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Urban and social space contested: Intersectionality of public discourses about Haitian immigration in Santiago, Chile.

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Abstract

Urban and social space contested: Intersectionality of public discourses about Haitian immigration in Santiago, Chile.

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Master of Arts in Mass Communication

The research analyzes the recent urban and social changes in Santiago, Chile, after the increase in Haitian immigration from 2014 to 2017. The study explores concepts such as transnationalism, global city, social discourse, racism, and colonialism to explain features of the developing Haitian diaspora in the Chilean capital city. It is based on a critical analysis of news reports from the newspaper *El Mercurio* and semi-structured interviews with Haitian citizens, leaders of civil society organizations, and members of the public administration. It analyses the social and urban transformations that have risen since the encounter with *the other -Haitian immigrants-* to contribute to the study and understanding of the mobility population in the Global South, and the called South-South Migration.

The study addresses the city of Santiago as a communication space, demonstrating how media shapes people's perceptions and social interactions in the urban space. Analyzing the different public discourses, communicative practices, and urban environments allows us to identify collective meanings and ideological disputes. The

changes of the contemporary diasporas in urban environments generate new pro-immigrant organizations, which confront the economic and political dominant power. Nevertheless, the unequal access to the media and the social representations of Haitian immigrants reveals how the symbolic power is distributed and the media's role in reproducing hegemonic values. This implies that the urban and social space conflict is due to the new residents' contesting.

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

The displacement of people to urban areas in search of better opportunities is not new. The industrialization process of the mid-eighteenth century mobilized thousands of people from the countryside to live in the city, unleashing political, social, economic, and urban changes. The International Organization for Migration (IOM, for its English acronym) estimates that 244 million people worldwide are migrants (IOM, 2018), while 55% of the population lives in urban areas. By 2050, this trend will reach 68% (UN, 2018).

Regional studies on migration show that Argentina (4.4% of its total population), Venezuela (4.2%), and Surinam (7.5%) have been the countries with the largest immigrant population in South America (Stefoni, 2018). Nevertheless, unofficial and unpublished data estimate that the migrant population in Chile reached one million one hundred thousand people by August of 2018, representing 6% of its total population¹. Chile became a new reference for migratory projects, focusing on human displacement between urban places.

According to the Global Cities report, the Chilean capital is ranked number 60 in the same category as Barcelona, San Francisco, and Dumbai (Kerney, 2018). This means that Santiago has led to rapid and sustained growth, in which Haitian immigration has increased. Census statistics indicate that Haitian citizens rose by 3250%, from 50 people in 2002 to 1675 in 2012 (Rojas & Koechlin, 2017). In September 2018, the Haitian community in Chile was estimated to be 200,000 people (Alvaro Bellolio, personal

¹ Interview conducted to Head of Foreign and Migration Department (DEM in Spanish), Secretary of Interior, Government of Chile, Álvaro Bellolio.

interview, August 2018). They are the fourth foreign presence in the country (9,8%), after Venezuelans (24.2%), Peruvians (22.2%), and Colombians (14.9%) (CENEM, 2018).

They are not a majority immigrant group in Chile, but Haitians face two additional obstacles to other immigrants in the region: the language barrier and the skin color. The Miami Herald newspaper headline in March 2018 about the harsh welcome received by Haitian immigrants in Chile (Charles, 2018). The National Institute of Human Rights (INDH) revealed that 45% of the population believes that immigrants -in general- are dangerous (INDH, 2018). On the other hand, a study by the University of Talca indicated that 83% of Haitians believe they have more difficulties than other foreigners when searching for a job (CENEM, 2018).

Previous research conducted in the '90s about Peruvian and Bolivian immigrants' experiences showed that Chilean public opinion categorized new residents as illegal and criminal, placing them in a place of suspicion and threat (Correa, 2016). The representation of Peruvian immigrants in the mainstream media reinforced those discourses that tend to marginalize them (Browne, Silva & Baessolo, 2010).

There is evidence of the role played by mainstream media in the construction of immigrants' stereotypes and prejudices (Retis, 2016; Correa, 2016; Browne et al., 2010). This research 1) explores social representations of immigrants Haitians in Santiago de Chile and analyzes the role played by mainstream media in the construction of public discourse; 2) examines the city's perceptions regarding the media portrayal of it, even as a commodity or a place to live and/or work; and 3) observes into communicative practices and social interactions between the city, the media, and people.

The study approaches the city of Santiago as a communication space in which Haitian immigrants' perceptions of the city and social practices are shaped and influenced by the media (Georgiou, 2013). Analyzing the different public discourses, communicative practices, and urban environments allows us to identify collective meanings between urban space and people and cultural expressions of identity and belonging as part of the migratory projects of Haitian immigrants in Santiago, Chile.

Then, the following research seeks to answer the following questions:

RQ1: How does Chilean media portray Haitian immigration and its role in the construction of public discourse?

RQ2: How does the media reinforce the city's perceptions? Is it a place of consumption for tourists and investors or a production site where different discourses, communities, and social practices live together?

RQ3: Why did the new communicative practices and social interactions between people and technology transform Santiago, Chile's urban and social environment?

The thesis is divided into five chapters. After this introduction to research, chapter two provides a theoretical conceptualization of urban communication, social discourses, production of space, international migration, global cities, diaspora, media, and ideology. The third section describes the research methods applied, which combined critical discourse analysis, semi-structured interviews, and participant observation. Chapter 4 summarizes the main findings of the analysis, and Chapter 5 addresses the study's conclusions, limitations, and future research.

1.1 Significance of the study

The significance of this research is based on two main reasons. First, the study contributes to this research area, which has yet to be explored. Considering the secondary sources reviewed, there are only a few previous publications about the portrayal of Haitian immigration in the mainstream media in Santiago, Chile; and second, because the study contributes to the understanding of urban communication and international migration in Chile and Latin America. The discipline has become more academically productive because of the dynamic and demographic changes in the continent in recent years. It is complex to establish displacement patterns on migratory flows because most of the current trends on the continent are diverse, and mainly, Haitian immigration to Chile is quite heterogeneous (Nassila Amode, researcher, personal interview, January 2019). This research constitutes an input to the discipline and contributes to developing urban communication studies in Chile.

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Theoretical Framework

The interaction between people's communicative practices and the cities is the focus of analysis in Urban Communication studies (Aiello & Tosoni, 2016). The main object of study of this discipline is precisely the contribution of the cities "to both enabling and impeding particular actions, identities and practices" (Dickinson, 2002, Dickinson & Aiello, 2016, p. 1295). Understanding the communicative dimension of the city implies analyzing it as a mediation site and focusing on the relationship between people's daily lives and their actions, tending to transform or perpetuate the hegemonic conditions of urban spaces (Dickinson & Aiello, 2016). Cities are political spaces where control over their domination is reflected in the mediated relationship between people, technology, and place (Georgiou, 2008).

The media shaped representations and social practices of the cities but also resisted popular expressions of the street (Georgiou, 2013). In this context, immigrants incorporate the change process of the global cities (Georgiou, 2006) and are a vital component in the dynamics of the political economy (Sassen, 2001) at the transnational level. The media play a role in people's perceptions of the city since they may represent it as a commodity or a place to live and work (Georgiou, 2013). Among these complex conjunctions, the media portrays immigrants according to their values and beliefs, which may reflect the reproduction or contestation of the hegemonic public discourses (Georgiou, 2013). This research was conducted under the Urban Communications area (Dickinson & Aiello, 2016: Tarantino & Tosoni, 2008: Aiello & Tosoni, 2016) since it is a way to analyze and

understand the dialectical relationship between media and the city, the purpose of this master's thesis.

This theoretical framework explores primarily literature on international migration, South-South movements, transnationalism (Glick Schiller, N., Bash, L., & Blanc-Szanton, C.1992, Portes, 1997, Guarnizo & Smith, 1998), and diaspora (Cohen, 2008) to contextualize the South American city as a new destination for migratory projects. Second, the conceptualization of global cities is reviewed (Sassen, 2001) and compared with the existing literature on global cities in the Global South. It is defined as dynamic beyond its geographic dimension in terms of the social actors and institutions that are constantly changing. Third, it examines the theory of space production (Lefebvre, 1974), social discourse, and racism (van Dijk, 1990, 1992, 2006, 2007). The theoretical framework ends with examining colonialism, classism (Tijoux, 2016), and the media and their relationship with the cities (Georgiou, 2013). The second part of this chapter introduces the historical background of the migratory contexts of Haiti and Santiago, Chile.

2.1.1 Migrations and Transnational Communities

“Global cities worldwide are the terrain where a multiplicity of globalization processes assume concrete, localized forms. These localized forms are, in good part, what globalization is about. Recovering place means recovering the multiplicity of presences in this landscape. The large city of today has emerged as a strategic site for a whole range of new types of operations – political, economic, “cultural,” and subjective” (Sassen, 2005, p. 40).

The relationship between the process of globalization and the continuous dynamism of international migration during the last decades has linked global cities as places of “better opportunities” for newcomers (Sassen, 2001). “Major cities have emerged as a strategic site not only for global capital but also for the transnationalization of labor and the formation of trans-local communities and identities” (Sassen, 2005, p. 38).

The advance of technology and the transnationalization of the economy have generated the movement of capital and the population. As the investment grows in impoverished areas, people seek better opportunities in investing countries (Sassen, 2001). Even as a result of the global economy, due to the recruitment of foreign professionals by governments and corporations, or attributable to the illegal trafficking of people, migration flows are always associated with the growth of the international market and the political-economic dynamics of the system (Sassen, 2007). For the sociologist, the migrant labor component is crucial in her conceptualization of the global city (Sassen, 1991).

The critical perspective of transnational studies emphasizes the analysis of the revolution in communications and transportation, which supposes a *transnationalism from above*, while a *transnationalism from below* would be led by groups of people seeking better conditions of living (Guarnizo & Smith, 1998; Portes, 2003; Glick Shiller, 1992). Glick Schiller & Fouron (2003) clarify the difference between globalization and

transnationalism. The first term involves investment, capital, and consumption processes and flows. In contrast, the second one refers to "certain movements of people, ideas, and objects. They are defined as transnational, rather than global" (Glick Schiller & Fouron 2003, p.199). Portes (1997) argues that migration has a transnational dimension involving capital, technology, information, and people exchanges. The scholars agree that migration is not only one-way. The assimilation processes in host societies are also questioned. According to this approach, customs, language, food, and ways of functioning are maintained in the destination society.

As a result of globalization and the accumulation of capital in certain areas, growing social inequality has increased. This unequal distribution of goods and resources implies other places and ways to access them. The migration means hope for an eventual rise in the social scale (Faist, 2016). As unequal as the world is, globalization is characterized by increasing flows of people who may become actors in social change (Portes, 2010). These changes range from the eventual depopulation in emigrant regions, decreasing poverty in underdeveloped economies thanks to remittances sent by migrants, the conformation of ethnic enclaves in the receiving societies, and the foundation of organizations that serve marginalized groups (Portes, 2010). The post-migration scenario implies social, political, and economic changes in the society of origin and destination. On the one hand, the local culture is transnationalized, and on the other, civil society demands transformations to the political and economic system to include diversity (Portes, 2010).

International migration embraces the promise of social mobility but also reflects the system's inequalities between wealthy and poorer regions. The development

perspective has predominated in migration studies, whose ideological lines show two paradigms: neoclassical and neoliberal and neo-Marxist and structuralist (De Haas, 2010).

Scholars analyze the phenomenon from a transnational approach by observing the process beyond purely economic factors (Faist, 2010; Portes, 1997; Glick Schiller, N., Bash, L., & Blanc-Szanton, C., 1992). This perspective transforms the migration qualitatively (Portes, 1997) since social media strengthens a transnational and social symbolic space where interests and multiple forms of identification converge in the sender and receiving societies. Newcomers demand technology, information, food, and cultural products to stay connected with their homeland. In turn, friends and family in the country of origin desire products from the host societies, which leads to the migrant community's increased consumerism (Portes, 1997).

Transnational communities (Portes, 1997) or transnational social fields, as defined by Glick Schiller, N., Bash, L., & Blanc-Szanton, C. (1992), are those fields interconnection between here and there. The migration is no longer analyzed only from the integration and assimilation to the destination society. The process involves intermediary spaces between the insertion of migrants and their networks and connections with the societies of origin. The scholars point out the simultaneity between *being of* a place and *belonging to* it. The simultaneity between the actions identifying as “of Mexico” belonging to the Mexican community in any specific neighborhood (Levitt & Glick Schiller, 2004).

Transnational practices are dynamic, fluctuating, and dialectical. They link the destination, the place of origin, and the migrant, built in the middle of specific political, economic, and social borders. For example, implications of social origin are related to migratory projects of Dominican people. Those who are better connected and have more

social resources choose New York as a destination, whereas those with less social capital decide to move to Madrid, Spain (Smith & Guarnizo, 1998).

Immigrants develop multiple social relationships and reinforce their cultural identity in everyday life, from selling street food to massifying their language. These actions reinforce the ethnic identity of the migrants and differentiate them from the rest of the population, which is seen to resist the subordination of global capitalism (Glick Schiller et al., 1992). They can live in the middle of two cultures, in the middle of two languages , and develop activities that involve an intermediate, symbolic, and interconnected space facilitated by the advancement of technology and communications (Levitt & Glick Schiller, 2004). The local acquires a transnational dimension through sending remittances, exchanging cultural goods, and massifying information networks. Transnational from the popular is, in turn, the way to protest the inequality and vulnerability of the political and economic system that moves marginalized groups to migrate to other latitudes (Smith & Guarnizo, 1998). In this sense, immigrants are seen as destabilizing nationalist projects, but they also contribute, in some way, to perpetuate the neoliberal model (Baubock & Faist, 2010).

In the past, diasporas were associated with groups of people expelled from their original territory, such as Jews and Armenians (Cohen, 2008). Recent studies on international migration distinguish different types of diasporas according to the characteristics of the human group established in the receiving society, which may be labor, religious, family, and/or commercial (Cohen, 2008). Migrations change cities (Georgiou, 2006) because, in themselves, they are social transformations (De Haas, 2009). New intercultural relations emerge, and encounters occur between locals and other immigrant

groups. Multicultural neighborhoods are typical of global cities, reflecting key elements of the social, cultural, and economic life of the city and the urban and transnational identity of the *diasporic subjects* (Georgiou, 2006).

Migrants are crucial in forming and/or restructuring global cities. The establishment of human groups in different parts of the planet has configured new transnational social fields that allow the connection and relationship between subjects of the societies of origin and those of residence (Glick Schiller et al., 1992). Migrants live simultaneously between two languages, two families, and two cultures (Levitt & Glick Schiller 2004), and the transnational dimension of their daily life allows them to analyze the context in which each migratory project develops and how they complement others of a similar nature. Shared experiences and cultural values facilitate the formation of diasporas in arriving places (Cohen, 2008). In this way, the idea of *belonging to* and *being from* acquiring transnational dimensions beyond geographical borders. Salvadoran migrants living in the United States may vote in their country's elections, even those living abroad (Levitt & Glick Schiller, 2004). At the same time, they take part in American holidays, such as celebrating Thanksgiving or the Fourth of July.

The media has played a vital role in this new global cultural order. Although there is a tendency towards homogenizing cultural goods, the media also help develop a sense of belonging and identity among migrant groups (Appadurai, 1996).

2.1.2 Latin America and South-South migration

The scholarly discussion on international migration has been dominated by a traditionalist approach, focusing on South-North Migration associated with the development and economic growth of the countries (De Haas, 2009). During the last decade, interest has increased in comprehending the migratory flows from the South-South perspective; however, it has been relatively new and unexplored (Campillo-Carrete, 2013). The classic idea of migrating to the North is changing its pattern: Migratory flows in the South-South are growing and mainly led by young people and women (IOM, 2014). It is estimated that 80% of the world's refugees live in cities of the Global South (Sassen, 2014).

Migrations *to* and *from* the southern hemisphere tend to be less selective and less risky (De Haas, 2009), and they are supposed to be led by less educated groups with less technical skills. These movements involve 73 million people, representing 34% of international migrants (Campillo-Carrete, 2013). South-South migration has been mainly studied in terms of the movements of people between countries of Southeast Asia, Africa, and South America, which shows that migrants in low-income countries move towards middle-income ones. Some of the reasons that explain these population flows are the proximity between the place of origin and destination, which would reduce migration costs, and also because some of these places in the South are only temporary destinations for the migrants (Hujo & Piper, 2007).

The literature on South-South migration highlights the importance of remittances as a positive effect, and the analysis is focused on the economic perspective of human development and survival (De Haas, 2009). Remittances allow us to measure the impact of migration, for instance, in the case of Haiti, whose total remittance represents 20% of the

Gross Domestic Product (GDP) (Stefoni, 2018). Nevertheless, remittances may be interrupted and not durable over time due to the vulnerable immigration status of those who send money (Hujo & Piper, 2007). Moreover, the contribution is not only economic; it is also cultural. The acquisition of ideas, knowledge, and experience abroad is part of the contribution made by migrants in their societies of origin and is recognized as social remittances (Levitt, 1998). Human mobility is universal, but the migratory project does vary. Some of the characteristics observed in the study on South-South Migration outline that migrants in developed countries of the North would be socially more protected due to the strength of the welfare state (Hujo & Piper, 2007). In general, migrants in developing countries are part of the informal economy that moves a lot of money, but that has no social benefit or coverage because of ambiguous and decontextualized legislative frameworks (International Organization for Migration, IOM, 2014).

The tendency has been to explain human displacement and transnational flows of people in terms of securing an economic future; however, the historical and socio-political contexts are also critical in the case of intra-regional movements in South America (Cerruti & Parrado, 2015). The migration in the region is mainly labor, although some of these circuits are often associated with informal, temporary, or illegal jobs (Stefoni, 2018). For Cerruti & Parrado (2015), the differences in the minimum wage between the countries are insignificant, so it is presumed that violence, access, the right to education and health, security, and permeability of borders are other factors that would motivate migration in the continent.

During the 1970s and 80s, political and economic instability in Latin America and increasing violence drove migration between neighboring countries. Between 1973 and

1984, Chilean citizens entered Argentina were almost 214,000 people, and most of them emigrated as refugees or political exile (Cerruti & Parrado, 2015). This period of military dictatorships extended and deepened migratory movements to other latitudes, such as Europe and North America. The 1980s were named as the "lost epoch" of Latin America. Scholars have called the "Hispanic decade" of the United States due to the arrival of more than four million Latin Americans in those years (Retis, 2016).

The 2000s were the era of the liberalization of migration policies, which favored greater mobility of people within the region and the rising of the migratory flows from Africa, Asia, and the Caribbean (in Ecuador, after the immigration reform of 2008, the migrant population doubled up) (Freier, 2016). It is estimated that three million people born in South America live in a different country than the country in which they were born, although on the same continent (Cerruti & Parrado, 2015). In the region, Argentina and Venezuela have historically been the countries that receive more migrants. In Argentina, 4.4% of the total population is migrant, while in Venezuela, it represents 4.2% (Stefoni, 2018). The social and economic crises of their past governments and the political stability of Ecuador and Chile have made these two countries new references for migratory projects in South America (Stefoni, 2018; Cerruti & Parrado, 2015).

Argentina was the first to enact a migratory law based on immigrants' rights in 2004. In 2008, Ecuador opened its borders, announcing the implementation of the freedom visa (Freier, 2016). The consensus to guarantee social rights and to decriminalize migrants at the Regional Conference on Population and Development held in August 2013 (Cerruti & Parrado, 2015) demonstrated a tendency to free immigration policy in Latin America

and the Caribbean, unlike other countries of the Global North² that tend to restrict. MERCOSUR (Mercado del Comercio del Sur in Spanish) is an association most South American countries join. MERCOSUR may explain the growth in population flows between the signing countries. Additionally, some legislation has promoted the integration of migrants into the places of destination. (Stefoni, 2018).

Freier (2016) finds inconsistencies and paradoxes between the discourse and the politics of some governments since, simultaneously, it is reinforced that "migration is a human right," irregular immigration from Asia, Africa, and the Caribbean is rejected. It is an ethnically selective immigration. According to Fitzgerald & Cook-Martin (2014), the racist origins of this policy have developed mainly in democratic and/or populist governments. "The enemies of the people may be particular ethnic groups, classes, or foreign powers. During the 1920s and 1930s, a new generation of intellectuals and populist leaders in Latin America sought to incorporate populations fragmented by class and race through state-led nationalism (Fitzgerald & Cook-Martin, 2014, p. 18).

Chinese, Japanese, Middle Eastern, Black, and gypsy populations were discriminated against during the 20th century. By contrast, European and Scandinavian citizens were defined as "preference groups" in migration policies of countries such as Bolivia, Colombia, Chile, Venezuela, and Brazil (Fitzgerald & Cook-Martin, 2014). In 1823, Colombia was interested in receiving citizens from North America and Europe (Fitzgerald & Cook-Martin, 2014). By 1850, the Chilean government launched a campaign that sought to promote the country and thus attracted European citizens, mainly Germans.

² Global North refers countries and cities, located in north hemisphere. Their economies are part of the global economy (Hass, 2009)

Ecuador, Guatemala, and Paraguay were the only three Latin American countries that specified a preference for immigrants from Latin America (Fitzgerald & Cook-Martin, 2014). Selective ethnicity, which rejects the Indigenous or the non-white, has been embedded since the formation of the nation-states during the second half of the 19th century. The nation-states were established to achieve the white man's ideal (Tijoux, 2016). It explains the origin of racist discourses and policies in the continent.

2.1.3 Global Cities of the Global South

Known as global cities, New York, London, and Tokyo (Sassen, 2001) are icons of the Global North and critical nodes of the global economy. Cities of the Global South, such as Hong Kong, Singapore, Beijing, and Shanghai, have been recognized as having similar importance. In Africa, the ranking is led by Dubai and Johannesburg, and in Latin America, Mexico City, and Buenos Aires (Mendoza, A., Hales M. Hales, Peterson E., & Dessiboug, N., 2018). By 2030, Mumbai, Jakarta, Shanghai, Lagos, and Mexico City are expected to exceed 20 million people each. Shanghai is expected to reach 27 million people, whereas Mumbai could have 33 million (Demissie, 2011). According to the classical definition (Taylor, 1997), the criteria to define *global cities* depend on the size and number of headquarters and possible financial transactions, their natural connection with the leading economies, and the telecommunications and urban infrastructure. Hence, there is a need for developing countries of the Global South to seek strategies to enter the international circuits that lead the global market, for example, by investing in the promotion of the country as a destination of investment (Lemanski, 2007).

“The transition to neoliberalism has exacerbated the production of informal urbanization in the Global South” (Demissie, 2011, p.222). The goals of local government are placed in urban renewal to attract private and foreign investment but not to solve the problems of the cities. Then, overpopulation, unemployment, and, in general, the social issues arising from the restructuring experience of the cities when connected to the global economy force spatial and social polarization (Lemanski, 2007). Therefore, skilled professionals work for corporations that dynamize the global economy, while less educated workers fill job positions in domestic employment, retail, and services. In the Global South cities, eventual national manufacturing weakens. While transnational elites work on new projects and places to invest, urban poverty increases due to the deregulation and privatization of goods and services (Demissie, 2011). In Africa, Latin America, and Asia, the convenient value of land and the variety of natural resources have played a role in favor of large transnationals, which would explain some of the forced displacements. For Sassen (2014), economic growth costs the expulsion of people.

