

LUDOVIKA UNIVERSITY OF PUBLIC SERVICE

Doctoral School of Military Sciences

THESES

Gabriella Thomázy

Security Challenges of International Migration in Chile at the Beginning of the 21st Century

Ph.D. dissertation

AUTHOR'S SUMMARY

Supervisor:

Dr. László István Szabó

Budapest, 2023.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

BACKGROUND AND RELEVANCE OF THE TOPIC.....	3
SCIENTIFIC PROBLEM.....	5
Research Objectives.....	5
Research Questions.....	6
Hypotheses.....	6
METHODOLOGY.....	8
CONCLUSION.....	11
Result of the Hypothesis.....	13
New Scientific Results.....	16
Recommendations – Practical Applications of Research – New Research Directions.....	17
RELATED PUBLICATIONS OF THE AUTHOR.....	20
THE AUTHOR'S PROFESSIONAL BIOGRAPHY.....	22

Background and Relevance of the Topic

International research often focuses on migration from South America to Europe and into the United States of America. We rarely hear about what is happening within South America. Over the past decade, Chile has become a major migration destination for South Americans; both the economic crisis of 2008 and the tightening immigration policies in the United States of America have led to an increase in intraregional, or “south–south” migration in the region. Migrants in South America now equate to nearly 11-million (IOM 2022/6: 2; Pólyi, 2015). Countries that have been primarily struggling with emigration in the region (Ecuador, Colombia and Peru) have become transit or recipient countries. 21st century migration in the region was mainly characterised by female migration; then the ‘Venezuelan Migration Crisis’ left Chile and the other countries (Ecuador, Colombia and Peru) with unresolved problems (Stefoni, 2002; Gissi Barbieri – Martínez, 2018; Koechlin et al., Sáez Aliaga, 2021). Venezuelan emigration poses a major challenge, with five-million Venezuelan emigrants in the region in 2022 and preliminary estimates suggest that their number could exceed seven-million in 2023, overtaking Syrian emigrants, but international financial support for this is extremely low (OEA, 2021; RMRP, 2022).

Chile attracts both numerous immigrants and investors, as it has one of the best economies in South America. It became a popular destination at the beginning of the 21st century, with immigrants coming from neighbouring countries; more and more immigrants, mainly from Latin America, chose Chile in search of better living conditions (Bravo Acevedo, 2018; Rojas Pendemonte – Koechlin, 2017; Thomázy, 2020c). Migration flows accelerated in the second decade of the 21st century, in 5 years, more than 1.2 million migrants arrived in the country with a population of 19 million. Bringing the migrant population to 1.65 million. This represents 8.6% of the population and is one of the highest in the region (Thomázy, 2022b).

The phenomenon of migration is primarily a social and humanitarian issue in the region, but international migration in the region is increasingly becoming a security problem. As migrants arrive in such large numbers Chile, and the other countries concerned, (Ecuador, Colombia, Peru) struggle to accommodate them within a normal political framework (Baeza Freer – Wehner, 2018; Tálas, 2018). In 2018, the number of irregular migrants in Chile was estimated at 300,000, with the Covid-19 pandemic again leading to significant irregular migration in the country. The 1975 Immigration Law and related regulations failed to alleviate migration

pressures and administrative burdens. Chile, as well as countries in the region, lack a security-focused approach to migration, also without any regional cooperation on migration (Thomázy, 2022b; Thomázy, 2021).

The topic's relevance is enhanced by the new research possibilities of “south–south” migration, since unprecedented large-scale migration is taking place in South America. Although within the region, the majority of migrants are Spanish speaking and Christian, cultural differences, discrimination, and xenophobia are increasing. There is also the emergence of organised crime groups involved in human trafficking and illegal employers who take advantage of the vulnerable situation of migrants.

I must mention my personal connection to the subject, having lived in Chile for almost 10-years. I received my first residence permit in 2010, after eight-months of waiting, indicating clearly there was an increasingly difficulty for the immigration office to perform its duties. I could only receive my permanent residence permit after 17-months of administration. During the one-and-a-half-year wait, I had to attend the immigration office once-a-quarter, usually spent hours queuing and talking to other immigrants. During this lengthy administrative process, I completed a post-graduate degree at the Pontifical Catholic University of Chile and also studied Chilean labour law. Therefore, due to my “local” education, I was later able to find a job as a Latin American Human Resources Manager at an international company. My work took me to many countries in the region and I faced the difficulties of employing foreigners, especially skilled Venezuelans. In 2017, I had to renew my residence permit at a time of maximum migratory pressure, during which the collapse of the Chilean institutional system was already clearly identifiable.

