TRENDS AND DETERMINANTS OF COLOMBIAN MIGRATION TO CHILE

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Abstract

International news often give voice to Latin American migration aiming at Europe or especially the US, yet rarely do we hear about migration within the region. However, steadily increasing trend of intraregional migration has developed over the past decades, which has seen some Latin American countries – such as Colombia – issuing major outflows, while others – including Chile – has become regional migration-receiving countries. These changing migration processes fundamentally shape the societies and economies of Latin America.

Economic factors and internal conflicts have caused extensive emigration from Colombia, and with outflows growing, the volume to Chile has enlarged and the number of Colombians residing in Chile has increased sixfold within less than twenty years. Chile – in many aspects, being one of the most successful countries in Latin America – is chosen among Colombians, who want to enjoy a better quality of life, nevertheless, it is the objective of the study to deepen our understanding of the determining factors.

This article outlines trends in the volume and composition of Colombian outflows to Chile in the 21st century. The paper is dedicated to search for answers and explanations to questions such as: What forces drive Colombian migration and what attracts them in Chile? What are the main determinants of Colombian outflows to Chile? Understanding migratory behavior is an everlasting difficulty both for social sciences and economics, but available statistics on migration flows, surveys, Chilean legislation and further macro-data allow the analysis of migration trends that characterize Colombian emigration to Chile.

Globalization, political situations, income disparities and economic imbalances have all contributed to the currently increased movements of Colombians to Chile, posing challenges for both the origin and destination country.

Keywords: intraregional migration, determinants of migration, Latin America, Colombia, Chile

1. Introduction

1.1. International migration and regional relevance

International migration is a global phenomenon, and its role in the modern world is not limited to demographics anymore; it is a key issue for the economic, political and administrative agenda worldwide. Globalization, global warming, political and economic circumstances and

advances in transportation and communication all fuel migration, make its pattern more complex, raising high hopes and deep fears and reinforce its importance.

Migratory processes are reversible, meaning that countries of immigration can become countries of emigration, and nations that traditionally have sent out large numbers of migrants can convert to be net receivers. With regards to Latin America, the transformation into a region of out-migration has been slow but finally came to involve most countries, including Colombia, whereas Chile is one of the exceptions.

As to regional statistics, the migratory balance is negative by 11 million in Latin America (United Nations Population Division) and between 2010 and 2017 the global population of emigrants from Latin American-Caribbean nations grew by 7%. In 2017 about 37 million people from the region lived outside their country of birth. Indeed, in recent years, it is intraregional migration that has been increasing and has become the dominant trend. Approximately 70% of immigration in South America is intra-regional. According to a survey from 2017 (IOM) measuring global migration potential, 13% of the global adult population lives in Latin America, who wants to migrate abroad. 4.4 million from South America have plans to leave and 1.7 million are preparing to do so. In this survey, Colombia was in the top 20 countries (13th) and 1st from the region with the highest number of adults planning or preparing to leave the country.

Researching the topic is just in the right historical moment since in general public opinion is increasingly interested in Latin American matters, whether they are positive, like the peace talks in Colombia, or negative, like the Chilean protests. And along these lines, as a cause and consequence of these circumstances arises the question of migration within and beyond the region.

1.2. Research topic, goal and methodology

This article outlines trends in the volume and composition of Colombian outflows to Chile in the 21st century. The paper is dedicated to search for answers and explanations to questions such as: What forces drive Colombian migration and what attracts them in Chile? What are the main determinants of Colombian outflows to Chile?

The objective is to look through the two country profiles and detect what attractiveness and deficiencies they have in a macro perspective and assess whether these figures would result in migration from one country to the other. This appeal will bring the application of push and pull factors into analysis. Available statistics on migration flows, surveys, Chilean legislation, and further macro-data allow the study of migration trends that characterize Colombian emigration to Chile.

2. Country profiles

2.1. Colombia

Colombia was a Spanish colony, currently a presidential republic with a population of over 46 million, which is the second most populous Spanish-speaking state after Mexico. After gaining its independence, several multiplayer civil wars took place in the region during the 19th and 20th century, which is one of the principal reasons for the high rate of emigration. The long-term question is whether the volume of outflows will decrease for as much as Colombia by now is a developing country with favorable long-term growth prospects, one of the leading states in the region, NATO's global partner, and is conducting a successful peace process. Yet

the latter is not finished and the consequences of the Venezuelan crisis have also put a huge burden on the country being an issuing state and a transit country in the same time.

