries.

Whilst it was beyond the scope of this research to record in-depth financial histories and presents of participants, this chapter engages with the spirit of Datta's statement to address the economic marginalisation of participants in both Bolivia and Chile in more general terms than simply access to decent work, engaging with debates on remittances, and the false dichotomy of forced/voluntary migration in relation to the 'economic migrant'. It also takes into account the potentially positive financial outcomes of migration, which lead to greater inclusion in economic citizenship.

Thus throughout the chapter, the capacity for spaces of economic citizenship to incorporate factors beyond employment is assessed. So too is the relevance of 'uncertain economic citizenship': To what extent do participants experience multiple, overlapping exclusions and inclusions from spaces of economic citizenship? What structural and agentic processes produce these inclusions and exclusions? And how do they interact with other uncertain citizenships?

## PRE-MIGRATION: RURAL AND URBAN ECONOMIC MARGINALISATION IN BOLIVIA

Economic marginalisation in Bolivia was significant in participants' narratives of migration. Indeed, slightly under two thirds of all participants mentioned it as their primary reason for leaving Bolivia. The processes that caused it varied depending on whether participants were from rural or urban areas. As indicated in Chapter 3, eighteen per cent of all participants were from rural areas. Of those eighteen per cent, *all* had experienced financial difficulties, thereby comprising a disproportionate 30 per cent of the total number of participants who had experienced exclusion from economic citizenship in Bolivia. One of the oldest participants – Adriana, aged over 70 – told of the extreme economic hardship that she had faced during her childhood. She was from a very small rural Aymara community in the *departamento* of Oruro and lost her father at the age of three and her mother at the age of eight. She was unable to go to school, and following the death of her parents she survived by going

from neighbour to neighbour, to aunts<sup>26</sup> ... who gave me [food] to eat. I helped to shepherd animals, livestock and sometimes we also cultivated potatoes ... and like that I grew. Then I was eight, nine, ten. At ten I went to Oruro [the city] to work ... I looked after a baby, I carried it around. I helped the lady to clean ... she also made me make *chicha de maní*<sup>27</sup> ... I worked there about two months then ... the lady didn't pay me, she left me like that, she didn't give me anything, anything.

Undoubtedly, economic conditions for younger participants from rural areas had not been so challenging as for Adriana. Nonetheless, some of the structural factors that led to Adriana's exclusion from economic citizenship remain present in the Bolivian countryside today, albeit to a lesser degree. Poverty disproportionately affects rural dwellers in the *altiplano*, the vast majority of whom are indigenous. This is a consequence of a lack of agricultural infrastructure and uneven access to basic services, healthcare and education (Treiber, 2012; Valenzuela Fernández, 2004). Inability to maintain even subsistence farming in small communities on the high plateaus has been exacerbated by drought, which has increased in recent years due to climate change (Treiber, 2012). Drought predominantly affects areas of the western *altiplano*, where rural participants were from. Employment in these communities is therefore scarce, leading many to migrate to urban areas or abroad.

Lack of agricultural infrastructure, poor access to services, healthcare and education, and the impact of climate change in the form of extended periods of drought, were all factors mentioned by rural participants that led to their economic exclusion. These claims were substantiated during the course of research in Bolivia through discussions with internal migrants from rural communities who had moved to El Alto, as well as with a local migration expert in the small town of Pachacamaya<sup>28</sup>, and a visit to the rural community of Machacamarca in the *departamento* of Oruro with Jesuit priests who have worked there for many decades.

For those from the cities, the processes causing exclusion from economic citizenship were different. As has been reported in relation to South-North migration (e.g. Redstone Akresh, 2006; Datta et al., 2007b; McDowell, 2008; Riaño, 2011; Creese and Wiebe, 2012), those who migrated from urban areas tend not to be the very poorest

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<sup>26</sup> Aunt [*tía*] does not necessarily refer to a relative but may indicate an older female figure with whom one has a close relationship.

<sup>27</sup> A traditional Bolivian drink made of peanuts, wheat germ, and quinoa, which is extremely labour-intensive to prepare.

<sup>28</sup> A hub for smaller rural communities in the *departamento* of La Paz.

in society and indeed, are often well educated and from middle-class families. In the Bolivian-Chilean context, the definition given by Isabela, 25, from La Paz, of her family's socio-economic position and class was one that applied in many cases. She explained, 'We are from a humble family: we are not from a middle-class family, but neither a lower-class family'. The majority of participants had been in some kind of employment in Bolivia – generally 'unskilled' or 'semi-skilled' – however it was commented upon by 21 participants who had been living and working in urban areas that the salaries were insufficient to ensure a reasonable standard of living. Constanza, 32, from Sucre, explained succinctly, saying, 'in Bolivia the salaries are very low. They barely give you enough to eat, and not even to eat well'.

One of the key issues for many was that, whilst the salaries they earned might provide enough for subsistence, they did not provide enough to save, buy land or a house, support their children if they wanted to go on to higher education, or generally 'look to the future' in the words of Aimy, 34, from Cochabamba. This was exacerbated if there was any kind of difficulty within the family. Seven participants from urban areas mentioned specific moments of family crisis that resulted in greater economic hardship than they had previously been experiencing. Illness, death of a family member, and indebtedness were the most common causes of increased exclusion.

Amanda's case exemplifies this. She was 25, and from El Alto. As with Isabela, her family had always had limited resources but were not among the poorest in society. However, her family situation was complicated by the fact that her father became ill and could no longer work. As the eldest child, Amanda felt a particular responsibility to her family. She finished secondary school in 2005, having worked part-time throughout her secondary school education to help support her family. She would have liked to continue to higher education but her family's financial need was too high and so she immediately started working full-time in domestic labour upon leaving school. She earned around US\$100 per month. Combined with her mother's income, it was just enough to get by, with the support of extended family with whom Amanda's family lived, paying lower rent than on the private market. Amanda's family entered into crisis, however, when an argument with the extended family resulted in their eviction.

In such situations of crisis, lack of savings or the safety net of comprehensive social security led some participants to take out loans with high interest rates, which they realistically had little chance of paying off with the salaries they were earning in Bolivia (cf. Datta, 2007, p.24 on debt precipitating migration to the UK). For example, Luz

María, 19, and her partner, Wilson, 22, took out a loan to pay for an operation for Wilson's mother and then to purchase two motorcycles so that Wilson could start a moto-taxi business. Luz María had just enrolled in university and was not in employment at the time they were granted the loan. Wilson was informally employed by relatives as a moto-taxi driver. They already had a child under two, and when Luz María became pregnant again their ability to pay off the loans was further impeded.

Participants from both urban and rural areas identified the various factors that prevented them from participating as full economic citizens in Bolivia as structural. Their narratives indicated that they viewed themselves as hard workers who, for reasons beyond their control, could not advance beyond living at subsistence level, and, at times, experienced extreme poverty with even basic food needs going unmet. Low salaries in the cities were blamed on the state, and some participants who had been initially supportive of Morales' government communicated disillusionment with what they saw as the slow pace of economic change (see Chapter 8 for further discussion). Lack of infrastructure and employment prospects in rural areas were likewise blamed on the state, and sometimes the absence of an inclusive welfare system was also mentioned.

To this I would add the worrying facility with which some participants acquired loans that were far beyond their means to pay back – this is perhaps an indication of a lack of financial regularisation that may affect most adversely those who are already in insecure situations. Thus, whilst what could be identified as precarious employment was a central factor contributing to participants' being positioned on the economic periphery in Bolivia, it was not the whole story. Overall, their citizenship in Bolivia could certainly be classed as 'uncertain' from an economic perspective – whilst not indigent, many experienced a fairly hand-to-mouth existence and lacked the possibility of planning financially for the future. The irony, of course, is the incompatibility between their full *legal* citizenship status in their home country and the realities of their access to this dimension of substantive citizenship.

## THE ACT OF MIGRATION AS A 'PRACTICE OF CITIZENSHIP'

To speak of migration as a 'practice of citizenship' may provide a means of highlighting this irony: by moving to a place where they do not possess full legal citizenship, many migrants hope to become economic citizens, either in that country or through remittance sending and saving to enable this in the future in their country of origin. It is perhaps, therefore, a way of challenging the false binary between forced and

voluntary migration, and indicating the complex relationship between structure and agency. Migration for economic reasons has often been viewed as 'voluntary' migration, and to a degree there is an element of choice involved in this type of migration. Nonetheless, if, as above, many of the economic factors underlying participants' migration can be understood as structural, the notion of a dichotomy between 'forced' and 'voluntary' migration is complicated (see, for example Black, 2003; Andrijasevic, 2010). By referring to it as a practice of citizenship, it both indicates the agency of the migrant, but also reminds us that they are taking this decision because they cannot be full, certain citizens in their country of origin. Furthermore, it may underscore the danger of 'dependency on migration as a development strategy' which

can lead to a situation whereby people are more valued as migrants than as citizens, with national governments encouraging the transition from citizens to migrants, rather than facilitating migrants' return home (Levitt, 2001b). This also enables states to shirk their responsibilities to undertake structural reform at home (Ballard, 2003; Haas, 2005) (Datta et al., 2007b, p.47).

Thus referring to migration as a 'citizenship practice' references the wider debate around the potential for remittances to act to cure development ills. Following a certain degree of hype around the development potential of remittances from the late 1980s to the early 2000s, it has increasingly been realised that the role that they play is far more ambiguous than previously thought (de Haas, 2007). They may alleviate 'transient poverty' but fail to have an effect on long term 'structural poverty' (Kapur, 2003), resulting in uneven development within communities (Ballard, 2005). Moreover, as is gradually being recognised in the literature, the effort and sacrifice made on the part of the migrant may lead to detrimental health and social outcomes for them (Datta et al., 2007b; Levitt and Nyberg- Sørensen, 2004).

On one hand, then, migration and consequent remittance sending can be understood as an agentic decision taken as part of a family livelihood strategy (Stark and Taylor, 1989; Taylor, 1999). To return to Amanda's story, she described the negotiations with her mother in relation to her migrating as follows:

I said to my mum, "I'm going, I'm going to go ... I'm going so I can help to get a piece of land. I'm going to send you money, or we'll get a loan and I'll pay little by little." Like that.

My mum said to me, "No, no, you mustn't go like that, daughter."

But no, that was my decision. And my mum couldn't change my mind. She couldn't make me change the decision I took. She couldn't.

Amanda's mother later agreed that migration was the best idea given the circumstances, although there was then debate as to whether she or her mother should be the one to move. On grounds of age, the fact that Amanda was single, and the emotional fallout for her younger siblings if their mother left, it was decided that Amanda should go. Several other participants in their late teens and early twenties spoke of similar exchanges with their parents over the decision to migrate. Whilst their parents were reluctant to see them go, they conceded that it appeared to be the most viable option for enabling the economic betterment of the family.

On the other hand, even when participants narrated events leading up to their migration in terms of active decision-making and negotiation with family, the degree to which it was a decision taken 'voluntarily' was a moot point. Phrases such as 'obliged to migrate' and 'not much other option [other than to migrate]' were used in conjunction with discussion of migration as a choice. Loreta, 28, noted, 'in reality, no one forces you to leave your country, but the economic situation is not good at all in my country, we're in a terrible, terrible crisis.' Furthermore, as will be discussed in the next sections, the economic outcomes of migration were certainly mixed. The 'practice of citizenship' represented by migration by no means always led to a more certain economic citizenship.

## LIVING THE CHILEAN DREAM? REMITTANCES, SAVINGS, AND QUALITATIVELY BETTER EMPLOYMENT

For some participants, migration did result in their edging closer to the 'Chilean dream' of improved economic circumstances that they had envisaged. Sometimes this was in a largely material sense as they were able to send remittances to Bolivia or save money in Chile. There were also less tangible ways in which certain participants experienced greater involvement in spaces of economic citizenship. The degree to which such involvement was possible was strongly influenced by gender and was often also contingent on participants' positions within spaces of legal citizenship.

Just under one third of participants had experienced some improvement in their material circumstances following their move to Chile. Ten participants, the majority women and all in unskilled employment, reported regularly sending remittances to Bolivia. Eight participants, six in professional or technical employment and one engaged in petty commerce, had jointly purchased property in Chile with their spouses or partners, five of whom were Chilean. The mixture of remitting to Bolivia or saving and

purchasing property in Chile highlight the complex transnational dimension of migrants' economic practices, and the importance of recognising that they undertake heterogeneous strategies to achieve economic betterment because of differing social circumstances.

In relation to this, it is instructive to analyse the ways in which remittances were used. There is a well-established tension between spending on immediate consumption and investing (de Haas, 2007), with the former previously viewed as being of little long-term value in terms of poverty reduction. However, this perspective has been revised as it has been recognised that remittances for immediate consumption may in fact have the effect of improving long-term health and education outcomes for family members of migrants (e.g. Carling, 2004). For example, remittances spent on a child's living costs may enable them to stay in education for longer, thereby improving prospects of poverty reduction for the family over time. Of those research participants who remitted, three women and one man stated that their money went primarily to support their children so that they could continue in education or to support an elderly parent, rather than towards investment in property or other assets. Anahis, 36, from Sucre and Luz María and Wilson were sending remittances both to support the children whom they had left behind and to finance debt that they had incurred in Bolivia. Jonathan, 21, from Sucre, who lived with his wife and children in Santiago, was remitting to Bolivia in order to finance a debt.

Diana, 28, and Amanda were the only participants who reported purchasing land and property in Bolivia and paying for it with remittances. Amanda had bought a plot of land on the outskirts of El Alto, and her family were in the process of building property on the land. Amanda's long-term plan was for all the family to live on the same plot but in separate apartments. She described what had been built so far for her parents and two youngest siblings:

Two bedrooms, a living room, and the kitchen. Four rooms. So each one is going to settle in their own space. Soon we're going to start building up ... because ... my thinking was, "Yes, I'm going to build an apartment, my sister's going to build an apartment, and there you have it." Yes.

As was explained in Chapter 5, Amanda had been determined to secure legal citizenship in Chile from the outset and had had support from her employer in doing so. She also had a good relationship with her employer, and these two factors had undoubtedly facilitated her ability to send remittances and purchase land in Bolivia. Likewise Diana, learning from her negative experiences in Argentina where she was in an irregular migratory

situation and working in poor conditions in sweatshops, rapidly secured temporary residency and ensured that she had employment in Chile that, whilst only paying the minimum wage, was secure and stable. This had enabled her to quickly begin to pay off the loan for land she had purchased on the outskirts of Santa Cruz.

Thus remittances were utilised in a multitude of ways by participants as part of individual and family strategies for experiencing greater inclusion in the Bolivian-Chilean space of economic citizenship. This reflects findings in the literature that indicate that the effects of remittances are 'highly variable and context specific' (Datta et al., 2007b, p.5). Not only is this the case in terms of positive outcomes, but also negative impacts, as will be discussed below. Still on the subject of positive outcomes, however, in addition to remittance sending and saving there were also less quantifiable ways in which some participants experienced greater inclusion in spaces of economic citizenship following migration.

Specifically, there was an interesting gendered phenomenon whereby male participants in regular migratory situations who worked in physically demanding employment, such as in construction or as mechanics (but excluding employment in agriculture), commented on a variety of qualitative improvements as a consequence of their employment in Chile. First, their working conditions in Chile were viewed as better than those in Bolivia. Alberto, 30, from Sucre explained why this was so in construction:

Everything there, the builder does everything by brute force. While here in Chile it's more about tools ... the work is lighter here, Bolivians feel that the work is lighter here. And because of that sometimes the Bolivians, when we meet up at lunchtime or in the morning, in the breaks, we comment that maybe we're going to stay here because the work is better here than in Bolivia!

More advanced technology combined with greater concern for the health and safety of the worker and, in general, respect for an eight to nine hour working day made for employment that was less physically demanding and dangerous than in Bolivia. Moreover, several participants commented on the opportunities that working in Chile had given them to informally learn about new technology and more advanced techniques in construction or mechanics. Finally, this particular group of male participants felt they had slightly more disposable income in Chile than they earned in Bolivia for carrying out the same type of work. This led to better quality of life. For Jonathan, it translated to being able to buy ham and milk, which for him in Bolivia had been luxury items. Alberto commented that now his wages were sufficient to 'even buy my wife a little present for her birthday'.



These men conveyed the sense that they felt that their employment in Chile enabled them to participate economically more fully than they had before. They found their work fulfilling and interesting because they had the opportunity to learn new skills, and the financial rewards were greater than in Bolivia. In contrast to contexts of South-North migration (and some contexts of South-South migration) where men may end up working in traditionally feminised employment such as cleaning and caring (McIlwaine, 2010; Sarti and Scrinzi, 2010; Datta et al., 2009; McDowell, 2008), there was little evidence that this was the case in Chile. One could posit that this is in part because Chile retains a more strongly *machista* culture than in many countries of the global North, and thus there would be more resistance from Chileans in relation to employing men in cleaning or caring. For migrant men, this meant that, in the workplace, their gender identities were not challenged to the same degree as in some other contexts of migration. They also experienced less deskilling than women. It is possible to hypothesise that these two factors may contribute to increased job satisfaction than in some other migration contexts or for some migrant women in Chile.

It must be highlighted, however, that the greater economic inclusion experienced by migrant men working in physically demanding employment only applied in cases where they were legally resident. For those migrant men in irregular migratory situations undertaking physical, unskilled labour, work and pay conditions could be very precarious. As will be discussed in the following section, continuing or increased economic exclusion was, unfortunately, a more common outcome of migration to Chile from Bolivia than its converse.

## LIVING THE CHILEAN DREAM? PRECARIOUS EMPLOYMENT AND LABOUR EXPLOITATION

Here I address the economic situations of participants in Chile through the lens of precarious employment and a spectrum of labour exploitation, exposing the actuality of the 'Chilean dream' for many. I reflect upon the interactions between structural factors and agency that cause them, and how they fit within the broader framework of exclusion from spaces of economic citizenship. I have selected three employment sectors for analysis; they are particularly illustrative of the general patterns of labour relations indicated by the research. Moving from the most to the least severe, I examine lived realities within wholesale clothing retail, agriculture, and domestic labour and cleaning.

## Wholesale clothing retail

The garment industry is notorious for poor, sometimes appalling, labour conditions. The 2013 Rana Plaza disaster is the most emblematic case in point of recent years, but, as Seabrook (2014) argues, garment production post-industrialisation generally continues to be and has always been an exploitative business, whether in the sweatshops of the global South today or their equivalents in the global North around a century ago. In South America, as mentioned in Chapter 4, Buenos Aires and São Paulo are known for the abuses of migrant workers (largely Bolivian) who labour in textile factories dotted throughout the cities (Tavares de Freitas, 2014; Satie Bermudes, 2012). In Santiago it would seem that it is not so much with regards to the production but rather the wholesale retail of garments where abuses of labour rights occur.

As discussed in Chapters 3 and 4, in the course of my research I uncovered a case of human trafficking for labour exploitation in wholesale garment retail in Santiago, and was also made aware of the labour exploitation occurring more broadly within this sector. Here I will analyse in detail the case of Cata and Marta, introduced in Chapter 4. These were the two women who became key informants within the research as I worked with them to understand their stories, and collaborated with MigraRed Santiago and the human trafficking unit of the Policia de Investigaciones (henceforth PDI – modelled on the US Federal Bureau of Investigation) in an attempt to assist them to leave the situation of forced labour in which they found themselves.

To recapitulate, Cata was 25 and from El Alto. From my conversations with her, and also with her best friend Camila with whom I spent two days in El Alto, I learned that when Cata was nine, she and her family – consisting of her parents and two younger siblings – had migrated to El Alto from a rural community in the *departamento* of La Paz. Cata spoke only Aymara as a child and, according to Camila, also an Aymara speaker, had struggled in her adolescence to learn Spanish to fluency. Nevertheless, Cata progressed to university, attending the Universidad Pública de El Alto (UPEA) where she studied Social Work. Public universities in Bolivia are free; however students must pay for their living costs and for study materials. After completing three years of her degree, Cata was unable to continue with her education as her parents could no longer afford to support her, and the part-time work which she was undertaking was insufficient to make ends meet. Moreover, she was struggling to keep up with the workload because she did not have access to a computer.

Marta, 35, had a rather different story from Cata, although there were similarities. She was from Oruro and married with three children, aged sixteen, thirteen, and ten. She had no schooling and was illiterate. Like Cata, her first language was Aymara. She spoke Spanish, but at times it was difficult to understand due to her use of non-standard grammar and difficulties with expressing time references in Spanish. In Bolivia, Marta worked in a factory iodising salt, and her husband worked in the garment industry. Their wages were so low that they were struggling to provide for their children so that they could remain in education, which was their primary objective. Marta and her husband decided that she should migrate to improve their financial situation.

On 20 October 2013, I accompanied Marta to the human trafficking unit of the PDI so that she could make a witness statement about how she entered into Chile and the work in which she had been engaged. The following is an extract from my fieldnotes from that day, explaining Marta's version of how she arrived in Santiago as she related it to the PDI officer:

[Marta] heard through a friend that there was an announcement on local radio inviting people to come and work in Chile. The friend got the phone number for her, and Marta duly called and was told to go to El Alto to meet the man in charge who would see if she was fit for the job and, if so, accompany her to Chile. She travelled to El Alto with her possessions and managed to find the address. She said it was a really big house with a brand new car outside, which impressed her.

She spoke to the man in charge, Don X, who said that the job involved working as a cook in Santiago and that she would receive US\$300 per month. He said ... that he would take her by bus to Chile in a few days' time. He met her at 5:30am on a Sunday morning in April [2013] to accompany her across the border at Chungará. He said that at the border she would need to say that she was going to visit her godmother in Chile, and that she had money.

...

They reached Arica, and at this point Don X said that he felt unwell and that Marta would have to go alone to Santiago. He bought her a bus ticket and put her on the bus to Santiago. He gave her a phone number to call once she reached Santiago. Marta said that she was very scared because she didn't know where she was going and she didn't have any Chilean money on her and very little Bolivian money. She reached Santiago and managed to change a little bit of money ... so that she could make a phone call to the number Don X had given her. After making the phone call, she was collected in a taxi and taken to the shop where she was to work (Fieldnotes, 20 October 2013).

Cata's story was very similar to Marta's – she too had answered a commercial she heard over the radio in Bolivia and had been accompanied across the border in similar circumstances. In her case, she had believed that the job to which she was going was in Arica, and to her dismay was forced into travelling to Santiago upon arrival in Arica.

There are text-book examples of human trafficking techniques present in the stories of Cata and Marta. They respond to legitimate-sounding advertisements and are promised wages far above what they are able to earn in their home country. Then through a disorienting and coercive process they are brought to a context which they do not know (Hopper and Hidalgo, 2006; Victims of Trafficking and Violence Protection Act, 2000, sec.(b) (4)).

Strategies typically used by traffickers/exploiters continued to be utilised once Marta and Cata were in Chile. My fieldnotes continue with an explanation of the labour conditions which Marta faced in Santiago:

She began work the following day, and the work schedule has had her working from 6:30am to 12:00am six days a week. Initially she and the other workers were all living in the small *bodega* behind the shop, but have since moved to a *bodega*/house nearby. The women sleep four to a room in bunk beds and are surrounded by piles of clothes, although they have tried to create a bit more space for themselves. Twice Marta has demanded that money be sent to her family in Bolivia when she knew that her employers were going to be in Bolivia. They wired US\$250 directly to her husband on one occasion. They also have occasionally given 'advances' to the workers for about US\$8 each time and have given them the money to apply for the MERCOSUR Temporary Resident Visa. They say that they will pay the balance of wages owing at the end of the year, although Marta has heard rumours that at the end of the year the employers simply fire the workers, saying that they have no money and so can't pay them (Fieldnotes, 20 October 2013).

The working hours and sleeping arrangements were the same in Cata's case as they were for Marta. In relation to pay, she had only received several small 'advances'. Sleep deprivation, crowded living conditions, and severe restriction of payment of wages are all commonly used by traffickers/exploiters (Hopper and Hidalgo, 2006).

Other tactics were also used to create a relationship of dependency. Both Cata and Marta were led to believe that the MTRV, which the exploiters paid for, bonded them to one employer for a year. They believed they would enter into irregular migratory situations if they left, and could face deportation as a consequence. Threats of reporting workers for immigration law violations are common in situations of trafficking and exploitation (Hopper and Hidalgo, 2006; Skrivankova, 2010). In addition to leading them to believe that they were bonded to an employer for one year and barely paying them, the exploiters further restricted Cata and Marta's freedom of movement by constantly monitoring them and allowing them only a few hours of 'free time' on Sundays.

Whilst never subjected to physical abuse, they were kept isolated from Chilean society and a relationship of almost total reliance on the exploiters was created. Illustrating the complex psychological manipulations that are often involved in trafficking and subsequent exploitation (Hopper and Hidalgo, 2006), on one occasion the exploiters took Cata, Marta, and their other workers on a daytrip to the beach near Santiago. During this episode, the generosity of the exploiters was emphasised, although it was made clear that the cost of the trip would come out of workers' wages. Speaking to Marta, it was apparent that this trip had produced the desired effect of making her feel conflicted in her relationship to her exploiter – if they took her to the beach, didn't this mean that they were essentially good people who would fulfil their promise of paying wages at the end of the year?

There are multiple structural and agentic factors that interacted to produce the level of exclusion from spaces of economic citizenship experienced by Cata and Marta. In structural terms, relatively lax enforcement of labour laws in Chile, the difficulty of prosecuting cases of trafficking for labour exploitation, and the lack of information in the public domain in Bolivia and Chile regarding trafficking and labour exploitation worked to the advantage of the trafficker/exploiter. The traffickers/exploiters – who were apparently a married Bolivian couple – were clearly fully aware of these factors. This is exemplified by the fact that they acquired MTRVs for their employees and then deceived them as to the conditions of the visa. As mentioned in Chapter 5, possession of the MTRV by employees meant that any inspection by the Departamento de Trabajo was unlikely to uncover abuses of labour rights. Generally the focus of these inspections is on the migratory status of employees, and the employer or manager is often present, making it unlikely that workers will make complaints about labour conditions.

Furthermore, the exploiters appear to have been fully cognisant of the vulnerabilities of Cata and Marta due to the intersections of socio-economic status, class, gender, and race. The US Victims of Trafficking and Violence Protection Act (sec.[b](5)), which addresses those who are trafficked for both sexual and labour exploitation, states that:

Traffickers primarily target women and girls, who are disproportionately affected by poverty, the lack of access to education, chronic unemployment, discrimination, and the lack of economic opportunities in countries of origin.

Many of these criteria applied to Cata and Marta. Both were from relatively low socio-economic, working class backgrounds, particularly in the case of Marta, who also lacked formal education. Gendering and racialization likewise played a role. Throughout my

research, the stereotype of the hard-working, submissive Aymara or Quechua woman was repeated by interviewees in both Chile and Bolivia. It is likely that the exploiters were looking for people whom they believed met with this stereotype. Moreover, there were also personality-based factors that it is possible were taken into consideration when looking for 'employees'. Both Cata and Marta were friendly, open, and trusting people, and it seems that these qualities were preyed upon.

Finally, there is the question of agency. In the case of Cata and Marta, deception, coercion, and manipulation were so great as to severely limit their freedom of choice, contributing to the classification of the situation they were in as one of trafficking and forced labour – at the sharp end of the spectrum of labour exploitation, and certainly fitting criteria of 'hyper-precarity'. However, as will be discussed below, their exercise of agency was crucial to the process of rights-claiming that they undertook in order to move from almost total exclusion from economic citizenship to incipient inclusion.

## Agriculture

As with the garment industry, agriculture is well-known for precarious work and labour exploitation, and again, particularly of migrant workers. This has been documented especially in the case of Mexican and Central American farmworkers in the USA, with particular regard to their health (e.g. Arcury and Quandt, 2007; Das et al., 2001; Farmer and Slesinger, 1992). Until very recently, the conditions of migrant workers in agriculture in Chile have been entirely neglected in research on migration. However, in late 2014 an important milestone was marked with the publication of the first study on working conditions of migrants in the North of Chile, with a focus on agriculture (Rojas Pedemonte and Vicuña Undurraga SJ, 2014). One of the chapters presents a quantitative analysis of a survey carried out with 220 migrant participants, 60 of whom were Bolivian, with half working in agriculture (Rojas Pedemonte and Bueno Moya, 2014).

The findings from my qualitative research support the claims made in this study. Summarising the results, Rojas Pedemonte and Bueno Moya state that:

[T]he subsample of Bolivians is that which presents the highest levels of lack of information with regards to legal matters, such as the process for acquiring visas or regarding labour rights and obligations, which exposes them to greater conditions of exclusion. Moreover, it is the subsample with the highest proportion of low wages (below CLP\$200.000), and which has the highest levels of both lack of contract, and concentration in unskilled employment (Rojas Pedemonte and Bueno Moya, 2014, p.86 my translation).

Reflecting these conclusions, of the seven participants I interviewed who worked in agriculture, six did not have contracts. With the exception of one worker who was in a more senior position overseeing other workers, none earned the minimum wage. In addition to the basic markers measured in the quantitative study, my research indicated other factors that demonstrated varying degrees of labour exploitation of agricultural workers in the North of Chile. As described in Chapter 4, all lived in very poor conditions on the *parcelas* where they laboured. On average, they worked nine to ten hours a day, six and a half days a week – far exceeding the maximum 45 hours a week stipulated by Chilean labour laws. As with Cata and Marta, poor living conditions and long working hours contributed to workers' isolation and dependency on their employer, and indicate the role of the temporal in precarious employment (cf. Anderson, 2010), to which I would also add the importance of physical place.

In relation to the latter, the work in itself could be categorised as falling within the three Ds definition – dirty, dangerous, and difficult.<sup>29</sup> I conducted some of the interviews with participants as they worked and thus saw first-hand the tasks in which they engaged, and the place in which they worked. They were squatting for hours at a time thinning pepper plants in a greenhouse where temperatures were easily over 30 degrees Celsius – I was sweating and feeling slightly nauseous within 10 minutes. There was no provision of water, and the juice which I brought with me was gratefully received. Women worked with their babies and toddlers alongside them or on their backs.

One of the particular dangers of the work (well-documented in the US) was when pesticide had to be applied. Julieta, 48, from rural La Paz, said that this was by far the worst part of the work, particularly for pregnant women. She had worked with one woman whose child was born with disabilities, which the woman attributed to pesticide exposure while pregnant, and had heard of other such cases and of stillbirths occurring on the *parcelas*, which the women thought were a consequence of having worked with pesticides during pregnancy. Whilst of course it is impossible to know if these cases were indeed a direct cause of pesticide exposure, there is evidence that contact with pesticides can have negative consequences for women's reproductive health, including increased prevalence of birth defects and spontaneous late-term abortion (National Center for Farmworker Health, 2009; Rao, 2008).

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<sup>29</sup> The so-called '3D' definition is a neologism that comes from the Japanese three 'Ks' – kitani , kitsui, and kiken – meaning the same (Quayson and Arhin, 2013, p.163; Connell, 1993).

In addition to lack of contracts, low pay, long working hours, and difficult and potentially dangerous working conditions, workplace discrimination and a degree of coercion were further elements that contributed to the precarity and exploitation that characterised these participants' working lives. As explained in Chapter 4, the attitude of the *patrones* towards their workers was sometimes racist. Luisa, 25, from rural Oruro, experienced discrimination on the part of the overseers as well:

Some [overseers] discriminate against you. Because you're a foreigner they want to treat you, they want to make you work more, without stopping. They say you're not advancing, that you have to hurry ... And because you're a foreigner ... they threaten that they can kick you out ... they say to you, "We're going to fire you and when we fire you, you don't have the right to anything even if you have a contract". More than anything that's what they do, they threaten you with that.

Although not as extreme as in the case of Cata and Marta, there was certainly a degree of coercion involved in the relationship between employer and employee, and the threat of being dismissed without pay or reported to the immigration authorities seemed very real to participants.