Scientific Problem

The foregoing identifies Chile's prominent position in the region as a destination for intra-regional migration. To examine this topic, I defined the theoretical framework for the research, which is presented in detail in chapter three of this thesis.

For the theoretical framework of the research, I chose the constructivist approach to security; the sectoral security theory, which is associated with Buzan, Wæver and de Wilde (Copenhagen School), and within this, the societal sector. Furthermore, I chose the process of securitisation, which is closely related to the theory. In addition to analysing security challenges, I also focus on migration theories and their emergence. Among the modern migration theories, primarily the migration network theory provides an analytical framework for the migration into Chile.

Research Objectives

The main objectives of the research carried out in the context of this thesis can be summarised as follows:

- O1:** Analysis of Chile's preparedness for incoming migration.
- O2:** Identification and analysis of security challenges based on the societal sector of the Copenhagen School.
- O3:** Exploring the process of securitisation as formulated by the Copenhagen School in relation to migration to Chile.
- O4:** An analysis of the emergence of migration network theory among modern migration theories in Chile.
- O5:** Comparison of strategic concepts (security/defence/migration) for Chile and the South American countries most affected by Venezuelan migration (Ecuador, Colombia, Peru), and former colonists (Portugal and Spain), with particular regard to migration-related aspects.

This thesis aims to contribute beyond the above objectives:

- to comprehensively explore and present the security challenges of Chile as a destination country for migration;

- to analyse and explore the security policy factors of the migration processes ongoing in the region and the academic and social discourse related to these;
- to present the security and migration cooperations in South America and the formulation of suggestions related to these.

Research Questions

Based on the research objectives identified above, I formulate the following research questions:

Q1: What is typical of Chile's preparedness for mass migration?

Q2: Is the societal sector of the Copenhagen School a suitable analytical framework for analysing migration to Chile?

Q3: How is the migration securitisation process implemented in Chile?

Q4: How relevant is the migration network theory approach to the analysis of immigration to Chile among modern migration theories?

Q5: Do the strategic concepts of Chile and of some countries (Ecuador, Colombia, Peru, and Portugal and Spain) meet the basic requirements for strategic planning, and what similarities can be identified in relation to migration?

Hypotheses

In light of the scientific problems described, considering the aim of the research and the research questions, and in line with them, I formulate five hypotheses.

The first hypothesis: Chile's policy on migration is essentially characterised by the reception of migrants and by a human security, social, and humanitarian approach to migration. The arrival of more than 1.2 million migrants to Chile in five-years has created security challenges putting strain on the country and its institutions. On this basis, I formulate the first hypothesis as follows:

H1: The Chilean government (the administration) was unprepared and late in responding to mass migration, in addition to the security challenges posed.

The second hypothesis: The security sectors concept in the Copenhagen School distinguishes five main sectors: military, political, economic, social, and environmental. Among these, the societal sector is the subject of analysis since identity, culture, religion, or even language can be under threat in the context of migration. Chile's society is rather closed, mainly because of its natural borders (the Andes and the Atacama Desert) and centuries of isolation. The country was mainly populated by European immigrants during the 19th and 20th centuries and has only a small indigenous minority. Chile has become a destination country for migration in the 21st century. In just a few years, the local society has been confronted with mass migration. Studying migration processes with a security focus and exploring Chilean attitudes towards migrants will help us to understand the migration processes in South America. It is assumed that the social sector of the Copenhagen School is best suited for this purpose. The second hypothesis can be formulated as follows:

H2: The societal sector, as formulated by the Copenhagen School, is correct for the analysis of migration into Chile.

The third hypothesis:

The Copenhagen School's approach to securitisation is typically top-down, although the authors do not exclude the possibility of bottom-up securitisation (Buzan et al., 1998: 31; 3.1.2). In the case of unprepared and untimely government responses to migration, it can be initiated by society itself.

H3: The migration securitisation process is a bottom-up approach in Chile.

The fourth hypothesis: It is a common phenomenon—that migrants migrate and choose their destination countries through a network of contacts. Chile, due to its favourable economic situation, offers higher earning potential compared to neighbouring countries and is therefore an attractive destination for migrants. Chile's immigration law of 1975, especially the types of residence permits can facilitate the functioning of the network of contacts, however, the proximity of the countries and the common language can reduce its importance on this basis, in the fourth hypothesis, I assume the following:

H4: In relation to migration, among the modern migration theories, the migration network theory is suitable to describe migration into Chile.

