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When Chile Faces The Otherness: Aporophobia and Racism in the New Migratory Policy of Chile through Transnational Lenses

BY

FELIPE GABRIEL CAROCA GONZÁLEZ

ABSTRACT

In 2018, the Chilean president Sebastián Piñera launched a new migration policy that changed the situation in Chile for all current and prospective migrants. This paper addresses these new migration norms in Chile by focusing on how racism and aporophobia¹ form the basis of new imaginaries towards "otherness". These circumstances are a direct consequence of the transnational migration phenomenon or South-South migration that Latin America, since the end of the twentieth century, has experienced. Therefore, this work will provide a global perspective of this migratory phenomenon in order to explain contemporary and contradictory narratives about migrants.² Here, through an analysis of newspapers, a journalistic discourse is constructed in which the government and various social actors, such as religious and human rights institutions, contrast, contradict, and highlight the objective of this new policy by displaying its discriminatory characteristics.

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I. INTRODUCTION

Political and economic interventions, wherever they occur, can alter global migration flows. These interventions impact not only migration dynamics, but also national imaginaries and preconceptions about people from other countries. Using a multidisciplinary perspective, this work analyzes the current Chilean migratory imaginary, which is linked to a growing intraregional migration process in Latin America, also referred to as the South-South migration phenomenon.³ This flow has been developing for the last two decades, and existing academic works⁴ have sought to explain the phenomenon through several approaches, examining various internal economic, social, and political problems. Nevertheless, all of these issues are historically linked to the imposition of neoliberal policies on the Southern Cone during the 1970s and 1980s.⁵ In this line, this paper will focus specifically on the comparison of the Haitian and Venezuelan migratory case and their respective categorisations within the Chilean integration system.

Although current Chilean migratory issues have been studied through different lenses, including those of race, gender, and other social intersections,⁶ this work seeks to provide new insights into this current transnational debate through the analysis of journalistic expressions. Here it is useful to show how previous work, both in academia and in the public sphere, has failed in its analysis when it did not take into account practices towards the poor prior to Adela Cortina's neologism thesis.⁷ Moreover, focusing on how this neologism operates within the human migration system, in this case the current Chilean one, facilitates many questions. For instance, what are the main features that the Chilean government observes in order to categorize migrants who are living within Chilean territory or are attempting to live in Chile? In attempting to answer this question, this paper incorporates the concept of aporophobia to unveil current economic categorisations -such as poor, middle class, or rich- and how these determine migrant behaviour within Chilean society.⁸ Aporophobia, as defined by Cortina, points to the *fear* and *rejection* of the poor within modern societies that expect retribution from all actors following socio-economic parameters based on capitalism.⁹ Chile is a country that has been affected by neoliberal economic impositions due to international interventions and a seventeen-year dictatorship, thus making a class-analysis of migratory policy prudent.

In addition, this work brings transregional migration approaches to the fore, in order to conceptualize the idea of 'migrant' beyond socio-cultural frames, national methodologies, and economic structures. Following Nina Glick Schiller's research, it is necessary to understand migration from a *global power perspective* to grant a new analysis of the interdependency of processes related to migration affairs, rather than examining these processes separately. A global perspective on migration implies a transnational analysis in order to understand how power is deployed either nationally or internationally with regard to the flow of migrants and the interests of different capitalist societies and their reaction to these migration phenomena. Thereby Glick Schiller adopts a contrasting position in relation to academics who have analyzed migration from methodological

nationalism.¹⁰ A global perspective of Latin America's migration phenomenon provides tools to identify contemporary and contradictory narratives that both the dominant political and economic elites and the media, whatever the funding of the latter, utilize in order to either demonise or celebrate migrant subjects.¹¹ By tracing historical power relationship features between the Global North and the Global South,¹² a global power perspective approach provides a framework to consider how the current migratory crisis might be a consequence of the failed global neoliberal agenda¹³ of the United States during the 1970s and 1980s.

Furthermore, it is also necessary to understand the national imaginaries and responses related to "*otherness*" that may be related to xenophobia, racism, ultra nationalisms, and so forth. Here, the term "othering" refers to the self-description of identity that expands to include other social markers of difference (culture, class, religion, race, sexuality, etc.), differentiating oneself as the "other" from the in-group as well as from power, politically and judicially justifying one's difference from others. Moreover, the authors argue for the creation of emergent hybrid identities through shifting meanings, appropriating and amalgamating different aspects of knowledge about the "other".¹⁴ Thus, taking into account the constant contact between nations, and how these nations must be understood from their varied cultural influence between local imaginaries towards otherness, the analysis of socio-spatial scales and the mapping of transnational migratory networks becomes substantial.¹⁵ In this vein, this study relies not only on secondary sources and existing scholarly findings, but also on primary sources from Chilean newspapers, both print and digital, which are reshaping national imaginaries and public opinion.

Overall, this paper is divided into three sections. The first section briefly describes the historical background of Chilean migration studies in order to present how economics and gender studies have developed within transnational migration analysis in the Southern Cone since the mid-1990s and the 2000s respectively. Subsequently, a new transnational historical analysis is offered, unveiling the aporophobic and racist practices within political discourses and social practices shown through the media, aiming to shed light on the reactions and emotions conditioned, in part, by the Chilean economic and geopolitical positionality. Finally, a journalistic thread based on the analysis of several Chilean newspapers will represent the argumentative support that shows not only how racism directs social and political decisions regarding migration, but also how aporophobia is the main characteristic of this new Chilean migration policy, evidenced in many titles of various journalistic sources.

II. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF CHILEAN MIGRATION STUDIES

Chilean migratory studies have been heavily impacted by several academic currents, particularly focusing on making gender dynamics visible within migratory phenomena. It must be said that, as this research does not delve deeply into gender issues, the perspective addressed here does not discount the power imbalance experienced by women.

From the mid-1990s, Chilean academics began to focus more seriously on analyzing migration flows and their national economic impacts. Some scholars have pointed out migrant remittances¹⁶ as a relevant migration feature, where migrant women become the protagonists of this economic flow.¹⁷ Nonetheless, at the beginning of the twenty-first century, this perspective was strongly criticized for its overemphasis on economic impacts, arguing that remittances also have substantial influence beyond the economic sphere.¹⁸ In the Latin American context, this debate was followed by an increment of migrant women as protagonists in international migration, in which topics such as the effects of the asymmetries of gender caused by the spread of some neoliberal reforms attained a place in academia, specifically in gender studies.¹⁹ While highlighting women's protagonism within the aforementioned migratory phenomena, Lube Guizardi and González Torralbo argue that most of this debate lacked a critical reading on gender, and relied on quantitative data without in-depth interpretations.²⁰ Although during this time researchers have taken economics into account when analysing migration, they mainly focus on gender perspectives and how migrants adapted to a neoliberal system such as the Chilean one, rather than how the national economic spectrum reacted to these migrants and how it reified and instrumentalised them in order to integrate them.

