

Access to Housing of Migrant Populations in Montevideo

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Population Review, Volume 62, Number 2, 2022, pp. 75-95

Abstract

Collective dwellings are highly prevalent among migrants in south-south migration destination countries, typically associated with poor building quality, overcrowding, and unsafe rental arrangements for their occupants. Using longitudinal data from the Recent Immigration Ethnosurvey (ENIR) conducted in Montevideo from July 2018 to March 2019, this article examines the housing conditions among migrants from Cuban, Dominican, Peruvian, and Venezuelan origins. Using multivariate analysis, we discuss whether and how the community of origin, the socio-demographic characteristics of migrants, the nature of their migratory plans, the existence of support networks, and the configuration of the family unit are associated with the probability of living in collective dwellings upon arrival. This paper contributes to the growing literature on the social inclusion of migrant and refugee populations in Latin America with a topic of the utmost importance in a region with structural issues guaranteeing housing rights for its population.

KEYWORDS: collective dwelling, immigration, social inclusion, south-south migration, Latin America, Montevideo

Introduction

Uruguay has been a country of immigration since colonial times, first welcoming European populations and those from the two neighboring countries, Argentina and Brazil. However, since 2012 there has been an increase in foreign immigration from non-bordering Latin American countries, among which Cuba, Dominican Republic, and Venezuela stand out (Prieto et al. 2019; Prieto Rosas and Montiel 2020).

Naturally, this change in the country's migratory dynamics entails a series of challenges to the social inclusion of the migrant population, understood as the process of access to welfare that establishes the full exercise of social, economic, political, and cultural rights (Eugster 2018; Sainsbury 2012). Among these, access to adequate housing has been recognized as the right of every individual in the 1966 International Covenant on Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights, adopted and ratified by the United Nations General Assembly (Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights 1966).

In Uruguay, the exercise of civil, economic, social, and cultural rights by the migrant population is formally guaranteed by its Constitution and by national laws No. 18,250, No. 18,254, and No. 18,076. Any of these legal instruments explicitly mentions the right to adequate [1] housing for the inhabitants of the national territory regardless of their national origin and documentary status. This safeguarding right-centered legal framework includes the right to adequate housing as an integral part of the social inclusion definition (CAREF-CELS 2020; Koolhaas and Pellegrino 2020; OIM 2020). However, there

is some evidence that in Uruguay, this right is systematically violated across a large part of its population. Faced with this difficulty, precarious residential and housing solutions are emerging, including occupying land in irregular settlements and renting collective dwellings conceived for temporary use. The latter is one of the most recurrent housing strategies among recently arrived migrants living in the city of Montevideo and other Latin American cities. In these host contexts, it is not uncommon for immigrants to encounter some difficulties in meeting certain real estate market requirements, including the demand for a rental guarantee or the payment of a guarantee fund to inhabit a private home (Bengochea and Madeiro 2020; Contreras Gatica, Ala-Louko, and Labbé 2015; Marcos and Mera 2018; Mera 2020). In the city of Montevideo, several qualitative studies account for the residential vulnerability faced by migrants living in boarding and lodging houses, where the risk of forced evictions, poor material conditions (humidity, lack of ventilation, lack of running water, among others), absence of recreational settings for children and adolescents, abuses of power by administrators, and overcrowding are recurrent (Boggio et al. 2019; España 2019; Fossatti and Uriarte 2018a; 2018b).

This article aims to determine to what extent migrants access private and collective dwellings upon arrival in Montevideo and which factors are associated with residing in one type of housing. As opposed to private housing, collective dwellings tend to be in poorer housing conditions, have higher levels of overcrowding, have less residential stability, and do not provide tenants with formal guarantees. Based on the information collected by the Recent Immigration Ethnosurvey (ENIR) [2] conducted in 2018 in Montevideo, information on the first dwelling in this city is analyzed for 764 people of Cuban, Dominican, Peruvian, and Venezuelan origin. Data from this survey correspond to the period between July 2018 and March 2019.

This article is organized into five sections. The first and second sections present the conceptual framework and background on access to adequate housing by the migrant population in host contexts. The third explains the data and methods used in this research, and the fourth introduces the main findings. Finally, in the fifth section, we discuss the implications of the main results.

Background

The relationship between housing and migration, especially in urban areas, has been studied in close connection with the transition to homeownership and residential segregation in countries the United States or European destinations (Amuedo-Dorantes and Mundra 2013; Byerly 2019; Constant, Roberts, and Zimmermann 2009; Davidov and Weick 2011; Iceland, Weinberg, and Hughes 2014; Iceland and Scopilliti 2008).

In contrast, in the South American region, this issue has been addressed by focusing on the formation process of informal neighborhoods such as "villas miseria" (slums) in Argentina and "favelas" in Brazil, or the habitability conditions of irregular settlements in central urban areas in Chile, Colombia, Ecuador or Uruguay. To name a few examples, in Argentina, plenty of analyses have been conducted on this topic for the city of Buenos Aires concerning the border migration of Bolivians and Paraguayans (Bruno 2007; Gallinati 2016; 2015; Mera 2018; 2014; Sassone 2007; 2009). More recent studies analyze the settlement of Colombians in Quito, Guayaquil (Colectivo Migración y Refugio 2011; Moscoso Alvarez, R. Burneo 2014) or Maracaibo (Yicón and Acosta 2009)(Yicón and Acosta 2009), and migrants of Venezuelan, Haitian, and other Caribbean origin in cities in Chile, Colombia, Argentina or Uruguay. With the latter migratory flows, the study of access to housing has identified residential forms linked to the rental, subletting, and occupancy dynamics (Bengochea and Madeiro 2020; Contreras Gatica, Ala-Louko, and Labbé 2015; Marcos and Mera 2018).