The fifth hypothesis: Chile was the first country in the region to develop its security and defence strategy in 1997, followed by other South American countries in the 2000s. Due to their common cultural roots, Portugal and Spain could be an important reference point for South

American countries in the development of strategic concepts, as there was no tradition of strategy formulation. By comparing strategic concepts (security/defence/migration), exploring “good practices” or gaps in strategies, a country's preparedness to face security challenges in the region, such as migration can be identified. On this basis, my fifth hypothesis is the following:

H5: The strategic concepts of Chile and the countries of the region (Colombia, Ecuador, Peru) and the two chosen European countries (Portugal and Spain) generally meet the basic requirements for strategy formulation, furthermore in terms of their migration criteria they reveal common principles and similarities.

Methodology

Considering the aim of the research, a detailed research plan was prepared after reviewing the literature, based on which I have defined the research problem, the research objectives, the research questions, and moreover, the hypotheses. The next step of the research was the conceptualisation of the concepts related to the research, such as migration, security, the relationship between security and migration, securitisation, etc. After conceptualisation, operationalisation was carried out and the methods and concepts were defined during the conceptualisation phase and could be measured, considering the research objective (Babbie, 2008: 137-169; Fedor – Huszti, 2016: 17–18). With a view to the reliability and validity of the research, several methods were selected. In principle, the research relies on mixed methods, by which I mean the use of databases, statistics, interviews, and furthermore, quantitative and qualitative tools of content analysis. By using a mixed research method, the shortcomings of each method can be “corrected”. The research methods used are summarised in the following table.

Main Research Methodology	Type (qualitative/quantitative)	Source	Comment
Strategy documents (cross-sectional study)	Content analysis using qualitative and quantitative tools	Primary	six strategy documents of six countries (Maxqda Analytics Pro)
Strategy documents (longitudinal study)	Content analysis using qualitative tools	Primary	Chile's 5 security and defence strategies 1997–2020 (Maxqda Analytics Pro)
Interviews	Qualitative	Primary	11 semi-structured qualitative interviews (Maxqda Analytics Pro)
Analysis of legislations, other documents	Qualitative	Primary	
Databases, indexes and statistics	Quantitative	Primary, secondary	Analysing existing statistics, creating own statistics based on the databases
Case study	Qualitative	Primary	Case study one: female immigrants, Case study two: “prestige occupation” of immigrant doctors, Case study three: securitisation of Haitians

1 1: Summary of Main Research Methodology. Source: Own editing

Strategy documents were processed with software support (Maxqda Analytics Pro). In connection with the research topic, I participated in field research in Chile, at the University of Chile (Universidad de Chile), between December 2021 and February 2022, with the support of Campus Mundi. During this time, I conducted 11 semi-structured qualitative interviews with experts on the topic:

- *With staff from international and local organisations* such as: UNHCR (United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees), IOM (International Organisation for Migration), IFRC (The International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies).
- *Researchers/lecturers:* Some of them are civilian, others are former senior military personnel.

The research objectives, questions, hypotheses, and methods used are summarised in the following figure:

<p>Research Objectives 1.</p> <p>Analysis of Chile's preparedness for incoming migration.</p>	<p>Research Question 1.</p> <p>What is typical of Chile's preparedness for mass migration?</p>	<p>Hypothesis 1.</p> <p>The Chilean government, the administration, was unprepared and late in responding to mass migration, in addition to the security challenges it poses.</p>	<p>Methodology</p> <p>Databases, statistics, interviews, literature, legislation, regulations, case study</p>
<p>Research Objectives 2.</p> <p>Identification and analysis of security challenges based on the societal sector of the Copenhagen School.</p>	<p>Research Question 2.</p> <p>Is the societal sector of the Copenhagen School a suitable analytical framework for analysing migration to Chile?</p>	<p>Hypothesis 2.</p> <p>The societal sector, as formulated by the Copenhagen School, is correct for the analysis of migration to Chile.</p>	<p>Methodology</p> <p>Databases, statistics, interviews, literature, legislation, regulations, case study</p>
<p>Research Objectives 3.</p> <p>Exploring the process of securitisation as formulated by the Copenhagen School in relation to migration to Chile..</p>	<p>Research Question 3.</p> <p>How is the migration securitisation process implemented in Chile?</p>	<p>Hypothesis 3.</p> <p>The migration securitisation process is a bottom-up approach into Chile.</p>	<p>Methodology</p> <p>Databases, statistics, interviews, literature, legislation, regulations, case study</p>
<p>Research Objectives 4.</p> <p>An analysis of the emergence of migration network theory among modern migration theories in Chile.</p>	<p>Research Question 4.</p> <p>How relevant is the migration network theory approach to the analysis of immigration to Chile among modern migration theories?</p>	<p>Hypothesis 4.</p> <p>In relation to migration, among the modern migration theories, the migration network theory is suitable to describe migration into Chile.</p>	<p>Methodology</p> <p>Databases, statistics, interviews, literature, case study</p>
<p>Research Objectives 5.</p> <p>Comparison of strategic concepts (security/defence/migration) of Chile and the South American countries most affected by Venezuelan migration (Ecuador, Colombia, Peru), and former colonists (Portugal and Spain) with particular regard to migration-related aspects.</p>	<p>Research Question 5.</p> <p>Do the strategic concepts of Chile and of some countries (Ecuador, Colombia, Peru, and Portugal and Spain) meet the basic requirements for strategic planning, and what similarities can be identified in relation to migration?</p>	<p>Hypothesis 5.</p> <p>The strategic concepts of Chile and the countries of the region (Colombia, Ecuador, Peru) and the two chosen European countries (Portugal and Spain) generally meet the basic requirements for strategy formulation, furthermore in terms of their migration criteria they reveal common principles and similarities.</p>	<p>Methodology</p> <p>Content analysis, interviews, literature</p>

