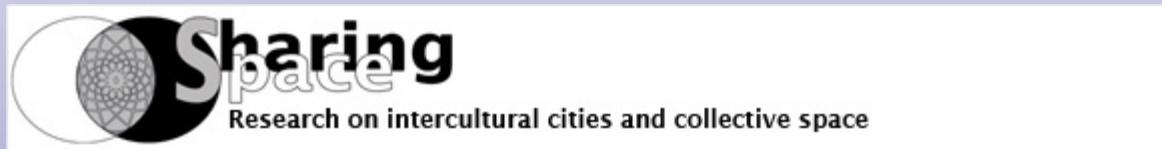


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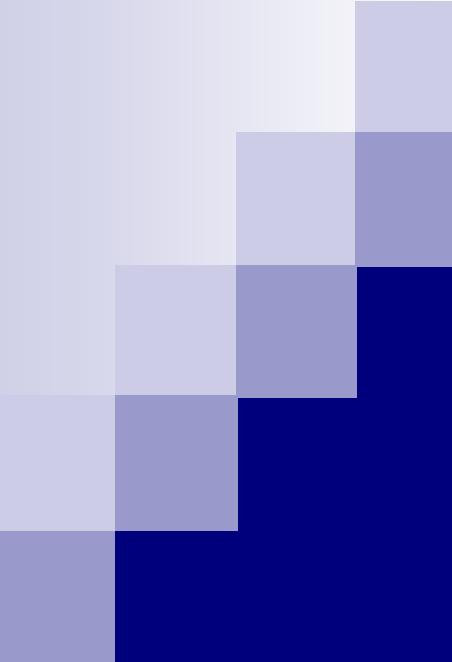
**Instituto de Altos Estudios Sociales (IDAES-UNSAM)**



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**Governing segregation of migrants in the city, Experiences and responses,**

**IUAV, Ca Tron, Venezia, Italy**  
**16<sup>th</sup> October 2013**



# Residential segregation in a medium size city in Patagonia

Porcentaje de origen de la población extranjera según censos nacionales en la República Argentina (años 1869-2010).

Año del Censo	Total	País limítrofe sobre población total	Otros países sobre población total	Limítrofes sobre total de extranjeros
1869	12,1	2,4	9,7	19,8
1895	25,4	2,9	22,5	11,4
1914	29,9	2,6	27,3	8,6
1947	15,3	2	13,3	13,1
1960	13	2,3	10,7	17,7
1970	9,5	2,3	7,2	24,2
1980	6,8	2,7	4,1	39,7
1991	5	2,5	2,5	50,0
2001	4,2	2,5	1,7	60,3
2010	4,5	3,1	1,4	68,9

Fuente: Elaboración propia a partir de Censos Nacionales de Población y Vivienda

# Boundary immigrants and their place in Argentina

- Their treatment in the country has a different story, separated from (and comparable with European immigration).
- In the long run, the phenomenon had a sustained rhythm (Ceva).
- Its selectivity is shown by the overrepresentation by sex in different activities (Benencia, CEPAL).
- The entry has usually accompanied the situational needs of the labor market in the country (Ceva).
- Rarely treated as “immigrants”, but more as “foreigners” (Pacecca), without the national sense of Transoceanic immigration (Grimson).
- **In the last 20 years, stigmatization grew**, specially by some state actors, but most of all in mass media and some unions, etc.
- “Regulations were correlative to process of ethnicization, racialization and stigmatization” (Pacecca).
- The State was the big producer of illegality in the 90's criminalizing immigrants (Domenech).

# Migrate as human right

**Ley N° 25871 Nacional de Migraciones**

Health, education and social services

- Not criminalizing migrants for their migratory status (specially in cases of victims)
- No discrimination due to migratory status in basic rights
- Human rights approach in migration and security issues
- Regularizing migrants due to “humanitarian reasons” in cases of victims or disasters
- New criteria to have a legal stay in the country (nationality for MERCOSUR and partners)

The new legislation does not guarantees social integration (in its many forms), even though is a necessary condition.

Two main issues to analyze:

- The need to **review locally** how immigrants are received by local societies and governments;
- The need to review the ways inequalities **are produced and reproduced** taking into account how class, ethnic group and gender are overlapped.

