



GLOBAL DEVELOPMENT WORKING PAPER SERIES

COVID-19, the Migration Crisis and Chile's New Immigration Legislation: Chile's Powerful Get Richer and its Poor More Outraged

Rene Leal

Working Paper 2021/1

This working paper considers the present situation of COVID-19 in Chile, with a focus on changing immigration trends, as well as the polarization of political and social conflict caused by the ways in which the Chilean government has attempted to manage the COVID-19 pandemic. The paper concentrates on the enactment of a restrictive immigration law and its consequences for Chilean society, and argues that the government's COVID-19 policies have led to greater capital accumulation for the wealthy, exacerbated existing social divisions.

Chile's *Colegio Médico* (Medical Association, COLMED) warned the government that vaccination and preventive contagion measures both needed to be pursued and should be regarded as one strategy. Advice from COLMED and other social actors was not heeded by the government resulting in an increase in the contagion rate during the pandemic. Another trend was that the relative wealth of the richest in Chile has also increased, to the highest levels ever through greater capital accumulation, yet the working and middle classes have not only suffered during the pandemic, their existence has become more precarious. Chile's capital/labour relationship has become more contradictory and critical.

In spite of his unpopularity, Chile's President Sebastián Piñera, decided, in complicity with the neoliberal center-left in the Congress, to take

advantage of the present 'state of catastrophe' and to regard the growing humanitarian migratory crisis in the country's north as a national security issue. After eight years of debate on how to manage immigration, the reformed immigration law has reproduced the repressive elements of the previous law.

From the 2019 Social Outbreak to COVID-19: The Multidimensional Crisis Worsens

As expected, after the massive 2019 rebellion,¹ the COVID-19 pandemic has deepened Chile's existing social, political and economic crises, and migrants to Chile have become the main scapegoats. The President has vociferously linked migration and infection, and affirmed Chilean sovereignty over both, declaring that "[w]e must reinforce our land, sea and air borders to avoid that through illegal immigration we may be bringing to our country the contamination or infection of the virus that is attacking us" (El Siglo, 2020; La Tercera, 2021). In targeting migration, the President is seeking to distract the public from the failure of the government's pandemic policies (Leal in Georgeou and Hawksley, 2020: 123–124).

After a year of pandemic, the situation has worsened. For the government, the way to overcome this storm is to reinforce social control, but of a political kind rather than as a public health issue. The BBC notes the paradox in

¹ The "massive 2019 rebellion" refers to the events of 18 October 2019 in which millions of Chileans protested in order to change the Constitution. These events forced the government to call a plebiscite through a Constitutional Convention, with the result being an overwhelming victory to the people (80 per cent to 20 per cent) in electing members to the Convention. The protests and election result revealed that the social outbreak was both a cause and awakening of political consciousness along class, gender and intercultural lines (See Leal, 2020: 12; Ruiz, 2019: 11).

Chile that vaccination has been successful,² but that the authorities have lost control of the pandemic (Bronstein et al., 2021). The New York Times (NYT) comments similarly (Bonney & Londoño, 2021), as did the Washington Post (WP) (Mussa, 2021). On 4 April 2021, there were 7,304 new infections recorded in Chile, while active cases remain at over 40,000. Public health experts see Chile as a clear example of how not to manage a pandemic (El Mostrador, 2021).³

The urgent public health, economic and communication measures needed to control the pandemic and to assist the vaccination process, have not been appropriately adopted: testing, contact tracing and isolation; direct social and economic support to the population by the government; and communication through mass media and social networks, advising the use of masks, social distancing and hand washing (Bronstein et al., 2021). Chile's hospitals are under severe stress, with more than 95 percent of COVID-19 beds occupied in April. At the peak of the crisis (at the time of writing) on 30 April, there had been 32,838 COVID-19 deaths (DEIS, Public Tableau, 2021).

Notably, despite the public health crisis, in March, schools, malls, supermarkets, cinemas and restaurants were all open, and transnational companies and large retail firms returned to "normal" (Bronstein et al., 2021). The international airport also resumed operations, however the Government "failed to track the influx of foreign visitors ... which allowed in the most infectious strains from Brazil and the United Kingdom" (El Mostrador, 2021). The Telegraph writes that "in the midst of one of the fastest vaccination campaigns in the world,

doctors accuse the government of promoting a large increase in COVID-19 cases by prematurely reopening the economy" (El Mostrador, 2021). Indeed, the resulting increase in infections is so large that a new quarantine period and zone was enacted to cover 14 million of Chile's 19 million citizens, and would delay the elections scheduled for early April 2021 (El Mostrador, 2021).