Host cities are characterized by structural inequalities that construct scenarios where the population, both native and foreign populations, accesses irregular or precarious dwellings as a housing alternative. For example, in the city of Buenos Aires in the mid-1970s and early 1990s, a series of socioeconomic and regulatory transformations took place in terms of housing, which, along with the lack of housing supply for the most vulnerable population (Cravino 2009), led a significant number of migrants to informal residential alternatives (Marcos and Mera 2018; Mera and Vaccotti 2013).

Mera (2020) identified at least four challenges that result in unequal access to housing in Latin American cities: i) the high cost of rents and purchases, ii) the lease guarantee system, iii) the presence of prejudices and stereotypes about people born abroad, and iv) their migrant documentary situation. In the case of Uruguay, only the first two constraints gain special relevance (Bengochea and Madeiro 2020) since access to the documentation as a legal resident or refugee applicant is relatively [3] simple (Montiel and Prieto Rosas 2019). Studies conducted in the Chilean cities of Santiago and Iquique show that migrants' resorting to inadequate housing would arise from situations of documentary irregularity and the high cost of formal market housing, but also from a desire to insert themselves in central areas which are more accessible to the service labor market and transportation, education and health services, especially during the first period of their residence in the country (Contreras Gatica, Ala-Louko, and Labbé 2015). This is also the case in Montevideo, where most migrants of Cuban, Dominican, Peruvian, and Venezuelan origin live in the central neighborhoods of the city (Bengochea and Madeiro 2020).

Faced with the difficulties of accessing a private or regular home within the formal market, intraregional migrants settled in Argentina, Chile and Uruguay have developed three common alternatives (Mera 2020). A first alternative is the occupancy of land in irregular self-built urbanizations, a second alternative is the occupancy of rundown houses in the downtown area of cities, and a third option can be the rental of bedrooms in private homes or collective dwellings.

Regarding resolving difficulties in accessing housing, the third option identified by Mera (2020) is the main alternative resorted to by immigrants who have arrived in Montevideo in the recent past (Bengochea and Madeiro 2020; Fossatti and Uriarte 2018a; 2018b). While its prevalence is high in the Dominican and Cuban communities, it is somewhat lower in those of Peruvian and Venezuelan origin (Table 1). The latter are concentrated in the downtown area of Montevideo -which encompasses the neighborhoods of the financial and administrative district- where the largest supply of collective dwellings and the oldest houses in the city are located (Bengochea and Madeiro 2020). Despite this consistency, some differences in geographic location according to origins have been noticed. For example, migrants of Peruvian and Venezuelan origin also have a significant presence in the central coastal area and those of Dominican origin in the city's peripheral area (Bengochea and Madeiro 2020).

Table 1. Main characteristics of first housing by type of dwelling and national origin of migrants. Montevideo, 2018

	Cubans (n=129)	Dominicans (n=168)	Peruvians (n=120)	Venezuelans (n=345)
Type of dwelling				
Private	35.4	25.0	56.8	62.2
Collective	64.6	75.0	43.2	37.8
Number of people per bedroom				
Private	2.3	3.3	1.7	2.1
Collective	3	3.6	4.2	2.6
Share of the population spending more than 40% of income on housing				
Private	58.6	72.5	62.1	42.7
Collective	50.0	30.4	52.8	40.5

Source: Ethnosurvey on Recent Immigration. Montevideo, 2018

When analyzing the characteristics of these two types of housing in terms of the mean number of occupants per bedroom and their cost, it is corroborated that collective housing has a high average number of people per room to sleep. For this type of housing, mean levels of overcrowding that exceed two and three persons per bedroom are identified in the four communities of origin included in the ENIR. This phenomenon especially affects the migrant population of Cuban, Peruvian, and Venezuelan origin in their first collective dwelling and that of Dominican origin both in the case of collective and private dwelling (Table 1). Whereas in the case of private dwellings, the average number of persons per bedroom is always lower but indicates medium overcrowding (between 2 and 3 persons per bedroom) in the case of the Cuban and Venezuelan communities and critical overcrowding (more than three people per bedroom) in the case of the Dominican community (Table 1).

Expenditure on housing is another indicator that reports a vulnerability in the first home of migrants and refugees in Montevideo. We analyze it by taking the percentage of migrant households spending more than 40 percent of their monthly budget on their home rental (Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights 2010). More than 30 percent of the households surveyed have a housing expenditure that exceeds this threshold. Moreover, housing expenditure is higher among those residing in private homes. Therefore, renting a room in a collective dwelling is preferred over renting private housing, partly because it is more accessible in terms of income expenditure. In any case, it is worth highlighting that the percentage of people who spend more than 40 percent of their income renting a room in a collective dwelling is remarkable (Table 1). The most affected communities are the Peruvian and Cuban, where one out of every two households incurs an expense that is considered unaffordable.

To summarize, shortcomings in access to first housing materialize in high levels of overcrowding and a high incidence of households with relatively high expenditure on rent in their first home in Montevideo. Both problems are present in private and collective dwellings, but cost-related problems are more frequent for private housing, while overcrowding is greater for collective housing. In general, immigrants who resort to renting or subletting collective dwellings -both regular and irregular- in this city are exposed to precarious living conditions and recurrent evictions exacerbated during the COVID-19 pandemic (Bengochea et al. 2022).