The global cities of the Global South face social injustice, are spatially segregated, and their ecological environment is vulnerable. Due to its accelerated urbanization, the large cities of the hemisphere show high pollution levels (Dawson & Edwards, 2004), and urban, labor, and economic informality is another characteristic. This implies that part of the population lacks essential services or does not have the right to education and health (Auerbach, A., Lebas, A., Post, A. & Weitz-Shapiro, R., 2018). The *favelas* in Rio de Janeiro, in Brazil, or *tomas*³ in Santiago de Chile, are examples of neighborhoods located

³ The slums are popularly called *tomas* in Chile, in where homeless people appropriated the land and built their improvised homes in the peripheries of the cities of Chile.

in the peripheries because of the accelerated and unplanned urban growth. The informal employment rate in Latin America reaches 52% (Auerbach et al., 2018). The demands of these groups of people acquire greater visibility over time to the extent that they appropriate the place and claim rights over it. Georgiou (2008) states that new residents in urban settlements imply not only demographic changes but also new demands, desires, and needs.

2.1.4 Space-place and mediated diaspora

The conceptualization of diasporic transnationalism is linked to less place and more space, Georgiou (2006, p. 135). The transnational perspective allows us to understand how diasporas are connected and mediated by the advance of technology among themselves around the world (Georgiou, 2006; Baubock & Faist, 2010). Diasporas are constituted within a geographic dispersion connected by similar projects and shared histories in their societies of origin, by their ethnic conscience, by their conflicted relationship with the receiving societies, and by their trans-local dimension (Cohen, 2008). These interactions transform urban spaces into sites of conflict and negotiation. Then, the media play a crucial role in producing meaning and articulating public discourse (Georgiou, 2013).

Space has its physical materiality but also implies an abstract space where social relations are constructed and engaged. For example, labor groups are associated with improving conditions in the buildings in which they work. The social space results from practices and processes among subjects and their interactions with material space (Lefebvre, 1974). In his conceptualization, Lefebvre stands for the space's political, economic, and historical dimension, in which every society *produces* its own space. The space is conflictive and transformative since it is understood as a *product*. The space is a

site where forces and production modes are at stake. In addition, “space cannot be understood only as an object; subjects must be considered” (Lefebvre, 1974, p. 411). The new migratory flows bring new demands, actions, customs, and practices that *produce* the space.

Additionally, the city is seen as a critical space where freedom is practiced, but at the same time, it faces violence, inequality, and privatization (Sassen, 2013). The daily interactions (relationships between people, companies, projects) between its inhabitants and the urban capacities of each city produce discourses and resistance. As a result, cities have their discourse (Sassen, 2013), a consequence of urban encounters and social practices.

Those marginalized groups excluded from society use the city's spaces to perform cultural and political manifestations (Georgiou, 2008). For instance, the power of the street makes it possible to visualize the demands of migrants or minorities (Georgiou, 2013). Graffiti and popular music in multi-ethnic neighborhoods of large cities are some examples.

Berroeta & Vidal (2012) analyze the notion of public space in shaping the city's process. They argue that the encounters between the dominant hegemonic norm and the practices of action of the subjects show a space of control and dispute. In this sense, social space is constituted only when users appropriate it as an act of vindication against the marginalization suffered by circles of power (Lefebvre, 1974). This notion of public space is based on the dialectical relationship between domination and contestation. It concerns power and resistance (Di Masso, Berroeta & Vidal, 2017).

Interactions between the media and the city “may play a key role in the reproduction of hegemonic relations and ideology; they are also battlefields of ideas and practices” (Georgiou, 2013, p. 23); that is, this relationship and their interactions mediate the distribution and concentration of power. The community radio projects, or wall paintings covered by mainstream media, “reflect urban identities and struggle, but also demonstrate the asymmetries of power” (Georgiou, 2013, p. 91). How the city is lived or consumed, whether as a commodity or a place of expression and participation, is directly related to the media construction of the city (Georgiou, 2013).

2.1.5 Discourses, social representations, and mediations

Migrants or foreign groups share specific social practices, demands, values, and interests and are the basis of group identification. As soon the members of the group recognize themselves with some members of them, they stay away from others who are not part of it. For van Dijk (2006), the ideological component of each group or collective is crucial for forming discourse and social practices, whether manifestations of oppression and resistance in dominant or dominated groups. The basis and ideological structure of each group articulates precisely these social practices: “Ideologies are the foundations of attitudes and other beliefs,” which “are discursively reproduced by their members” (van Dijk, 2006, p. 138). As Lefebvre (1974) suggests, the space is in constant dispute due to the use and control made by the different groups that inhabit it, then discourses tend to polarize since the space becomes more and more heterogeneous.

Considering Saskia Sassen’s (2013) perspective and her analysis of the city’s discourse, the relationship between people and the urban space gives the city a speech, a

process of constant making. Social groups, "their practices and common codes, ways of relating and acting make possible a series of complex interactions and sequences that articulate a specific meaning" (Sassen, 2013, p.214). The speech implies a dynamic system able to confront de-urbanizing forces that try to destroy each city's DNA.

Existing power relations play a crucial role in reproducing hegemonic ideologies, but they also create a place to defend ideas and practices (Georgiou, 2013). Sassen (2013) agrees with the antagonistic conditions of the city, where different interests compete and power struggles are disputed. Here, the role played by the media is significant, not only for being part of the world economy by moving large amounts of money but also for having the ability to construct symbolic meaning (Georgiou, 2013). The city is consumed and produced at the same time. It means that the media filters people's perceptions regarding where they live or beliefs about who they live next to (Georgiou, 2013). Then, politics, communities, and opinion leaders find themselves in constant negotiations for the use and appropriation of physical urban space and symbolic discursive ones (Georgiou, 2013).

Following this approach of uses and appropriations, Barbero (1993) emphasizes mediations' role in facing hegemonic and cultural reproduction. Therefore, it reveals that audiences re-construct messages and reproduce their meaning to strengthen the identity and sense of community in different social groups (Barbero, 1993).

2.1.6 Representation of immigrants in the mainstream media

The news coverage of the international mainstream media promotes a national perspective with Western values rooted in ethnocentrism (Rivenburgh, 2000). The social identity theory explains why the news coverage favors local groups and protects their interests, while outsiders are seen as a threat. Rivenburgh says that individuals first recognize themselves as part of a collective. Since the news producers are part of the national-local group, they construct media texts according to their beliefs.

Retis (2016) analyzed how the public discourse constructed by the Spanish mainstream media about the Latin American migration in early 2000 portrayed the Ecuadorian migrant mainly as a person in need and the Ecuadorian immigrant as someone to be afraid of. The mainstream media helped collectively construct feelings of compassion for Ecuadorians and fear for Colombians. In her study, Retis showed how mainstream media reinforced the idea that immigration meant a “problem” for Spaniard society (Retis, 2016). It confirmed the tendency of most European media discourses to associate migration with crime and terrorism (van Dijk, 2007).

Teun van Dijk argues that racism has its foundations in colonialism, but the reproduction of it is learned. It is understood at home, at school, by the media, in the church, and reproduced by those who are part of the dominant groups, such as politicians, journalists, academics, and teachers (van Dijk, 2007). According to the vocabulary used, the approach and perspective, the organization of information, and the use of metaphors or sources influence the construction of *us* and *them*. Discursively highlights the positives and the negatives (van Dijk, 2007). Spaniards, for example, knew more about the new Latin American migrants by the press instead of by daily interaction with them. Stories tend to

associate migrants with social conflicts, and news production seeks emotionality from them (Retis, 2016, p. 37).

Merino, Pilleux, Quilaqueo and Berta San Martín (2007) demonstrate a racist and discriminatory treatment of the Chilean press towards the *mapuches*⁴. The researchers showed how they were seen as problematic and associated with violence and protests. A study by the National Institute of Human Rights (INDH) of Chile explored the perceptions of discrimination of the population. More than half of the survey respondents blamed the mapuches for the violence in the conflict they face with the State for land vindication. The same report indicates that almost 70% believe that native people are lazy, rebellious, violent, and uneducated (INDH, 2017).

By the early 1990s, after the first Peruvians and Bolivians arrived in Santiago, Chile, a study on media coverage and Peruvian migration showed the Andean immigrant was portrayed as a delinquent and a threat to the labor market (Correa, 2016). The press speech reinforced immigration as a problem, consolidating in public opinion the figure of the Peruvian as black, indigenous, and marginal (Correa, 2016). Tijoux & Córdova (2015) conceptualize the "denied otherness" and recognize that immigrants are objects of racism because, in Chile and Latin America, it is embedded in its idiosyncrasy the ideal of the European white male (Tijoux. 2016).

⁴ Mapuches are the largest indigenous group in Chile, who established in central and south of Chile and Argentina. Most of them were killed by Spaniards during colonization process (Richards, 2013)

2.1.6.1 Representations of immigrants in Chilean mainstream media

Censorship and control, distinctive of the dictatorial regimes of the 80s, still rule on media outlets in Latin America. In addition, they reflect an essential concentration of power since, in some systems, the media and elites work together to protect their national interests (Lugo-Ocando, 2008). The liberal model predominates in the big networking companies of the world because it is assumed that state intervention would deprive journalists of their independence. However, private media ownership turned audiences into consumers, newspaper articles into consumer goods, and publishers into instances where politicians and businesspeople compete for power (Guerrero & Márquez-Ramírez, 2014). In 1990, when Chile achieved back democracy, Chilean media continued to operate under the same neoliberal model that dictator August Pinochet established during the 80s. There have been no significant changes in the laws about ownership of the media, and nowadays, advertising and marketing are decisive since the press depends on economic factors to function. This implies limited pluralism and diversity in the informative content (González-Rodríguez, 2008).

Due to the concentration of ownership in the media in Chile, elite interests are above the demands of civil society (González-Rodríguez, 2008). Technological advances and the development of the Internet have led to the creation of online media. Still, inequality in access to connectivity would leave some sectors of the population marginalized from the information disclosed by the alternative press (Lugo-Ocando, 2008).

2.1.7 The construction of the white national state of Chile

In the mid-nineteenth century, after the independence processes, the new nation-states were founded based on cultural homogeneity, exterminating the Indigenous world (Richards, 2013). Europe was considered a structured and closed society whose parts moved functionally. The idea of Europe was constituted as an advanced form of the human species, and thus, other societies saw the European model as an example to follow (Quijano, 2017).

The press played a relevant role in the so-called project of modernity during the foundation of the nascent Republic of Chile. They replicated the ideals of the Enlightenment and the bourgeoisie (Araya, 2014). The construction of *we* in Chilean society is rooted in the colonial vestiges and nation-state formation. The grounds of both processes contributed to developing "a national imaginary that legitimizes subordination and hegemony" (Tijoux & Córdova, 2015, p. 2).

Coloniality, derived from colonialism, is one of the current forms of domination (Quijano, 2007) in that its elements are still counted as a reference to the political system. "The coloniality of power is based upon the racial, social classification of the world population under Euro-centered world power" (Quijano, 2007, p. 171). During the years of domination in Latin America, Africa, and Asia, the European reasoning paradigm was imposed and conceived as universal. This recognized only the Europeans as a rational subject, while the rest "can be objects of knowledge and/or practices of domination" (Quijano, 2007, p. 174).

The European view was embedded in the foundations of the Nation-states in Latin America. The reproduction of this paradigm at the dawn of modernity is what Quijano

(2007) called the coloniality of power. The colonial Eurocentrism of the 18th century led to a way of thinking that was conceived as universal and differentiated “humanity and the rest of the world” (Quijano, 2007, p. 172). The imposition of Eurocentrism in modern societies through social and racial classification reflected precisely the weight of colonial power (Quijano, 2007). The press and its role in constructing public discourse reproduced this worldview symbolically and discursively to achieve modernity (Araya, 2014).

Before the Spanish Conquest in the xv century, the Spaniards established a "blood cleansing," which meant that any descendant of Jews, Moors, or heretics had no right to participate in the State and the clergy. They were also excluded from university education. These rules were the basis of discrimination against indigenous people in the New World. "The first form of discrimination suffered by Afro-Latinos was not because of the color of their skin or their origin. It was due to the uncomfortable closeness to manual occupations, the informality of their marriages, and their distance from Catholic orthodoxy principles" (Cussen, 2016).

Beginning in the 1920s, the sensationalist press's formation in Latin America resulted from migratory movements from the countryside to the city. The newcomers were directly linked to the popular world and the new audience of the masses (Barbero, 1993). The 1930s and 50s were characterized by the popular masses' appropriation of the media and how the masses were recognized and identified in the mass media (Barbero, 1993). During the 1960s, the political function of the media was replaced by its economic function; at the same time, countries of Latin America experienced gradual urban growth, and the idea of development became a desire to achieve (Barbero, 1993).

Mainstream media tends to criminalize migrants, while migration is treated as a problem (Retis, 2016). Also, the polarization of the discourse between *us* and *them* is reinforced, highlighting the positive of the locals and the negative of the foreigners (van Dijk, 2007). At the same time, urban space is appropriated by subjects who make use of it (Lefebvre, 1974), in which they express themselves discursively, defending their right to difference and leading communicative actions that resist the established power.

2.2 Background of the case

2.2.1 City of Santiago, Chile.

According to the Chilean Department of Foreign and Migrations (Departamento de Migraciones y Extranjería in Spanish, DEM)⁵, by the end of 2017, the estimated foreign population in the country reached one million 119 thousand people. From 2014 to 2018, the migrant population in Chile tripled, from 411 thousand people in 2014 to about one million two hundred thousand in 2018. 61.5% of the migrants reside in the Metropolitan Region of Santiago (Rojas, Silva & Lobos, 2017). The largest migrant groups living in the country are Venezuelans (24.2%), Peruvians (22.2%), Colombians (14.9%), and Haitians representing 9.8% (CENEM, 2018). The scenario radically differs from 2014, when Peruvians represented 31.7%, Argentinians 16.3%, and Bolivians 8.8%. (Rojas & Silva, 2016). The Haitians, Venezuelans, and Colombians replaced the presence of Argentinians and Bolivians. It is estimated that around 800 thousand people left the country during the dictatorship (Doña-Reveco & Mullan, 2014). Nevertheless, today, the statistics place

⁵ Interview conducted to Head of Foreign and Migration Department (DEM in Spanish), Secretary of Interior, Government of Chile, Álvaro Bellolio

Santiago de Chile as a city that receives migrants and does not expel people as in the 70s and 80s.

In 1990, Chile restored democracy after 17 years of military dictatorship (1973-1990). During the decade, the country reached economic, social, and political stability, becoming an attractive destination for people from border countries such as Perú, Bolivia, and Argentina (Doña-Reveco & Mullan, 2014). During the 60s and 70s, foreign-born persons in Chile did not exceed 1% of the total population. By 2018, the Department of Migrations and Foreigners estimated that 6.1% of the national population is immigrants, and 70% of them come from Latin American countries.

The Chilean economy experienced rapid growth that allowed it to reduce its poverty levels from 22.2% to 11.7%. (World Bank, 2018). The center of economic dynamism is located in the capital. 85.7% of the total financial and business activities carried out in the country are traded in the Metropolitan Region of Santiago (Martín, 2016). According to the ranking of Global Cities Report (Kerney, 2018), Santiago de Chile is located in the 60th place and is considered an alpha city minus according to the Globalization and World Cities Research Networks (GaWC, 2018). This means that it works as a link between the region's large economies and the major world economies. Santiago is in the same category of cities as San Francisco, Barcelona, and Dubai. It is fourth in the region after Mexico City, Sao Paulo, and Buenos Aires (GaWC, 2018).

On the other hand, Santiago is the third city with the best quality of life in Latin America, behind Montevideo and Buenos Aires. According to the latest global study conducted by the agency MERCER about conditions of life, the Chilean capital was ranked 92 out of 231 cities globally evaluated (Marchetti, P., 2018). Located in the central zone of

Chile, the Metropolitan Region of Santiago is divided into 37 cities and concentrates 40% of the country's population, that is, over 7 million people (Martín, 2016). International reports and studies place the city of Santiago within the international circuits of the economy. Under the conceptualization of Sassen (2005), Santiago concentrates on the global capital of large companies and embraces the aspirations of the immigrant population. "Cities have become strategic areas for a series of conflicts and contradictions" (Sassen, 2005, p. 39).

2.2.2 Haitian Diaspora in the American continent

The population of Haiti is 11 million people, and 50% of the total population lives under the poverty line. Haitian immigration is eminently labor and is one of the reasons why the Haitians left the country. The migration to Chile is relatively new, but the United States, Canada, France, and the Dominican Republic have received Haitian immigrants for decades. They would add about 2 million people worldwide who make up the so-called Haitian diaspora (Rojas, Amode & Vásquez, 2015).

Three moments have been identified in the history of Haiti that brought up important migrations and displacements: 1) After the invasion of the United States in the early 20s, where Haitian labor was promoted in Dominican territory; 2) Next to the growing political instability that began in 1956 with the Duvalier dictatorship; 3) The 2010 earthquake and the subsequent outbreak of cholera that caused the expulsion of thousands of people seeking better opportunities abroad (Rojas N. et al., 2015).

The destination of Chile as part of Haitian emigration began to appear in statistical reports only in 2005⁶, one year after the arrival of the United Nations Stabilization Mission in Haiti (MINUSTAH) (Aguila, 2017). Twelve thousand Chilean troops worked in the peace mission, which the Security Council of the United Nations promoted. It was implemented in February of 2004 to deal with the chaos and insecurity after former President Bertrand Aristide went into exile. The first studies on Haitian migration in Chile (Pérez, 2008) show the eventual relationship between the arrival of the Chilean military force in Haiti and the arrival of the first Haitian immigrants in Chile. Pérez (2008) concludes there is an indirect relationship because only 2 out of 13 interviewees recognized that Chilean troops influenced their decision to emigrate.

According to Rojas, Amode & Vásquez (2015), the symbolic construction of Chile as a safe and more developed country accelerated migratory flows. The Chilean troops were able to promote the coming of the first Haitian immigrants by 2006, but after the earthquake in January 2010, numbers increased massively. Rojas et al. (2015) state their migratory imaginaries were social representations built from the relationship between immigrants and their families in Haiti. How they communicated about it contributed to reinforcing an image of the city and the country.

By 2014, the United States housed 65% of Haitian immigrants of the total Haitians living abroad. Canada, 23%, and France 9% (Audebert, 2017). After the earthquake in

⁶ Reports from the Government of Chile that by 2002 there were no record of any Haitian citizen in the country. By the end of 2017, the Haitian diaspora resident in the territory reached 200,000 people, many of them in an irregular situation. Also, official police reports indicate during the period 2005-2017, were issued 17 thousand 715 Permanent Residence Permits for citizens of Haiti. Only in one year, from 2016 to 2017, the increase of these legal permits increased 209%. The Haitian community has been established mainly in the Metropolitan Region of Santiago, in the communes of Quilicura and Estación Central (Department of Foreign and Migrations of Chile, DEM, 2018).

2010, a temporary permit enabled Haitian citizens to emigrate to the United States. Nevertheless, the current administration of Donald Trump suspended it. At the same time, Ecuador, Brazil, Argentina, Perú, and Chile opened their borders to receive Haitian migrants without having to prove a refugee status and only required a tourist visa (Iturra, 2016; Audebert, 2017). By 2013, Ecuador reported the entry of 14,000 Haitian citizens, and a similar number arrived in Brazil. According to Audebert (2017), Chile has been the country of Haitian settlement because of its open administration in hiring immigrant labor. Four years after the earthquake, Chile had guaranteed the legal status of 10,000 Haitians, while another 1,500 were granted permanent residence (Audebert, 2017).

Recent research on Haitian migratory projects in Santiago, Chile (Rojas et al., 2015) notes that Chile has become an attractive destination because it is more accessible than the United States, less racist than the Dominican Republic, and politically and economically more stable than Brazil. The same study identified three profiles of Haitian migrants according to their socioeconomic level and cultural capital (Rojas et al., 2015). The reasons for emigrating to Santiago are either to continue their secondary studies or to improve the quality of life of their families. It is assumed they have some purchasing power to buy an air ticket for US\$1500 (Villanueva, n/d). The demographics indicate that Haitian immigrants in Chile are men (68%), between 15 and 44 years old, and they have settled mainly in Quilicura, a commune located northwest of the Metropolitan Area of Santiago (DEM, 2018). The language barrier hinders their settlement. Learning Spanish allows one to access public services. It is also stated that Haitian children feel frustration when they cannot communicate and do not understand when they go to school (Villanueva, n/d).

The idea of making a life in Santiago is not new. By early 1900, 4% of the total Chilean population was foreign. Europeans were attracted by the boom in mining activity and due to the special colonization programs, part of the Chilean Government policies (Rojas, Silva & Lobos, 2017). After the First World War, Chile received many Croatians, Italians, Germans and Polish. However, in the mid-twentieth century, these migratory flows began to decrease. Immigrants from countries in the region started to arrive gradually after 1990.

At the beginning of the 1990s, and in the middle of the democratic transition, the city noticed the presence of Peruvians, Bolivians, and Argentinians. A review of secondary sources revealed that the construction of *the other* consisted of highlighting the cultural and identity differences between Chileans as host society and the new Latin American Andean immigrants.

2.2.3 Santiago, Chile, and the presence of Andean immigration

The first migration studies in Chile focused on population flows from Perú and Bolivia. One of the reasons was the visibility acquired by Peruvian migration. "It is due to the importance we assign to the ethnic and racial component of the population when we identify and construct the other," says Stefoni (2004, p. 322).

Despite the rejection and discrimination faced during the first years, the Peruvian diaspora found a space in the heart of the capital after years of rejection and discrimination. By the corner of *Catedral* Street and *Puente*, on the northwest side of the Plaza de Armas, it is expected to see groups of Peruvians waiting for work for some temporary job in a farmer or construction facility. Stefani (2015) describes that these types of jobs do not have

contract or deposit payments, which arouses the interest of small entrepreneurs to use cheap labor. The corner became the place where to look for a job, but also a place to share similar customs and needs. It also became a space of friendship and companionship (Stefoni, 2015).

The use of this space was re-signified and appropriated by Peruvian migrants. They claimed they had the right to work in a country where they were rejected (Stefoni, 2015). Since then, this corner has been the first point for many Peruvian entrepreneurs. Most of the immigrants there are street vendors. Another better-income Peruvian group transformed the urban and social space around *Plaza de Armas*. They revitalized a sector affected by the closure of several textile houses (Garcés, 2014).

Alejandro Garcés (2012, 2014) inquires about the spatiality and territories of Peruvian migration in Santiago, Chile. From the analysis of the interaction between the physical space, delimited geographically, and the symbolic, constructed by practices and behaviors of migratory flows, the tension results from the appropriation of spaces by the Peruvian community and the subsequent criminalization and sanitization. It ended up delimiting the location of the Peruvian based on stereotypes. The business of selling Peruvian food on *Catedral* Street was linked with unhealthiness and danger (Garcés, 2014). Confrontations between authorities and pedestrians arise because of the increase in informal Peruvian economic activity. The appropriation of the urban space allowed us to recognize the Peruvian communities in their particular cultural and social practices and demands. They shared a physical and symbolic space (Garcés, 2014). The dispute for urban space ended with new regulations and rules for street vendors' functioning, which the City Council of Santiago implemented.

The mainstream media constructed stereotypes about Peruvians as lazy and marginal, strengthening the national collective imagination that holds that Chile's natural enemy is Peru. After the War of the Pacific of 1879, victory was a critical factor in constructing national identity (Correa, 2016) and has been a historical reason for ideological, social, and political divisions between the two countries. It made Peruvians face discrimination in Chile.

2.2.4 Santiago, Chile, and the presence of Caribbean immigration

The main migratory destinations of Colombians by 2005 were the United States, Spain, and Venezuela (Martínez, 2011). Their migration is mainly forced; that is, they have had to leave the country for political reasons or violence. According to the Agency of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), many of them had protection as refugees. By 2009, they reached 70,000 refugees Colombians living abroad (Martínez, 2011). In addition, Colombia is the country in South America with the largest population living abroad, with 2 million people (Stefoni, 2018). The displacement to Chile occurred mainly during the last 15 years. The current Colombian community totals just over 300 thousand Colombians, representing 14.9% of the country's immigrant population (CENEM, 2018).