Figure 1: Summary of Research objectives, Questions, Hypothesis, and Methodology.
Source: Own editing

Conclusion

Due to its socio-economic development and democratic processes, Chile plays a special role in the region's migration processes in the 21st century. I examined the topic through a security policy approach, relying on the literature, using a broad sociological methodology, and complementing with case studies.

The thesis sought answers to five research questions that are in line with the research objectives and hypotheses. These were presented in detail in the *Introduction*, and the directions and theoretical framework of the research were defined in this chapter.

In the *second chapter*, I described the research methods, including the quantitative and qualitative tools of content analysis using Maxqda Analytics Pro software, the interviews conducted, and the presentation of such databases and statistics that are essential to test the hypotheses formulated.

The *third chapter*, in addition to presenting the basic concepts and theoretical framework used in the thesis, describes and assesses the regional security complex in South America. The chapter analysed South America's regional security and migration cooperations in detail, highlighting shortcomings, organisational disintegration, and future prospects.

Chapter four is divided into three main sections. In the first part, 4.1), I present the migration processes in South America and the most important characteristics of “south–south” migration, with a special emphasis on the role of Chile in these processes.

The second part of the fourth chapter, 4.2), includes the comparative assessment of the socio-economic indicators of Chile and the countries under study; the third part, 4.3), introduces migration trends in the countries under study in the international comparison, based on statistical data and interviews. This chapter is complemented by an analysis of the refugee issue in relation to Venezuelan migratory pressure, with which I identify the different practices of South American countries in relation to Venezuelan refugees. The chapter presented the South American region as a broader area of analysis of the research topic, and I identified the socio-economic development of Chile and its place in the regional migration processes.

Chapter five constitutes the main part of the dissertation and is divided into five sections. First, in 5.1), I present Chile in terms of its societal sector of security. To do so, I identify seven main dimensions, thus highlighting the most important features that help address the research topic

and prove the hypotheses put forward. In the second part of chapter, 5.2), I present the institutional context of Chile related to migration and evaluate the country's immigration laws. This is followed by a comparative assessment of the emergence of migration in Chile's security and defence strategies. The longitudinal study was conducted by using Maxqda Analytics Pro software. By presenting and evaluating the institutional system, immigration laws, and security / defence strategies, it is possible to determine Chile's preparedness for the migratory pressures from 2015 onwards. This is followed by a description of the Chilean military's involvement in migration processes, and the chapter concluded with a brief description of recent changes. The third part of chapter five, 5.3), presents and compares the five main groups of migrants arriving in Chile, relying on databases, statistical data, and interviews. The chapter ends with a case study on female migration for a specific form of employment targeting domestic workers, based on an analysis of own statistics from a database.

The fourth part of chapter five, 5.4), presents the securitisation of migration to Chile. To do this, an introductory section on the integration of migrants was prepared, which is complemented by a case study analysing the location of foreign doctors, for which I produced my own statistics drawn from two databases. This is followed by a presentation of the security aspects of migration from Venezuela and Haiti with an analysis of the characteristics of securitisation in Chile. The chapter concludes with a discussion of changes in perceptions of migration, covering people smuggling, antimigrant protests, and the rise in illegal border crossings. Finally, the fifth part of chapter five, 5.5), concludes with a brief presentation and assessment of recent developments.

