

# MIGRATION IN ANTOFAGASTA: 1

## LIVING ON A POROUS BORDER AS A STRATEGY OF RESISTANCE

46

LA MIGRACIÓN EN ANTOFAGASTA:  
EL HABITAR EN FRONTERA POROSA COMO ESTRATEGIA DE RESISTENCIA

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Durante los últimos 20 años, el constante aumento en la llegada de migrantes latinoamericanos a Antofagasta ha implicado la ocupación del espacio marginal de la ciudad. Ante ello, observamos los espacios que mayormente ellos habitan y nos cuestionamos cómo han logrado permanecer y habitar en estos espacios marginales. La aproximación metodológica es comparativa y se estructura desde la narrativa de los propios migrantes, analizando las configuraciones urbanas y los procesos de ocupación territorial. Los principales hallazgos indican que el habitar transforma los espacios marginales en lugares migrantes ya que, por un lado, conforman fronteras entre las prácticas divergentes del Estado y del habitar migrante y, por otro lado, definen una condición de porosidad, entendida como un proceso de articulación, recuperación identitaria y demanda por el derecho de habitar la ciudad. Consecuentemente, el habitar en frontera porosa se transforma en una estrategia de resistencia.

**Palabras clave:** espacios marginales, lugares migrantes, frontera porosa

Over the last 20 years, the constant increase in the influx of Latin American migrants to Antofagasta has entailed occupying the marginal spaces of the city. In view of this, this article looks at the spaces that they mainly inhabit, asking how they have managed to remain and live in these marginal spaces. The methodological approach is comparative and is structured from the narrative of the migrants themselves, analyzing urban configurations and territorial occupation processes. The main findings indicate that their living transforms marginal spaces into migrant places since, on one hand, they form boundaries between the divergent practices of the State and migrant living and, on the other, they define a condition of porosity, understood as a process of articulation, identity recovery, and demand for the right to inhabit the city. Consequently, living on a porous border is transformed into a strategy of resistance.

**Keywords:** marginal spaces, migrant places, porous border.

## I. INTRODUCTION

The growing internationalization of capital and the reorganization of production have favored an increase in the migrant population worldwide (Sassen, 2003). Given this trend, “the State as the body in charge of migration policies has been harmed by the growth of the global economic system and other transnational processes, affecting its capacity and regulatory role” (Sassen, 2003, p.37), which has caused growing stigmatization towards migrants from certain countries and unfounded fears in the resident population.

In Chile, recent migration processes have filled diverse academic and media debates. One of the key factors that has affected this has been the increase in the migrant population, as traditionally attractive centers for migrants such as the United States and Europe have begun to close their borders (Stefoni, 2005). Specifically, the number of migrants within the total resident population was 1.3% according to the 2002 Census<sup>1</sup>, while in the 2017 Census<sup>2</sup>, the migrant population increased to 4.4% (INE, 2018).

Initially, from the theoretical point of view, the study of migrations emphasized demographic analyses giving an eminently descriptive character to the phenomenon, which helped to feed a public policy from the statistical data (Stefoni & Stang, 2017). Then, over time, the narratives of the migrants themselves began to take on importance. In Chile, in particular, for about twenty years the sustained increase in scientific production regarding immigration has involved different fields of study such as feminism, racism, politics, the border, and, from urbanism, the relationship of the migrant with the city (Stefoni & Stang, 2017). In the latter context, it is possible to distinguish works that have focused, for example, on the concept of the centrality of migration, understood as the diverse relationship between the different practices and the urban space (Garcés, 2011), or the case of Peruvian migration in Chile, where space is transformed into a place of differentiation by origin, gender, or class (Stefoni, 2015). However, it seems that, from urbanism, the relationship between social practices and urban space in a capitalist context still lacks exploration, hence the importance of linking these analyses in local contexts with the migration we are witnessing (Stefoni & Stang, 2017).

Consequently, it is proposed to reflect on this disciplinary vacuum and try to answer the following research question: Why and how have migrants managed to stay and live in the marginal spaces of the city of Antofagasta? The

following hypothesis is also proposed: “Latin American migrants manage to transform the marginal spaces of the city of Antofagasta into migrant places like porous borders by managing to stay and live in them”, and the following objectives are defined: (1) to study the marginal spaces where migrants are located, and (2) to analyze the relationships that migrants are establishing with migrant places.