In sum, many of the conditions experienced by participants labouring in agriculture in the North of Chile would suggest that, whilst not in conditions of forced labour, they are certainly experiencing significant labour exploitation, and their employers are acting in violation of various labour laws. With regards to the structural factors leading to these conditions, many are similar to those mentioned above and in the previous chapter. Lax enforcement of labour laws were certainly an important contributing factor. Nonetheless, migrants also exercised a degree of agency in choosing to remain on the *parcelas*. Whilst options for leaving were certainly restricted, there was some potential for finding other work. This kind of work could not, therefore, be classified as forced labour, and thus the 'grey areas' acknowledged by the concepts of precarious work and the spectrum of labour exploitation are helpful for enabling us to still consider it as a violation of rights and a serious prohibition to access to economic citizenship.

## Domestic labour and cleaning

If agricultural labour is the least discussed of migrant employment niches in Chile, then domestic labour and cleaning is certainly the most. This is a reflection of the feminisation of migration to Chile, the high numbers of migrants working in these sectors, but also the tendency within migration research to focus almost exclusively on Santiago, where work in domestic labour is concentrated. In my research, ten female



participants in Santiago were working in domestic labour or cleaning. Seven worked as *nanas* either *puertas adentro* or *puertas afuera*. Three worked part-time as cleaners for small businesses or institutions. A further two who were not working at the time of interview had previously worked as *nanas* or in cleaning. There were no male participants and no participants in Arica who worked in domestic labour or cleaning. Thus the Santiago-centric focus of employment in these areas was mirrored in my study, as was its feminisation.

Viewing labour exploitation as a continuum, all except one of the women who worked or had worked in domestic labour and cleaning, especially the former, experienced violations of their labour rights, although not to such a severe degree as those working in agriculture.<sup>30</sup> They were receiving the minimum wage or above, and in the case of those *puertas adentro* they received food and board additional to this. However, those *puertas adentro* also worked more than the hours stipulated by Chilean law, were given insufficient breaks, and were generally not permitted to take sick leave. Without exception, they all said that it was very hard work. Fernanda, 45, working as a *nana puertas adentro* detailed a typical day for her:

I work from eight in the morning until ten, eleven at night. If the baby doesn't sleep, well, I don't either. And then I have to get up – ready for action – again the next day. I mean it's not, sometimes there's not even time to eat, you just have to eat however you can and sometimes you can't eat because you're looking after the baby, or you have to go and get her from the nursery, you have to wash the clothes, iron, tidy up. The day flies by. We work more than the hours we should and they don't pay our taxes, they don't pay overtime.

Javiera, 43, who also worked *puertas adentro* had similar experiences. The week before our interview she had been ill with rotavirus. She explained, 'I got it from the children. Terrible diarrhoea, vomiting. On Thursday I slept more with my head in the toilet than in my bed. And on Friday I had to get up to work.'

A further issue was contracts. Aimy, for example, had worked *puertas adentro* for the same family for two years. In all of this time, she had not had a contract. Thus when she fell pregnant, with no document to guarantee her right to maternity leave, she was dismissed without pay. There was a vague promise that she might be able to return to work for the family once her baby was three months old and could be cared for in a nursery; however this was not a written agreement. For those working *puertas afuera*

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<sup>30</sup> The exception was one participant who worked part-time as a cleaner in the school her children attended. The school complied with all labour laws.

and in cleaning, they tended to work 50 to 72 hours a week, which was in accordance with the labour law governing domestic work at the time (see below). However, as with those *puertas adentro* some did not have contracts or, if they did, the contracts were not respected.

Psychologically or emotionally challenging working relationships were another difficulty confronted by almost all participants in domestic labour and cleaning (cf. Arriagada and Moreno, 2013; Hondagneu-Sotelo, 1992). Various participants employed in domestic labour diplomatically said that sometimes relationships with their employers or employers' children could be 'difficult'. Some elaborated on this. One participant said that for her one of the greatest problems was that her employers would go out until very late a couple of nights a week and come home drunk. Another said that the twenty year-old daughter of her employer 'discriminates ... she lowers your self-esteem, she shouts at you'. Young children could also be abusive. For Javiera, one of the worst things about her job had been the requirement to wear a uniform (i.e. a checked or block colour button-down shift dress with an apron) – this is a common requirement for *nanas* working for upper class families. As Javiera told it, 'when ... they put me in a uniform, I cried. I felt humiliated. I know that work is dignified, that it does not denigrate, but I felt humiliated.' For her, the uniform implied that she was in a servile role and presented a profound challenge to her identity.

Her intense feeling of humiliation was partially because of the de-skilling implied by working as a *nana*. In Bolivia, she worked as a nurse, and had completed a technical degree and additional diplomas in order to do this. She was struggling to cope with the loss of her professional identity in Chile. Four other women working as *nanas* had similar experiences of de-skilling, and three professionals who had found work in their area nonetheless thought that their nationality, and Chilean stereotypes of Bolivians, impacted on their ability to progress in their careers (cf. Riaño, 2011). De-skilling seemed not to be as prevalent as for some other migrant groups, however. The Bolivian migrant population in Chile has a lower average of years of formal education than the Chilean-born population and that of other migrant groups, who all have a higher average than that of the Chilean-born population (Stefoni, 2011). Therefore it is to be expected that de-skilling affects other migrant groups to a greater extent. Nonetheless, for those participants whom it did affect, it heightened their awareness of the injustices to which they were subjected in the workplace on a daily basis.

There are a variety of structural factors that contribute to the generation of these exploitative and discriminatory conditions. Stefoni and Fernández (2013) have written on the history of women in domestic labour in Chile, and the ways in which social norms and gender stereotypes have influenced, and continue to influence, the roles to which *nanas* must conform. They conclude that domestic labour is

a labour category that tends to reproduce conditions of inequality based on hierarchies of race, class, and gender. The birth of this category dates to the Colonial Period, when it was poor women, from rural and indigenous sectors who, from a position of subordination, carried out domestic service. (2013, [electronic book] my translation)

In the present, they argue, the gendering and racialization of these roles as servile continues, although they now exist in an uneasy relationship with the logic of the modern labour market and labour rights. It is in this context that migrant women from neighbouring Andean countries have begun to fill these roles. Thus they find themselves in positions which vacillate between requiring an attitude of 'servility' and of being 'rights based'.

Chile's domestic labour law [*Ley de trabajadoras y trabajadores de casa particular*] in force at the time of research reflected this uncomfortable compromise. At the time of interview, as with all workers in Chile, it was necessary for domestic workers *puertas adentro* and *puertas afuera* to: possess a contract that, amongst other things, stipulated the hours to be worked and tasks to be carried out; be given pay slips; be paid at least the minimum wage; have pension and health contributions paid by the employer; be given 15 days paid holiday per year; and to be granted maternity leave under the same conditions as any other worker. There were some differences in relation to the specific rights and obligations of those *puertas adentro* and *puertas afuera*.

Those *puertas afuera* could be required to work up to 72 hours a week for the minimum monthly wage. For all other workers in Chile, 45 hours per week was the maximum number of hours that could be worked before overtime must be paid in addition to the minimum monthly wage. Sundays and public holidays had to be given off. Those *puertas adentro* likewise could work up to 72 hours a week. They were entitled to nine continuous hours off between 'shifts' and three hours' break distributed as the employer wished throughout the rest of the day (they therefore should not work more than twelve hours per day). They had to be given one day off a week, which could be divided into two half days if the employee wished for this. A day in lieu could be given instead of a day off for a public holiday. Both those *puertas afuera* and *puertas adentro*

could be required by their employers to wear a uniform inside the house and in public spaces.

These excessive hours and the ability for employers to require their employees to use a uniform clearly reflect the tendency to understand domestic work as different from other work, and within a framework of unpaid reproductive labour and servitude. These injustices are slowly being recognised, and from November 2015 important changes to the law will come into effect, although domestic workers' labour rights will still be more limited than those of other workers (see Appendix 5; Biblioteca Nacional de Chile, 2015; El Mercurio, 2014). It is clear that, by contrast with the labour situations experienced by participants in the garment retail and agriculture sectors, it was the very law governing domestic labour that was one of – if not the most – significant structural aspects enabling what could only be described as exploitative conditions when compared to internationally expected labour standards for domestic workers (see for example ILO, 2011). Moreover, even the minimal rights guaranteed by the law had been infringed upon in the case of most participants.

As well as the structural factors, however, agentic factors must again be considered. All of the participants in domestic labour or cleaning had exercised freedom of choice in engaging in that work. Overall, many of the women in domestic service or cleaning saw the financial benefits as sufficient to act as a trade-off for certain labour rights. Participants spoke of the fact that they would 'put up with things' or 'swallow their pride' because the salaries were reasonable. This highlights some of the ambiguities of migrants' inclusions and exclusions in transnational spaces of economic citizenship and, again, the relevance of precarious employment and a spectrum of labour exploitation as means by which to understand them.

## IMPROVING ECONOMIC CIRCUMSTANCES IN CHILE: INDIVIDUAL AND COLLECTIVE PRACTICES

Even in very precarious, exploitative situations, participants engaged in strategies to improve their economic circumstances. They used both individual and collective practices to challenge the power relations generating such poor working conditions. This final section first addresses the individual practices that they utilised. Then it analyses the role that migrant organisations played in supporting (or hindering) participants in achieving greater inclusion in spaces of economic citizenship.

## Individual practices: Everyday resistance and exit strategies

There was some evidence that subtle forms of individual everyday resistance were engaged in by participants in order to improve their working conditions. They reflect the kinds of tactics defined by Scott as ‘weapons of the weak’ (1987), which have been observed not only in the agricultural context in which he carried out research, but also in urban working environments (Prasad and Prasad, 2000). Ong (2010 [1987]) has analysed the ways in which such practices of resistance can be highly gendered. She documented the possession by spirits of female Malay factory workers, which could lead to factories shutting down, and understands this as an unconscious act of protest intended to critique the labour conditions to which they were subjected. Others (e.g. Ngai, 2005; Ustubici, 2009) have also examined the ways in which women may use stereotypes of female irrationality and emotion to their advantage, and subvert the notion of the woman as dominated by biological functions.

This kind of everyday resistance is difficult to detect and analyse, as Scott himself acknowledges (1992). Nevertheless, there were some clear examples given by my participants where they had utilised such tactics to improve their working conditions. For example, as mentioned in Chapter 5, Beimar, 28, negotiated for equal pay with his Chilean counterparts by partially withdrawing his labour for a period. He began to work a lot slower than he normally would, or simply failed to turn up to work. He knew that his employer valued him highly because he worked harder and faster than many of the other men. This type of ‘foot dragging’ (Scott, 1987) eventually saw him receive a pay rise.

Bringing into focus the gendering of the phenomenon, Javiera likewise drew on the limited resources available to her in order to negotiate with her employer so as not to wear a uniform. Acting on her genuine feelings of emotion, but also, one might speculate, utilising gendered stereotypes of ‘emotional women’, she said that she ‘cried to the *señora*<sup>31</sup> and I said to her that I didn’t want to wear the uniform anymore. I felt humiliated, frustrated as a professional, I said to her ... and I didn’t wear [the uniform] anymore’. A few other female participants working as *nanas* also mentioned instances in which they had cried or ‘pleaded’ with their (female) employers in order to improve their working conditions.

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<sup>31</sup> One of the terms commonly used by women working as *nanas* to refer to their employers. The other common term is ‘*jefa*’ [female boss]. Note the gender implications regarding who is in charge of domestic arrangements in the home (see Arriagada and Moreno, 2013).

Those who negotiated working conditions in this manner were an exception, however. Beimar had been in Chile for several years before he attempted such a negotiation, and Javiera was more educated than many of the participants, so these were perhaps factors which imbued them with the confidence to attempt such a negotiation. More common was to use an exit strategy i.e. to leave and find another job if working conditions were too bad. This was strongly linked to entering into a regular migratory situation – those in irregular situations (principally in Arica) tended to remain in the same job regardless of the conditions as they were too afraid of being reported to the authorities to risk leaving. Four female participants and one male participant in Santiago had changed job specifically because they felt their labour conditions were exploitative. All had been in regular situations when they did this. Rosa, 29, explained:

Yes, I changed job because ... I didn't feel comfortable. They made me work on public holidays and the *señora* said that she was giving me the money for free. That doesn't seem OK to me.

A further two male participants working in construction, whose MTRV applications were being processed but who had been working on Tourist Visas, professed that they would look for alternative work once they were in regular situations. This was for similar reasons to those expressed by Rosa. Moreover, they had experienced difficulties in ensuring that their employers, contractors who hired *jornaleros* [day-labourers], paid them on time, or indeed at all. Two women interviewed, Diana and Carolina, avoided poor working conditions by refusing to work in particular sectors in which they had had previous, negative experiences in countries other than Chile. As mentioned above, Diana found work in a café and had been determined not to work in the garment industry or in domestic labour as she had done in Argentina. Carolina was happy to work in domestic labour, but did not want to work *puertas adentro* following her experience of this type of employment in Spain.

The individual tactics used to improve working conditions demonstrate the role played by the weight of experience in the cases of Beimar, Diana, and Carolina. Javiera's level of education also was a factor in her case. Finally, the interplay between the legal and the economic was clear as it was only those in regular migratory situations who felt able to move jobs or negotiate labour conditions in any way. Participants without such a degree of work experience, education, or without regular migratory status were less likely to act individually and more likely to need the support of a migrant organisation in order to enter into spaces of economic citizenship.

## Collective practices: The role of migrant organisations

As with progression from exclusion to inclusion in the space of legal citizenship, migrant organisations offered support for migrants to move further into the space of economic citizenship. They were the only types of organisation mentioned by migrants in relation to their employment – it appeared that none of the participants in the research were part of a union, for example. It is worth noting that there are only a handful of migrant organisations in Chile that engage directly with migrants in order to assist them in improving their labour conditions. There are two more institutionalised organisations that undertake such activities in Santiago – MigraRed and Asistencia al Migrante – and one less formal organisation – Entrelazando Migrantes Latinoamericanos – that provides workshops aimed at capacitating migrants so they can enter into better employment. MigraRed is the main organisation operating in Arica.

As well as carrying out participant observation with MigraRed and interviews with their staff, I also interviewed staff members of the other two organisations in Santiago. Participants had only had contact with MigraRed and Asistencia al Migrante, however, and so these are the only organisations discussed here. I briefly address the role of MigraRed in supporting Marta and Cata, the victims of trafficking and forced labour, before examining their more common, everyday role supporting migrants in claiming labour rights and accessing employment. I then examine the work of Asistencia al Migrante.

The assistance that MigraRed gave to Marta and Cata proved vital to eventually enabling them to leave the situation of trafficking and forced labour in which they had found themselves. Following an initial interview with Cata, as explained in Chapter 3, I involved MigraRed after I realised the potential magnitude of the situation. MigraRed rapidly sent me back to the wholesale clothing arcade with one of their social workers in order to investigate the situation further. From here, we liaised with the human trafficking unit of the PDI and the public prosecutor in charge of such cases. For a variety of reasons, progress was slow and difficult; however, it was eventually possible for Marta to accompany me and a MigraRed volunteer to the PDI in order to give a witness statement, as explained above.

The PDI carried out an investigation after Marta gave her statement, and were convinced that it was a case of trafficking for labour exploitation. However, they were unable to gather enough evidence to lead to prosecution – at that point, there had only been one successful prosecution for trafficking for labour exploitation in Chile, largely

due to the difficulty of obtaining sufficient evidence. The positive outcome was that both Marta and Cata managed to leave the situation of forced labour of their own volition once they realised the gravity of what had occurred, and that possessing an MTRV meant that they were in a regular migratory situation and were not bonded to one employer. Sadly, they did not recuperate the wages they had been owed due to the lack of prosecution. They both returned to Bolivia for the summer of 2013 to 2014, and then came again to Santiago in early 2014. They were able to find employment in which their labour rights were respected. MigraRed has since assisted the PDI by assessing the needs of and then finding accommodation for and providing ongoing psychological and social support for 50 Bolivian adults and ten children found in conditions of forced labour in a brick factory on the outskirts of Santiago. They had been trafficked from Bolivia by the factory owner.

MigraRed also provides support in less extreme cases on a daily basis. In Arica, Rojas Pedemonte and Bueno Moya (2014) found that, as in the case of knowledge of visa acquisition, those who had contact with a migrant organisation were the most likely to have greater knowledge of their labour rights. I found that the group on the *parcela* who had been contacted by MigraRed, discussed in Chapter 5, not only were petitioning to regularise their migratory status but were also organising to improve their working conditions. Crucially, they were requesting that their *patrón* give them contracts. This would ensure financial security as they would be guaranteed a monthly wage, rather than being paid at the end of each day's shift, and it would place them in a stronger legal position should they encounter any problems with their employer. Likewise Luisa, 25, also mentioned in Chapter 5, had obtained a contract from her employer following contact with MigraRed and listening to Radio Atacama, although she did say that it was not necessarily a guarantee of decent work conditions.

Illustrating further incipient interest on the part of migrant organisations in improving migrants' working conditions in Arica, whilst there I assisted MigraRed in conducting a questionnaire survey with 46 Bolivian truck drivers and their family members regarding aspects of their work (see Chapter 3). Employed by Bolivian companies, these drivers come largely from the *departamentos* of Cochabamba, Oruro and Potosí, crossing into Chile at Lago Chungará (see Chapter 4) to deliver their goods to the Port of Arica before re-loading and making the return journey. The round trip takes them between two weeks and a month, with frequent delays because of bureaucracy at the border and the port. Many of the drivers travel with their partners and sometimes with their children. The drivers are able to sleep in their vehicles, parked in truck-stops on the outskirts of Arica for a small fee; however no accommodation is provided for their



family members. Some of the family members, and a few drivers, sleep on the street outside the Port of Arica, and many spend much of their day there.

The questionnaire survey was suggested by Aurelio, 27, from La Paz, who works in management for the port. He was concerned to see women and children sleeping in the street, with seemingly little access to water and shade in the day. The survey aimed to understand why this was occurring, and identify whether either the port or MigraRed could or should intervene. The findings of the survey were interesting and indicated that a complex mixture of structural and agentic factors contributed to the drivers and their families spending much of their time outside the port. On the one hand, there was a great deal of uncertainty regarding how long it would take for the trucks to be unloaded and re-loaded because of the frequently slow processing of cargo by Chilean and Bolivian customs, partially due to the geopolitical tensions between the two countries. As a consequence of the uncertainty, drivers often ended up having to stay for far longer than they had intended. They would become concerned that all of their wages were going to be spent on accommodation and '*paseando*' [sight-seeing; walking around] in Arica, and so would sleep on the street and remain near the Port, anxious to monitor the progress of their cargo through customs. On the other hand, the wages the drivers earned averaged around US\$500 per month and thus were fairly high by Bolivian standards and well above the Chilean monthly wage as well. It would have been possible for the majority to afford at least a cheap hostel, so from that perspective sleeping on the street was a choice. Furthermore, the survey revealed that it was certainly by choice that the partners of the drivers accompanied them, citing keeping them company and going to the beach as their main motivations. After completing analysis of the situation, MigraRed decided that it was not within their remit to intervene, especially given the more pressing concerns of other migrants in Arica. They did, however, recommend that the port provide more ready access to shade, water, and toilet facilities for drivers and their families during the day.

In Santiago, MigraRed has begun a new *bolsa laboral* [employment programme] for migrant workers, which is proving popular. They have capacitated a variety of companies so that they are more open to employing migrants, are aware of any special requirements involved in doing so (such as ensuring that they are in regular situations), and, most importantly from MigraRed's perspective, are conscious of their obligation to ensure that migrant workers are guaranteed the same rights as other workers. The companies include, amongst others: a large pharmaceutical company; a company providing public transport; and a Chilean-owned chain of upmarket ice-cream parlours.

When they are hiring at entry-level, they make MigraRed aware, and MigraRed send migrants whom they believe to be appropriate for the job to interview.

Migrants who sign up for the *bolsa laboral* must attend training days to ensure that they are aware of their rights and obligations as workers in Chile. They are entitled to several individual consultations with a member of staff or a volunteer to assess the type of work which they would be interested in doing and to prepare them for interviews. One participant was employed as a consequence of engagement with the *bolsa laboral*. Azahara, 42, was working in the distribution warehouses of the large pharmaceutical company mentioned above:

I have to look for the products to dispatch them to all of the provinces throughout all of Chile. It is a long day, it's a lot. But it's interesting.

...

**MR:** And is the salary better where you are now [than where you worked before as a *nana puertas afuera*]?

**A:** Yes. You can do [paid] overtime and there is also a bonus if you don't miss a day in a month ... So with those you can earn well. They also give you a lunch voucher which you can use at lunchtime or you can accumulate them over a month and buy groceries, meat. I recently bought a lot of things for my son. So that's also a bit of money that helps you.

Whilst the days are still long, Azahara experienced greater job satisfaction than previously as a *nana puertas afuera*. She found her new job more fulfilling, and appreciated the range of incentives additional to the salary. The structure and security of the job was also appealing to her. Alberto had recently enrolled in the *bolsa laboral* and was hoping to find employment as a bus driver. He had worked as a bus driver in Bolivia previously, and was excited at the prestige that working in public transport in Chile would bring for him, as well as the better working conditions it would entail. For both Azahara and Alberto, then, it was not only the working conditions but also the type of work on offer through the *bolsa laboral* which appealed to them. They viewed it as more prestigious and interesting than working either as a *nana* or in construction. This was a clear example of an organisation working to support migrants in entering more fully into spaces of economic citizenship, not only in relation to material benefits but also their sense of job satisfaction.

Nonetheless, one of the criticisms from MigraRed's service users who were enrolled in the *bolsa laboral* was that it took too long to find employment – several weeks to a month. Many migrants arrive with no savings, or seriously underestimate the cost of living in Chile and thus come with very limited funds, something that is common in

contexts of South-North migration (e.g. Datta et al., 2007b, p.59). They expect to find work within days. Another organisation, Asistencia al Migrante combines a refuge with a *bolsa laboral* programme for migrant women in part as a response to this expectation. They provide a bed, breakfast and lunch for a cost of around CLP\$1500 (US\$2.40) and they also have an employment and training programme.

I interviewed Macarena, a staff member from the organisation, who explained that the vast majority of jobs they have available are for domestic workers, both *puertas adentro* and *puertas afuera*, but generally *puertas adentro*. She said that they would like to be able to offer a greater range of employment, and do have some other options in elder care and nursing, for example, but the highest demand is for domestic labour. Furthermore, she stated that many of the migrant women with whom they work also express a preference for this if it is live-in because it means that they are better able to save and remit. The women who stay at the refuge have an initial assessment session with a staff member to ascertain the type of work they are interested in as well as their migratory status, amongst other things. If they wish to be employed as domestic workers, they are invited to participate in a training school to learn about how to prepare food, clean, and care for children in Chile. They are also taught about their labour rights and acquiring visas. Potential employers are invited to register with the service and are then given the opportunity to interview various women who may be interested in working for them.

Seven female participants based in Santiago had stayed in the refuge. Five of them had found employment as domestic workers through the organisation. Unfortunately, the experiences of all of them had been somewhat negative. Magdalena, 38, from El Alto said that the refuge was crowded, and there was fighting and stealing amongst the women. She found it restrictive and paternalistic to have to have lights off by 9pm, to have to get up at 7am, and to have to leave the building by 9am. Over half of the seven participants indicated that there was a hierarchy of nationality/race in terms of the order in which women were hired by employers enrolled in the *bolsa laboral*. It was said that Colombians would go first, followed by Ecuadorians and Peruvians, and finally Bolivians.

Furthermore, Diana had been disturbed at the way in which she saw one young woman sent off with her new employer. A taxi was sent to pick up the young woman, who had just arrived from Santa Cruz and Diana said, 'it made me so sad because she barely knew where she was ... she didn't even have any money'. No one was clear about

exactly where the young woman was being sent in the taxi, and Diana, who photographed the number plate of the taxi just in case anything should happen, said that the young woman left in floods of tears. After this experience, Diana was particularly determined not to work as a *nana puertas adentro*.

The five participants who did go on to work in jobs found through Asistencia al Migrante experienced poor labour conditions – as outlined above, long hours and limited rest were the norm, in addition to other issues. For example, the job which Rosa left because the conditions and treatment from the employer were so negative had been found through Asistencia al Migrante. Anahis had been unable to persuade her employer to write her a contract, even though this was supposed to be one of the conditions which employers agreed to abide by when using the services of the organisation. Loreta had been working *puertas afuera* and had come alone to Chile before bringing her children six months later. When she mentioned to her employer that her children had arrived, she was dismissed because the employer was concerned that an employee with children would start missing work or requesting time off.

In my discussion with Macarena, it was clear that she was aware that the service was imperfect and there were areas that could be improved. One that she identified was that there was no formal follow-up process once the women found employment. A second that I saw to be a problem was the process by which potential employers were filtered. It was only after three negative reports from three different women who had been employed by the same person that they would be removed from the books for a six month period while, as Macarena put it, they went away and thought about things and changed their attitude. If they then re-employed someone through the organisation after the six month break and the same problem was reported, they would be suspended from the service for a year. According to Macarena, the most common problems are that employers 'do not pay taxes, have not made a contract, or have effectively exploited someone in the workplace'.

Whilst they certainly have the best of intentions, it would seem that Asistencia al Migrante may contribute to the poor conditions experienced by many migrant women in domestic labour. Furthermore, the promotion of such work as appropriate for migrant women contributes to the production of a gendered, racialised migrant division of labour. Macarena was aware of these issues and would have liked to address them; however, the service was overstretched with little time or money to instigate changes. Thus, whilst in some cases migrant organisations acted to support migrants to move

from exclusion from spaces of economic citizenship to inclusion, there were unfortunately cases in which they were complicit in migrants' continued exclusion.

## CONCLUSION

This chapter has aimed to examine the diverse inclusions and exclusions from the Bolivian-Chilean space of economic citizenship experienced by participants. For the majority, especially those from rural communities, economic marginalisation was a defining feature of their lives in Bolivia. In the context where they possessed legal citizenship, they were precluded from economic citizenship. Through migrating, they engaged in a paradoxical 'practice of citizenship' in the hope of becoming more fully integrated as economic citizens. Some certainly moved closer to the 'Chilean dream' as they were able to send remittances, make some savings, and even experience qualitatively better employment. Nonetheless, even when able to send remittances or save, for the majority, their working conditions could best be defined as precarious and on a spectrum of labour exploitation. Gendered, racialised hierarchies in the labour market operated to confine them to employment niches where this was the norm. However, some participants were able to gradually improve their circumstances through individual practices of everyday resistance and the use of exit strategies. Others were supported by migrant organisations in ameliorating their working conditions; however, the practices used by migrant organisations were unfortunately not always to the benefit of participants.

The complexities and contradictions of migrants' relationships to the Bolivian-Chilean space of economic citizenship thus become apparent, as do the many elements that form part of this space, in addition to the structural and agentic factors that produce it. The shifting positions of many within, peripheral to, and outside the bounds of this space are indicative of the aptness of describing their economic citizenship as uncertain. As so simply and poignantly illustrated by the image in Figure 6.1 of the mother saying goodbye to her child as she leaves in search of better economic opportunities, such uncertain economic citizenship impacts profoundly on migrants' social wellbeing. This, and other dimensions of social citizenship, will be the topic of the following chapter.

## 7. 'I WISH THEY'D SHOW US MORE SOLIDARITY': BARRIERS TO SOCIAL CITIZENSHIP

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The quotation in the title of this chapter was the response of participant Constanza, 32, from Sucre, when I asked her what she would most like to see improve for migrants in Chile. The desire for 'more solidarity' from Chileans succinctly summarises the way in which most participants felt their access to social citizenship could be advanced. The social is a complex and multi-faceted aspect of citizenship, incorporating a wide range of social rights. The aim of this chapter is to address holistically some of the most important, as they are often examined in isolation within migration studies. Thus it considers four categories of rights that constitute social citizenship, taking into account the interactions between these categories, and the overlap of the social with other elements of citizenship. These categories are namely access to shelter, healthcare, and education, and the less tangible – but nonetheless fundamental – access to significant primary relationships and social networks.

Globally, migrant access to such rights is often complicated, especially in the South (Avato, Koettl and Sabates-Wheeler, 2010). Within this research, access was indeed very uneven and contingent on participants' social identities, as well as inclusion in spaces of legal and economic citizenship. Whilst the provision in Chilean legislation for migrant access to social needs is generally in line with international recommendations, as has been found in other contexts the reality of access is different. This is often not least because of the lack of willingness, or solidarity to use Constanza's word, on the part of some Chileans to include certain migrants within the bounds of social citizenship. This chapter explores the multiple factors – including lack of 'solidarity' as well as other structural and agentic influences – that caused participants to experience uncertain social citizenship. It also addresses the role of migrant organisations in promoting access to social citizenship. The first section explains in more detail how social citizenship is conceptualised in this research. The subsequent four sections address participants' inclusions and exclusions regarding the different categories of rights composing social citizenship.

## CONCEPTUALISING SOCIAL CITIZENSHIP: SHELTER, HEALTHCARE, EDUCATION, AND SOCIAL SUPPORT

Since T. H. Marshall (1950) provided his seminal definition of citizenship, the social has been considered one of its essential elements (Twine, 1994; Dwyer, 2010). It is also perhaps its most contested (Dwyer, 2010; Lister, 2003). There is consensus that social citizenship refers to welfare provision and access; however, there are, of course, as many differences in opinion as to *how* welfare should be defined, *what* welfare support should be provided by the state, and *who* should be able to access it as there are colours in the political spectrum. Rather than becoming embroiled in this normative debate, however, this chapter focuses on the lived reality of migrants' differentiated access to the welfare provisions that are (nominally) available to legal citizens in their sending, and especially receiving, countries.

In establishing the framework of social citizenship utilised in this research, I have been guided by participants' narratives and have drawn on Lister's (2003) use of Doyal and Gough's (1991) conceptualisation of human need (cf. Dwyer, 2010). Whilst fully cognisant that the ways in which needs are/should be met may be specific to countries and cultures, and that 'oppressed groups will have additional needs' (Lister, 2003, p.88), Doyal and Gough identify two basic human needs that are universal: physical health and autonomy. These correspond to the ability to 'think and act' and thus allow 'for the successful and, if necessary, critical participation in a social form of life' (Gough, 1998, p.53). These basic needs are ensured by the satisfaction of eleven 'intermediate needs', indicated in Figure 7.1, which 'universally and positively contribute[s] to physical health and autonomy' (Doyal and Gough, 1991, pp.157–158).

As they indicate, and as elaborated upon by Lister (2003), Doyal and Gough's (1991) conceptualisation thereby elucidates the connection between civil, political, and social rights. Moreover, it emphasises the vital role of the latter in making meaningful the former two. To clarify, the intermediate needs indicated in Figure 7.1 must be satisfied in order to fulfil the basic needs of physical health and autonomy; without the fulfilment of these basic needs, we are unable to fully participate in society through exercising our civil and political rights. Therefore intermediate needs can be understood as the rights that constitute social citizenship.

*Figure 7.1 Doyal and Gough's theorisation of intermediate needs*

Nutritional food and water	Significant primary relationships
Protective housing	Physical security
A non-hazardous work environment	Economic security
A non-hazardous physical environment	Appropriate education
Appropriate healthcare	Safe birth control and child rearing
Security in childhood	

Source: Own elaboration from Doyal and Gough, 1991, pp.157-158

It is important to note that these intermediate needs include 'economic security' and a 'non-hazardous work environment'. This is a reflection of the tendency, discussed in Chapter 2, from T. H. Marshall onwards to conflate the social and economic under social citizenship. As argued previously, however, it was found in this research and by others working from a gender or intersectional perspective (Kessler-Harris, 2003; Riaño, 2011) that varied inclusions and exclusions with respect to the economic sphere were so significant in participants' lives and consequent ability to participate in other spheres that they warrant separate consideration. Nonetheless, that is not to deny economic citizenship's clear overlap with social citizenship (cf. Lewis, 2003 for a critical discussion of the economic/social citizenship distinction) – and the conceptual framework of interlocking spaces of citizenship aims to acknowledge this.

In the process of analysing the social rights most salient in participants' narratives, I have adapted Doyal and Gough's 'intermediate needs' to reflect only the social, and have broadly categorised them into what I consider the four elements of social citizenship: shelter; healthcare; education; and social support (see Figure 7.2). Moreover, within the category 'social support' I have included not only significant primary relationships, but also supportive social networks more broadly; as already indicated in migration studies literature and confirmed in my research, social networks are fundamental to migrants' ability to participate as social citizens.