In the economic realm, recent reports from the International Labor Organisation (ILO) and the Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC) indicate an increase in wealth concentration and poverty in Chile unprecedented in recent decades (Carmona, 2021: 1). At the same time, unemployment in the formal sector in Chile has reached 10.5 percent and 26 percent in the informal sector (INE, 2021). The high proportion of informal work in the Chilean economy in the agricultural, wholesale retail, domestic service and cleaning sectors, much of which is performed by migrants (Carrasco 2010; Ryburn 2016), and the absence of effective welfare measures for the support of families, has exacerbated the crisis. To provide food relief, hundreds of soup kitchens have been established by grassroots organizations in working class suburbs. The overall COVID-19 mortality rates are unequally distributed due to class divisions.⁴ CEPAL estimates that in Latin America "the total number of poor people reached 209 million at the end of 2020, 22 million more than the previous year" (Carmona, 2021: 1). Similarly, Oxfam concluded that "in the period of pandemic in Latin America, the so-called super-rich have only increased their wealth. The increase in the wealth of the small group of billionaires reached 48.2 billion

² The total of vaccinated people to 30 April was 14,777,093 of whom 8,083,408 had been administered with one dose, and 6,693,685 with two doses. Source: <https://www.gob.cl/yomevacuno/#vacunados>

³ See the bibliography for links to NYT, WP, The Telegraph and El Mostrador which reveal COLMED's concerns about the Health Ministry's contradictory decision to carry out a vaccination campaign while neglecting sanitarian preventative measures.

⁴ According to Mena et al. (2021), "The Greater Santiago area is composed of 34 municipalities—defined as having more than 95% of its area urbanized—and is home to almost 7 million people. Although this urban center accounts for 36% of the country's population, it has reported 55% of the confirmed COVID-19 cases and 65% of the COVID-19-attributed deaths before epidemiological week 36 (end of August 2020). Socioeconomic status (SES) in the municipalities varies widely, with Vitacura having the highest value (SES = 93.7) and La Pintana the lowest (SES = 17.0; Fig. 1A), and this difference is reflected in the impact of the pandemic during the Southern Hemisphere winter of 2020. The maximum incidence in Vitacura was 22.6 weekly cases per 10,000 individuals during the middle of May, whereas La Pintana reported a maximum of 76.4 weekly cases per 10,000 individuals during the first week of June."

dollars”, and the region has seen the rise, on average, of “a new billionaire every two weeks since March” (Carvajal, 2020). In the Forbes 2021 ranking of the world's 2,775 billionaires there are nine Chileans (Forbes 2021) whose wealth amounted to USD \$40.6 billion, over half of which (\$22.1 bn) is credited to Iris Fontbona (the richest person in Chile and ranked 74th in the world, the widow of mining, brewing, banking and industrial magnate, Andrónico Luksic), and their children. Chile's fourth richest person is President Piñera, who is much further down the global rich list (in 1115th place) with an estimated wealth of \$2.9bn. Former World Bank President, Andrés Solimano, has noted that the crisis does much more damage in the context of a capitalist economy, for its cost is paid for by wage earners, people with low incomes and the poor (Mena et al., 2021). Now it is becoming more evident that, after so many years of neoliberalism, the economic elite has been made even more powerful during the pandemic, and therefore, has enormous political influence (Carvajal, 2020).

In the political arena, there is a law proposal in progress, presented in the Chilean Congress by the communist deputy Camila Vallejo, which seeks to tax the ‘super-rich’. In this respect, Solimano (in Carvajal, 2020) argues that “in Chile ... since the fortunes of the Luksic and Paulmann and even that of the President Piñera, have also grown during these months... this is not an even equitable adjustment to the crisis and, on that side, it is more justified to think about a wealth tax.”⁵

Voices within the labour movement have also complained against the government's contradictory and damaging public health and economic policies. The National Trade Union

claims that the measures implemented are in favour of big business interests and undermine the Chilean people's safety (ADN, 2021).

The Huge Wave of Immigration, Migratory Crisis and the New Restrictive Law

1. The size and velocity of the current wave of migration

In the 20th century emigration of Chileans had been the norm,⁶ however in the past two decades the number of migrants to Chile has increased markedly. According to the International Migration Report issued by the United Nations (UN, 2017), immigration to Chile increased from 177,000 in 2000 to 489,000 in 2016. In 2018, Chile's Department of Foreign Affairs and Migration reported that by December 2017, the number of immigrants was over 1.1 million, of which some 300,000 held ‘irregular’ status (Da Silva, 2018: 1). According to Chile's Instituto Nacional de Estadísticas (National Institute of Statistics, INE), at 31 December 2019, the immigrant population had reached 1.5 million (Godoy, 2020), with the largest groups coming from Venezuela, Peru, Haiti, Colombia and Cuba.

Aninat & Sierra (2019) point out that there are two main reasons for this change: the country has been economically successful and now has highest per capita income in Latin America; and the deep crises experienced by some Latin American countries led to a massive exodus of their inhabitants.⁷ The wave of immigration has deeply affected Chilean culture and society. An isolated mono-cultural country, which only underwent large scale European immigration

⁵ Horst Paulmann is a German-Chilean supermarket retailer, ranked as the third richest person in Chile (and the world's 1001st richest person), with estimated wealth of US\$3.2bn (Forbes 2021).