## Puerto Madryn: from “Pueblo” to “ciudad intermedia”

	Año				
Área	1970	1980	1991	2001	2010
Argentina	23364431	27949480	32615528	36260130	40117096
Chubut	189735	263116	357189	413237	509108
Biedma	6981	21689	45494	58677	82883
<b>Puerto Madryn</b>	<b>6183</b>	<b>20903</b>	<b>45047</b>	<b>57614</b>	<b>81900</b>
Rawson	34288	67991	100243	115829	131313
Escalante	78236	100997	129229	143689	186583

	Periodo intercensal			
Área	1970-1980	1980-1991	1991-2001	2001-2010
Argentina	19,6%	16,7%	11,2%	10,6%
Chubut	38,7%	35,8%	15,7%	23,2%
Biedma	210,7%	109,8%	29,0%	41,3%
<b>Puerto Madryn</b>	<b>238,1%</b>	<b>115,5%</b>	<b>27,9%</b>	<b>42,2%</b>
Rawson	98,3%	47,4%	15,5%	13,4%
Escalante	29,1%	28,0%	11,2%	29,9%

**“Most diverse origin city in the region”  
(immigration and internal migration)**

Nacidos en el exterior				
	Total	País limítrofe sobre población total	Otros países sobre población total	Limítrofes sobre total de extranjeros
Año del Censo		%		
1960	9,2	0	9,2	0
1970	6,2	0	6,2	0
1980	8,2	5,1	3,1	61,4
1991	7,8	6,3	1,5	81
2001	6,8	5,3	1,5	60,3
2010	7,4	6,2	1,2	84,1

Fuente: Elaboración propia a partir de Censos Nacionales de Población y Vivienda.

## Two moments:

- (1970-1988) The State, its public companies and ALUAR S.A.<sup>[1]</sup> took care of housing for most of the workers (houses and neighborhoods built up for different companies and levels of hierarchy in the companies).
- (1989-2010) State and companies were not able to solve the housing deficit. In this context the real estate market grew impressively as well as the occupation of lands.