Figure 7.2 Adaptation of Doyal and Gough's (1991) intermediate needs to reflect elements of social citizenship



Source: Own elaboration

Considering social citizenship as a space that encompasses four key elements represents a new way of conceptualising migrant access to social rights. As will be indicated in each of the following sections, multiple social rights have certainly been addressed individually in the literature on migration, and there are also studies that consider simultaneously migrant access to various social services and how this may be impacted on by legal status, economic position, and intersectional factors (e.g. McIlwaine, Cock and Linneker, 2011; Avato, Koettl and Sabates-Wheeler, 2010; Bastia, 2015). Whilst such approaches are undoubtedly of great importance given the depth of analysis that they provide on particular issues, the novelty of the approach in this research is the more holistic conceptualisation of these issues allowed for by the framework of spaces of social citizenship constituted by the four key elements I have identified. It enables an understanding of the social as not only access to social services, but also to family life and social relations. Furthermore, it allows for fuller comprehension of how inclusions and exclusions from social citizenship interact with other inclusions and exclusions from citizenship, and may result in uncertainty.

Discussion now turns to address each of the categories of social rights in turn. A brief review of the existing conceptual debates is presented at the start of each section, before analysing participants' ability to access rights in the four categories. All participants in this study were found to have experienced uncertain social citizenship, with exclusion from the space of social citizenship featuring heavily in many narratives.

Although not necessarily more affected by exclusion, women tended to focus more on the social aspect of citizenship in their narratives, especially with regards to access to healthcare, education, and family life. This is possibly because of the predominance in Latin America of the expectation that women will largely bear responsibility for the home and childcare (Chant, 2002; Chant and Craske, 2003), although gender roles are varied, fluid, and mutable in Latin America as elsewhere (McIlwaine, 2010). Additionally, it is possible that men felt less able to discuss these issues with me because of my gender.<sup>32</sup> Finally, it was female participants in my research who were the most likely to have needed health services (mainly due to pregnancy), and were also the most likely to be separated from their immediate family because of migration – thus healthcare and family life were pertinent topics for them. As a consequence, whilst men’s experiences are of course considered in this chapter, it is women’s voices that are the strongest here.

## SHELTER: ACCESSING PROTECTIVE HOUSING

When you’re looking for a room and you have children, well, they don’t give it to you ... and when they know you’re a foreigner they distrust you.

*Constanza, 32, from Sucre*

Within the rubric of ‘shelter’, the primary concern of participants in this research was accessing protective housing, which of course is one very significant aspect of inhabiting a non-hazardous physical environment. Access to nutritional food and water, whilst an issue for a small minority of participants, was not so significant, and so is not addressed in this section. The literature on migration and housing is discussed, before examining participants’ struggles to access protective housing.

Much of the research that addresses migration and housing has focused on two aspects of the topic – the economic dimension of migration as a strategy for generating remittances to invest in housing in the country of origin, and migrants’ metaphorical and material construction of home. The first has been discussed in Chapter 6. The second encompasses a growing body of literature that has focused on the meaning of ‘home’ in contexts of transnational migration, and how it is symbolically constructed (e.g. Blunt and Bonnerjee, 2013; Abdelhardy, 2008; Ahmed, Castaneda and Fortier, 2000; Al-Ali and Koser, 2001; Rapport and Dawson, 1998). It has also engaged with the materiality of the home and home-making practices of transnational migrants (e.g. Levin and Fincher, 2010; Wiles, 2008; Walsh, 2006; Blunt, 2005; Tolia-Kelly, 2004). In the Chilean context,

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<sup>32</sup> See Chapter 3 for more in-depth discussion.

Bonhomme (2013) has been the first to investigate the material and symbolic construction of home by transnational migrants, analysing the home making practices of fourteen Peruvians in Santiago.

A separate strand of research has addressed the housing conditions of migrants and ethnic minorities. In the UK beginning particularly in the late 2000s, migrants were demonised in the media and in public discourse as manipulating the social welfare system in order to gain access to social housing. This prompted a response from some academics and foundations (Robinson, 2010; Rutter and Latorre, 2009; O'Hara, 2008; Robinson, Reeve and Casey, 2007). It was found that there is no basis for such claims. It is, in fact, difficult for many migrants to access social housing because of their legal status, and, indeed, even migrants with the required status may be at a slight disadvantage in terms of understanding how to apply for such housing (Rutter and Latorre, 2009). Furthermore, there is evidence that migrants in the UK, and recent migrants above all, live in comparatively worse conditions than the native-born population (Robinson, Reeve and Casey, 2007). Similar results have been found in other contexts of South-North migration (e.g. in the US: Litt et al., 2009; Early et al., 2006; Schill, Friedman and Rosenbaum, 1998; Krivo, 1995; in New Zealand: Butler et al., 2003), and in the research that looks more generally at 'ethnic minorities' (Özüekren and van Kempen, 2002). In Chile, whilst there is acknowledgement that a similar phenomenon is occurring, and that it is a topic of some importance (Martínez Pizarro, 2011, pp.131, 153), there remains a dearth of research, with some exceptions (e.g. Torres and Hidalgo, 2009; Núñez Carrasco, 2008).

This chapter is most concerned with the latter strand of research. Poor housing conditions were of the utmost concern to many participants, lending urgency to the investigation of this particular issue. Moreover, it is this aspect of migration and housing that speaks most to the concept of 'social citizenship'. Access to the intermediate need of protective housing is required in order to fulfil the basic needs of physical health and autonomy. Nonetheless, it is to be hoped that in future there is greater interaction between the research threads that examine migration, housing, and the creation of 'home', as there is certainly potential for productive dialogue. An approach that considers migrants as 'home-makers' is particularly inclusive of migrant agency; however, that which examines poor housing conditions in more structural terms may be especially useful for bringing about policy change.

## Participants' struggles to find adequate housing

Of the 29 participants in Santiago who rented on the private market, 89 per cent had experienced difficulties in doing so, and 65 per cent ended up living in *migrant cités*. In Arica, far fewer participants attempted to rent privately due to their predominantly working in agriculture and living on *parcelas*. Of those who did try to rent privately, only 36 per cent reported having found this problematic. The poor living conditions of participants have been described in Chapter 4, therefore the purpose of this section is to analyse the factors resulting in difficulties in renting or buying housing of adequate quality. Geographical location had a fundamental impact on this, and so Santiago is examined followed by Arica.

### *Santiago*

There are a series of legislative obstacles that prevent foreigners from easily renting property in Chile. The prospective renter must present their Chilean identification card – and so must have at least temporary residency in Chile – in addition to a minimum of three months' payslips, and proof of pension contributions. Their monthly wage should be three to four times the monthly rent. They will also be required to pay a deposit of at least one month's rent. In addition, it is likely that they will be asked to provide a Chilean or Permanent Resident guarantor, as well as their credit score (Meza, 2014). There are a series of housing subsidies to enable access to social housing and other affordable housing available in Chile; however, at the time of research it was necessary to have held Permanent Residency for five years in order to access these.<sup>33</sup> As should be evident from the analysis presented in Chapters 5 and 6, these requirements would be next to impossible to meet for the vast majority of participants.

As a consequence of these stipulations, a burgeoning informal rental market has sprung up in the heart of Santiago. Sub-letting is permitted under Chilean law as long as there is no clause to the contrary in the contract the landlord draws up with the renter. Subsequently, it has become common for migrants with financial resources and longstanding Permanent Residency, or those who have naturalised, in addition to some Chileans, to rent entire *migrant cités* and sub-let them. The rental value of the property as a whole is unlikely to be more than US\$800 per month; a room can be charged at up

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<sup>33</sup> It has recently been announced that this will change so that migrants can apply as soon as they receive Permanent Residency.

to US\$150 per month, and as there are generally around ten rooms per *migrant cité* the profit margin for the renter may be around US\$700 per month or more.

The advantage of this informal market is that it enables migrants who otherwise would have to pay at least US\$7 per night for a bed in a hostel to acquire a cheaper roof over their heads. In its circumventing of restrictive Chilean renting requirements, it could be seen as a subversive citizenship practice. Nonetheless, the advantages weigh so heavily in the favour of the renter that it can hardly be viewed as such for those who are sub-letting the rooms. None of the participants living in *migrant cités* had written contracts – Chilean law does not require a written contract to be drawn up for either those sub-letting from renters or those renting directly from landlords (Ministerio de Vivienda y Urbanismo, 1982). Whilst technically it is possible to bring tenancy disputes before the municipality with only a verbal contract, in reality this would be difficult. The balance of power would be strongly in favour of the landlord or renter as opposed to the sub-letter, as Yolanda, a municipal worker in charge of migrant affairs, told me.

Due to this highly unequal relationship, the renter can raise the monthly cost of the room at will, which had happened to a number of participants. Furthermore, all reported that the renter and landlord showed a total disregard for carrying out repairs or for the health and safety of the occupants, as detailed in Chapter 4. Finally, the lack of contract gives the renter or landlord the ability to evict sub-letters with little or no notice, as experienced by Fernanda, 45, from Santa Cruz and her husband:

We lived in [the *comuna* of] Recoleta, and the thing is that ... we didn't really know who the owner was, and so from one day to the next he asked us to leave. There were loads of Bolivians living there, loads of foreigners, and he kicked us out and said, 'You've got to go this week, get looking.' And, well, shoot!

And one asks for time off work, and sometimes they don't give it, so at the weekend you have to find whatever you can – whether it's cheap or whether it's expensive. You just don't want to end up sleeping on the street.

It appears that in their case, the landlord was unaware that his property was being sub-let, which is not uncommon, and upon learning of this evicted all of the sub-letters. In desperation, Fernanda and her husband sub-let a room in Renca, a *comuna* on the western fringes of Santiago. This entailed a two hour commute by bus to their respective jobs as a *nana* and in construction in the wealthy eastern *comunas*. By contrast, from their room in Recoleta it had been a one hour commute.

Whilst finding rooms to sub-let is difficult for all migrants with low-paying jobs and without the paperwork required to rent directly, as the quotation from Constanza at

the beginning of this section indicates, migrants with children are at a particular disadvantage. Loreta, 28, from Santa Cruz, like Constanza, had experienced discrimination when she applied to sub-let with children in *migrant cités*:

The first thing they ask when I go out looking [for a room] is, 'How many children do you have?' And actually lots of people have insulted me, they've said to me, 'This isn't a day-care centre' ... I mean, they don't just say, 'No' – simply, 'No' – they say that to me.

This degree of intolerance was also shown to Cristina, 37, from Cochabamba, when she was evicted following the arrival of her children from Bolivia to live with her in her room. Constanza explained that, even though she now had a room of around twelve metres square shared with her husband and children, she was constantly worried about the same happening to her because of her neighbours' complaints about her three boys, aged seven, four, and two, being too noisy. From what I saw, they were very well behaved but as Constanza said, 'they are little boys ... and they don't have anywhere to run around and play chase, so yes, they make a ruckus'.

It becomes apparent that there are processes from above in operation that severely inhibit low-wage migrants from accessing protective housing in Santiago. The restrictive legislation in place has led to abusive practices in the informal rental market, which result in migrants occupying overcrowded, unsanitary, and dangerous accommodation, and are especially prejudicial to migrant children. Participants in this research did their utmost to employ the little freedom of choice they had, often door-knocking over a period of several days in search of the best available room. They engaged in the limited home-making practices that they could: sticking free publicity posters on their walls to add a little colour; pooling their resources to buy a washing machine, fridge, or cooker for the whole *migrant cité*; or donating their unwanted furniture to new arrivals and exchanging items with neighbours. Nevertheless, structural factors dictated that their ability to exercise agency was severely restricted. Furthermore, migrant access to rental accommodation and the conditions of the *migrant cités* in Santiago remains a topic yet to be broached by both the state and migrant organisations, as the director of MigraRed Santiago indicated to me on various occasions.

### *Arica*

In Arica, a slightly different picture emerged. As mentioned above, there were fewer participants attempting to rent on the private market, as many lived and laboured on *parcelas* under the conditions discussed in Chapter 4 and for the reasons explained in Chapter 6. Those who did desire to rent, however, faced the same difficulties as those in

Santiago. Furthermore, migrants who had sufficient savings to put down a deposit on a house or land in cheaper, rural areas on the outskirts of Arica were unable to do so unless they were naturalised as Chileans. This is because such land is classed as 'frontier' territory and can only be 'settled' by Chileans, evidence of the long shadow of the War of the Pacific.

One reaction to these factors has been the construction of *campamentos* on the periphery of Arica, as mentioned in Chapter 4. There are six in Arica, with four clustered on the south eastern periphery of the city, as indicated in Figure 7.3 below. An estimated 174 families live in them (Techo-Chile, 2015b). Precise figures regarding the number of migrant families dwelling in these settlements are not available, but figures from other *campamentos* in the North (Techo-Chile, 2013) and anecdotal evidence from NGOs working with settlement occupiers suggest that around one third of the families are migrants, and the majority are Bolivian. This particular type of *campamento* is known as a *toma* [squatter settlement], where unoccupied land has been laid claim to through the building of makeshift shelters. This practice has a long history in Chile (Ministerio de Vivienda y Urbanismo, 2013), as elsewhere (Chant and McIlwaine, 2009, pp.118–119).

Settling a *campamento* through the process of a *toma* could be defined as an 'act of citizenship' given the claim to belonging that it makes and the 'break with repetition of the same' that it entails, during which one may 'anticipate rejoinders from imaginary but not fictional adversaries' (Isin and Nielsen, 2008, p.2). It is outside the scope of this thesis to discuss in any depth the literature on housing for the urban poor (for an overview, see for example Potter and Lloyd-Evans, 2014), but broadly irregular settlement has been assessed as a positive, innovative strategy of 'self-help' by some, indicating agency on the part of the settlers, and as indicative of a sensible approach to finance and credit given that it is not predicated on debt and involves incremental building as resources allow. On the other hand, serious disadvantages have also been identified – with limited access to basic services and infrastructure perhaps being the most obvious (Potter and Lloyd-Evans, 2014).

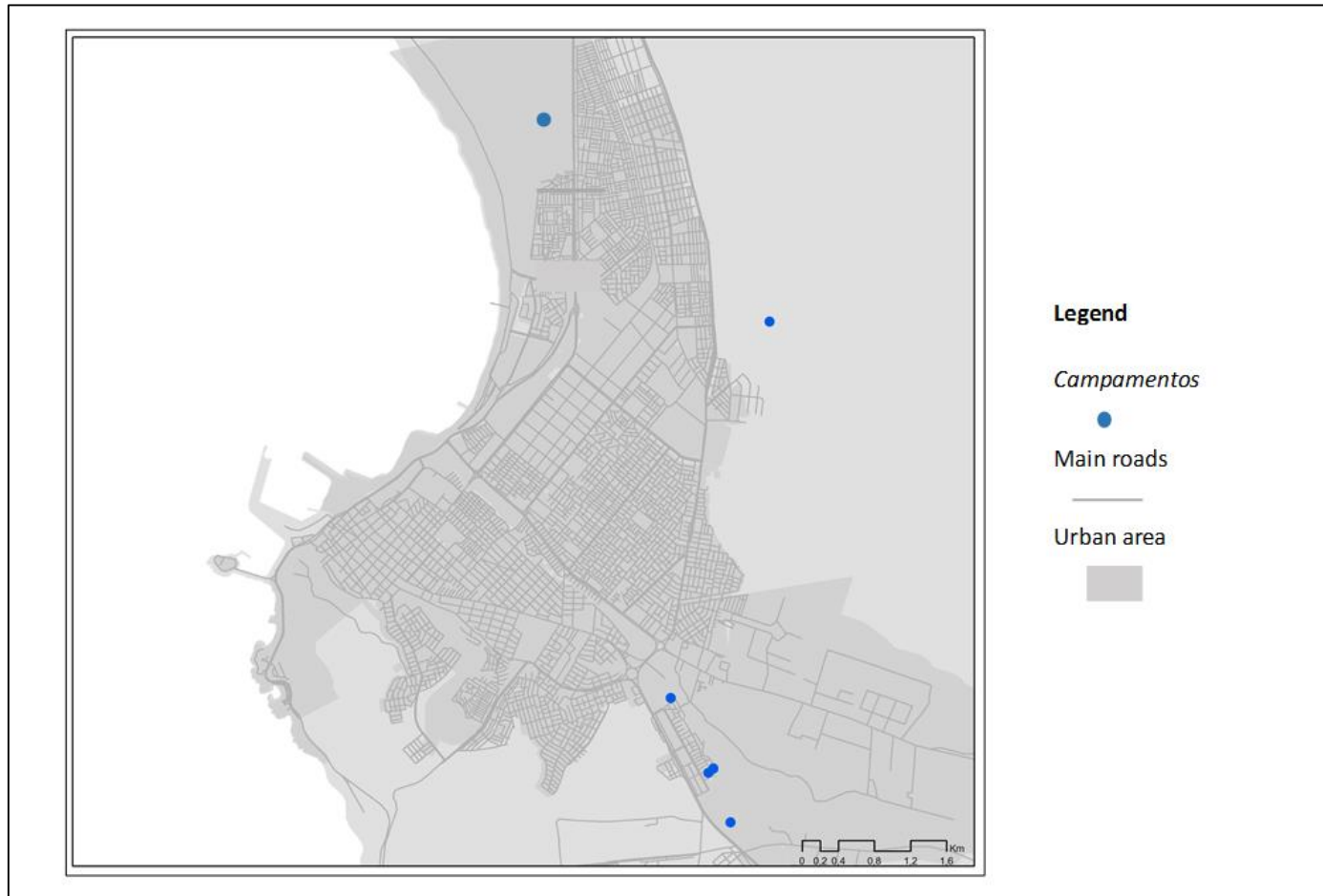
The reaction of the state (a potential adversary) to irregular settlement has varied – and continues to vary – across time and place, from violent displacement of occupants to ambivalence to interest in facilitating access to services and legal tenure. In many developing countries there has been an increasing tendency towards 'enabling' occupiers to regularise their settlements. This is often through a combination of assistance provided by NGOs, support from the state, and sometimes funding from

private enterprise or micro-credit institutions. Such a strategy can have positive outcomes as it foments an innovative approach to housing already adopted by poor urban dwellers, and maintains their established networks whilst incorporating them more fully into city life and wider society. Nevertheless, there are also potentially negative consequences, including the potential for absolving the state of responsibility for adequate housing provision (Chant and McIlwaine, 2009).

More common than this 'enabling' approach in Chile has been the resettlement of *campamento* dwellers in social housing on the periphery of urban areas, which has generated significant social exclusion (Jiménez Cavieres, 2008; Ministerio de Vivienda y Urbanismo, 2013). Nonetheless, there is now far greater awareness of the segregation this has caused, and new strategies involving more input from *campamento* occupiers are being developed (Oyarzún, 2012; Techo-Chile, 2015a). In Arica, the NGO Techo-Chile is working with occupants of the *campamentos* to understand the conditions and their needs. As mentioned in Chapter 4, occupants in Campamento Coraceros, on the south eastern periphery, already had water delivered in tankers on a weekly basis, and were hoping that electricity and a sewerage system might be installed soon. The territory had been occupied for three years, and so there was some chance that inhabitants would be granted legal tenure (in Chile, this can happen after a period of five years), although some previous settlers had been moved to social housing. It remains to be seen whether the assertion of a right to protective housing represented by carrying out a *toma* will in fact lead to greater inclusion and recognition of social citizenship. Finally, whilst some attention is being paid by NGOs and the state to this particular struggle on the part of migrants to access protective housing in Northern Chile, little has yet been done to address poor conditions on the *parcelas* or the inequalities of access to the rental market, which are a reality across the country. As Esperanza indicated with regards to children on the *parcelas*, and as Nuñez Carrasco (2008) has discussed with respect to Peruvians in *migrant cités*, such inadequate housing can have consequences for migrants' health – an indication of the overlap of exclusion from different categories of social rights. Participants' access to healthcare is the focus of the next section.



Figure 7.3 Map showing campamentos in Arica



Source: Own elaboration from Centro de Investigación Social, Techo-Chile, 2015b

## HEALTHCARE: OVERCOMING OBSTACLES AT SYSTEM, PROVIDER, AND PATIENT LEVELS

The social worker said to me, “If you don’t have a Chilean ID card, it’s going to cost you a million pesos to give birth in the hospital”.

*Luz María, 19, from Santa Cruz*

With regards to access to appropriate healthcare, research in the field of migration and health is growing, and examines a wide range of concerns. From a public policy perspective, historically and in the present a degree of attention has focused on migration as a potential public health threat (Boyle and Norman, 2010; Thomas and Gideon, 2013). However, multiple other issues have also been addressed (Thomas and Gideon, 2013). For example, the health trajectory of migrants has been of interest. In the early stages of migration, migrant health tends to be better than that of the average native-born population for a variety of reasons, including state health-checks prior to entry in some cases, and self-selection (McDonald and Kennedy, 2004). However, migrant health is likely to deteriorate over time to a level the same as or worse than that of the native-born population (McDonald and Kennedy, 2004; UNDP, 2009, p.55). There are many factors to which this may be attributable, including lifestyle changes (see, for example Antecol and Bedard, 2006; Rush, 2009 on dietary change and obesity amongst migrants), and the tendency to occupy sub-standard housing and engage in hazardous employment (Haour-Knipe, 2013).

Difficulties in *accessing* healthcare may also have a significant impact (Haour-Knipe, 2013). In a review of 54 studies on access to healthcare by ethnic minorities across a wide variety of countries, Scheppers et al. (2006, p.345) conclude that there are a ‘myriad of potential barriers’ at ‘patient level’, ‘provider level’ and ‘system level’. Migrants’ ability to access appropriate healthcare is strongly influenced by gender, as well as other aspects of intersectionality, in addition to legal status and length of time spent in the host country. This is as true in a Latin American context as it is of South-North migration flows (Gideon, 2014). Drawing on important work already carried out in the Chilean context (e.g. Gideon, 2014; Cabieses and Tunstall, 2013; Núñez Carrasco, 2013, 2008), this section assesses participants’ experiences through the lens of Scheppers et al.’s (2006) work. This enables an analysis of the structural and agentic factors that help and hinder their access to health services. In particular, the analysis considers the ways in which the ability to access healthcare provision is highly gendered,

and accounts for the role played by migrant organisations in enabling access to healthcare.

It also endeavours to place participants' experiences within the existent research on migrant health in Chile, suggesting points of comparison and difference, and conceptualising such experiences within inclusion/exclusion from social citizenship more broadly. To the best of my knowledge, there is as yet no qualitative research that specifically addresses the experiences of Bolivian migrants. I begin with an overview of the nominal provision of healthcare for migrants in Chile, before analysing the structural and agentic causes that often prevented participants from accessing the care that should have been available to them.

### System level provision of healthcare for migrants in Chile

The healthcare system in Chile features a complicated mixture of private and public provision and is 'characterised by segmentation' (Cabieses and Tunstall, 2013, p.80). There was an integrated public system, known as FONASA [Fondo Nacional de Salud – National Health Fund] from the 1950s until the dictatorship period. During this time, however, private health provision became *de rigueur* as people with financial resources were encouraged to become members of ISAPREs [instituciones de salud previsionales – health insurance institutions]. This led to severe inequalities in the health service (Paraje and Vásquez, 2012; Unger et al., 2008). In the present, both the FONASA and ISAPREs systems remain in operation. There has, however, been a steady decline in belonging to ISAPREs. Recent data from the regular survey undertaken by CASEN [Caracterización Socioeconómica Nacional – National Socioeconomic Characterisation] indicates that around fourteen per cent of the national population are enrolled in ISAPREs, compared with 78 per cent in FONASA, three per cent in other healthcare schemes (largely those provided by the army), and four per cent who have no healthcare cover or do not know what healthcare provision they have (Ministerio de Desarrollo Social, 2013b).

Those in FONASA are enrolled in one of four categories. Service-users in Category A, around 30 per cent (Ministerio de Desarrollo Social, 2012), are those living in poverty according to a means test. They are entitled to entirely free healthcare in public hospitals. All other users are divided between Categories B, C, and D. They all pay a seven per cent contribution of their earnings to FONASA. Those in categories C and D must also pay a ten or twenty percent 'co-payment' of costs following treatment in public hospitals. Furthermore, Category B, C, and D users can choose to seek medical attention in certain

private institutions where they will pay differentiated co-payments depending on the establishment (Ministerio de Desarrollo Social, 2012; Cabieses and Tunstall, 2013).

All migrants in regular situations nominally have the same access to FONASA and ISAPREs as Chileans. Furthermore, universal coverage programmes such as vaccinations are available to everyone regardless of legal status, as is emergency care (Agar, 2010; Martínez Pizarro, 2011). Additionally, special measures have been taken in order to ensure equal access to healthcare for pregnant women and children irrespective of migratory status (Ministerio de Salud, 2008):

**Pregnant women** – Pregnant women in irregular situations can attend the nearest public primary care clinic to their home. Here they will be attended and will also receive documentation to enable them to apply for a temporary residence visa, which can then be converted into Permanent Residency.

**Children and young people** – Those under 18 whose parents or guardians are in irregular situations can go to the public primary care clinic nearest to their home. They will be given documentation that will enable them to regularise their situation if they are not enrolled in education, in which case they will do this through their school (see below).

Overall, it could be argued that in terms of health provision for migrants at the 'system level', Chile has a range of policies that meet with international standards. Moreover, there have been laudable attempts by government in recent years to fully incorporate some of the most vulnerable migrants into the health system and to assist them in regularising their migratory status. Nonetheless, as is discussed in the next section, the reality of migrant access to healthcare is rather different due to a variety of factors at provider and patient level.

### **Provider and patient level migrant access to healthcare**

According to CASEN data, nine percent of migrants compared with 2.5 per cent of the Chilean-born population report having no provision of healthcare, either public or private (Ministerio de Desarrollo Social, 2013a). Figures amongst participants in this research were even higher, at 32 per cent for those in Santiago and 47 per cent in Arica. The latter is comparable with a small-scale qualitative study carried out in Arica, which takes into account those living and labouring on *parcelas* (Díaz Donoso et al., 2013). Whilst CASEN does not provide information regarding legal status, and there is no source providing information on legal status and healthcare at a national level, it is likely that

many of the migrants without healthcare provision are in irregular situations (Cabieses and Tunstall, 2013). Small-scale studies have confirmed this (Díaz Donoso et al., 2013; Demoscópica, 2009; Núñez Carrasco, 2008). In this research, those migrants in irregular situations, or, as in most cases, with a temporary resident visa in process (often after experiencing irregularity), accounted for 60 per cent of the cases of no healthcare provision in Santiago and all in Arica.

A combination of other factors also contributes to lower healthcare coverage for migrants. These include the complexity of the healthcare system in Chile, which makes it hard to understand for migrants, and particularly recent arrivals (Cabieses and Tunstall, 2013; Núñez Carrasco, 2008). This was a common complaint made by participants, especially those who did not have employment contracts. Even Vicente, 30, from Cochabamba, who was studying to be a dentist in Chile, admitted that he did not understand the health service, and was not enrolled as a consequence. Whilst those in regular situations without contracts could have accessed FONASA Category A healthcare, they were sometimes unaware of this. Those with contracts were more likely to have assistance from an employer in filling out the necessary paper work for inscription in the system and therefore seemed more likely to be enrolled.

Amongst those who were enrolled in FONASA, the time taken to attend appointments, and inflexibility in terms of the opening hours of primary care clinics, were problems for participants on a provider level (cf. Demoscópica, 2009; Núñez Carrasco, 2008). Whilst quality of care in terms of resources and infrastructure were viewed positively by most participants in comparison with Bolivia, perceived discrimination and poor service compared with that afforded to Chileans was common. The latter corresponds with findings in other research (Gideon, 2014; Cabieses and Tunstall, 2013; Díaz Donoso et al., 2013; Demoscópica, 2009; Núñez Carrasco, 2008). In order to better explore the relationship between providers and participants-as-patients, including perceived discrimination, I turn now to present some case studies that address access to healthcare during pregnancy and birth because migrants who had been pregnant in Chile were those who had had most contact with health services.

#### *Accessing healthcare during pregnancy and birth*

Six participants had been pregnant within three years of the time of interview and spoke at length about their experiences. Four had given birth in Chile, one had returned to Bolivia to have her baby, and one had miscarried. Five of the women had complex relationships with the Chilean health service for a variety of reasons. Only one,

Aimy, 34, from Cochabamba, living in Santiago and working as a *nana puertas adentro*, reported an excellent level of service through FONASA during pregnancy and birth. She said that the waiting times were long, but the care was good and she thought it better than that available in Bolivia.

### *Arica*

The three women from Arica who had been pregnant – Julieta, 43, from rural La Paz, Nina, 24, from rural Oruro, and Antonia, 25, from La Paz – had all been fearful of the Chilean health service because of their migratory status and because of their distrust of the care that would be provided. Julieta said of her fear of being reported to the immigration authorities, ‘As a migrant, I wanted to escape, I wanted to leave ... because I didn’t have the things, the documents’. However, her husband, who is Chilean, insisted that she be seen, advocated for her, and assisted her in applying for the temporary residence visa for pregnancy. Julieta stated that the care she received was good on the whole, although she thought that she was made to wait for longer than the Chilean women at the clinic.

Nina, on the other hand, had a Bolivian partner and very little contact with Chileans as she lived and worked on a *parcela*. She also predominantly spoke Aymara. She was very worried about her irregular status and about the type and quality of ante-natal care provided in Chile. As a consequence, she received no medical attention throughout her pregnancy and returned to her rural community in Bolivia to give birth. This seems indicative of a tendency amongst female migrants in Arica, and reflects tendencies in Bolivia, where 29 per cent of women give birth without a skilled attendant (Countdown, 2013). In Arica, a survey of 150 migrant women of child-bearing age (Díaz Donoso et al., 2013), the majority of whom were Aymara Bolivian, found that 17 per cent had never had contact with a public health provider in Chile in spite of the fact that on average they had been in the country for two years. Furthermore, of those who had, only 15 per cent had been for gynaecological or obstetric care or check-ups (including universally available free PAP smears and mammograms). In general, their contact with public health providers had been for check-ups for their children rather than for themselves. Lack of knowledge and misinformation about reproductive healthcare appears to be common amongst female Peruvian migrants (Núñez Carrasco, 2008), and it seems that this could likewise be the case for Bolivian migrants.

Antonia’s story further illustrates this. She was single, living in a *bodega* with her sister and others, and working in El Agro, Arica’s central market, for the minimum wage.

She had temporary residency, and was in the process of applying for permanent residency. She paid FONASA contributions and was a Category B service user. During carnival in February 2014, she became pregnant. However, early in her first trimester she experienced cramps and heavy bleeding. Frightened, she was accompanied by her sister to the primary care unit where she was enrolled. She was told that they could not attend her because her application for Permanent Residency was in process and thus she could not present the relevant documentation (a valid Chilean ID card). This information was inaccurate for two reasons. First, whilst prior to 2009 this would have been the case, a law was passed in that year so that migrants whose Permanent Residency applications were being processed could be attended through FONASA (Ministerio de Salud, 2009). Second, Antonia was pregnant and so should have been attended regardless of her migratory status.

Antonia's sister, Isabela, explained the factors she thought were behind the problem:

Maybe because we have that face of 'humble people' and we don't know how to express ourselves very well, some specific words that the doctor wants ... we go with the words that we learn there in Bolivia, with those words, and they don't understand. They say, "I can't hear you, you speak very fast".

Isabela, who was more confident than Antonia, insisted on her sister being seen, and eventually arranged an appointment. At the appointment, Antonia was told that she had miscarried, and the doctor informed her that she would need to have the pregnancy tissue surgically removed from her uterus. However, the process was not explained in words that Antonia could easily understand. She thought that it was comparable to an abortion,<sup>34</sup> which for her was morally unacceptable, and that it would affect her future fertility.