⁶ Nowadays, emigration numbers are about two thirds of immigration figures—approximately 1.0 million emigrants to 1.5 million immigrants. Access 24/2/2021: <https://www.latercera.com/noticia/millon-chilenos-vive-exterior-espana-hacia-donde-mas-crecio-migracion-nacional/>

⁷ In Chile economic growth and high per capita income co-exist with social inequality, demonstrating that Chile's economic success is a distortion, the ideological effect of capitalist relations. The recent social protests have demonstrated that the economic success of the 1980s onward was a mirage, a fact unveiled by current class struggle (Larraín, 1983; Azocar et al., 2020; Leal, 2020). In fact, Chile is the most unequal nation in the OECD, (Fundación Sol, 2020) and the most unequal in Latin America, above Mexico and Colombia (El Mostrador, 2020).

during the 19th⁸ and the 20th centuries, is now culturally diverse (Castles and Miller, 1993).

As it is well known, a tragic turning point of Chilean history occurred in 1973, when a military coup toppled the Allende government. This was followed by a military dictatorship that lasted until 1990. The country is still ruled by a Political Constitution enacted in 1980 (Moulian, 1995) and immigration is still governed by the Decree-Law (DL) N° 1,094 of 1975, the oldest one in Latin America (Aninat & Sierra, 2019: 12; Da Silva, 2018: 2). This law conceives of foreign nationals as potential threats to national security and also democracy (Da Silva, 2018: 2; Sandoval,⁹ 2016; Stefoni, 2003). Certainly, the current wave of immigration has clearly revealed the obsolescence of this authoritarian migration legislation.

2. The humanitarian and migration crises in Latin America and Chile

In January 2021 more than 2,000 undocumented people crossed the border from western Bolivia and walked through the desert into northern Chile into the small town of Colchane (Radio Bio – Bio, 2021). Since January, up to 200 migrants per day have entered Chile, crossing this arid landscape. In February, two people died in the town and local authorities have struggled to accommodate the migrants in Colchane, where they are forced to shelter under plastic tarpaulins (McGowan, 2021). The mayor of Colchane, Javier García, described the situation as one of the worst humanitarian crises he had seen (McGowan, 2021). According to the head of the Jesuit Migrant Services (*Servicio Jesuita Migrante*), Walesca Ureta (2021), the situation in Colchane reflects a humanitarian crisis in Latin America, whose nuclei have been in Haiti and Venezuela. In response, the Chilean government has deployed the military to patrol the border and to expel migrants to Venezuela. In February,

the government mounted a high-profile deportation event, expelling 86 people on a military plane to Venezuela, and another 52 by bus (McGowan, 2021; Delgado, 2021).

Prior to the crisis of migration in the north of Chile, extended restrictions to irregular immigration were still being applied under the old decree (Pavez, Soto; Colome, 2018). Migrant expulsions reached 2,554 between 2018 and 2019 (Pizarro, 2019). Concerning the present influx, Vanessa González, of the National Migrant Assembly in Chile, affirms that “this is a profound humanitarian crisis that has been criminalized by the government”. She said, “we need to create a humanitarian plan that includes the rights of these people, rather than frame immigration as a problem” (McGowan, 2021).

The government’s health department had moved groups camping in Colchane into state-run facilities to undergo a 14-day quarantine, however, “undocumented migrants, have been told they must report themselves for ‘illegal entry’, which can be used by courts to justify expulsion orders and reject requests for asylum.” The government is using COVID-19 public health measures to contain people and then to expel them (McGowan, 2021).



Image: Expulsion of Venezuelan undocumented migrants from the North of Chile in April 2021, the first of 15 flights.¹⁰

⁸ Europe was the main source of immigration to Chile during the 19th century (See Ojeda Elbert, 1980), with many migrants from Germany, France, England and Croatia. According to Cano and Soffia, (2009), there were also cohorts of Asian and Arab immigrants in the period 1865–1960.

⁹ Rodrigo Sandoval was the Director of Chile’s Department of Migration and Foreign Affairs.

¹⁰ Source: El Desconcierto, access 27 abril 2021. <https://www.eldesconcierto.cl/nacional/2021/04/25/gobierno-expulsa-a-55-venezolanos-desde-iquique-amparandose-en-la-nueva-ley-de-migraciones.html>

3. The crisis in the North and the enactment of restrictive law on immigration

Prior to the enactment of the new law, debate was mainly between the restrictive approach versus the human rights perspective. Although there was a consensus that the dictatorship's law was obsolete, the government remained attached to restrictive measures. The message was clear. Chile's government announced that entry requirements and a drastic administrative procedure would continue to be used to impede irregular entry, and that "expulsion processes must be simplified for those foreigners who have violated the Immigration Law" (Gobierno de Chile, 2018).

In opposition to the government, civil society and migrants' organizations criticized the lack of political will for humane immigration regulations. The United Nations and the international community also intervened, requesting more time for a thorough analysis of the new migration law, which should integrate a human rights-based approach (T-13, 2021).