In any case, the literature review on Latin American cities has relied primarily on qualitative evidence. However, it has failed to conduct multivariate studies with individual, and household information on the motivations and characteristics associated with the type of housing migrants reside. In this regard, multivariate studies on these issues are more common outside Latin America, where the availability of quantitative data is greater and tends to focus on access to homeownership and residential segregation

processes. In the case of Uruguay, where the predominant tenure regime among the migrant population is that of rent, studies on migrants' access to housing have typically had a descriptive and qualitative approach, focusing on the type of dwelling occupied by the migrant population in Montevideo and its habitability conditions (Bengochea and Madeiro 2020; Fossatti and Uriarte 2018a). So far, the factors that support access to the different types of housing available in Montevideo have not been discussed because of the poor availability of quantitative data. For example, the last population census (2011) became outdated to analyze the most recent component of immigration, especially since 2012, and the Continuous Household Survey that collects information on this migratory flow does not include collective dwellings in its universe.

Factors that support access to housing

Several authors agree that the existence of co-ethnic social networks helps to explain settlement patterns and the choice of type of dwelling occupied by migrants upon arrival. For example, (Teixeira 2011) finds that immigrants in the Canadian city of Central Okanagan tend to share the living space or look for precarious housing alternatives to reduce expenses. When implementing these strategies in the search for first and successive homes, co-ethnic networks play a key role as sources of information and support. It has also been identified that the migratory tradition of migrant communities in receiving cities is key to constructing a solid social support network that influences settlement and access to housing processes (Madroñal 2009). The social capital available to migrants in the destination is the most significant source of support during the early stages of immigration, especially concerning employment and housing. The permanence and strength of the contact networks between co-nationals play a fundamental role since newly arrived migrants tend to prefer to reach this support network (Cuberos Gallardo 2009).

Likewise, the arrival cohort is key to understanding how access to housing is implemented since it has been found that residential conditions tend to improve as the time of settlement elapses (Anniste and Tammaru 2014; Leal and Alguacil 2012; Mundra and Uwaifo Oyelere 2018). Anniste and Tammaru (2014) find that the residential trajectories of Estonian migrants in Finland are closely related to their occupational history, which translates into an increase in the financial resources available to rent or buy a home. Knowledge about the housing market also increases with the time of settlement, which is a key aspect in accessing better housing. In the case of immigrants residing in Spain, there is also a positive impact of the duration of settlement on the access to proper housing and the stability of other components of social inclusion (Leal and Alguacil 2012).

On the other hand, several studies show a strong link between dwelling events and household events so that the family becomes a privileged environment for understanding the scenario in which people are inserted (Andersen 2011; Mulder and Lauster 2010). Moreover, Mulder and Lauster (2010) explain that this is a two-way influence since housing events must also be considered to understand decisions and household events. Reinforcing this idea, Lead and Alguacil (2012) explain that family transformations, especially the presence of children, lead to the search for greater comfort in the home, even under the rental regime, and discourage living in shared dwellings. Likewise, Mulder (2006) explains that leaving their homeland without a family discourages the search for adequate housing since the need to reside in a place that meets acceptable habitability conditions decreases in absence of children and other relatives. Whereas in Germany, it has been observed that the presence of minors increases the probability of owning a home (Constant, Roberts, and Zimmermann 2009).

Additionally, another factor that can affect access to adequate housing is sojourning, especially those that include the return to the country of origin. For example, it is very common for those migrants who

leave their homeland on economic and labor grounds to not plan to stay permanently in the host country and for this reason they expect a situation in a lower-quality housing to be strictly temporary (Mulder 2006), discouraging, to some extent, the need to reside in an adequate place. In turn, Anniste and Tammaru (2014) identify that homeownership has a negative impact on return intentions, as it represents a manifestation of the process of rootedness to the migration destination society.

Finally, another variable of interest to understand the type of access to housing is the educational level of migrants, since it has been positively associated with the current and future income level, as well as with job stability, which has a positive impact on the acquisition of a home (Davidov and Weick 2011). However, in segmented labor markets, as is the case of Uruguay, this statement should be taken into account, since high levels of over-education and insertion in low-paying jobs among the migrant population could inhibit the positive effect of educational level on the socioeconomic situation of migrants and their families (Márquez Scotti, Prieto Rosas, and Escoto Castillo 2020; Montiel and Prieto Rosas 2019; Prieto Rosas and Márquez 2019). Thus, it seems reasonable to assume that the positive effects attributable to the educational attainment that have been identified in other host contexts (Davidov and Weick 2011; Krivo 1995; Magnusson Turner and Hedman 2014) would not be present in the case of Montevideo.

Data and Methods

The data used comes from the ENIR conducted between July 2018 and March 2019. This source collects retrospective information on the migratory experience of 803 informants of Cuban, Dominican, Peruvian and Venezuelan origin in Uruguay, and their families, resulting in a total of 2,219 individual observations.