During the mid-2000s, there was a shift in academic theory toward making visible the gender-based subordination and power asymmetries in constructing a framework of migrant family life between the Global North and the Global South.²¹ Here, concepts such as transnational social reproduction and social organization of care were essential to understanding economic and social practices of giving and receiving "care" in the Latin-American and Chilean context, their actors (family, community, market, and the state), and their responses.²²

Some years after, a third stage began within Chilean migratory studies, categorized by a post-global perspective of capitalism. Authors such as Zigmund Bauman, Judith Butler, and Carmen Gregorio influenced Chilean scholarly debates towards global crisis theories of macro-scale phenomena and the migrant woman's daily life.²³ As a result, a (trans)border perspective began to cast light on the intersection of patriarchal power asymmetries.²⁴ The concept of "border" highlights two things, as Glick Schiller states in her work *A Global Perspective on Transnational Migration*: "the specific migratory movement that prevails in the north of the country, and the liminality of the female experience, investigating the juxtaposition between cultural patriarchy and state patriarchy".²⁵ In short, ethnized, proletarianized, and/or feminized bodies were reified as producers of capital and care, facing a hyper-border condition within cultural and national patriarchal structures.²⁶

Despite all the efforts these scholars made to understand how migrants, especially women, faced new economic and social conditions abroad under an unbalanced gender relationship, I suggest in this paper to add local reactions towards poor migrants. This paper therefore embraces the previous analysis and brings in another problematic issue that intersects with gender concerns: the material poverty of those who enter Chile for migration purposes.

III. BAD MIGRANTS: AN ISSUE OF POVERTY OR RACE?

The categorisation of migrants in Chile, following Adela Cortina's argumentative line, follows different patterns related to the degree of economic growth that these migrants can offer to the country, discarding any other type of contribution, such as cultural aspects. This availability to offer something is not only related to the gaps within the labour system, but also the economic and racial load that the migrant brings, in this case, to Chile. However, the "cultural backpack" is only taken into account as long as the migrant's racial canons fit into the eugenic inheritance of Chilean society.²⁷

From a historical perspective, the term "race" has been a characteristic that shaped national imaginaries. Although the Iberian peninsula influenced a huge portion of the American continent homogeneously since the sixteenth century after its independence, each country in the Southern Cone followed different paths concerning their national development and their relationship with indigenous communities. Many ideologies based on the European 'race' categorization thus led to complex relations within each national imaginary during the nation-building process. Sarah Walsh's work *The Chilean Exception* provides insight, through a history of eugenics, on how Chile engaged with this racial homogeneity.²⁸ According to Walsh, Chileans addressed it through white supremacy ideals during the 1900s, shaping the social imaginary within the country in order to distinguish themselves from their native roots and especially from inhabitants of neighbouring countries that possessed more indigenous physical features.²⁹ Nowadays, this spectrum has changed by adapting and reconfiguring relationships, following the new economic context, but generally maintaining eugenic patterns around the ideal of whiteness.³⁰

So what do aporophobia and neoliberalism have to do with the migration crisis in the Southern Cone? More specifically, what is the relationship between capitalism and aporophobia? Cortina's work highlights that aporophobia, a neologism she coined, is learned, and in contrast with xenophobia, is not "prehistorically rooted".³¹ In her book, she proposes several ways in which education, mass media, institutions, and the state can diminish aporophobia³² and promote positive changes such as the development of empathy, compassion, and justice in the human mind. Moreover, Cortina's philosophical argument is based on the idea that we are living in an exchange society, a society which relies on the reciprocity expectation in human nature, especially under the capitalist model. It follows that those who are not able to give something back in this exchange society are rejected and blamed.³³

Moreover, scholars such as Guy Feldman and Ramón Grosfoguel argue that neoliberalism as the last stage of capitalist development is constantly creating poverty in order to succeed in the maximization of profits³⁴ and retain the status quo based on unequal power relationships. While an inquiry into the relationship between capitalism and aporophobia is a complicated one (due to the slippery nature of the concept of

neoliberalism in academia³⁵ and the absence of debates surrounding the rescaling processes on this economic system on human behavior), it can provide some useful insights and offer a more global perspective to the study of transnational migration. As Neil Brenner argues, rescale mechanisms are contemporary patterns of geo-economic and geopolitical restructuring which are profoundly transforming the scalar configuration of urban processes under modern capitalism.³⁶ This restructuring is directly related to the flow of migrants and how the modern neoliberal capitalist system, in the case of Chile, is reorganised in order to balance and maintain its reproductive labour-power role.³⁷ In addition to this, the rescaling approach is important in order to understand transformations of new codes and behaviours, and with this, new imaginaries linked to concepts such as "otherness", poverty, and national belonging.³⁸

The concept of aporophobia provides a glimpse of how South American countries such as Chile deal with the current migratory influx by selecting and categorising migrants as desirable or undesirable. Proof of this is the "Humanitarian Return Programme", which was considered a benefit for migrants seeking to return to their countries of origin; however, this programme was considered by many pro-migrant organisations to be a government tool to deport undesirable migrants, and in the Chilean case in particular, Haitian migrants. Ultimately, the objective of countries under the current neoliberal system is to improve national GDP³⁹ indicators and to establish a better political and economic position in relation to the economic power of other countries within the continent, which also takes into account racial characteristics.⁴⁰ For example, the distinctions drawn by the Chilean government between Venezuelan and Haitian migrants in granting them different visa permits is a consequence of the process of rescaling Chilean society along neoliberal and racist lines respectively. In this sense, old and new categorisations through authorisations such as "humanitarian" and "tourist" visas are mixed in this new context, where racism and xenophobia are secondary actors, leaving aporophobia as the main characteristic that appeals to the GDP increase as a requirement for integration.

In the case of Venezuela, the country has had constant problems in developing its political and economic model, which is understandably due to the failure of its democratic system after the socialist putsch of Batista,⁴¹ and the prolonged economic blockade by the United States.⁴² Moreover, unclassified documents by the CIA⁴³ prove that Operation Condor was officially implemented by the U.S in the Southern Cone during the 1970s, primarily intending to get rid of communism across the continent. Therefore, Venezuelan migrants are a perfect political instrument for the current right-wing Chilean government, in order to curb left-wing political forces within the country and strengthen attempts at political leadership in future elections. For instance, La Tercera published an article showing the difficulties of Venezuelans in applying for humanitarian visas under the headline "The odyssey of Venezuelans seeking to leave their country to get to Chile", highlighting the corruption of Venezuelan institutions and the long process it takes due to irregularities in the socialist country.⁴⁴ Venezuelan migrants are thus portrayed by La Tercera and El

Mercurio as victims of a socialist system, a system that Chile should not take as an example to follow.⁴⁵

Regarding Haiti, as a result of ongoing crises—including the political chaos after the French occupation in Haiti and its social instability, the eventual occupation by the United States and its subsequent imperialist attempts, and the importance of the control of Panama's canal, this country has long struggled to reach real economic independence.⁴⁶ The economic dependence on other countries was grounded in the program Food for Work in 1954, established by the Cooperative for American Relief Everywhere (CARE) which provided the United States with control over Haiti's national resources⁴⁷ and the current political and economic debacle.⁴⁸ In this sense, Haitians are seen as migrants who cannot contribute to the Chilean economy, at least in the short term, and therefore, for the Chilean state, Haitians are an expense rather than an opportunity for economic growth. It is thus not openly acknowledged that Haitian migrants have also been victims of the same abuses of their democratic system. This is directly linked to the unfavourable economic reasons that the Haitian migrant would mean for the Chilean national economy.

In short, the construction of migrant imaginaries in Chile relies on the categorization of displaced people into the profiles mentioned in the last section of this work. Whether the migrant is an expense through lack of Spanish language skills, through vulnerability, or whether the migrant makes a contribution to the neoliberal narrative by representing “socialist failure”, all depends on the nation's standards. However, these standards are constantly being dynamised as processes of rescaling take place due to new cycles of migration and, whether considering migrants as a contribution or a burden,⁴⁹ these constructions generate inevitable contradictions.