The point at which I met Antonia was following this first appointment. She asked me for advice, and so I referred her to MigraRed's lawyer in Arica, Gabriela, who had previously worked on health and gender issues in Bolivia. She was able to advise and explain things to Antonia, offering to accompany her to future medical appointments. Antonia, however, was sufficiently reassured by Gabriela's advice to attend the appointments with Isabela. In further conversations with Gabriela, I learned that such culturally insensitive encounters with health providers were common, exacerbated by

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<sup>34</sup> Ironically, abortion is illegal in Chile in all circumstances, including when the woman's health is in danger, and when pregnancy is a consequence of rape.

women's lack of understanding of reproductive health, including contraceptives. MigraRed Arica would often advise in these instances, accompanying women to appointments on occasion, and assisting them with paperwork for the temporary resident visa for pregnancy if this was relevant.

### *Santiago*

Two women in Santiago other than Aimy had been pregnant and given birth in Chile – Luz María and Rosa, 29, from Sucre. Like the women from Arica, their experiences were coloured by lack of understanding by providers of the healthcare available to migrants, as well as a lack of empathy and cultural sensitivity at times. Luz María arrived in Chile with her partner Wilson knowing that she was around two months' pregnant. She avoided going to her primary care unit until she was over five months' pregnant as she was frightened because of her irregular migratory status. As indicated by the quote at the start of this section, the social worker whom she saw during her first consultation told her that she would have to pay a million Chilean pesos (US\$1,657) in order to give birth in a hospital without a Chilean ID card. Strictly speaking it is true that there are a series of problems, including the possibility of having to pay for healthcare, if a migrant woman does not have her temporary residence visa for pregnancy prior to giving birth. Nonetheless, in Luz María's case, there was still time to arrange for this, and the social worker's statement made her extremely anxious. Fortunately, she was referred to MigraRed Santiago by the primary care clinic following this first appointment, and they were able to assist with her temporary residency application, and paid for her and Wilson's visas through the DAS scheme (see Chapter 5).

In spite of the difficulties with the social worker and several weeks of anxiety regarding her visa application, Luz María's general evaluation of the care she received was positive. In particular, she thought that the Chile Crece Contigo [Chile Grows with You] programme<sup>35</sup> was very good. All women who have antenatal care and give birth in public hospitals in Chile are incorporated in this programme. Information about each month of pregnancy, in the form of a calendar, is given to expectant mothers. It is factual, clearly explained, and well-illustrated. Luz María showed me her calendar and explained that she had been unaware of much of the information it contained, despite already having one child. Furthermore, she was delighted that enrolment in Chile Crece Contigo

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<sup>35</sup> See <http://www.crececontigo.gob.cl/>



entitled her to a free bassinette, nappies, and some baby clothes upon the birth of her child.

Rosa, by contrast, had a very poor experience with the Chilean health service; a combination of all of the exclusions discussed thus far:

Well, first of all, they didn't want to enrol me because my temporary resident visa was expired and my permanent one was in process. I had some difficulties, but because I was pregnant, they had to see me. So, well, another person [from MigraRed Santiago] helped me to talk, and all that and then I could be enrolled ... They don't want to see foreigners, let's say. It's kind of discrimination.

...

I wasn't very well attended ... my daughter was very small, she wasn't developing. The midwife ... you imagine she knows what the situation is. She studied for that. But she didn't say anything to me. And at my last check-up with her ... she said, "She's very small, but she's ok". Then I saw another doctor, who did a scan to see how she was. He said, "No, she's very small, we have to get her out," and they did an emergency caesarean.

...

**MR:** And could your sister [with whom Rosa lived]<sup>36</sup> make it for the birth?

**Rosa:** Well, she came but she wasn't allowed in. And I didn't have anything with me ... They took my bag and I said to them to give her the key to go and get my things ... But they didn't want to give her the key ... And they didn't let her come and see me, nothing.

...

**MR:** And afterwards I guess you stayed in the hospital for at least a few days?

**Rosa:** Well, they discharged me but not my daughter ... she was there for three weeks. I had to go from here [her room in a *migrant cité*, an hour's bus ride] every day. To breastfeed her and everything ... At eleven I visited and I was there until six in the evening. So ... it was very, very, very complicated.

Rosa's narrative clearly illustrates the difficulties that some migrants face in accessing sensitive and appropriate care through the Chilean health service. In spite of special provisions for pregnant migrant women at system level, lack of knowledge and sometimes discrimination at provider level make access complicated. Indeed, 'lack of solidarity' could again be thought of as part of the problem. Moreover, migrants are often unaware of their rights to healthcare, and may not have a sound understanding of health issues, particularly around reproductive health. There are certainly attempts being made – such as the *Chile Crece Contigo* programme – to address this. Additionally, migrant organisations such as MigraRed are playing an important role in supporting migrants to

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<sup>36</sup> Rosa was no longer in a relationship with the father.

access healthcare, as well as offering workshops to providers on migrant health. Nevertheless, it is clear that there are still migrants who are facing significant exclusion from this fundamental aspect of social citizenship. Women seem to be the worst affected, particularly during pregnancy, indicating the impact of gender on access to social rights. Furthermore, this means that, as in the case of Rosa's baby daughter, their children may not be given the best start in life. Discrimination against migrant children is also a worrying feature of education in Chile, one of the central points to be discussed in the following section.

## EDUCATION: INEQUALITIES OF ACCESS, DISCRIMINATION, AND BULLYING

My boy, the littlest one, was being bullied and I had no idea.

*Cristina, 37, from Cochabamba*

As with healthcare, this chapter is most concerned with *equality of access* to education, as opposed to the many other aspects of education and migration that have been examined in the literature (for an overview see, for example Bartlett and Ghaffar-Kucher, 2013; Adams and Kirova, 2006; Luchtenberg, 2004). Participants' access to education in Bolivia is considered; however attention is chiefly paid to access to education in Chile, and to child and youth access in particular. In spite of recognition in Article 28 of the Convention on the Rights of the Child that every child has the right to education, and the stipulation that states provide as a minimum compulsory free primary education to all children, the reality is, of course, very different. This is undoubtedly so for migrant children, where legal status can impact significantly on their ability to access education. In the European context, for example, it has been demonstrated that 'undocumented' children are at a serious disadvantage in this respect. They face many barriers, which 'may be practical, such as lack of identification; institutional, such as discriminatory legislation or broadly societal, such as the fear of being detected' (PICUM, 2008, p.11; see also Sigona and Hughes, 2012; Coram, 2013). Likewise, access to education for migrant children without legal status can be complicated in other parts of the global North (Suárez-Orozco et al., 2011).

There is, however, great paucity of research on migrant access to education in the global South (Bartlett and Ghaffar-Kucher, 2013, p.2). Moreover, as Bartlett and Ghaffar-Kucher explain

the studies that do exist suggest that the denial to the right of education is a serious issue in many parts of the global South. Further, existing studies suggest that im/migrant populations experience significant harassment and discrimination, as well as low-quality schooling.

In the existent literature on migrant children and education in Chile, it seems that there is a slight tendency towards difficulty of access for children whose parents are in irregular situations, and certainly a tendency towards discrimination (Pavez Soto, 2012, 2010; Cano, Soffia and Martínez Pizarro, 2009; Martínez Pizarro, 2011). Moreover, there is research that indicates that Bolivians are the migrant group who experience most difficulty with regards to educational access (Cano, Soffia and Martínez Pizarro, 2009, p.36). Nationally available data in Chile also demonstrates that Bolivians are the migrant group with the lowest level of formal education (Cano, Soffia and Martínez Pizarro, 2009). Whilst this study is not comparative, and the sample was small, certainly these tendencies seemed to be reflected in the narratives of participants. This section briefly examines participants' ability to access education in Bolivia, before turning to address their interactions with educational establishments in Chile – from higher education to primary school – taking into account the impact of migrant organisations on their experiences.

## Education in Bolivia

Data from CASEN indicates that only 54 per cent of Bolivian migrants in Chile have more than ten years of schooling, compared with 77 per cent of Peruvian migrants. Approximately fifteen per cent of Bolivians have less than four years' schooling, the highest percentage in this category of any migrant group (Stefoni, 2011, pp.38–39). The sample in this study was clearly too small to draw any strong conclusions, and the way in which I asked about education was different,<sup>37</sup> however some similar tendencies were reflected. As shown in Figure 7.4, in Santiago, just over 25 per cent of participants had no schooling, primary schooling, or incomplete secondary schooling. In Arica this figure was 27 per cent (see Figure 7.5). Nonetheless, 74 per cent of participants in Santiago and 71 per cent of participants in Arica stated that they had completed secondary school (12 years of education) or gone on to higher education; significantly higher than in the CASEN survey.

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<sup>37</sup> I asked what type of education participants had completed, rather than the number of years of education, as indicated in Figures 7.3 and 7.4.

However, I found that even amongst those who had completed secondary school, literacy levels were frequently poor. I would be asked to read information sheets and consent forms to some participants who stated that they had finished secondary school, or they would visibly struggle to read them, despite the forms being designed for an average reading age of twelve. Furthermore, female Aymara ethnic participants in Arica from rural communities who had completed secondary school often did not speak fluent Spanish, even though it is the main teaching language in Bolivian schools. These observations fitted with conversations with professionals in Bolivia, who signalled that the quality of education in rural communities and marginalised urban areas is often low, although school attendance is generally good (cf. Canessa, 2008, p.52). This is confirmed by a recent nationwide study (Observatorio Plurinacional de la Calidad Educativa and UNICEF, 2011) – although the majority of children and young people attend school, only twelve per cent of secondary school students in state schools achieve a ‘high level’ of reading comprehension.

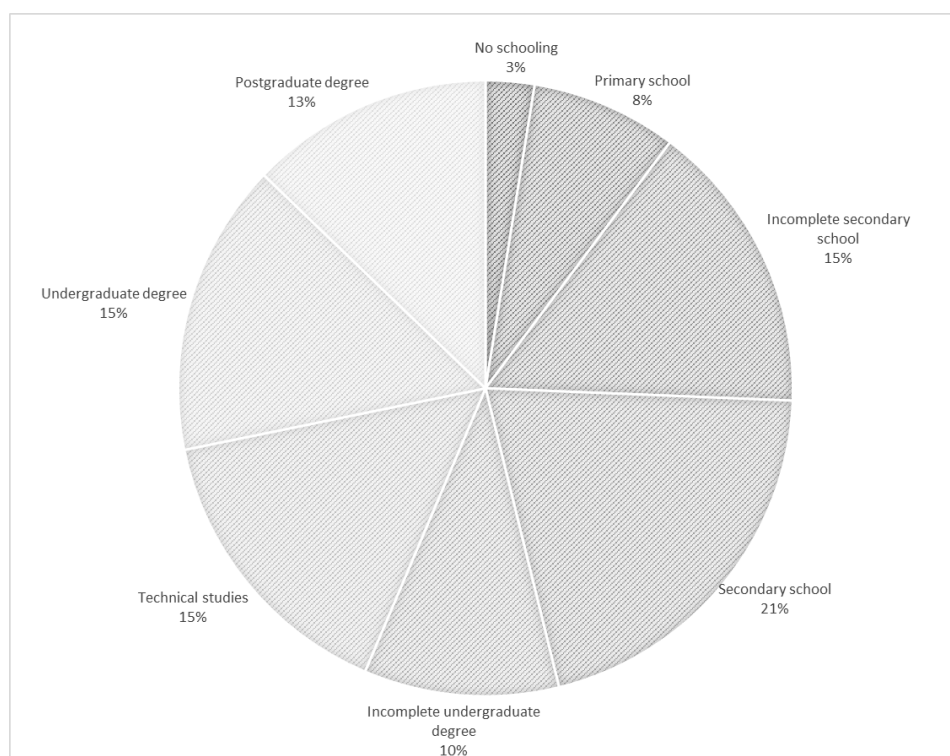
Some female participants reflected with deep regret on the lack of educational opportunities that had been available to them. Whilst today there is gender parity in terms of school attendance and literacy rates in Bolivia, this was not the case in the past (UNESCO, 2015). All participants with no schooling or primary schooling only were women aged 35 or older. In Arica, all of the participants who had incomplete secondary schooling were also women, including women in their early twenties. In Santiago, there were some men with incomplete secondary schooling. Generally it was lack of family resources that had prevented female participants from continuing with their education in Bolivia. Carolina, 38, from Cochabamba, for example, had started at the age of eight as a live-in domestic worker in Bolivia.

Whilst younger female participants all had at least some secondary schooling, several said that their dreams of continuing to higher education had been curtailed due to family need and expectation. This was the case for Agustina, 21, from La Paz, working in Arica, who had finished secondary school:

After a while I went out to work, but I wanted to study and my dad didn’t want me to, so... such a disappointment. And then I met her father [indicates baby daughter] ... And now because I have my little daughter, I can’t study.

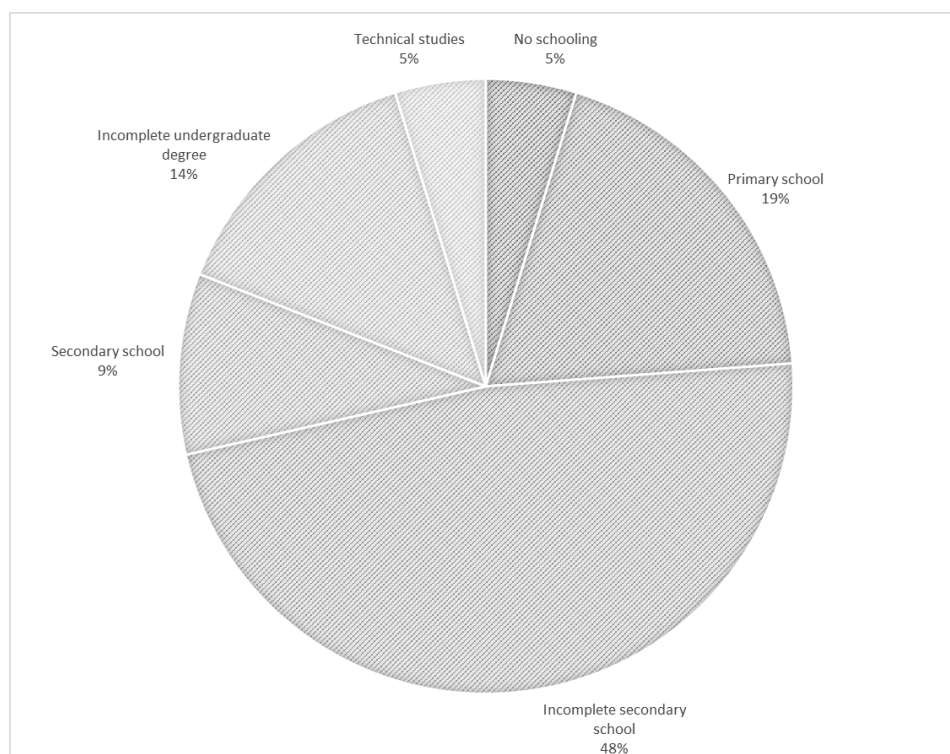
Thus in Bolivia there were certain limitations on participants’ ability to access appropriate education. Although most had attended school, and generally secondary school, the quality of education they received seemed to be low in some cases where participants were from low socio-economic backgrounds. Furthermore, women’s

*Figure 7.4 Participants' level of education, Santiago*



Source: Own elaboration from interviews (n=40)

*Figure 7.5 Participants' level of education, Arica*



Source: Own elaboration from interviews (n=20)

educational opportunities appeared to be more restricted than men's both in terms of completing secondary school and in relation to continuing to higher education. At the other end of the spectrum, however, were participants from high socio-economic backgrounds who had completed good quality secondary schooling and/or undergraduate degrees in Bolivia.

## Education in Chile

Some of the latter group of participants migrated to Chile specifically to continue their education, or continued to further education in Chile having realised that it would enable them to break into the Chilean job market at their skill level (cf. Riaño, 2011). Tomás, 34, from La Paz, explained his reasons for leaving Bolivia:

I wanted to study Sociology. My parents didn't want me to study Sociology because there's a bit of a limited job market there in Bolivia, so as a Sociologist, they thought I'd have problems in the future. So they said to me that if I wanted to study a subject like Sociology, the best thing to do would be to do it in another country. They were in the economic conditions then to finance my studies in another country.

Tomás completed an undergraduate and Masters' degree in Sociology in Santiago, and went on to work for a research institute there. All who had studied in Chile at undergraduate or postgraduate level commented that they were very satisfied with the level of education, and most thought that in terms of infrastructure and knowledge of recent academic theory Chilean universities were more advanced than those in Bolivia.

Nonetheless, the majority had experienced varying degrees of discrimination from students and staff at their universities in Chile. Tomás was constantly the subject of derogatory 'jokes' about the Chilean-Bolivian sea access dispute, to the point where he actively changed his accent so he could no longer be identified as Bolivian from the way he spoke. Mónica, 31, from La Paz, had qualified as a dentist in Bolivia and had undertaken both the studies to validate her degree and an additional diploma in Chile. During her studies, she and her foreign classmates were discriminated against by one of the lecturers:

We asked her something, and she was like, 'How do you not know that?' or 'Where did you study?' or 'What kind of dentist are you?' Always treating us in the worst way. And in front of the patient, not even afterwards, in front of the patient.

In a practical tutorial with a different lecturer, during which Chilean students completing their final year of dentistry or international students validating their degrees saw patients for free, one of the patients demanded to be attended by a Chilean rather than

the international student who was about to see them. The lecturer in charge reacted by assigning a Chilean student to the patient.

Participants who had children in Chilean schools reported similar experiences. As Pavez Soto writes (2012, p.87 my translation), 'The migration experience of girls and boys in Chile is strongly marked by constant situations of discrimination and racism'. Indeed, a UNICEF-led study (2004) indicated that 46 per cent of Chilean children thought that Chileans were superior to people of other Latin American nationalities. Asked to indicate to which nationalities they believed Chileans were superior, 32 per cent stated that they were superior to Peruvians, and 30 per cent believed that they were superior to Bolivians; these were the nationalities most discriminated against. These attitudes were certainly reflected in the experiences of participants' children. Of the seven participants in Santiago with children in primary or secondary school, five had children who had been bullied – verbally, physically, and quite severely in most cases – because of their nationality, skin colour, phenotypical features, and/or supposed personality traits linked to their nationality (cf. Pavez Soto, 2012).

In most cases, participants had reported the bullying to their children's school, and teachers and educational psychologists had subsequently intervened. Nonetheless, the bullying had to be significant, and parents had to become involved, before the school reacted. MigraRed and another migrant organisation, Niños Migrantes con Derechos,<sup>38</sup> which works specifically with migrant children, are partnered with a number of schools in Santiago promoting intercultural education and attempting to reduce discrimination. Contact with these schools during this research and as a volunteer on an intercultural education programme through MigraRed for six months from 2010–2011 demonstrated that these interventions are having a localised effect; nonetheless, arguably a great deal more still needs to be done at a municipal and national level.

In Arica, bullying was far less common – only some relatively mild teasing was reported by one of the five participants from Arica with children in school. There are two possible reasons for this. First, in two cases the children had a Chilean parent or step-parent and had been born in Chile. Second, most of the children attended schools in the Valle de Azapa, where up to 80 per cent of the student body are migrants. Additionally, some schools in the Valle de Azapa make a concerted effort to engage in intercultural education and to include parents in their children's education. For example, the schools

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<sup>38</sup> A pseudonym.

have Aymara language programmes, which include teaching written Aymara. This was highlighted by Belén, 27, from rural La Paz, who speaks Aymara but cannot write it, and was pleased that her children are learning it in written form. Schools in the Valle de Azapa also hold parent-teacher meetings at times convenient to parents who are agricultural workers, and have a focus on educating parents and the community as well as the children.

With regards to this, two schools in particular in the Valle de Azapa, with the support of MigraRed, have recently organised drives to regularise the migratory situation of their students. State primary and secondary schools in Chile must accept all children regardless of their legal status. Once enrolled, irrespective of their or their parents' migratory situation, children and young people under eighteen can obtain a Student Visa. To do so, a form, their school matriculation certificate, passport, birth certificate, and a declaration signed before a notary public indicating under whose care they are in Chile, must be sent to the DEM. If students do not regularise their situation, they cannot be credited for the education they have undertaken in Chile and thus cannot move from primary to secondary school, or obtain a certificate at the end of their secondary schooling.

I attended a meeting with MigraRed Arica and spoke individually with staff members about students' migration situations at one school, Liceo 14,<sup>39</sup> in the Valle de Azapa. Liceo 14 was renowned for accepting many migrant students when other schools would not; non-acceptance of migrant children is common in spite of the law (see Pavez Soto, 2012). Liceo 14 issued all of their students with matriculation certificates, but struggled to persuade parents, the majority of whom were in irregular situations, to complete the necessary steps to acquire Student Visas for their children. According to the school social worker, this was for two key reasons. First, parents had low literacy levels and so could not understand the form that they need to fill out or the documentation that they needed to provide. They may also not have some of the documentation such as children's passports (see Chapter 5). Second, they were fearful of the authorities and did not understand that their migratory status would not be brought into question by applying for a visa for their child. In collaboration with MigraRed Arica, Liceo 14 had already run some successful workshops for parents to assist them in understanding the visa application process. Further sessions for teachers, parents,

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<sup>39</sup> A pseudonym.



students, and the wider community were planned for 2014. I helped at a similar workshop at a nursery school in Arica, and witnessed the positive impact it had on parents and staff – following the workshop, parents came to the MigraRed Arica offices on an individual basis for assistance with visa applications for them and their children.

The situation in Santiago regarding school access was very similar. Certain schools were known to be ‘migrant friendly’ in that they accepted all students regardless of their migratory status. Others, however, created many obstacles for parents, leading them to enrol their children in the ‘migrant friendly’ schools that they heard about through their social networks, the topic of the final section of this chapter. As Pavez Soto emphasises (2012, p.85), it is concerning that some schools are not fulfilling their legal obligation to accept all children, and the creation of ‘migrant friendly’ schools may lead to ghettoization of migrant and second-generation children. Again, at the heart of this issue is a ‘lack of solidarity’ by people working in the public sector, as well as wider society. This is preventing some migrant children from accessing appropriate education or at least limiting their choice with regards to the institutions that they attend. Perhaps of most concern, however, is that many in Santiago especially are exposed to racism and bullying even once they are incorporated into formal education in Chile. Not only is this the case for migrant children, but also for adults who are in higher education in Chile, demonstrating that discriminatory attitudes and behaviours exist across the demographic spectrum. It is important to highlight, however, that migrant organisations have been playing a key role in improving access to non-discriminatory education, with heartening results in Arica.

## SOCIAL SUPPORT: SIGNIFICANT PRIMARY RELATIONSHIPS AND WIDER NETWORKS

I speak with my daughters two days a week by Skype. Then we can see each other, we can hear each other ... There is nothing, nothing, nothing, nothing that can stand in the way of those calls.

*Anahis, 36, from Sucre*

The final element of social citizenship accounted for in this chapter is perhaps one of the most significant for many migrants, particularly – although by no means exclusively – for migrant women. The ‘right to family life’ or ‘primary relationships’ is frequently disrupted by migration, typically when parents migrate in order to try and better provide financially for children whom they leave behind. It is important not to see such families as ‘broken’ or ‘vulnerable’, and to acknowledge the agency of those

migrating (Herrera, 2011). Nevertheless as the global care chains literature has amply illustrated (Yeates, 2012), separation from family, especially from children, certainly has a profound emotional impact on migrants' lives and on the lives of those 'left behind'. The structural factors that often compel parents to engage in such migration must be acknowledged in order to comprehend the reasons for migration and the ensuing emotional consequences for those who leave and those who stay.

'Transnational mothers' may experience 'stigma, guilt and criticism from others' (Hondagneu-Sotelo and Avila, 1997, p.552) regarding their caring arrangements, as well as anxiety and helplessness as they worry about their children's physical and psychological wellbeing (Parreñas, 2001; Hoang and Yeoh, 2012). Children may have difficulties forming strong emotional bonds with mothers (and fathers) who have been absent for long periods of time, and may feel resentment towards them (Hoang and Yeoh, 2012; Dreby, 2007; Parreñas, 2005; Artico, 2003; Levitt, 2001a). It has been demonstrated that there can be positive educational outcomes for children in transnational families, for example with regards to grades during schooling (Kandel and Kao, 2001); however there is also a correlation between being 'left behind' and having lower aspirations in terms of continuing to higher education (Kandel and Kao, 2001; Oliviera, 2013). Evidence in relation to health outcomes for such children is also mixed (Frank, 2005). Whilst touched upon in the literature on global care chains in the Chilean context (Acosta, 2013; Arriagada and Moreno, 2013; Stefoni, 2002), there is not much that analyses in depth the topic of transnational families (although see Núñez Carrasco, 2010), and what is often felt as a rupture of the right to family life.

In addition to the impact on significant primary relationships, migrants may also find it difficult to form social relationships in the receiving country, in particular if they are in irregular situations. As McIlwaine (2015, p.505) indicates, whilst social networks may have enabled them to enter the country, 'somewhat paradoxically' their social relations in the host country may be 'limited in order to maintain invisibility'. Even for those in regular situations, the same may apply because they often work long and anti-social hours, impeding the development of social bonds (Anderson, 2007a; Datta, 2007). The importance of social networks for enabling migration has been examined in Chile (Lube-Guizardi and Garcés, 2013), however there is relatively little that addresses the ability to form meaningful social relations once migration has taken place. For many participants in this research, both exclusion from these broader social networks in Chile and from access to everyday, physical primary relationships were deeply felt consequences of migration, as will be discussed.

## Significant primary relationship across borders

As one would expect, separation from family had a far greater impact on those in Santiago than those in Arica. As mentioned previously (see Chapter 5), many in Arica travelled often to Bolivia, and they knew that they could travel back at short notice and for a relatively low cost – a bus ticket from Arica to La Paz is a little over US\$30 return. For those in Santiago, however, the journey by bus would take over 30 hours to La Paz and 40 or more to Santa Cruz. The cost for a return ticket would be approximately US\$200.<sup>40</sup> Consequently, it was a trip that could be made once a year on average for the majority of participants.

Amanda, 25, from El Alto, indicated how hard it was for her to only see her mother, father, and siblings once a year:

It's not at all easy to be so far from your family, it's not at all easy. As much as ... here I try to look for all that is good, but there are always those moments when I think about my family. How are they? My mum, how is she? Because one does not own life. You don't know when they're not going to be beside you anymore, and you think, "Oh no, why have I not made more of the chance to be with them?" It makes me very sad sometimes. It makes me very sad and I think, "I just hope I have more opportunities to be with them and that I achieve my goal [of building a house for her family] as soon as possible to be able to be there."

For participants with children who had stayed in Bolivia, the sentiments expressed by Amanda were often compounded by deep anxiety regarding their children's wellbeing, as well as feelings of guilt. Four women and one man, as well as participants who were a couple, had children in Bolivia. Three female participants had previously left children in Bolivia before bringing them to Chile, and two had also previously left children in Bolivia when they migrated to Spain prior to moving to Chile. In the majority of cases, the children were in the care of participants' mothers or mothers-in-law, which appears to be the most common arrangement within global care chains (Parreñas, 2005).

Javiera, 43, from Santa Cruz, had two children in Bolivia living with her mother. She recalled a recent conversation with her 13 year old daughter back in Bolivia, from whom she had been separated for two years with one short visit, saying she 'wants us to go back, she says she needs her mum, her dad, she doesn't care what we give her, she

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<sup>40</sup> The cost of cheap flights would actually be comparable, but participants from lower socio-economic backgrounds had never considered the possibility of flying – one participant asked me what bus route one takes to New Zealand. Clearly they were unsure where New Zealand is (a common occurrence!), but it illustrates the point that for many Bolivians buses are the only means of long distance transport within their frame of reference.

wants to be with her parents'. The tension between her daughter's distress at being apart from her parents and Javiera's awareness that in Bolivia she could not earn enough to fund higher education for her children made her feel that 'one leads a very sad life here [in Chile]. Being a migrant is seriously tough'. Participants worried that their children would forget or resent them, a phenomenon that has been well-documented in other contexts, as outlined above. Staff at an after-school club in Plan 3000, a deprived area of Santa Cruz (see Chapter 3) with a high rate of out-migration told me that complex emotional dynamics within families following parents' migration were an unhappy reality for many. I visited Luz María and Wilson, who were from this same area of Santa Cruz, during their first trip back after a year in Chile. Luz María was struggling with the fact that her mother now knew her two-year old son's daily routines better than she did. She had also seen his first steps, heard his first words, and nursed him through typhoid fever, all things that Luz María and Wilson had been upset, and in the latter case frightened, to have missed.

Nonetheless, participants developed strategies for transnational parenting (cf. Madianou and Miller, 2011; Parreñas, 2001; Hondagneu-Sotelo and Avila, 1997) in order to sustain their relationships across borders as well as possible. Maintaining a ritual of a Sunday phone call from a call centre or over Skype from and to an internet café was common. Anahis, quoted at the beginning of the section, not only used her conversations with her daughters to check on their wellbeing and catch up with their lives, but also to help them with their homework. Participants also viewed not bringing their children to Chile as a responsible parenting decision, and some who had brought them were considering sending them back to be with family in Bolivia. There were several reasons for this. First, as explained above, accessing protective housing with sufficient space for a family was not easy. Second, children restricted parents' ability to work the long hours required to earn a reasonable wage, and moreover Chilean currency went a lot further in Bolivia than in Chile, enabling their children to have a higher standard of living there than in Chile. Third, participants were concerned at the standard of education available to their children in Chile, and the potential for their children to be bullied.

Additionally, as discovered in other contexts (e.g. Dreby, 2007; Levitt, 2001a), parents often wished for their children to be educated 'at home' so as to maintain the cultural values that they saw as positive. Almost universally participants thought that Bolivian children and young people were more polite, respectful towards their elders, and less inclined to drink, take drugs, or be involved in crime than their Chilean counterparts. Chilean young people, particularly adolescent girls, were described as

*'despiertos/as'* [awake], which in this context means worldly and implies being sexually aware. Regardless of the truth of this – and I would suggest that negative stereotyping of the host culture may in part be a reaction to discrimination experienced by a marginalised group<sup>41</sup> – it had a powerful influence over participants' decisions, and was mentioned by all of those with children who had remained in Bolivia as a factor that influenced them. Among those who did have children in Chile, Constanza, for example, had become alarmed at what she saw as her eldest son's unacceptably assertive behaviour and new habit of 'answering back' since beginning school in Chile. She was questioning whether it would be best for him to return to Bolivia.

Thus the factors that kept participants from maintaining everyday, physical relationships with family members, and children particularly, were both agentic and structural. There was an element of choice in whether participants brought their children to Chile or not, influenced by their concerns over the kinds of values their children might learn in the new social milieu. However, the need to sustain significant primary relationships was also disrupted by structural factors. Poor living conditions, inflexible working hours, and the availability of quality education free from discrimination in Chile were of fundamental importance. There was also a profoundly transnational dimension to this exclusion from social citizenship because, as discussed in Chapter 6, it was often their families' economic necessity that had compelled the migration of parents as a survival strategy for the extended family.

## Creating social networks

Lack of social networks exacerbated the sense of isolation that separation from family could generate. With the exception of a handful of participants who had spent fifteen years or more in Chile (see Ryan et al., 2008 on the effect of time on social network development for migrants), all commented that their social networks and friendships in Chile were far reduced from what they had been in Bolivia. This was irrespective of participants' socio-economic background in Bolivia or employment in Chile. Professionals tended to project their futures in Chile rather than in Bolivia and thus were likely to want to form friendships with Chileans or other migrants who intended to stay permanently. Tomás had largely focused on doing this, for example. It had, however, been problematic because, in his words, 'it seems to me that the networks in Chile are ...

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<sup>41</sup> Moreover, from a feminist perspective, it is perhaps demonstrative of a repressive attitude towards women's sexuality.

closed networks in which I'm never going to be able to integrate'. The discrimination he had faced (mentioned above) was a further factor that complicated this.

Nevertheless, after some time most professionals did manage to make some friends, with Bolivians, other migrants, and Chileans, although fewer than they had in Bolivia. For those in precarious employment, and particularly women in domestic work or cleaning, longevity in Chile did not necessarily make a difference (cf. Ryan et al., 2008). Long and anti-social hours were primary reasons given for this, as Carolina, who worked as a *nana puertas afuera*, outlined:

The truth is I don't have many friends. Look, I've lived in Quilicura [a *comuna* in Santiago] almost four years and I speak to two women, two Chileans, but hardly. I don't have time. I leave early, I arrive late, and I don't have many friends.