The sixth chapter is an international comparison, comparing Chile with wider South American and some European countries, focusing on security issues. The relevant research was divided into two main parts. In the first part, 6.1), I compare the strategic concepts of six countries: two European countries (Portugal and Spain) and South American countries most affected by Venezuelan migration (Chile, Ecuador, Colombia and Peru) using Maxqda Analytics Pro software, relying on qualitative and quantitative tools of content analysis. The second part of this chapter, 6.2), focuses on comparing the extraordinary regularisation programmes of eight countries (Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Ecuador, Colombia, Peru, Portugal and Spain), which were justified by the Covid-19 pandemic, the involvement of migrants in vaccinations, and the increase in illegal border crossings due to border closures. I comparatively assess the strategic concepts and legalisation programmes, identifying shortcomings, calling attention to good practices. Chapter six concludes with a review of recent developments, highlighting new

security challenges in the region. At the end of the chapter, I propose a new subdivision of South America's subcomplexes in relation to regional security complexes, based on the research and analysis of the thesis.

Result of the Hypothesis

The thesis formulates five hypotheses in line with the research objectives and questions. In the following, the fulfilment of the hypotheses is presented.

The first hypothesis:

H1: Chile was unprepared and late in responding to mass migration, in addition to the security challenges it poses.

Through the longitudinal analysis of security and defence strategies (5.2.2), the two immigration laws, and furthermore the numerous amendments and draft laws (5.2.3), as well as through the analysis of extraordinary regularization of migrants (6.2) *it is shown* that Chile was not prepared for mass migration. The hypothesis is *correct*. Chile's pre-mass migration strategy documents (1997–2010) analyse possible migration flows, but the second government of Michelle Bachelet did not produce a new immigration law in time. The government (2014–2018) promoted migration through a series of measures, not for economic reasons, but for social solidarity, the right to migration, and the inclusion of the Latin brothers and sisters. However, the society's perception of migration is increasingly negative. Chile's immigration law, written in 1975, was finally replaced after 47-years by a new law that came into force in 2022. The delay led to a major deterioration in the perception of migration from the security perception in society, furthermore to the strengthening of the far-right Republican Party (5.4.3.6).

The second hypothesis:

H2: The social sector, as formulated by the Copenhagen School, is fundamentally correct for the analysis of migration into Chile.

Based on the research, it was *confirmed* that the societal sector formulated by the Copenhagen School is fundamentally correct to describe migration into Chile. Even though the majority of immigrants speak Spanish and are Christians, there are barriers (written and, or unwritten) in society that make it difficult for migrants to integrate. Chilean society is extremely closed, and at the same time discriminates based on origin and skin colour. It is particularly prejudiced

against migrant groups that differ in their external characteristics. These include Afro-Caribbean immigrants, Bolivians and Peruvians with indigenous roots. In this respect, Haitians who speak Creole are the most rejected by Chilean society. Later, this was extended to other immigrant groups (Venezuelans and Colombians) too, despite the common language and similar culture.

The third hypothesis:

H3: The migration securitisation process is a socially driven process in Chile.

In testing the third hypothesis, I use a case study to verify an atypical process that identifies a heterogeneous and broad societal stratum as the actor of securitisation commonly used in security theory rather than the ruling elite (5.4.2). Chilean society successfully performed securitisation and took action against the immigration of male-dominated Haitians, a group that is diverse in language, culture, and skin colour, considering them a minority that threatens security. In response to social discontent, the presidential election winner, Sebastián Piñera, took extraordinary measures restricting the entry of Haitians and presented a new draft migration law.

I also confirmed that the antimigrant protests in 2021 and 2022 were again due to delays in government measures. The hypothesis was *confirmed*, as a unique feature of securitisation appeared in Chile: the speech act was initiated by society (as a reverse process), to which the government responded by taking extraordinary measures. The hypothesis was *confirmed*, as the securitisation was forced by society, to which the government only reacted in a follow-up way by taking extraordinary measures. Society itself remained the actor of the securitisation.

The fourth hypothesis:

H4: In relation to migration, among the modern migration theories, the migration network theory is suitable to describe migration into Chile.