IV. CHILEAN JOURNALISM AND THE NATIONAL MIGRANT IMAGINARY⁵⁰

As this paper exposes through the analysis of printed newspapers such as *El Mercurio* and *La Tercera*, as well as in digital publications such as *El Mostrador* and *El Desconcierto*, the media promotes discourses that incite the construction of an “other”.⁵¹ Before entering into the discursive analysis of these newspapers, it is necessary to clarify that *El Mercurio* and *La Tercera*⁵² were part of the official communicational duopoly within Chile, both born within the first half of the twentieth century (1900 and 1950 respectively) which remained predominant until the beginning of the twenty-first century. These papers, especially the former led by Augustin Edwards, were thus complicit in the Chilean dictatorship. The main characteristic of these outlets during Pinochet's dictatorship was the manipulation and concealment of information.⁵³ Since the beginning of the twenty-first century, various journalistic groups have been able to make their way into the mainstream journalism, starting digitally. *El Mostrador* and *El Desconcierto*, the former a public limited company created in 2000 and the latter a joint-stock company created in 2012, among others that are not mentioned in this piece, have been the window to new pluralistic communicational paths, challenging the national mouthpieces.

Concerning the migratory issue in Chile, the migrant is usually considered as an alien that must be categorized. The migrant is made out to be the "other", and through this journalistic analysis it is possible to observe that the "good migrant", in these discourses, prevails over the critical approach to a process that is more complex. In the case of Chile, this process is established through South-South migration, which challenges the frameworks of interpretation of current migratory movements, which are based on simplistic categorisations such as the "good or bad migrant".⁵⁴ Representations of migrants and coverage of the migration policy dispute oscillate between the defence of an order achieved through national security in relation to foreign dangers and an inclusive approach in which policy could foster the possibility of a more diverse society. It is this content and rhetoric within the aforementioned coverage that can present the possibility of instating either racism or interculturalism in the media of everyday life, thereby constructing social reality.⁵⁵

Following this line, a considerable quantity of information, speeches, and media coverage can help identify discursive threads on the construction of a migrant imaginary within a specific society. Additionally, this literature offers the opportunity to identify rising stereotypes and profiles that have been used as justifications in articulating a migratory policy that does not consider the rights of people in displacement, or provide real opportunities for their dispute. Therefore, describing the development of this discursive line chronologically constructs a comprehensive spectrum of the everyday knowledge related to migration conveyed through the media.

"THIS IS NOT AN APOLOGY"

A day after Sebastian Piñera's election as the new Chilean president,⁵⁶ his government announced that one of its priorities would be migration. The analyzed news reflects the existence of specific objectives from the executive power, as identified by their motto, "security, infancy, and migrations".⁵⁷ At the beginning of this thread, the migratory impact is presented in three dimensions: economic, social, and cultural. Within the economic dimension, the improvement of migrant labour conditions is highlighted, pointing to temporal visas and the increase of migrant workers within the country.⁵⁸ Within the cultural and social dimensions, it is mentioned that Chile is facing "a new demographic picture that is not only echoing in politics but also in entertainment".⁵⁹ On April 9, 2018, Piñera's government announced a new migratory policy. This announcement adverted the definitive closure of the National Consultative Council on Migration,⁶⁰ a democratic body that provided technical advice to the Immigration and Migration Department of the Ministry of the Interior and Public Security.⁶¹ Piñera argued that "this migratory policy is modern", and that "Chile urgently needs a new migration law since the current one, from 1975, poses the migrant as a threat rather than an opportunity".⁶²

The difference in visas for Haitians and Venezuelans, where the former can opt for a tourist visa and the latter for a humanitarian visa, exposes the categorisation to which migrants from these countries are being subjected. This official announcement was released

on April 9, 2018, and is linked to the regularization process that started on April 16, 2018.⁶³ I refer to the regularization process as a reorganisation, normalization, and identification of migrants within the country to categorise them as legal or illegal residents within Chile. Therefore, an irregular situation implies refusing this process of legal adaptation under the change of national regulations and thus becoming an illegal alien. In this case, the analyzed media disseminated the government's messages regarding the severity of the process, posed in a tone of positivity but also rigidity. In this context, *El Mercurio* explicitly points out that “the measures of the Executive seek that those who wish to come to reside make it transparent and thus not fall into irregularity”.⁶⁴

The news media's coverage of this process had a strong migrant testimonial component, relying heavily on public voices and opinions. One such case is from a report by *El Mercurio* on the arrival of migrants to the southern zone of Chile, entitled “Los Nuevos Patagones”,⁶⁵ and another report from *La Tercera*, “Regularization sites for migrants registered long lines”.⁶⁶

“This is not an apology”, was one of the lines in the newspaper *La Tercera*, which made clear the government's position on the new migration policy.⁶⁷ A very narrative iteration provided the testimonies of migrants, enabling them to express their opinions and experiences. One day before, the same newspaper used the term “illegal” for the first time, referencing foreigners with irregularities under the title “Prosecutor's Office investigates ten police officers for pressures against foreigners and street vendors”.⁶⁸ Following the chronology, *El Desconcierto* highlights that chaos and disinformation during the process of regulation was predominant; the National Network of Migrant and Pro-Migrant Organizations⁶⁹ described the process as “erratic, disorderly, changing, and chaotic”.⁷⁰ The confusion and chaos were also highlighted by *La Tercera* three months after, during the conclusion of this process, with an article titled “Confusion marks the last hours of the migrant process”.⁷¹ This confusion as a consequence of the closure of the National Consultative Council on Migration led to massive expulsion, leaving migrants without information or resources. The decision to close this council was considered “[...] a lack of respect for all citizens and, in particular, for migrants. [...] because it takes away our voice just at the moment when a migration policy that is harmful to us and that was made behind our backs is being made public”.⁷²

On June 25, 2018, the government released an announcement through these newspapers entitled “Two thousand migrants expelled”, detailing the coordinated work of the Investigative Police⁷³ (PDI) and the Ministry of the Interior and Public Security. Other data provided included the number of migrants in Chile, which rounded to a total of 1,119,000 migrants. Only 300,000 of them were under an irregular situation.⁷⁴ This new announcement sought to “expel from the country those who do have a record”, as the newspaper *El Desconcierto* exposes, and was to be carried out in two stages: firstly, by identifying foreigners who have already served their sentence in Chile and, by law, must be expelled, and secondly, by identifying those who are offenders of immigration law, whether they have a criminal record or not.⁷⁵ Further, the same document reports that after July 23,

when the registration of the regularization process concludes, "foreigners who did not register within the period indicated by the Government will be sanctioned." At this point, the Undersecretary of the Interior states that "those who do not register is because they probably have a criminal record".⁷⁶

Another important event in this trajectory was the announcement of a "Humanitarian Return Program" on August 30, 2018. This program is voluntary and oriented toward individuals and families who want to leave Chile.⁷⁷ As with the aforementioned migratory regularization process, the details of this program are not given, and the subsecretary Rodrigo Ubilla notes that "during September we will define the conditions of this program, in order to inform the Haitian community as soon as possible".⁷⁸ Although this program is oriented to all migrants of countries that are not touching the Chilean borders,⁷⁹ the political speeches are addressed specifically to the Haitian community, exhibiting them as the main target of this program. Moreover, the organization Migrant Jesuit Service countered this move and proposed a global perspective with their statement, "we have met people from other countries who have also indicated their desire to return to their homeland",⁸⁰ insinuating their doubt as to why the government would make another specific determination regarding the Haitian community.