The case selection strategy used in the ENIR consisted of an adaptation of Respondent Driven Sampling (RDS). This non-probabilistic sampling technique collects information on the size of the interpersonal networks of survey participants which was later used to produce a set of weighting factors needed to estimate proportions adjusted by popularity in the relative distribution of responses. For this sample we started with 5 seeds per community asking for up to three referrals born in the same country of the respondent and old enough to participate in the study (18 years old). The sampling method worked very well among Cuban and Venezuelan participants, but was less successful in recruiting Dominican and Peruvian migrants which led to the replacement of seed, the incorporation of interviewers from the same national origins, and the attendance of interviewers to places with high concentration of migrants to speed up the time of the recruiting through referral process. More detailed explanation of the sampling methodology and weighting process could find in appendix.

One of the question modules included in the questionnaire of this source inquiries about the characteristics of the dwellings occupied by the informant within the first twelve months in Montevideo. The questions included in this module collect information on type of housing (private or collective), number of bedrooms, number of occupants, date of entry, length of stay, and neighborhood. For the purposes of this study, a subsample was used from which the informants who stated that their first residence was not in Montevideo and those who occupied a type of dwelling other than private or collective are excluded. Thus, the sample of this work is made up of a total of 764 informants broken down as follows: 129 of Cuban origin, 169 of Dominican origin, 120 of Peruvian origin and 346 of Venezuelan origin. Bivariate analyses were carried out to know the characteristics of the dwellings where migrants reside and a multivariate logistic model as stated in Equation 1 was estimated to predict the probability of residing in a collective dwelling upon arrival in Montevideo in relation to doing in a private house.

$$\text{Equation 1: } y = \beta_0 + \beta_1x_1 + \dots + \beta_kx_k$$

The independent variables of the model (Table 2) were grouped into four analytical categories constructed on the basis of the background information presented and the characteristics of the available information. The first group refers to the migrants' own characteristics. This set of variables considered as control variables, accounts for the year of migration to Uruguay, the country of origin and the educational attainment of migrants. The second group refers to the support networks available to migrants noticeable through the existence of family members already in the destination upon arrival and the support received to find lodging. The third group refers to the characteristics of the migration plan, observable in variables that provide information on whether the person owns a home in origin, whether he or she was working at least one year before migration and the intention to continue residing in Uruguay in the near future. We believe that these variables are related to living conditions prior to migration and that they provide indications about the material conditions that the respondents had in the context of departure. Finally, the fourth group refers to the composition of the migrants' family unit at the time of arrival, using a proxy as the size of the household and whether there was at least one child in the unit.

Table 2. Specification of variables used in the models

<i>Variable</i>	<i>Specification</i>
Type of housing at arrival (dependent variable)	(0=Private dwelling/1=Collective dwelling)
Origin	Categorical (0=Venezuela, 1=Cuba, 2=Dom. Rep., 3=Peru)
Period of migration	(0=1964-2015, 1=2016-2018)
Educational attainment	Continuous
Family networks at arrival	(0=No/1=Yes)
Received support to find lodging at arrival	(0=Without support/1=With support)
Migration plans	(0=No planning to stay/1=Planning to stay)
Still own a property in origin	(0=No owner/1=Owns a property abroad)
Working prior to migration	(0=Not working before migration/1=Working 0-1 year before migration)
At least 1 child in family at arrival	(0=No children/1=At least 1 child)
Family size at arrival	Continuous

In the estimation of the multivariate models, we included independent variables in a step-wise manner. First, the control variables by type of community, and subsequently the rest of the variables mentioned (see Table B in Appendix).

Results

Factors associated with the type of first housing

Table 3 shows the percentage distribution of the independent variables included in the multivariate analysis according to migrants' origin and type of housing. The results show some aspects worth highlighting. First, the variability in the responses obtained according to migrants' origin. Second, the type of the first housing varies according to migrants' cohort of arrival, although in different ways

depending on the community. Thus, for example, the migrant population of Dominican origin whose first dwelling was a collective type is concentrated in the oldest arrival cohorts, while in the Venezuelan population collective dwellings are the preferred type among those arriving more recently. Third, the percentage of respondents reporting intentions to remain in the country is over 79 percent for all migrants regardless of the type of dwelling, except for Peruvian migrants. For this origin who is the one with the oldest settlement and shows circular migration pattern, the prevalence of plans to stay are lower specially for those residing in collective dwelling (Table 3). Fourth, it can be identified that both family networks and the presence of minors at the time of arrival seem to have a protective effect against collective dwellings.

Table 3. Selected indicators for factors associated with the type of first home

		Cuba		Dominican R.		Peru		Venezuela	
		Private	Collective	Private	Collective	Private	Collective	Private	Collective
Period of arrival	1964-2015	14.7*	2.8*	26.7	81.1	72.4	90.6	16.9	9.1*
	2016-2018	85.3	97.2	73.3*	18.9	27.6*	9.4*	83.1	90.9
	Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Planning to stay in Uruguay	No	17.2*	16.7*	27.6*	33.1	41.7	79.1	21	12.9
	Yes	82.8	83.3	72.4	66.9	58.3	20.9*	79	87.1
	Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Family networks at arrival	No	77.2	80.2	57.9	72.9	66.8	38.9	69.5	85.0
	Yes	22.8*	19.8*	42.1**	27.1	33.2	61.1	30.5	15.0
	Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Received support to find lodging at arrival	No	3.6*	11.3*	12.4*	16.8	0.2*	17.7*	22.7	20.6
	Yes	96.4	88.7	87.6	83.2	99.8	82.3	77.3	79.4
	Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Still owns a property at origin	No	56.7	69.5	51.4	78.9	98.3	96.4	93.1	99.6
	Yes	43.3*	30.5	48.6*	21.1	1.7*	3.6*	6.9*	0.4*
	Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Working before migration	No	25.6*	19.1*	54*	52.2	28.4*	44.0	26.4	28.7
	Yes	74.4	80.9	46	47.8	71.6	56.0	73.6	71.3
	Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Children in 1st housing at head's year of arrival	No	81.7	95.4	68	99	86.1	89.2	72.7	81.3
	At least 1	18.3*	4.6*	32*	1*	13.9*	10.8*	27.3	18.7
	Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Family size at arrival	Mean	1.6	1.4	1.9	1.2	1.3	1.3	1.8	1.8
Educational attainment	Mean	14.1	13.9	11.6	10.9	12.8	11.8	15.5	15.5
N		43	86	37	131	53	67	214	132