Not only did this lack of networks have emotional consequences, but also material ones in relation to finding accommodation and jobs. The importance of the relationship between employment, accommodation and 'instrumental', or 'weak tie' networks, has been extensively analysed in other migration contexts (McIlwaine, Cock and Linneker, 2011; e.g. Ryan et al., 2008; Datta et al., 2007a; Aguilera and Massey, 2003; Hagan, 1998), and is the subject of some research in Chile (Stefoni and Fernández, 2013). As discussed in Chapter 6, lack of social networks was one of the factors that compelled participants on *parcelas* in Arica to remain there. In Santiago, rooms in *migrant cités* were primarily found through contacts, and so those without contacts were more likely to sub-let the worst quality, most expensive rooms.

Participants were highly aware of the impact of social networks on their ability to find work and accommodation, as well as on their emotional health. They engaged in a variety of practices in order to extend, or 'bridge' (Ryan et al., 2008; Putnam, 2007), their networks. Women who worked as *nanas puertas adentro* would stay at Asistencia al Migrante (see Chapter 6) on Saturday nights to have some free time and attempt to make friends and pass on information about employment and other opportunities. However, the success of this strategy was limited because of time constraints and the fact that women only stay for a limited period at Asistencia al Migrante. Most common amongst those who did not live in the places where they worked and were not in professional employment, was to try to form connections with neighbours. They were generally also migrants, although often of different nationalities. There was some distrust of, and discrimination against, other nationalities (cf. McIlwaine, Cock and

Linneker, 2011; Ryan et al., 2008) – particularly Peruvians – however, this was usually overcome following sustained contact with migrant groups from other countries.

The experience of Luz María and Wilson is illustrative. Upon moving to Santiago, they knew one other Bolivian couple, who assisted then with finding a room and Wilson with finding a job in construction. This couple also lent Luz María and Wilson money to pay for a deposit on their accommodation. This was the extent of Luz María and Wilson's social network in Chile for some months. When I first interviewed Luz María in her room in a *migrant cité*, she informed me in hushed tones that the neighbours, who were mainly Peruvian, were given to drinking, partying, and would not always clean the bathroom. However, over time, she became more open to socialising with people who were not co-ethnics. She formed friendships with the Peruvian hairdresser next door to her *migrant cité*, and with the residents of the *cité*.

After six months of living there, Luz María invited my partner and me to the baby shower that her neighbours had organised. Fifteen or so of them had decorated the common space with blue and white ribbons, and an enormous banner announcing 'Baby Shower'. The hairdresser had given Luz María and Wilson free haircuts, and they were both smartly attired in new outfits. We were invited to take a seat and were served soft-drinks, beer, and elaborately prepared snacks, which everyone had pooled together to buy and make. Everyone had also brought a gift for the baby, which they placed in a basket for the game that followed. The men had to take turns to guess what each gift was before Luz María opened it. If they guessed incorrectly they were 'punished', which involved drinking from a baby bottle, crawling around, or putting on a large towel as a nappy.

Following the game, one of the residents – a Peruvian who had lived in Chile for thirteen years – brought out her set of crystal glasses, which she kept for special occasions. Sparkling wine was poured for everyone and we toasted the couple and the baby on the way. Then some of the other neighbours served *ají de gallina*, a traditional Peruvian dish, and later the dancing began. It was a touching demonstration of solidarity and care for the young couple for whom this informal social network had become very important, particularly in the physical absence of family. Whilst it is important not to overstate the value of social networks in mitigating limited access to economic opportunities or welfare (Ryan et al., 2008), participants with more extensive networks were able to acquire better employment and accommodation than their counterparts without such networks, and thus enter further into spaces of social citizenship. However,

it appears that it was the emotional support offered by these networks that was of most importance to participants, and its lack was keenly felt by those without them.

## CONCLUSION

This chapter has developed an integrated approach to examining a range of social rights that are often considered separately within migration studies. Adaptation of Doyal and Gough's taxonomy of intermediate needs allows for holistic consideration of not only access to shelter, healthcare and education, but also to significant primary relationships and social networks – all fundamental to migrant incorporation in spaces of social citizenship. The impact of migrants' social identities, in addition to their in/exclusion from other spaces of citizenships, on accessing varied social rights is also accounted for using this framework. I suggest that this adapted model may be useful for future analysis of migrants' access to social rights.

In the Chilean-Bolivian context, a pattern regarding these social rights emerges, which again gives weight to the concept of participants' citizenship as grounded in uncertainty. In general, Chilean legislation is on a par with internationally expected standards for migrant access to healthcare and education, and, to a lesser extent, housing. Nevertheless, at the mid-level where providers (healthcare professionals, educators, landlords etc.) interact with migrants, there abounds a 'lack of solidarity', which impedes access. For participants, this led to significant exclusions from various dimensions of the space of social citizenship.

Whilst there was sometimes an element of self-exclusion through choice, generally it was gatekeepers to these social rights who prohibited access. Difficulty accessing social rights was greater for women, people of indigenous descent, and those from lower socio-economic backgrounds. Nevertheless, there were some instances where, supported by migrant organisations, greater inclusion of migrants was occurring – as in Liceo 14 in the Valle de Azapa. Furthermore, participants engaged in strategies to enter further into social citizenship, particularly with regards to expanding their informal social networks, which led to greater material, but above all emotional, support. Sometimes, the search for social networks also led participants to engage in practices of political citizenship, as the next chapter will indicate.



## 8. VOTING, ORGANISING, AND DANCING: FORMAL AND INFORMAL PRACTICES OF POLITICAL CITIZENSHIP

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After the break, we started off again, this time with more confidence. I think we all got swept up by the brass band's music and the adrenaline and I really started to understand what carnival is about. There was a sense of traditions being lived and remembered, of sharing a beautiful culture with others, and of a celebration of the sheer joy of being alive. The procession finished down Avenida Recoleta, and it was fairly incredible to be dancing along one of Santiago's main avenues holding up the traffic! We were joined by some stray dogs towards the end, and the last five minutes were a crazy cacophonous blur with the crowd joining in, confetti everywhere, and cars and buses all beeping their horns (Fieldnotes, 1 December 2013).

In this extract I recorded the experience of participating with Corazón de Tinkus in the Fifth Annual Patronato Carnival in Santiago. To the applause and whistles of onlookers, many of whom were Chilean, for a few brief hours the fraternity laid claim to public space in the heart of the city. With the call and response '¿Quiénes somos?' '¡Tinkus somos!' '¿De dónde somos?' '¡De Bolivia!'<sup>42</sup> strongly declared at regular intervals, this was an affirmation of transnational belonging; a citizenship practice in the realm of the political. Indeed, dance was the main political citizenship practice in which participants engaged, and one of fundamental importance in Bolivia and for Bolivians abroad. Thus, the third and final section of this chapter, on informal political citizenship practices, is largely devoted to a close analysis of dance as one such practice, and its centrality to the lives of some participants – perhaps here at last was an opportunity for participants to declare their sense of belonging and citizenship with certainty. The first section provides an overview of what is understood by 'political citizenship' in the context of this research, and the second addresses participants' incorporation (or lack thereof) in the space of political citizenship through engagement in formal politics.

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<sup>42</sup> 'Who are we?' 'We are *tinkus*!' 'Where're we from?' 'From Bolivia!'

## UNDERSTANDING POLITICAL CITIZENSHIP: BROADENING THE DEFINITION

As indicated in Chapter 2, feminist scholars of citizenship have called for an expansion of its political dimension to include not only formal but also informal politics. Classic interpretations have emphasised the right to vote and the right to run for office as political citizenship's key components (e.g. Marshall, 1950). However, this reflects a strong masculine bias given that throughout history, and continuing in the present, women have been excluded from both of these rights, whether by legislation or structural factors, such as the expectation that women will take prime responsibility for childcare. Furthermore, a purview that focuses only on formal politics neglects the often substantial contributions that women have made to informal, community politics, where they have had more possibility of participating (Lister, 2003).

Frequently referencing feminist perspectives, further critiques of a narrow interpretation of political citizenship have come from those studying migration (Yuval-Davis and Werbner, 1999). As a population who habitually cannot vote in the receiving country, it is vital to consider other ways in which migrants may be involved in the political (Però, 2011). Martiniello (2005), for example, constructed a typology of the ways in which migrants may engage in politics in both the receiving country and transnationally, from participation in state politics to 'ethnic community mobilisation'. Political involvement with the sending country has also been examined in-depth (Østergaard-Nielsen, 2003), including a growing body of literature that analyses extra-territorial voting, amongst other practices (McIlwaine and Bermudez, 2015; Lafleur, 2013; Boccagni, 2011; Itzigsohn and Villacrés, 2008; Collyer and Vathi, 2007). With respect to participation more specifically in the receiving country, there has been interest in migrant participation in unions and 'new social movements' (Però, 2011; Nyers, 2011), as well as involvement in grassroots community groups (Theodore and Martin, 2007).

All of these authors with a particular focus either on the sending or receiving country nonetheless demonstrate the importance of a transnational sensibility. Indeed, it has been shown that there is a connection between greater transnational participation and greater participation in the receiving country (Bermúdez, 2010; Portes, Escobar and Arana, 2008), in spite of previous beliefs to the contrary (Jones-Correa, 1998). Furthermore, in line with the feminist perspective that guides much of this research, from the early stages of work on migrant political participation, a gendered (Hondagneu-

Sotelo, 1992; Jones-Correa, 1998; Montoya, Hardy-Fanta and Garcia, 2000) and more recently intersectional approach has been taken (McIlwaine and Bermúdez, 2011). Migration scholars have thus embraced a relatively broad definition of the political that takes into account the impact that social identities have on migrants' participation both in the receiving country and transnationally.

Nevertheless, there is still something missing from this understanding of the political. As Martiniello and Lafleur (2008) indicate, popular culture and arts can in fact be important political outlets for migrants and ethnic minorities but are severely under-acknowledged in the literature. As has gradually been recognised with respect to other types of informal political participation, artistic expressions of the political may emerge because of constraints felt by these groups:

Firstly, when all the avenues of conventional political participation are closed or very severely restricted for immigrants and ethno-racial minorities, culture and the arts can become the only means of implicit or explicit political expression ... Secondly, when avenues for conventional political participation are open, culture can still play an important political role in another way. Like other groups of the population, immigrant and ethno-racial minorities often have problems with a conventional and direct participation in politics. (Martiniello and Lafleur, 2008, p.1207)

I follow Martiniello and Lafleur in recommending that arts and popular culture be understood as possible outlets for communicating the political in the scholarship that examines migrants' political practices, given the key role that it can play in the lives of those who are otherwise excluded from the political sphere.

As explained in Chapter 2, I eschew the term 'cultural citizenship' (Rosaldo, 1994a; Ong, 1996) given the very different concepts that it has been used to convey in comparison with that which I aim to develop in this research to explain how expressing oneself through the arts and popular culture may in fact be a political act. To briefly recapitulate, Rosaldo (1994b) has used 'cultural citizenship' to express the idea of marginalised migrants carving a differentiated citizenship niche for themselves within society; a concept that Ong (1996, p.738) has criticised as subscribing 'to the very liberal principle of universal equality that he seeks to call into question'. Ong (1996, p.738), on the other hand, uses it as a term 'to refer to the cultural practices and beliefs produced out of negotiating the often ambivalent and contested relations with the state and its hegemonic forms that establish the criteria of belonging within a national population and territory'. Neither of these definitions express the way in which popular culture was produced and used by participants in this research; I argue that they utilised dance to

express transnational belonging and as a means of making a political claim to space and place.

Martiniello and Lafleur (2008), who understand migrants' use of popular culture as potentially having these aims, focus largely on the production of music, with only a brief mention of dance and other artistic forms. They certainly recognise, however, that making music is not the only way in which migrants and ethnic minorities may express themselves politically through the arts. I suggest that dance, and especially street dance and carnivals, can be deeply political, and may in fact be one of the key forms of political expression engaged in by some migrant groups.<sup>43</sup> As I will explain below, one of the key reasons for the lack of serious study of dance as a political practice may be the Northern bias of academia. In the present day, this type of dance tends to originate in the global South – even if it is performed in the global North.

There *is* a small body of work that presents a serious examination of migrant use of dance (Scolieri, 2008), but largely without explicit recognition of its political dimension. Much of this addresses the importance of dance for migrants and refugees after suffering trauma (e.g. on internally displaced people and Sudanese refugees in Uganda respectively see Edmondson, 2005; Kaiser, 2006; on Palestinians in Jordan see Aken, 2006). Within the Latin American context, there have been, for example, studies of Argentine exiles' and displaced people's engagement with tango during the dirty war (Taylor, 1998), and of the prominence of cueca (Chile's national dance) in the lives of Chilean exiles (Knudsen, 2001; see also Ryburn, 2012; Wright and Oñate, 1998; Kay, 1987). Lube-Guizardi (2013) has examined the practice of capoeira by Brazilian migrants in Madrid, and there is also some limited work on dance in Bolivian migrant communities in Buenos Aires (Oliviera, 2013; Gavazzo, 2006; Grimson, 1999) and elsewhere (Whitesell, 2008). Many of these studies are framed in the language of belonging and identity. Exemplifying this, Knudsen states (2001, p.81), 'Dancing cueca in the diaspora creates links in time and space, reviving personal as well as collective memories; it is a symbolic compensation for the loss of country and history'. By claiming

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<sup>43</sup> There is research, to which I will return below, that recognises the political dimensions of modern street dance and carnival (e.g. Jackson, 1992; Cohen, 1993; Lewis, 1996; Carver, 2000; Lazar, 2008), but it could not be classified as extensive, and does not link it to the literature on migrants' political practices, in spite of the presence of migrants in some of the carnivals studied.

belonging in the home country, transnationally, and in the receiving country, I suggest that migrant dance can therefore often be understood as profoundly political.

In this chapter, then, I bring together the work that addresses the political dimensions of street dance and carnival with perspectives that analyse migration and dance through the lens of belonging and identity. This will be framed within the broader context of migrants' formal and informal practices of political citizenship. Political citizenship is understood, as with other spheres of citizenship, as a space overlapping and intertwining with other spaces of citizenship. Participants incorporated in this space through the exercise of formal or informal citizenship practices may or may not be within other spaces of citizenship, and their in/exclusion in other spaces may impact on their ability to participate as political citizens. This further contributes to the experience of uncertain citizenship lived by many.

## FORMAL POLITICAL PRACTICES: VOTING AND PARTY POLITICS

Formal practices are the first aspect of participants' experiences of political citizenship addressed in this chapter, which begins with an examination of extra-territorial voting, and then turns to discuss participants' voting habits and engagement with party politics in Chile. With respect to the former, many countries – around 115 – make extra-territorial voting possible for their diasporas (Collyer and Vathi, 2007, p.15; Lafleur, 2013). Lafleur (2013) suggests three socio-political variables that may interact to promote extra-territorial voting. The first is lobbying from migrant groups regarding the external vote; however, Lafleur cautions that this should not be given undue emphasis as there are other processes at work that are perhaps more powerful. He proposes two other variables: the state's level of economic dependence on migrants; and domestic politics. The economic dependence variable considers the importance of migrants' remittances to the country's economy, but also the potential role of migrants' 'capacities to transfer knowledge and to open markets abroad' in order for the state 'to better integrate into the global economy' (Lafleur, 2013, p.47). The domestic politics variable takes into consideration the impact of any national regime or institutional changes (which may act as a political opportunity for migrant lobbies), as well as the potential benefits of the extra-territorial vote for domestic actors.

In Bolivia, extra-territorial voting has been possible since 2009 in its four largest migrant-receiving countries – Argentina, Brazil, Spain, and the United States (Zegada and Lafleur, 2015). Hinojosa Gordonava et al. (2012) argue that the Bolivian extra-territorial

vote became possible due to a combination of the aforementioned variables. Granting extra-territorial voting rights was in part recognition of the substantial contribution that migrants make to Bolivia's economy; nevertheless, domestic politics and the migrant lobby played a key role. Primarily, they suggest, a political opportunity was provided for external migrant lobby groups as a consequence of the 'context of crisis and change' in Bolivia, which has been focused on greater democratization (Hinojosa Gordonava, Domenech and Lafleur, 2012 my translation). Furthermore, the demands of the migrant lobby – particularly strong in Buenos Aires – for greater inclusion in the Bolivian demos fitted well with the MAS [Movimiento al Socialismo – Movement for Socialism] party's stated objective of incorporation of the poor, indigenous, and marginalised in a pluri-national state.

Indeed, in São Paulo and Buenos Aires, Evo Morales received an extraordinary 95 and 92 per cent of the vote respectively in the 2009 presidential elections (Schavelzon, 2012; Brey, Inara Stürckow and Lafleur, 2012b). In Spain, Morales won 46 per cent of the vote (Brey, Inara Stürckow and Lafleur, 2012a). In the United States, the opposition party, Convergencia, was the clear winner (von Arx and Lafleur, 2012). In all countries except the US, the voter turnout was high – over 70 per cent (for an interesting comparison see McIlwaine and Bermudez, 2015 on low voter turnout of Colombians in the UK and Spain).

What is particularly interesting is the profile of those who voted in São Paulo and Buenos Aires; the most relevant points of comparison with Chile. There is consensus that generally it is those with higher levels of education in professional employment who are the most likely to exercise extra-territorial voting rights, and those with irregular migratory status are less likely to vote (McIlwaine and Bermudez, 2015). Nevertheless, it would appear that in São Paulo and Buenos Aires, voter turnout was high among those with only secondary school education working in low-end jobs, especially textile manufacturing, and that some people with irregular status did vote. It has been postulated that this was due to the type of politics represented by Morales, the areas of the city in which polling stations were set up (migrant *barrios* in the poorer parts of the cities), and the high levels of migrant involvement in migrant organisations and other forms of transnational politics in these two cities (Schavelzon, 2012; Brey, Inara Stürckow and Lafleur, 2012b; cf. Morales and Pilati, 2014; Bermúdez, 2010; Portes, Escobar and Arana, 2008 on the third point).

Findings from my research indicate that the situation in Chile was perhaps slightly different from that of Brazil and Argentina. Whilst extra-territorial voting from Chile in the cities of Arica, Antofagasta, Iquique, Calama and Santiago was possible for the presidential elections of 12 October 2014, the majority of participants – of all backgrounds – were unaware of this when I asked them fifteen to six months prior to the elections if they were thinking of voting in the upcoming elections. None had returned to Bolivia specifically to vote in the past, and none had been involved in lobbying for voting rights for Bolivians living in Chile, although most stated that they would vote from Chile once they realised that this was going to be a possibility. When I tried to engage participants further in conversation about party politics in Bolivia, reactions were frequently unenthusiastic and the topic was quickly discarded. Ignacia, 34, from La Paz, for example, said, 'look, the only thing I know is that Evo Morales is the President, nothing else'.

If they did express an opinion, it was common for participants to state that they had initially supported Morales, and felt that some change with regards to respect for indigenous cultures and improvement in the living conditions of the poor had come about as a consequence of his presidency. This was the case for Tomás, 34, from La Paz, Carolina 38, from Cochabamba, and Luz María, 19, from Santa Cruz, for example. Luz María identified with Morales because she felt that he came from a similar background to her, and she liked the way that he dressed – she commented particularly on his array of sweaters – because to her it represented his humility. Nonetheless, Morales had failed to fully meet such participants' expectations. Illustrating this, Ana María, 55, from La Paz, thought that whilst there was some positive recognition for indigenous peoples, the constitutional changes made under Morales had not signified a real change in society – 'just like in all other Latin America countries, wealth has stayed in the hands of the very few'.

Indeed, as discussed in Chapter 6, many had migrated during Morales's time in power with a deep sense that the country had not experienced the economic growth that they had so hoped for in order to improve their standard of living.<sup>44</sup> Aimy, 34, from Cochabamba declared that Morales's government 'in general hasn't been good for the country. There are a lot of people who've left because of that, they've had to leave to find

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<sup>44</sup> A sense of disappointment was also apparent in conversations with participants in Bolivia who had voted for the MAS. See Farthing and Kohl (2014) for a discussion of reactions to the MAS and Evo Morales since his rise to power.

work'. Byron, 32, also from Cochabamba, expressly stated that Morales's attitude towards multi-national companies was the reason he had left the country, as it made it difficult for him to find work as an airplane mechanic in a job that paid a decent wage.

Others simply had no faith in party politics or politicians. Amanda, 25, of Aymara descent, who had experienced first-hand the water and gas wars in El Alto, had the following to say:

**MR:** Have things changed a bit since Evo Morales came to power?

**Amanda:** No. I think that all that stuff to do with politics, well, nothing... They always look out for themselves, not for others. For me, that's what politics will always be about. First they see that they're ok.

This lack of conviction in the power of politicians in Bolivia to instigate real change, although not always expressed quite so strongly, seemed to apply universally, regardless of socio-economic status, education, ethnicity, gender or any other factor. Even Gabriela, 28, lawyer for MigraRed in Arica and a migrant herself, was no longer convinced of the efficacy of party politics. This was despite the fact that she had stood as a mayoral candidate in the Bolivian *departamento* of Tarija and had been heavily involved in organising the youth branches of the opposition in Eastern Bolivia.

It is outside the scope of this thesis to discuss in any detail Bolivian's 2014 extra-territorial voting patterns in Chile given that the presidential elections took place after research had been completed. It is, however, interesting to note that turnout of those who registered to vote was high – 80 per cent of the 14,300 who registered to vote in Chile did so (Egüez Rojas, 2014). However, given that, as previously established, the Bolivian population in Chile is estimated at around 50,000, unmediated claims of 'high voter turnout' need to be approached with caution – this applies to the other countries where extra-territorial voting is possible as well. Of those Bolivians who did vote in Chile, 67 per cent were in favour of the MAS, which was lower than the 92 per cent in Argentina or 87 per cent in Brazil who supported them, but higher than for most other Latin American countries and the United States and Spain (Órgano Electoral Plurinacional, 2014). These electoral results may therefore corroborate findings in my research – ambivalence towards formal politics indicated by many not registering to vote, but overall, if slightly reluctant, support for Morales. A possible reason for the difference in results compared with Argentina and Brazil is that Chile is a more recent destination for large flows of Bolivian migrants. One could hypothesise that, having directly experienced the somewhat slower pace of change under Morales than initially anticipated by many, these more recent migrants may be less enamoured of the MAS and party politics in



general. Nonetheless, this is only speculation and greater investigation into the phenomenon needs to be carried out.

With regards to formal politics in Chile, as might be expected given the correlation between political participation in sending and receiving countries (Bermúdez, 2010; Portes, Escobar and Arana, 2008), participants demonstrated a similarly ambivalent attitude towards the power of politicians and party politics to bring about change. The participants who expressed any interest in Chilean politics broadly favoured the left-wing Nueva Mayoría [New Majority]<sup>45</sup> led by Michelle Bachelet. They cited similar reasons to their rationale for supporting Morales – Bachelet was seen as an advocate for the poor, and as more likely to be supportive of migrants than other candidates. Luz María drew a comparison with the cash benefits available for poor families and pregnant women under Morales and the Chile Crece Contigo (Chile Grows with You; see Chapter 7) programme started under Bachelet. Martina, 54, from Cochabamba said that, ‘Before, as a foreigner under Pinochet, you couldn’t have anything ... nor with the democratic governments after him. But now it seems that the vision has changed, I think with Bachelet.’

With respect to actually exercising the right to vote, migrants are able to vote in Chile after holding Permanent Residency for five years. All those participants in this position in addition to those who had naturalised in Chile – nine participants in total – had previously voted. Voting is not, however, necessarily indicative of a particular desire to participate in formal politics as voting in Chile if registered was compulsory until 2012. Nevertheless, it is interesting that those participants able to vote had registered to do so. In general, there are many migrants in Chile who have held Permanent Residency for five years or more but are unaware of their right to vote, or not interested in registering. This was made clear to me through participation in the ‘Voto Migrante’ campaign run by MigraRed Santiago. It had come to MigraRed’s attention that there were many migrants eligible to vote, the majority thought to be Peruvian and in the *comunas* of Recoleta and Independencia, who were not informed of this. Ahead of the presidential and local elections in November 2013, MigraRed aimed to encourage migrants to register to vote, and to explain the Chilean electoral system to them, without expressing any political bias.

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<sup>45</sup> Formerly the Concertación de Partidos por la Democracia [Coalition of Parties for Democracy], known as the ‘Concertación’.

A team of six volunteers – all Chilean except for myself – was formed and we engaged in a range of activities over a two-month period throughout September and October 2013. We got in touch with the approximately 70 candidates for Congress and the Senate in areas with a high concentration of migrants in Santiago, Arica, and Antofagasta to make them aware of certain migrants' eligibility to vote, and present them with a document highlighting key issues for migrants and policy recommendations. We also contacted all grassroots migrant organisations known to MigraRed in Santiago to give them campaign materials, such as flyers (see Figure 8.1), that we prepared. Finally, in an endeavour to engage in direct contact with migrants, we handed out flyers in the Plaza de Armas where many migrants congregate at the weekend, ran three workshops for migrants in the comunas of Recoleta and Independencia, and held a stall at the Recoleta Fería de Ciudadanía Migrante [Migrant Citizenship Fair] on 5 October 2013.

*Figure 8.1 Flyer from MigraRed 'Voto Migrante' campaign*



Source: MigraRed, 2013

Few of the eligible migrants we spoke to, however, showed great interest in registering to vote, or indeed, in the formal political process in Chile. Our experience at the Recoleta Feria de Ciudadanía Migrante was illustrative. The Feria was held on a Saturday at one of the schools known in the *comuna* to accept high numbers of migrant children (see Chapter 7). There were around eight groups present at the Feria, including representatives of the Recoleta Municipal Council, Asistencia al Migrante, and a group of doctors offering free appointments to migrants regardless of their legal status. In my fieldnotes I recorded that:

In general, the organisations there were offering services to migrants to help them with visas, situations of irregularity, healthcare, and other legal and social work services. We were the only stand doing something slightly different.

We did manage to distribute some information, but the majority of migrants attending were not very interested. They had come to sort out legal and other problems that they were facing. In fact, quite a few came to us for this sort of advice, and so our role mainly ended up being handing out information about the free services offered by MigraRed (Fieldnotes, 5 October 2013).

It appeared that many migrants with whom we came into contact during the ‘Voto Migrante’ campaign – none of whom were Bolivian<sup>46</sup> – were experiencing multiple exclusions from spaces of citizenship that had a more immediate impact on their daily lives than (not) exercising the right to vote. Returning to the experiences of interviewees, those who were eligible and had registered to vote were all well-established in Chile, with a Chilean partner or spouse in most cases. Whilst they did not all have high levels of education and were not all in professional employment, neither were the majority experiencing significant exclusions from other spaces of citizenship. This finding relates to the adaptation of Doyal and Gough’s (1991) theorisation of intermediate need (see Chapter 7). Where migrants’ social rights, such as access to shelter, were not being met so as to enable health and autonomy, their ability to participate as political citizens via formal political channels appeared to be severely curtailed. This was also true, although to a lesser extent, with respect to informal practices of political citizenship, as will be discussed in the following sections.

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<sup>46</sup> I would suggest that this is indicative of the difficulty of accessing the Bolivian migrant population, and potentially of their vulnerability and isolation, given that we spoke with migrants of various other nationalities, including people from much smaller migrant groups such as Ecuadorians and Dominicans.

## INFORMAL POLITICAL PRACTICES: MOBILISATIONS AND COMMUNITY ORGANISATIONS

Much of the literature on migrants' informal political participation has focused on involvement in political mobilisations, trade unions, engagement in new social movements, and the formation of hometown associations (e.g. Itzigsohn, 2000; Guarnizo, Portes and Haller, 2003; Caglar, 2006; Mercer, Page and Evans, 2008; Bermúdez, 2010; Però and Solomos, 2010; Chimienti, 2011; Però, 2014). The focus has been on South-North migration, with interest in the topic beginning in the United States, and gradually moving towards Europe (Bermúdez, 2010). Però and Solomos (2010) provide a brief historical overview of migrants' political mobilisation in Western Europe. They trace the move away in the 1980s from mobilisation focused on 'redistributive justice' to a more de-politicized involvement in NGOs focused on ethnic recognition in a multicultural framework. This shift was driven by the roll back of the state and consequent contracting out of previously state-run services to NGOs and other civil society organisations.

Summarising the impact of this change on migrants' political involvement, Però and Solomos (2010, p.5) state that 'during this period, migrants and minorities were encouraged to organize around ethnicity, forming associations and NGOs in exchange for resources and recognition from the state (national and local) that saw them as governmental tools for social cohesion and status quo maintenance'. Nevertheless, in recent years as migrants' access to social rights and legal status has become ever more restricted, xenophobia towards and criminalisation of migrants has become increasingly commonplace in public discourse, and frequent abuses of their labour rights has gradually come to light, the focus of political engagement has changed. Slowly 'openly political and democratically "conflictive" mobilisations and protests for basic rights and/or for dignified working and living conditions' have emerged (Però and Solomos, 2010, p.6), and arguably look set to continue.

The context in Chile is clearly different from that of Western Europe, however I would suggest that there are some similarities, as well as various fundamental differences. First, it is important to acknowledge the crucial importance of transnational political engagement by Chilean exiles during the dictatorship period. Throughout the 1970s and 80s, the hundreds of thousands of people exiled from Chile were extremely politically engaged in transnational politics and in the politics of their receiving countries, which numbered over 40 (del Pozo, 2006; Wright and Oñate, 1998; Kay, 1987). Following the return to democracy, Chile experienced several decades of limited political

mobilisation, and a progressive ‘NGO-isation’ characteristic of neoliberalism (Schild, 2002; Foweraker, 2001), as was the case during the same period in Western Europe. During this time, some returned exiles – with their memories and experiences of intense political participation – became involved in NGOs established to promote migrants’ rights in Chile, as well as in a plethora of other civil society organisations and left-wing political parties that were now within the mainstream political arena. In spite of the socialist beliefs of many founders and members of these organisations and parties, most seemed reluctant to rock the boat – so to speak – with regards to making politicised claims for re-distributive justice (Foweraker, 2001; see also Larrain, 2006).

However, 2011 saw a dramatic change in political practices in Chile, and perhaps something of a return to past activism. For a host of reasons, this year saw massive student mobilisations, widely supported by much of society. MigraRed Santiago and some other migrant organisations participated in the demonstrations. I was volunteering with MigraRed at the time, and went on several protest marches with MigraRed staff and volunteers between July and September 2011. Those who led us in joining the demonstrations had either been in exile or were veterans of the left who had remained in Chile during the dictatorship – they were completely unfazed by tear-gas, water cannons, and burning tyres. We marched under banners promoting diversity, respect for indigenous cultures, and support for the student cause rather than any issue related explicitly to migrant rights. This was partly due to the focus of the demonstrations on injustices in the education system, although a multitude of issues other than rights to education were represented in the largest demonstration, which was on the day of a general strike. Additionally, however, the conspicuous absence of migrant participation in the demonstrations meant that they did not seem the right forum for addressing issues specific to migrants.

During my fieldwork period from 2013 – 2014, there was likewise little evidence of migrant participation in the various political mobilisations occurring at the time. This even included the march for indigenous rights on 12 October 2013, which is a public holiday to celebrate/commemorate (depending on your perspective) the arrival of Europeans in the Americas.<sup>47</sup> On this day, as illustrated in Figure 8.2, people marched under the Mapuche and Rapa Nui flags, as well as the *wiphala* [flag representing

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<sup>47</sup> Columbus Day in the United States and English-speaking world, it is officially known now in Chile as ‘El Día del Encuentro de Dos Mundos’ [Day of the Meeting of Two Worlds], however it is generally still referred to as ‘El Día de la Raza’ [literally, Race Day], its title throughout the Spanish-speaking world since 1914.

indigenous peoples of the Andes, and Bolivia's co-official flag], however there was little evidence of any migrant presence. I had thought that some Bolivian migrants may become involved with such demonstrations, given the power of social movements and political mobilisations around such topics in Bolivia over the decades (Gotkowitz, 2007), but this certainly did not seem to be the case.