This research consists of seven parts. The first is this introduction. The second part proposes the theoretical framework that articulates the concepts of marginal space, migrant places, and porous borders. Then, in the third part, the case study is identified and in the fourth part, the comparative methodology between the marginal spaces that migrants inhabit is explained. The fifth part presents the main findings for each of the cases studied. Sixth, the findings obtained with the approaches and concepts addressed are discussed. Finally, in the last part the conclusions, scope of the study and future lines of research are presented.

## II. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

### Construction of the porous border

The current global migration context arises from the crisis of the Post-war Welfare State and the establishment of capitalism as a global socio-economic model (Polanyi, 2007). This system has led not only to the capitalization of labor and, as a result, migration, but also to the territorial monetization that has endangered the environment and has consolidated global and extractivist cities (Polanyi, 2007). In this regard, Harvey (2013) argues that these cities “have always sprung from the geographical and social concentration of a surplus in production” (p.21) therefore, they have generated a series of problems related to the creation of territorial fragments that are not related to each other and that accumulate both wealth and poverty, causing marginalization and segregation in the cities (Vergara-Perucich, 2018).

Back in the 80's, the geographer Wacquant (2007b) began to study this marginality, ceasing to think of it not only as a condition of poverty on the edge of the city but as a structural situation of a part of society and that implicitly carries the political sphere, which is characterized by the capitalist system and the absence of the State; economic, defined by labor informality; social, determined by economic deficiencies; and spatial, characterized by spatial concentration and territorial stigmatization (Wacquant, 2007b). However, marginality can also be considered as a

<sup>4</sup> XVIII National Population Census and VIII Housing Census of 2002

<sup>5</sup> XIX National Population Census and VIII Housing Census of 2017

border that divides places and contexts. Paasi (2005) indicates that borders can be considered as “divergent sets of institutional practices based on the political, cultural, economic and governmental [...] and the social and cultural practices based on social memory” (p.669). In other words, the differences and conflicts between institutionality and the community are revealed.

However, from the perspective of urbanism, it is interesting to study the spatial variable as a condition of urban marginality. Initially, space has a marked difference between the continent and the content as an abstract entity (Norberg-Schulz, 1980), but when the time variable is then incorporated, space is related to the human being. Bollnow (1969) states that “there is space only to the extent that man is a spatial being” (p.29-30). In other words, space is where man begins to inhabit and relate to his environment.

In this regard, Heidegger (1956) indicates that the concept of inhabiting gains relevance because it is how man integrates with the world. Various theorists have argued that the importance of living is related to the qualification of the space (Lefebvre, 2013; Harvey, 1998). Conceptually, this dialectic between man and space counts as a mediator to the notion of place. Augé (2000) indicates that the places are relational, have a history, and can be identified. From humanistic geography, it is observed that they have an experiential perspective (Tuan, 2001), and from architecture, they are related to the personal experiences of individuals (Zumthor, 2004). Therefore, it is possible to define “migrant place” from (a) the spatial relations which are the morphological and environmental aspects; (b) the experiential relationships concerning activities and routines; and (c) the symbolic relations concerning the representations and memories (Augé, 2000; Lefebvre, 2013; Rapoport, 1978).

A recent look invites us to think about places not only as spatial, experiential, and symbolically delimited areas but also as open and porous networks of social relations (Massey, 2001). The architects Chermayeff and Alexander (1968) go further and suggest that thinking about places from their porosities requires an effort to reposition the gaze and turn it to the socio-spatial dynamics and practices of the city. Here, architecture is confronted by its limits and is led to embrace the identity processes that are established as a way to recover the right to inhabit the city (Stavrides, 2006).