Three fundamental and clear migratory processes can be specified that characterize the movements of the region lately: Interregional migration, North-South migration and Transatlantic migration to the European OECD countries. According to the most preferred destinations by Colombians, the list has been steady in the last two decades. The highest rates of the outflows went to bordering Venezuela ever since the beginning of the 60's, choosing the oil-rich neighbor that offered a chance at work and peace, however, figures have drastically changed since the Venezuelan crises escalated and the vast majority of Venezuelan emigrants are now hosted in Colombia, accounting for some 1.6 million in 2020 (UNHCR). In absolute terms, the United States has been a principal destination of migrants from Colombia. Emigration to Spain, the ex-colonial power has emerged from the beginning of the 21st century, however, the global crises of 2008 hit the Iberian country drastically, thus immigration decreased. Besides Spain, Italy and France are preferred from the European OECD countries. With respect to intraregional patterns, besides Venezuela, Ecuador, Chile, and Panama need to be mentioned – Chile exceeding Panama in the number of Colombian immigrants by 2019 – latest figures.

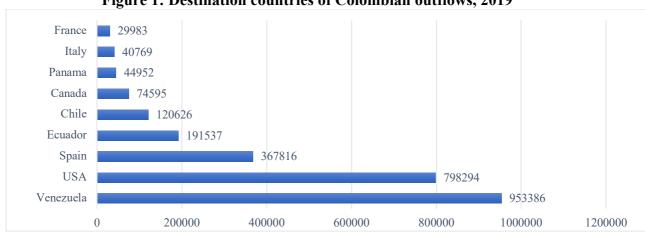


Figure 1: Destination countries of Colombian outflows, 2019

Source: UN Statistics, Population Division, International Migration, own compilation

The number of emigrants from Colombia has almost doubled in the last two decades, thus according to the latest published data, Colombia has 2,869,032 emigrants, representing 5.76% of its population (see Figure 2), however many more are planning to leave the country. An important element to highlight the current immigration in Chile is its feminization (Baeza 2019). Concerning the gender balance, Colombian emigration is dominated by women.

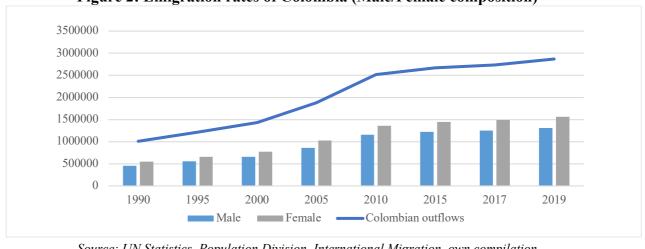


Figure 2: Emigration rates of Colombia (Male/Female composition)

Source: UN Statistics, Population Division, International Migration, own compilation

The net migration of Colombia has been negative for most of its contemporary history. Yet figures of different institutions are not the same. The CIA World Factbook shows a huge drop in the number of people leaving the country after 2009 as a consequence of the recession that directly affected Colombia (-0,68 migrant/1 000 population). Some sizable volume of emigration went to Chile. After 2010 rates produced a slight recovery. On the other hand, UN Statistics and projections indicate the huge Venezuelan influx in the country, with net migration turning positive for the first time in long history (rates reach +4.16 in 2018). However, this figure does not mean emigration decreases, nor that flows would decline towards Chile.

2.2. Chile

The modern sovereign state of Chile is undoubtedly among Latin America's most economically and socially stable and prosperous nations, with a population of 18,828,525 people as of 2018 (INE). In fact, the most important economic indicators are outstanding in the region, being a high-income economy with high living standards.