Peruvian and Bolivian immigration arrived during the 90s. In the middle of the 2000s, Colombians and Ecuadorians entered. Recently, Santiago de Chile received Dominicans and Haitians. Chilean society constructed *the other*, validating itself and pointing out the differences v/s them. In this process, the discursive strategies adopted by elites and dominant groups reproduce the positive aspects of the Chileans and the negative

aspects of newcomers. In addition, the mainstream media tended to compare immigrants. "Profile of the Venezuelan immigrant: professional, anti-Chavez and lives in well-off sectors" (Barreda, El Mercurio, December 19, 2016). The headline emphasizes the values expected from society. The optimistic tone of this headline assumes that Venezuelans are welcomed since they are more skilled than other immigrants. In the case of Colombians, immigrants had to face the stigma of drugs and drug trafficking, mainly in the north of the country. Women, for their part, have had to deal with a marked sexualization due to their Afro-descendant heritage.

2.2.5 Chilean Migration Policy

The current Chilean Migration Law dates from 1975 and was enacted under the dictatorship of Augusto Pinochet (Doña Reveco & Mullan, 2014). This legal framework does not respond to the current needs of the migratory phenomenon in the country. The new Migration Law is being discussed in the National Congress (Álvaro Bellolio, Head of Foreign and Migrations Department, personal interview, August 2018). The current legal framework is the oldest in the region and established in those years greater border control. It believed that the foreigner was a threat; therefore, national sovereignty and security must be protected (Rojas, N., Silva, C., Lobos, C., 2017).

The legislative debate focuses on recognizing every person's right to migrate or countries' right to establish their own migration rules. "On the one hand, a universal right is established for all people, but on the other, its exercise is restricted by the attribution granted by state sovereignty to define who enters and remains in the territory, and who cannot do it" (Stefoni, 2018, p. 18). Generally, the region's countries have modified their

immigration laws to allow people to move freely. Argentina, Ecuador, Bolivia, Uruguay, and Brazil have defined their policies based on recognizing migrants as subjects of rights (Stefoni, 2018), unlike what happens in Chile. The current right-wing government explained that "migration is not a human right" (Medrano, 2018), and they did not join the Migration Pact of the United Nations, signed by more than 170 countries in December 2018 (Habib, 2018). The reason was that the pact undermined sovereignty. "The right is for the countries to define the entry conditions of foreign citizens" (Medrano, 2018).

The bill's main objectives are to "welcome and give a fair and humane treatment to regular migrants and who have been persecuted and arrive to" and to have a "strong hand with migrant smuggling," for which requirements will be established to prevent the arrival of people with criminal records (Government of Chile, 2017, n/p).

CHAPTER 3: METHODOLOGY

The main objective of this research is to explore the social and urban transformations in the public space of the city of Santiago, Chile, after the increase of the migratory flows from Haiti. The analysis was made from the intersection between different discourses co-existing around the immigration debate and Haitian immigration. First is the representation of Haitian immigrants in the Chilean mainstream media, whose findings were obtained from the qualitative study on the news coverage of the newspaper *El Mercurio de Santiago* from 2016-2018. Secondly, the immigration experience through the testimony of immigrants and civil society. They gave an account of the barriers and opportunities the city of Santiago represents for them during the arrival processes and everyday life. Thirdly, based on the analysis of the non-participant observation in six different public places, it elaborated a discourse of the city, which identifies new communicative practices and social interactions emanating from the cultural encounter between Haitians and Chileans.

This thesis applied a multimethod approach, which combined three qualitative research techniques: critical discourse analysis (van Dijk, 1990, 1993), semi-structured interviews (Kvale, 1996), and non-participatory sociological observation (Brennen, 2016). Part of the research results were captured in an audio documentary, a pedagogical tool in the study of cities (Makagon & Gould, 2016).

3.1 The mainstream media discourse on Haitian immigrants

To critically analyze journalistic discourse, the discursive dimension of the news must be addressed, that is, from its textual and contextual components. It allows us to

advance into examining the mainstream media from the interdisciplinary theory of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). The media "are not a neutral, logical or rational mediator of social events, but help to reproduce reformulated ideologies "(van Dijk, 1990, p. 28). Analyzing the syntactic structures, the lexicon, the stylistic resources, their semantic organization, and the headlines' writing also requires examining the cognitive processes and sociocultural factors involved in the production and reception of the news media (van Dijk, 1990). Different linguistic approaches strengthen the importance of the public discourse shaped by media, making readers move within a specific interpretative framework of action (van Dijk, 1990). The theorist argues:

"Partly autonomous in their form of cultural reproduction, and dependent and monitored by more embracing societal structures and ideologies, the news media embody such structures and ideologies in the very routines of newsmaking (e.g., by selection of and focusing on elite actors and sources or understandable and ideologically consonant events) and the conventional structures of their reports. As the central purveyors of public discourse, the media provide more than the agenda of public topics and discussions" (van Dijk, 1988, p. 182; 1990, p. 259).

The news media reports allow us to analyze the relationship between ideology and discourse. The scholar assures that the ideology is underlined in every social representation of social groups, and those "are the basis of discourse and other social practices" (van Dijk, 2006, p. 121). The ideology is reproduced through discursive strategies and structures in the journalist's text. The differentiation between *us* and *them* is one of these strategies (van Dijk, 2006). This means that for each category of analysis, whether by using the lexicon or rhetorical structures, it is essential to recognize the ideological square, which emphasizes a good presentation of the actions of *us*. In contrast, the actions of *them* are presented negatively. At the same time, *their* bad attitudes are reinforced, and *our* good behaviors are

enhanced. They minimize the bad things about *us* and the good things about *them* too (van Dijk, 2006).

A research corpus comprised a selection of news media reports addressing the arrival and settlement of Haitian immigrants in Santiago. The study started with the data collection through the ProQuest Global Newsstream Database, a platform that has access to more than 2,500 newspaper articles from different parts of the world. The search began with the keywords: "Haitians" and "Chile," and the filters "news" and "newspaper" were applied. The data collection was delimited between 2016 and 2018 because, during the last three years, there was the most significant amount of journalistic coverage related to the topic.

This first search generated 497 texts, constituting the potential sample of analysis. All the news collected was examined; news agencies, international press comments, columns' opinions, and repeated news were discarded. El Mercurio de Santiago was the newspaper that brought up the most news regarding the search criteria. The newspaper was chosen not only because of its growing production of news but also because it allows the identification of the public discourse of a specific sector of Chilean society.

El Mercurio has established itself as an opinion leader in the Chilean conservative sector and represents the interests of the country's political and economic elites (González-Rodríguez, 2008). Currently, the newspaper has an average circulation of 105 thousand 27 copies from Monday to Thursday; on Sundays, they get almost 180 thousand readers (El Mercurio, 2017). Its target audience is concentrated in high-income sectors, and its circulation reaches 25.97% compared to its competitors *La Tercera* (19,87%) and *Las Ultimas Noticias* (16,42%), leading the print media market in Chile (Mayorga, AJ, del

Valle, C., & Nitrihual, L., 2010). It is the most influential newspaper in the Chilean press since its competition is practically none (El Mostrador, 2017).

The first news screen related to the topic completed 168 articles divided by year and organized chronologically in a table with all the news headlines. Subsequently, we analyzed the moment's most informative interest in Haitian immigrants in Chile. There are three main times in the media coverage during these three years: 1) the period of the increasing arrival of Haitians in the Chilean capital during 2016; 2) the period in which the news coverage addressed the settlement processes of the Haitians in the city of Santiago during 2017; and 3) the period in which two significant administrative actions affected immigration patterns: the extraordinary regularization process in April 2018 and the implementation of the *Return Back Plan*, in November of the same year.

Once the general corpus for applying critical discourse analysis (CDA) was obtained, all the headlines were systematized, read, and analyzed. It allowed us to identify macrostructures, contents, themes, and global meanings in each (van Dijk, 1990). Secondly, the news reports were identified and selected according to the arrival, settlement, regularization, and *Return-back Plan* of Haitian immigration. Following this criterion, four news media reports were picked to apply the CDA model in the microstructure. That is the analysis of the sentence's syntax, which involves examining language units such as phrases, words, verbal forms, their organization, and distribution in the text.

This research seeks to triangulate the analysis of discourses on Haitian immigrants in Chile. For this, the different discourses that converge in the city are analyzed, and the transformations of the social and urban space are explored. The migrant experience

recorded is crucial in knowing to what extent the city welcomes or rejects its urban, social, and cultural demands.

3.2 Haitian immigration's discourse through semi-structured interview

The qualitative interview aims to obtain knowledge from the subjects, who reveal specific daily life topics through their experience. This search for knowledge occurs on two levels: in the concrete facts and in the interpretations or meanings the subjects make of those facts (Kvale, 1996). Kvale (1996) defines the semi-structured interview as one that allows obtaining "descriptions of the lives of the interviewees to interpret the meaning of the phenomenon described" (p.27). This type of interview is based on greater flexibility for the structured interview since it allows for altering the order of the questions and delving into other topics (Brennen, 2017).

The process of conducting interviews with members of the Haitian community implied that some questionnaires did not work as planned since other topics came out and were not considered in the initial questions. Then, the interview became more of a conversation, for instance, an interview with Valeska and Kesnel. Conversation is part of people's daily lives and one of the best ways to obtain knowledge (Kvale, 1996).

The fieldwork was conducted in Santiago de Chile between August 20 and September 4, 2018. Next, the list of the 15 people interviewed, who, through their testimonies, contributed to the construction of a discourse. The interviewees included six members of the Haitian community, two central and local government authorities, two

academics, three residents of the San Enrique de Quilicura population, and three activists from civil society organizations⁷.

Table 1. List of interviewees

NAME	INSTITUTION/TITLE	RELEVANCE
Jean Claude	Head of Municipal Office of Migrants and Refugees in Quilicura.	Haitian, has been living in Santiago for 10 years. He is a social worker. He left Haiti for political reasons. His testimony is divided into two parts: his personal experience as a pioneer immigrant and his current role, as part of the local government, where he is trying to create and open more spaces for immigrants.
Kesnel	He lives in Cienfuegos neighborhood, Santiago, Chile.	Haitian, has been living in Santiago for 2 years. Currently working in a grocery store, but in Haiti he worked as a Kindergarten teacher. He was a victim and survivor of the fire occurred in May 2018, where he lost everything.
Emmanuel	Leads a space of reflexion Chile-Haiti. Lives in La Florida, Santiago, Chile.	Haitian, has been living in Santiago for 7 years. He is a doctor. He emigrated to Chile to do his Masters in public policy. He has participated in academic conferences addressing issues of racism.
Willner	Missioner, he works in a gas station.	Haitian, has been in Chile for 7 years. He was able to bring his family, who already are total 9 people. He left Haiti, shortly after the 2010 earthquake, looking for better life opportunities.
Gerard	Conducts the Spanish class in Quilicura every Thursday at 7 pm.	Haitian, has been in Santiago for 2 years. He left Haiti looking for a better life.

⁷ The testimony of Jean Claude Pierre -Paul is taken in account as local authority and Haitian community member as well.

Richard	Perhaps, the most famous Haitian living in Chile.	Haitian, has been in Santiago for 4 years. He left Haiti because of the lack of work. The media call him "the Haitian hero" because he saved a woman who wanted to kill himself from death. He held her in his arms to keep him from hitting the cement. He became famous. He was on all TV shows.
Álvaro Bellolio,	Head of Foreign and Migrations Department, Secretary of Interior, Government of Chile.	Their contribution has to do with detailing the migration policy, currently under legislative discussion in the National Congress, as well as providing statistical information and work in the field with migrant communities.
María Emilia Tijoux	Professor of Sociology Department, University of Chile, Santiago.	Specialist in issues of racism and colonialism in Chile. Editor of the book "Racism in Chile. The skin as a mark of immigration.
Nassila Amode	PhD candidate URMIS (Unité de Recherches Migration et Société), Paris, Francia.	Researcher on Haitian immigration in Chile, specifically on the racialization of work.
José Mario Irma	Residents and community leaders of población (neighborhood) San Enrique, Quilicura, Santiago, Chile.	Interviews not previously produced. They agreed to give their vision and opinion regarding the neighborhood cohabitation between Haitians and Chileans.
Isis Carrera	Coordinator Migration and Refugee Team. International Amnesty – Chile.	She conducts awareness-raising work in schools, as well as influencing and contributing to the discussion of the bill that will regulate Migration in Chile.

Eduardo Cardoza	Executive Secretary of Movement of Migrant Action.	More than 65 immigrant and pro-migrant organizations conform the association. They came together to organize work with the community and raise awareness about the issues that affect them.
Valeska Aguilar	Activist who lives in Cienfuegos, Santiago, Chile.	He does not belong to any organization, but with his family they have been in charge of helping Haitian immigrants who suffered a fire in May 2018.

The interviewees were selected according to their relevance to the subject, and in the case of Haitian immigrants, they were contacted through pro-migrant organizations. The interviews were conducted in their offices, workplaces, or private homes. Only three of them were made in public areas of the city. Each interview lasted between 30 and 50 minutes, except for the four conducted in *población San Enrique* de Quilicura, which lasted 5 minutes. They were brief conversations since they were not pre-produced, but they have significant informative, semantic, and valuable content for understanding some aspects of the object of study.

The 15 interviews were recorded and developed in Spanish. Subsequently, they were transcribed in writing for analysis. The codification of information in the responses resulted in thematic coding, which reveals, for instance, the denial of racism and the birth of new intercultural practices and encounters. The text and context of each interview were coded in the analysis, identifying opinions, statements, and/or similar reactions among the testimonies obtained.

As explained, this thesis incorporates the triangulation of three types of methodologies. First, the critical analysis of the discourse was applied to the mainstream media; second, semi-structured interviews were conducted with members of the Haitian

community, social organizations, and government; third, observation practices were carried out in different public spaces and establishments in the city of Santiago.

3.3 Sociological observation in the study of the city.

Santiago de Chile became a host city for immigrants after the demographic transition in the early nineties (Stefoni, 2018). The arrival of the first Peruvian immigrants transformed the city's appearance. The social practices generated from the encounter between Chileans and Peruvians meant that the new residents hid their differences to get out of the *place of suspicion*. Peruvian immigrants felt they were maintained in a "separate place" (Tijoux & Sir, 2015). Peruvian migration was linked with *Plaza de Armas* in Santiago, where they appropriated and used it. The corner *Catedral* with *Puente* was traditionally known as a meeting point for day laborers looking for work (Stefoni, 2015).

New geopolitical relations in the continent, natural disasters, sociopolitical crises, and the opening of the Chilean economy to other markets have stimulated the displacement of people in Latin America. After years of a tendency to migrate to the United States, Canada, and France, after the earthquake of 2010 that affected Haiti, its citizens looked for other destinations to start their new life projects. Countries such as Brazil, Argentina, Chile, and Ecuador opened their borders (Audevert, 2017).

The arrival of Caribbean immigrants to Santiago de Chile confronted Chilean society for the first time in dealing with people whose appearance conflicted with the country's usual and regular cultural homogeneity. The language, customs, beliefs, demands, and skin color reveal a change in the city's public spaces.

The third qualitative technique used in this study was non-participatory participation. This allows us to perceive, smell, and appreciate the details, the expressions, the speeches, the winks, and everything that interacts in the urban space. "Researchers use participant observation to understand the language, practices, and activities of a specific group, culture, or institution" (Brennen, 2017, page 171). As a qualitative research technique, it has been used by multiple disciplines to document people's daily lives. A field notebook describes behaviors, corridor conversations, attitudes, looks, comments, and a place's spaces, colors, and smells (Brennen, 2017).

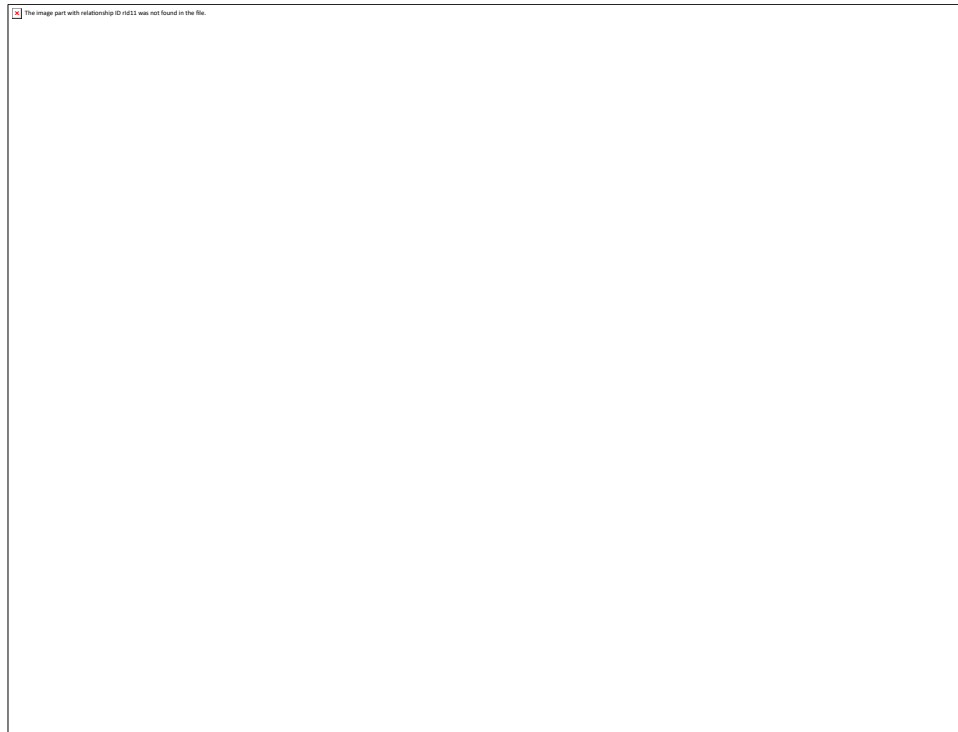
The researcher who performs participant observation can adopt one of the following four categories or roles: complete observer, participant as an observer, observer as a participant, and complete participant (Brennen, 2017). The fieldwork was developed over 14 days as a participant and observer, meaning the researcher maintained contact with the communities studied without further interaction. The researcher may be present but not participate in religious services or family events (Brennen, 2017). The places where descriptions of situations and environments were made were:

- Plaza de la Constitución –Presidencial palace-La Moneda
- Plaza de Armas – Catedral Metropolitana
- Bustamante Park – Plaza Italia - Baquedano metro station
- *Población* San Enrique, Quilicura.
- Municipal Office of Migrant and Refugee in Quilicura
- Ride Metro La Moneda -La Florida

The following link directs to a Google Map created to show the places where the researcher observed no participants in the city of Santiago, Chile.

https://www.google.com/maps/d/u/1/edit?mid=12CLOIXaYV5_zo0BJYbY9U7JpHzToFSp4&ll=-33.4419183189987%2C-70.67421594999996&z=12

Figure 1. Map of sociological observation sites



These places were chosen because of their importance as places of expression and identity for Haitian immigrants. Three are traditional public squares in the city's center where immigrants have historically spent hours searching for employment and housing. Two other places are located in the commune of Quilicura since this place is the main urban settlement of the Haitian community in the country, as well as Santiago. A final non-participant observation was made on the subway ride to La Florida. I could see several

Haitian street vendors selling popular snacks around the metro station La Moneda, where I started the trip. Most of them are black immigrants with very few communication skills (Non-participant observation, August 2018).

The last part of this research project is producing an audio documentary. This journalistic piece is the end of the research process but also a summary of the discourse of the Haitian immigrant experience and the journalistic and hegemonic discourse. Different migrant voices give an account of the social and urban transformations in the city of Santiago de Chile during the last four years.

3.4 The audio documentary on Urban Communication

For Makagon & Gould (2016), the audio documentary constitutes a valuable pedagogical tool in the study of the cities. It allows for reflection on the urban and social interactions between the city and its inhabitants and -in some way- facilitates the understanding of the urban world as part of the hearings. In their teaching practice, Makagon & Gould (2016) made their students practice with this tool to understand urban environments better. The scholars argue that their students developed urban communication through producing a documentary, and they better understood that "urban experiences are created, maintained, repaired and transformed" (p. 1274).

Based on this methodological approach, this research produced a 10-minute radio documentary due to the urban and social experience with members of the Haitian community in Santiago, Chile. The objective is to be able to contribute with a comprehensive glance at the reality and outcome of months of investigation.

In the next chapter, we present the analysis results of the news extracted from El Mercurio, the semi-structured interviews, and the non-participant observation. The reflection was made within the conceptual margins of the theoretical framework, and themes, sensations, descriptions, values, principles, and common opinions were linked between the testimonies and the press texts.

CHAPTER 4: PUBLIC DISCOURSES AND THE CITY AS COMMUNICATIVE SPACE

This section presents the analysis of the main findings of this research, which seeks to analyze comparatively the different public discourses that converge in the city due to its heterogeneity. As discussed in Chapter 2, the various social groups that inhabit the city try to dominate the spaces of power through the media. It was argued that the media has a role in the distribution of the symbolic power of cities. They construct an urban imaginary that promotes both capital flows and people. This section presents the analysis results, identifying the different public discourses around Haitian immigration and how they intersect each other and examining the ideological positions reproduced through the journalistic discourse of the newspaper *El Mercurio*. This chapter shows how the mainstream media has portrayed Haitian immigrants, describes the Haitian experience in the city, and reflects on the urban materiality of the city and its social interactions.

Firstly, to identify the social representations of Haitian immigrants shaped by the mainstream media, a critical discourse analysis (CDA) was applied to the news published by *El Mercurio* about Haitian immigration in Santiago, Chile, from 2016 to 2018.

Secondly, to recognize the main discursive aspects that describe the experience of Haitian immigration in Santiago, Chile, it was made a thematic categorization and subsequent analysis regarding the declarations, perceptions, and opinions of the 15 interviewees carried out. It consisted of distinguishing what information, data, statistics, and what were opinions, values, judgments, and sensations were. For example, it differentiated between "In 2014, the city was awarded as a Solidarity City" (information)

and "is an example of communal pride" (value) (Jean Paul, personal interview, August 2018).

Thirdly, the field notebook used during the sociological observation was analyzed to examine the city's materiality and the people's social interactions with it. This reflection accounts for urban spaces that Haitian immigrants have appropriated and re-signified in Santiago, Chile. For example, the observation made in the Plaza de Armas of Santiago showed changes in its composition and physiognomy compared to five years ago. Peruvian immigrants have predominated street vending activity in the sector for years and have had to share the space with Caribbean immigrants.

The crossing of different methodological tools with their subsequent analysis demonstrated what the public discourses reproduced and reinforced by the mainstream media, what those that dominate the spaces of power in Santiago de Chile, and what those resisting the dominant power are.

4.1 Social re-presentations in the journalistic discourse

The analysis of the journalistic discourse of El Mercurio de Santiago newspaper was divided into two stages. Firstly, and following the categorization proposed by van Dijk (1990), it was identified the semantic macro structures (themes) and then the microstructures (coherence, propositions and facts, presuppositions) of the selected news. To identify the themes, the analysis focused only on the headlines and the stylistic and rhetorical resources used in them. The examination of local coherence, propositions, facts, and presuppositions was made through the analysis of four specific news media. As mentioned in Chapter 3, the news media were chosen according to the reference made in

the headline about the arrival and settlement of Haitian immigrants in Santiago, their regularization, and later return to Haiti.

The sample was systematized by constructing three tables, separated by the year and headline of each news article published between 2016 and 2018. In total, 168 headlines were analyzed: 85 for 2018, 55 for 2017, and 28 for 2016. These headlines summarize the newspaper's main topics and show the macro structures of the journalistic discourse (van Dijk, 1990).

The following are the topics El Mercurio de Santiago addressed regarding Haitian immigration in Santiago, Chile, between January 1, 2016 and December 31, 2018.