### III. CASE STUDY

#### Antofagasta: Mining capital and port of the world

Antofagasta is a city located in the north of Chile (Figure 1), whose economy has historically been based on silver, saltpeter,

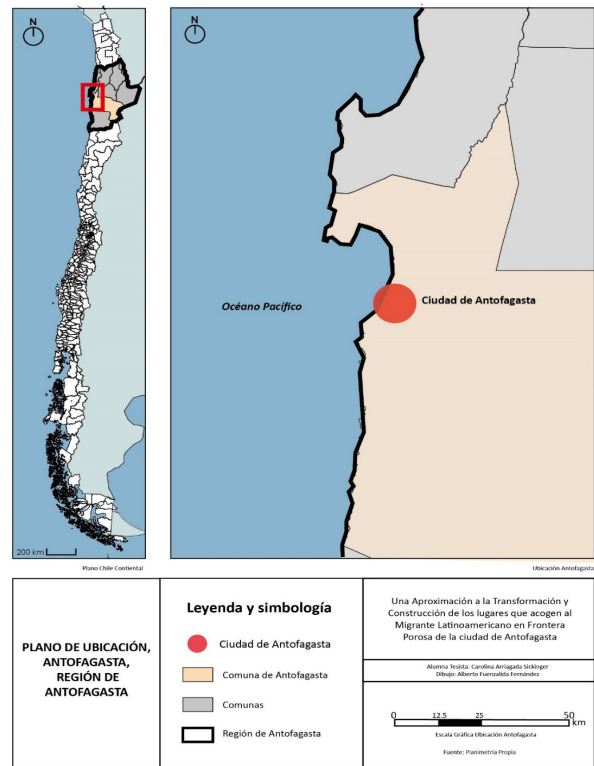


Figure 1. Location map of Antofagasta. Source: Preparation by the authors.

and copper production, which is why its growth has been developed based on an extractivist model of mineral resources (Silva & Lufin, 2013). In 2019, it contributed 28% of the world’s copper production, which has made it a key part of the country’s economic development, becoming known as the world capital of mining (Ardiles, 2013), that is, it is a global port-city in the economic world. Due to this, it is presented, on one hand, as an attractive center for migrants, but on the other, as a city detached from the national socio-environmental development that has favored the enrichment of large national and international companies and has caused the growing urban marginality found in the city (Vergara-Perucich, 2018).

### IV. METHODOLOGY

The research methodology combines the hypothetical method, which proposes a question and a hypothesis derived from the theoretical framework (Hurtado, 2000), and the phenomenological method, which assumes nothing before doing the fieldwork (Husserl, 1982). This methodology

aims to approach the urban problem from the interpretation that migrants make of their reality, intertwining the theoretical discussion with the fieldwork carried out.

After identifying the marginal spaces, through the cadastral data of the 2017 Census, INE<sup>6</sup>, and the MINVU<sup>7</sup> Camp List, where the migrants are mostly located, mapping is made using the Redatam + SP software. Then, to answer objective one, the political and spatial aspects proposed by Wacquant are analyzed. For the political field, the capitalist model and the absence of the State are analyzed, while for the spatial variable, spatial concentration and territorial stigmatization are analyzed. Specifically, five in-depth interviews conducted with key actors under the Fondecyt project are studied<sup>8</sup>, and ten in-depth interviews conducted with migrants under the same project are analyzed, which are random and are not representative in sample terms, and with whom a tour and participatory observation is carried out. At the same time, for territorial stigmatization, migration news is analyzed in a local newspaper during the month of September 2020.

For the second objective, which raises the analysis of the spatial, experiential, and symbolic dimensions of the identified marginal spaces, the review of five in-depth interviews conducted with key actors and ten in-depth interviews conducted with migrants under the same project is proposed. At the same time, a tour and participatory observation are carried out with the migrants themselves (Figure 2).

## V. RESULTS

### Urban marginality

In the city of Antofagasta, the most recurrent assertion of migration studies is confirmed, which indicates that migrants are occupying the devalued and deteriorated areas of urban space. This is how the Historical Center is identified with an average of 100 migrants per block living in a situation of subletting rooms or tenements. On the other hand, on the periphery towards the north, the Balmaceda macro-camp has the highest number of migrants, exceeding on average 300 inhabitants per block (Figure 3). These marginal spaces (hereinafter, MS) have been called, respectively: MS for Spatial Deterioration and MS for Environmental Risk, which will be displayed according to the political and spatial variables proposed by Wacquant.