Following the country's emergence from dictatorship in 1990, the foreign-born population started to increase, and the country has undergone a substantial change concerning migration as it has shifted from being a migrant sender to a regional destination. Predominantly European-descent Chile has also grown racially diverse, as the origins have shifted. According to a joint estimate by the National Statistics Institute of Chile (INE) and the Chilean Immigration Office (DEM) together with census data, the number of foreigners in the country has increased from 105,070 in 1992 to 195,320 recorded in 2002, and the figure was 746,465 in 2017. This was steadily increasing, and according to official statistics, the estimated number of foreigners living in Chile reached 1,251,225 on December 31, 2018 (see Figure 3), of which approximately 300,000 were illegal immigrants. The proportion of foreigners living in Chile reached 6.6% (INE 2018), the highest in the region. It is worth comparing with other countries: Argentina 4.9%, Ecuador 2.4%, Brazil or Colombia 0.4% (El Mercurio 2019). Statistics will keep on changing due to the mass emigration of Venezuelans. Chile is concerned with the question of whether Venezuelans already resided in Colombia will actually stay in Colombia or rather traverse the country and proceed to the South.

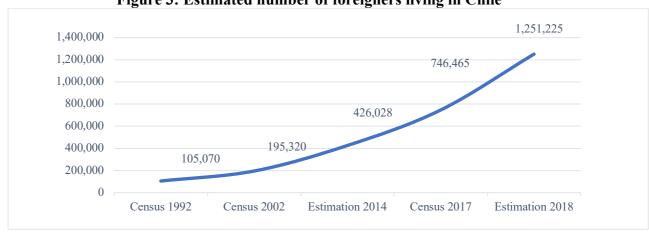


Figure 3: Estimated number of foreigners living in Chile

Source: Chilean Immigration Office and National Statistics Institute of Chile (INE), 2018, own compilation

According to available data in Chile, nearly 60% of immigrants are between 20 and 39 years old. The largest volumes come from five countries, in this order: Venezuela, Peru, Haiti, Colombia and Bolivia (see Figure 4).

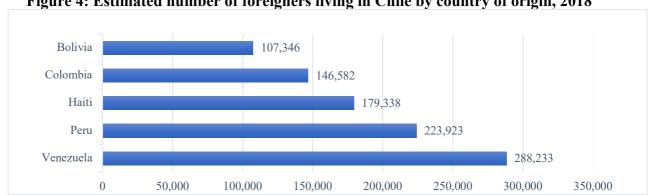


Figure 4: Estimated number of foreigners living in Chile by country of origin, 2018

Source: Chilean Immigration Office (DEM) and National Statistics Institute of Chile (INE), 2018, own compilation

Statistics show that the net migration of Chile has been rather positive in the 21st century and its rates have clearly started to increase since 2011 reaching +6.024 by 2018. However, current matters in the country might turn the balance quite drastically, which is also suggested by the UN projections forecasting -3.75 migrant/1000 people by 2023.

3. Colombian emigration to Chile vs Chilean immigration of Colombian nationals

Examining migration numbers can be done from two sides. Either we look at the Colombian emigration statistics or we consider the Chilean immigration figures. Figure 5 shows that Colombian outflows have started growing towards Chile from 2000 with a constant increase

ever since. The percentage of the emigrants to Chile compared to the total emigration rate of Colombian nationals is relatively low (0.89% in 2017), nevertheless the number of visa applications in Chile present higher rates of immigration of Colombian nationals. Between 2005¹ and 2018 altogether 263,476 Colombians were applying for a temporary visa from the Chilean migration office (see Figure 6), however, compared to the estimated numbers of Colombian nationals in Chile (previous figure: 146,582 as of 2018) it is presumable that the rest are residing illegally or have not accomplished their dream in Chile thus have returned to Colombia or to other destinations. Another outstanding process is – as was suggested before – the feminization of migration, which is very much noticeable in the case of Colombian emigrants (Fernández et al. 2020), women mostly working in the service and household sectors. Labor market was similar in Spain some years ago: domestic service as an employment niche for immigrant women, became the main route of entry for Latin American immigration (Oso-Martínez 2008).