4.1.2 Macro structures: The themes

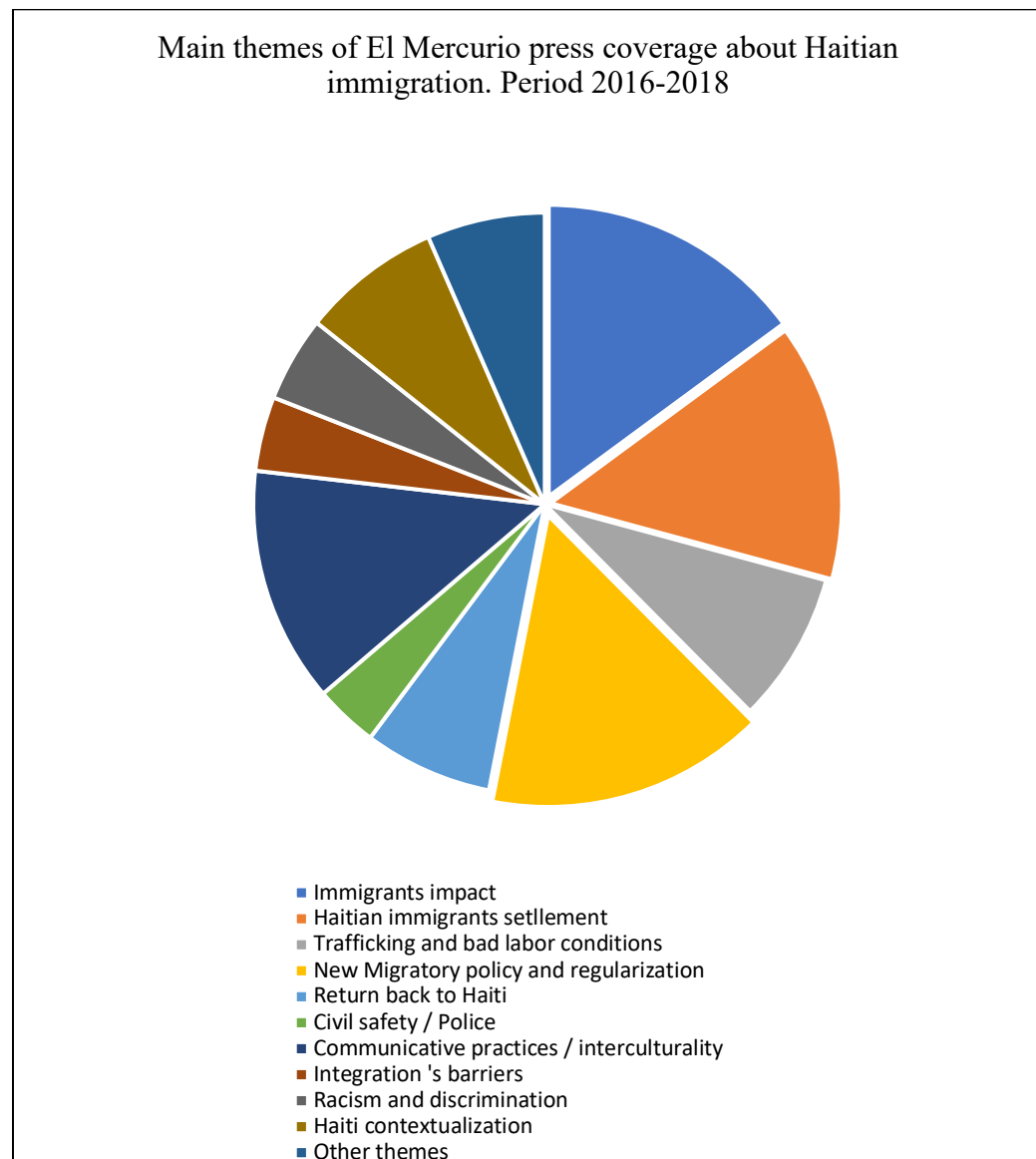
During the period studied, the topics mostly covered were regularization and new Migratory Policy with 26 news media; arrival and impact of immigrants with 25 media texts; arrival and settlement of Haitian immigration with 24 news articles; and communicative practices and interculturality with 22 news media. Table 2 recaps the 11 topics covered in the news articles, which allows us to deduce that the discourse of the government and politicians dominate the newspaper news since the executive and legislative branches oversee the creation and enacting of laws.

Table 2. El Mercurio's press coverage about Haitian immigration.

THEME	2016	2017	2018	TOTAL	%
Arrival and impact of immigrants	5	8	12	25	14.8
Arrival and settlement of Haitian immigrant	7	12	5	24	14.2
Human trafficking and bad labor conditions	1	6	5	14	8.3
New Migratory Policy and regularization	1	2	23	26	15.4
Return back to Haiti	0	0	11	12	7.1
Civil safety/ Police (PDI)	0	2	4	6	3.5
Communicative practices / Interculturality	5	11	6	22	13
Integration 's barriers	1	4	2	7	4.1
Racism, discrimination, bad treatment	0	2	6	8	4.7
Haiti contextualization	6	4	3	13	7.7
Other themes	2	4	5	11	6.5
TOTAL	28	55	85	168	100%

The topic that accounted for more news media during the 3 years studied was only significant during 2018. The regularization and the new immigration policy were not addressed in the two previous years. Also 2018, the news articles about arrival, settlement, communicative practices, and interculturality decreased considerably. The reason could be due to the legislative debate and the new regulations for the Haitian population. Figure 2 details El Mercurio news coverage regarding the mentioned subjects in percentage terms. New immigration policy and regularization received 15.4% of coverage; Arrival and impact of immigrants, 14.8%; and arrival and settlement of Haitian immigration reached 14.2% of coverage. Together, both represent 29% of the total news coverage that involves immigrants. The reiteration of information about immigrants' massive arrival may be associated with the idea of invasion.

Figure 2. Main themes of El Mercurio press coverage



The emphasis on communicative practices and interculturality category during 2017 decreased by 50% during 2018. News articles such as "Learning Haitian" (Gumucio, El Mercurio, February 13, 2017) or "Estación Central will become the first commune in the country to launch a Creole version of its website" (González, El Mercurio, August 28, 2017), are replaced by news media regarding the regularization and return of Haitian immigrants. "Per minute, 27 immigrants register in massive regularization to obtain a visa

" (El Mercurio, April 24, 2018); "Social organizations accuse discrimination and lack of information on a humanitarian visa for Haitians "(Miranda, El Mercurio, July 3, 2018) "La Moneda⁸ defends actions to regularize migrants and criticizes previous government administration (Martínez & von Baer, El Mercurio, May 17, 2018) are some of the headlines that reflect the turn in the coverage.

The president of Chile, Sebastián Piñera, acknowledged that the arrival of foreigners to the country fell by 50% because of the debate on immigration reform. According to him, they "tidy up the house" (González, El Mercurio, May 5, 2018). It is understood that at the same time, new instructions were announced to regularize immigration, news media texts were produced related to the settlement of the Haitian community, and the implementation of practices promoting interculturality decreased. The news media texts that show intercultural communication actions, such as Spanish classes, online translations implemented by the Judicial system website, or the Miss Haiti beauty contest in Chile, dropped from 11 publications in 2017 to only six the following year.

The topics less covered during this period were racism, discrimination, and mistreatment: eight news articles, integration barriers, seven news media and civil safety along with police activities, and six media texts. The analysis shows an absence of news media about racism and discrimination, which might be evidence of a denial or omission of racism. This is a powerful discursive strategy for reproducing racism (van Dijk, 1992). El Mercurio headlines "La Moneda defends actions to regularize migrants and criticizes previous government administration" (Martínez & von Baer, El Mercurio, May 17, 2018)

⁸ Name of Presidential palace, located in Santiago, capital city, Chile.

or "Chadwick⁹ denies discrimination to Haitians when they begin applying for visas to enter Chile" (El Mercurio, April 11, 2018). Both headlines point to the defense and denial of racist or discriminatory actions by the Government. "It is a form of socio-political management" that helps to control resistance. Therefore, it helps to build a positive representation of us, a critical discursive strategy in reproducing racism (van Dijk, 1992, 2006).

4.1.3 Rhetorical and style resources in the headline

The analysis of the headlines of El Mercurio news article demonstrated rhetorical and stylistic aspects in the headline, which means what resources we use to tell the stories. While the style responds to a specific way of using the language and a particular context, rhetoric refers to the objectives and effects sought in speaking (van Dijk, 1990). The real rhetoric of the news aims to reveal the factual nature of the facts; it is veracity, plausibility, credibility, and accuracy (van Dijk, 1990), a very classic of journalistic discourse. Table 3 shows the stylistic and rhetorical elements used in the news headlines by the newspaper El Mercurio when it covers Haitian immigration in Santiago de Chile. They were 1) official sources as active voices, 2) dominant use of numbers and statistics, 3) absence of immigrant voices and NGOs, and 4) prevalence of the same verbs as increase, grew up, double up.

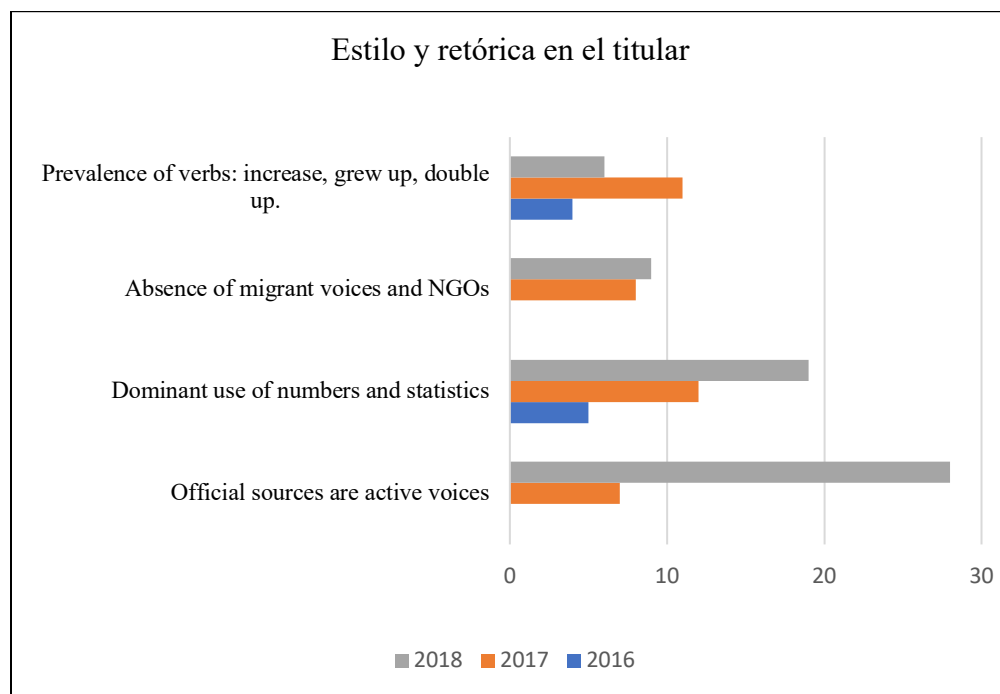
⁹ Andrés Chadwick, Secretary of Interior, Government of Chile

Table 3. Style and rhetorical resources in the headline

STYLE AND RHETORICAL RESOURCES	2016	2017	2018	TOTAL
Official sources are active voices	0	7	28	35
Dominant use of number and statistics	5	12	19	36
Absence of migrant voices and NGOs	0	8	9	17
Prevalence of verbs: increase, grew up, double up	4	11	6	21

Figure 3 graphically shows that official sources dominate the news media headlines and how most of them are likely to report based on statistics, studies, and reports; that is, they limit the impact of immigration in Santiago de Chile to figures and numbers.

Figure 3. Primary stylistic and rhetorical resources used in the headline



4.1.3.1 Dominant use of official sources

The government's official discourse has a strong presence in the journalistic discourse, which is evident in the active voice of official sources. Mainly during 2018, Government authorities, the Police of Investigations (PDI in Spanish), the Judicial system,

the Prosecutor's Office, the National Service for Minors (SENAME in Spanish) -and, to a lesser extent, the Catholic Church- had a repeated mention in the news media texts. It allowed them to propagate their actions, principles, and beliefs regarding Haitian immigration in Santiago de Chile. Elite sources have more informative value and would be more reliable (van Dijk, 1990). That is why a Secretary of State has more authority than a mayor. "The social hierarchy seems to reproduce itself in the rhetorical hierarchy of credibility and reliability" (p. 130).

During 2016 and 2017, the active voice of official sources did not play a significant role. The headlines usually referred to actions and no persons, which could be attributed to the idea that journalistic discourse is usually impersonal (van Dijk, 1990). This summarizes the information, avoids details or specifications, and delivers the information by blocks, from most to least important. The headlines simplify and emphasize what is important for the media and what interests they represent. The official sources, governmental and police, are those who, most of the time, explain and contextualize social phenomena. It is believed that as such speakers of the facts, they give a notion of "truth." For this reason, the President, Secretary of State, Police, Judicial system, Prosecutor's Office, Embassy, and Supreme Court are always on the front line.

4.1.3.2 The numbers and statistics of immigration

In 36 out of the 168 reviewed headlines refer to immigration numbers. Headlines such as "Haitians who arrive per day reach 170 people average and increase women and children" (Adriasola & Pardo, El Mercurio, September 11, 2016) or "Tax revenues for fees to migrants grow by 466% between 2010 and 2016" (Aravena, El Mercurio, February 5,

2017); and "Treasury estimates the annual fiscal expenditure associated with immigrants at US \$ 256 million" (González, El Mercurio, April 11, 2018) are three examples in which it attempts to reduce the social phenomenon to numbers.

"The real rhetoric of the news seems to reside in the conditions that underline the factual nature of the events" (van Dijk, 1990, p. 128). The news media is constructed on evidence, which may be direct descriptions, the testimony of witnesses, the number of injured, and everything that aims to validate the journalistic discourse. During news production, the journalist uses these resources so that the information about those facts is accepted and credible (van Dijk, 1990).

One of these rhetorical resources is the regular use of statistics and numbers in the headline, which specifies and verifies the events reported. In the case of the news media coverage on Haitian immigration, the tendency of El Mercurio to inform based on the numbers reflects the idea of invasion: "Arrivals of Venezuelans and Haitians doubled up in one year, with low departures from the country" (González, El Mercurio, January 13, 2018) and "More than 102,000 foreigners began paperwork in the process of migratory regularization" (David & Delbene, El Mercurio, May 11, 2018). The idea was that the Haitians arrived massively, and many of them violated the system by staying in the country after the expiration of their tourist visas. The first headline in the second sentence refers to the few departures from the government. In the second example, it is confirmed that more than 100 thousand foreigners live irregularly in the country.

Unlike advertising, the news, from the ideological point of view, "implicitly promotes the dominant beliefs and opinions of elite groups in society" (van Dijk, 1990, p. 124). The rhetorical dimension of the news is related to the effects that are expected to be

achieved. In this case, to reinforce the principles and beliefs of El Mercurio 's readers. As noted in Chapter 3, these readers belong to the upper middle sectors of Chilean society.

News production employs these rhetorical resources to discursively promote implicit ideologies of the dominant groups. The news media, reduced to numbers, subtracts the possibility of understanding Haitian immigration as a social phenomenon. On the contrary, the message reproduced by mainstream media is that immigration became an invasion, which constitutes a threat to the socio-political stability of the country.

4.1.3.3 Absence of migrant voices and NGOs

The analysis of the headlines between 2016 and 2018 revealed that only 17 news media outlets of the 168 mentioned Haitian immigrants or non-governmental organizations in the headlines. As discussed in Chapter 2 about the social representation that mainstream media does about the city and its inhabitants, this analysis shows what rhetorical and stylistic resources the media used to deliver the information. This depends on whether the representation of the city of Santiago, the destination, is to work and live or is a commodity, functional for the neoliberal model. The lack of migrant voices in the headline denotes no interest in the demands and claims of Haitian immigrants, marginalizing them as valid sources of the process. This implies that official sources dominate the journalistic discourse and, therefore, the social and urban space. Incorporating immigrant sources in the journalistic discourse contributes to increasing the representativeness of society and proposes a symbolic discussion between the different discourses involved.

Eight of the nine headlines of 2018 that allude to migrant voices are related to the process of regularization and complaints of discrimination and mistreatment. Instead, the

articles of 2017 mention the Haitian immigrants regarding good practices or immigration advice. A positive and evaluative tone is observed in the following headlines: "Haitian volunteers and translators facilitated the application of Census forms" (González, El Mercurio, April 20, 2017) or "Haitian organization calls out to compatriots to learn Spanish before traveling to Chile" (González, El Mercurio, October 4, 2017).

Photo 1. El Mercurio, October 4, 2017

Organización haitiana llama a sus compatriotas a aprender español antes de viajar a Chile

González, Valentina . El Mercurio ; Santiago, Chile [Santiago, Chile]04 Oct 2017.

[ProQuest document link](#)

FULL TEXT

Su presidente, Dalinx Noel, afirma que la barrera idiomática fue el principal obstáculo en el polémico caso de Joane Florvil.

Para Dalinx Noel, presidente de la Alianza Haitiano-Chilena, el caso tuvo un origen claro: la barrera idiomática. Según los cercanos de Florvil, ella jamás intentó abandonar a su bebé. Quiso, por algunos minutos, dejarla encargada a un guardia. "Joane no podía entender a los guardias (...) Tampoco los carabineros a ella", afirma Noel. Esfuerzo compartido

El líder de la organización asegura que Chile debe adaptarse a su nueva realidad, como país que recibe a una gran cantidad de extranjeros. "Ya es un país internacional, que se reconoce como acogedor de migrantes. Hay una necesidad de cambiar las cosas, (de que estén) en varios idiomas". Afirma que esto es clave no solo para los haitianos; cita, por ejemplo, el caso de los refugiados sirios que llegarán este año como parte del programa de reasentamiento.

"Lo que quiero pedir es que el Estado de Chile, los ciudadanos chilenos, sean un poquito pacientes. Ahora es desgastante, podemos decir, perder el tiempo con los migrantes. Pero a futuro, en 20 o 30 años... Un día, sí vamos a entender esto de que los inmigrantes son un aporte", plantea Noel.

Con todo, el haitiano reconoce que también es responsabilidad del propio migrante conocer el idioma del país al que viajará. Una idea que, según explica, incluso le ha traído roces con sus compatriotas: "A veces culpan a Chile, y cuando yo digo esto, ellos dicen que estoy protegiendo al país (...) Uno tiene que pensar al viajar. Yo escogí Chile porque ya hablo español. Lo primero que tienen que saber son los saludos, lo básico de un país antes de irse".

"No estoy tan de acuerdo con quienes ya escogieron viajar sin prepararse. Pero tampoco voy a apoyar la idea de que ellos no tienen que hacerlo. Nosotros escapamos de muchas cosas", argumenta.

Noel agrega que las diferencias culturales pudieron ser otro factor relevante en el caso de Florvil. "En la cultura de nosotros, uno sí puede decir: '¿Puede quedarse con mi hijo un segundito? Voy a ver algo'. Fácilmente, tenemos confianza. (...) Pero no hay una cultura de abandonar a los hijos. Hay periodistas que han preguntado, diciendo que parece que es cultural dejar botado a un niño. No es así", aclara tajante.

La Fundación Frè, la ONG Acción, Mujer y Madre y la Corporación 4 de Agosto se unieron para brindar apoyo interdisciplinario a la familia Florvil. Buscarán, sobre todo, ayudar al viudo, Wilfrid Fidele, a recuperar a su hija de casi tres meses -la cual permanece en el Sename- y a acompañar a los cercanos de la haitiana en su búsqueda del esclarecimiento de los hechos en torno a su muerte.

Responsabilidades

"Las organizaciones firmantes expresamos nuestro compromiso con la persecución de las responsabilidades civiles, penales, administrativas y políticas en la muerte de Joane, no obstante lo cual será la voluntad de la familia la que determine los cursos de acción a seguir", señalaron en un comunicado.

En el texto, también afirmaron que a Florvil "no se le permitió ver a su hija ni se le ofreció intérprete que permitiera al menos expresar su versión de los hechos" tras ser detenida.

El diputado Ramón Farías (PPD) también puso el foco en este punto. Ayer pidió oficial a Carabineros para que entregue información sobre el caso, incluyendo detalles sobre las condiciones de la detención y "las posibilidades



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The news article mentioned is one of the few in which the newspaper highlights "Haitian Organization" as an active voice in the headline; however, the first line of the body of the news is about the controversial case of Joane Florvil. The young Haitian mother who was arrested and unfairly accused of abandoning her baby in a municipal office, and who 30 days later died as a result of a multi-systemic failure, for causes that are still being investigated. The news article addresses the case, trying to justify that the origin of what happened to her was due to a linguistic barrier. The media text reinforces that with the statements of the president of the Haitian-Chilean Alliance. The accusations of discrimination and irregularities in her detention made by Joane Florvil 's family and the social organizations are dismissed by consigning their statements in the final paragraphs of the text. The ideological position of the newspaper is in the headline since it imperatively indicates that immigrants must learn the language before traveling to Chile. It is stated as a cause. The consequences may be severe if Haitians do not speak Spanish. This confirms the ruling position of *us* in the sense that Spanish is the language spoken in the country, and the condition to succeed is that *they* must learn the language to function.

Immigrants do not predominate as active voices. They are referred to impersonally or as part of the actions of those who dominate the discourse. They are beneficiaries or recipients of an action, which discursively means they have a passive voice. The headlines "According to Immigration Report, Haitians would choose Chile as a permanent destination" (El Mercurio, February 14, 2017), "SENAME director sued illegal trafficking of Haitian children (El Mercurio, February 23, 2018), and "Government proposes a new immigration policy and establishes visas for Venezuelans and Haitians" (El Mercurio, April 10, 2018). They show they are part of the news event but with limited prominence.

"Immigrants walked out to La Moneda demanding migratory regularization" (Miranda, El Mercurio, February 19, 2018) is the headline of one of the news media in which pro-migrant leaders appear as an active voice. The body of the news article is based on three direct quotes from organizers of the mobilization, who provide an account of their demands and claims. The space given to these news media is significantly less than central government news. The article about the protest is three paragraphs long, while the news media on the government announcements cover more than one page. For example: "Government studies to require a visa for Haitians who enter Chile," published on July 2, 2017.

One of the reasons that may explain biases in space distribution and information treatment is the inequality in media access. The immigrant voices don't have the same influence and opportunities to spread their messages through mainstream media as the power elites and government. Following the perspective of van Dijk (1993), "power and dominance of groups are measured by their control over (access to) discourse" (p. 257). The recurrent use of Government, Police, and Church sources reflects the control they have over what is said and what is not said regarding Haitian immigration in the country. While they have more access to the journalistic discourse, they have more access to spaces in the mainstream media. Then, they control the text (the themes) and the context (meanings). This demonstrates the influence acquired by those with access to and control over journalistic discourses.

4.1.3.4 Prevalence of specific verbs

A fourth element refers to the style used in the news headlines examined and is linked to the use, distribution, and organization of verbs and adjectives. Style and rhetoric imply how we say what we know and contextualize information. Those verbal forms semantically related to growth are recurring in 21 revised headlines. Verbs such as grow up, increase, overcome, and triple up were more common during 2017, whose headlines talked about the increase in Haitian immigration and its numerical, positive, and negative consequences. The headlines "Remittances abroad sextuple in ten years and exceed US \$ 600 million in 2016" (Agurto, El Mercurio, June 4, 2017), and "In just seven months, Haitian immigration to Chile exceeded the total of last year" (González, El Mercurio, August 2, 2017), show that when data is used usually come with verbs of growth. The verbs associated with claims or demands were utilized in 5 headlines during 2018. It is a slight tendency, but not being able to be dominant. For example: "Haitians protest in front of their own Embassy and demand to expedite the processing of their criminal records" (González & González, El Mercurio, November 13, 2018) or "Foreign Commission asked the previous government to request visas for Haitians" (El Mercurio, May 18, 2018). El Mercurio prioritizes using numbers and statistics in their headlines, emphasizing verbs such as grow up and increase over news addressing immigrants' needs or demands.