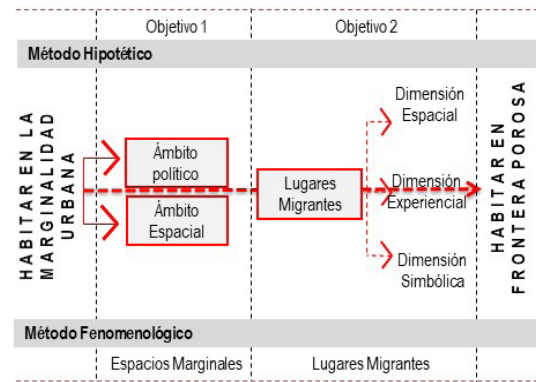


Figura 2. Methodological-conceptual structure. Source: Preparation by the authors.

**Political sphere.** In the marginal spaces studied, the establishment of the capitalist model has caused the monetization of urban space as an economic good. In the case of MS due to Spatial Deterioration, the low flexibility in the height of buildings has made it unattractive for investors. One of the key players indicates: "At some complex point of Antofagasta we could raise it to eight floors, not reach infinity either, but maintain eight floors continuously, now it seems that it is not business" (NS, Architect, Director Diplar, personal communication, August 17, 2018). In the case of MS due to Environmental Risk, the same interview stated that: "For the price of the land, the main goal is to raise funds through the sale or lease, not to generate investment in land." Therefore, it would seem that the State has also entered into the policy of land monetization as the sole owner of the city's foothill lands.

Likewise, the absence of the State has generated a lack of public investments, poor maintenance, and a lack of regulations in the MS due to Spatial Deterioration, which has made this sector precarious. One of the key actors says: "One doesn't take kids downtown because you see... photos of scantily clad girls and all that. So the type of trade that is being offered has become precarious, the nights here ... are very dangerous in the center of Antofagasta" (NS, Architect, Director Diplar, personal communication, August 17, 2017). There has been a similar situation in the MS due to Environmental Risk, in the same interview it is indicated that: "Today we have, as a regional government, a regional opportunity as 65% of the land in the region is fiscal, but in

<sup>6</sup> National Institute of Statistics, 2018.

<sup>7</sup> Ministry of Housing and Urban Planning

<sup>8</sup> Fondecyt N°1171722 "Geographies of access to housing for Latin American and Caribbean immigrants: Exploring new socio-spatial phenomena in northern Chilean cities."