Based on the research, I *demonstrate*, through statistics, case studies and interviews, that the role of a network of contacts is crucial for migration to Chile. I identify that the network of contacts focuses specifically on promoting employment (employment contracts, referrals, etc.) (5.3.1; 5.4.1). However, the hypothesis is only *partially confirmed* since the phenomenon is significantly more complex. The network of contacts that facilitates migration is only one aspect of migration into Chile. Among the migration theories, there is evidence of the presence of a dual labour market, open downwards and closed upwards, typical of Western European and North American countries. Entry into the labour market is relatively easy for domestic workers

and menial workers (5.3.2), while it is extremely difficult to enter the labour market legally for prestigious professions such as doctors and dentists (5.4.1.3). Based on the research, I demonstrated that among the migration theories in Chile, institutional theory is also suitable for analysing the migration into the country. This is because an organised network (5.4.2.2) was built to receive Haitian migration to Chile, and there are “businesses” to obtain documents and accommodate migrants. A similar phenomenon can be observed on the northern border of Chile, where people smugglers (5.4.3.2) specialise primarily in bringing Venezuelans travelling to Chile without valid documents.

The fifth hypothesis:

H5: The strategic approaches of Chile and the countries of the region (Colombia, Ecuador and Peru) and the two European countries (Portugal and Spain) generally meet the basic requirements for strategy formulation, and furthermore in terms of their migration criteria they reveal common principles and similarities.

The comparative analysis of the strategic concepts (6.1) shows that, although the strategies analysed meet the basic requirements for strategy formulation, they have several shortcomings, such as the definition of implementation methods and the identification of resources. The second part of the hypothesis was also *verified*. The research showed that similarities can be identified in relation to migration, but migration is a societal and humanitarian issue in South American countries' strategy documents, with little or no reference to security challenges. However, the study also shows that the South American strategies clearly “drew” on the strategic concepts (formal and content elements) of the two European countries. Good practice and documents from more experienced countries are examples for South American countries to follow.

New Scientific Results

Three of the scientific results were formulated in line with the research objectives, research questions, and hypotheses. Considering the results of the research, I identify two additional new scientific findings.

1. I identify through analyses (5.2.2; 5.2.3; 6.2) that the Chilean government and administration were unprepared for mass migration and responded late. The research demonstrated that the delayed reaction led to a deterioration in the perception of migration in society and caused the strengthening of the far-right Republican Party (5.4.3.6). I identify several security restrictions linked to societal security that make it difficult or impossible for migrants to integrate and settle in the country (5.4.2).

2. I demonstrate in a documentable way through analysis and case studies (5.4.2) that, instead of the typical top-down security approach that is a heterogeneous and broad stratum, society itself, can be identified as the securitising actor. Society successfully performed securitisation on migration (bottom-up). This successful securitisation is based on the strong lobbying powers of Chilean society (5.1; 5.1.1.3), which the political sphere could not evade, allowing society to force extraordinary measures via the media.

3. Using software analysis, through comparative evaluation of the strategic concepts of six countries (6.1), I show that the strategic concepts of South American and former colonial South European countries have many similarities. With South American countries using the concepts of Spain or Portugal. Another result is that by examining strategy documents (6.1), presenting regional security organisations (3.3) and migration cooperations (3.4), I demonstrate that migration in the region is not a security issue, but a fundamentally socially focused and humanitarian issue. Strategies are primarily tracking in nature, changing more slowly in response to societal security challenges.

4. I was the first to provide a comprehensive analysis in Hungarian of the migration processes to Chile in the 21st century. All this was done in relation to security challenges and was based on a wide range of literature.

5. Based on the analyses, I show and demonstrate that the Venezuelan migration crisis in South America and the presence of organised crime groups in the region pose new security challenges in the region. Based on the territorial focus of the security challenges and the countries involved, it is necessary to modify the division of regional security subcomplexes (3.3.1) relevant to South

America and the Buzan theory. The new division is also justified by the disintegration of security organisations in South America (3.3), the inadequacy of regional migration cooperations (3.4) and the territorial fragmentation of existing regional cooperations in the region (6.3). Based on this two new and distinct subcomplexes can be defined: **(1)** the Andean subcomplex (Bolivia, Chile, Ecuador, Peru, Colombia and Venezuela) and **(2)** the subcomplex of countries in the eastern half of South America (Argentina, Brazil, Paraguay, Uruguay, and countries off the coast of Guyana). This division is reinforced by natural boundaries (Andes, Amazonia) and the détente of past conflicts, for example in terms of Chile and Argentina (3.3.2), and the presence of current regional tensions (6.3).