In addition, during the following month, it was announced that the beneficiaries of the "Humanitarian Return Program" would not be able to come back to Chile within nine years of their departure. As a response to this measure, on October 17, 2018 El Mostrador launched an opinion column by Cristian Orrego⁸¹ entitled "*Voluntary deportations*" or *punishment for being poor*, referring to the critiques that this new program received after launch. By contrasting this title with the concept of aporophobia, behavioral features become evident regarding how mankind rejects poverty in all its forms and how invisible social structures have been setting behavioural codes within and beyond national borders.⁸² This condition was considered by Haitian organizations as a "forced deportation",⁸³ however, the Minister of the Interior, Andrés Chadwick, argues that "it is not a disguised deportation [...] the point is that this is not understood as a travel agency".⁸⁴ Another argument given by Piñera is related to the fact that this act is promoted because "many of them were brought in deceptively, some under fraud, with unfounded, and disproportionate promises".⁸⁵

Eventually, on November 7, 2018, the first flight of this "Humanitarian Return Program" was carried out, and a total of 176 applicants were the "beneficiaries". This number is contrasted with the total number of applicants, 1,087, constituting only 1.4% of the community that would be interested in returning. In the end, only 160 applicants boarded the plane.⁸⁶ It should be noted that all throughout the process of this plan's articulation, the first big public demonstration against racism occurred on September 30, 2018, in Joane Florvil's honour.⁸⁷ Florvil was an Haitian woman who died inside a police station in Santiago. She had come to the station asking for help, however due to misinterpretations and police inefficiency, the situation ended in a fatal outcome.

The circumstances of Florvil's death were largely underreported by the media, although El Mostrador released a column in which Cristian Orrego argues:

Apparently, for the government, the death of Joane Florvil was not enough to understand that migration represents a challenge and there are particularities that make certain groups more vulnerable. Given this, the action by the State should not take unfounded measures in order to prevent them from migrating or to return them once they do. Rather, it should undertake actions aimed at integrating them, in compliance with the international obligations that Chile has acquired through the ratification and entry into force of the International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Their Families.⁸⁸

Finally, this journalistic thread concluded with the Chilean government's decision not to subscribe to the Global Compact for Migration. Although this UN pact aims to improve databases of migratory information, reduce vulnerabilities in migration, combat human trafficking, and grant migrants with proof of legal identity,⁸⁹ the Chilean government argues that its focus is national security and its relation with the irregular migratory flows within the Southern Cone. This decision was announced on December 14, 2018, with the justification that this agreement "(...) hurts and does not protect the interests of Chileans, which encourages and focuses on irregular migration".⁹⁰ Here, it is important to highlight the government's management of information and the criticism that it raised. Following the aforementioned lines, the Supreme Court's substitute president, Sergio Muñoz, stated critically that this position "[...] is intended to condition the recognition of the human dignity of some people to their nationality of origin".⁹¹ Additionally, on December 15, 2018, La Tercera and El Mercurio focused their editorial columns on the economic impact of migration flows within the country. On December 9, 2018, Chile officially abstained from voting on this agreement.⁹²

THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE "OTHER"

A prominent theme within the contents of the sampled newspapers is that of "migratory impact," presented mainly from an economic perspective, and from editorial lines that are articulated by and/or linked to the government's official discourse. Following this, the construction of imaginaries concerning "the migrant" can be understood through the following discursive arguments:

-*Good workers*: The migrant is framed as a member of the workforce. The Labor Minister stated, "I like to see migrant workers, well-received, good colleagues, good friends of their colleagues. Let's go ahead with that and count on the Ministry of Labor for your dreams".⁹³ This quote was included as part of an article referring to the intention to increase the permitted percentage of working migrants from 15 to 25 percent for all companies, to which the trade unions and large conglomerates expressed their agreement. In addition to these working associations, a report by El Mercurio recounts how the presence of immigrants, mainly Haitians, has increased in the southern part of Chile. In this report, a business owner refers to and objectifies his Colombian worker as one of the best *elements* in his company: "Availability, charisma, she likes to work in a team, optimistic ... Qualities difficult to find in Chileans".⁹⁴ Additionally, the National Network of Migrant and Pro-

Migrant Organizations indicate that “it is an urgent measure to give them a RUN⁹⁵ for one year until the end of the process, which allows them to work and lead a regular life as a right”,⁹⁶ thus framing the issue in regards to labour.

-*A possible victim of crime*: One point where the profile of good workers converges to that of possible crime victims has to do with violations of labour rights. According to a report by La Tercera, Haitian workers are the ones leading this type of accusation. “This is revealed in a report by the Labor Directorate, which shows that in total 3,471 complaints from foreigners have been received as of June, which are concentrated in the hotel and restaurant sector”.⁹⁷ One of the proposals of Piñera in the framework of the explanations and reactions to the measures announced on April 9, 2018 is that the bill, in its second objective, “is proposed in line with tightening the measures with the smuggling of migrants”.⁹⁸

-*Sources of income-contributions*: Another profile that emerges is that of the migrant as a source of economic income to the treasury via taxes, official procedures, or fines. In this sense, as Rodrigo Sandoval, former head of the Foreigners' Department, points out in another column, “the foreigners from these immigration permits subsidize too much what is the action of the State”.⁹⁹ Some of the reactions and discussions raised by the April 9, 2018, announcement contributed to the construction of this profile. An El Mercurio editorial on April 15, 2018 stated that “it is key to the development of our country if awareness of the positive contribution to the economic, scientific, and cultural development of the increase in resident foreigners; of the need for policies for their effective settlement and integration to respond to possible problems associated with their vulnerability, exclusion, discrimination, and transnational criminal networks”.¹⁰⁰

-*People classified by their nationality*: After the official communication of the migration policy, some of the sampled media sources described and evaluated the policy as discriminatory, depending on the nationality of the migrants wanting to enter the country. This demonstrates the possibility of the media “classifying” the population. “If you were born in Switzerland or Germany, come calmly, we do not demand anything. If you are Haitian or Venezuelan, we are going to ask you even for the dental history of your grandparents(...)”.¹⁰¹

-*An expense for the State*: Among the information published with the announcement of the new immigration policy were figures from a report by the Budget Office regarding state spending on institutions related to migration management, as well as access to rights. This data profiled migrants as an “expense”, ignoring the income they contribute through other means, such as taxes and payment of fees for procedures and fines. According to La Tercera, “currently the Treasury quantifies the annual cost associated with immigration at \$154,358,000”.¹⁰² Later, El Mercurio launched an article referring to the high cost of the “transfer of Haitians who died in the country”. This report mentions Joane Florvil, whose body “remained 220 days in SML before arriving in Port-au-Prince, Haiti”.¹⁰³

-*An Offender*: According to an opinion column published by *El Desconcierto*, “the government’s proposals and its vision on immigration are part of its propaganda fight against crime, terrorism and drug trafficking. The punitive populism that characterizes his campaign discourse and his government actions extend to the figure of the migrant at the time that he emphasizes that he intends to promote safe, orderly, and regular migration”.¹⁰⁴ This classification is also presented within the framework of the regularization process where, in front of the migrants stationed at the Víctor Jara Stadium, President Piñera stated that “we do not want smugglers, drug traffickers or criminals to enter [...] we do not want to open the doors of our country to those who want to cause us harm”.¹⁰⁵

Despite the fact that migration has been a priority for the Executive from the outset, the first signs of a restrictive approach have become more evident since April 9 with the announcement of a migration policy and its respective measures. It is clear that under these argumentative points, journalism in Chile shows that, at least from the government’s position, migratory flows have more negative than positive consequences, inciting the population to have a sceptical attitude towards the “other”. Moreover, the feeling that Piñera’s government is “putting everything in order” functions as a curtain for the main objective of the economic and political elites, the accumulation of wealth, which is directly related to the increase of GDP in the case of neoliberal systems such as the Chilean one. Here, the power of the Chilean government reorganises itself to take advantage of the migration phenomenon without taking into account global migration rights and their transnational dynamics on the Latin American continent.