The analysis of the macrostructure through the analysis of the headlines showed that the main issues addressed by El Mercurio regarding Haitian immigration were:

- The arrival and impact of immigrants in Santiago, Chile.
- The settlement of the Haitian community in Santiago, Chile.
- Communicative practices and interculturality.

- Extraordinary regularization that implied changes in legislation.

Also, stylistic and rhetorical strategies were identified in the construction of the headline:

- The use of official sources over migrant voices.
- repetitive use of statistics and immigration numbers.
- the predominant use of verbs like increase and grow up.

We reviewed the issues mainly covered by the mainstream media regarding Haitian immigration in Santiago, Chile, and how the news media presented itself through its headlines. The following section details the analysis results of the four selected news articles. They are a sample to study the microstructures of journalistic discourse.

4.1.4 Microstructures: local coherence, propositions and presuppositions

In this second stage of the critical discourse analysis (ACD) on the journalistic discourse of the newspaper El Mercurio, four news media texts were reviewed, whose headlines represented a concrete action related to Haitian immigrants in Santiago, Chile. An interpretative evaluation of the local coherence, propositions, and presuppositions was applied to them. "Propositions are constructed with a predicate and a certain number of arguments" (van Dijk, 1990, p. 92), while presuppositions refer to the amount of information about social and political knowledge and beliefs. The journalist presupposes what is already known by the readers (van Dijk, 1990).

Ideologies are "institutionally re-produced through powerful institutions such as newspapers" (van Dijk, 2006, p. 138), which means that each element of the journalistic

scheme (headlines, propositions, antecedents, main events, verbal reactions, and comments) provides essential information regarding the ideology present in the text. In other words, discourses reproduce ideologies, and they use discursive strategies. One of them is the so-called ideological framework, which consists of the positive self-representation of *us* emphasizing the good actions of those who belong to the group. In contrast, those who do not belong are negatively represented. Generally, they are minority groups that are not dominant in society, such as immigrants, sexual minorities, women, and the elderly (van Dijk, 1990, 1993, 2006).

The news articles' local coherence, propositions, and presuppositions (van Dijk, 1990) were analyzed by identifying arguments, events, previous events, causes, and reasons for the topics in the news media text. For example, in the news article "La Moneda defends actions to regularize migrants and criticizes previous government administration" (Martínez & von Bauer, El Mercurio, May 17, 2018), the main argumentative structure of the text is the political defense against the left-wing opposition accusations regarding the eventual discrimination in visas requirement's process. The right-wing government argues that they are taking charge of the lack of control produced by the previous government. Also, they justify the implementation of visas because, in that way, they know "who really wants to go as a tourist to Chile" (Martínez & von Bauer, El Mercurio, May 17, 2018).

The analysis of the following four stories was focused on the identification representation of *us* and *them*.

1. "The Prince Port of Quilicura that has a church, hair salons, and Haitian fast food" (Pardo, G., El Mercurio, March 20, 2016).

2. "The team of the Haitian police of the PDI" (Alarcón, M., El Mercurio, December 12, 2017).
3. "La Moneda defends actions to regularize migrants and criticizes previous government management" (Martínez, J. & Von Baer, A., El Mercurio, May 17, 2018).
4. "We want the government to give us a helping hand. Thousands of Haitians wish to return "(Cominetti, Ma. Ignacia, El Mercurio, August 25, 2018).

Photo 2. El Mercurio, March 20, 2016

El "Puerto Príncipe" de Quilicura que tiene iglesia, peluquerías y comida rápida haitiana

Pardo, Gabriel . El Mercurio ; Santiago, Chile [Santiago, Chile]20 Mar 2016.

[ProQuest document link](#)

ABSTRACT

Unos pasos más allá está la peluquería "Chuesley", de Rose Bernitte (33 años). En la clientela hay casi únicamente haitianos, más un chileno que se tiende cómodamente en una de las sillas. En el barrio no faltan los puestos de comida rápida. El Kokoye reza "Manje tipik ayisien", y más abajo "Comida caribeña para llevar". Ahí, Berline Chamblain (33) vende arroz, porotos negros, plátanos fritos. "El tema del arriendo es un dolor de cabeza para nuestra población inmigrante. Somos más víctimas, porque muchos no hablan español. Con los subarriendos se aprovechan de nuestra situación. Hay personas que terminan arrendando pequeñas piezas por 200 mil pesos al mes. Es una estafa", dice Adneau Desinord, quien trabaja en la embajada de Haití y, además, creó la Organización sociocultural de los haitianos en Chile.

FULL TEXT

En la Iglesia Evangélica Haitiana de Chile se ordenaron varios pastores, y cada día llegan unas 500 personas al culto. En las cercanías crecen comercios de migrantes de ese país, pero también abundan indocumentados que viven la cesantía.

Hoy, en cambio, traje oscuro, impoluta camisa blanca, corbata azul, luce nervioso.

Mira intranquilo el lugar donde están los instrumentos: la guitarra eléctrica, el bajo, la batería, los teclados. Luego observa el techo, repleto de cintas y globos blancos y azules. Como esperando que todo esté perfecto.

En la sala, aún casi vacía, uno de los músicos, para verificar el sonido del micrófono, en lugar de decir "aló, aló, probando", dice "Aléluya, a-le-lu-ya".

Es sábado por la tarde, y en la entrada de la primera Iglesia Evangélica Haitiana de Chile, que el propio Joubert ayudó a fundar, empiezan a entrar uno a uno sus compatriotas.

Las mujeres aparecen con faldas blancas, cintas y trenzas; los hombres, con traje, pañuelos en el bolsillo de la chaqueta, zapatos lustrados, mientras un joven esparce pétalos sobre la alfombra azul.

La ceremonia comienza con un canto tipo gospel. Minutos después, un pastor habla en español y de inmediato un traductor repite lo mismo, pero en creolé, la lengua de su país.

Para Joubert Adrien -quien llegó a Chile hace siete años huyendo de la crisis política de su país-, esta es una ocasión importante.

Hoy se ordena pastor de su iglesia. Lo acompañan su señora -que canta en el coro- y sus dos hijos. Junto a él, otros cinco haitianos darán el mismo paso.

El barrio haitiano

El lugar está ubicado en la comuna de Quilicura, en la calle Santa Luisa con el pasaje Cerro Tres Frailes.

El ambiente es festivo, y ya están presentes más de 200 personas en la ceremonia. Cantan a todo pulmón.

Si usted sale de la iglesia y camina unas cuadras, podría sentirse en las calles de Puerto Príncipe, la capital haitiana. A ratos se ven más personas provenientes de la isla. De hecho, al recorrer un segmento de Avenida Matta hay una cuadra completa solo con comercios administrados por haitianos.



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El escuadrón de las policías haitianas de la PDI

Por MURIEL ALARCÓN L. Fotos: SERGIO ALFONSO LÓPEZ. . El Mercurio ; Santiago, Chile [Santiago, Chile]12 Dec 2017.

[ProQuest document link](#)

FULL TEXT

Participan como traductoras en operativos que involucran a sus compatriotas. Estas cuatro policías haitianas, que hoy son alumnas de la escuela en Chile, tienen un rol clave para derribar la barrera cultural del idioma. De paso, han sido testigos del lado más crudo de la inmigración haitiana. Una de ellas dice: "He visto en sus ojos las ganas de vivir mejor. Están luchando para aprovechar la oportunidad que Chile les ha dado".

Era una improvisada vivienda ocupada por haitianos, un recinto con subdivisiones donde todos vivían hacinados. Fue entonces que Ruth Bethy Joseph, 27 años, haitiana, alumna de la Policía de Investigaciones de Chile, tocó la puerta. Un hombre de unos treinta y cinco años, haitiano, abrió. Por varios segundos la miró, en silencio. No entendía nada, hasta que Ruth habló.

-Ki jan ou ye -le dijo Ruth en el tono dulce que la caracteriza. Así se dice en creole: "¿cómo estás?".

Y agregó:

-¿Puede usted acercarse?

Acompañada de un comisario chileno, Ruth Bethy Joseph, vestida entera de azul marino, con un polerón de la PDI y un parche de la bandera haitiana en un hombro, tenía a cargo esa misión: tocar la puerta, hablarle al hombre y luego, en su idioma, convencerlo de dejar entrar al equipo que venía con ella. Eran casi veinte personas de la PDI, cuatro carros en total.

El objetivo era saber en qué condiciones estaban estas personas y, con eso, iniciar la investigación.

Ruth Bethy Joseph hasta entonces solo lo había escuchado, pero esta vez lo vio: las malas condiciones, la miseria, la pobreza en la que vivían sus compatriotas. Estaba advertida: Los haitianos residentes en Chile temen a la policía. Piensan que pueden detenerlos, echarlos del país.

El idioma es la primera barrera.

Cuando el hombre dio un paso adelante, Ruth Bethy Joseph le dijo que solo querían hablar con ellos para ayudarlos y hacerles ver el abuso del que eran parte. En la PDI tenían la sospecha de que ahí residían más de cuarenta haitianos en pésimas condiciones, que podían ser víctimas de una trata de personas, posiblemente engañados con contratos falsos o con permisos de residencias ilegales. Ellos estaban ahí para asistirlos: indicarles dónde solicitar los papeles que pudieran faltarles, dónde pedir orientación si habían sido engañados. Desde las pequeñas ventanas de la vivienda, otros residentes, asomando sus cabezas, gritaban, en créole: "¡No abra la puerta!".

Ruth, sin perder la compostura, desde el umbral, les aconsejó que se calmaran.

-Quería que sintieran el acercamiento, la confianza -dice Ruth-. Y seguí. Les dije: "¡Soy yo!".

Como la escucharon hablar en créole, callaron.

Desde la puerta, el haitiano gritó al segundo piso en créole: "No pasa nada. Vienen a ayudarnos".

DESCIFRAR LA MENTIRA

El campus de la escuela de la que egresan detectives en Chile está en Estación Central y es parecido al de una universidad. En más de siete hectáreas, donde hay canchas, áreas verdes, salas de clases, gimnasio, piscinas, polígonos de tiro, un simulador donde se recrean diferentes ilícitos y un club house, se imparte el programa de becarios que ha permitido a la PDI, recibir a estudiantes extranjeros. Los que llegan a Chile provienen de países

La Moneda defiende acciones para regularizar a migrantes y critica gestión de gobierno anterior

Martínez, Javiera; Alex von Baer . El Mercurio ; Santiago [Santiago] 17 May 2018.

[ProQuest document link](#)

FULL TEXT

Rechazo generó en La Moneda el recurso de nulidad ante el Tribunal Constitucional que impulsa un grupo de diputados de la Democracia Cristiana en contra del decreto que regula el tema migratorio.

Al respecto la ministra secretaria general de Gobierno, Cecilia Pérez, señaló: "No compartimos el requerimiento que está haciendo la DC porque el proceso de migración durante el gobierno de la Nueva Mayoría fue un proceso irregular, fuera de la ley, con descontrol, y falta de seguridad", dijo la vocera.

La ministra Pérez recalcó que "la política pública que estamos llevando a cabo, no solamente ha sido ampliamente apoyada por los chilenos sino que también por los propios migrantes y ese es el camino que nosotros creemos responsable, no obstaculizar, no entorpecer un proceso que ha sido celebrado por todos", señaló la ministra.

Apoyos a recurso de nulidad

El abogado constitucionalista, Patricio Zapata (DC), será el encargado de patrocinar el escrito que apunta a calificar como inconstitucional el decreto del Gobierno que estableció visados especiales para los haitianos. Quienes conocieron el contenido del texto comentan que se argumenta que un visado especial para ciudadanos de un determinado país -según la actual ley migratoria- solo se puede establecer por razones de "interés nacional" o "reciprocidad" en las reglas consulares con el país de origen de estos ciudadanos.

La diputada Catalina Pérez (RD), quien finalmente lideró la presentación, manifestó que "el Ejecutivo ha incurrido en una discriminación arbitraria que no ha sabido sostener y además mediante un instrumento legal, como es el decreto supremo, que hoy día lamentablemente no permite hacer lo que el Ejecutivo pretende".

La acción logró el apoyo de 18 diputados del Frente Amplio, ocho PPD, siete DC, cuatro PS, cuatro PC, tres regionalistas, un PR y un independiente.

Otro de los impulsores de la medida, el diputado Matías Walker (DC) señaló que "el decreto sobre la población haitiana es discriminatorio, no tiene fundamento, se exigen requisitos distintos a los haitianos, y no a otros como los colombianos o los venezolanos", dijo el parlamentario.

A un mes de las nuevas visas para Haití y Venezuela la Cancillería realizó un balance de los primeros 30 días de vigencia de las nuevas visas: la de turismo, que se exige a los haitianos que deseen venir con esos fines, y la de responsabilidad democrática, a la que pueden optar los venezolanos.

Hasta la fecha, en Haití se han realizado 72 solicitudes. De estas, se han otorgado dos visas, 66 fueron descartadas por no incorporar la documentación requerida y cuatro están en proceso de revisión. "Cuando Chile establece una normativa clara, aparecen las personas que realmente quieren venir como turistas", dijo el canciller Roberto Ampuero. En Venezuela, en tanto, se han entregado 2.131 visas.

El próximo 2 de julio se habilitará la visa humanitaria para haitianos, con fines de reunificación familiar. A fin de mes, un equipo con autoridades del Gobierno y la OIM viajará a Haití para alistar su implementación.

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"Queremos que el Gobierno nos dé una mano amiga. Son miles de haitianos los que quieren retornar"

Cominetti, María Ignacia . El Mercurio ; Santiago [Santiago]25 Aug 2018.

[ProQuest document link](#)

FULL TEXT

En la comisión de Gobierno Interior de la Cámara, el pasado martes, se analizó la situación de los ciudadanos haitianos en el país. El diputado Pedro Velásquez invitó a William Pierre, un técnico en ingeniería civil que se ha convertido en el vocero de la comunidad haitiana en Chile. En su intervención, el extranjero que hace tres años reside en Estación Central, dejó claro un punto: "Hoy en día tenemos una cantidad de inmigrantes que me han dicho: 'No tengo qué comer, no tengo trabajo, no tengo dónde vivir. Me han pedido ¿quién me puede ayudar para volver a Haití?'".

Después de ser despedido en la empresa donde trabajaba en Puerto Príncipe, Pierre decidió probar suerte en Santiago, impulsado por los otros haitianos que habían decidido migrar. Se instaló en el centro de la capital y comenzó a hacer clases de español, idioma que domina porque estudió en República Dominicana.

Al poco tiempo, como podía comunicarse sin problemas, empezó a ayudar a sus compatriotas con sus trámites. Su teléfono se ha compartido entre los haitianos. "Cuando ellos preguntan porque tienen un problema como 'me echaron, ¿qué tengo que hacer?', les pasan mi número y me llaman", explica.

Así ha recorrido varias regiones para ayudar a haitianos. Todo el financiamiento recae en sus compatriotas, quienes lo alojan en sus casas y le dan dinero para la comida y los viajes.

Afirma que hoy la situación que más le preocupa son las opciones de trabajo para los haitianos. Con la nueva reglamentación impulsada por el Gobierno se les exigen sus antecedentes penales para poder acceder a la visa, pero en Haití no dan abasto, plantea Pierre.

Agrega que los documentos no están digitalizados y las solicitudes se revisan una a una de forma manual, lo que puede durar hasta meses. En el intertanto, mientras no los presenten y queden inscritos en el sistema, no pueden trabajar.

Pierre sostiene que debido a esto, muchos quieren regresar, pero al no contar con ingresos tampoco pueden comprar el pasaje de vuelta.

-¿Conoce a muchos haitianos que le han dicho que quieren regresar a su país?

-A diario llaman diciéndome: si yo lo que quiero es trabajar para volver.

-Frente a este escenario, ¿qué medidas solicitaría?

-Si hay que regularizarse, bien; pero a la vez autoricen que trabajen mientras están en trámite. El Gobierno debería hacer un llamado a la Inspección del Trabajo para que no multen a los haitianos que se encuentran trabajando y no tengan documentos. Porque en el transcurso de tres meses o un año (que es lo que dice que se puede llegar a demorar la obtención de antecedentes penales), el dueño de la casa te va a decir 'tienes que pagarme'. El empleador va a decir 'no puedes trabajar conmigo porque si llega la Inspección del Trabajo me van a multar'. Un decreto por favor, urgente. Que los haitianos puedan trabajar, puedan vivir dignamente.

En el Congreso usted dijo que muchos haitianos le decían que se querían ir para no tener que convertirse en delincuentes por falta de oportunidades.

-Claro, porque si no puedo trabajar porque no tengo documentos. además tengo que pagar la casa y la familia me

The ideological square proposed by van Dijk (2006) consists mainly of identifying the positive self-representations of the *we* and their negative representations. The primary discursive strategy distinguishes aspects of identity and belonging, activities, objectives, values, norms, and social resources of in-group and out-groups. This strategy is what it does to emphasize the good things of *us* and the wrong actions of *them*. In addition, it minimizes any good act of *them* and mitigates the negative actions of *us*.

Table 4. Ideological square

	<i>Us</i> (in-group)	<i>Them</i> (out-group)
Who and how are they?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - City and country globalized - Offers advantages and advances of the technology and modernity. -Better opportunities for investors, tourists and skilled immigrants. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Came from Haiti, the poorest country of Latin America. -Technological backwardness -Speak Haitian creole -Victims of the system. Marginalized and discriminated. -Hard workers, honest and dirty.
What activities they do and why?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Promote regulation actions to “tidy up the home” -They lead the legislative debate emphasizing they took actions to solve the no-control. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Eat fry banana and black beans -Attend to domincal service. Very religious people. -Attend a Spanish clases. -Set up pop and mom businessand homes in Av. Matta, Quilicura
What values they represent by themselves?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Solidary but only with those meet the rules -Responsible because they impede the entering of criminals 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Poor -Lack of social resources
What they want?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -New visa requirements for Haitian immigrants 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Better life for them and their families -Work

The social practices of the different space groups share principles, knowledge, and attitudes. This means that the recognition and self-representation that both *us* and *them* make of themselves constitutes and strengthens their identities and group belonging.

4.1.4.1 Who and how are *they*

The analysis of the context given by the facts, the complementary information, and the analysis made from the text's local meanings allow us to affirm that the Haitians are evangelical devotees. They like rice, black beans, and fried bananas, and little by little, they have been establishing their businesses along Avenida Matta in Quilicura (Pardo, El Mercurio, March 20, 2016). Two of the four news media items analyzed provide information on how Haitians are. These characterizations and generalizations tend towards the creation of stereotypes validated by members of the Haitian community. Four young Haitian police officers and students at the Police of Investigations in Chile agree that they are victims of the system of fraud and human trafficking because they cannot communicate with the institutions (Alarcón, El Mercurio, December 12, 2017). The news article in which the young cops are interviewed has a tone of victimization and pity about their nationals who travel to Santiago. The argumentative line can be distinguished with the following phrases: "They are fighting to take advantage of the opportunity that Chile has given them"; "Haitians fear the police"; "The objective was to know in what conditions the (Haitian) people were"; "They had heard about it, but this time they saw it: the bad conditions, the misery, the poverty in which their compatriots lived"; "What hurt them was the sanitary condition in which Haitians lived"; "Poverty is not synonymous with dirt," said one of the Haitian police at the end of her interview when referring to an operation in Cerrillos (Alarcón, El Mercurio, December 12, 2017).

This news media makes a social representation of Haitians and emphasizes their marginal condition and lack of social resources. In it, testimonies of Haitians are used to describe their experience in Santiago, Chile, as police officers when dealing with Haitian

communities. Cultural or geographical differences do not give the ideological position in this text. The division between *us* and *them*, in this case, is due to social class differences. It may be inferred that Haitian students belong to another social class with more significant social and economic skills. One of them studied medicine in the Dominican Republic, and they all speak Spanish. Therefore, their view of superiority and paternalistic role coincides with the perception of the Chilean authorities.

They are represented as victims and self-represented in the same way. Haitian immigrants say they want to eliminate the stigma of "pobrecitos"¹⁰ (Pardo, El Mercurio, March 20, 2016). The racist representation of the discourse constructs the stereotypes and, as a result, the representation of *us* and *them*. The mainstream media reinforces them as much, which continues reproducing them. In this case, the pre-assumed cognitive association is that Haitians are poor and have no social resources. Chileans have money and better economic status.

4.1.4.2 The language of *them*

Proficiency in the language is an integration factor because it allows one to belong to a place and facilitates the search for a job. It may also be an element of separation of origin culture (Resnyansky, 2016). Language is a foundational and critical factor of cultural identity, but it is also a social marker. The idea of overcoming linguistic barriers suggests an advantage and disadvantaged group. The newspaper applies the ideological division between *us* and *them* when it states that language is an integration factor. Some scholars question language proficiency as a way of assimilation and adaptation to the society of

¹⁰ Word in Spanish derived from poor and poverty, which indicates similar meaning of the phrase: "poor baby" in English.

arrival (Resnyansky, 2016). Migrant populations do not abandon their language (Portes, 2003); however, the total absence of the native language can be a reason for marginalization and identity crisis (Resnyansky, 2016). In two of the four news stories, the argumentative line is developed under the idea that the language barrier causes discrimination, precarious working conditions, and scams suffered by Haitians when they try to find a place to live. It is assumed that when *they* learn Spanish, they will facilitate their integration (Pardo, El Mercurio, March 20, 2016; Alarcón, El Mercurio, December 12, 2017). Because of the limitations of the language and the lack of public service translators, the Haitian citizen Joane Florvil was involved in an episode of discrimination that ended up with her being arrested and death a month later, for strange circumstances in the Posta Central (Alarcón, El Mercurio, December 12, 2017).

4.1.4.2.1 The case of Joane Florvil

The case of the young Haitian mother Joane Florvil was covered by Chilean media, except for El Mercurio. The case came out on August 30, 2017, when the woman was unfairly detained for the eventual abandonment of her baby. The newspaper did not publish anything about the case until two months later, when the Haitian woman had already died. There are only two stories in which the case is discussed. The publication of a short interview with the doctor who attended her in the hospital after she was detained, in which he refutes any abuse of power by the police. He also says the young Haitian woman told him that she could not defend herself because she did not know Spanish and was accused of unworthy treatment by police officers (González, El Mercurio, November 9, 2017). The newspaper covered the issue again in November, 40 days after she passed away. Ruth

Bethy Joseph, a Haitian student with a scholarship in the Police of Investigations, and three classmates and friends were interviewed regarding her experience in Santiago (Alarcón, El Mercury, December 12, 2018). The newspaper headlined, "The team of Haitian police of the PDI." The girl talked about their compatriots and mentioned the case of Joane Florvil and its impact on the debate on discrimination and integration of immigrants.

Haitian cops are part of *them* because they belong to the out-group, but this news article considers *them* within *us*. The analysis allows us to demonstrate that the discourse comes from Haitian immigrants, but they are under the police institution, which implies that there is an institutional discourse behind *them*. This makes *them* part of the in-group of the society, and their nationals constitute *them*. The news media emphasizes the young police officers and their contribution that they come to help and work to improve the conditions in which many of the Haitian immigrants live (Alarcón, El Mercurio, December 12, 2017). Ruth and her classmates distance themselves from *them* and adopt a paternalistic attitude. "They need someone who understands them. They have no one to turn to", points out the Haitian police's respect for their compatriots. The newspaper validates their presence in Chile as translators and facilitates the work of the Chilean police with Haitian immigrants.