30000 1 0.9 25000 0.8 0.7 20000 0.6 0.5 15000 0.4 10000 0.3 0.2 5000 0.1 0 0 1990 1995 2000 2005 2010 2015 2017 Percentage of Colombian emigrants to Chile compared to the total 0.15 0.22 0.27 0.53 0.63 0.88 emigration rate Colombian emigration to Chile 9898 1554 2734 3913 15882 23471 24427

Figure 5: Colombian migration rate to Chile and its percentage of total Colombian emigration rate

Source: UN Statistics, Population Division, International Migration, own compilation

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¹ Statistics are available from 2005.

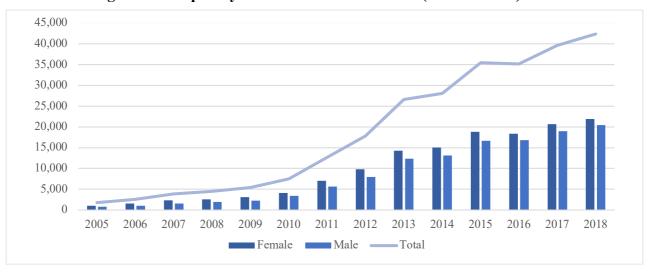


Figure 6: Temporary visa: Colombians in Chile (Female/Male)

Source: Chilean Immigration Office (DEM), own compilation

4. Push and pull factors as determinants of migration decision - attractiveness and deficiencies of Colombia and Chile

According to the classic Push and Pull theory, (Ravenstein 1885; Lee 1966) migration occurs under the influence of the following factors: potential migrants are motivated by 'pull' factors that they find attractive in the country of destination, whereas, in contrast, the repulsive 'push 'factors in their home country encourage them to emigrate. What motivates people to move? "Indeed, since we can never specify the exact set of factors which impels or prohibits migration for given person, we can, in general, only set forth a few which seem of special importance" (Lee 1966:48). The various socio-economic, political, cultural, sometimes environmental factors identified by the push-pull model are assumed to influence migrants to move from one place to another, internationally to one country to another country. In this respect, there are significant differences between the factors associated with the area of origin and those associated with the area of destination. As a basic premise of the theory is that the combinations of push and pull factors would then determine the size and direction of flows.

Based on Lee, when examining the causes of migration, it is important to take into account as many determinants – push and pull – as possible both in the destination and origin countries. The push and pull theory in this case is tested on Colombia and Chile. Five categories were identified for the determinants of migration: political, economic, social, cultural and spatial (Jennissen 2004). In order to measure the flows from one country to the other, indicators were chosen under each category. It should be clarified that such macro-indicators are often not directly associated with migration but accurately describe the attractiveness and deficiencies of the countries from the perspective of migrants within a particular political, economic, social, cultural and spatial context, as follows.



Instead of presenting each table of comparison, the chapter will offer the most relevant details of the statistics and the development of the specific indicators.

4.1. Political determinants

The political situation in a receiving or destination country exercise a significant influence on people's migration decisions. Conflicts, insecurity, poor governance, lack of political freedom, corruption or human rights abuses can all act as push factors, and the worthier conditions in the destination country can widely attract migrants. Indeed, Colombia always had somewhat weaker indicators in this respect than Chile, according to the followings:

Concerning the political measure of *rule of law*, Chile has continually reached higher rates – average of 1.28 [2000-2018]; (-2.5 weak; 2.5 strong) – for the indicator, which captures perceptions of the extent to which people have confidence in the rules of society, particularly the quality of contract enforcement, property rights, the police and courts, as well as the likelihood of crime and violence. Colombia, on the other hand, has been in negative terms – drifting between -0.9 and -0.3 – undoubtedly due to political conflicts and civil strife.

The index of *political stability* in Colombia has always been negative due to its violent history and civil wars, indicating a high likelihood of destabilization, politically-motivated violence and terrorism in the country. The average value has been -1.54 [2000-2018] (-2.5 weak; 2.5 strong). Meanwhile, in Chile, the perception of political stability is stronger, with the lowest of 0.33 and the highest of 1.09 in the given period. However, this figure has worsened in recent years – see the latest protest for instance as a signal for political instability. Presumably, Colombian emigrants leaving to Chile believe to find better governance there.