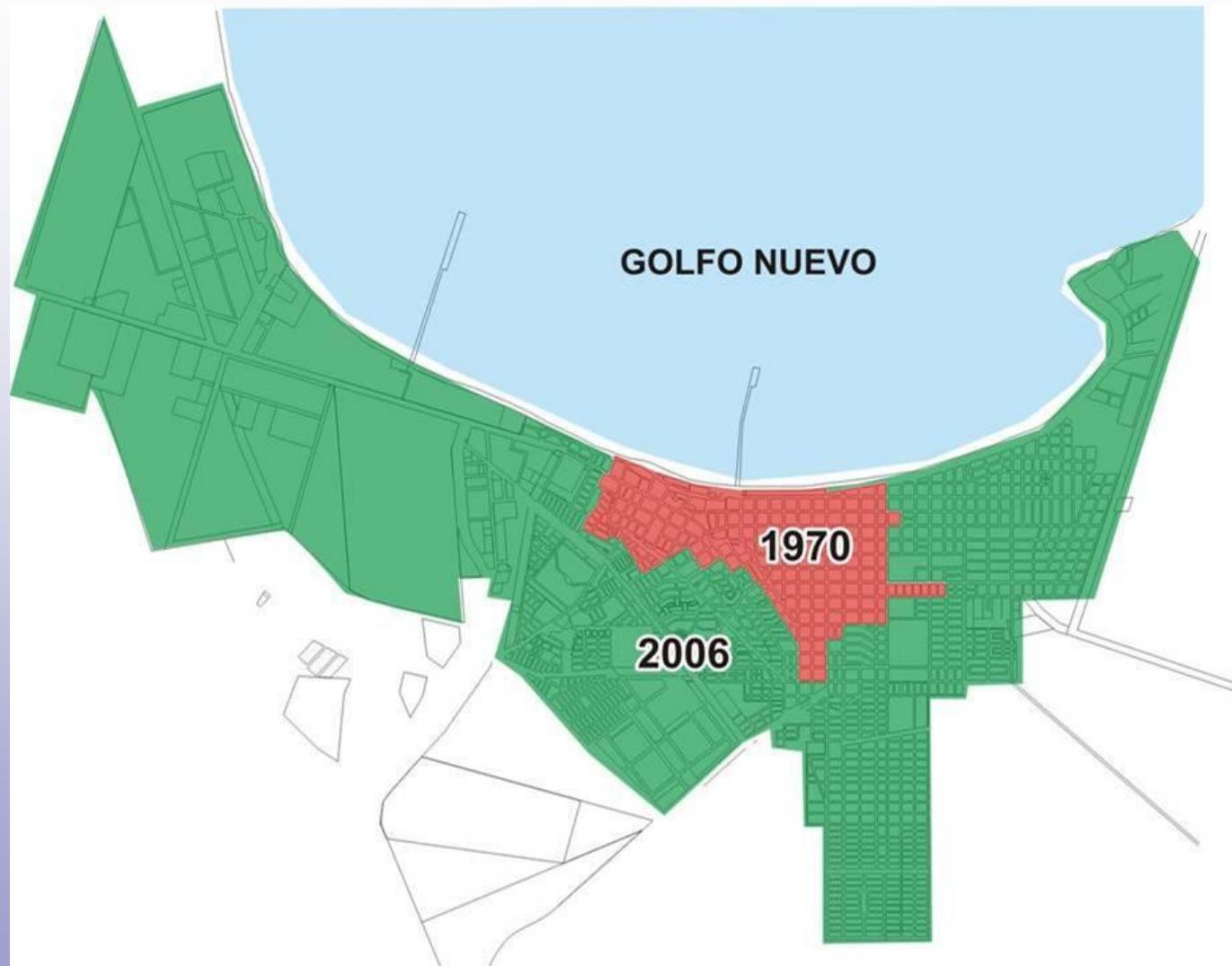
<sup>[1]</sup> ALUAR S.A.I.C. (Aluminio Argentino Sociedad Anónima Comercial e Industrial) comenzó a funcionar en 1972 con una planta de más de 900 empleados generando una demanda laboral directa e indirecta por encima de lo que podía absorber la propia ciudad.

The one on your left is the southeast of the city, while the one on your right is the northwestern part (2011)



They were taken from the same panoramic spot.

Urbanization grew in all directions, but taking different forms...



Fuente: Arq. Garmendia

## State and real estate I

- There is a complete disconnection in discourse and policies between formal and informal market, between the growth of formal real estate and the growth of informal settlements.
- At a local level, the way conflict was solved institutionalized some public and private practices which ended up favoring the interests of promoters or construction companies who addressed only the needs of sectors of high purchasing power.

## State and real estate II

They end up leaving the popular classes out of the formal market and trying to solve their habitational crisis through:

- The action of unions;
- Construction cooperatives;
- (difficult) access to a house through the IPV (provincial agency);
- Occupation of lands, that in the best scenarios derive in “PROMEBA” (demand high levels of occupation of lands leaving only a small place to planning).

To add to this scenario we have the pressure of the tourism industry that demands lands on one side, and hiding of “the others” (Bolivian immigrants and poor) on the other.