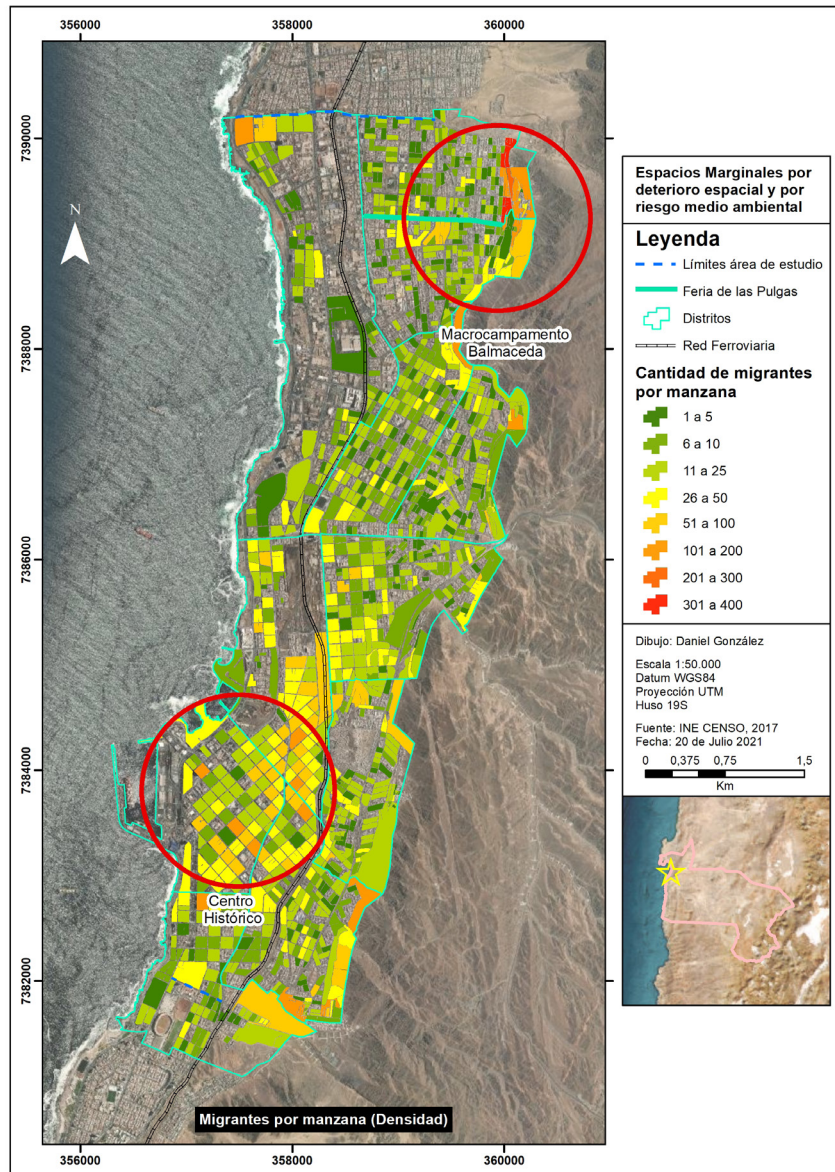


Figure 3. Marginal spaces due to spatial deterioration and environmental risk. Source: Preparation by the authors, on Census data 2017, INE, and MINVU Camp List

the end, the problem is a public management problem, there is no sales capacity". In other words, the slow management of the state has not led to a solution to the current migratory demand.

**Spatial scope.** The spatial variable has special importance in urbanism, where the physical characteristics of spatial concentration and territorial stigmatization are analyzed.

For spatial concentration in the MS due to Spatial Deterioration, it is important to observe how traditional commerce has moved towards the waterfront, an area that has become the city's new shopping and recreation center. In this regard, one of the key players indicates that the center of Antofagasta "has been depressed after the displacement of commercial activity to the large out-of-town parks located on the periphery of the city" (AM, Coordinator for the NGO Fractal, personal communication Antofagasta). At the same time, the affluent classes have left

No.	Title	News	Date	Nationalities Involved	Pages
1	Migratory Flows in the Country	The government has focused in recent years on the process of regulating the immigration process. A demand apparently supported by a majority.	Sept 1st	All	12
2	Organizations address the complex situation of migrants during the Pandemic	Most work in areas that have shut down, so they have no income.	Sept 4th	All	2
3	Orderly, safe, and regular migration	The regularization of the situation of migrants from their country of origin is crucial.	Sept 13th	All	12
4	Barometer reveals optimism in the future and improves migrant perception	The results of the 2020 study carried out by the IPP of the UCN and the C.E of Opinion Feedback were released yesterday through the Soy Antofagasta Portal	Sept 19th	All	2
5	Labor Tourism and Migration	It is not about opening or closing borders, but rather governance considering the quality of the basic services that we can provide	Sept 20th	All	2
6	Venezuelan Immigration	The immigration process must be regularized, much more so than in the pandemic, but without ceasing to collaborate with the tragedy that that country is experiencing.	Sept 29th	Venezuelans	12
7	138 Venezuelans have entered the El Loa Province illegally	The foreigners were brought from Iquique and Antofagasta to a socio-sanitary residence, a PCR sample is taken from them.	Sept 29th	Venezuelans	8
8	There are 39,388 foreigners in the region eligible to vote	For the next plebiscite the figure doubles the 2017 elections and 43% are Bolivians	Sept 30th	Bolivians	9