Similarly to political stability, the scale of corruption – *corruption perception* – is an indicator concerning good governance. Latin American countries, in general, have considerable problems with the illegitimate use of public power. Uruguay and Chile are exceptions in the region. Uruguay ranked 23st, Chile 27th in Transparency International in 2018, whereas France figured 21st, Spain 41st, and Colombia 99th. Corruption in Colombia thus indeed seems to be a push determinant of migration as people being disappointed, expect to perceive less abuse of power from authorities in Chile with more transparent and forthright governance.

International relations and regional integrations intensify migration between member states. Regional integrations are quite common in Latin America, there has even been an oversupply recently (Soltész 2011). CELAC, OAS and ALADI are examples of intergovernmental organizations that include both Colombia and Chile.

The two countries, throughout their history, have signed a large number of bilateral treaties of various kinds from MoU on Strategic Partnership; Free Trade Agreement; Social Security

Agreement; to Agreement to avoid double taxation too, but one to highlight from a migration point is the Recognition of professional qualifications by Chilean authorities². It allows finding a professional job more effectively with a recognized university degree, besides the high salaries and living standards that are the primary magnets attracting professional migrants (Durand-Massey 2010).

4.2. Economic determinants

The economic approach to migration analyzes the main economic determinants influencing migration, which factors could be the largest motivators that drive people (Gross and Schmitt 2010; Taylor 2006) since people often move in search of better economic opportunities; more importantly due to (prospects of) higher wages, more or better job opportunities as well as for the potential for improved standard of living. Is Chile economically attractive for Colombians?

One rather simple theoretical explanation for the migration trends is the disparities in *GDP per capita*. Both countries show pleasant development of their GDP (PPP), but in fact Chile has always shown higher rates (eg.: 2000: Chile: US\$ 14241.16, Colombia: US\$ 8413.22; 2010: Chile: US\$ 19363.22, Colombia: US\$ 10956.95 or 2018: Chile: US\$ 22873.81, Colombia: US\$ 13321.33). Both Colombia and Chile show constant – except in the years of global crises and great recession – and visible growth since 2000. Also, having a look at economic growth and prospects, both countries display ample growth – Chile: 4.02; Colombia: 2.66 (World Bank 2018) – and economists detect development for the countries, but of course depending on several factors under transformation.

Early migration theories and their posterior versions (Smith's 1776; Hicks 1932; Shields and Shields 1989), as well as the neoclassic or Harris-Todaro approach argue, differences in real income or expected income drive the supply of migration in most cases. Differences in net economic advantages, particularly differences in wages are often considered to be the main causes of migration. As anticipated, Chile has higher *real wages*, but 'only' since 2008, when after the world crises Colombia departed with a more modest increase – by 2018 Colombia: US\$ 108.2; Chile: 120.5 (Cepal 2018). The matter of the fact is that migration is often determined by expected rather than actual earnings, but indeed, Chile is a country that attracts professional migrants by offering comparatively high salaries (Durand-Massey 2010).

When high *unemployment rates* prevail, people consider going abroad, where more job opportunities are available. Unemployment rates of the region are not low in general, but developments are seen in most countries. A notable example is Colombia, where in 2000 the unemployment rate was 20.5%, while by 2018 it dropped to 9.19%. As of Chile, its lowest rate dates back to 2013 with 6.21%, but by 2018 it increased to 7.43% – although still lower than in Colombia (World Bank 2018). It must be taken into account that the proportion of people working in the informal economy is high.

As for pull factors, *foreign-born employment rate* might be more essential for immigrants than unemployment rates in general. In fact, foreign-born employment is exceptionally high in Chile; 76.9% in 2018, 5th after Iceland, Czech Republic, Israel and New Zealand, apparently higher than OECD average: 68,7%. In fact, employment rate of foreigners is higher than of locals, the difference with native-born employment is +16.7%, which is the 1st highest according to OECD (2018), while 2nd is Israel (+12.1%) and 3rd is Luxembourg (+9.6%). Contrary to the study of Dustmann (2016), Chile does not receive immigrants with the lowest level of education. Immigrants to Chile with 18 years or more have higher educational levels

² Reconocimiento de Estudios de Educación Superior en los Tratados Internacionales vigentes en Chile

than Chilean population and they have a more active orientation towards the labor market than native ones (Baeza 2019). Nevertheless, the Labor Code of Chile (Art. 19 y 20) determines the proportion of foreigners on a min. 85% of Chilean citizens, in case of more than 25 employees work for the same company.