Recommendations – Practical Applications of Research – New Research Directions

Policy Recommendations

- The legalisation programmes analysed in the international comparisons show good practice and as well general shortcomings of the programmes, which can provide guidance for the design of similar programmes.
- For countries affected by Venezuelan migration, it is also essential to review existing partnerships and address the migration crisis in Venezuela at a new supranational level as a common policy.
- it is essential to develop common policies and to manage Venezuelan emigration together. This requires a common definition of the concept of refugee status.
- The study of strategic concepts in this thesis helps in the comparative assessment of strategic concepts and the preparation of documents.
- The research carried out helps us to understand the migration processes in the region, and furthermore the relationship of Chile's population to security and migration.
- Based on the research and the conclusions drawn, long and short-term programmes on migration can be formulated, especially for the countries of the region, which can raise awareness among government bodies of the importance of security policy and the need to establish a dedicated institutional framework.

- The comparison of South American and the two Southern European countries and the analyses carried out will help to develop international cooperation on the Venezuelan migration crisis.
- The research and recommendations underlying the thesis can be used to analyse similar migration processes in other regions and can provide guidance on how to address migration and certain security policy issues.

Practical Applications of Research

The various analyses and research underlying this thesis are of interdisciplinary character; thus, their results can be used in a variety of fields.

a) *In basic research:* There is currently no comprehensive literature in Hungarian on the migration processes in South America in the 21st century nor Chile in this context. The thesis also includes several comparisons for the region and for two Southern European countries. The thesis, on the one hand, can provide those interested in the topic with comprehensive knowledge and, on the other hand, can serve as a basis for basic research. The Maxqda Analytics Pro software analysis of strategic concepts provides guidance for the comparative evaluation of strategy documents from other countries or regions.

b) *In education:* The results of this thesis can be used in education, due to the security focus of the study of migration processes in the region, in the field of security and defence policy. The international comparisons and sociological analyses presented in the thesis could be useful reading for international relations and sociology courses.

c) *In strategy formulation:* In relation to policies, the thesis provides guidance for strategy formulation, in particular for the preparation of sectoral strategic concepts.

New Research Directions

The thesis presented immigration to Chile, complemented with international comparisons, focusing on sociology, military sciences, security policy, and international relations. The limitations of the thesis did not allow a detailed examination of several topics. A relevant research topic could be the following:

- examining the security challenges of new international organised crime groups in the region,
- a more in-depth analysis of the legal framework on migration, based on the practice in several countries,
- analysis of the economic impact of “south–south” migration,
- another area of research could be the presence of Venezuelans in Spain or even Central America.

My recommendations, their practical applicability, and further research directions will contribute to a greater focus on migration processes within South America. The scientific methods used in this thesis will provide a basis not only for doctoral students at the University of Public Service but also for numerous researchers to conduct research based on sociological methodology in the field of security policy.

Related Publications of the Author

1. Szabó Zsolt – Thomázy Gabriella (2023). Chile In: Dél-Amerika Kormányzati rendszerei (*Systems of Government in South America*) (accepted).
2. Thomázy Gabriella (2022). Regularización extraordinaria de los migrantes durante el Covid-19: América del Sur y Europa del Sur – un análisis comparativo. (*Extraordinary Regularization of Migrants During Covid-19: South America and Southern Europe – a Comparative Analysis*). Acta Hispanica - Acta Universitatis Szegediensis de Attila József Nominatae, (IV), 19–31. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.14232/actahisp.2022.0.19-31>
3. Thomázy Gabriella (2022b). A bevándorlók rendkívüli legalizálása Dél-Amerikában a Covid-19 pandémia idején. (*Extraordinary Regularization of Migrants During covid-19 in South America*). Pólusok. 3/1. 50–68. <https://doi.org/10.15170/PSK.2022.03.01.03>
4. Thomázy Gabriella (2022c). Migráció és Covid-19: Chile (esettanulmány). (*Migration and Covid-19: A case study of Chile*). Hadtudomány: A magyar hadtudományi társaság folyóirata 32/1. 115–132. <https://doi.org/10.17047/Hadtud.2022.32.E.115>
5. Thomázy, Gabriella (2022e). Los efectos del COVID-19: fronteras cerradas y flujos migratorios en América del sur. (*The effects of COVID-19: closed borders and migratory flows in South America*). Iberoamericana Quinqueeclesiensis, 20. (accepted).
6. Thomázy Gabriella (2021). Migrációs Stratégiák: Dél-Amerika vs. Európa: Ecuador, Kolumbia, Magyarország és Spanyolország összehasonlító elemzése (*Migration Strategies: South America vs Europe a Comparative Analysis of Ecuador, Colombia, Hungary and Spain*). Hadtudomány 31/2. 58–74. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.17047/HADTUD.2021.31.2.58>.
7. Thomázy, Gabriella (2021b). Mujeres migrantes en Chile: Las trabajadoras de casa particular. (*Migrant women in Chile: Domestic Workers*). In: Gómez, Nuria del Álamo; Picado Valverde, Eva María; Parra González, Ana Victoria (eds.). Políticas públicas en defensa de la inclusión, la diversidad y el género III: Migraciones y Derechos Humanos Salamanca, España: Ediciones Universidad de Salamanca. 593–605.
8. Thomázy Gabriella (2021c). A diszkriminációtól a rendkívüli intézkedésekig: A haitiak bevándorlása Chilébe. (*From Discrimination to Emergency Measures: Haitian migration to Chile*). Nemzet és Biztonság: Biztonságpolitikai Szemle 14/1. 84–100. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.32576/nb.2021.1.6>