The last version of the new migration law passed both Chambers of Congress, but was immediately questioned by the Communist Party and the *Frente Amplio* (Broad Front). They appealed to the *Tribunal Constitucional Chile* (TC) (Chilean Constitutional Tribunal), which then declared six articles of the law unconstitutional (La Tercera, 2021). The government considered two of these as key articles of its proposal. The first was article Nº 135, that stated that "once the resolution ordering the expulsion is final and enforceable, the person affected may be subjected to restrictions and deprivation of liberty for a period that cannot exceed seventy-two hours". The TC determined that this term was manifestly contrary to the Constitution (T-13, 2021). The other key article for the government that was rejected was Nº 132, which aimed to regulate the assisted return of unaccompanied children and adolescents to their country of origin.

Once the law was enacted, the expulsion of migrants began (T-13, 2021). On Sunday 25 of

April, 55 Venezuelan undocumented migrants in the north, were expelled from country (see image on previous page). The undersecretary of the Interior Minister, Juan Galli, said that this will be the first of fifteen flights taking these foreigners home (T-13, 2021).

On Sunday 11 April, President Piñera enacted the new migration law, replacing the previous law (La Tercera, 2021). He said that the new law allows the country "to put order in our house, through an orderly, safe and regular policy, allow legal migration and combat illegal immigration. We do not want organized crime, smuggling, drug trafficking and those who do not respect our laws to enter our country." This initiative launched the *Safe Border* plan: "those who try to enter clandestinely, not only commit a crime, but risk being subject to expulsion" (La Tercera, 2021).

Responding to this, Carlos Margotta, a lawyer and President of the Chilean Human Rights Commission, said that migrants are human beings, and they have the right to defence before the courts, a right enshrined in various international human rights treaties (El Desconcierto, 2021). The problem, he said, is that the recently enacted law is contrary to human rights (El Desconcierto, 2021).

According to *Libertad y Desarrollo* [Liberty and Development] (LyD, 2021), a right-wing think tank, one of the main strengths of the new law is that it establishes a balance between Chile's legitimate right to define clear rules for entry, permanence and expulsion from the national territory, and the recognition of rights and duties for foreigners who decide to reside temporarily or permanently in the country. However, according to Ceriani (2017), previous experience teaches us that "if preventing or reducing irregular migration is the policy goal, it was not achieved" by expulsions from national territory, or detention as a deterrent mechanism.

For Acevedo et al. (2021), a new law was necessary, and this was the ideal opportunity to enact modern regulations that conform to international instruments and United Nations

recommendations, as well as with the Inter-American Human Rights system. Finally, regarding one of the articles rejected by the TC concerning protection of children, Vargas (2018: 536) commented that the bill does not have in mind the best interests of children, a matter that should be addressed in all immigration procedures that affect minors.

Conclusion

This paper has examined the Government strategy to combat COVID-19 and the change in the trends of migration, including recent increases in immigration, the recent humanitarian crisis and the new law on migration. In spite of warnings from the health sector, political decisions have been made that keep the interests of big business production and capital accumulation at the centre of considerations about the health care of the population. The result has been that the rate of capital accumulation has increased, poverty has grown, middle- and working-class Chileans and immigrants have been seriously pauperized and have suffered an intense contagion, with fatal consequences for over thirty thousand people. This was mainly a consequence of lax public health measures and poor political decisions, which have served to worsen the health of the population. Ultimately, due to the government's misplaced priorities, an effective vaccination campaign was not supported by strict public health measures.

Simultaneously, the wave of immigration has changed the social and cultural physiognomy of the country, causing crisis and institutional transformation. The new law of migration has not prevented international immigration activity in relation to Chile. However, as demonstrated by the way the government has managed the humanitarian and migratory crisis in the north of the country, it has retained restrictive elements of the dictatorship's migration law, and it has done so at the expense of the human rights of migrants.

Both public health and migration management reveal that the Chilean ruling class, conscious of

the strong social protest movement of 2019, has used the COVID-19 pandemic as a way to neutralize criticism of social inequality and government inaction, and to exercise greater political control under a state of exception to increase capital accumulation. It tried to control the pandemic by avoiding welfare policies, in particular, economic support for the needy, but this neoliberal strategy did not change in the context of the pandemic, in fact, the pandemic intensified it. However, although neoliberals in government have been able to use COVID-19 to enact a conservative migration law, it has come at the cost of a significantly reduced basis of social support. In fact, social protests have emerged again in April/May 2021, when this working paper was being prepared. Out of the pandemic, one of the worst health, political, economic and social crises in Chilean history is emerging, which is intensifying acutely the historic contradiction between capital and labour.