4.1.4.3 The country of *them*

In the analyzed news, the media representation of the country of *them* is related to a nation overly involved in political crisis and poverty. Both are listed as possible causes of Haitian emigration (Pardo, El Mercurio, March 20, 2016). Other propositions provide information about the context of Haiti and, thus, about the place where *they* come from.

The limited technological advances, for example, reveal a system that cannot deal with the process of criminal records. This may take months because everything is done manually (Cominetti, El Mercurio, August 25, 2018). It delivers information that presupposes a precarious system condition that does not satisfy the demands of its citizens. It is linked to the technological backwardness that the reader can understand due to the contextual information from previous publications, which matches Haiti's current social representation.

The news article analyzed in the previous section emphasizes the interview of four young Haitian police officers. They were given the country's informational context and stated that Haiti lacks employment and that the government cannot provide a healthy environment for its citizens (Alarcón, El Mercurio, December 12, 2018).

4.1.4.4 What do *they* want?

"Haitians in Santiago, Chile, are looking for work because they cannot find one in Haiti" (Alarcón, El Mercurio, December 12, 2017). Other news media outlets have shown that, due to the new instructions implemented by the Chilean government, Haitians have asked for help to return to their country (Cominetti, August 25, 2018). The news article is supported by the spokesman of the Haitian community's interview, who explains that they have been unable to find work due to the delay in processing the papers that regularize Haitian immigrants' legal situation. This means "obstacles are being placed to avoid Haitian stay" (Cominetti, August 25, 2018). Months before, the Secretary of Foreign Affairs of Chile, Roberto Ampuero, acknowledged that "when a clear regulation is established, the people who want to come as tourists appear." It may be acceptable to infer from this

statement that before the regulations, people lied about their purpose for travel (Martinez & von Baer, El Mercurio, May 17, 2018).

The headline "La Moneda defends actions to regularize migrants and criticizes previous government administration"(Martinez & von Baer, El Mercurio, May 17, 2018) reinforces the idea that the current government is taking charge of what the previous one did not do. The government also confirmed the number of visas requested by Haitians, reaching 72 applications, but only two were accepted because they did not meet the requirements (Martinez & von Baer, El Mercurio, May 17, 2018).

They were mandated to regularize their legal status within established deadlines and under specific requirements. *Us* represented by La Moneda defended its actions, criticized the previous government administration, and called "not to make difficult" to left-wing opposition parties that were accused of discriminatory treatment towards Haitians (Martínez & von Baer, El Mercurio, May 17, 2018). Both arguments are consigned in the journalistic text. However, the semantic force of the first three words of the headline: "La Moneda defends actions ..." refutes the questioning generated by the new Migratory policy. In addition, La Moneda is placed as the active voice of the headline; therefore, it is the predominant voice in the news article body. It reinforces discursively that measures to be regularized have a positive purpose.

The discursive strategy of distinguishing the positive self-representation of *us* and the negative representation of *them* opens the reflection on the implicit ideologies in the text. The main argumentative lines of the analyzed news articles point out the cognitive relationship between Haitians. Haiti, and misery-poverty (Alarcón, El Mercurio, December

12, 2018) and the social representations already shared by society that link Haitian immigrants to victims and "pobrecitos" (Pardo, El Mercurio, March 20, 2016).

The microstructures of journalistic discourse reveal that the argumentative tendency is to associate Haiti with poverty and political crisis. Meanwhile, Haitians in Chile live in misery, are victims of fraud, and are mistreated. *They need help*, and that is why they come to Chile. We are positioned as capable of resolving those needs. However, the condition is that they comply with the social rules imposed by *us*, the government, and police institutions.

Ideologically speaking, the newspaper reinforces the neoliberal view of migration:

- 1) A State and a paternalistic Chilean society.
- 2) A socio-political context that relates Haitians-Haiti with misery and dirt.
- 3) The questioning regarding the real reasons of the Haitians when applying for visas, when they acknowledge by themselves that they are in Chile looking for a job.

These three discursive elements shape Chilean society in better conditions than Haitian society. From that ideological viewpoint, Santiago de Chile and its institutions are seen as "superior" because the country's situation is "better" than Haiti.

The social representation made by mainstream media about Haitians in Santiago de Chile shaped them as lacking in social resources, vulnerable, and likely to commit crimes because of a lack of opportunities. In one of the news media analyses, the journalist asks his interviewee: "You said that the Haitians wanted to leave so as not to have to become delinquents due to lack of opportunities?" The Haitian spokesman of an organization said: "Of course, if I cannot work because I don't have papers, I will have to pay for the house, and my family will wait for me. In the end, what is going to happen? Steal. (Cominetti, El Mercurio, August 25, 2018). The news media exposes direct quotes to validate the request

made by the Haitians, in which they argue that if the government does not help to return, they will end up robbing to be able to live in the country. Again, this example links the immigrant's construction to their negative and wild nature. It seems to be that the only alternative if there are no opportunities is to become a delinquent.

4.2 The discourse on the Haitian immigrant experience

This section analyzes all the testimonies contributing to constructing a discourse on the Haitian immigrant experience. As indicated in Chapter 3, the interviewees included six members of the Haitian community¹¹, two central and local government authorities, two scholars, three residents of *población* San Enrique de Quilicura, and three activists from civil society organizations.

After categorizing and interpreting their descriptions and perceptions, the main findings of the analysis regarding the Haitian immigrant experiences in Santiago, Chile, show the main discursive elements involved in the immigration, settling, and intercultural encounters.

4.2.1 The imagined city v/s lived city

Appadurai (1996) suggested that imagination "became a social and collective fact" and linked the fact of dreaming a better life with the advance of technology and globalization. The six testimonies mentioned Chile as a country of opportunities and Santiago, its capital, as a reference for migratory projects. However, their arrival in the South American country confronted them with a city in Santiago different from what they

¹¹ Jean Claude testimony is considered as local authority, and member of the Haitian Community as well.

had imagined (Kesnel, personal interview, August 2018). "We promote this country abroad as wonderful, where any person in the world would like to live in Chile (...) but arriving here, they realize those opportunities do not exist" (Valeska, personal interview, August 2018).

The perception and image of Santiago de Chile abroad shows the media's role in the representation and diffusion of the city (Georgiou, 2013) and the country in this case. Only two of the six members of the Haitian community interviewed were satisfied with their decision to emigrate. They believe Chile's social situation is good (Emmanuel and Richard, personal interview, August 2018). "This country does not stop growing socially," said Richard, who even commented that it was the best country in South America, like Canada.

The experiences of Jean Claude, Willner, and Kesnel differ from those of their two compatriots, and they confess that what they imagined is not what they daily live. Kesnel has not been in Chile for more than two years and feels he was wrong. He has no plans to return yet but acknowledges that he was better in Haiti with his family. Jean Claude and Willner, who have a common migrant experience of living in the Dominican Republic, agree that the picture of Santiago de Chile differs significantly from reality. Both commented that they were lucky when they arrived and highlighted that their experiences have been accessible compared to those of newcomers.

Promoting the country as a tourist destination is part of the National Tourism Strategy 2012-2020 promoted by the Government of Chile¹². Lemanski (2007) affirms that countries of the Global South give out large sums of money to encourage foreign

¹² See National Tourism Strategy 2012-2020 Government of. Chile. Available in https://ccps.mma.gob.cl/wp-content/uploads/2016/01/1_Estrategia-Nacional-de-Turismo-2012-2020.pdf

investment and thus be able to jump into the circuits of the global economy. Then, the city is a place seen as a commodity, and at the same time, it is for living and finding employment (Georgiou, 2013). While these publicity campaigns were not focused on Haiti, they did help create an imagination about Chile. The continuous and stable economic growth began to lead in the international rankings, positioning Santiago as the second-best city in Latin America (Government of Chile, 2016). Government authorities state they are proud that Chile has become a preferred destination. "It fills us with pride that migrants choose our country to develop their life project" (Head of Department of Foreign and Migrations, (DEM in Spanish) personal interview, August 2018).

The Haitian immigrants interviewed for this study constructed an image of a city that worked out, at least for Richard and Emmanuel. They will continue living in Santiago, Chile, because both still have plans. Kesnel, on the other hand, insists that he was happier in Haiti and explains why: "They (Chileans) do not look at you with love on the bus" (Kesnel, personal interview, August 2018). Santiago de Chile is seen as a commodity because the government authorities attempt to obtain economic earnings. The campaign's success multiplies tourists and investors who decide the country as a destination. But what about people who think of Santiago as a place to live, whose daily life does not reflect the imagined city they had in mind? Why does the government authority interviewed say that it is proud of migrant people arriving when the immigrants themselves do not feel welcome?

4.2.2 Encounter of two cultures

A second theme emerged from the analysis of the interviews, which showed the cultural differences between Haitians and Chileans. "Chilean and Haitian culture is very different. There is nothing similar. From the language, the way of working and functioning. A Haitian, when he arrives in Chile, must start from zero "(Willner, personal interview, August 2018). The leaders of the social organizations clarify, for example, that it is widespread for Haitian mothers to feed their newborns with artificial milk instead of breastfeeding due to their low weight and malnutrition. This is part of their culture, unknown in Chile, and has caused some misunderstandings in health centers (Valeska and Eduardo, personal interviews, August 2018).

Cities are spaces for cultural diversity because they converge different interests, customs, and social representations (Georgiou, 2013). Cultural expressions challenge the differences to be recognized and respected. Dialogue is crucial to facilitate integration (Eduardo, personal interview, August 2018); however, the main problem is the language, which hinders communication between the two groups. Portes (2010) explains that the values of a society and language are the main elements of culture because they are present in people's daily behavior.

Emmanuel is also an immigrant from Haiti, with an experience different from other nationals. He believes in interculturality and the necessity of "learning to know each other and be willing to make concessions. Try to get agreements in cultural, social and ideological matters" (Emmanuel, personal interview, August 2018). He is a graduate doctor in the Dominican Republic and has a Master's degree in Public Policy from the University of Chile. He acknowledges that he has been studying racism and immigration, and he currently coordinates a reflection group called Chile-Haiti, where friends and scholars meet

to discuss, share experiences, and disseminate information. Portes (2010) reflects on the social changes associated with migration and points out that for immigrants with better education, the adaptation process in the host society is faster since they usually already handle the local language. This is the case of Emmanuel, who was in the Dominican Republic when he decided to continue his studies in Santiago, Chile. The Haitian doctor states: "My case is not the typical case of the Haitian immigrant in Chile." The experience in the United States indicates that "professional migrants tend to acculturate rapidly and seek entry into the middle-class mainstream, riding on their occupational skills and cultural resources; manual labor cluster in poor and marginal areas, creating a host of religious, cultural and sports organizations for comfort and self-defense" (Portes, 2010, p. 1549).

The social interactions associated with the cultural encounters between Haitians and Chileans are based on beliefs, values, and social rules shared by respective social groups. Most of the interviewees identified some aspects of Chilean culture that affected them. Richard comments about bullying and the typical pejorative humor of the Chileans. They enjoy making jokes about those who are different, who do not have or cannot do something (Richard, personal interview, August 2018).

As part of the in-group part of the society, the residents of *población* San Enrique in Quilicura say the Haitians "must adapt to our culture to avoid problems with neighbors" (Irma, personal interview, August 2018). They say there were many complaints at the beginning because *they* cut their hair and urinated in the street. The residents implemented the Spanish classes to improve communication and resolve conflicts between neighbors (José, personal interview, August 2018).

4.2.3 Language and networks: elements of integration

Those who do not have networks have a hard time (Jean Claude, personal interview, August 2018). Most interviewees emphasized the importance of learning the language and the connections made with compatriots before leaving Haiti. Willner had a friend who traveled to Santiago de Chile in December 2010. After maintaining contact with him, the young Haitian missionary left three months later (Willner, personal interview, August 2018). This allows us to deduce that the language barrier and/or the absence of networks hinder the Haitian community's integration in Santiago de Chile. "Those who do not speak Spanish find it hard to find work," Willner declared (personal interview, August 2018). For his part, Jean Claude recalled an experience that occurred on his arrival in 2008 when it was challenging to communicate at the hospital. Nobody spoke Creole or French then; he knew little Spanish (Jean Claude, personal interview, August 2018).

The first Haitians established Quilicura due to the labor opportunities the commune sponsored and because it is one of the few self-defined welcome immigrants (Jean Claude, personal interview, August 2018). The commune quickly became a *Little Haiti*, coined by the mainstream media (Pardo, El Mercurio, March 20, 2016).

The communication problems involving Haitians and Chileans weakened neighborhood coexistence. We decided to improve the communication channels to resolve the conflicts between the new and old residents. The Municipal Office of the Migrant and Refugee (OMIR) of Quilicura started the first Spanish classes for Haitians in 2013 (Jean Claude, personal interview, August 2018), and the Neighborhood Board of *población* San

Enrique implemented them in 2016. They started with 20 students. More than 150 people are registered (Mario, personal interview, August 2018).

Figure 4. Map of Metropolitan Area of Santiago.
Quilicura has established *Little Haiti* to the northwest of the capital city.



The Municipality (The City Hall) provides training courses and free advisement on issues regarding the validation of studies abroad, registration in public housing programs, or employment options. Also, they have translators in health services and schools. "We are

concerned about the right to access education, but nobody cares about the right to learn. The child who goes to school with a desire to know but cannot interact with their peers, we take away his right of learning "(Jean Claude, personal interview, August 2018).

4.2.4 Denial of racism and the condemnation of being poor.

One of the main features of contemporary racism is precisely its negation. Discursive strategies such as euphemisms, mitigations, and the tendency to self-represent positively and negatively are critical in the reproduction of racism (van Dijk, 1992). One of the neighbors interviewed in *población* San Enrique de Quilicura demonstrated what van Dijk (1992) argues regarding defending society. Nobody wants to be perceived as racist, and that is why people tend to deny it: "I would not say that racism is what happens here in Chile. It is that they came to take up a space, but they do not adapt to our culture. The neighbors tell us: 'They are the ones who are coming here. They have to adapt. Nor will we be like *Ku Klux Klan* and attack those who arrive, but they have to adapt'" (José, personal interview, August 2018). Some openly acknowledge that the Chilean is racist (Kesnel and Emmanuel, personal interviews, August 2018). Still, some others dismiss the statement saying: "the common and ordinary Chilean was shocked by the color of skin" (Mario, personal interview, August 2018) or "I do not want to talk about racism, because that happens all over the world, not specifically in Chile" (Richard, personal interview, August 2018).

Another discursive strategy analyzed in denying racism is the interviewees' positive self-representation of *us*. Mario, for example, proudly tells what they have done as the neighbors of *población* San Enrique de Quilicura: "The first thing is to be supportive and

give some tools to the Haitians. We started with 20 students in the Spanish classes two years ago, and today, we have more than 150 enrolled "(Mario, personal interview, August 2018).

The Head of the Department of Migration and Immigration, a representative of the government in the matter, emphasizes the good things they have done for the Haitians. The authority reinforced discursively what was implemented in pursuit of regularization: "We want people who come to Chile to enter with an already processed identification document to facilitate their insertion" (head of the Department of Immigration and Migration, DEM, personal interview, August 2018). The interviewee also described the integration actions they carried out to understand "the contribution that immigrant communities have made to the country." These actions may have an explanation: "The elites may also apply humanitarian norms and values to argue against them. By seemingly emphasizing 'equality for all,' for instance, elites may thus discredit affirmative action programs or employment schemes. Moreover, by denying or mitigating racism, they can marginalize those who claim the opposite" (van Dijk, 1993, p. 265).

4.2.4.1 Denial of racism in Haitian immigrant discourse

Mitigation is another discursive strategy in denying racism (van Dijk, 1992). In this analysis, the tendency to evade or diminish the importance of racism is given by the Haitian immigrants themselves. "I try not to talk about racism," says Jean Claude (personal interview, August 2018), while Willner underestimates, saying: "There are everyone, some people look at you nicely and some people not, badly. But I was raised as a missionary, so

I am prepared to live wherever I want despite of everything "(Willner, personal interview, August 2018).

Gerard says most people on the street do nothing to him (personal interview, August 2018), as if it were appropriate or usual to do something to him. On the other hand, Kesnel, Richard, and Emmanuel openly admit racist social practices in Santiago, Chile. Kesnel reveals that he has felt discriminated against many times and remembers that the first time was on the bus when he perceived that "the passengers did not look at him with love" (Kesnel, personal interview, August 2018). Richard and Emmanuel agree that beyond racism for skin color, it is discrimination by socio-economic class. Richard states, "The Chilean is afraid to tell his partner what school he studied or what commune he was born. I have seen much of that among my colleagues, neighbors, and friends because people fear being segregated".

María Emilia Tijoux argues that discrimination by skin color is crossed with the class. "A person with a good economic condition is likely to have no such abuse, but the color of the skin is still a racial marker" (M.E, personal interview, August 2018). Emmanuel coincides with this diagnosis. Due to his educational level, he admits this is not a typical 'Haitian immigrant' in Chile. He does not feel discriminated against like other nationals, but he was told: "If you were white, you would be much better in this country" (Emmanuel, personal interview, August 2018).

4.2.4.2 The condemnation of being poor

The analysis of the interviews showed that the social actors in charge of denouncing practices of discrimination are not the immigrant victims nor the local or government authorities. They are the voices of non-profit social organizations with the same opinion in acknowledging institutional racism of class (Valeska, Emmanuel, Eduardo, M.E, personal interviews, August 2018). Both poverty as the color of skin and the institutional power that sustains it form a scenario where racist discursive practices may be reproduced. Valeska attributes socioeconomic class as a determinant when people discriminate because "if Ronaldinho arrives here to sign autographs, we will adore him, the country wherever he comes, or whatever race" (Valeska, personal interview, August 2018). Emmanuel states that racism is structural. "The whiter means are at a higher position in the social scale. And while darker the skin, they concentrate in poor communities". Other organization's leaders are concerned because most immigrants are poor, and they are the most discriminated against (Eduardo, personal interview, August 2018). Those who come from the north are called foreigners and usually are welcomed positively. Immigrants who come from the same south hemisphere are generally seen as a problem (Isis, personal interview, August 2018). They are euphemisms used as a discursive strategy to deny racism (van Dijk, 1992) and also, allow to differentiate white Europeans from Andean Latin Americans and Afro-descendants, who receive differentiated treatment from society in general (ME, personal interview, August 2018).

4.2.5 *Being Haitian in Global Contexts*

As explained in previous paragraphs, our positive self-representation refers to denying racism and, with it, facilitating its reproduction (van Dijk, 1992). The analysis

obtained from the intersection of testimonies among Haitian immigrants, authorities, and members of civil society allows us to know the identity features of Haitian immigration in Santiago. The self-representations of themselves and the perceptions of authorities and organizations construct an image of what it means *to be* Haitian in a globalized context.

Two discursive arguments related to *being* Haitian with the arrival to the city of Santiago are victimization and paternalism. Haitian community members also emphasize their culture's positive values and argue about their contribution to the country. Haiti is associated with a geographic territory plunged by poverty and discrimination worldwide. "Being Haitian is difficult in all parts of the world" (Valeska, personal interview, August 2018). The interviewees agree that the Haitians leave their country to escape poverty and look for work. It is precarious and hard to survive, so "most of those here are here to work," says Gerard (personal interview, August 2018). What happens in Haiti is that after attending the university, many new professionals "only have to watch television or play football. Very few of them find work" (Richard, personal interview, August 2018). "Haiti is the most despoiled country in the hemisphere," says Jean Claude (personal interview, August 2018), while Valeska adds that the Haitian immigrant is punished for his way of life (Valeska, personal interview, August 2018.) The interviewees distinguish poverty/wealth in the discourse and represent the poor as victims and the rich as oppressors. Haitians are victims of a global system. Its wealth has been dismantled by foreign military interventions and peace missions of international organizations (Jean Claude, personal interview, August 2018). Victimization implies that they are in an inferior situation compared to another. Thus, Willner admits: "For us, it costs everything more. Because of the color of the skin, the level of education, the country, we are always under".

This inferiority implies recognizing vulnerability and, therefore, in need of help. Institutional paternalism is transversal among the interviewees' testimony, who describe activities to give more opportunities and create integration spaces for immigrants (Valeska, Jean Claude, Álvaro B. interviews people, August 2018). The paternalism is not in the actions, but it is noted in the reasons given. It is because they have suffered a lot; most of them are forced displaced, but they are not considered as such (Valeska and Isis, personal interviews, August 2018). The paternalistic role also shows its corrective side. The head of the Department of Foreign and Migrations of Chile revealed significant irregularities in Haitian immigration. "Many of them entered as tourists and did nothing after the deadline, or they get the country with false identification." The government authority claims that more than 87% violated the process.

Moreover, they dropped in an irregular condition. After the media covered the government's denouncements, the attitude adopted by the government was to allow them to regularize their legal situation and "tidy up the house." For Haitians, the Government implemented a special visa for humanitarian purposes, for 12 months, extendable for once, and allows obtaining a Permanent Permit Residence. Besides, the Haitians who want to travel to the country must request a consular visa for tourism with the right to stay 30 days there (Head DEM, personal interview, August 2018), and not three months as was previously. The government's paternalistic role reinforces the idea that those who break the rules will be deported. "For having safety and trustfulness, it should not have impunity" (Head DEM, personal interview, August 2018).

4.2.5.1 Good workers, humble and obedient

Migrants, by nature, are called to work and make efforts to survive in the country. The Haitian immigration study shows it is mainly labor (Nassila Amode, personal interview, January 2019). They do not expect anything from anyone (Eduardo and Gerard, personal interviews, August 2018). The Haitian is a good and hard worker (Richard and Willner, personal interviews, August 2018), humble, and obedient (Valeska, personal interview, August 2018). In addition, the interviewees agree that being Haitian means resilience. They can adapt to adversity and unfriendly environments (Jean Claude, Willner, Richard, personal interviews, August 2018). Government authorities share this view: "The immigrant is resilient, flexible, adapt to the labor market and makes many efforts to improve the lives of their families. When he does, it improves the quality of life of the receiving country" (Head DEM, personal interview, August 2018).

They (Haitian immigrants) are the victims, and the authorities and organizations represented by *us* are morally called to care for, protect, and guarantee spaces for inclusion. This will be possible if they behave well and follow the rules of the host society (Chilean). Those who violate the system will be returned to their countries of origin.

4.2.6 Vagueness, stereotypes, and ambiguity in the mainstream media

Members of the Haitian community and social organizations criticize the mainstream media's role. "We feel impotent; the media cover the issue of migration with incredible superficiality" (Eduardo, personal interview, August 2018). The Haitian

immigrants denounce most of the time the media name *them* as blacks and *sudacas*¹³. Also, the mainstream media gives more screening to those who reject the migratory phenomenon (Jean Claude and Emmanuel, personal interviews, August 2018). "We feel discriminated here. Channel 13 reports a news story from Haiti, but they film the ugliest part of the country and present it here as one Haiti" (Kesnel, personal interview, August 2018). The social representations shaped by the media introduce the Haitian immigrant as the one who comes to take away the work and benefits in education and health. These factors influence people's perceptions of Haitian immigration (Jean Claude, personal interview, August 2018).

The news media texts are based on stereotypes and generalizations without specifications or contextualization of the problem. It was studied in the case of the *mapuches*¹⁴ and their discursive treatment in the Chilean press. The news delivery "in a global tone makes vague, imprecise and probably erroneous interpretations" (Merino, M.E., Pilleux, M., Quilaqueo, D., San Martín, B., 2007). Teun van Dijk (1990) argues that most discourses in people's daily conversations have a structure that goes from generality to specificity. In the case of journalistic discourse, it also links to a basic rule of professional practice. That is, organizing news information from the most to the least important. Providing specific background allows for a better understanding of the news media. However, they are usually the last paragraphs of the text, which the editors may eliminate if the space needs to be redistributed (van Dijk, 1990).