9. Thomázy Gabriella (2021d). Aspectos de seguridad de la migración haitiana y venezolana en Chile. (*Security Aspects of Haitian and Venezuelan Migration in Chile*). Iberoamericana Quinqueeclesiensis. 19. 9–31. <http://real.mtak.hu/133880/>
10. Thomázy Gabriella – Bata-Balog Amadea (2020). Colombianas en Chile: tendencias y determinantes de la migración femenina. (*Colombians in Chile: Trends and Determinants of Female Migration*). Acta Hispanica - Acta Universitatis Szegediensis de Attila József Nominatae 25. 23–35. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.14232/actahisp.2020.25.23-35>
11. Thomázy Gabriella – Bata-Balog Amadea (2020b). Trends and Determinants of Colombian Migration to Chile. In: Hristina, Rucheva Tasev (szerk.). Education and Social Sciences Conference Business and Economic Conference 2020. Barcelona, Spanyolország: International Academic Institute, 67–81.
12. Thomázy Gabriella (2020c). Tendencias actuales y nuevos desafíos de los migrantes en Chile. (*Current Trends and New Challenges of Migrants in Chile*). Acta Hispanica - Acta Universitatis Szegediensis de Attila József Nominatae 2. 409–421. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.14232/actahisp.2020.0.409-421>
13. Thomázy Gabriella (2020d) Latin-amerikai migráció Chilében. (*Latin-American Migration in Chile*). Közelítések. Negyedéves internetes folyóirat 7/1–2. 167–186. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.25116/kozelitesek.2020.1-2.13>
14. Thomázy Gabriella (2020e). Lola Botka, la fundadora húngara del Ballet Nacional Chileno. (*Lola Botka, the Hungarian Founder of the Chilean National Ballet*). Acta Hispanica - Acta Universitatis Szegediensis de Attila József Nominatae 25. 53–64. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.14232/actahisp.2020.25.53-64>
15. Thomázy Gabriella (2020f). Bolívia és Chile aktuális geopolitikai kérdései. (*Current Issues in Bolivian and Chilean*). Geopolitics Szakmai Szemle: A katonai nemzetbiztonsági szolgálat tudományos-szakmai folyóirata 18. 106–120.
16. Thomázy Gabriella – Thomázy Tímea (2020). The Impact of Liaison and Support on the Teaching of Hungarian and Language Maintenance in the Diaspora: A Case Study of Brazil and Chile. Limes: a II. Rákóczi Ferenc Kárpátaljai Magyar Főiskola Tudományos évkönyve 7/2. 183–199.
17. Thomázy Gabriella – Pólyi Csaba (2019). A chilei tüntetések háttérében álló tényezők. (*Analysis of Factors Behind Chile's Protests*). Nemzet és Biztonság: Biztonságpolitikai Szemle 12/3. 79–103. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.32576/nb.2019.3.8>

The Author's Professional Biography

The author studied sociology and human resource management at the University of Miskolc, holds a degree in pedagogy and a qualification in Spanish social, economic, and technical translation from the Budapest University of Technology and Economics. She lived in Chile for almost 10-years, where she studied benefit systems at the Pontifical Catholic University of Chile, in the framework of a complementary course. She worked for several-years in Chile as a Latin American Human Resources Manager at an international company. She has a working knowledge of Spanish, English, and Portuguese.

She currently has 33 records in the Hungarian Science Bibliography (HSB), and her publications in Spanish, English, and Hungarian were published in domestic and international journals. She has a total of 18 independent references, most of which are from abroad.

As vice-president of The Doctorates' Council of the University of Public Service, she was the main organizer of several international conferences (e.g., Military Science and Military Art International Conference, South America, South Europe International Conference). She has given several conference presentations in Hungary and abroad, and, furthermore, has been an invited speaker at several universities (Eötvös Loránd University, Hungary; Corvinus University of Budapest, Hungary; University of Chile, Chile; Chilean Military Academy, Chile).