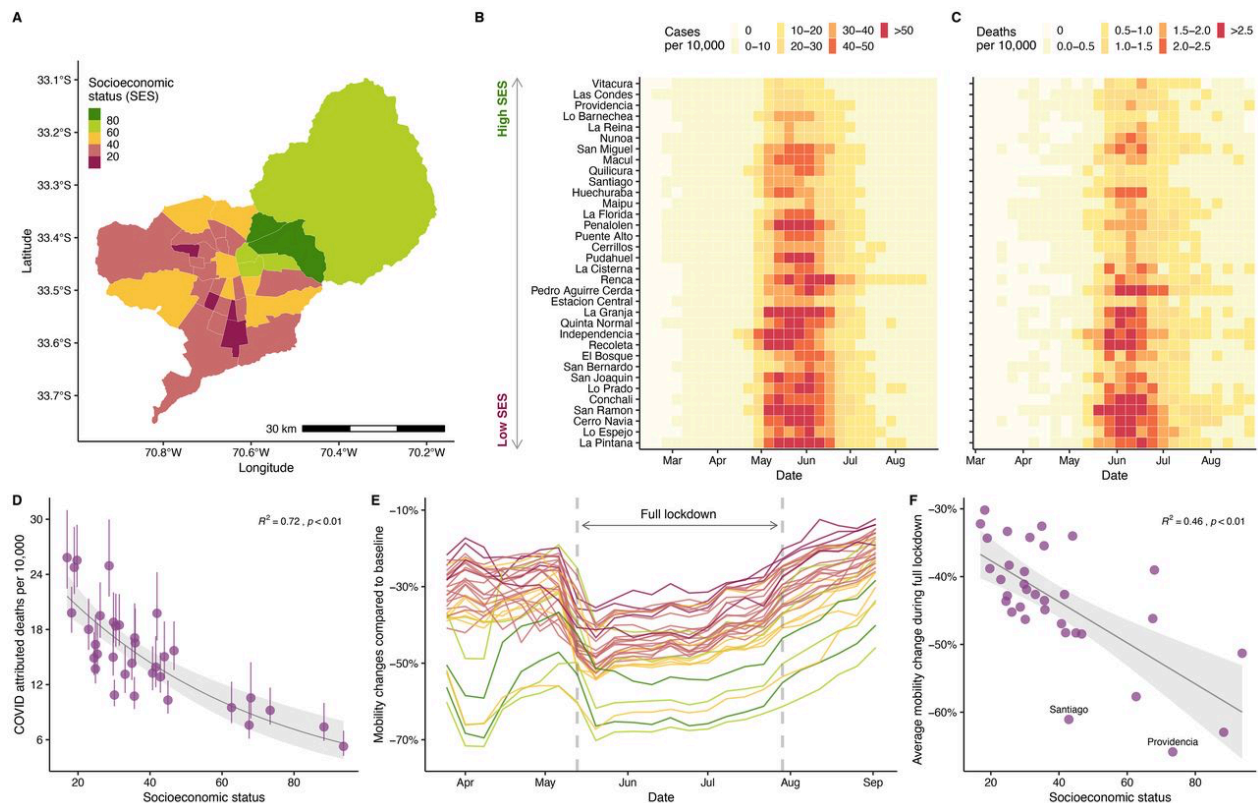


Figure 1: “Socioeconomic status determines COVID-19 incidence and related mortality in Santiago, Chile”.¹¹

About the Author:

Rene Leal is Associate Professor, Universidad de Santiago de Chile. Rene Leal holds a Ph.D. in Sociology from University of Wollongong, Australia. Recently, he was appointed as an Adjunct Fellow by the School of Social Sciences, Western Sydney University, Australia. His research focuses on political sociology, migration, class, gender and state formation.

To cite: Leal, R., 2021 ‘COVID-19, the Migration Crisis and Chile’s New Immigration Legislation: Chile’s Powerful Get Richer and its Poor More Outraged’, *HADRI Global Development Working Paper Series* 2021/1. HADRI, Western Sydney University, Australia. <https://doi.org/10.26183/0j4y-iy05>

¹¹ Source: Mena et al. (2021), Science Journal 2021., access 30 April 2021 <https://science.sciencemag.org/content/early/2021/04/26/science.abg5298>