*n<20

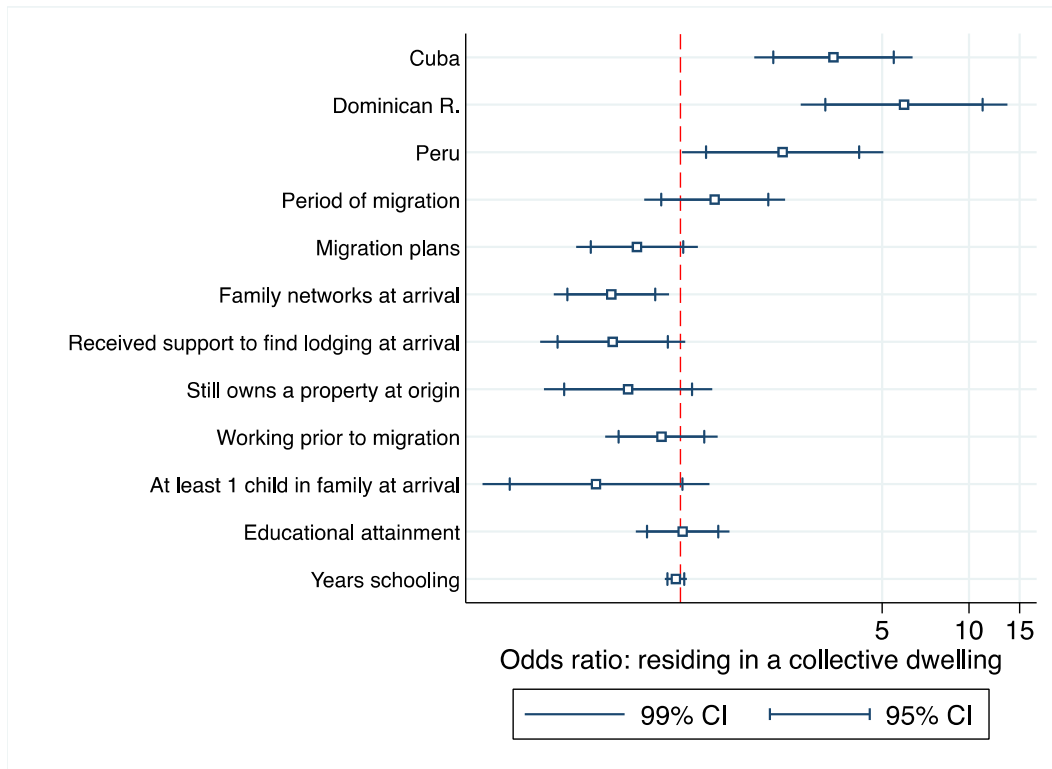
**Empty cells indicate the absence of observations.

Source: Ethnosurvey on Recent Immigration. Montevideo, 2018

Probability of living in collective housing

In this section we present the results from the multivariate regression on the probability of residing in collective housing versus other types of housing. Figure 1 displays the odds ratio by covariates included in the model, while Table 4 provides full detail for the stepwise estimation.

Figure 1. Odds ratio for the probability of living in collective dwellings. Full model (1) for all migrant populations. Montevideo, 2018



Source : Ethnosurvey on Recent Immigration. Montevideo, 2018

In accordance with what was found in the literature, social networks contribute to reducing the probability of residing in a collective dwelling. In particular, estimates show that the probability of residing in a collective dwelling is significantly lower among people who had family networks in Uruguay in relation to those who did not, and for those who received help from family members and other acquaintances finding housing concerning those who did not (Figure 1).

The type of housing upon arrival in Montevideo varies significantly by national origin (Figure 1). People of Dominican origin are around five times more likely to reside in a collective dwelling than that from the community of Venezuelan origin. This probability is around three times higher than Venezuelans among the Cuban community and about two times higher among the Peruvian community. Unsurprisingly, the Dominican community is the most likely to reside in a collective dwelling, the Venezuelan community being at the opposite end and least exposed to this risk. This could be explained by the fact that the former is the migrant community with the worst incorporation into the labor market, while the latter is the one with the best (Prieto Rosas et al. 2022). Nevertheless, the differences observed by the community of origin may reflect unobserved heterogeneity or/and an unspecified model. On the one hand, we did not have information on the documentary migration status of respondents, which disabled any chances of controlling for this relevant stratification variable (unobserved). However, we

were aware of the differences in the treatment received by migrant populations in the migration legislation itself, producing more or less complex documentation trajectories by nationality and, therefore, socioeconomic inclusion. In this fragmentation process, citizens from MERCOSUR member countries, specifically Peruvians and Venezuelans, are the ones who have more advantages in regard to documentation and social inclusion in general (Prieto Rosas et al. 2022). On the contrary, those outside this group face more complex documentation trajectories, this path being particularly winding among those who are required to obtain a visa to enter the country, i.e., Cuban and Dominican citizens (Prieto Rosas et al. 2022). On the other hand, our attempt to address other aspects of the differences between communities more related to the material or socioeconomic stratification between them, might have been insufficient and the model remained unspecified. Despite having included the ownership of a dwelling at origin and the working status for the year prior to migration in our model, we were unable to properly address the financial capital at the precise moment of arrival.