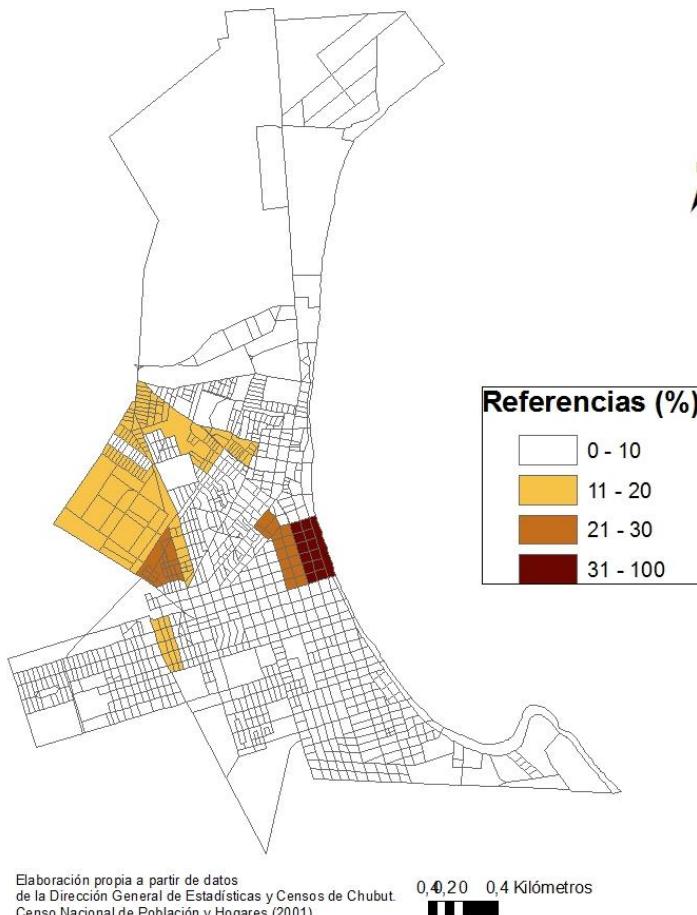
## Some notions on the spatial conflicts in Puerto Madryn

The local society takes certain marks and racializes them, turning visible in space, and defining as foreign, places taken by “others”

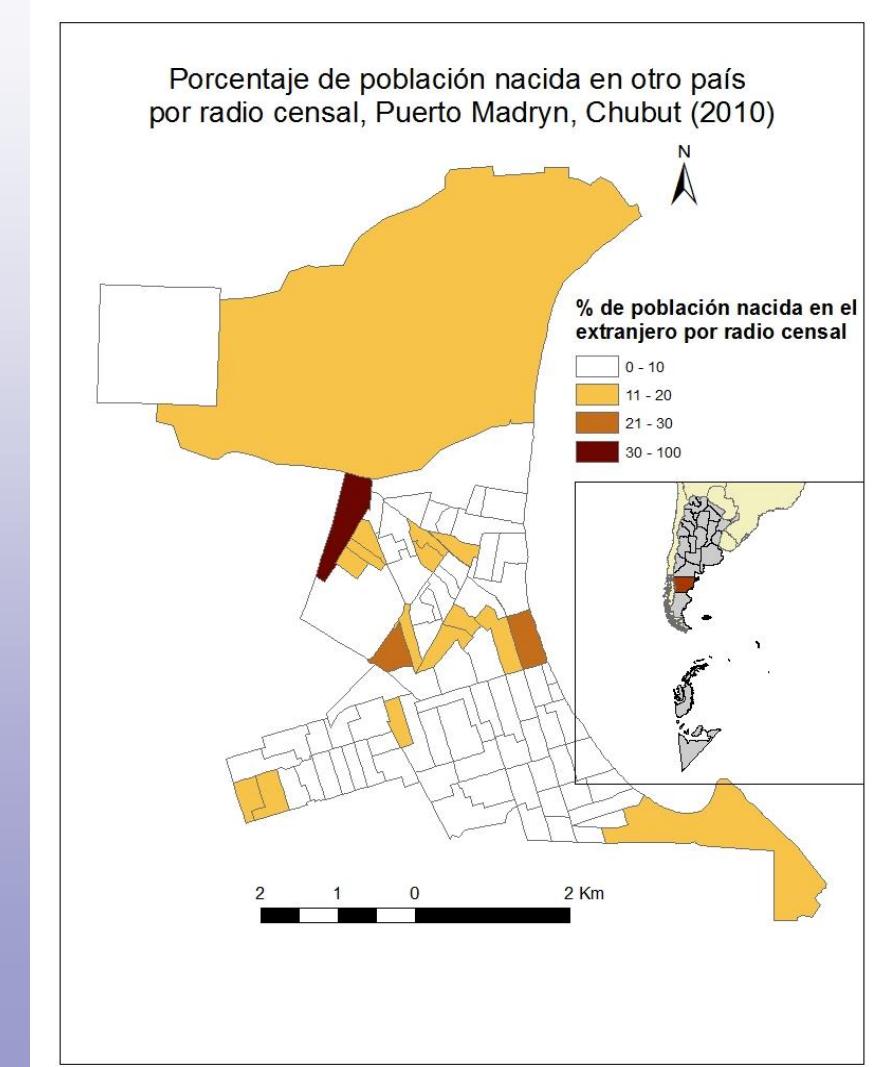
We shouldn't fall in the cognitive trap that associates problematic spaces with immigration and certain nationalities (in my case, Bolivians) as if the pattern of settlement had to do with cultural characteristics and understand how natives, internal migrants and immigrants coexist in those spaces.