References

- Acevedo, P., Cobos, M., Didier, M., Morales, C., 2021, “Nueva Ley migratoria promueve una migración desordenada, insegura e irregular” (New immigration law promotes disorderly, unsafe and irregular migration), in *El Mostrador*, access 18 April 2021. <https://www.elmostrador.cl/noticias/opinion/2021/04/18/nueva-ley-migratoria-promueve-una-migracion-desordenada-insegura-e-irregular/>
- ADN Radio, 2021, “CUT propuso controlar precios de alimentos” (CUT proposes to control food prices), access 31 March 2021. <https://www.adnradio.cl/nacional/2021/03/29/senado-cut-propuso-controlar-precios-de-alimentos-y-otras-13-medidas-mas-para-enfrentar-la-crisis-economica-por-el-coronavirus.html>
- Aninat, I., Sierra, L., 2019, “Capítulo I, Regulación inmigratoria: propuestas para una mejor reforma”, en *Inmigración en Chile, una Mirada Multidimensional* (Chapter I, Migratory regulation: Proposals for a better reform), in *Immigration in Chile, a Multidimensional View*, Centro de Estudios Públicos (CEP), Isabel Aninat y Rodrigo Vergara (Editors), Fondo de Cultura Económica (FEC), Chile.
- Azocar, O., Carmona, F., Herreros, F., Leal, R., Monje, P., 2020, *Papeles de Coyuntura y Tendencias Políticas: Dos Años de Gobierno de Piñera, Levantamiento Popular y Crisis del Orden Neoliberal*, (Working Papers on Political Conjuncture and Tendencies: Two Years of Piñera Government, Social Uprising and Crisis of the Neoliberal Order), CLACSO, Instituto de Ciencias Alejandro Lipschutz (ICAL), Instituto Rosa Luxemburg, ISBN: Santiago, Chile, <http://ical.cl/wp-content/uploads/2019/10/UN-AN%CC%83O-DE-GOBIERNO-3-1.pdf>
- Bonnefoy, P., Londoño, E., 2021, The New York Times, “A pesar de la rápida campaña de vacunación contra la COVID-19 en Chile, los casos aumentan”, (Despite the rapid vaccination campaign against COVID-19 in Chile, cases increase), access 31 March 2021. <https://www.nytimes.com/es/2021/03/30/espanol/chile-vacunacion.html>
- Bronstein, E., de la Torre, I., Vega, J., 2021, “La ayuda debe ser transversal y debe apurarse lo del 10 %” (The aid must be transversal and the 10% must be speeded up), Panel of Doctors about COVID-19, *Contigo en la mañana*, Chile - Vision TV, 30 March 2021; 9.30 AM, access 29 April 2021 <https://www.chilevision.cl/contigo-en-la-manana/mejores-momentos/doctor-bronstein-la-ayuda-debe-ser-transversal-y-debe-apurarse-lo-del>
- Cano, V., Soffia, M., 2009, *Studies on International Migration in Chile: Notes and Commentaries for an Up to Date Research Agenda*, *Papeles de Población*, Vol. 15, Nº 61, Toluca, Julio – Septiembre, Scielo Referee Journal.
- Carmona, F., 2021, *Impuestos a los grandes patrimonios (Tax on large assets)*, in Fundación Instituto de Estudios Laborales (FIEL) (Foundation for the Labour Studies Institute), Santiago, Chile.
- Carrasco, L. N., 2010, Transnational family life among Peruvian migrants in Chile: Multiple commitments and the role of social remittances. *Journal of Comparative Family Studies*, Vol. 41, Nº 2, pp. 187-IX.
- Carvajal, C., Radio U Chile, “Aumento de patrimonio de los super - ricos en pandemia” (Increase in wealth of the super - rich in pandemic), access 31 marzo 2021. <https://radio.uchile.cl/2020/08/01/aumento-del-patrimonio-de-los-super-ricos-en-pandemia-reabre-debate-aplicar-impuestos-o-combatir-la-evasion/>
- Castles, S. and Miller, M.J. 1993, *The Age of Migration: International Population Movements in the Modern World*, Macmillan, London.