V. CONCLUSION

A global perspective of power on migration studies enables us to comprehend migratory flows on a macro level. However, it is also necessary to analyse internal national imaginaries about migrants in “receiving countries” in order to understand governmental reactions, social behaviours, and dynamics of rescaling processes. A journalistic discourse analysis provides a picture of the state’s position on migrants, and how they are categorized, integrated, and expelled. Based on this research, it is possible to state that the new Chilean migratory policy relies on a national imaginary of the other as an economic benefit or disadvantage more than as an agent with a cultural and experiential load. This analysis shows that Chile categorises the citizens of Venezuela as victims, in this case of a dictatorial socialist state, but not Haitians, even though they have been subjected to constant interventions of both a political and economic nature. However, both countries have been facing similarities in social instabilities that are fostering the increment of migration flows throughout the continent, in addition to similar economic crises. Therefore, I argue that the new Chilean migration policy is not only based on racist characteristics but also on the economic retribution that migrants could bring into national borders—making it evident that this migration policy is aporophobic.

The comparison of public discourses analysed through the language of journalistic sources and the impact of policy regulations could be productive in future debates related to the extent to which migration studies focus on social behaviours and media discourses - which are affected by rescaling processes - providing theoretical arguments for understanding current social pathologies, such as racism, classism, and xenophobia. Moreover, future debates should not exclude possible impacts on our emotions within social behaviours, for instance empathy or hatred towards the other.

Concerning racial categorizations, “whiteness” has been a dominant narrative historically, especially when concerning the relationship with indigenous people within its territory.¹⁰⁶ Unfortunately, this canonical trait is leading Chilean culture to adopt external and distant references instead of its own cultural roots within its continent. This situation renders the nation far from achieving a critical interculturality, hindering decolonial efforts to re-establish new possibilities for an epistemology linked to Chileans’ own roots and their connection to the global.¹⁰⁷ Moreover, unveiling and comparing the self-images of countries within a given region in order to understand geopolitical dynamics both within the continent and globally contributes to a harmony between the macro and micro perspectives in migration studies, which is of utmost importance.

It is well-known in academia that neoliberal practices in the Latin American continent from the 1970s onwards enforced market freedom while minimizing state control on economic affairs. Although this economic system was criticized around the world and underlined, firstly as an experiment,¹⁰⁸ and secondly as a failure in terms of capital distribution in other parts of the globe,¹⁰⁹ it remains today in many countries. To consider the current increment of the South-South migration flow as a direct imposition of neoliberalism in the Southern Cone is irresponsible and simplistic, considering that migratory phenomena are more than just economic issues. Nevertheless, the internal economic and political crises leading to a concerning increase in emigration flows within the South American region are, in part, the consequence of neoliberalism, but neoliberalism as a cause of aporophobic categorizations.

NOTES

¹ Adela Cortina's neologism, which is referred to in her book as “[..] signs of aporophobia, of rejection, aversion, fear and contempt towards the poor, towards the underprivileged who, at least in appearance, can give nothing good back in return”. See Adela Cortina Orts, *Aporofobia, el rechazo al pobre: Un desafío para la democracia* (Barcelona: Paidós, Estado y Sociedad, 2017), 19.

² Nina Glick Schiller, “A Global Perspective on Transnational Migration: Theorising Migration without Methodological Nationalism”, in *Diaspora and Transnationalism*, ed. Rainer Bauböck and Thomas Faist (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2010), 110.

³ Katja Hujo and Nicola Piper, “South-South Migration: Challenges for development and social policy”, *Development* 50 (2007): 19, <https://doi.org/10.1057/palgrave.development.1100419>.

⁴ Menara Lube Guizardi and Herminia González Torralbo, “Women in (Dis)placement: The Field of Studies on Migrations, Social Remittances, Care and Gender in Chile”, *Revista de Estudios Sociales* (2019): 70, <https://doi.org/10.7440/res70.2019.09>; Cristián Carrère Álvarez and Michelle Carrère Álvarez, “Inmigración femenina en Chile y mercado de trabajos sexualizados: La articulación entre racismo y sexismo a partir de la interseccionalidad”, *Polis (Santiago)* 14, no. 42 (2015): 33, <http://dx.doi.org/10.4067/S0718-65682015000300003>; Silke Staab and Kristen Hill Maber, “The Dual Discourse about Peruvian Domestic Workers in Santiago De Chile: Class, Race, and a Nationalist Project”, *Latin American Politics and Society* 48, no. 1 (2006): 88, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/4490450>; Herminia González and Elaine Acosta, “Cruzar las fronteras desde los cuidados: la migración transnacional más allá de las dicotomías analíticas”, in *Las fronteras del Transnacionalismo: Límites y desbordes de la experiencia migrante en el centro y norte de Chile*, ed. Menara Guizardi (Santiago: Ocho Libros, 2015), 127; Amaia Pérez-Orozco, *Miradas globales a la organización social de los cuidados en tiempos de crisis I: ¿qué está ocurriendo?* (Madrid: INSTRAW, 2009), 10; and María Emilia Tijoux Merino and María Gabriela Córdova Rivera, “Racismo en Chile: colonialismo, nacionalismo, capitalismo”, *Polis (Santiago)* 14, no. 42 (2015): 8, <http://dx.doi.org/10.4067/S0718-65682015000300001>.

⁵ Jamie Peck, “Political Economies of Scale: Fast Policy, Interscalar Relations, and Neoliberal Workfare”, *Economic Geography* 78, no. 3 (2002): 333-334, doi:10.2307/4140813; Nina Glick Schiller, “Theorising Transnational Migration in Our Times: A Multiscalar Temporal Perspective”, *Nordic Journal of Migration Research*, no. 4 (2018): 206, <http://doi.org/10.2478/njmr-2018-0032>; Neil Brenner, “The Urban Question and the Scale Question: Some Conceptual Clarifications”, in *Locating Migration: Rescaling Cities and Migrants*, ed. Nina Glick Schiller and Ayse Çağlar (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2011), 28.

⁶ Lube Guizardi and González Torralbo, “Women in (Dis)placement”, 70; Carrère Álvarez and Carrère Álvarez, “Inmigración femenina en Chile y mercado de trabajos sexualizados”, 33; Staab and Hill Maber, “The Dual Discourse about Peruvian Domestic Workers in Santiago De Chile”, 88.

⁷ It should be noted that there is already the German word *Armenfeindlichkeit* which has a similar meaning, but has not been studied in depth from a philosophical perspective as Cortina has done.

⁸ Glick Schiller, “A Global Perspective on Transnational Migration”, 117.

⁹ Cortina Orts, *Aporofobia*, 57.

¹⁰ Glick Schiller, “A Global Perspective on Transnational Migration”, 128.

¹¹ Glick Schiller, “A Global Perspective on Transnational Migration”, 110.

¹² Caroline Levander and Walter Mignolo, “Introduction: The Global South and World Dis/Order”, *The Global South* 5, no. 1 (2011): 3, doi:10.2979/globalsouth.5.1.1.

¹³ Glick Schiller, “A Global Perspective on Transnational Migration”, 117; Glick Schiller, “Theorising Transnational Migration in Our Times”, 206.

¹⁴ Oliver Dimbath, Katinka Meyer, and Anja Kinzler, *Vergangene Vertrautheit: Soziale Gedächtnisse des Ankommens, Aufnehmens und Abweisens* (Wiesbaden: Springer, 2019), 6-7.