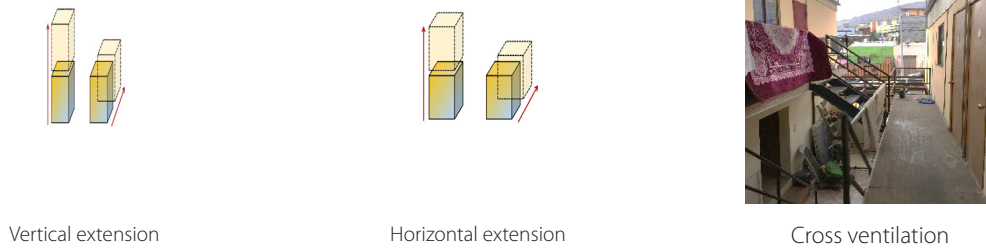
**Table 1.** News about migration in a local newspaper, 2020. Source: Preparation by the authors from El Mercurio of September 2020.

the sector, which has led to a gradual physical and functional deterioration of real estate assets. On the other hand, the MS due to Environmental Risk is characterized by being in a mass removal zone indicated as E10- Non-Buildable Zone of the PRC<sup>9</sup> of Antofagasta-, that is, an area susceptible to falling rocks and, to a lesser extent, to landslides. One of the interviewees indicates: "This was the only land that was available, [...] we had to use creativity because it was a hill, and in the end, we used all the land and we were building little by little" (Faith, 22-year-old Bolivian woman, personal communication). At the same time, from the anthropic point of view, this marginal space is located under the easement areas of the high-voltage electric towers and the area of the city's new ring road.

For territorial stigmatization, the references to migration in a local newspaper during September 2020 are analyzed, where there were eight mentions, and where the health contingency that affected the country and the world was reflected. One mention (12.5%) referred to the city center (Av. Prat), and four (50%) to the camps located on the city's periphery of the city (Table 1). It should be noted that only one piece of news talks positively about migration. At the same time, stigmatization is also suffered by migrants in personal spaces. One of the interviewees points out: "I felt discriminated against because they said we were taking away their husbands, a lot of things. Well, actually, a lot of things" (Ma, 23-year-old Colombian woman, personal communication).

MS due to spatial deterioration	Political Sphere		Spatial Sphere	
	Capitalist System	Absence of the State	Concentration	Stigmatization
It is not profitable due to height limitations	Lack of public investment	Poor maintenance and regulation	Abandonment of traditional trade	Abandonment by well-to-do families
12.5% negative mention of migrants				
EM for Environmental Risk	Political Sphere		Spatial Sphere	
	Capitalist System	Absence of the State	Concentration	Stigmatization
It is not profitable because of the land values	Slow land tenure management by the State	Mass removal	Anthropogenic Risk	50% negative mention of migrants

**Table 2.** Analysis of political and spatial spheres in marginal spaces. Source: Preparation by the authors based on fieldwork and the study of interviews



**Figure 4.** Spatial characteristics of the Migrant Place in marginal space due to Spatial Deterioration. Source: Preparation by the Author based on fieldwork

The results of the political and spatial areas are summarized in Table 2, where it is observed how the capitalist system and the absence of the State have led to a condition of marginality that is mostly stigmatized in the MS due to Environmental Risk.

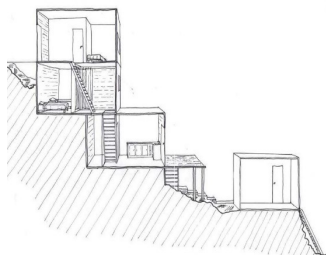
### Migrant places in marginal space due to spatial deterioration

From the in-depth interviews conducted and the fieldwork, it is analyzed how residence and migrant trade are intermingling in this deteriorated sector. Regarding spatial relationships, a predominance of semi-detached houses is observed, which in 100% of the analyzed cases have been extended using wood on both the first (horizontally) and second floor (vertically). One migrant says “They had the house next door and, as I would say, one attached to the other, that’s how the rooms were” (In, 52-year-old Colombian woman, personal communication).

As for the environment, strong solar radiation has forced 50% of the analyzed common spaces to have solutions that allow cross-ventilation between enclosures (Figure 4).