Table 4. Coefficients from logistic regression in models 1 to 10

	Mod1	Mod2	Mod3	Mod4	Mod5	Mod6	Mod7	Mod8	Mod9	Mod10
Ref. Venezuela										
Cuba	1,172*** [0,746,1,597]	1,163*** [0,736,1,589]	1,164*** [0,737,1,591]	1,150*** [0,720,1,581]	1,198*** [0,764,1,633]	1,348*** [0,882,1,814]	1,353*** [0,886,1,819]	1,274*** [0,803,1,745]	1,273*** [0,801,1,744]	1,222*** [0,741,1,702]
Dominican R.	1,743*** [1,318,2,167]	1,819*** [1,325,2,313]	1,795*** [1,300,2,291]	1,851*** [1,353,2,349]	1,934*** [1,427,2,441]	2,076*** [1,541,2,610]	2,026*** [1,481,2,571]	1,954*** [1,406,2,501]	1,955*** [1,407,2,504]	1,785*** [1,157,2,412]
Peru	0,713*** [0,292,1,134]	0,799** [0,292,1,306]	0,696** [0,172,1,220]	0,850** [0,313,1,387]	0,960*** [0,411,1,509]	0,961*** [0,411,1,511]	0,927** [0,372,1,483]	0,948*** [0,389,1,507]	0,950*** [0,389,1,511]	0,816** [0,205,1,427]
Period of arrival (1=2016-2018, 0=prior 2016)		0,126 [-0,286,0,537]	0,154 [-0,260,0,568]	0,184 [-0,231,0,598]	0,256 [-0,165,0,678]	0,269 [-0,154,0,692]	0,267 [-0,156,0,691]	0,296 [-0,131,0,722]	0,295 [-0,131,0,722]	0,274 [-0,154,0,701]
Migration plans (1=yes, 0=no)			-0,277 [-0,634,0,0790]	-0,335 [-0,697,0,0277]	-0,343 [-0,707,0,0201]	-0,360 [-0,725,0,00493]	-0,369* [-0,735,-0,00357]	-0,336 [-0,704,0,0323]	-0,337 [-0,705,0,0318]	-0,347 [-0,716,0,0223]
Family networks at arrival (1=yes, 0=no)				-0,589*** [-0,932,-0,246]	-0,552** [-0,898,-0,206]	-0,541** [-0,888,-0,194]	-0,528** [-0,876,-0,180]	-0,545** [-0,895,-0,195]	-0,545** [-0,895,-0,195]	-0,552** [-0,902,-0,202]
Received support to find lodging at arrival (1=yes, 0=no)					-0,471* [-0,901,-0,0407]	-0,500* [-0,931,-0,0693]	-0,492* [-0,924,-0,0606]	-0,549* [-0,987,-0,112]	-0,547* [-0,987,-0,107]	-0,540* [-0,981,-0,0998]
Still owns a property at origin (1=yes, 0=no)						-0,485 [-0,990,0,0201]	-0,473 [-0,978,0,0329]	-0,428 [-0,938,0,0815]	-0,429 [-0,939,0,0809]	-0,418 [-0,929,0,0927]
Working prior to migration (1=yes, 0=no)							-0,149 [-0,499,0,180]	-0,149 [-0,491,0,192]	-0,149 [-0,490,0,192]	-0,151 [-0,493,0,190]
At least 1 child in family at arrival (1=yes, 0=no)								-0,648** [-1,099,-0,197]	-0,675 [-1,363,0,0138]	-0,674 [-1,363,0,0151]
Family size at arrival									0,0146 [-0,270,0,299]	0,0175 [-0,267,0,302]
Educational attainment										-0,0367 [-0,104,0,0304]
Constant	-0,478*** [-0,696,-0,261]	-0,582** [-0,986,-0,178]	-0,384 [-0,861,0,0943]	-0,217 [-0,707,0,274]	0,0858 [-0,478,0,650]	0,122 [-0,444,0,688]	0,238 [-0,380,0,857]	0,356 [-0,273,0,985]	0,335 [-0,409,1,079]	0,925 [-0,386,2,235]
ll	-482,6	-482,4	-481,2	-475,5	-473,1	-471,4	-471,0	-466,9	-466,9	-466,3
aic	973,2	974,8	974,5	965,0	962,3	960,8	961,9	955,7	957,7	958,6
bic	991,7	998,0	1002,3	997,4	999,4	1002,5	1008,3	1006,7	1013,4	1018,8
r2_p	0,0807	0,0811	0,0833	0,0942	0,0987	0,102	0,103	0,111	0,111	0,112
N	762	762	762	762	762	762	762	762	762	762