- Ceriani Cernadas, P., 2017, "Immigration Detention through the Lens of International Human Rights: Lessons from South America", In *Global Detention Project, Working Paper No 23, Open Society Foundations*. Edited by Michael Flynn and Mathew Flynn. Working Paper Series; Statesboro: Georgia Southern University.
- Da Silva, J., 2018, *Chile's Decree Law 1094: A Source of Immigrant Vulnerability*, Master of Arts Thesis, The City University of New York (CUNY), New York, USA.
- El Desconcierto, 2021, "Gobierno expulsa a 55 venezolanos desde Iquique amparándose en la nueva ley de migraciones" (Government expels 55 Venezuelans from Iquique under the new immigration law), access 27 abril 2021 <https://www.eldesconcierto.cl/nacional/2021/04/25/gobierno-expulsa-a-55-venezolanos-desde-iquique-amparandose-en-la-nueva-ley-de-migraciones.html>
- El Desconcierto, 2021, "Comisión Chilena de Derechos Humanos acusa inminente expulsión arbitraria de migrantes" (Chilean Human Rights Commission accuses imminent arbitrary expulsion of migrants), access 24 April 2021 <https://www.eldesconcierto.cl/nacional/2021/04/24/comision-chilena-de-dd-hh-acusa-inminente-expulsion-arbitraria-de-migrantes.html>
- El Mostrador, 2021, "Mas dolores de cabeza para el Ministro Paris, ahora un artículo del Telegraph pone a Chile como ejemplo de lo que no hay que hacer" (More headaches for Minister Paris, now an article in the Telegraph puts Chile as an example of what not to do), access 4 April 2021 <https://m.elmostrador.cl/dia/2021/04/04/mas-dolores-de-cabeza-para-el-ministro-paris-ahora-un-articulo-del-telegraph-pone-a-chile-como-ejemplo-de-lo-que-no-hay-que-hacer/>
- EL Mostrador, 2021, "SJM pide que el Estado adopte medidas desde una perspectiva humanitaria" (SJM asks the State to adopt measures from a humanitarian perspective), access 9 February 2021 <https://www.elmostrador.cl/dia/2021/02/09/sjm-pide-que-el-estado-adopte-medidas-desde-una-perspectiva-humanitaria-para-venezolanos-que-cruzan-frontera-en-colchane/>
- EL Siglo, 2020, "COVID – 19, Dramatic situation of migrants: Letter from 15 social organizations and personalities", access 7 September 2020 <https://elsiglo.cl/2020/04/23/covid-19-la-dramatica-situacion-de-migrantes/>
- Forbes, 2021, "The Real time Billionaires list", 6 April 2021, Available at: <https://www.forbes.com/real-time-billionaires/#524f01e13d78>
- Gobierno de Chile, 2020, "New migration law: promoting a modern migration policy adapted to the country's needs", access 9 September 2020 <https://www.gob.cl/noticias/nueva-ley-de-migracion-promoviendo-una-politica-migratoria-moderna-y-adecuada-a-las-necesidades-del-pais/>
- Godoy, G., 2021, "Según estimaciones, la cantidad de personas extranjeras residentes habituales en Chile bordea los 1,5 millones al 31 de diciembre de 2019" (According to estimates, the number of foreigners habitually resident in Chile is around 1.5 million as of December 31, 2019), INE (National Institute of Statistics), access 2 March 2021 <https://www.ine.cl/prensa/2020/03/12/seg%C3%BAAn-estimaciones-la-cantidad-de-personas-extranjeras-residentes-habituales-en-chile-bordea-los-1-5-millones-al-31-de-diciembre-de-2019>
- INE, 2021, "Tasa de desocupación nacional alcanzó 10,3% en el trimestre diciembre 2020 – febrero 2021 " (The national unemployment rate reached 10.3% in the december 2020 - february 2021 quarter), access 30 April 2021 <https://www.ine.cl/prensa/detalle-prensa/2021/03/31/tasa-de-desocupaci%C3%B3n-nacional-alcanz%C3%B3-10-3-en-el-trimestre-diciembre-2020---febrero-2021>

- Fundación Sol, 2021, “Chile es el país más desigual de los países de la OCDE, donde el decíl más rico gana 27 veces más que el decíl más pobre” (Chile is the most unequal country in the OECD, where the richest decile earns 27 times more than the poorest decile), access 1 marzo 2021 <https://www.elmostrador.cl/noticias/2020/03/09/segun-informe-de-la-ocde-chile-es-uno-de-los-tres-paises-latinoamericanos-mas-desiguales-en-cuanto-a-ingresos/#:~:text=MERCADOS->
- La Cuarta, 2021, “Izquierda Siches y ranking de los millonarios chilenos; ‘deberían ellos mismos liderar un impuesto a los super ricos’” Izquierda Siches and ranking of Chilean millionaires (They should themselves lead a tax on the super rich), access 7 April 2021 <https://www.lacuarta.com/cronica/noticia/izquierda-siches-refiere-ranking-millonarios-chilenos-2020/620469/>
- Larraín, Jorge, 1983. *Marxism and Ideology*, Edited by Anthony Giddens, London: The Macmillan.
- La Tercera, 2021, “Gobierno promulga nueva ley de migraciones” (Government enacts a new law of migrations), access 11 April 2021 <https://www.latercera.com/nacional/noticia/gobierno-promulga-nueva-ley-de-migraciones/NXMVX4HDZVAK7HDZIC25LC6EJY/>
- Leal, R., 2020, “The Rise of Fascist Formations in Chile and in the World”, in *The Global Rise of the Extreme Right*, Special Issue, Soc. Sci. 9 (12), 230; <https://doi.org/10.3390/socsci9120230>
- Leal, R., 2020, “Chile: four intertwined crises”, in Georgeou, N. and Hawksley, C. (eds.), *State Responses to COVID-19: a global snapshot at 1 June 2020*, HADRI/Western Sydney University, New South Wales, Australia, pp. 123 – 124, available in links: <https://doi.org/10.26183/SedSa2079cabd> and <https://researchdirect.westernsydney.edu.au/islandora/object/uws%3A56288/datastream/PDF/view>,
- Leal, R., 2020, “Acuerdos nacionales para una nueva constitución y por la paz social: últimos dispositivos ideológicos de la clase dominante para su reproducción” (National agreements for a new constitution and social peace: latest ideological devices of the ruling class for its reproduction), in *Alternativa*, Revista del Instituto de Ciencias Alejandro Lipschutz (ICAL), Año 17, Primer Semestre, ISSN 0717 – 5450, pp. 18 – 36, Santiago, Chile.
- Libertad y Desarrollo, 2021, “Nueva ley de migración y extranjería, a las espera de su implementación” (New law of migration and foreign affairs, awaiting its implementation), *Temas Públicos* (Public Themes), Nº 1485-2, 5 March 2021, www.lyd.org
- McGowan, C., 2021, , “Humanitarian crisis looms on Chile-Bolivia border as migrants cross on foot”, *The Guardian, Global Development*, access 9 March 2021 <https://www.theguardian.com/global-development/2021/mar/09/chile-bolivia-border-crisis-migrants>
- Mena, G., Martínez, P., Mahmud, A., Marquet, P., Caroline, A., 2021, “Socioeconomic status determines COVID-19 incidence and related mortality in Santiago, Chile”, *Science*, access 30 April, 2021 <https://science.sciencemag.org/content/early/2021/04/26/science.abg5298>
- Moulian, T., 1997, *Chile Actual, Anatomía de un Mito* (Contemporary Chile, Anatomy of a Myth), Colección Escafandra, LOM, Santiago de Chile.
- Mussa, Y., 2021, “El exitismo del gobierno chileno eclipsa una campaña de vacunación que pudo ser ejemplar” (The triumphalism of the Chilean government overshadows a vaccination campaign that could be exemplary), access 29 March 2021. <https://www.washingtonpost.com/es/post-opinion/2021/03/29/chile-vacunacion-covid-19-reconfinamiento/>