Indeed, interviews revealed that no participants had been involved in mobilisations in Bolivia, in spite of the fact that several came from El Alto and had been living there during the protests of the early 2000s. Amanda described what she witnessed during the demonstrations of 2003 that resulted in the overthrow of President Gonzalo Sánchez de Lozada:

I didn't participate. But I saw it, I saw it. In my *zona* they went out to set fire to things, it was terrible. I thought that at any moment we were going to end up in a war. Because it was like that, with people dead, I don't know, it was awful. That was the time when they were fighting to get rid of Goni [the President]. We didn't have, there was no food, everything was so expensive. My mum always stored *chuño* [freeze-dried potato] so at least there was that, but there were people with more children whose parents couldn't work. How was it for them?

The fear Amanda had felt during the mobilisations was palpable and, whilst she conceded that the overthrow of Sánchez de Lozada had been positive, the whole experience seemed to have contributed strongly to her political ambivalence. Other interviewees similarly mentioned past and present violence by police and demonstrators in Bolivia and Chile as factors that would prevent them from participating (riot police in Chile are certainly intimidating; for a mild example see Figure 8.4). There was also a sense of weariness with regards to political protests, and sometimes people questioned whether it was an appropriate form of action. For Jonathan, 21, from Sucre, it seemed that 'every day people are going out there to march, there are *bloqueos* of the highways with trucks', and he wondered how effective this was. Indeed, as Dunkerley (2007b, p.137) reminds us, in Bolivia 'from 2000 onwards it is the *bloque* ... that is the principal mechanism of "disorder". Notwithstanding the massacre of October 2003, it is the masses, not the armed forces, who are the principal authors.'

In sum, in addition to the specific Bolivian context that appears to have made participants wary of political mobilisation, considering both structural and cultural approaches to social movement theory (cf. Lucero, 2008; Tuğal, 2009), I would suggest that the lack of migrant social movements in Chile more broadly can be put down to a number of factors. First, migration on a grander scale is still a recent phenomenon in

*Figure 8.2 Indigenous flags at demonstration, 12 October 2013*



Source: Author



*Figure 8.3 Flyposting during demonstration for indigenous rights, 12 October 2013*



Source: Author

*Figure 8.4 Riot police move in on demonstration for indigenous rights, 12 October 2013*



Source: Author



Chile. Consequently, grassroots migrant organisations with significant migrant participation are largely still in a fledgling state (see Chapter 3) – it is from these organisations rather than larger NGOs such as MigraRed with their focus on legal advice, social work, and other forms of advocacy that a social movement would need to spring. The lack of such organisations means that there is arguably not yet a coherent enough collective identity to form what Tilly and Tarrow (2006) deem a ‘social movement base’ to mobilise around issues of migrants’ rights (on the importance of collective identity for social movement formation see Melucci, 1992; Polletta and Jasper, 2001). This lack of grassroots networks also impedes the mobilisation of resources, another crucial factor in forming a successful social movement (Yashar, 2007). Finally, the political opportunity that might give rise to a migrant social movement does not yet seem to have occurred – perhaps if exploitation of migrant workers becomes more openly discussed as in Western Europe, or the proposed new immigration bill reaches the Senate, we may see the occurrence of a social movement focused on these topics.

Thus with regards to this particular kind of informal political citizenship practice, there was little involvement by participants or migrants more generally. With respect to the other kinds of informal political engagement mentioned in the South-North migration literature, there was similarly little participation. Although there is some evidence of an increasing proliferation of hometown associations in Bolivia (Yarnall and Price, 2010), according to a survey (Orozco, 2005, p.324) of 2,800 Latin American migrants from twelve countries living in the United States, Bolivians had the lowest participation of all migrant groups in hometown associations. Only 1.6 per cent belonged to this kind of organisation, compared with a mean of 5.5 percent. Of my participants, none were involved in what could properly be deemed a hometown association, or in community activism.

However, one participant, Sonia, who was over 65, and originally from an upper-middle class background in La Paz, participated in the Club Social de Bolivia and had done so since she was in her 30s. The Club Social was indeed chiefly a social club that organised occasional events and sent money on an irregular basis to charities in Bolivia. It had its roots in an earlier, small-scale Bolivian migration of intellectuals and professionals during the 1940s and appeared to have modelled itself on the European social clubs that were once common throughout Latin America. These days, membership is small – there are around 180 people in its Facebook group – and its ability to bring large groups together is limited. Sonia implied that this was because of the changing nature of Bolivian migration to Chile. As she put it:

Before it was professionals who came here, more than anything. Lots of professionals, many doctors, many people who ... with a different type of education. Now that's not the case. People come in search of opportunities.

Consequently, she thought that a new type of organising was required and so was also engaged in a number of other groups. Above all, she was particularly concerned for the most marginalised migrants, and led a group, which I accompanied on one occasion, that visits migrants in Santiago Men's Prison 1. This was not, however, a group specifically for or organised by Bolivians, although there were Bolivian men in the prison who participated in the group, which was mainly a forum for discussion.

The only other activity of which I was aware was the infrequent organisation – every eight weeks or so – of Sunday lunches at the Bolivian Consulate. A group of women who worked as *nanas puertas adentro* during the week cooked and sold traditional Bolivian dishes from the premises of the Consulate,<sup>48</sup> with the profit divided amongst them or given to a family in particular need. The organisation of these events was rather haphazard and on two occasions during my fieldwork the lunches were cancelled at the last minute. No notice was given through the mailing list or the Facebook page, resulting in various people (myself included!) turning up at the Consulate only to find the gates firmly closed. Nevertheless, the occasion on which I was able to attend was fairly popular, with around 30 attendees. Likewise in Arica the Vecinos Bolivianos organisation held similar, infrequent events, although they were more involved in addressing poverty in the region. One of their most popular events was a Christmas gift giving for migrant children – mainly children of agricultural workers from *parcelas* in the Valle de Azapa. Kevin, 45, from La Paz, who was heavily involved in the association said of this event:

It's wonderful to see the kids' smiles ... it's lovely because, for example, here in Arica the neighbourhood associations worry about the children in *poblaciones*, street children, but who remembers about the migrant children? In the Valle de Azapa ... the reality is that there are children without shoes, there's no drinking water, no sewerage system.

Nevertheless, in spite of the preoccupation of a few small groups and individuals such as Sonia and Kevin, there was overall little evidence of informal political participation as it is understood in the literature on South-North migration. This was partly, perhaps, as Sonia's comment implied, because the new flow of Bolivian migrants have other priorities and may be significantly marginalised economically, socially, and in terms of legal status. As with lack of participation in the space of political citizenship

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<sup>48</sup> They declined to be interviewed.

through formal practices, it is probable that such exclusion from other spaces of citizenship contributed to their lack of engagement with informal politics. However, as indicated above, it is also because of how ‘political practices’ are defined within the migration literature, which is predominantly produced in the global North.

## INFORMAL POLITICAL PRACTICES: CLAIMING CITIZENSHIP THROUGH DANCE

Dunkerley (2007b) discusses differences in political and economic outlook between Bolivia and countries of the global North, illustrating that lack of recognition of such differences may impede accurate analysis of Bolivia’s politico-economic reality. In an analysis of the political and social upheaval of the 2000s in Bolivia, he suggests that comprehension of the situation may be aided by understanding ‘the MAS and its supporters’ as ‘essentially plebeian<sup>49</sup> in both condition and ideological disposition’ (2007b, p.133). He references René Zavaleta’s concept of Bolivia as a *formación abigarrada* [‘multicoloured formation’<sup>50</sup>], and descriptions of its political economy as *ch’enko* [‘entangled/thicket-like/messy’<sup>51</sup>], in order to convey the way in which a system that is almost feudal coexists alongside and overlaps with a very modern form of capitalism in today’s Bolivia. This mixed-up economy, contains, therefore, elements of an era long since expired in Europe. It is not only in the economic, however, but also in the cultural sphere that this ‘mix-up’ occurs. As in feudal Europe, Dunkerley (2007b, pp.163–164) argues that in present-day Bolivia there continues to be a ‘plebeian culture’ perhaps most apparent in the ‘prominence of public festivities, dance and the carnival’ that can be a means to escape daily hardship and poverty.

Additionally, such displays can be a means of garnering positive attention on the international stage, which, Dunkerley suggests, is perhaps one of the other reasons that they continue to be so important. Indeed, national governments, not to mention Bolivian big businesses, have consistently realised the value – economic and symbolic – that particular interpretations of such pageantry can have. As Lazar (2008, p.118) puts it:

Contemporary Bolivian media tends to present the famous Entradas as tourist attractions, something exotic and colourful – folkloric remnants of an indigenous past. The Bolivian government encourages such an

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<sup>49</sup> He uses ‘plebeian’ in the classical sense of ‘vernacular’ or ‘popular’.

<sup>50</sup> Dunkerley’s translation, 2007, p.160

<sup>51</sup> Ibid, p.146.

interpretation, for example in its campaign to get the Oruro Carnival declared a “Masterpiece of the Oral and Intangible Heritage of Humanity” by UNESCO.

Nonetheless, this vision of ‘carnival-for-export’<sup>52</sup> should not detract from the fact that for many such celebrations are ‘much more than an exhibition of dance and costume; [they are] a central part of the annual cycle of modern Bolivian communities’ (ibid.). I was fortunate enough to attend the 2014 Oruro Carnival with Xavier Albó, SJ – whose knowledge and understanding of Bolivia’s indigenous languages and cultures is extraordinary – and his commentary on interactions with participants in the *Anata Andino* [pilgrimage/dance procession of indigenous rural communities from the *departamento* of Oruro] on the Friday and then the *Entrada* [pilgrimage/dance procession of groups from throughout Bolivia] on the Saturday<sup>53</sup> made clear that, whilst carnival has different meanings for different people (cf. Albó, 1992), it is always far more than simply an occasion to dress up and eat and drink. It is a moment to demonstrate both pluri/national identity – indigenous, *mestizo*, rural, urban, regional, national – and religious devotion in the ultimate expression of the Catholic-indigenous syncretism unique to Bolivia (Lazar, 2008; Grimson, 1999; Abercrombie, 1997).

This type of pageantry, then, forms a vital part of what Bolivia is and what ‘Bolivian-ness’ means. As Dunkerley (2007b) suggests, however, it is one of a number of ‘plebeian’ characteristics whose importance is under-acknowledged in analyses of the country, particularly by those from the ‘North’. Following Lazar, I understand dancing in carnival and other similar festivities in Bolivia as an enactment of citizenship and suggest that not only is this important within Bolivia, it is also a citizenship practice that migrates with its nationals, and one that should be seriously considered within scholarship that examines migrants’ political engagement. Around one third of participants had danced in Bolivia. Seven continued to dance in Chile – five in Corazón de Tinkus and two in

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<sup>52</sup> Latin Americans of my acquaintance refer disparagingly to the exhibition of Latin American dances for consumption by foreigners in this way. Thus ‘salsa-for-export’ is that danced at a beach resort, whilst the ‘authentic’ salsa is danced in a *salsa-teca* on a night out; in Buenos Aires ‘tango-for-export’ is performed in the touristy streets around La Boca, whilst the real deal is to be glimpsed at a Friday night *milonga* in one of the dance halls in San Nicolas or Palermo.

<sup>53</sup> Although now in his 80s, Padre Albó accompanied the dancers and musicians on their pilgrimage to the Virgen del Socavón, asking them questions in Quechua and Spanish about what they were doing and later conveying this information to me, as well as guiding me on a very informative tour of the Church of the Virgen del Socavón and pointing out other landmarks of Oruro. A young novice at the Jesuit house in Oruro, who had participated in carnival before joining the Order, was also an incredibly helpful informant, explaining to me the meanings of many dances and the beliefs surrounding carnival.

*Figure 8.5 Anata Andina, Oruro Carnival 2014*



Source: Author

*Figure 8.6 Diablada in the main Entrada, Oruro Carnival 2014*



Source: Author

different fraternities in Arica – and many more returned to Bolivia for carnival in February, even if not to dance.

To return to Martiniello and Lafleur (2008, pp.1192–1193):

The fact is that many political scientists – and to a lesser extent sociologists – have often forgotten that popular culture and arts can often be a form of political expression. The few political scientists who have studied the question tend to focus on music as a tool (that supports or opposes a political regime, an electoral campaign ...), while failing to acknowledge the fact that producing, listening and dancing to music may in itself be a form of political action.

When carried out away from the national territory, dance and music can acquire an additional set of shifting political meanings, and are used to express ever-more complex multiple identities. The following two sections bear this out empirically through examination of the origins, foundation and structure of the largest Bolivian dance fraternity in Chile, and the claims to belonging and citizenship being made through their use of the political practice of dance.

### Corazón de Tinkus: origins, foundation, and structure

*Tinku* means ‘encounter’ in Quechua and in its original sense refers to a type of ritual fighting once widespread throughout the Andes, but in the present day largely limited to Northern Potosí (Stobart, 2006). The *tinku* is a battle between equals – in age, sex, weight, and height – from different *ayllus* in which, according to Harris (2000, p.147), ‘Blood must flow on both sides as a sacrifice to the earth in order to produce a bountiful harvest’. She describes the encounter thus:

The men wear bull-hide helmets modelled on those of the conquistadores, known as *muntira*, and also use wide woven belts, and often there is a stone, or lump of lead, in the palm of their hand to give extra force to their blows.

...

Men are drunk when they fight, and they stamp their feet on the ground bellowing *soy toro carajo* (I am a bull carajo...). They wait for an opponent to step forward swinging his arms and also bellowing like a bull (Harris, 2000, p.147).

Although now officially outlawed, stone-throwing, whips, and slingshots used to also sometimes be used in the conflict. Young single women may also fight, although they do not aim to draw blood but rather pull each other’s hair and clothing (Harris, 2000; Stobart, 2006).

Over time, and due to repeated intervention by local authorities, *tinku* fighting in Northern Potosí has become less dangerous, and in other parts of the Andes has been

'transformed into a dance' (Stobart, 2006, p.134). As a dance performed at carnivals and other open-air processions and celebrations, *tinkus* retains certain elements of its origins in the ritual battle. My impressions after my first rehearsal with Corazón de Tinkus were the following:

Its roots in the *tinku* combat are apparent in the movements of the dance. Men and women both dance very energetically and forcefully. The steps are done flat-footed, always leading with the right foot, and follow the repetitive beating of a drum which pervades all of the music. There are arm movements, but the focus is largely on the footwork. The arms are always moved with strength, often in a swinging motion, and with closed fists in a punching gesture. Dancers move their heads to follow the movements of their arms. For much of the dance, they remain bent at the waist, straightening only to jump and turn ... All of the dancers have an *honda* [slingshot] which they tie around their waists. Movements with the *honda* form part of the dance sometimes. The dancers also sometimes shout all together in time with the music (Fieldnotes, 27 September 2013).

The dance of *tinkus* has become a standard feature of carnival processions and other festivities in Bolivia. It is probably the most popular of the *danzas autóctonas* [indigenous dances], which also include the *llamerada*, *kullawada*, and *tobas*, amongst many others, and contrast with the *danzas estilizadas* [stylised dances] such as the *caporal*, *diablada*, and *morenada*. Grimson (1999, p.61 my translation) provides an explanation of the distinction between these categories:

This classification covers at least three elements: type of dance, clothing, and musical instruments. The indigenous dances are those that, although highly modified, refer to pre-Conquest rituals. The dancers wear outfits of many different textiles whose colours come from herbs and plants. The band that accompanies them plays indigenous instruments. By contrast, the stylised dances ... use shiny costumes, that employ cardboard and plastic, and their bands have Western instruments like the saxophone, trumpet, trombone, cymbals, side drum, and kettle drum.

Nevertheless, as Grimson indicates with reference to Bolivian dance fraternities in Buenos Aires, there is significant overlap between these two groupings. Many *tinkus* dance fraternities use synthetic fabrics and bright colours in their costumes, and their bands tend to incorporate western instruments in addition to the indigenous ones.

This was the case for Corazón de Tinkus, founded in 2010 by Antony, 28, from Bolivia, and Marcia, 22, from Chile – a couple who live in Santiago with a young daughter. Antony had previously been involved in dancing *tinkus* in Bolivia, and Marcia was also interested in dance. The group initially was formed of Antony, Marcia, and a few cousins of Marcia's. They performed a range of Bolivian dances, not just *tinkus*, at small-scale cultural events around Santiago. Gradually, however, the group grew in popularity



amongst both Bolivian migrants and Chileans and split into the core group referred to as the *elenco* and a larger group known as the *bloque*. The *elenco*, with around 10 members, has continued to practise many different types of Bolivian dance, even being invited to perform at the prestigious Chilean Viña del Mar International Song Festival in 2013 – the biggest music festival and competition in Latin America.

The *bloque*, of which all members of the *elenco* are also a part, only dances *tinkus*. When I danced with them, there were approximately 30 members aged between 16 and 30 with slightly more women than men. Just over half the members were Chilean, and the rest were Bolivian and Peruvian. There is a strict hierarchy within the *bloque* based on length of membership but also skill. Each member is assigned a position within the four lines that form the *bloque* according to how long they have been in the group and how well they know the *pasos* [dance sequences]. As in all carnival dance troupes, each line has a *guía* [guide]. The *guías* coordinate with one another to decide which steps will be done at which moment and raise their right hand in a series of signals to indicate this to their line.

There are also certain special roles within the *bloque*: that of *Machu Tinku*, *Mamala* and *Misk'i*. There are two male *Machu Tinkus*, two female *Mamalas* and three female *Misk'is*. The *Machu Tinkus* [literally 'Old Men Tinkus' in Quechua] and *Mamalas* [a word of disputed origin used to mean mother in Bolivia] dance at the front of the *bloque* and also dance a special sequence imitating a *tinku* fight. The *Misk'is* are a group of three young women who also dance a special sequence as an 'opening act' for the *Machu Tinkus* and *Mamalas*. *Misk'i* means 'sweet' in Quechua, and seems to refer in this context to an idealised vision of sweet and beautiful young women. There is a stringent audition process for all of these roles in Corazón de Tinkus, and they are highly sought-after.

In addition, the role of *Ñusta* is extremely important. *Ñusta* is a Quechua word referring originally to an Inca princess, but in the context of modern-day Andean carnival finds its translation as something paralleling a May or Homecoming Queen. This title is awarded both as an internal prize within dance troupes, and as a 'Queen of the Carnival' prize ahead of different carnivals following competition between all the various dance fraternities' *ñustas*. The elections for *Ñusta* in Corazón de Tinkus are taken very seriously (cf. Canessa, 2008 on the importance of beauty pageants in Bolivia and the type of 'beauty' that is prized). Each candidate prepares a portfolio of photos and a personal statement, which is available through the group's Facebook page, and then presents two dances and appears in evening wear during an event open to the public, after which there



are elections. The *ñusta* is chosen not only for her dancing, but also for her personal characteristics and – above all – appearance. During my time with Corazón de Tinkus, the roles of *guía*, *Machu Tinku*, *Mamala*, *Misk'i* and *Ñusta* were held by a mixture of Bolivians, Chileans, and Peruvians.

In terms of the dance itself, it consists of *avances* and *pasos*. *Avances* are the basic steps that the *bloque* uses to move forwards in procession. The *pasos* are the more complex dance sequences where the *bloque* remains more or less in one place, and each lasts for around two minutes. Corazón de Tinkus had five *pasos* and several different types of step that could be used as *avances*. These were learned through intensive rehearsals twice a week, in addition to frequent weekend performances. At rehearsals, we would dance for two hours with a water break in the middle, and then have *once* [supper/afternoon tea] and a meeting. Rehearsals took place in a church hall or in public plazas in downtown Santiago (see Figure 8.7) and were well-attended and punctual; there was a fine for late or non-attendance without prior agreement.

As Lazar (2008) has commented in the Bolivian context, belonging to a *bloque* is an expensive exercise, and this is no less true in Santiago than in El Alto. Corazón de Tinkus charges a joining fee of US\$11, which includes a teaching DVD of the *pasos*, and a monthly subscription fee of US\$3. Additionally, each member must pay to rent their dance costume for the year, which costs over US\$60,<sup>54</sup> and buy their own rehearsal uniform for around US\$15. Women need to purchase hair extensions, false eyelashes, and specific make-up for a cost of approximately US\$15 (see Figure 8.8). There are also fundraising and social events that members are expected to contribute towards. For example, there is a roster for the provision of cake and fizzy drink for *once* at each rehearsal – this is funded by two members at each rehearsal, who sell slices of the cake and cups of drink to members (for US\$2) and pass all the money to the group. Finally, the band and photographer for each event must be paid, and the average cost per member for this is US\$20.

The astonishing thing about Corazón de Tinkus was that, in spite of the high cost of membership and the significant time commitment that it entailed, membership truly cut across socio-economic background, age, gender, and nationality. This reflects the accuracy of Lazar's (2008, p.145) comment that, 'Dance is central to Bolivianness for Bolivians of all social classes', and indicates that this continues to be true when they leave

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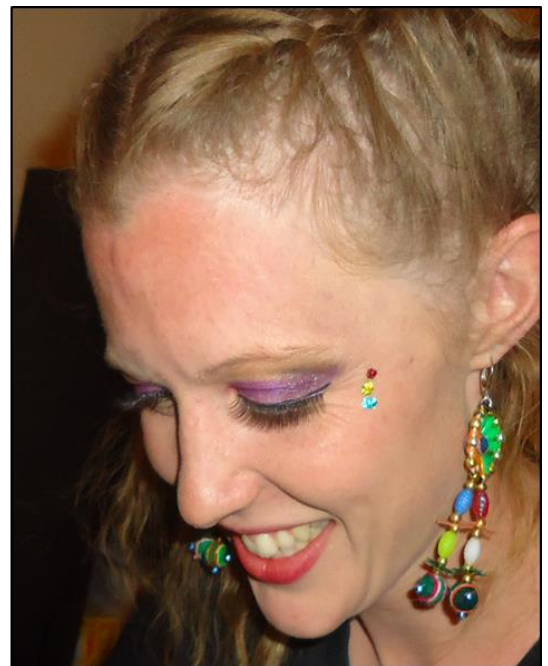
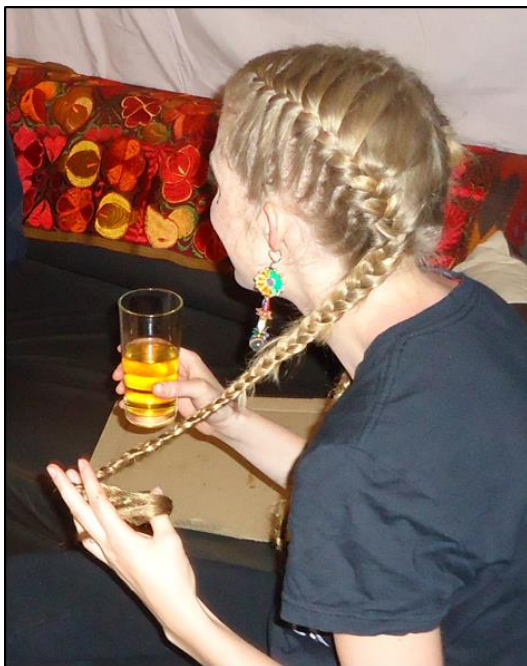
<sup>54</sup> Costumes change on a yearly basis and are imported from Bolivia.

*Figure 8.7 Rehearsal in uniform, Barrio Bellavista, October 2013*



Source: Pablo Torres, 2013

*Figure 8.8 Author's hair and make-up for tinkus performance*



Source: Pablo Torres, 2013

the national territory. Amongst the Bolivian members of Corazón de Tinkus, there were young professionals, university and secondary school students, a professional football player, technicians, manual labourers, and cleaners. They were from the *departamentos* of La Paz, Cochabamba, Oruro, and Santa Cruz. Likewise the members from Chile were from diverse backgrounds and came originally not only from Santiago but also from regions in the north of the country. Although, as discussed above, the ways in which people experience dance and festivals are polysemous (Grimson, 1999, p.63), there was also a collective understanding in Corazón de Tinkus of what dancing meant in terms of belonging and citizenship.

### Belonging, citizenship, and place-claiming through the practice of dance

Here I attempt in three parts to unravel the tangle of meanings that dance held as a political practice for members of Corazón de Tinkus, focusing on the experiences of Bolivian participants. First of all, being part of Corazón de Tinkus enabled them to feel that they belonged to a community. Second, this community had an explicitly stated purpose, with which members were strongly in agreement: to 're-claim' the dance of *tinkus* and present a positive image of Bolivian identity in Chile. How was this Bolivian identity defined and constituted, however? I address this final, fundamental question in the third part of the section.

#### *'You could call it a kind of therapy': Providing a sense of belonging*

Through participating in dance, Cowan (1990, p.132; see also Lazar, 2008) argues that one can feel 'morally part of, just as one is now corporeally merged with, a larger collectivity, a recognition that, as a profoundly visceral knowledge, carries the force of absolute conviction'. Loneliness and solitude often characterise the migrant experience, and, as detailed in Chapter 7, were feelings frequently expressed by participants. Thus the sense of being part of a collectivity that dancing can produce was of tantamount importance to migrant members of Corazón de Tinkus.

The fraternity was certainly not without conflict, and there would often be arguments in the meetings after rehearsals. The standards expected were high, and there was little sympathy for other demands on members' time such as work and studies. Nevertheless, when the music was playing and all else that could be heard was the rhythmic stamping of the *avances* and *pasos*, there was an overwhelming feeling of cohesion, and often exhilaration. We would grin at each other as we neared the end of a *paso* which had been near-perfectly executed, *hondas* twirling satisfyingly in time as we flicked them out and caught them again. The fraternity offered sanctuary and a place of

belonging, where legal status, employment conditions, and social insecurity could be forgotten.

Paloma, 29, from Cochabamba, for example, had been desperately lonely during her first months in Chile, trying to negotiate the visa application process, struggling to find work, and, as she put it, 'shut away' in her room with limited possibilities for going out and meeting people given her lack of financial resources. She was a naturally sociable person, an accomplished dancer, and had been *ñusta* of a fraternity dancing *caporales* in Bolivia – the alteration of her daily life that moving to Chile entailed was significant. Thus when she eventually discovered and joined Corazón de Tinkus it really did transform her life in Chile, and being elected as *ñusta* in her first year as a member meant a great deal to her.

The same degree of transformation was true for Diana, 28, from Santa Cruz, to whom we were introduced in Chapter 4, and whose story has been mentioned throughout this thesis. To recapitulate, Diana came from a poor background in Santa Cruz and had had a difficult childhood and adolescence. At the age of 20, she moved to Buenos Aires where she lived in overcrowded and dangerous conditions in the *villas miserias* and worked in a sweatshop. After living there for almost ten years, she moved to Santiago. She lived in a room in a *migrant cité*, at one point sharing with seven other people. She worked for the minimum wage in a café, but, following her experiences in Argentina, had the confidence and knowledge to assert her right to a contract, pension and health contributions, and obtain an MTRV. Nevertheless, she was very unhappy; traumatised by her experiences in Argentina and upset by her continued poor standard of living in Chile. At various times she had had problems with alcohol, which, in her words, she used as a means to forget.

After being in Chile for nearly a year, she saw Corazón de Tinkus dance in the annual carnival for Bolivian Independence Day that takes place in the Plaza de Armas in Santiago. She had danced *tinkus* as a child, and was completely taken in by the display of something that to her was so representative of Bolivia occurring in the heart of Santiago. She got in touch with Antony following the event, and we began rehearsing on the same day and danced next to each other in the *bloque*. Diana told me in interview what her involvement in *tinkus* meant to her:

I love it. I love it because, with all that I carry with me from Argentina – I don't forget the things that happened there – I would come home from work, shut myself in my room, and every day my husband would find me crying, I mean every day. ... But [*tinkus*] fortunately, you could call it a kind of therapy.

I don't remember anything, I forget, and I concentrate. You see how I concentrate when I dance, I don't know, I *want* to dance, I want to do this, and I forget completely.

Diana felt as though she was a part of something that mattered, and she eagerly anticipated our rehearsals. She expressed how beautiful she thought the dance was and how proud it made her of her country. She said that she had not valued it when she lived there, but now wanted to learn about Bolivia's dances and show them to others, something also stated by other participants whom I interviewed, such as Mónica, 31, and Cristóbal, 27, both from La Paz. (cf. Grimson, 1999). For Diana, then, dancing *tinkus* had helped to begin to heal some of the damage done by her experiences of marginalisation and uncertainty. It was a form of rapprochement with Bolivia. She could begin to rescue the positive, the beautiful from a country that she felt had largely let her down and forced her to leave. And she could also use it as a means to demonstrate an aspect of Bolivia that is internationally praised, and thus combat some of the discrimination that she faced as a migrant and a Bolivian.

### *Re-claiming tinkus and Bolivian identity*

Indeed, for the Bolivian participants in the group, presenting a positive image of Bolivia was certainly one of the key motives for participation. Frequently discriminated against in their daily lives, often excluded from other spaces of citizenship, here was a change to challenge the negative image of Bolivians, and migrants, in Chilean media and public discourse (cf. Nájera Ramírez, 1989 on the motives behind use of traditional Mexican dance by Chicano communities in Los Angeles, US). In fact, the *raison d'être* for the founding of the fraternity was precisely to present what was viewed by Antony as an accurate image of Bolivian culture in the face of its perceived co-optation by Chileans.

As explained by Fernández Droguett and Fernández Droguett (2015), in Santiago *tinkus* has been adopted by Chilean young people, predominantly university students, and incorporated into protest marches on a range of issues, but particularly relating to support for the rights of Chile's indigenous peoples. The process began in the late 1990s, when *tinkus* began to be performed in the carnivals of the North of Chile, such as la Virgen de La Tirana. From here, it gradually spread to Santiago and started to be used as a dance of protest intending to represent 'all social struggles against neoliberalism, patriarchy, and colonialism' (Fernández Droguett and Fernández Droguett, 2015, p.64).

Corazón de Tinkus was founded in response to the use of the dance of *tinkus* by political groups in Santiago. Antony claimed that these groups were unaware of the

origins and meaning of *tinkus*, and that many believed it to be, or were trying to pass it off as, a Chilean dance from the north of the country. To do Antony justice it does seem that there is a tendency to refer to *tinkus* as an 'Andean' dance by such groups.<sup>55</sup> Although true strictly speaking, this has the effect of glossing over the fact that it is undoubtedly Bolivian in origin, and suggests a historic connection with Chile that, in the case of this particular dance, does not exist. Indeed, that Chileans are 'stealing' Bolivian culture through these types of acts as they 'do not have a culture of their own' was a common complaint made by participants who were both members and non-members of Corazón de Tinkus. This sense of stealing and injustice was often linked to the sea access dispute, and to the discrimination that participants experienced from Chileans. There seemed to be a conflation of Chileans with colonising powers who would take land and co-opt indigenous practices.

Antony's reaction to what he saw as an appropriation of Bolivian culture was to found a group that represented what was to him authentic *tinkus*. The focus was to be on doing the dance properly (he thought the other groups to be sloppy in their performance) and shouting loud and clear – literally – that it comes from Bolivia. Moreover, group members would have to possess a well-rounded understanding of what it means to dance in carnival in Bolivia, and of the rituals and traditions behind *tinkus* and other dances. Chileans and people of all nationalities would be more than welcome to participate, but it was fundamental that they understood the purpose of the group. To that end, the registration form, which had to be signed and returned to Antony, contained a sentence stating that Corazón de Tinkus is an organisation with no political motive or bias. I suggest, however, that Corazón de Tinkus was in fact extremely political in its objective of re-claiming *tinkus* as Bolivian and making a strong statement about Bolivian identity, and Bolivian migrant identity. Nevertheless, this was also an identity that could be learned and expressed by Chileans, and the Bolivians expressing it also wished to belong to the Chilean demos. Thus this was explicitly not an attempt at developing a differentiated 'cultural citizenship' in the vein of Rosaldo (1994b), but rather an demonstration of transnational belonging, identity, and citizenship. What precisely, however, conformed this identity? How was it expressed and experienced? The final part

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<sup>55</sup> For example, Roberto Fernández Droguett, who has participated in these *tinkus*-protest groups, refers to *tinkus* as an 'Andean dance' in the abstract of his article (Fernández Droguett and Fernández Droguett, 2015), although the authors do explain briefly that the dance has its origins in Bolivia in the body of the article.

examines these questions through the lens of the Fifth Annual Patronato Carnival, with which this chapter began.