¹⁵ Brenner, “The Urban Question and the Scale Question”, 24.

¹⁶ Migrant remittances as transference of money or goods from one country to another. Lube Guizardi and González Torralbo, “Women in (Dis)placement”, 104.

¹⁷ Lube Guizardi & González Torralbo, “Women in (Dis)placement”, 104.

¹⁸ Lube Guizardi and González Torralbo, “Women in (Dis)placement”, 104.

- ¹⁹ Lube Guizardi and González Torralbo, “Women in (Dis)placement”, 105.
- ²⁰ Lube Guizardi and González Torralbo, “Women in (Dis)placement”, 105.
- ²¹ González Torralbo and Acosta, “Cruzar las fronteras desde los cuidados”, 127; Pérez-Orozco, *Miradas globales a la organización social de los cuidados en tiempos de crisis I*, 10.
- ²² Lube Guizardi and González Torralbo, “Women in (Dis)placement”, 106.
- ²³ Lube Guizardi and González Torralbo, “Women in (Dis)placement”, 108.
- ²⁴ Lube Guizardi and González Torralbo, “Women in (Dis)placement”, 108.
- ²⁵ Lube Guizardi and González Torralbo, “Women in (Dis)placement”, 108.
- ²⁶ I omitted theoretical approaches in order to just mention the evolution of migratory studies in Chile. For more detailed information please read Lube Guizardi and González Torralbo, “Women in (Dis)placement”, 108; Menara Guizardi, Felipe Valdebenito, Eleonora López, and Esteban Nazal, “Forms and Movement in Hyper-border Space: Peruvian Migrants in the Arica Terminal (Chile)”, *Revista Migraciones Internacionales* 9, no. 1 (2017): 155.
- ²⁷ Simone Lässig and Swen Steinberg, “Knowledge on the Move: New Approaches toward a History of Migrant Knowledge”, *Geschichte und Gesellschaft* 43, no. 3 (2017): 338, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/26381960>; Sarah Walsh, “The Chilean Exception: Racial homogeneity, mestizaje and eugenic nationalism”, *Journal of Iberian and Latin American Studies* 25, no. 1 (2019): 107, DOI: 10.1080/14701847.2019.1579499.
- ²⁸ Walsh, “The Chilean Exception”, 107; Lube Guizardi and González Torralbo, “Women in (Dis)placement”, 101.
- ²⁹ Walsh, “The Chilean Exception”, 109.
- ³⁰ Peck, “Political Economies of Scale”, 333-334; Glick Schiller, “Theorising Transnational Migration in Our Times”, 206; Staab and Hill Maber, “The Dual Discourse about Peruvian Domestic Workers in Santiago De Chile”, 101; Tijoux Merino and Córdova Rivera, “Racismo en Chile”, 8.
- ³¹ Cortina Orts, *Aporofobia*, 18.
- ³² Cortina Orts, *Aporofobia*, 28.
- ³³ Cortina Orts, *Aporofobia*, 141-148.
- ³⁴ Guy Feldman, “Neoliberalism and poverty”, in *Routledge International Handbook of Poverty*, ed. Bent Greve (Abingdon: Routledge, 2019), 342-346; Ramón Grosfoguel, “Decolonizing Post-Colonial Studies and Paradigms of Political-Economy: Transmodernity, Decolonial Thinking, and Global Coloniality”, *TRANSMODERNITY: Journal of Peripheral Cultural Production of the Luso-Hispanic World* 1, no. 1 (2011): <http://dx.doi.org/10.5070/T411000004>.
- ³⁵ Feldman, “Neoliberalism and poverty”, 340.
- ³⁶ Brenner, “The Urban Question and the Scale Question”, 24.
- ³⁷ Peck, “Political Economies of Scale”, 332, Brenner, “The Urban Question and the Scale Question”, 25.
- ³⁸ Peck, “Political Economies of Scale”, 332; Glick Schiller, “Theorising Transnational Migration in Our Times”; Brenner, “The Urban Question and the Scale Question”, 26.

- ³⁹ Lässig and Steinberg, “Knowledge on the Move”, 315; Cortina Orts, *Aporofobia*, 21.
- ⁴⁰ Tijoux Merino and Córdova Rivera, “Racismo en Chile”, 9; Walsh, “The Chilean Exception”, 109.
- ⁴¹ “Cuba: Fidel Castro’s Record of Repression”, *Human Rights Watch*, November 25, 2016, <https://www.hrw.org/news/2016/11/26/cuba-fidel-castros-record-repression>.
- ⁴² UN Affairs, “UN General Assembly calls for US to end Cuba embargo for 29th consecutive year”, *UN News*, June 23, 2021, <https://news.un.org/en/story/2021/06/1094612>.
- ⁴³ J. Patrice McSherry, “Operation Condor: Clandestine Inter-American System”, *Social Justice* 26, no. 4 (78) (1999): 145, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/29767180>.
- ⁴⁴ Alejandra Jara, “La odisea de los venezolanos que buscan salir de su país para llegar a Chile”, *La Tercera*, May 28, 2018, <https://www.latercera.com/mundo/noticia/la-odisea-los-venezolanos-buscan-salir-pais-llegar-chile/182459/>.
- ⁴⁵ Gaspar Ramírez, “Todo lo que ha ocurrido en Venezuela puede servir como material para series televisivas”, *El Mercurio*, Economía y Negocios, November 2, 2018, <http://www.economiaynegocios.cl/noticias/noticias.asp?id=518084>; Alejandra Jara, “La odisea de los venezolanos que buscan salir de su país para llegar a Chile”.
- ⁴⁶ Kelly McKenzie, “In Dependence: Haiti in the Period of Neoliberalism”, *History in the Making* 11, no. 7 (2018): 69, <https://scholarworks.lib.csusb.edu/history-in-the-making/vol11/iss1/7>.
- ⁴⁷ McKenzie, “In Dependence”, 72-73.
- ⁴⁸ McKenzie, “In Dependence”, 80.
- ⁴⁹ Staab and Hill Maber, “The Dual Discourse about Peruvian Domestic Workers in Santiago De Chile”, 88.
- ⁵⁰ This chapter was made possible thanks to the great Chilean journalists Monserrat Lorca Pavez, Ximena Póo Figueroa, Francisca Palma Arriagada, and Génesis Moreno Leiva, who provided a considerable amount of sources and helped in illuminating the way to create a proper journalistic thread.
- ⁵¹ Ruth Wodak and Michael Meyer, eds., *Methods of Critical Discourse Analysis* (Los Angeles: Sage, 2009), 4.
- ⁵² Belonging to the private conglomerate COPESA.
- ⁵³ These acts during the dictatorship were brought to light, with some of them being judged decades later, after democracy had been restored under the current neoliberal canons at the core of a constitution imposed in the darkest years of the Chilean dictatorship. For more information please see Marco Herrera Campos, “La prensa que se calló con Pinochet”, *Chasqui. Revista Latinoamericana de Comunicación* [En línea], no. 96 (2006): <https://doi.org/10.16921/chasqui.v0i96.1598>; “Colegio de Periodistas valora condena a Copesa por montajes durante la dictadura”, *Diario UChile*, April 15, 2019, <https://radio.uchile.cl/2019/04/15/colegio-de-periodistas-valora-condena-a-copesa-por-montajes-durante-la-dictadura/>.
- ⁵⁴ Montero Sánchez and María Dolores, “Tuchman, Gaye. La producción de la noticia. Estudio sobre la construcción social de la realidad”, *En Análisi: quaderns de comunicació i cultura* [en línea], (1987): 312-315, <https://raco.cat/index.php/Analisi/article/view/41866>.
- ⁵⁵ Jessica Retis, “La construcción de la imagen de la inmigración latinoamericana en la prensa española”, in *Comunicación, Cultura y Migración*. ed. Fernando Contreras, Rafael González, and

Francisco Sierra (Sevilla: Junta de Andalucía, 2003), 144; Marta Rizo, “Miedo y compasión: dos estrategias de movilización afectiva en el discurso informativo sobre el inmigrante”, *Revista Comunica* 2 (2001); Miquel Rodrigo Alsina, *Comunicación intercultural* (Barcelona: Anthropos Editorial, 1999), 5.