Source: Ethnosurvey on Recent Immigration. Montevideo, 2018

95% confidence intervals in brackets

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

In a second stage, we proceed to multivariate analysis separately for each community of origin (Model 2 – Model 5 in Table 5). However, given the reduced number of cases by community, most of the effects from covariates were not significant. For example, in the Cuban community, the only significant variable with a positive effect is the period of arrival but at a minimum confidence level (Model 2 in Table 5). In this case, not only is the sample size small, but also this community is very homogeneous in terms of year of arrival, demographic profile (single male dominant), and social capital (low due to the recent presence in Uruguay). A similar situation is observed in the Peruvian community; the only significant variable is the one that refers to having worked at least one year before migration in the country of origin as a factor that reduces the probability of residing in a collective. The sign and significance of this variable are important in our analysis since they indicate that the material conditions before departure, addressed by having been employed, decrease the probability of residing in a collective dwelling. The rest of the variables included in the specific estimations for this community are not significant (Model 4 in Table 5). The positive effect of the period of arrival on the probability of residing in a collective dwelling is also corroborated for the Venezuelan community, which may account for a shift towards less educated and more vulnerable profiles among recent Venezuelan migration observed on new empirical evidence (OIM and UNICEF 2021). Likewise, this result might be a consequence of a housing market stressed by a growing demand due to the increase in the immigration flow (Bengochea and Madeiro 2020). Also, the protective effect of family networks in the search for the first residence is only significant for the Venezuelan community, which, in addition to being the most numerous, is the one that resides mostly in private dwellings. Finally, there is a negative and significant relationship between educational level with the probability of residing in a collective dwelling among the migrant population of Dominican origin. This could be explained by the fact that this community, as compared to the rest, has the lowest educational attainment and concentrated incorporation in the less productive economic sectors. In other words, for these cases we can assume that educational attainment works as a proxy for socioeconomic level, which might not hold for the other communities that are more exposed to over-education in their labor incorporation (Prieto Rosas et al. 2022). Furthermore, the probability of residing in collective housing only decreases for migrants of Dominican origin with plans to stay in the country compared to those who prefer to re-emigrate or return to their country and for those who arrived between 2016 – 2018 (Model 3 in Table 5).

Table 5. Coefficients from logistic regression in models by community of origin

	Mod1 Cuba	Mod2 Dominican Republic	Mod3 Peru	Mod4 Venezuela
Period of arrival (1=2016-2018, 0=prior 2016)	1,631*	-1,450**	-0,450	1,016**
	[0,220,3,043]	[-2,384,-0,516]	[-1,672,0,773]	[0,341,1,691]
Migration plans (1=yes, 0=no)	-0,561	-1,068*	-0,505	0,248
	[-1,658,0,537]	[-2,051,-0,0855]	[-1,399,0,389]	[-0,350,0,847]
Family networks at arrival (1=yes, 0=no)	-0,788	-0,518	0,760	-0,777**
	[-1,739,0,163]	[-1,416,0,381]	[-0,0548,1,576]	[-1,343,-0,211]
Received support to find lodging at arrival (1=yes, 0=no)	-1,315	-0,394	-2,254	-0,345
	[-2,813,0,182]	[-1,740,0,952]	[-4,590,0,0821]	[-0,917,0,228]
Still owns a property at origin (1=yes, 0=no)	-0,642	-0,417	0,216	-0,878
	[-1,500,0,216]	[-1,361,0,526]	[-2,423,2,855]	[-2,467,0,710]
Working prior to migration (1=yes, 0=no)	0,348	-0,395	-0,900*	-0,0110
	[-0,608,1,305]	[-1,262,0,473]	[-1,754,-0,0460]	[-0,529,0,507]
At least 1 child in family at arrival (1=yes, 0=no)	0,122	-2,042	0,151	-0,783
	[-1,853,2,097]	[-4,819,0,736]	[-1,811,2,114]	[-1,675,0,109]
Family size at arrival	-0,524	0,0703	-0,304	0,138
	[-1,286,0,237]	[-0,886,1,026]	[-1,297,0,690]	[-0,231,0,507]
Educational attainment	-0,00594	-0,287**	-0,0651	0,0889
	[-0,165,0,153]	[-0,494,-0,0788]	[-0,225,0,0949]	[-0,0368,0,214]
Constant	1,924	6,640***	3,958*	-2,518*
	[-1,505,5,353]	[3,343,9,936]	[0,552,7,365]	[-4,840,-0,195]
ll	-73,55	-70,42	-74,39	-215,4
aic	167,1	160,8	168,8	450,9
bic	195,7	192,1	196,7	489,3
r2_p	0,104	0,205	0,0968	0,0615
N	129	168	120	345

95% confidence intervals in brackets

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Source: Ethnosurvey on Recent Immigration. Montevideo, 2018

Discussion

The background session shows that there has been an increase in the supply of irregular collective dwellings within the real estate market in Montevideo, meeting the housing demand of newly arrived migrants. The bivariate descriptive analysis presented here shows that this type of housing exposes its residents to a series of vulnerabilities, such as overcrowding, high costs, and poor material conditions, opposite to adequate housing (Bengochea and Madeiro 2020). In any case, some of these characteristics are also present in private housing; for example, overcrowding also affects migrants of Dominican origin in private housing.

Our findings from the multivariate analysis show that upon arrival in Montevideo, migrants of Dominican, Cuban and Peruvian origins are more likely to live in collective dwellings than those of Venezuelan origin. Also, the factors associated with living in one type of housing or another at the time of arrival in Montevideo vary according to migrants' country of origin. The joint analysis of the four communities corroborated that, regardless of migrants' origins, support from family or friends' networks reduces the risk of living in collective dwellings upon arrival. Oddly enough, the cohort of arrival, the presence of minors, the size of the family unit, and the variables approximating financial capital (i.e., housing ownership in the country of origin or employment status previous to the time of migration) were not significant in predicting the probability of living in collective dwellings. Furthermore, the propensity to return to the country of origin or to re-migrate did not show a significant positive effect on the probability of residing in this type of rather temporary housing. Nevertheless, these results should be interpreted with caution since the lack of significance of these variables might be the outcome of the small sample size of the available data, unobserved characteristics, heterogeneity of the communities of origin, or a combination of all these issues that limit our analysis.