## The Fifth Annual Patronato Carnival: Dancing gendered pluri/national/transnational citizenship

The Fifth Annual Patronato Carnival was held in the *barrio* of Patronato in the *comuna* of Recoleta. It is a *barrio* known for its lively, colourful clothes market, full of reproductions of the latest fashion at bargain prices. It is also one of the areas where there are concentrations of migrant populations – chiefly Peruvian, but also of other Latin American nationalities, including Bolivian, as well as Chinese and Palestinian. The carnival is organised by the *junta de vecinos* [neighbourhood association], who invite groups from throughout Santiago representing different cultures to participate – it is billed as a multicultural carnival. In 2013, when I danced, it occurred on a Sunday and involved several hundred people in a procession which snaked through all the main streets of Patronato to the municipal school, which is known as one of the schools that is welcoming of migrants (see Chapter 7).

The elaborate process of getting ready for the carnival illustrated perhaps better than anything else the gender and ethnic identities being performed by Corazón de Tinkus. Four Bolivian women got me ready to dance, exclaiming and laughing at my ignorance of how to make myself up and arrange my hair according to their cultural script. They delighted in my transformation into their vision of Bolivian femininity:

Sitting on the steps of the school where we were to get ready, Lula and Mónica offered to braid my hair for me, which I was all too happy to let them do following my failed attempts. I clearly hadn't been braiding tight enough. Lula and Mónica pulled my hair so hard that I thought they were going to pull it out and my eyes started watering! Their speed and dexterity was amazing; a skill learned from childhood when the standard female hairstyle is two tight, neat braids, and which when worn in adulthood is strongly associated with identifying as indigenous.

Following my hair being sorted out, I had to have my makeup done. This was achieved by four women, and I borrowed products from a variety of people. The purple eyeshadow and the eyeliner I had brought with me were deemed nowhere near bright enough, and I think I was seen as a bit of lost cause as I was entirely clueless about how to put on fake eyelashes. Every time I thought, "Surely, they must have finished with me now" someone would step in and declare that I looked too pale or my eyeshadow didn't look dramatic enough. Eventually I was judged ready. All the women were saying how beautiful I looked with my hair up and all the makeup on, laughing at how they had made me a '*bolivianita*' [little Bolivian/Bolivian señorita].

Follow the hair and makeup ordeal, we went up to the classroom we had been assigned to get changed. I was presented with my costume and I was

amazed by how beautiful and intricately embroidered it was. I had only seen them from a distance before, and had been impressed then, but up close they really are something. I felt quite awed to be allowed to wear one. After a bit of a battle, I managed to get the dress on and tie my *faja* [sash]. It turned out I had put the *faja* on all wrong, though, and Antony had to instruct me on how to tie it properly. Then I had to put my hat on, after it had had the *chapulines* [pom poms on bits of wire] stuck in the brim. It was quite uncomfortable and dug into my forehead, but it did at least feel secure once I'd attached it to my braids with a few large bobby pins.

Finally there were last minute details to be seen to – glitter in the colours of the Bolivian flag next to my eyes, more glitter on my eyelids, a brighter lipstick, the *chakana* [battery-powered device representing the Inca Cross in flashing LED lights] to attach to my hat, a quick change of *faja*... We must have spent a good three hours getting ready, and at 7pm the first of us were finally ready to depart (Fieldnotes, 1 December 2013).

The elaborate preparations for the carnival contained elements reminiscent of van Gennep's (1960 [1909]) and Turner's (1967) conceptualisations of ritual. I was viewed as a novice and initiated into how to 'perform' (Butler, 2006) a particular hyper-feminised gender identity through routine acts of hairstyling and make-up application. The gender identity learned in adolescence that I perform on a daily basis through my version of these acts (Gentina, Palan and Fosse-Gomez, 2012) was deemed inadequate, and I was only declared 'beautiful' once in my new role. The heavy make-up, false eyelashes, and intricate hairstyle seemed to draw on the beauty pageant tradition so valued in Bolivia, where those chosen to represent their region or country are 'invariably tall, white women' (Canessa, 2008, p.54). Discussing child beauty pageants in the United States, Robinson and Davies (2008, p.349) describe them as sites 'in which young girls are produced as the ultimate, heterosexual, gendered citizen subjects'.

Arguably, in the pre-carnival rituals of preparation, we were similarly transforming ourselves into idealised, gendered citizens, although the gendered message was not clear-cut. On the one hand, a highly feminised appearance was crucial. On the other hand, our costumes covered all of our bodies, unlike the more revealing, sexualised costumes of the *morenada*, *diablada*, *tobas*, and other dances, and the movements that we performed in the dance were bold and warrior-like, the leaders exhorting us to exhibit '*fuera*' [strength] when we danced. These were the attributes, then, of the *bolivianita* as portrayed through the bodies and movements of women in Corazón de Tinkus: exhibiting stereotypical feminine beauty through hairstyle and makeup; modesty through dress; but also strength, stamina, discipline and control through the movements of the dance.



Of course, it was not only gender but also ethnic identity that was being performed. As with the Bolivian beauty queens (Canessa, 2008; Gustafson, 2006), we were enacting an indigenous identity that is not ours – none of the Bolivian members of Corazón de Tinkus identified particularly as indigenous, with the exception of Antony. From a critical perspective, perhaps like the beauty queens we were playing to the idea of an exoticised Other; one that would intrigue and attract the Chileans, who were cast in the role of coloniser (cf. Canessa, 2008, pp.44–45). Nevertheless, I cannot simply reduce the pride – almost reverence – in the beauty of the costumes and respect for the traditions from which they originate to such an interpretation. Rather, as Lazar (2008, p.117) writes of the community with which she worked

By dancing dances that come from specific regions of Bolivia, vecinos [neighbours] of Rosas Pampas were emphasizing their belonging not only to Rosas Pampas but also to Bolivia ... Dancing each dance enacts a Bolivianness that is composed of multiple regional and ethnic identities, and dancing cross-culturally, as the urban Aymara do when they mimic indigenous peoples from the eastern lowlands or tinku fighters from northern Potosí, simultaneously reinforces and breaks down those identifications.

As in New Zealand where non-Māori participate with Māori in Kapa Haka [Māori performing arts] groups, Corazón de Tinkus was not claiming a particular indigenous identity, but rather using the body to demonstrate the non-binary nature of the 'plurinational' at the core of modern Bolivianness.

Not only that, a positive transnational migrant identity was being claimed. Bakhtin (1984, p.10) in his well-known discussion of medieval carnival and the carnivalesque in Europe has written that it 'marked the suspension of all hierarchical rank, privileges, norms, and prohibitions'. The world was inverted and subverted. The ability of carnivals in the present day to be subversive is debated given their frequent commercialisation and the restrictions imposed by the state on their organisation. Nevertheless, it is agreed that they hold a great deal of potential political symbolism, and particularly in postcolonial contexts can be spaces of resistance to past and present oppression (Carver, 2000; Lewis, 1996; Cohen, 1993; Jackson, 1992).

In the Fifth Annual Patronato Carnival, the normal order of things was inverted and power relations were flipped upside down as we temporarily claimed space and place with our movements. Instead of police officers detaining migrants, they were detaining the traffic to let the migrants pass. So often ignored, discriminated against, invisibilised, migrants – side by side with supportive Chileans – were shouting about their identity in public spaces. A dance so integral to plurinational Bolivian culture was

inviting smiles and cheers from the crowd in place of the insults and negative press attention Andean migrants too frequently receive in Chile. Our act of place-claiming was also one of claiming a right to be within the bounds of transnational spaces of citizenship.

*Figure 8.9 Corazón de Tinkus dancing at the Fifth Annual Patronato Carnival*



Source: Pablo Torres

## CONCLUSION

The importance of ‘theorising back’ from the South (Slater, 1993) is revealed particularly through this chapter. The political practices of South-South migrants have not been widely researched, and the spectrum of practices considered as political by migration scholars has largely been developed by researchers in the North. Participants in this research were not particularly engaged in the types of practices generally considered by migration scholars as political. Party politics and voting, involvement with social movements and hometown associations, were viewed with ambivalence, and only a handful of participants took part in these activities. Participants did, however, engage politically through dance. It allowed them to present an embodied vision of

pluri/national/transnational citizenship, claiming a place for themselves through participating in carnivals and performances in public spaces.

Given its importance and meaning for this group of migrants, and in all likelihood for various others, I propose that dance be understood as a potential citizenship practice in the canon of those engagements considered as political. In developing this perspective, I have drawn on the existent literature that has often taken a feminist perspective in order to understand the political as both formal and informal. I have also taken into account the role of intersectionality, given the significant impact that social identities have on the ways in which people (are able to) participate as political citizens. I conclude that taking dance seriously as a political citizenship practice enables recognition of a crucial way in which migrants, and perhaps other marginalised groups, may express their hope of experiencing more certain citizenship.

## 9. CONCLUSION

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From Luz María and Wilson working irregularly and eating just enough to get by as they tried to support their young family, to Diana sleeping seven to a room as she worked to save for a little house in Santa Cruz. From Marcos on the *parcela* Las Mariposas organising to petition for MTRVs and better living conditions, to Cata and Marta eventually leaving the situation of trafficking in which they became embroiled. From Tomás and Mónica enduring taunts about their nationality as they sought to gain university qualifications to Javiera working as a *nana* to ensure her children's education. These and the other migrant journeys traced throughout this research have been characterised by tenacity and resilience. Leaving Bolivia was often a brave leap into the unknown compelled by economic marginalisation, or lack of opportunities. Many were motivated by the hope of a better future for their children, younger siblings or unwell parents.

Once in Chile participants frequently faced a multitude of challenges in different arenas – difficulties acquiring legal status, exploitative labour conditions, poor housing in *migrant cités* and on *parcelas*, problems accessing healthcare and education, social isolation and discrimination, and a sense of ambivalence towards and exclusion from certain forms of political participation. In the face of significant adversity across these multifarious dimensions, they drew on different resources, sometimes including migrant organisations, to attempt to incrementally improve their situations. Reflecting upon these diverse lived experiences of migration and citizenship – that nonetheless contain common threads running through them – in this concluding chapter, I draw together the empirical, conceptual, and methodological contributions made in this thesis. I suggest that these contributions have potentially important implications for research in the field of migration and citizenship – particularly in conceptual terms – and additionally implications for policy-makers and migrant organisations.

### LIVING UNCERTAINTY ACROSS TRANSNATIONAL SOCIAL SPACES OF CITIZENSHIP

Empirically, this research has responded to calls for far greater engagement with the phenomenon of South-South migration, given its global importance and increase in recent decades (Melde et al., 2014; Ratha and Shaw, 2007; Hujo and Piper, 2007). Furthermore, it has sought to specifically address a South-South migration flow about

which very little has been known, but which had previously been identified as potentially involving groups facing particularly high levels of exclusion (Rojas Pedemonte and Bueno Moya, 2014; Martínez Pizarro, 2011; Cano, Soffia, and Martínez Pizarro, 2009). These conjectures have been corroborated by the empirical findings of this project, which has endeavoured to qualitatively explore *multiple* aspects of the transnational lived experiences of citizenship of Bolivian migrants in Chile, and the ways in which migrant organisations interact with migrants to influence these experiences. Examining multiple aspects – legal, economic, social, and political – together and considering the role of migrant organisations represents a much-needed holistic approach that has not been particularly present in research to date.

In relation to legal citizenship, it was revealed that participants moved through many and varied (ir)regular statuses, and that there was often not a clear linear progression from status to status. There was also no universal goal of naturalisation as Chilean. This strongly corroborates other research in a South-North context that challenges binary understandings of migratory statuses and emphasises instead their dynamism and state of constant flux (Anderson, 2010; De Genova, 2002; Goldring and Landolt, 2013; McIlwaine, 2015). Whilst participants' agentic practices did impact on their legal status, they were significantly constrained and influenced by legislation and its differentiated enforcement by border agents and other public officials, lack of clear and appropriate information regarding the visa application process, and the practices of employers. It should be stressed that both at a legislative level and at the level of enforcement by officials, the visa acquisition process was markedly discriminatory. Those who were worst affected tended to be from lower socio-economic backgrounds, and often of Aymara descent. The support of migrant organisations in acquiring the MTRV or Permanent Residency was fundamental for many participants who found themselves in irregular situations.

As established in previous research on South-North migration (e.g. Anderson, 2010; Lewis et al., 2014; Waite, 2009), there was a clear relationship between being in an irregular migratory situation and experiencing labour exploitation. Nevertheless, participants in regular situations were also exposed to exploitative and precarious employment conditions, which can be understood as occurring on a spectrum (Skrivankova, 2010). There was a definitively gendered and racialised hierarchy in the labour market (cf. Datta et al., 2009), most adversely affecting women and again those from low socio-economic backgrounds and those who identified as indigenous. Whilst there was evidence that the practices of some migrant organisations were enabling

migrants to access qualitatively better employment, unfortunately other organisations were in fact reinforcing the gendering and racialisation of certain labour niches. In particular, through their employment programme, Asistencia al Migrante was encouraging women to work as *nanas puertas adentro* in conditions that were often exploitative and discriminatory. Employment in Chile was not the only aspect of economic citizenship addressed in this research, however. It also examined the economic marginalisation that had obliged many participants to leave Bolivia, engaging in a paradoxical ‘practice of citizenship’ whereby they left their country of legal citizenship in the hope of achieving greater inclusion as economic citizens elsewhere.

The social dimension of citizenship was addressed through the lens of an adaptation of Doyal and Gough’s (1991) theorisation of intermediate needs. This integrated approach enabled analysis of participants’ inclusions and exclusions from housing, healthcare and education, but also the level of social support they received, examining how access was impacted by participants’ social identities. In relation to the more tangible social rights identified, access to decent quality housing was particularly problematic for participants, and the assistance offered by migrant organisations in relation to this was limited. Participants were also subjected to exclusion from healthcare (cf. Gideon, 2014; Núñez Carrasco, 2013; Cabieses and Tunstall, 2013), and discrimination in the education system in Santiago in particular appeared to be prevalent (cf. Pavez Soto, 2010, 2012). The key issue was the negative attitude of the Chilean gatekeepers of these social provisions – or their ‘lack of solidarity’ as Constanza characterised it. Whilst migrant organisations are aware of these issues and working with healthcare and education providers to tackle them, there remains a great deal to be done. Social support was understood as both maintenance of significant primary relationships and forging social networks in Chile. As in other contexts (Hoang and Yeoh, 2012; Parreñas, 2001; Hondagneu-Sotelo and Avila, 1997), for parents with children in Bolivia maintaining significant primary relationships was extremely challenging and provoked complex emotional reactions. Likewise comparable to other contexts (Ryan et al., 2008), experiences of forming social networks in Chile were mixed, with some participants feeling a strong sense of isolation, but others connecting with neighbours, colleagues and co-nationals in such a way as to alleviate some of their negative experiences.

For the participants who were part of Corazón de Tinkus, involvement with this group also helped to alleviate feelings of isolation and exclusion. More than this, however, it provided an important forum for constructing and presenting a gendered

pluri/national/transnational vision of 'Bolivianness' (cf. Lazar, 2008) that was used to claim space and place and make a political statement about identity and belonging. Other informal and formal political practices more frequently studied by scholars working on South-North migration, such as participation in hometown associations and social movements (Itzigsohn, 2000; Guarnizo, Portes and Haller, 2003; Caglar, 2006; Mercer, Page and Evans, 2008; Bermúdez, 2010; Però and Solomos, 2010; Chimienti, 2011; Però, 2014), voting and engagement with party politics (McIlwaine and Bermudez, 2015; Lafleur, 2013; Boccagni, 2011; Itzigsohn and Villacrés, 2008; Collyer and Vathi, 2007), were often viewed with ambivalence by participants, and their involvement was limited. Thus this was one way in which theorising back from the South proved crucial in this research. The importance of dance, and especially carnival dance, for Bolivians both in Bolivia and abroad should not be underestimated, and is an important medium for political participation. I suggest that, building on Martiniello and Lafleur's (2008) contention that engagement by migrants in aspects of popular culture and the arts is potentially political, dance could be fruitfully added to the repertoire of practices that may be considered within the realm of the political by migration scholars.

Across legal, economic, social, and political dimensions of citizenship, then, Bolivian migrants in Chile were found to experience a wide array of shifting transnational inclusions and exclusions, impacted by their social identities, and often influenced by contact with migrant organisations. Moreover, these inclusions and exclusions were forged through diverse interrelations between structural processes and agentic practices. Existing theorisations of migration and citizenship could not comprehensively encompass, and allow for holistic analysis of, this complexity and messiness as it is lived on a daily basis. Building on work that has encouraged a focus on migrants' lived practices rather than the development of normative models of citizenship (Staeheli et al. 2012; Ho, 2008; Reed-Danahay and Brettell, 2008; Ong, 1996), and that which has offered spatially and intersectionally aware approaches to migration and citizenship (Goldring and Landolt, 2013; McIlwaine, 2012; Lee, 2010; Isin and Rygiel, 2007; Levitt and Jaworsky, 2007; Jackson, Crang, and Dwyer, 2004; Coutin, 2003; Mahler and Pessar, 2001), this research has proposed the twin concepts of *transnational social spaces of citizenship* and *uncertain citizenship*.

Thinking about citizenship as overlapping and intertwined transnational social spaces, I have argued, enables cognisance of the ways in which migrants are often simultaneously incorporated in and marginalised from various of its dimensions across nation-state boundaries. It also encourages thinking about both the structural factors

and agentic practices that construct these spaces and migrants' positions within them, accounting for the ways in which social identities affect possibilities of inclusion. Additionally, it allows for the important role of migrant organisations within these spaces, considering the ways in which they both encourage and inhibit migrants' practices of citizenship. Finally, this conceptualisation allows for complexity and messiness in a way that previous binary and triadic theorisations of spaces of citizenship had not.

Thus above all, it is an approach that responds to the ways in which migrants actually practice and live citizenship. So, whilst the legal element of citizenship is addressed in depth because it is certainly central to migrants' in/exclusions from citizenship, the other substantive elements of citizenship are also afforded due weight, reflecting how crucial they too are in migrants' lives. Economic citizenship, therefore, is analysed as a separate, but overlapping, transnational social space given its fundamental importance for migrants who are often moving because of economic marginalisation, and who frequently experience poor labour conditions. Social citizenship is considered in relation to access to tangible social rights vital to the material quality of everyday life, but also in terms of the more intangible maintenance and forging of primary relationships and social networks that also contribute significantly to a sense of inclusion and belonging. Lastly, political citizenship is understood in a way that is sensitive to non-Northern understandings of the political in order to account for the different means migrants may have of 'being political'.

*Uncertain citizenship* also contributes to enabling recognition of complexity and the lived experiences of citizenship. It accounts for the ambiguous positions of migrants within multiple spaces of citizenship, acknowledging that they can be at once included and excluded across diverse dimensions. It also expresses the emotionality of migrants' lived citizenship, which frequently involves insecurity and sometimes fear, but also hope, often felt simultaneously in relation to different aspects of citizenship. It thus eschews a reading of lived citizenship as either exclusion or inclusion or as a straight-forward in-between state across all its dimensions. Rather, viewing citizenship through the lens of uncertainty promotes an analysis that is sensitive and nuanced; aware of migrants' many physical and emotional journeys through, across, and outside of its transnational social spaces.

In order to work effectively across space and scale and examine multiple aspects of migrants' lived citizenship, it was necessary to develop a methodology that could



amply reflect these physical and emotional journeys – and mine as a researcher, given the impact of this on the research. Recognising the value of ethnography and interviews for examining everyday citizenship (Reed-Danahay and Brettell, 2008), and the importance of a transnational perspective on migration (Glick-Schiller, Basch and Szanton-Blanc, 1995), it drew heavily on multi-sited ethnography (Marcus, 1995), which has been used successfully in migration studies (e.g. Vives, 2012; Riccio, 2012; Mand, 2012). Responding, however, to criticisms regarding the static way in which space is comprehended in some multi-sited ethnographies (Crang, 2011), it also incorporated insights from those working in the mobilities paradigm (Sheller and Urry, 2006), from global ethnography (Burawoy et al., 2000), and from counter-topographies (Katz, 2001). Finally, in addition to being aware of positionality and employing reflexivity (Rose, 1997), it also answered Bondi's (2012) call for researchers to be more conscious of their own emotions during fieldwork, and write these into their research.

In bringing these perspectives into dialogue and building upon them, the methodological approach of this research was innovative, enabling new empirical findings and complementing and enhancing the original conceptual framework. Following migrants' physical journeys enabled deeper comprehension of their parallel emotional journeys because understanding the different locations that formed part of their transnational lives created greater empathy and trust in the researcher-research participant relationship. Likewise, the extensive participant observation conducted with migrant organisations permitted the building of trusting relationships with these groups. This in turn allowed for a fine-grained analysis of the citizenship practices in which migrants engaged, and of their interactions with migrant organisations. Through a dialogic, iterative process beginning before fieldwork was conducted but continuing during and afterwards, the holistic conceptual framework of *transnational social spaces of citizenship* and *uncertain citizenship* was developed through anticipation of and in response to the nuance and complexity of migrants' lived experiences of citizenship.

## RECOMMENDATIONS FOR POLICY-MAKERS AND MIGRANT ORGANISATIONS

At the heart of the motivation for carrying out this project has been the objective of beginning to shed light on the in/exclusions from citizenship faced by a significant migrant group in Chile about whom little was previously known, hopefully leading to a reduction in the exclusions that they face. Thus it seems fitting to not only conclude this thesis with suggestions for future research, but also with some context-specific

recommendations for policy-makers and migrant organisations that may enable such a reduction – and in the hope that academics will work in conjunction with them to achieve this. Underlying the recommendations made here, as the conceptual framework and empirical findings of this research illustrate, I suggest that it is important to approach migration and citizenship holistically, allowing for complexity and messiness. It is thus possible to comprehend how the legal affects the economic and vice versa, the economic the social, and so on and so forth.

Taking first the legal, as a matter of urgency the legislation governing migrants' entry into and legal status within Chile must be addressed as it is out-dated, exclusionary, and does not reflect the present reality of migration to and from the country. Furthermore, the fee structure for the MRTV ought to be re-considered because it appears to be prejudicial towards the poorest migrants of particular nationalities, leading to irregularity and subsequently to precarious employment conditions, amongst other problems. It is to be hoped that migrants, migrant organisations, human rights and immigration lawyers, as well as academics, would be consulted in the process of revising this legislation.

There is, however, much to be praised in terms of the legislation pertaining to access to health and education for migrants, and to a certain degree to that relating to labour regulations, particularly given the recent changes to the law governing domestic workers (see Appendix 5). Nevertheless, what exists on paper is often not being put into practice, with lack of knowledge of migrant rights and discriminatory attitudes rife amongst public officials, health workers (Núñez Carrasco, 2013), and educators. Some excellent training by organisations such as MigraRed is already underway for these essential gatekeepers; however, I would suggest that this be increased with support from the state.

It is also important that labour regulations be better enforced, that employers are similarly made aware of migrant rights, and that the discriminatory attitudes of some are challenged. Moreover, it is crucial that migrant organisations do not support employers who fail to respect the rights of their workers, and that they also attempt not to perpetuate a racialized and gendered division of labour but instead encourage migrants to seek out diverse and fulfilling employment. Also in relation to labour, the fledgling work of migrant organisations and law enforcement agencies with respect to human trafficking must continue and grow, and incorporate greater awareness of the issue of trafficking for labour exploitation in addition to that of trafficking for sexual

exploitation. Furthermore, I contend that it is helpful to recognise that labour exploitation occurs on a spectrum (Skrivankova, 2010) and interacts in complex ways with migrants' legal status (Anderson, 2010; Waite et al., 2014), as this enables better targeting of its multiple forms.

Lastly, recognising the work done already by migrant organisations, it still seems necessary to foment advocacy and awareness campaigns around migrant rights and discrimination. There is clear evidence that migrants, including many children (Pavez Soto 2010, 2012), face high levels of discrimination on a daily basis. Prominent public campaigns with state backing may go some way to challenging such attitudes. It is also vital to support instances of genuine communication and exchange between migrants and Chileans through groups such as Corazón de Tinkus, and to ensure that such groups have access to public space. As Martiniello and Lafleur (2008) indicate may be the case, they can play an important role in presenting positive depictions of migrants and confronting some of the stigma and stereotypes surrounding migration.

## DIRECTIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

Whilst the recommendations above are context specific, as already outlined insights from the thesis also illuminate the field of migration and citizenship more broadly, and provide indications for directions for future research. Principally, as with the recommendations for policy-makers and migrant organisations, I suggest that future research should endeavour to consider the relationship between migration and citizenship – both conceptually and empirically – from a transnational, holistic, spatially and intersectionally aware perspective. There needs to be scope for considering the many complicated overlaps and disparities in patterns of migrant inclusion and exclusion from citizenship across borders, and to date the frameworks proposed have not been able to fully realise this. Furthermore, the methodological approach taken ought to reflect such a conceptual framework. A multi-sited ethnographic methodology that also incorporates insights from other mobile and multi-sited methods, and is cognisant of the emotional and physical journeys of both participants and researcher, does seem particularly appropriate for doing this.

It is vital that this kind of work be carried out in contexts of South-South migration – in addition to those of South-North migration – in order to broaden its purview and, in particular, move beyond focusing predominantly on the migration-development nexus. Greater dialogue between scholars working on South-South

migration is likewise essential so as to draw attention to the heterogeneity of these migration flows, but also find the points of comparison upon which new conceptual frameworks and policy recommendations might be built, taking into account theories and findings coming from the South. Furthermore, greater dialogue would facilitate a more coherent international research agenda, and subsequently more strategic use of the limited resources available for such projects.

In terms of specific pathways for research in the Chilean context, as Chilean migration augments it is crucial to explore the experiences of other under-researched groups in addition to Bolivians. In particular, there is a great paucity of work examining the case of Colombians, Ecuadorians, and Haitians – all significant, and potentially marginalised, new migrant groups in Chile. In the Colombian and Haitian cases, the challenges they face may be compounded by having left their countries due to violence and natural disasters. This highlights the importance of taking a transnational, spatial and intersectional approach to such studies. Moreover, research ought not to focus solely on Santiago given the burgeoning migrant populations in regions of the north, especially Arica and Parinacota, Tarapacá, and Antofagasta, and in port town of Valparaíso.

With respect to Bolivian migration, there could be great value in carrying out in-depth comparative research between Bolivian and other migrant groups in Chile, and between Bolivian migrant communities in Chile and other Latin American countries such as Brazil and Argentina, where some research has already been carried out (Bastia, 2012, 2007; Hinojosa, 2008; Grimson, 1999). Finally, it is fundamental to listen to the voices of migrants in the present research and pursue more in-depth investigation into their key concerns. The primary areas that they highlighted were sub-standard housing, difficulties accessing healthcare (particularly reproductive healthcare), and concerns around labour exploitation. It is notable that these are profoundly embodied concerns, which speak to the crucial importance of examining migrants' lived practices.

Housing is perhaps that which has been least addressed. To this end, a project which uses the lens of citizenship to bring together the scholarship on migrant practices of home-making and belonging (e.g. Blunt and Bonnerjee, 2013; Walsh, 2006; Tolia-Kelly, 2004; Al-Ali and Koser, 2001; Ahmed, Castaneda and Fortier, 2000) with that which addresses the practices in which marginalized groups engage to acquire shelter in the global South (e.g. Potter and Lloyd Evans, 2014; Chant and McIlwaine, 2009, 2016) could provide a helpful first step. A project of this nature could elucidate the ways in which migrants in Chile construct their dwellings as transnational places through a range

of different practices, and at once shed light on the uncertain conditions in which many migrants live. This kind of work is very much in its infancy. Yet bringing together these bodies of research may suggest new and useful conceptual frameworks for understanding migrant housing in the global South in terms of materiality but also meaning. Employing multi-sited ethnography incorporating Santiago, Arica, and additionally Valparaíso, and expanded to include participatory photography in addition to in-depth interviewing could prove an appropriate methodology for such a project. The incorporation of participatory photography would enable migrants to express and explain their home-making and shelter acquisition practices, and make it possible to share the project with an audience outside academia. This is, however, just one example of how the conceptual, empirical, and methodological contributions of the current project could provide a basis for, and insights into, how best to further the South-South migration research agenda.

This thesis, then, has broken new empirical ground in a context of South-South migration, and provides indications as to some of the areas on which it may be important to concentrate attention in the future. It also, however, has wider implications for the field of migration and citizenship. It suggests that attempts must be made conceptually and methodologically to capture in a more nuanced and sensitive fashion migrants' multi-dimensional entanglements with citizenship across space and place. Thinking through how migrants live uncertainty across multiple *transnational social spaces of citizenship*, and doing so by employing a multi-sited ethnographic methodology that accounts for their physical and emotional journeys, may prove a productive pathway.

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# APPENDIX 1: LIST OF INTERVIEWEES AND KEY INFORMANTS

## Migrant participant interviewees Santiago

Nº	Date of interview	Pseudonym	Gender	Age	Region of origin	Work in Santiago at time of interview	Migratory status at time of interview	Contact with migrant organisation? <sup>56</sup>
1	24/09/2013	Pedro	M	49	La Paz	Petty commerce	Permanent Resident	No
2	02/10/2013 Key informant	Tomás	M	34	La Paz	Professional	Permanent Resident	No
3	09/10/2013 Key informant	Cata	F	25	El Alto	Wholesale clothing retail (forced labour)	MTRV [MERCOSUR Temporary Resident Visa]	MigraRed (post-interview)
4	10/10/2013 Key informant	Marta	F	35	Oruro	Wholesale clothing retail (forced labour)	MTRV	MigraRed (post-interview)
5	17/10/2013	Susana	F	51	La Paz	Retired on ill-health grounds	Temporary Resident Visa for Health Reasons	No
6	22/10/2013 Key informant	Luz María	F	19	Santa Cruz	Unemployed due to pregnancy. Previously cleaner.	MTRV in process	MigraRed, attended Club Social de Bolivia event

<sup>56</sup> All migrant organisations are referred to using pseudonyms.