From the experiential relationships, 100% of the migrants interviewed say that they use the rental rooms only for overnight stays. One of the testimonies points out: “Yes, as I tell you, I just sleep there, because we left at 5 in the morning, we arrived at about eight, nine at night” (Alf, Peruvian man from Tacna, personal communication). Regarding their routines, 100% indicate that these are based on their work schedules, just resting at night. One interviewee points out: “Almost no one spent time together because they all worked and only got there to sleep, nothing more” (Alf, a Peruvian man from Tacna, personal communication). The sector has been hosting, in turn, an incipient migrant trade, which has generated a new business niche by marketing original products and making barbershops, food joints, and restaurants visible.





Slope management



Intermediate Space



Solar radiation protection

**Figure 5.** Spatial characteristics of the Migrant Place in the marginal space due to Environmental Risk. Source: Prepared by the author with the fieldwork and Degree Project: Antofagasta Informal: Socio-environmental study of public space in camps. Plan the Informal, Paloma Pérez, UPM.

MS due to spatial deterioration	Spatial Relations		Experiential Relationships		Symbolic Relations	
	Morphology	Environment	Activities	Routine	Representations	Memories
	100% wooden extension	50% patio	100% overnight	100% working routine	-	20% have a keepsake
EM for Environmental Risk	Spatial Relations		Experiential Relationships		Symbolic Relations	
	Morphology	Environment	Activities	Routine	Representations	Memories
	60% slope management	80% intermediate space	100% family 30% trade	100% working routine	100% Indigenous people	80% symbols and keepsakes

**Table 3.** Analysis of spatial, experiential, and symbolic relations of migrant places. Source: Preparation by the author based on fieldwork and the study of the interviews

One of the key actors states:

“With the arrival of migrants from other countries, the city center has revived. For the same reason, suddenly one sees streets where just about all the stores belong to migrants, right, particularly on Sucre Street and Bolívar Street” (Andrés Music, NGO Coordinator Fractal Antofagasta, personal communication, October 31<sup>st</sup>, 2017).

Finally, cultural representations are analyzed for symbolic relations. Only 20% of the interviewees indicate that they have brought some symbol or souvenir from their place of origin. One of the interviewees explains that: “¡Ah yes! The Colombian flag. We had it hanging in the room [...] I made a mandala because I really like crafts, but then I left with my partner” (An, 23-year-old Colombian woman, personal communication).

### Migrant places in the marginal space due to environmental risk

It is noted how migrants begin to handle variables such as slopes and solar radiation. In the tour, it was seen how 60% of the interviewed migrants’ homes deal with the different levels of the slope, and 80% of the homes deal with solar radiation through intermediate spaces. Regarding the public space, how the slope is absorbed by stone walls, tires, or doca (sea fig) is analyzed, and the high solar radiation is controlled by Raschel mesh awnings<sup>10</sup> (Figure 5).

Regarding experiential relationships, 100% of the migrants interviewed organize their routine around work activities, meaning the camp is unoccupied during the day. Of those interviewed, 30% have adapted spaces in their homes for a business such as barbershops, shops, and food joints. These incipient activities have meant that the camp has begun to have activity during the day.

<sup>10</sup> Type of mesh made of high-density polyethylene

Finally, for symbolic relationships, in 80% of the homes visited it is possible to find identity aspects such as colors or signs that remind them of their origins. One of the interviewees indicates: "My brother always brings the flags, the flag of Bolivia, the flag of Santa Cruz... as the curtains are green and white" (Fe, 22-year-old Bolivian woman, personal communication). 100% of the migrants interviewed identify as indigenous, *Quechua* from Peru, Bolivia, and Ecuador, and *Aymara* from Peru and Bolivia. This has encouraged a series of festivities to generate roots as intangible heritage such as the intercultural ramadas, the Andean carnival in February, and the Celebration of the Pachamama on All Saints' Day.

The migrant place analysis variables are summarized in Table 3, which analyzes how the inhabitants establish spatial and experiential relationships with these places, but not the symbolic relationship in the MS due to spatial deterioration. Here, migrants understand that they are only *passing through* and as such do not establish symbolic relationships with the places where they live.