¹³ Slang in Spanish who undermines the people from South America.

¹⁴ Mapuches are the largest indigenous group in Chile, who established in central and south of Chile and Argentina. Most of them were killed by Spaniards during colonization process (Richards, 2013)

These generalities may induce errors or informative evasions, as has occurred during the legislative debate regarding the new Migratory Policy, currently being discussed at the National Congress (Head DEM, personal interview, August 2018). The social organizations accuse vagueness in the journalistic coverage (Valeska and Isis, personal interviews, August 2018). For example, when it was informed about the right of *non-refoulment* approved by the Interior Government Commission, "This right protects a person fleeing from a country because of violence; he cannot be deported if his life is at risk. This right has been protected and ratified by international pacts since 1951. However, the mainstream media addressed the message, saying the legislators approved an article of the bill, ending with expulsing people with criminal records. Which was a great journalistic fallacy" (Isis, personal interview, August 2018). Informative imprecision is also accompanied by an ambiguity that constructs a double discourse in public opinion. This is created by the media because "on the one hand we are told that it is fantastic to have migrants. The government does as much as possible to provide them with opportunities and training. On the other hand, we have tremendous irregularities and disinformation" (Valeska, personal interview, August 2018).

4.2.7 A developing diaspora

As defined in Chapter 2, diasporas are constituted within a geographical dispersion integrated by similar projects. They may share standard histories in their societies of origin, ethnic consciousness, conflicted relationships in the receiving societies, and/or their trans-local dimension (Cohen, 2008). This dimension is sustained in the duality and simultaneity

between *being* from one place and *belonging to* another without losing customs, principles, and beliefs (Levitt & Glick Schiller, 2004).

Members of the Haitian community recognize that the integration process in the destination society has been complex. For this reason, Santiago de Chile no longer represents a project for living. At least three of the six interviewed (Gerard, Willner, and Kesnel, personal interviews, August 2018) say they have plans to return to Haiti after two to four years. This is partly because of their living conditions in the host country and because they feel they do not *belong* to Chilean society (Kesnel and Willner, personal interviews, August 2018). They settle up in Santiago de Chile because they need to work and send money to their families, but only half of the Haitians interviewed said they feel good and will continue living in the South American country. Emmanuel led a tiny *think tank* group. From that place of conversation, Haitian immigrants diagnose and address problems of racism and *aporophobia*¹⁵. His objective is to train himself to read and understand more to generate social change, not from the free complaint but from these spaces of analysis and deep understanding. He points out that "reading is revolutionary" (Emmanuel, personal interview, August 2018). "Through these seemingly contradictory experiences, transmigrants actively manipulate their identities and thus both accommodate to and resist their subordination within a global capitalist system" (Glick Shiller, N., Bash, L. & Blanc-Szanton, C., 1992, p. 12).

They are geographically dispersed, even though Haitian immigrants have a shared history that connects them with the misery and political corruption of their country. Unlike

¹⁵ Poverty 's phobia

Emmanuel, the remaining Haitian immigrants interviewed settled mainly in areas and communes part of Santiago's industrial zone, with a low socioeconomic profile. Quilicura is one of them, commonly called *Little Haiti* (José and Mario, personal interviews, August 2018). El Mercurio headline on March 20, 2016: " Prince Port " of Quilicura has a church, hair salons, and fast food. " This allows us to deduce why Haitians settle in the same place.

Additionally, residential segregation is vital to understanding the demographic distribution of immigrants in the city of Santiago. "Residential segregation has always existed. The sectors where migrants who came from the rural zones to the city to work in the times of industrialization lived. They are the same places where the immigrants are being piled up today, for work reasons or because they do not have any other place "(ME, personal interview, August 2018).

The formation of the Haitian diaspora in Santiago de Chile is still in development and study, but according to the interviewees' statements, it is located geographically, mainly in Quilicura. In 2008, the first Haitians arrived, and then they brought their families. This generated a series of adjustments and restructuring within the city administration to welcome new neighbors and provide dignified care in health, education, and employment (Jean Claude, personal interview, August 2018). "Quilicura has an important network of companies, more than 1,600 companies in its surroundings, meaning job opportunities are multiplied by 10. Also, the airport's proximity, the networks, and an open communal policy that does not put barriers" are why Haitians settle in the same geographical area (Jean Claude, personal interview, August 2018).

The interviewees do not specify the reasons for settling in this area. However, Jean Claude emphasizes that when immigrants do not speak the language of the destination

society, it is convenient to live in a place where there are more compatriots so that they can communicate and settle down in the new space.

The idea is not to create ghettos but spaces of intercultural encounter and understanding of both cultures in health, education, and employment (Eduardo, personal interview, August 2018). In this sense, Quilicura has worked on this matter, implementing pilot programs of linguistic facilitators in medical offices and schools.

The developing Haitian diaspora is in constant demographic and geographic transformation due to the social, political, and cultural changes surrounding the immigration phenomenon in Santiago, Chile. One of the most numerous settlements is placed in Quilicura, but their presence is transversal in the country. Jean Claude is confident in acknowledging the Haitian diaspora living abroad, who are studying and training themselves. One day, they will return to their country to renew the political system, as happened after the Second World War when the Japanese went abroad to acquire knowledge and came back to contribute to their country. "I think in 10 years we will have much to discuss" (Jean Claude, personal interview, August 2018).

In sum, the analysis of the Haitian experience in Santiago de Chile, obtained from the testimonies of the interviewees, concludes that 1) revealed a city opposite to the one imagined, 2) demonstrated the difficult intercultural encounter between Haitians and Chileans and 3) identified the elements that help the integration of foreigners. The examination made it possible to recognize elements of a developing diaspora, identify features of being Haitian in urban settings, and show the tendency to deny racism. This discursive strategy crosses over government authorities, Chilean neighbors, and Haitian immigrants.

4.3 Sociological observation: Reflecting the city

"Just as in Orange County everything is planned, preconceived and solitary, in the southern cities we start from the opposite: everything is chaos, aimless, and in crowds" (Silva, 2006, p. 308). Santiago, Chile, is one of them. More than 7 million inhabitants live in it, with an average density of 460 people per square kilometer (National Institute of Statistics, 2017). In the same way as most Latin American cities, Santiago was built with a delimited social center. It was in the City Hall, the Firemen station, the Police station, the political and legislative offices, and the traditional plaza. For Silva (2006), the physical center represents an ideological centrality. Santiago is an example. Those who cannot access the social center are forced to set up out of the spheres of power. They are marginalized to the periphery but continue to move to the center for work reasons. Santiago is a city without being physically divided; the collective imaginary locates the symbolic frontier in Plaza Italia, just between the famous world and the conservative one. Those who live from Plaza Italia towards the Andean Mountains are "in another Chile," a comment usually heard in urban settings.

This subchapter introduces the results of the personal reflection of the researcher as a non-participant observer. It describes the observations and perceptions about facts and situations. Also, it mentions how the Haitians appropriate their territories and use the urban space, as the Peruvians and Bolivians did in the past. As indicated in Chapter 3, the places where the non-participant observation was carried out were: Plaza de la Constitution-La Moneda, presidential palace; Plaza de Armas-Metropolitan Cathedral; Bustamante Park-

Plaza Italia-Baquedano metro station; *población* San Enrique de Quilicura; Municipal Office of the Migrant and Refugee in Quilicura, and a ride by metro from La Moneda station to Bellavista de La Florida.

Photo 6. Around Plaza Italia, Santiago de Chile



4.3.1 Urban Settings of Santiago de Chile

Walking through and observing urban environments where Haitian communities have been established allowed us to see their concentration and overcrowding, mainly in Quilicura and Plaza de Armas in downtown Santiago. In the first place, they live; in the second, they look for work or create new networks and contacts. The same social practices repeated daily are significant for the construction of territories, such as, for example, the daily journey made by urban immigrants between work and home (Silva, 2006). These

subjects recognize themselves in their shared social experience and, at the same time, produce a territorial spot (Silva, 2006). Some Lefevre (1974) thoughts might explain that. When those social groups inhabit the space, they use it appropriately. This appropriation strengthens their social and identity representation.

Photo 7. Haitians hang out in Plaza Armas, Santiago de Chile



Haitians move around the Plaza de la Constitución, La Moneda, and the presidential palace, selling *Super 8* (popular candy) or other similar snacks. It is popularly known that Haitians are street vendors, and they do that for a living. It is also possible to find them cleaning streets in Bustamante Park, packing in Lo Valledor, selling vegetables in La Vega, or as gas station attendants in the capital.

Photo 8. Bus stop Santiago de Chile.



4.3.2 Urban materiality and the appropriation of the space

The relationship between physical space and the development of social practices could be observed during the realization of the Spanish classes in Quilicura. The community center where they meet is extremely small for the number of students that arrive. The room was crowded, which may indicate the success of the initiative. However, the Chilean neighbors comment that Haitians are not consistent, so they do not learn. Probably, they do not learn because of the learning conditions. Those are not the most favorable ones. The teacher must shout to get the students' attention, and the Haitians hardly have space to write.

Photo 9. Spanish clases in *población* San Enrique de Quilicura.

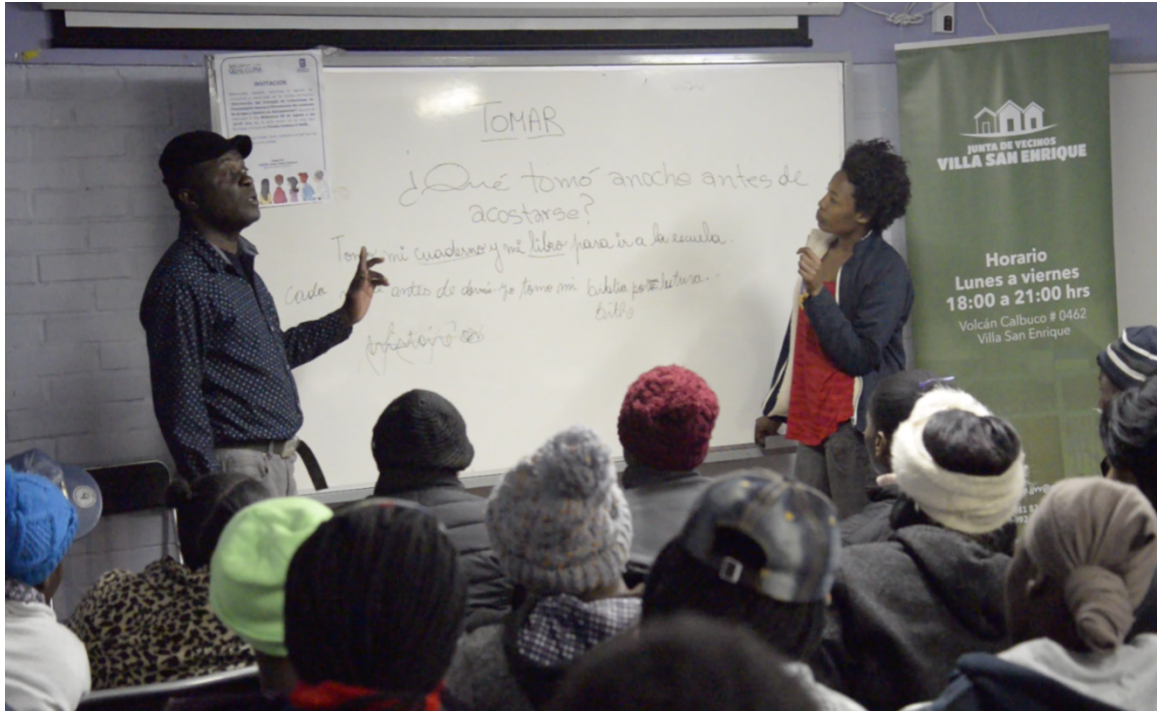


Photo 10. Spanish clases in *población* San Enrique de Quilicura.



In the Migrant and Refugee Office, also in Quilicura, the same spatial and overcrowding conditions were observed. Social unit housing was reconditioned as a public office. Three people work in the living room of the house, which must deal with the lack of room. The urban disorder mentioned by Silva (2006) of the Latin American cities and the labor and economic informality of the continent (Lemanski, 2007) allow us to deduce that the public assistance for immigrants in Chile was also born in an improvised way planned the same time was being done. Most of the instructions Quilicura city hall has developed to favor migrants are based on temporary funds achieved by public bidding. A state policy is absent.

4.3.3 Social Representations of Haitians in Santiago, Chile

We know what is known about populations such as San Luis, San Enrique, and Parinacota in Quilicura through the media. That is about their marginality and danger. The area is associated with drugs and overcrowding. In the same way, during the 1990s, the Plaza de Armas was represented by the media as a site of prostitution and drug trafficking. In both places, there was a social representation linked to delinquency. The media representations of these places influence the construction of public discourses. Also, the basis of many social prejudices depends on where one lives or studies. That is why going to Quilicura implied going to a ghetto with a lousy reputation for gangsters and gangs. This exact criminal representation is symbolically related to darkness and overcrowding. Quilicura has tight and small streets, with scarce public lighting, and apartments live up to 20 people when the room is for three.

4.3.4 Communicative Practices in Santiago, Chile

Other communicative practices were recognized in non-participant observation during Spanish classes in Quilicura, such as the incorporation of Creole language in posters with information about social benefits for the community and the presence of two Haitian staff members in the Municipal Office of the Migrant and Refugees.

In the public restrooms of bus terminals, some restaurants, and/or hospitals, there were signs with drawings on how to use the toilet. This observation caught our attention since the poster represents an attempt to modify and correct the cultural practices of a group that does not follow the social rules in the destination society. It is an attempt to improve communication between Haitians and Chileans; however, it exhibits their cultural difference as they are inferior, uneducated, and wild.

Photo 11. Signs may be seen in bus terminals and public restrooms



By going through the city and listening to it, I could appreciate a variety of unpicturable Spanish accents a couple of years ago. In the last 20 years, the Peruvian and Bolivian accents have been increasingly evident. Nowadays, the Caribbean accent has flooded the streets of Santiago. Among the bustle of Dominicans, Colombians, and Venezuelans, another language, French, is unknown to most Chilean people and is called Creole. In the Office of the Migrant and Refugee, Quilicura, and after finishing the Spanish classes in the community center of *población* San Enrique, only Creole is heard. These are small resistances of the power of the street to challenge the Spanish language domination. As much as the Haitian community expresses themselves culturally in their daily life, even talking, cooking, studying, going to work, and buying in the supermarket, they strengthen their belonging to the territory and claim their right to be different (Georgiou, 2013).

Another communicative practice worthy of description is the attempt to contextualize the Haitian immigrants. During the Spanish classes, the teacher of class level 2 began commenting on national news and how to behave and integrate into Chilean society. It was training them to be a contribution and not a ‘problem’, because Chilean expected that from them. Likewise, the teacher talked about the ideological positions that the majority of Chileans have regarding abortion and gay marriage. Interestingly, he is a member of the Haitian community who, from his experience, attempts a process of cultural assimilation or acculturation.

A last situation that caught the attention of the non-participant observer in this study was that, when interviewing Emmanuel, a Haitian doctor, he was babysitting his 1-year-

old daughter. Culturally, mothers are responsible for educating and raising children in Haiti, while fathers comply with providing and feeding. In this case, it was the opposite.

4.4. Intersectionality of the discourses: media, immigrants, and the city

The resulting analysis from the comparison and intersection of the different discourses that converge in the urban space of Santiago around Haitian immigration shows a city in conflict and full of contradictions. Next is the intersectional analysis between the journalistic discourse of El Mercurio newspaper, the verbal testimony of the experience of Haitian immigration, and the sociological observation of the city. The main issues in which public discourses conflict are the discursive attractiveness of the city, "the problem" of Haitian immigration, racism v/s multiculturalism, and tensions over the processes of acculturation or transculturation that people from Haiti face every day in the city of Santiago. It is a way of understanding the distribution of the symbolic power of the city (Georgiou, 2013) since there are discursive strategies that ideologically reproduce the power of the elites in Chilean society, but also new communication dynamics and practices that appear in some testimonies, headlines, and observations.

4.4.1 The discursive attractiveness of the city of Santiago

What is known about the city of Santiago is known through the media. The representation of the opportunities or advantages that Santiago means has become the Chilean capital city into an attractive destination for investors, tourists, and immigrants. This influence demonstrates the media's role in the distribution of symbolic power in the cities and reflects the reinforcement of global hierarchies. "The media represent the city as

robust, culturally diverse, but also an inevitable unequal place with over-concentration of symbolic and economic power at the top "(Georgiou, 2013, p. 15).

The cross-analysis of the three research techniques confirms that Santiago, Chile, has a good media reputation. In Haiti, the country's constructed prosperity made many people decide to emigrate to the south (Richard, Willner, Kesnel, personal interviews, August 2018). Most Haitian immigrants feel defrauded by not finding the city they told and imagined. The truth is that the image of Santiago they shaped in their minds has a symbolic dimension totally different from the city they inhabit. Kesnel and Richard shared the idea that the city and the country have more social resources and opportunities than Haiti; however, only Richard plans to stay and start a small business.

At the same time that the city is consumed, it is also produced in a dialectical relationship between the media, people, and their interaction with the city (Georgiou, 2013). "This is how they see Chile in Haiti: a prosperous, politically stable and leader in football," headlined the newspaper *El Mercurio* on July 13, 2017. The headline is consistent with the vision of Richard, who compares Chile as a developed country and states that it is the second Canada of America (personal interview, August 2018). The government's marketing and publicity campaigns to broadcast the country have results¹⁶. However, that promotion is from a country that does not exist, where there are no opportunities, and where we have a super-segregated city (Valeska, personal interview, August 2018).

4.4.2 "The problem" of Haitian immigration as a public discourse

¹⁶ Marca Chile is a communication strategy implemented by Chilean Government that seeks to promote the country to increase its competitiveness.

Although researchers and social organizations argue that immigration is a social phenomenon and not a problem (ME Tijoux, Valeska, Eduardo, Isis, personal interviews, August 2018), the truth is that the dominant discourse in the mainstream media and public opinion addressing immigration as a problem. It is a controversial topic where the media assume a role in defining the problem, diagnosing its causes, issuing moral judgments, and making recommendations (Entman, 1993).

The current government discourse states that they are solving a chaotic situation caused by the previous administration (Head DEM, personal interview, August 2018). They also justify the troubles of coexistence, saying that "learning to live together is a challenge in all parts of the world." Both statements agree they have a problem to solve, so they have taken charge of sending the new Immigration bill to legislative discussion. In this same line, the mainstream media tends to inform about the attention to public services and immigrants. For example, "SENAME¹⁷ receives four children of immigrants every day, for violation of rights" (Alvarado, El Mercurio, February 11, 2018), "Students excused from SIMCE¹⁸ because they do not speak Spanish have increased 766% since 2013" (Herrera, El Mercury, July 22, 2018). Both situations reflect changes in the institutions, which require structural modification to attend to new needs, demands, and claims of the newly arrived population. In another headline, the government faces another problem: "Arrival of immigrants through the sea, the new phenomenon that worries the government"

¹⁷ SENAME is the National Service of Minors, institution in charge of guarantee and respect children 's rights in Chile

¹⁸ SIMCE is a specific academic test, which is taken by the Chilean Government to asses learning process of all students attending to elementary and secondary schools in Chile.

(Batik, El Mercurio, June 10, 2018). Although the word used to refer to immigration is a *phenomenon*, the word *worries* implies an issue to be resolved.

In the nineties, Peruvian immigration was seen as a problem, but not the Argentinian one, which was more numerous (Correa, 2016). In 2018, Haitian immigration was the most rejected by the population (Valeska, Eduardo, M.E, personal interviews, August 2018). However, Venezuelan immigration is more numerous (CENEM, 2018). Quilicura residents opine that "Haitians are more noticed" (Mario, personal interview, August 2018). It seems that the "problem" involves Haitian immigration and those who come from countries such as Colombia, the Dominican Republic, Peru, Bolivia, and Ecuador but are not involved in the problem; those who emigrate from Brazil, Venezuela, Argentina, or Costa Rica. "We treat immigrants from Europe and the United States -even countries such as Brazil and Costa Rica- we treat them differently as a society, with the rest" (M.E. Tijoux, personal interview, August 2018). Therefore, the "problem" of immigration lies only in some communities.

4.4.3 Racism v/s the discursive multiculturalism in the city of Santiago

The review of the news media, the interviews, and the sociological observation made it possible to identify racism's primary discursive strategy as precisely its negation (van Dijk, 1992). One of these forms, as mentioned above, is the positive self-representation of *us* and the negative representation of *them* (van Dijk, 1992, 2006). These discursive strategies are identifiable in the news and interviews.

Out of 15 interviews, only five openly mention that Chile is a racist society (Valeska, M.E Tijoux, Emmanuel, Kesnel, and Eduardo, personal interviews, August

2018). Only 8 of the 168 analyzed headlines of El Mercurio addressed racism and/or discrimination in their headlines. The non-participant observation revealed total indifference and a conditioned acceptance of the Haitian immigrant. Nobody dares to recognize themselves as racist, but they also do not act in solidarity or integration.

"Chadwick denies discrimination against Haitians after requiring their visas to enter Chile" (El Mercurio, April 11, 2018) is the headline where Secretary of Interior Andrés Chadwick defends himself regarding the new regulations for entering the country. The 65 organizations joined the Movement for Migrant Action (MAM), Amnesty International Chile, and Valeska, a pro-immigrant activist, confronted the government's declaration. "We say that it is institutional racism because there is discrimination against the Haitians compared to the rest of immigrants. It has no reason to be," says Eduardo (personal interview, August 2018), speaking about the visa required for Haitians, which considers the presentation of a medical certificate. Emmanuel also referred to the practices of discrimination and racism that are institutionally supported and related to the selection and differentiation of immigrants (Emmanuel, personal interview, August 2018). "The construction and naturalization of difference, when talking about *the other*, is nothing more than racism" (M.E., personal interview, August 2018).

Although the analysis makes explicit that racism is an essential element of the Chilean idiosyncrasy, its enunciation is rather subtle, mitigated, and denied. Denial is used as a discursive strategy when the Secretary of Interior defends himself against accusations of discrimination regarding the visa requirements for Haitians. It may be denied outright, or its semantic meaning is. "They may mitigate their negative characterization of others using euphemisms, implications, or vague illusions. They may make apparent concessions,

on the one hand, and on the other hand, support their negative discourse by arguments, stories or other supporting facts "(van Dijk, 1992, p. 116). The residents of Quilicura avoid talking about racism. They justify what happens in the neighborhood, saying it is because of cultural clashes. "*They* have to adapt because *they* are the ones who came to occupy a space" (Irma and José, personal interviews, August 2018).

The interviewed members of the Haitian community avoid talking about racism because of fear because they do not want to victimize them or because racism is not something that happens specifically in Chile (Willner, Emmanuel, Richard, personal interviews, August 2018). The news media texts also demonstrate the total absence of issues related to discrimination and racism (only 4.7% of the total).

4.4.3.1 Multiculturalism as a racist discourse

"Multiculturalism is a form of inverted racism" (Zizek, 1998, p. 172). It attempts to highlight the positive things of *us* to reinforce and reproduce dominant ideological discourses (van Dijk, 2006). The analysis demonstrated the newspaper El Mercurio and the authorities' tendency to emphasize multicultural practices as a way of acceptance and integration. El Mercurio dedicated 13% of their coverage to news articles about cultural expressions of Haitian immigrants. The Head of the Department of Foreigners and Migration of Chile stressed the importance of making immigration more visible, showing and bringing closer the contribution made by immigrant communities to the country. Headlines such as "Bank will speak to clients in Mapudungun and in Haitian Creole" (El Mercurio, August 28, 2018); "Migrants also receive vaccines in Curicó" (El Mercurio, April 2, 2017; "Miss Haiti, the contest which seeks to highlight the Haitian talent and

beauty "(González, El Mercurio, December 31, 2018); " Santa Cruz call up Haitians to an unprecedented celebration of the Flag Day of their country "(Martinic, El Mercurio, 12 de May, 2018.) Three of these news media outlets have no more than two written paragraphs, and only the news article about flag-raising covers more than five sections. The primary source used in this news text is the mayor of the commune of Santa Cruz, who is politically identified with the country's political right wing. This sector advocates for selective and skilled immigration.