- Ojeda Ebert, G., 1980, “El rol de la inmigración alemana en el proceso de formación de la Nación Chilena” (The role of German immigration in the process of formation of the Chilean nation), *Estudios Latinoamericanos*, N° 7, pp. 35 – 50, Chile.
- Pavéz-Soto, I., Colomes, S., 2018, ‘Human rights and politics, arbitrary discrimination in borders customs’, *Polis*, Vol. 17, N° 51, Chile, access 9 September 2018.
https://scielo.conicyt.cl/scielo.php?script=sci_arttext&pid=S0718-65682018000300113
- Pizarro, J., 2021, “Cifras de expulsiones de extranjeros por delitos o situación irregular no corresponden a 2019” (Figures of expulsions of foreigners for crimes or irregular situation do not correspond to 2019), *Fact checking of president’s public year report*, access 28 April 2021
<https://factchecking.cl/user-review/cifras-de-expulsiones-de-extranjeros-por-delitos-o-situacion-irregular-no-corresponden-a-2019/>
- Public Tableau, 2021, “Departamento de Estadísticas e Información de Salud” ((DEIS), Department of Statistics and Information of Health), access 30 April 2021
https://public.tableau.com/profile/deis4231#!/vizhome/DefuncionesSemanales1_1_16102396688650/DEF?publish=yes
- Radio Bio–Bio Chile, 2021, “Alcalde de Colchane dice que gobierno actuó fuera de la ley tras fallo por expulsión de migrantes”(Colchane Mayor declares that the government acted out of the law after decision for expulsion of migrants), access 18 February 2021,
<https://www.biobiochile.cl/noticias/nacional/region-de-tarapaca/2021/02/18/alcalde-de-colchane-dice-que-gobierno-actuo-fuera-de-la-ley-tras-fallo-por-expulsion-de-migrantes.shtml>
- Ruiz, C., 2019, *La Política en el Neoliberalismo: Experiencias Latinoamericanas*, (Politics in Neoliberalism: Latin American Experiences), Santiago, LOM.
- Ryburn, M., 2016, Living the Chilean dream? Bolivian migrants’ incorporation in the space of economic citizenship, *Geoforum*, Vol. 76, pp. 48-58.
- Sandoval, Rodrigo., 2016, “Hacia una política nacional migratoria” (Towards a national migration policy), in *Racismo en Chile: La Piel Como Marca de la Inmigración* (Racism in Chile: The Skin as a Mark of Immigration), María Emilia Tijoux (editor), pp. 103–124. Santiago de Chile: Editorial Universitaria.
- Stefoni, C., 2003, *Inmigración Peruana en Chile: Una Oportunidad a la Integración* (Peruvian Immigration in Chile, an Opportunity for Integration), FLACSO - Chile: Editorial Universitaria. Santiago de Chile:
- T-13, 2021, “55 ciudadanos venezolanos son expulsados de Chile por causas judiciales” (55 Venezuelan citizens are expelled due to judicial causes), access 26 April 2021
<https://www.t13.cl/noticia/nacional/55-extranjeros-expulsados-chile-causas-judiciales-25-04-2021>
- T13, 2020, “UN and international community request more time for the analysis of the law of migration in Chile”, access 9 September 2020 <https://www.t13.cl/noticia/nacional/onu-y-comunidad-internacional-piden-mayor-tiempo-analisis-ley-migraciones-chile>
- Vargas, F., 2018, “Una Ley de Migraciones con Enfoque en Derechos Humanos” (A law of migrations focused on Human Rights), in *Informe Anual Sobre Derechos Humanos en Chile* (Annual Report on Human Rights in Chile) Universidad Diego Portales, Facultad de Derecho, Tomas Vial (Editor), pp. 483 – 538, Salesianos Impresores S. A., Santiago, Chile.