## VI. DISCUSSION

In the marginal spaces analyzed, from a political point of view, it is reflected how, on one hand, the capitalist system has made land use profitable and, on the other, the absence of the State has caused a lack of investment, regulation, and public management leading to a systematic deterioration and abandonment of these sectors. In this regard, Wacquant (2007a) argues that the State's absence has fostered a downward spiral to such an extent that "far from increasing the possibilities of life and favoring its inhabitants' integration into national life, their stigmatization is aggravated and exclusion is confirmed" (p.259). On the other hand, the spatial variable according to Wacquant, Slater, and Pereira (2014) must be taken seriously, as it becomes a mode of struggle between the ruling and the working classes.

Therefore, when analyzing spatial concentration in the MS due to spatial deterioration, the abandonment of traditional commerce and well-to-do families is seen, while in the MS due to environmental risk, not only the risks due to mass removal and other anthropic risks are noted, but also the limited flexibility of the Antofagasta PRC to accommodate housing use. These conditions have fostered increasing stigmatization, especially in the macro-camp, where 50% of the mentions of migration were negative. In both spaces, it is observed how, despite the contextual differences, it is possible to find similarities

that make permit some generalizations about these marginal spaces. In the same vein, marginality can also be understood as a boundary condition, because it begins to act as a "marker of social identity and differentiation" (Paasi, 2005, p. 666).

On the other hand, migrant places are built from the relationships that the migrants themselves are developing. In this regard, Löw (2008) indicates that the dialectical relationship between individual and space can lead to the construction of a place, which is evidenced in the fieldwork. If Table 3 is observed regarding spatial relationships, in both cases the migrants are adapting through morphology to the city's urban environment, either by using wood, slope management, and/or the intermediate spaces. For experiential relationships, all the migrants in both cases adapt to work routines. The big difference is in the symbolic relationships in MS due to deterioration, since only 20% of migrants keep or have brought some symbol or keepsake of their places of origin. Therefore, they are not connecting with the spaces, as they know they are passing through until they can get a better income or can bring their families and move to some other camp. Developing further the idea of the relationship that migrants establish with their arrival spaces, Stavrides (2006) indicates that they are places that: "connect and establish opportunities for exchange and communication, thus eliminating the privileges of space" (p.32).

Consequently, these reflections propose a new prism of integration and analysis between migration and the spatial variables of the current city, consolidating the finding of a double condition that has been called a porous border.

Going even further in the conceptual characterization of this finding, for borders it is possible to observe how boundary-producing practices become part of a broader process that involves not only individuals but also institutions and the State. In that sense, Paasi (2005) indicates that borders can be considered as a set of divergent practices between institutionality and social individuals. On the other hand, with respect to urban porosity, Stavrides (2006) indicates that "it can provide the means to acquire an awareness of collective identity" and (p.32), therefore, respond to the demand for the right to live in the city.

Finally, following the Argentine architect Cravino (2014), the migrant inhabiting space transforms it into a place of struggle against a system that aims to configure equal, defined, and organized spaces to reproduce hegemonic logics that allow individuals to be classified and defined exhaustively in terms of their origin, race, or gender and, with this, normalize their ways of life.

## VII. CONCLUSIONS

In the marginal spaces that welcome migrants in Antofagasta, new forms of spatial organization are being built that interact with those already existing in the city. Migrants appropriate the space where they arrive and transform it from spatial, experiential, and symbolic relationships, building a migrant place that allows them to inhabit, but without ceasing to coexist alongside marginality.

Consequently, the hypothesis raised is confirmed because migrants manage to live in these marginal spaces, despite being constantly expelled due to divergent State practices that propose making urban land profitable, and the migrant practices through which individuals welcome their identity diversity and demand the right to inhabit the city. This new way of remaining and living in a porous border is configured as a migratory strategy of resistance.

From a micro-political perspective, this porous border is the reflection of the consolidation of the neoliberal model that favors the few, but which is also characterized by the increase of a marginalized population, stripped of their rights to live with dignity and their legitimate aspirations for a better life.

From urbanism, this new concept of porous border aims to contribute to the little-explored relationship between migration and the city in a capitalist context, building a theoretical field that can be used in other case studies.

Finally, urban marginality shows the absence of the State in migration and urban policies, revealing the urgency of proposing other ways of planning the territory that involve the specificities of each place and also the right of social actors to be part of the construction of their destiny.

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