When taking the specificities of the communities of origin into account, it is possible to identify some distinctive features in the factors associated with the probability of residing in a collective dwelling upon arrival in Uruguay. On the one hand, the weight of variables related to social networks is confirmed, but their incidence is only significant within the Venezuelan community, which is also the largest community with the largest sample size in our analysis. On the other hand, the settlement plans and the educational attainment of the respondents become statistically significant and reduce the probability of living in collective housing for the Dominican community. In the case of the Cuban community, only the cohort of arrival is slightly significant and positively associated with the probability of living in collective housing upon arrival in Montevideo. This may be due to the fact that they have settled in Uruguay quite recently, which would also explain the absence of effects associated with the existence of family networks.

The results here show that migrant populations in Uruguay are far from homogeneous, with large differences observed by national origin. These findings support previous evidence on the persistence of gaps concerning social rights among migrants, not only with respect to the Uruguayan population but also within the migrant population itself, as a result of the segmented documentary treatment received by citizens from visa-required nationalities (Cuba and the Dominican Republic) and citizens of visa-exempted nationalities including those from MERCOSUR and associated states (Peru and Venezuela). This segmentation impacts the access to adequate housing, which is reflected in the fact that migrants outside the Residence Agreement are the most disadvantaged (Bengochea and Madeiro 2020; Márquez et al. 2020; Prieto Rosas and Márquez 2019; Prieto Rosas and Montiel 2020). Also, our findings point

out the need to discuss how migratory and social policies can support the effective exercise of social, economic, political, and cultural rights enshrined in the current legislation of this country.

Notes

[1] Adequate housing as used in this document is, according to the United Nations definition, one that meets at least seven criteria: i. security of tenure, ii. affordability, iii. appropriate housing characteristics that guarantee the physical safety of its inhabitants, iv. availability of adequate services, materials, facilities and infrastructure, v. accessibility that considers the needs of the population, vi. accessibility that takes into account the needs of the people residing in the dwelling, including those of greater vulnerability, vii. a location that ensures access to job opportunities, services, and away from polluted or dangerous areas, viii. and cultural adequacy, which refers to respect for the cultural identity of its inhabitants (Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights 2010).

[2] The ENIR was carried out by the Faculty of Social Sciences of the UDELAR and the Latin American Migration Project and was financed by the R&D project “Inmigración latinoamericana reciente en Uruguay”. Razones de una inserción laboral precaria” (Recent Latin American Immigration in Uruguay. Reasons for a precarious labor market insertion), UNICEF Uruguay and the Inter-American Development Bank.

[3] Yet, the regularization process for migrants and refugee applicants from countries where entry visas are required, such as Cuba and the Dominican Republic, is quite cumbersome (Prieto Rosas et al. 2022).

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Appendix

Sampling and weights

The case selection used in this study is an adaptation of RDS originally implemented by Heckathorn (1997), a technique designed to correct popularity biases commonly found in snowballing referrals. The main concessions made to the traditional RDS sampling methodology include the following: (i) we enabled the use of replacements among referrals when any of them refused or were unavailable to respond; (ii) we did not use monetary incentives; instead, we worked with the communities the relevance of their participation in terms of indirect benefits (symbolic incentive) and sought audiovisual communication strategies to optimize the forms of contact and the efficient transmission of information such as the use of a video promoting the study and the potential information that could be gathered from it; (iii) we used a field secretary who centralized the contacts of the referrals and scheduled appointments; and, finally, (iv) we contributed to accelerating the development of the field by adding seeds in the communities where the response rate was lower by going to areas with a high concentration of immigrants to shorten the time lapse between the completion of one survey and the next. The latter was particularly useful for recruiting the most reluctant participants of Dominican, Peruvian, and Cuban origin and was not needed to recruit migrants of Venezuelan origin.

The sampling used aims to approximate a population framework based on the information the informants provided about their social network size and the information on the connectedness of participants and referrals. This information makes it possible, on the one hand, to approximate the universe and, on the other hand, is a key input to adjust the weight of each informant within the sample using a popularity criterion to derive statistically valid indicators and determine their accuracy.

A simplified formulation of the one originally proposed by Volz and Heckathorn (2008) is presented by the following equation: $w_i=1/R_i$

Where w_i is the weight of each individual in the sample and is obtained as the inverse of the size of their network R_i (number of people they could contact in 24hs). Weights estimated in this way work under the sample design adopted and are based on the informants' social network information to correct the sample for popularity bias. The main assumption is that popular people are more easily reached because many people know and refer to them. On the other hand, the type of people who are not very popular will be referred to less, turning it necessary to appreciate them more. Therefore, this weighting depreciates popular people with larger network sizes while valuing unpopular ones with lower networks.

The information used for network size comes from the information provided in the question on the number of people of the same national origin living in the same city –though in a different dwelling from the informant-who would be able to contact the informant within 24 hours of the survey being conducted.

The weight used to weigh the data used here does not have expansion properties since we do not know the real size of the population to which it could be expanded.