⁵⁶ March 11, 2018.

⁵⁷ Marcela Jiménez and Macarena Segovia, “La segunda oportunidad de Piñera y la derecha peligrosa”, *El Mostrador*, March 12, 2018, <https://www.elmostrador.cl/noticias/pais/2018/03/12/la-segunda-oportunidad-de-pinera-y-la-derecha-peligrosa/>.

⁵⁸ “La alta presencia de extranjeros en el mercado laboral chileno”, *EMOL*, Capital Humano, March 11, 2018, <https://capitalhumano.emol.com/13149/extranjeros-mercado-laboral-chileno/>.

⁵⁹ Claudio Vergara, “La inmigración venezolana empieza a asomarse en la cartelera chilena”, *La Tercera*, March 14, 2018, <https://www.latercera.com/entretencion/noticia/la-inmigracion-venezolana-empieza-asomarse-la-cartelera-chilena/98356/>.

⁶⁰ In Spanish: Consejo Consultivo Nacional de Migraciones.

⁶¹ In Spanish: Departamento de Extranjería y Migraciones del Ministerio del Interior y Seguridad Pública.

⁶² Álvaro Bellolio, “Migraciones hoy y mañana”, *La Tercera*, April 14, 2018, <https://www.latercera.com/opinion/noticia/migraciones-hoy-manana/132540/>.

⁶³ “El Gobierno chileno crea un visado especial para migrantes venezolanos”, *Agencia EFE*, April 9, 2018, <https://www.efe.com/efe/cono-sur/politica/el-gobierno-chileno-crea-un-visado-especial-para-migrantes-venezolanos/50000818-3578304>.

⁶⁴ Irregularity concerning legal aspects of migration status of migrants. Please see “Gobierno propondría que extranjeros pidan visas para buscar un trabajo en Chile, con un plazo de un año para encontrarlo”, *El Mercurio*, April 20, 2018, <http://impresa.elmercurio.com/Pages/SearchResults.aspx?ST=extranjeros&SF=&SD=&ED=&NewsID=561454&>.

⁶⁵ Patagón: People who live in Patagonia.

⁶⁶ “Los nuevos patagones”, *EMOL*, April 21, 2018, <http://buscador.emol.com/noticias/Mario+Virgil;S.Vedoya+and+E.L.Chekh,+Recintos+de+regularización+para+migrantes+registraron+largas+filas>”, *La Tercera*, April 23, 2018, <https://www.latercera.com/nacional/noticia/recintos-regularizacion-migrantes-registraron-largas-filas/142205/>.

⁶⁷ Vedoya and Chekh, “Recintos de regularización para migrantes registraron largas filas”.

⁶⁸ Javiera Matus, “Fiscalía indaga a 10 carabineros por apremios contra extranjeros y vendedores ambulantes”, *La Tercera*, April 22, 2018, <https://www.latercera.com/nacional/noticia/fiscalia-indaga-10-carabineros-apremios-extranjeros-vendedores-ambulantes/142079/>.

⁶⁹ In Spanish: Red Nacional de Organizaciones Migrantes y Promigrantes.

⁷⁰ Meritxell Freixas, “¿Es esta la cola para sacar número para pasado mañana?: Así esperaron los migrantes en el Estadio Víctor Jara”, *El Desconcierto*, April 24, 2018, <https://www.eldesconcierto.cl/nacional/2018/04/24/es-esta-la-cola-para-sacar-numero-para-pasado-manana-asi-esperaron-los-migrantes-en-el-estadio-victor-jara.html>

⁷¹ Sebastián Vedoya M, “Confusión marca últimas horas de proceso migrante”, *La Tercera*, July 22, 2018, <https://www.latercera.com/nacional/noticia/confusion-marca-ultimas-horas-proceso>

migrante/252795/.

⁷² Ximena Bertin, “Gobierno eliminó Consejo Consultivo de Migraciones”, *La Tercera*, April 12, 2018, <https://www.latercera.com/nacional/noticia/gobierno-elimino-consejo-consultivo-migraciones/130670/>.

⁷³ In Spanish: Policía de Investigación.

⁷⁴ Irregular situation refers to illegal status within the country, or without documents proving “regular” residence. Please see “«Ordenar la casa»: Gobierno expulsará a más de 2 mil inmigrantes con antecedentes penales”, *El Desconcierto*, June 25, 2018, <https://www.eldesconcierto.cl/nacional/2018/06/25/ordenar-la-casa-gobierno-expulsara-a-mas-de-2-mil-inmigrantes-con-antecedentes-penales.html>.

⁷⁵ «Ordenar la casa», *El Desconcierto*.

⁷⁶ “Gobierno expulsará este año a más de dos mil extranjeros irregulares con antecedentes penales”, *El Mercurio*, June 25, 2018, <https://www.elmercurio.com/blogs/2018/06/25/61274/Gobierno-expulsara-este-ano-a-mas-de-dos-mil-extranjeros-irregulares-con-antecedentes-penales.aspx>.

⁷⁷ Dr. Frederik Schröer also commented to me that this type of program could be part of certain “global strategies” due to its repetitive application in many countries such as Germany, the United Kingdom, the United States, and others, including Chile. Under these examples, some questions rose to him such as: is there a transnational knowledge transfer happening? Are governments consciously or unconsciously copying policy from elsewhere?

⁷⁸ Óscar Pérez Tapia, “Gobierno anunció plan de retorno para migrantes haitianos”, *La Tercera*, August 30, 2018, <https://www.latercera.com/nacional/noticia/gobierno-anuncio-plan-retorno-migrantes-haitianos/302147/>.

⁷⁹ Ministerio Secretaría General de Gobierno, Comenzó inscripción: en qué consiste el Plan de Retorno Humanitario para migrantes, Requisitos, *Chilean Government*, <https://msgg.gob.cl/wp/2018/10/18/comenzo-inscripcion-en-que-consiste-el-plan-de-retorno-humanitario-para-migrantes/>.

⁸⁰ In Spanish: Servicio Jesuita Migrante.

⁸¹ PhD candidate in Latin American Studies from UNAM Mexico, Master in Sociology, Bachelor of Political and Government Sciences and Public Administrator from the University of Chile.

⁸² Cortina Orts, *Aporofobia*, 14.

⁸³ Consuelo Ferrer, “Migración haitiana: El 76% dice que su trabajo actual ‘es muy distinto’ al de su país y 74% gana menos de \$400 mil [Pesos] al mes”, *EMOL*, November 8, 2018, <https://www.emol.com/noticias/Nacional/2018/11/08/926697/Migracion-haitiana-El-76-dice-que-su-trabajo-actual-es-muy-distinto-al-de-su-pais-y-74-gana-menos-de-400-mil-al-mes.html>.

⁸⁴ “«Operación Retorno» de haitianos: jesuitas advierten que restricción para no volver en 9 años es un exceso”, *El Mostrador*, November 7, 2018, <https://www.elmostrador.cl/noticias/pais/2018/11/07/operacion-retorno-de-haitianos-jesuitas-advierten-que-restriccion-para-no-volver-en-9-anos-es-un-exceso/>.