Definitely, we are seeing a strong growth in *remittances* at a regional level, experiencing nearly 10% growth in 2018, one of the largest growth rates in the past 10 years (Orozco 2019). UN statistics recognize a clear increase concerning Colombian remittances from Chile. Colombian National Bank records even higher amounts: US\$ 394.7 million as of 2018 – tripled in the last 5 years (2013: US\$ 121 million). Two main factors explain such a boost in magnitude: first, obviously, as emigration from the country is increasing, remittances rise, and second, Venezuelan migration referring to Venezuelan migrants in transit or temporary stay receiving remittances in Colombia. Remittance flows are increasingly important for the Colombian economy – as of 2018 accounted for 1.92% of GDP (World Bank).

4.3. Social determinants

Oftentimes, if the fundamental causes of migration are not linked to economic or political factors, the question arises how to explain ongoing migration when wage and development differentials or recruitment policies cease to exist. According to the network concepts such as migration system theory, the explanation can be the existence of a diaspora or networks, which are likely to influence the decisions of migrants when they choose their destinations (Dustmann and Glitz 2005). Furthermore, inequality, social insecurity, and low welfare spending are examples of crucial origin-country determinants of migration (Ravlik 2014).

Inequality is very high in the region. Colombia and Chile are no exceptions. They figure in the *GINI index*, the classical measurement of differences in a society, with similar rates: Colombia: 49.4; Chile: 46.6 (0= perfect equality; 100= perfect inequality) (World Bank 2017).

While inequality is high in both countries, in terms of *poverty ratio*, Chile presents prosperous figures thus coming to be a popular destination for many migrants in the region. Whereas in Colombia 49.7% of the population lives below the poverty line, in Chile the rates were 8.6 (World Bank 2017). For comparison, Mexico produced the highest rates with 43.6% (2016) and Uruguay the lowest 7.9% (2017).

The *Human Development Index* (HDI) is a composite measure including life expectancy, educational attainment, and income level, aiming to measure life quality. Besides a fine upturn – which is a global trend – Colombia has not reached the Chilean levels yet but is not far away: 0.76 vs. 0.85 in 2018 (UN 2018).

The **stock of foreign-born population** – not exclusively the presence of the same nationals but in general – influence migrants' decision when they choose their destinations. This indicator rather acts as a pull factor, and Chile is a good example, where 195.320 foreigners were registered in 2002 and by 2018 the numbers increased to 1,251,225 (INE 2018)³. The existence of migrant networks, which often evolve into institutional frameworks help to explain why other theories would not work. It is particularly the diaspora that influences the migration flows and their volumes.

Of course, people consider migration based on their *safety*, thus poor safety circumstances as high *rates of crime* might negatively impact the directions and volumes of migration. With a

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³ OECD Statistics also show a great increase, but their numbers are lower due to different data collection methods.

worsening crisis in Venezuela, dark days in Nicaragua, the fragile peace process in Colombia, new governments and new ideas in Brazil, Mexico and beyond, 2018 was a year with depressing statistics on homicide rates for the region (Insight Crimes 2018). Chile was acknowledged with the lowest homicide rates in Latin America and the Caribbean (2.7/100,000 people), while Colombia – due to the fact that the country saw an increase and diversification of criminal groups recently – was listed with 25 homicide rates/100,000 people.

4.4. Cultural determinants

The works of Wallerstein (1974), Kritz, Lim and Zlotnik (1992) argue that international migration does not occur randomly but usually takes place between countries that have close historical, cultural or economic ties. In fact, links between the origin and destination countries are not solely material, but historical, cultural and linguistic.

An extensive literature shows that both fluency in the destination language and the ability to learn it

quickly are key to the successful transfer of existing human capital to the destination countries' labor markets (Dustmann-Fabbri 2003; Durand-Massey 2010; Dustmann-Schönberg-Stuhler 2016). A *common language* unburdens migrants' decisions. Spanish language, as well as the Christian religion have a facilitating role – together with the increased barriers to migrate to Europe and the United States – in leading migrants to prefer Chile (Gissi-Pinto-Rodríguez 2019).