7	22/10/2013	Ruth	F	33	Santa Cruz	Nursing assistant	MTRV in process	Asistencia al Migrante
8	23/10/2013	Sonia	F	65 +	La Paz	Retired	Permanent Resident	Asistencia al Migrante, Club Social de Bolivia
9	02/11/2013 Key informant	Kinberly	F	24	La Paz	Live-out domestic worker	MTRV in process	Attended Club Social de Bolivia event
10	03/11/2013	Amanda	F	25	El Alto	Live-in domestic worker	Permanent Residency in process	Attended Club Social de Bolivia event
11	03/11/2013	Byron	M	32	Cochabamba	Aeroplane mechanic	Temporary Resident Visa Subject to Contract	Attended Club Social de Bolivia event
12	04/11/2013	Carolina	F	38	Cochabamba	Live-out domestic worker	Permanent Resident	No
13	05/11/2013	Elizabeth	F	46	La Paz	Cleaner	Permanent Resident	No
14	06/11/2013	Paloma	F	29	Cochabamba	Unemployed looking for work	MTRV in process	Corazón de Tinkus
15	07/11/2013 Key informant	Diana	F	28	Santa Cruz	Café staff	MTRV	Asistencia al Migrante, Corazón de Tinkus
16	11/11/2013	Cristina	F	37	Cochabamba	Part-time cleaner, manicurist	MTRV (renewed)	No
17	12/11/2013	Ana María	F	55	La Paz	Business owner (printing factory)	Naturalised	No
18	12/11/2013	Vicente	M	30	Cochabamba	Student (dentistry conversion)	Student Visa	Corazón de Tinkus
19	13/11/2013	Diego	M	23	Santa Cruz	Construction worker	MTRV in process	No

20	13/11/2013	Rodolfo	M	26	Santa Cruz	Construction worker	MTRV	No
21	14/11/2013	Cristóbal	M	27	La Paz	Doctoral student	Student Visa	Corazón de Tinkus
22	14/11/2013	Renata	F	28	La Paz	Doctoral student	Permanent Resident	No
23	15/11/2013	Mónica	F	31	La Paz	Professional intern	Permanent Resident	Corazón de Tinkus
24	17/11/2013	Fernanda	F	45	Santa Cruz	Live-out domestic worker	MTRV	No
25	17/11/2013	Javiera	F	43	Santa Cruz	Live-in domestic worker	Permanent Resident	No
26	17/11/2013	María Pilar	F	65+	Santa Cruz	Retired	Tourist Visa	No
27	20/11/2013	Wilson	M	22	Santa Cruz	Construction worker	MTRV in process	MigraRed, attended Club Social de Bolivia event
28	22/11/2013	Amelia	F	26	La Paz	Professional intern	MTRV	No
29	26/11/2013	Valentina	F	19	El Alto	Unemployed looking for work	MTRV in process	Asistencia al Migrante
30	28/11/2013	Magdalena	F	38	El Alto	Live-in domestic worker	MTRV in process	Asistencia al Migrante
31	02/12/2013	Anahis	F	36	Sucre	Live-out domestic worker	MTRV	Asistencia al Migrante, MigraRed
32	04/12/2013	Jonathan	M	21	Sucre	Construction worker	MTRV	MigraRed
33	04/12/2013	Loreta	F	30	Santa Cruz	Part-time cleaner	MTRV (renewed)	Asistencia al Migrante, MigraRed
34	05/12/2013	Aimy	F	34	Cochabamba	Live-in domestic worker	MTRV (renewed)	MigraRed

35	06/12/2013	Alberto	M	30	Sucre	Construction worker	MTRV in process	MigraRed
36	06/12/2013	Constanza	F	32	Sucre	Part-time cleaner	MTRV (renewed)	MigraRed
37	07/12/2013	Azahara	F	42	Cochabamba	Warehouse stockist	Permanent Resident	MigraRed
38	09/12/2013	Daniel	M	29	Sucre	Construction worker	MTRV	No
39	11/12/2013	Luis	M	54	La Paz	Petty commerce	MTRV	No
40	13/12/2014	Rosa	F	29	Sucre	Unemployed due to pregnancy. Previously live-in domestic worker.	Permanent Resident	Asistencia al Migrante, MigraRed

### Migrant participant interviewees Arica

Nº	Date of interview	Pseudonym	Gender	Age	Region in Bolivia	Work in Arica at time of interview	Migratory Status	Contact with migrant organisation?
1	11/03/2014	José	M	47	La Paz (rural) <sup>57</sup>	Petty commerce	Permanent Resident	No
2	12/03/2014 Key informant	Isabela	F	26	La Paz (rural)	Petty commerce	Permanent Residency in process	No

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<sup>57</sup> Participants were from urban areas unless otherwise indicated.

3	12/03/2014	Antonia	F	20	La Paz (rural)	Petty commerce	Permanent Residency in process	MigraRed (post-interview)
4	12/03/2014	Ignacia	F	34	La Paz	Part-time petty commerce	Naturalised	MigraRed (post-interview)
5	14/03/2014	Kevin	M	45	La Paz	Taxi driver	Naturalisation in process	Radio Atacama, MigraRed, Vecinos Bolivianos
6	15/03/2014	Julieta	F	48	La Paz (rural)	Part-time agricultural worker	Permanent Resident	MigraRed
7	19/03/2014	Luisa	F	25	Oruro (rural)	Agricultural worker	MTRV in process	Radio Atacama, MigraRed
8	21/03/2014	Melissa	F	28	La Paz	Bus ticket seller	Permanent Resident	No
9	21/03/2014	Agustina	F	21	La Paz	Child minder	MTRV	MigraRed
10	24/03/2014	Orlando	M	31	Cochabamba	Mechanic	MTRV in process	No
11	25/03/2014	Aurelio	M	27	La Paz	Professional	Permanent Resident	MigraRed
12	26/03/2014	Esperanza	F	53	La Paz	Professional	Naturalised	No
13	26/03/2014	Beimar	M	28	Oruro	Manual labourer	Permanent Residency in process	MigraRed
14	26/03/2014	Adriana	F	65+	Oruro (rural)	Petty commerce	Permanent Resident	No
15	26/03/2014	Belén	F	27	La Paz (rural)	Agricultural worker	MTRV	No
16	29/03/2014	Nina	F	24	Oruro (rural)	Agricultural worker	MTRV in process	MigraRed
17	29/03/2014	Lisa	F	25	Oruro (rural)	Agricultural worker	MTRV in process	MigraRed

18	29/03/2014	Marcos	M	24	Oruro (rural)	Agricultural worker	MTRV in process	MigraRed
19	29/03/2014	Iván	M	20	Oruro (rural)	Agricultural worker	MTRV in process	MigraRed
20	01/04/2014	Martina	F	54	Cochabamba	Small business owner	Permanent Resident	Waka Waka Folkdance Group, Vecinos Bolivianos

### Migrant organisation representative and migration expert interviewees Santiago

Nº	Date of interview	Pseudonym	Role	Organisation/Institution
1	15/08/2013	Marcia	Director (volunteer)	Corazón de Tinkus
2	25/09/2013	Padre Guilherme	Director/priest	Asistencia al Migrante
3	26/09/2013 Key informant	Paz	Team leader	MigraRed
4	26/09/2013	Clara	Social worker	MigraRed
5	08/10/2013	Maximiliano	Lawyer	Legal Aid
6	08/10/2013	Roberto	Consul	Bolivian Consulate
7	31/10/2013	Federico	Director (volunteer)	Entrelazando Migrantes Latinoamericanos (EML)
8	08/11/2013	Yolanda	Migrant affairs officer	Municipal Council, Recoleta

9	12/11/2013	Hugo	Leader of migrant in prisons team (volunteer)	MigraRed
10	21/11/2013	Macarena	Social worker	Asistencia al Migrante
11	27/11/2013 Key informant	Agustín	Team leader	MigraRed

### Migrant organisation representative interviewees and key informants Arica

Nº	Date of interview/key informant	Pseudonym	Role	Organisation
1	22/03/2014 25/03/2014	Gabriela	Lawyer	MigraRed
2	23/03/2014	Nando, SJ	Director/priest	MigraRed
3	01/04/2014	Martín	Director/Minister	Apoyo para Personas Migrantes (APM)
4	Key informant	Trini	Social worker	MigraRed
5	Key informant	Sofia	Full-time volunteer	MigraRed



## Key informants/interviewees Bolivia

Nº	Date(s) of contact	Pseudonym	Location	Description	Type of contact
1	15/02/2014 – 08/03/2014	Francisca	El Alto	Social Director, MigraRed, Bolivia	Almost daily contact, including staying at her house. She accompanied me to Patacamaya (see below) and arranged many activities and meetings for me. Informal interview.
2	15/02/2014 – 08/03/2014	Ramón, SJ	El Alto/Oruro	Priest and Director, MigraRed, Bolivia	Saw frequently during time in El Alto. Arranged accommodation for me at Jesuit novice house in Oruro during carnival; took me to see his mother in a rural community in the <i>departamento</i> of Oruro.
3	15/02/2014 – 08/03/2014	Xavier Albó, SJ ( <i>real name</i> )	El Alto/Oruro	Priest and academic	Saw during time in El Alto, and accompanied me to carnival in Oruro, where we stayed in the same accommodation and travelled by bus together from Oruro to El Alto. Also attended a mass he performed in a rural community in the <i>departamento</i> of Oruro.
4	15/02/2014 26/05/2014	David	El Alto/La Paz	Director (volunteer) of Peruvian Refugees Association and Migration Network, El Alto/La Paz	Meetings.

5	20/02/2014 25/02/2014	Camila	El Alto/La Paz	Santiago participant Cata's best friend	Meeting/informal interview, and full day trip into La Paz and around Las Alasitas annual market, an Aymara tradition.
6	21/02/2014	Sara	El Alto	Eco-tourism professional involved in project to revive rural communities in the <i>departamento</i> of La Paz affected by out-migration	Interview.
7	27/02/2014	Manuela	La Paz	Team leader at NGO Mujeres Andinas, which works on issues facing migrant women.	Extended meeting/informal interview.
8	28/02/2014	Don Victor	Patacamaya	Migration expert, local radio presenter	Took me on a tour of Patacamaya and the local radio station, explaining the impact of migration on the town.
9	08/03/2014	Yaneth, Gustavo, Dolores, Benjamín, Julio	La Paz	Santiago migrant participant Kinberley's sister, aunt, uncle and cousins, with whom she lived in Bolivia.	Lunch, conversation, and tour of part of La Paz. They gave me gifts to take to Kinberley in Chile.

10	12/04/2014 – 24/04/2014	Tomás and Cecilia	Santa Cruz	Santiago migrant participant Tomás and his Chilean wife Cecilia, who had returned to Bolivia to try living there permanently.	Hosted me during my stay in Santa Cruz. Introduced me to Tomás's extended family and invited me to events.
11	14/04/2014	Laura	Santa Cruz	Santiago migrant participant Diana's sister-in-law.	Extended meeting/informal interview.
12	15/04/2014	Alicia	Santa Cruz	Full-time volunteer, Plan 3000 Centro Comunitario. The group works with many young people whose parents have migrated.	Extended meeting/informal interview.
13	17/04/2014	Juan	Santa Cruz	Leader of youth political movement, concerned at high rates of out-migration	Extended meeting, accompanied me to Municipal Council to speak to analysts working there about the migration phenomenon in Santa Cruz.
14	23/04/2014	Luz María, Wilson, and extended family	Santa Cruz	Santiago migrant participants Luz María and Wilson, who were visiting their families in Santa Cruz after a year in Chile.	Lunch and afternoon with Luz María's extended family.

## APPENDIX 2: INFORMATION SHEET AND CONSENT FORMS IN ENGLISH AND SPANISH

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### **Participant Information Sheet**

#### **Research Study: 'Bolivians in Chile: migrant organizations and civic participation'**

I would like to invite you to be a part of this research project, if you would like to. If you choose not to take part there won't be any disadvantages for you and you will hear no more about it.

Please read the following information carefully before you decide to take part. This will tell you what the research project is about and what I will ask you to do if you take part. Please ask me if anything is unclear or if you would like more information.

#### **What is the project about?**

This research project is by Megan Ryburn from the School of Geography, Queen Mary College, University of London. It is about Bolivian migration to Chile.

It aims to find out how Bolivian migrants participate in their communities. It also looks at how they use migrant organizations. This information is important because at the moment we don't know very much about how Bolivian migrants in Chile participate in their communities and interact with migrant organizations.

#### **What does my participation involve?**

The most important thing to know is that your participation is anonymous. This means that none of the information or opinions you give will be linked to your name in any published or public setting.

I would like to interview you face-to-face. It will take approximately 45/60 minutes of your time. I will, with your permission, audio-record the interview. This means that I can transcribe our conversation into written text after the interview. I will delete the audio files once I have transcribed the interviews.

I will give you a hard copy of this document (Participant Information Sheet) to keep. I will also give you the Participant Consent Form. I will ask you to read and sign it before beginning the interview.

Even if you sign the consent form, you can withdraw from the project at any time without giving an explanation. In this case, I will destroy any information you have already given me.

**Who can I contact if I have any questions or concerns?**

If you have any questions or concerns about the project or how the study is conducted please contact Megan Ryburn in the first instance. If this is unsuccessful or inappropriate, please contact Prof. Cathy McIlwaine (c.j.mcilwaine@qmul.ac.uk). She can respond to any questions in Spanish.

Megan Ryburn

Doctoral Student

Mobile: 00 56 9 532 69405

Email: m.j.ryburn@qmul.ac.uk

### **Hoja Informativa para Participantes**

#### **Estudio: ‘Bolivianos en Chile: organizaciones de migrantes y participación cívica’**

Quisiera invitarlo/la a participar en este proyecto de investigación. Usted sólo debe participar si así lo desea. No participar no tendrá ninguna consecuencia negativa. Antes de decidir si quiere participar, por favor lea la siguiente información cuidadosamente. Explica de qué se trata el proyecto y que su participación involucraría. Por favor, pregúnteme si algo no le quede claro o si desea más información.

#### **¿De qué se trata el proyecto?**

Este proyecto es un estudio doctoral por Megan Ryburn, estudiante de la Facultad de Geografía, Queen Mary College, Universidad de Londres. Se trata de la migración boliviana a Chile. Tiene como objetivo entender cómo los migrantes bolivianos participan en sus comunidades. También quiere entender cómo usan las organizaciones de migrantes. Esta información es importante porque hasta ahora no sabemos mucho sobre cómo los bolivianos en Chile participan en sus comunidades e interactúan con las organizaciones de migrantes.

#### **¿Qué involucra mi participación?**

La cosa más importante es que su participación es anónima. Eso significa que ninguna de la información u opiniones que da serán conectadas con su nombre en cualquier publicación o contexto público.

Me gustaría entrevistarlo/la cara a cara. No se debe demorar más de 60 minutos. Con su permiso, haré una grabación de audio de la entrevista. Eso me permite poder transcribir nuestra conversación a un texto escrito después de la entrevista. Borraré las grabaciones después de transcribir las entrevistas.

Le daré una copia en papel de este documento (Hoja Informativa para Participantes) para guardar. Además, le daré una copia del Formulario de Consentimiento. Le pediré leer y firmar este formulario antes de empezar la entrevista.

Acuérdese, incluso después de firmar el formulario de consentimiento, usted puede decidir retirarse de proyecto. En este caso, destruiré cualquier información que me haya proporcionado.

#### **¿A quién puedo contactar si tengo alguna duda o pregunta?**

Si después de la entrevista tiene cualquier pregunta o duda sobre la manera en que se condujo el estudio, por favor, contacte a Megan Ryburn en la primera instancia. Si eso no le resulte o es inapropiado, por favor, contacte a Prof. Cathy

McIlwaine (c.j.mcilwaine@qmul.ac.uk), quien puede responder a sus preguntas o dudas en español.

Megan Ryburn

Estudiante Doctoral

Móvil: 00 56 9 532 69405

Correo electrónico: m.j.ryburn@qmul.ac.uk



### **Consent form**

Please complete this form after you have read the Information Sheet and/or listened to an explanation about the research.

***Title of Study: Bolivians in Chile: migrant organizations and civic participation***

***Queen Mary Research Ethics Committee Ref: QMREC2013/27***

- Thank you for considering taking part in this research. The person organizing the research (Megan Ryburn) must explain the project to you before you agree to take part.
- If you have any questions arising from the Information Sheet or explanation already given to you, please ask the researcher (Megan Ryburn) before you decide if you want to join in. You will be given a copy of this Consent Form to keep and refer to at any time.
- Please note that confidentiality and anonymity will be maintained in the dissemination of results. It will not be possible to identify you from any publications.
- All data will be stored securely. Audio files of interviews will be deleted once they have been transcribed to written text. They will be anonymised in the written text.

*I understand that if I decide at any other time during the research that I no longer wish to participate in this project, I can notify the researcher involved and be withdrawn from it immediately.*

*I consent to the processing of my personal information for the purposes of this research study. I understand that such information will be treated as strictly confidential and handled in accordance with the provisions of the Data Protection Act 1998.*

- ☐ *By ticking this box, I consent to the recording of the interview. Quotes from the interview can be used for research and dissemination purposes in such a way that my anonymity is ensured.*
- ☐ *I do not want the interview to be recorded.*



**Participant's Statement:**

I \_\_\_\_\_ agree that the research project named above has been explained to me to my satisfaction and I agree to take part in the study. I have read both the notes written above and the Information Sheet about the project. I understand what the study involves.

Signed:

Date:

**Investigator's Statement:**

I \_\_\_\_\_ confirm that I have carefully explained the nature, demands and any foreseeable risks (where applicable) of the proposed research to the volunteer.

Signed:

Date:



### **Formulario de Consentimiento**

Por favor, llene este formulario después de haber leído la Hoja Informativa para Participantes y/o escuchado una explicación de la investigación.

***Título de estudio: Bolivianos en Chile: Organizaciones de migrantes y participación cívica***

***Número de referencia del Comité de Ética de Queen Mary: QMRC2013/27***

- Gracias por interesarse en participar en este estudio. La persona que realiza el estudio (Megan Ryburn) debe explicarle el proyecto antes de que usted acepte participar.
- Si tiene alguna pregunta acerca de la Hoja Informativa para Participantes o de lo que se ha dicho del proyecto, por favor, pregúntele a la investigadora (Megan Ryburn) antes de decidir si participa. Usted recibirá una copia de este formulario de consentimiento para que pueda consultarla cuando desee.
- Por favor, tenga en cuenta que se mantendrá la confidencialidad y el anonimato en la diseminación de los resultados. No será posible identificarle en cualquier publicación que surge como producto del estudio.
- Se guardará toda la información en forma segura. Se borrará las grabaciones de audio después de transcribirlas a texto escrito. Durante el proceso de transcripción, se hará anónimo todos los datos personales de las grabaciones de audio.

*He entendido que si en cualquier momento durante el estudio no quiero seguir participando en este proyecto, puedo hacerlo saber a la investigadora y retirarme inmediatamente.*

*Doy mi consentimiento a que mi información personal se procese para los fines de este estudio. Entiendo que esta información se le dará uso estrictamente confidencial y se utilizará de acuerdo al Acto de Protección de Datos 1998 del Reino Unido.*

- ☐ *A marcar esta casilla doy mi consentimiento para que la entrevista sea grabada y que citas de ella puedan ser utilizadas para el estudio y su diseminación en tal forma que sean anónimas.*
- ☐ *No quiero que la entrevista sea grabada.*

**Declaración de Participante:**

Yo \_\_\_\_\_ afirmo que me ha explicado a satisfacción el proyecto de investigación y que deseo participar en el estudio. He leído los puntos anteriores y la Hoja Informativa para Participantes, y entiendo de qué se trata el estudio.

Firmado:

Fecha:

**Declaración de Investigadora:**

Yo \_\_\_\_\_ confirmo que he explicado con cuidado a el/la participante la naturaleza, demandas, y cualquier riesgo predecible (donde aplica) de la investigación propuesta.

Firmado:

Fecha:

## APPENDIX 3: INTERVIEW SCHEDULE IN ENGLISH AND SPANISH

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### **Interview Schedule**

#### ***Migrant participants***

##### **Interview Number:**

Age:

Occupation:

Immigration status:

Date of interview:

Place of interview:

---

### **General questions**

#### ***Life in Bolivia***

Can you tell me something about what your life was like before you left Bolivia?

(Area where you lived, family, education, work, history of migration in family)

#### ***Migration***

Can you describe your migration: why and how you migrated?

(Reasons, choice of country, organization of moving, family networks/came alone)

Did you come first to Santiago/Arica? If not, where did you go first?

#### ***Settlement in Chile***

When you first arrived in Chile, how did you feel? Was it what you expected?

Did you feel welcome when you came to Chile or were there any hostilities?

(Neighbours, wider community, streets. If hostility, what were feelings and responses?)

Since coming to Chile has your visa changed?

(Restrictions, impact – feelings, if irregular, what are the main problems with this?)

### ***Housing/Accommodation***

What sort of accommodation did you live in when you first came to Chile?

(rented, owned, B&B etc.)

Can you describe the accommodation that you live in now?

(Is it comfortable/what you hoped for? Are there any problems? If so, what kind of problems?)

Who do you live with?

### ***Occupation/Making a living***

What had you planned to do when you moved to Chile?

How did you go about finding work?

(Via family, community, networks, agencies, ads)

Can you describe the jobs you've had since coming to Chile?

(Experiences, length of time in job, reasons for leaving)

Can you tell me about your experiences of working in your current job?

(What's it like doing the job? Hours, workload etc.)

How does it compare to the type of work you did before you came to Chile?

How long do you plan to do this job for?

***Other forms of income***

Do you have any other sources of income?

(From renting rooms, part-time or extra work)

If you are able to save any of your income, what do you use it for?

(Remittances, if so, to whom? What are they used for?)

***Gender***

Do you think life is different for men and women in Chile compared to life back home?

(If so, how?)

Has your role in the household changed since coming to Chile?

(How? Why?)

***Migrant communities in Chile***

Can you tell me a little about your views on whether the Bolivian community in Chile is close-knit?

(Do people trust each other? If not, why not?)

Is there rivalry/friendship with other groups of migrants?

### ***Discrimination***

Do you think that Bolivians are discriminated against in Chile?

(If so, what types of discrimination do people experience and why do you think this happens?)

### **Migrant organizations and political and civic participation**

#### ***Migrant organizations***

Do you use the facilities of any organizations that help Bolivians in Chile?

(If so, which ones? How did you find out about this organization? What types of facilities? What do you think of them? If not, why not?)

Do you use the facilities of any organizations that help migrants in Chile (not specifically Bolivians)?

(If so, which ones? How did you find out about this organization? What types of facilities? What do you think of them? If not, why not?)

#### ***Political and civic participation***

Are you able to vote in elections (in Chile, in Bolivia)? If so, do you vote? (Presidential, local, in Chile, in Bolivia)

Can you tell me something about your political beliefs? (Chile, Bolivia)

Are you a member of a civic or community group here in Chile e.g. a neighbourhood association?

(If so, can you tell me a bit more about it? How did you find out about it? What kind of activities do you do? Why did you get involved? If not, is there any group like this that you would like to be part of? What prevents you from being part of it?)

Can you tell me about any (other) civic participation activities you have been involved in here in Chile?

(e.g. public cultural event, protest or demonstration, raising money, volunteering. Why did you decide to get involved? If none, are there any activities of this type that you would like to be involved in? What prevents you from getting involved?)

Were you or are you a member of a civic or community group in Bolivia e.g. a neighbourhood association?

(If so, can you tell me a bit more about it? How did you find out about it? What kind of activities do you do? Why did you get involved?)

Can you tell me about any (other) civic participation activities in Bolivia that you have been involved in?

(e.g. public cultural event, protest or demonstration, raising money, volunteering. Why did you decide to get involved?)

Have you been involved in any civic participation activities that involve creating or maintaining ties between Chile and Bolivia?

(If so, what? Why?)

Do you think there are differences between your civic participation in Bolivia and your civic participation in Chile?

(If so, what are the differences? Why do you think there are these differences?)

Do you think that there are differences between civic participation in Bolivia and in Chile in general?

(If so, what are the differences?)

*For those using facilities of migrant organizations:*

Do you think that your involvement with (migrant organization) has affected your civic participation?

(If so, how?)



**Links with home and integration**

Is it important for you to have links 'back home' and if so, can you describe these links?

(contact with family/friends – why, how, how often? Money or other goods – why? How? What? How often? How much? Visits – Why? How often?)

Overall, how has your life changed since you came to Chile?

Is there anything that would improve your life in Chile?

Is there anything that would improve the lives of Bolivians in Chile in general?

What are your hopes for the future?

**Any questions?**

## **Guía para entrevistas**

### ***Participantes migrantes***

#### **Número de entrevista:**

Edad:

Ocupación:

Situación migratoria:

Fecha de entrevista:

Lugar de entrevista:

---

#### **Preguntas general**

##### ***La vida en Bolivia***

¿Me puede decir algo sobre su vida antes de dejar a Bolivia?

(Barrio donde vivía, familia, educación, trabajo, historia de migración en la familia)

¿Vino primero a Santiago/Arica? Si no, ¿dónde fue primero?

##### ***Migración***

¿Me puede describir su migración? ¿Por qué y cómo migraste?

(Razones, elección de país, organización de la mudanza, redes familiares/vino solo/a)

##### ***Asentamiento en Chile***

¿Cómo se sentía cuando primero llegó a Chile? ¿Era cómo había imaginado?

¿Se sentía bienvenido/a cuando llegó a Chile? ¿Había algún tipo de tensión/hostilidad?

(Vecinos, comunidad más amplia, calles. ¿Si había hostilidad, cuáles eran los sentimientos y cómo respondió?)

¿Ha cambiado su situación migratoria desde cuando llegó a Chile?

(Restricciones, impacto – sentimientos. Si irregular, ¿cuáles son los problemas principales con eso?)

### ***Alojamiento***

¿En qué tipo de alojamiento vivía cuando primero llegó a Chile?

(Arrendado, propio, pensión etc.)

¿Me puede describir cómo es su alojamiento ahora?

(¿Es cómodo? ¿Es lo que esperaba? ¿Hay problemas – cuáles?)

¿Con quién vive?

### ***Ocupación/ganarse la vida***

¿Qué había planificado hacer cuando se cambió a Chile?

¿Cómo buscaba trabajo?

(Por familia, comunidad, redes, agencias, publicidades)

¿Me puede describir los trabajos que ha tenido desde cuando llegó en Chile?

(Experiencias, tiempo en el trabajo, razones por dejar el trabajo)

¿Me puede contar de sus experiencias en su trabajo actual?

(¿Cómo es? Horas, cantidad de trabajo etc.)

¿Cómo compara con el tipo de trabajo que hizo antes de venir a Chile?

¿Por cuánto tiempo planifica hacer este trabajo?

### ***Otros tipos de ingresos***

¿Tiene otros tipos de ingresos?

(Arrendar piezas, trabajo tiempo parcial, trabajo extra)

¿Si puede ahorrar una porción de sus ingresos, para qué lo usa?

(Envíos a Bolivia - ¿a quién? ¿Para qué se usa?)

### ***Género***

¿Usted piensa que la vida es distinta para los hombres y las mujeres en Chile en comparación con la vida en Bolivia?

(Si es así, ¿cómo?)

¿Ha cambiado su rol en el hogar desde venir a Chile?

(¿Cómo? ¿Por qué?)

### ***Comunidades de migrantes en Chile***

¿Me puede decir un poco de sus opiniones sobre si la comunidad boliviana en Chile es cercana?

(¿La gente se confía entre ellos? Si no se confía, ¿por qué no?)

¿Hay rivalidad/amistad con otros grupos de migrantes?

### ***Discriminación***

¿Piensa usted que se discrimina contra los bolivianos en Chile?

(Si es así, ¿cuáles son los tipos de discriminación que pasa la gente y por qué piensa que pasa eso?)

## **Organizaciones de migrantes y participación política y cívica**

### ***Organizaciones de migrantes***

¿Usa las facilidades de una organización que ayuda a los bolivianos en Chile?

(Si es así, ¿Cuál(es)? ¿Cómo se enteró de esta organización? ¿Cuáles tipos de facilidades? ¿Qué opina de esta organización? Si no es así, ¿Por qué no?

¿Usa las facilidades de una organización que ayuda a los migrantes (no específicamente bolivianos) en Chile?

(Si es así, ¿Cuál(es)? ¿Cómo se enteró de esta organización? ¿Cuáles tipos de facilidades? ¿Qué opina de esta organización? Si no es así, ¿Por qué no?

### ***Participación política y cívica***

¿Puede votar en elecciones? (en Chile, en Bolivia) ¿Si puede, ejerce su derecho a votar? (elecciones presidenciales, locales, en Chile, en Bolivia)

¿Me puede decir un poco sobre sus opiniones políticas?

¿Usted es socio/a de un grupo cívico o un grupo de comunidad aquí en Chile p.ej. una asociación de vecinos?

(Si es así, ¿Me puede decir un poco más sobre el grupo? ¿Cómo se enteró de este grupo? ¿Cuáles tipos de actividades hacen? ¿Por qué participa? Si no es así, ¿Hay algún grupo así a lo cual le gustaría pertenecer? ¿Qué lo/la previene de hacerlo?)

¿Me puede contar sobre cualquier otro tipo de participación cívica que hace acá en Chile?

(p.ej. evento público cultural, protesta o marcha, recaudar fondos, ser voluntario/a. ¿Por qué participa? Si no hace actividades así, ¿Hay alguna actividad de este tipo que le gustaría hacer? ¿Qué lo/la previene?)

¿Usted era o es socio/a de un grupo cívico o un grupo de comunidad en Bolivia p.ej. una asociación de vecinos?

(Si es así, ¿Me puede decir un poco más sobre el grupo? ¿Cómo se enteró de este grupo? ¿Cuáles tipos de actividades hacen/hacían? ¿Por qué participa/participaba?)

¿Me puede contar sobre cualquier otro tipo de participación cívica que ha hecho en Bolivia?

(p.ej. evento público cultural, protesta o marcha, recaudar fondos, ser voluntario/a. ¿Por qué participaba?)

¿Ha colaborado en alguna actividad de participación cívica que involucraba crear o mantener enlaces entre Chile y Bolivia?

(¿Qué? ¿Por qué?

¿Piensa que hay diferencias entre su participación cívica en Bolivia y su participación cívica en Chile?

(¿Cuáles son? ¿Por qué?)

¿Piensa que hay diferencias entre la participación cívica en Bolivia y en Chile en general?

(Si es así, ¿cuáles son las diferencias?)

*Para los que usan las facilidades de organizaciones de migrantes:*

¿Piensa que su uso de las facilidades de (organización de migrante) afecta a su participación cívica?

(¿Cómo?)

### **Enlaces con Bolivia/integración**

¿Para usted es importante tener enlaces con Bolivia? Si es así, ¿me puede describir los enlaces que tiene?

(Contacto con familia/amigos – ¿por qué, cómo, cuán frecuente? Dinero u otros productos/regalos – ¿por qué, cómo, cuán frecuente? Visitas – ¿Por qué, cuán frecuente?)

¿En general, cómo ha cambiado su vida desde que llegó a Chile?

¿Hay algo que mejoraría su vida en Chile?

¿Hay algo que mejoraría la vida de los bolivianos en Chile en general?

¿Cuáles son sus esperanzas para el futuro?

**¿Alguna pregunta?**

# APPENDIX 4: CONFIRMATION OF ETHICAL APPROVAL BY QUEEN MARY RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE

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Queen Mary, University of London  
Room W117  
Queen's Building  
Queen Mary University of London  
Mile End Road  
London E1 4NS

Queen Mary Research Ethics Committee  
Hazel Covill  
Research Ethics Administrator  
Tel: +44 (0) 20 7882 7915  
Email: H.COYILL@QMUL.AC.UK

c/o Professor Cathy McIlwaine  
Room 115  
Department of Geography  
Queen Mary University of London  
Mile End Road  
London E1 4NS

15<sup>th</sup> May 2013

To Whom It May Concern:

**Re: QMREC2013/27 – Bolivians in Chile: migrant organizations and everyday citizenship practices from an intersectional perspective.**

The above study was conditionally approved by Queen Mary Research Ethics Committee (Panel D) on the 17<sup>th</sup> April; with full approval ratified by delegated members' action on 15<sup>th</sup> May 2013.

This approval is valid for a period of two years, (if the study is not started before this date then the applicant will have to reapply to the Committee).

Yours faithfully

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "Elizabeth Hall", written over a faint horizontal line.

Ms Elizabeth Hall – QMREC Chair.

Patron: Her Majesty the Queen  
Incorporated by Royal Charter as Queen Mary  
and Westfield College, University of London



## APPENDIX 5: NEW LAW GOVERNING DOMESTIC WORKERS IN CHILE

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Changes to: Código del Trabajo, articles 146 to 152; Ley Nº 20.786; Ley Nº 20.336

*In force from November 2015*

Domestic workers engaged *puertas adentro* will be largely unaffected; their working hours will remain the same – up to 72 hours a week, not working more than 12 hours consecutively. It will, however, now be compulsory for them to have Sundays free. They will also have Saturdays off, but can negotiate with their employer to accumulate this time, or divide it up over the course of the week.

By contrast, domestic workers *puertas afuera* will see some significant changes to their working conditions. Their working hours will be restricted to 45 hours a week over five to six days, working a maximum of twelve hours per day, as opposed to the previous 72 hour maximum. For all others workers, the maximum is ten hours in one day. Domestic workers will be able to work overtime for a maximum of fifteen hours per week, never exceeding twelve hours in one day, and will be paid an additional 50 per cent of their daily salary for any such hours. All other workers can work a maximum of twelve overtime hours for the same pay conditions.

For both those *puertas afuera* and *puertas adentro*, it will be prohibited for employers to enforce the use of uniforms in public spaces unless the employee wishes to wear one, although it will still be possible to require employees to use uniforms in the house.

Sources: Biblioteca Nacional de Chile, 2015; El Mercurio, 2014