⁸⁵ In Spanish: “muchos de ellos fueron traídos en forma engañosa, algunos bajo estafa, con promesas infundadas y desproporcionadas”, see Consuelo Ferrer, *Migración haitiana*.

⁸⁶ “El racismo como política de Estado: La deportación de haitianos en Chile”, *El Desconcierto*, November 7, 2018, <https://www.eldesconcierto.cl/cartas/2018/11/07/el-racismo-como-politica-de-estado-la-deportacion-de-haitianos-en-chile.html>.

⁸⁷ Carla Ruiz Pereira, “Los 30 días de calvario de Joane Florvil”, *La Tercera*, October 7 2017, <https://www.latercera.com/noticia/los-30-dias-calvario-joane-florvil/>.

⁸⁸ In Spanish: Al parecer, para el Gobierno la muerte de Joane Florvil no fue suficiente para comprender que la migración representa un desafío, y que existen particularidades que dotan a ciertos colectivos de una mayor vulnerabilidad. Ante esto, la acción por parte del Estado no debiera ser el tomar medidas sin fundamento con el fin de evitar que migren o devolverlos una vez que lo hacen. Más bien debería emprender acciones orientadas a integrarlos, en cumplimiento a las obligaciones internacionales que Chile ha adquirido mediante la ratificación y entrada en vigencia de la Convención Internacional sobre la Protección de los Derechos de Todos los Trabajadores Migratorios y de sus Familiares. Cristian Orrego, “Política migratoria antihaitiana: cuando evitarlos y devolverlos es más fácil”, *El Mostrador*, October 4, 2018, <https://www.elmostrador.cl/noticias/opinion/columnas/2018/10/04/politica-migratoria-antihaitiana-cuando-evitarlos-y-devolverlos-es-mas-facil/>.

⁸⁹ Jack Goodman, “What’s the UN global compact on migration?” *BBC News*, 2018, <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-46607015>.

⁹⁰ “Piñera confirmó que Chile rechazará firmar el Pacto Migratorio de la ONU”, *El Desconcierto*, December 14, 2018, <https://www.eldesconcierto.cl/nacional/2018/12/14/pinera-confirmando-que-chile-rechazara-firmar-el-pacto-migratorio-de-la-onu.html>.

⁹¹ María Cristina Romero, “Piñera vuelve a explicar sus motivos y reitera que ha decidido ‘no adoptar’ Pacto Migratorio de la ONU”, *EMOL*, December 14, 2018, <https://www.emol.com/noticias/Nacional/2018/12/14/930912/Pinera-vuelve-a-explicar-sus-motivos-y-reitera-que-ha-decenido-no-adoptar-Pacto-Migratorio-de-la-ONU.html>.

⁹² Pía Larrondo, “Piñera alude al ‘desorden migratorio del Gobierno anterior’ para explicar rechazo a Pacto de Marrakech”, *EMOL*, December 15, 2018, <https://www.emol.com/noticias/Nacional/2018/12/15/930971/Pinera-alude-al-desorden-migratorio-del-Gobierno-anterior-para-explicar-rechazo-a-Pacto-de-Marrakech.html>; Lorena Fries, “La migración: derecho humano”, *La Tercera*, December 15, 2018, <https://www.latercera.com/opinion/noticia/la-migracion-derecho-humano/446700/>.

⁹³ Pía Toro, “Gremios divididos por futuro cambio a tasa máxima de contratación de inmigrantes”, *La Tercera*, March 20, 2018, <https://www.latercera.com/pulso/gremios-divididos-futuro-cambio-tasa-maxima-contratacion-inmigrantes/>.

⁹⁴ *EMOL*, “Los nuevos patagones”.

⁹⁵ Rol Único Nacional, or ID number.

⁹⁶ Meritxell Freixas, “¿Es esta la cola para sacar número para pasado mañana?”

⁹⁷ Pía Toro, “Trabajadores inmigrantes: haitianos lideran denuncias por vulneración a derechos laborales”, *La Tercera*, September 2, 2018, <https://www.latercera.com/pulso/noticia/trabajadores-inmigrantes-haitianos-lideran-denuncias-vulneracion-derechos-laborales/304906/>.

⁹⁸ Álvaro Bellolio, “Migraciones hoy y mañana”.

⁹⁹ Carlos Alonso, “Llegada de extranjeros a Chile aportó más de US\$200 millones al Fisco entre 2010 y 2017”, *La Tercera*, March 18, 2018, <https://www.latercera.com/pulso/llegada-extranjeros-chile-aporto-mas-us200-millones-al-fisco-2010-2017/>.

¹⁰⁰ “Falta de información migratoria”, *El Mercurio*, April 15, 2018, <http://impresa.elmercurio.com/MerMobilephone/HomeSlide.aspx?qs=2&dt=2018-04-15#pagina-3>.

¹⁰¹ In Spanish: Si Ud. nació en Suiza o Alemania venga con tranquilidad, no exigimos nada. Si Ud. es Haitiano o Venezolano le vamos a pedir hasta el historial dental de sus abuelos, see in “La #NuevaLeyDeMigración de Piñera saca ronchas en Twitter”, *El Desconcierto*, April 9, 2018, <https://www.eldesconcierto.cl/nacional/2018/04/09/redes-la-leydemigracion-de-pinera-saca-ronchas-en-twitter.html>.

¹⁰² S. Vedoya, D. Astudillo, I. Caro and J. Ortíz, “Gobierno calcula en US\$ 256 millones gasto fiscal anual por migración”, *La Tercera*, April 11, 2018, <https://www.latercera.com/nacional/noticia/gobierno-calcula-us-256-millones-gasto-fiscal-anual-migracion/129544/>.

¹⁰³ *El Mercurio*, *Gobierno expulsará este año a más de dos mil extranjeros irregulares con antecedentes penales*.

¹⁰⁴ “«Chévere»: El Mercurio se burla de inmigrantes con caricatura sobre enormes filas para la visa”, *El Desconcierto*, April 17, 2018, <https://www.eldesconcierto.cl/nacional/2018/04/17/chevere-el-mercurio-se-burla-de-inmigrantes-con-caricatura-sobre-enormes-filas-para-la-visa.html>.

¹⁰⁵ Meritxell Freixas, “¿Es esta la cola para sacar número para pasado mañana?”

¹⁰⁶ Andrea Riedemann, Carolina Stefoni, Fernanda Stang, and Javier Corvalán, “Desde Una educación Intercultural Para Pueblos indígenas Hacia Otra Pertinente Al Contexto Migratorio Actual. Un análisis Basado En El Caso De Chile”, *Estudios Atacameños* (En línea), no. 64 (2020): 338, <http://dx.doi.org/10.22199/issn.0718-1043-2020-0016>; Catherine Walsh, “Interculturalidad crítica y educación intercultural”, in *Construyendo interculturalidad crítica* (La Paz: Instituto Intercultural de Integración, 2010), 78, <http://aulaintercultural.org/2010/12/14/interculturalidad-critica-y-educacion-intercultural/>.

¹⁰⁷ Walsh, “Interculturalidad crítica y educación intercultural”, 79.

¹⁰⁸ Joseph Collins and John Lear, *Chile's Free-Market Miracle: A Second Look* (Oakland, CA: Food First, 1995).

¹⁰⁹ David E Hojman, “Poverty and Inequality in Chile: Are Democratic Politics and Neoliberal Economics Good for you?” *Journal of Interamerican Studies and World Affairs* 38, no. 2/3 (1996): 73-96, doi:10.2307/166361.