Common historical background can assist as a linkage between countries, resulting in regular migratory flows. Migratory dynamics permit identifying postcolonial ties that might be an important variable to be considered – referring to the Spanish colonial heritage of Colombia and Chile. However, the two cultures are actually not similar. Chilean society is often described as the opposite of Caribbean culture: considered cold and unfriendly. This is due, among other things, to the centuries-long isolation of Chile, which is bordered by the desert and the Andes (Gissi-Pinto-Rodríguez 2019).

An interesting approach by *Hofstede dimensions*, which views migration as a rational calculation made by individuals, is the model of national culture consisting of six dimensions that express the degree to which the cultures differ or resemble. Without going into analysis, the two countries quite much resemble, of course, it is true for many of the nations in the region, but this indicator can be influential when people have to choose from a regional or a transatlantic destination.

4.5. Spacial determinants

The question of how far migrants travel has been the focus of the classical migration studies since Ravenstein's Laws of Migration (1885). Using distance as a proxy for migration costs (gravity model; Zipf 1946) points out that the greater the distance traveled by migrants is, the higher the monetary costs of migration are, such as transportation expenses, food, and lodging costs for oneself and one's family during the move. With regards to *geographic distance*, Colombia and Chile are not neighbouring countries, which is not a deterrent, and might even benefit migration for the lack of border conflicts. In relatively speaking, they are not far from each other, but the distance might act as an intervening obstacle.

There are several possibilities of *transportation* from Colombia to Chile as people can travel by road and by air. When moving, people often mix these transportations based on cost and suitability. Focusing on flights and their frequencies the total flight duration from Bogota,

Colombia to Santiago de Chile takes 5 hours, 45 minutes. Here we do not have the opportunity to include monetary costs, but again, it certainly can act as an obstacle.

5. Conclusions

With the intensified intra-regional migration trend, the 21st century saw decisive volumes from Colombia to Chile. The importance of the Colombian community not only comes from its number but especially from its growing trend.

Looking through the two country profiles, such differences and disparities are indicated that suggest the entry of political, economic and social determinants – acting as push and pull factors –, and cultural and spatial determinants – basically pull factors – in migration decisions. The chosen macro-economic indicators guide us to understand the motivations driving migration, and allow presenting the behavior of international mobility, namely that in many respects Chile happens to be commonly attractive for Colombians and is considered to be a rational choice of destination.

Colombians are mainly working in the service, household sectors, and HoReCa industry⁴. The demand for workers in the service sector is one of the attractive factors that have made Santiago a relevant destination for immigrants in the region (Baeza 2019). Colombian immigrants are largely concentrated in the Metropolitan Region, 61%, and in the Antofagasta Region, 12.4% (DEM 2017). According to Duran and Massey (2010), this is a 'city-directed migration', which comes in two varieties: professional and unskilled. Migrants with technical or professional training typically locate in capital cities and generally travel as individuals in search of opportunities for education, work, or professional development. The process of Colombian integration into the Chilean society is diverse as a consequence of prejudices, racial heterogeneity, sexualization of women and differences in their socioeconomic position (DEM 2017).

Implication concerning the region suggests that the interest in migration will keep expanding thus posing new challenges to the respected authorities. The emigration of Colombians is of such magnitude that it has begun to grab the attention of governments, to the point that special programs have been created to assist them, such as the 'Colombia Nos Une' or the 'Colombian Red Caldas'. On the other hand, there has been a speck of politicization of immigration in Chile becoming aware of the fact that the 1975 migration law was not designed for 21st century immigration.

Concerning future prospects, both countries are facing decisive issues. The new Colombian government has to address security challenges that includes the implementation of the peace process between the state and the guerrillas, along with strengthening political stability (Bács - Hegedűs 2020), which measures can reduce migration flows from Colombia to Chile. The opposite can happen if the economic and political crisis in Venezuela – the most preferred destinations of Colombian – further enhances, and Colombian emigrants choose other destinations, among them, like enough Chile. Projections about Chile suggest that national public unrest might break immigration trends and volumes.

⁴ Hotel/Restaurant/Café

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