## Concentration of people born in other countries

2001



2010



# One “asentamiento”, seven “barrios”: Pujol Norte



Data SIO, NOAA, U.S. Navy, NGA, GEBCO  
Image © 2013 TerraMetrics

Image © 2013 DigitalGlobe

## Transition 2011-2012: Change of municipal government

- From zero tolerance to the consolidation of the neighborhood
- From the organization to resist to the state presence

# Repertoires of difference in the “asentamiento”

## “Colores políticos” (political colours)

- Condense values that tend to identify, difference and discriminate neighborhoods through their leaders
- It is seen as both positive and negative, as a way to acquire benefits (personal and for the neighborhood)

*“Si no estás con ellos, no tienes nada. Cuando las cosas les salen mal, lo único que hacen es meter quilombo, amenazar. Nosotros no vamos por esa vía, vamos por la correcta, el diálogo. (...) Nosotros siempre estamos últimos, ahí se siente la discriminación (...) Hoy nos quieren usar a nosotros como escalera. No, que se las arreglen ellos como puedan”.*

# Repertoires of difference in the “asentamiento”

## “Colores políticos” (political colours)

- Condense values that tend to identify, difference and discriminate neighborhoods through their leaders
- It is seen as both positive and negative, as a way to acquire benefits (personal and for the neighborhood)

*“Todo esto te lleva a la política por más que no te guste la camiseta o fulano de tal (...) Si vos estás a cargo de un barrio, entonces que tenés que darle soluciones a la gente, para ganártelos porque el barrio se tiene que caminar (...) Yo trabajo para el barrio (...) me meto en la política, pero hasta ahí (...) la relación con Sastre (el intendente actual) es muy buena, yo voy golpeo las puertas y al toque tengo contestación (...) El loco cumple conmigo porque cuando le hicimos la campaña a él, estuvimos todos unidos con él ”.*

# Repertoires of difference in the “asentamiento”

## “El inmigrante boliviano” (bolivian immigrant)

- Decisive role of the racial and ethnic component.  
The supposed foreign status is associated to an internalized racism, that expresses most of all in situations of violence and tension when it appears to be a competence for resources.
- Violence falls with more virulence against women
- Coexists with positive valuations of the “Bolivian”

**“Me di cuenta que seguimos siendo una basura para algunos (...) Comparándome yo soy blanca al lado de él (...) Con él tuve problemas desde el principio: uno que soy boliviana, otro que soy mujer y su presidenta de su barrio (...) Vino directo a gritarme ‘boliviana de mierda me tenés cansado’”.**

**“Al menos yo, en mi caso, he sido golpeada por unas chicas. Una de ellas, la más alta, me agarra y me tironea, me dice ‘boliviana...’, lo de siempre. Me empieza a jalonear, me tira al piso. Una de las vecinas me ve, grita y se van. Me lastimaron el codo, todavía tengo la cicatriz”.**





In parts of the city, people from the popular classes try to dissociate themselves from that spatialized foreign status in which they get mixed with the Bolivian immigrants (for example, land occupations with Argentinean flags, resistance to the granting of houses to families of Bolivian origin)

## Final words

“Immigrants don’t live in islands”. The “ethnic neighborhoods” are not epiphenomenons of a nationality.

They usually experiment different forms of segregation (not only residential) with racist and socio-economic logics that we can understand when we analyze conflicts for the use, construction and disposition of urban space

Being aware and analyzing cultural and spatialize practices is different from culturalizing behaviors. Not every practice immigrants have are related to ethnicity.

We shouldn’t privilege the identity aspects over conflicts, interactions, hierarchies in relation to the rest of the city, as well as the effects of segregation over the different communities, his practices and articulations with the local society.