Multiculturalism is suspicious in the sense that there is a condescension to the Eurocentric view and respect for other cultures as well. "This distance is possible thanks to a privileged universal position, from which it is possible to appreciate or underestimate the other particular cultures: the multiculturalist respect for the specificity of *the other* is actually the way to reaffirm one's superiority" (Zizek, 1998, p. 172). The activities promoted by the government, such as the *Sello Migrante* Contest or the Museum of Migrations (Head DEM, personal interview, August 2018), are defined as spaces of cultural encounter. However, those are seen more as exhibitions of what they have contributed to Chile, whether in gastronomy, handicrafts, or arts. They do not favor a natural integration. As Georgiou (2013) argues, these practices are a way of commodifying the difference.

"Today, the negative representation of *the other* is more subtle and is often inserted in a positive rhetoric about how tolerant we are and how proud we are to live in a multicultural nation" (van Dijk, 2007, p. 29). Then, the mitigation of racism and its reproduction as such is supplanted by informing about multicultural practices. The newspaper El Mercurio addresses this type of issue in 22 headlines. However, the short development of the news article and the absence of direct sources denote disdain,

disinterest, and indifference to the subject. It is a way to meet the social norms of "not being racist" and thus "be well seen" by society. "It does not imply his disappearance but, rather, hides his presence" (Correa, 2016, p. 41).

4.4.4 Acculturation and transculturation

The reason for the implementation of the Spanish classes in Quilicura was that there were communication problems between Haitians and Chileans. "There were many complaints that they cut their hair in the street, urinating in the street, condoms thrown away, so we implemented the workshops to be able to communicate with them, and we told them they have to adapt to our culture" (Irma, personal interview, August 2018). In this case, language learning facilitates insertion and an eventual acculturation and/or transculturation process.

The practices of racism in Santiago de Chile reject the differences, which have their historical basis in the colonial past of the country (Correa, 2016). The desire for homogenization faces contemporary societies that are increasingly diverse and heterogeneous. Then, the same actions that allow an integration, for example, Spanish language classes or training programs, could become assimilation and/or acculturation strategies. Transnationalism studies dismiss these claims since the immigrants do not lose their culture, their language, or their customs (Glick Schiller, N., Bash, L., & Blanc-Szanton, C., 1992; Portes, 1997; Guarnizo & Smith, 1998; Levitt & Schiller, 2004). The process of living daily between two cultures could be named transculturation. They adapt to the local culture because the host society requires it, but at the same time, they continue to develop their activities so as not to lose their identity.

Moreover, learning the Spanish language as an integrated element constitutes a way of *belonging to* Chilean society. While the space of reflection Chile-Haiti (Emmanuel, personal interview, August 2018), the beauty contest Miss Haiti (González, El Mercurio, December 31, 2018), the anniversary of the Haitian Flag (Martinic, El Mercurio, May 12, 2018) and the commemoration of the Haitian Revolution on August 14 (Jean Claude, personal interview, August 2018) are cultural spaces that allow the development of *being* Haitian, and at the same time they invite the Chilean society to know their customs and activities. However, *being* Haitian, in this case, means understanding a particular activity within the material and concrete space, but it is not a daily practice.

Daily life is at school, on the bus, at work, and in the neighborhood. Haitian immigrants develop actions involving acculturation and transculturation practices in all these places. The development of telecommunications and transportation has facilitated this simultaneous life. The experiences are variable. Most Haitians interviewed, and some newspaper headlines address situations they have had to adapt to or adapt to. For example, bullying is hidden as humor (Richard, personal interview, August 2018), unpunctuality, apathy, and indifference of Chileans (participant observation, August 2018). For Willner, it is the way of functioning. "In my work, there is no communication between the administration and the employees. I have never seen anything like this" (Willner, personal interview, August 2018). The Haitian immigrants also complained about the cold of the Chilean capital, which can reach 35F° in July. Furthermore, even though they take it with humor, they admit that they have had to modify their life practices (Kesnel, Willner, Richard, Jean Claude, personal interviews, August 2018).

Language is an element of culture; therefore, Haitians try to learn Spanish to work, study, live, and be integrated into Chilean culture. It is an integration element for immigrant communities but does not act alone. The interviewees all spoke the local language, and all of them identified discrimination and racism against their compatriots. This indicates that the insertion in destination society goes beyond language. "It is more than a language problem. It is assumed that the first obstacle to connecting with a Haitian or Haitian would be the language. Moreover, that is false. Because when a German, a Swedish, an Italian arrives, people have no problem approaching and trying to communicate" (M.E, personal interview, August 2018).

The process of transculturation is associated with the daily experience between two cultures. They may learn the language, use Chilean slang, eat empanadas, and joke about the difference. Their connection with their society of origin and other members of the Haitian diaspora abroad is maintained.

4.5 Proposal for journalistic production: The audio documentary

As mentioned in Chapter 3, this research includes producing a journalistic piece and attempting to do a communication exercise without prejudices and stereotypes. It is a proposal of intercultural communication that shows the story of the Haitian immigration experience in Santiago, Chile. The audio attempts to show that a diverse, open, equal, and pluralistic city is replicated (Aiello & Tosoni, 2016).

90% of the production of this documentary was made by walking through the streets of the city of Santiago, visiting homes, attending Spanish classes for Haitians, observing dynamics in the subway, and taking pictures in iconic places of the city. Urban

communication explores the broad spectrum of urban movements. "In this way, the movement compromises the material and cognitive, the spatial and temporal. Moving is always a here and there but also an intermediate point. This is what it means to be living beings, and we move through every day. We are constantly testing the city. We experiment with and through the city" (Dickinson & Aiello, 2016, p. 1305). This methodological approach in studies of urban communication motivated the production of this documentary since it is part of the researcher's journey through the city of Santiago. Dickinson & Aiello (2016) point out that those who analyze urban communication settings are physically immersed in the city but always are aware and reflective: "Researchers of urban communication practices are always reading and living" (p. 1305).

The documentary proposes intercultural communication and contributes to this area of communication by attempting to validate audio documentary as a methodological tool in urban communication studies. In the same way, the researchers Makagon and Gould (2016) applied it with their students when they studied the city and their respective social interactions in and through it.

CHAPTER 5: CONCLUSIONS

As this research demonstrated, different public discourses converge in the city around Haitian immigration and are increasing in Santiago de Chile. Social representations constructed by the mainstream media, the testimony of the interviewees, and the sociological observation in and through the city show a transformation in the social and urban space of the Chilean capital.

We know what we know about this city and those who live in it through the media rather than human interactions. This is how we know that the most significant number of Haitians in the country live in Quilicura. In 2016, 170 Haitian citizens arrived each day at the Santiago International Airport. We also know from the mainstream media (El Mercurio in this analysis) who *they* are, where *they* come from, and why *they* are coming. These social representations of Haitian immigration to Chile are constructed during the news production. The media influence the perception we have of cities. They may shape Santiago as merchandise and attraction for tourists and investors or a city to work and live in, which would be attractive for immigrants from the region and the Caribbean.

As previously stated, the space is constantly disputed and controlled by its different groups (Lefebvre, 1974). The growth of diversity in Santiago made the social and urban

space much more heterogeneous, promoting the development of new public discourses that challenge spaces of power. How do they do that? Through the discursive strategies. Both news media of El Mercurio and the interviewees' verbal testimony used them. The sociological observation also allowed us to find discursive elements through the city's materiality. One of them is posters in bus terminals and malls that indicate how to use public toilets. Before the massive arrival of Haitian immigrants, this type of information was nowhere.

According to the analysis of the headlines, the main topics covered by El Mercurio during the period 2016-2018 regarding Haitian immigration were the new immigration policy and regularization, arrival, and settlement of Haitian immigrants in the capital. Also, the rhetorical and stylistic resources used in the headlines of the 168 news articles analyzed were the dominant use of official sources such as the Government, the Investigative Police (PDI), and the Catholic Church; the prevalence of numbers and statistics of immigration; absence of immigrant voices and social organizations; and the tendency to repeat specific verbs such as increase and grow.

The examination of the microstructures reveals the socio-cognitive processes involved in the production of the news. It showed that the discursive strategy used by the mainstream media is the tendency towards ideological division between the US and *them*. The analysis of the four news articles consisted of reviewing their syntactic composition, argumentation, and text organization. The result of this process demonstrated polarized discourses. On the one hand, Chile is presented as the country of opportunities, while Haiti is the poorest country in Latin America. They are seen as superior since Haitians need the opportunities Santiago de Chile offers. From this ideological position, we adopt a

paternalistic attitude because *they* are victims. As a result of the unstable socio-political situation in Haiti, they have been expelled and/or forced to emigrate abroad.

The discourse on the experience of Haitian immigration in Santiago, Chile, was obtained from the qualitative analysis of semi-structured interviews conducted with Haitian immigrants, central and local government authorities, leaders of social organizations, and scholars. The discursive elements found in his statements are the following: the contradictions between the imagined city and the city in which immigrants live, the intercultural tensions between the two cultures, and the denial of racism and victimization for being poor. In addition, it was identified that the Spanish learning and the generation of networks are integrating elements; the social representations associated with being Haitian in global contexts and the conformation of the Haitian diaspora in Santiago de Chile were recognized. The interviewees also accused the mainstream media of vagueness and ambiguity. They are responsible for the construction of false stereotypes and myths.

Walking the city as a non-participant observer distinguished to what extent this materiality may influence some practices and social dynamics. Applying this technique gave freedom to move around through the urban settings of the city, fulfilling the methodological aspirations of those who studied urban communication. It means approaching the object of study while in the city and through it. This observation provided findings such as the identification of informative bilingual signs in Spanish and Creole and the predominance of a language with a French accent when groups of Haitians gather to wait for the bus at the corners of Quilicura.

The intersectionality of the analysis carried out on the mainstream media, the Haitian immigrant's experiences, and the materiality of the city identified four thematic

categories, which serve as an argumentative basis for the ideological positions reproduced through the discourses, even the elites or Haitian immigrant populations or social organizations.

The main themes in which public discourses conflict are the discursive attraction of the city, "the problem" of Haitian immigration, racism v/s multiculturalism, and tensions over the processes of acculturation or transculturation of Haitian immigrants. It is a way of understanding the distribution of the symbolic power of the city (Georgiou, 2013). The discursive strategies reproduce the power of the elites in Chilean society ideologically. Still, dynamics and communication practices also claim the right to the difference for better integration and expression of their identity and culture. This happens because the media fulfill an ambivalent and influential role of being a voice for those who have no voice, "creating spaces for the representation of difference, but at the same time supporting systems of control and discipline through the corporate surveillance of the State "(Georgiou, 2013, p. 12).

This polarization of public discourses has transformed the social and urban space of the city of Santiago. The social interactions and urban communicative practices respond to socio-cognitive processes and ideological positions reproduced through discourses. This explains the power groups' interest in dominating space. El Mercurio, as a mainstream media representative, the Government, the Police, and the Church dominate the discourse. At the same time, communities of Haitian immigrants and activists of social organizations are pretty absent in the news coverage. The lack of information causes uncertainty and is a propitious scenario that creates false myths. It increases the tendency to build stereotypes and differentiations between *us* and *them*.

The study also included a series of factors that contextualize the current migration phenomenon in Chile, concentrated in its capital, Santiago. The economic opening initiated after democracy was restored in the early 90s allowed the country to begin a rapid path towards globalization, aiming to interact with the major world economies. Communication strategies and the sign-in to interregional treatments during the transition: Governments promoted Chile as an attractive investment destination and a stable political, social, and economic situation to start a life project. This was demonstrated by the testimonies of Haitian immigrants, authorities, and organizations with respect for the image of Santiago they had before living in it.

According to the Globalization and World Cities Research Networks (GaWC) study, Santiago as a global city has an interregional significance for its *alpha minus* category. The ranking places the Chilean capital in the same category of cities as Barcelona, San Francisco, Dubai, and Bogotá, with fewer financial transactions and the most significant global economy centers, such as New York, London, and Tokyo. (Sassen, 2001). These conditions of prosperity were broadcasted through technology, media, and communications. It led to capital movements and new displacements of people. The success of the financial transactions of this process was evidenced in the concentration of headquarters in the so-called Sanhattan neighborhood, Las Condes district in Santiago, Chile.

Meanwhile, new flows of people settled in the peripheral sectors of the capital. Communes such as Quilicura, Central Station, Recoleta, and Pedro Aguirre Cerda show significant demographic changes because immigrants have decided to settle there. These

places served as settlements for those who migrated from the countryside to the city during the industrialization processes of the beginning of the last century.

In both migratory processes, displacement was the idea of a better life through the entrance to a labor market with better stability and remunerations. The immigrants of the past had to leave rural areas because they could no longer carry out the same work they had done. Immigrants from Haiti went to Chile in search of a job opportunity. In fact, at the end of 2018, the mainstream media headlined why the Haitians decided to return. It was the unemployment (González, El Mercurio, October 18, 2018).

The debates on globalization, transnationalism, and the discussions about the relationship between migration and development lead us to think about parallel processes involving the same social actors. Still, movements and behaviors are in the opposite direction. The literature on transnationalism (Portes, 1997; Smith & Guarnizo, 1998) points out that corporations lead *transnationalism from above*, following the principles of the neoliberal model and the global accumulation of capital. On the other hand, *transnationalism from below* is promoted by immigrant workers seeking better life opportunities. Studies on international migration attempt to determine its impact by evaluating the development achieved by both recipient countries and societies of origin. However, the development reached by the country is symbolic and based on a global capital that takes place in the non-space of financial transactions. The Haitian communities are part of the system that helps to strengthen this development, but their daily, authentic, and concrete practice in the city is marginalized from its benefits. On the contrary, their future in the receiving country only depends on each person's social capital. Therefore, some may do very well, and others regret it.

Haitian immigration in Santiago, Chile, involved administrative changes, legislative instructions, intercultural encounters, practices, social interactions, new discourses, and communication practices. These transformations and demands for social rights come from the power of the street. Daily conversation may have a small power to contest the domination. Instances such as Spanish classes, job training, reflection meetings about local reality, the commemoration of Flag Day, and international cuisine meetings are some of the discursive practices that refer to the Haitian settlement in the city. They are micro-resistances against the political power that marginalizes them from other social, political, and economic rights, such as, for example, their right to work, which, in this case, for Haitians, is the most important.

This *transnationalism from below*, led by the demands and needs of immigrants, questions the formulation of the national project that sustains the State of Chile. At this social juncture, some better-skilled immigrants have better resources to assimilate and integrate into Chilean society by reproducing some of their ideological positions. As revealed when analyzing the testimonies of Haitians in Santiago de Chile, they tend to give relative justification regarding the new regulations that seek to control the migratory phenomenon. They argue that every government is sovereign in the decisions it makes regarding its migration policies. Curiously, the discourse of the Head of the Department of Foreign and Immigration, a representative of the government, emphasized the same points in his interview.

Haitian immigrants challenge the limits of the nation-state because of their transnational practices. They still participate in Haiti's elections or have permanent connections with friends and family, placing them outside the geographical borders, thus

resisting the homogeneity as an ideological project. They use the street to demand social rights and reject racism; they appropriate the corners around La Moneda to sell snacks and thus exercise their economic right. Attending the hearings in the National Congress to participate in the discussion of Migratory policy is an instance in which they resist the dominant economic and political power.

The political tradition of the Enlightenment implied that citizens signed a kind of social contract where citizens were alienated from their wills and goals to prioritize the general interests of a community. This idea has harmed the interests of minorities for centuries, with immigrant communities being one of the most affected in structurally homogeneous societies with few spaces for diversity as is (or was) Chilean society. These national projects have warned for decades about their founding principles' collapse. Globalization's process and transnationalism threaten the long life of the traditional nation-state. This study proves it. The absence of state policy facilitated the leadership of the commune of Quilicura in this matter, which became a benchmark for immigration policy. They were the first to implement linguistic facilitators and open a specialized office for immigrants in 2008, undone before in the country.

The new geopolitical relations of the continent and the sustained economic growth of Chile, led by its capital, Santiago, positioned the city as an attractive destination for investors, tourists, immigrants, and workers. The migratory decontrol that the current government accuses was due to legislative gaps and the media's role in reproducing a city model that represented the interests of those who decided to land in Santiago de Chile during the last few years. The media also informed and socially constructed the dynamics of the arrival and settlement of Haitian immigrants. What was known about Haitian

immigrants was initially known mainly by the press. With the gradual increase of Haitian immigrants in the city, alternative media were emerging that addressed migration issues and expanded coverage. In addition, other social organizations emerged that challenged the dominant discourses and began a work of awareness and information within the communities.

The analyzed discourses continue to navigate in this public arena, where public opinion is shaped and transformed. The press, represented by *El Mercurio*, has reproduced the dominant discourses regarding Haitian immigration in Santiago, Chile. In contrast, spokespersons for immigrants, organizations, and activists have reproduced other directly opposed discourses. Polarization has radicalized political rights, and activism continues to add adherents. The study has shown that the transformation of the social and urban space of Santiago de Chile is subject to the ideological control made by the groups that inhabit the space, whose domination is reproduced through social discourses. The media plays a crucial role. Effective use of discursive strategies in media articles reflects who or who dominates the space. The exciting thing about the critical analysis of the discourse made it possible to verify the use and abuse of euphemisms, rhetoric resources, arguments, phrases, and mitigations, which manifest embedded racism in Chilean mainstream media and society, subtle and hidden but visible in this type of study.

5.1 Limitations and Future Research

The limitation of the study lies in the fact that we have used a combined methodology. One of the disadvantages of these models is that their application does not allow deepening in each technique implemented. The study provides a reflective and

analytical perspective on the public discourses regarding the transformations of the urban and social space of Santiago de Chile. For the same reason, it is suggested as future research to explore each of the discourses examined in this study separately and expand it to social media to compare their role in the symbolic distribution of power spaces and the discursive reproduction of the ideologies of the dominant groups.

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APPENDIX A

AUDIO DOCUMENTARY SCRIPT

LOC 1: SANTIAGO DE CHILE IS THE CAPITAL OF THE COUNTRY OF MY FAMILY OF ORIGIN AND IS LOCATED AT AN HOUR AND A HALF OF THE HOUSE OF MY PARENTS. THERE, I GREW UP AND STUDIED. I WAS A MOM, AND I ALSO WORKED. IN 2015, I DECIDED TO COME TO LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA, WHERE THE EXPERIENCE OF LIVING IN A CITY THAT WAS FULLY CULTURAL AND SOCIALLY TALKING ... REASON MY INTEREST IN UNDERSTANDING THE EXISTING RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN CITIES AND MIGRANT COMMUNITIES AND ALSO AS THE SPACES CONFIGURE OUR URBAN PRACTICES OF COMMUNICATION ...

LOC 1: AFTER THREE YEARS LIVING ABROAD, I CAME BACK TO SANTIAGO IN AUGUST 2018. I DID KNOW FOR THE PRESS, BOTH OF REFERENCE AND ALTERNATIVE, INTERNATIONAL AND LOCAL, THAT THE CITY HAD CHANGED.

SOUNDS INTERNATIONAL PRESS

LOC 1: BETWEEN 2014 AND THE END OF 2018, THE MIGRANT POPULATION OF THE COUNTRY IS TRIPPLIC, ACHIEVING 6.1% OF THE TOTAL CHILEAN POPULATION. WITH THE ARRIVAL OF PERUVIANS AND BOLIVIANS INITIATED IN THE 1990S, THE COLOMBIANS AND DOMINICANOS WERE ADDED IN THE DECADE 2000. IN THE LAST FIVE YEARS, SANTIAGO DE CHILE HAS MAINLY RECEIVED VENEZUELAN AND HAITIANS.

MORE HEADS

LOC 1: AS PART OF MY POSTGRADUATE STUDIES, I PROPOSE TO EXPLORE THE EXPERIENCE OF HAITIAN IMMIGRATION IN THE CAPITAL OF CHILE.

LOC 1: IT TOOK TIME FOLLOWING THE PUBLIC DEBATE AND SOCIAL NETWORKS AROUND THE IMMIGRANTS OF HAITI, AND THAT ANSWERING PHASE WAS ALREADY QUESTIONABLE.

LOC 1: KESNEL IS AN IMMIGRANT FROM HAITI WHO LANDED IN SANTIAGO ON MAY 4, 2017.

(KESNEL) When I first arrived in Haiti, I was an educator. Moreover, I wanted to start a new life. Since I had friends there, I wanted to come to another country for a better life.

LOC 1: THE HOPE OF A BETTER LIFE IN ANOTHER COUNTRY MADE HIM WAIVE HIS WORK AS AN EDUCATOR IN A SCHOOL, SELL HIS TWO MOTORCYCLES, AND LEFT TO SANTIAGO.

(KESNEL) 3:48 The way they talk about Chile in Haiti is very different

(KESNEL) I did not know that people were racist. I did not know this.

16:45 (Have you felt discriminated against?) Yes, many. It is not every person, but many on the buses, metro, and streets. I find many people who discriminate.

LOC 1: ONE YEAR AFTER HIS ARRIVAL, HE WAS A VICTIM OF A FIRE IN THE CIENFUEGOS DISTRICT, WHERE HE LOST IT ALL.

(KESNEL) 3:05 PM That day, imagine you had that thing to survive, and one day, everything burned. You have nothing, just clothes on top, to live in a country that is not yours.

VALESKA AGUILAR IS A CHILEAN CITIZEN AND PROMIGRANT ACTIVIST WHO BECAME LIKE A SECOND MOM FOR KESNEL AFTER THE FIRE OCCURRED.

(clip 2) VALESKA

0.18 then moved us as a family, making us make a parenthesis in our lives. Here, we stop and will do this exercise of humanity necessary for these people to move forward. The opportunities are the key. We are what the opportunities of life have given us.

LOC1: MARIA EMILIA TIJOUX, ACADEMIC OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CHILE, CONTEXTUALIZES THE MIGRATORY PHENOMENON IN CHILE

(ME TIJOUX) 0:30 Migration is a social phenomenon and not a problem.

They move mainly poor people but also persecuted because of war, political persecution, and natural catastrophes. From and to different parts of the world, and in this context, Chile, which is exhibited economically and politically, attracts migrants from the region, mainly from Latin America and the Caribbean.

LOC 1: HAITI HAS 11 MILLION PEOPLE, OF WHICH HALF LIVE IN POVERTY. HAITIANS LEAVE THEIR COUNTRY LOOKING FOR A JOB. IS CALCULATED THAT MORE THAN TWO MILLION HAITIANS LIVING ABROAD

RICHARD 3:18 is walking towards Canada, to be the second Canada on the continent of America, in my opinion.

RICHARD CAME TO SANTIAGO 4 YEARS AGO WITH THE DREAM OF STARTING A BUSINESS. IT SAYS IT IS ON THE WAY TO ACHIEVE IT.

I remember that when I arrived here with a suitcase in hand and now with my effort - one makes many efforts - but after two weeks I was working and that can be said by other immigrants, who arrive here and get on the street and find work. Now, it is difficult but the same is different as in other South American countries (referring to which is accessible in Chile)

LOC 1: EMMANUEL IS A HAITIAN PHYSICIAN WITH 7 YEARS IN THE COUNTRY, WHOM HE VISITS IN HIS DEPARTMENT. PARTIO SAYS HIS CASE IS NOT THAT OF THE IMMIGRANT TYPE AS HE ARRIVES IN SANTIAGO TO STUDY FOR HIS MASTER'S DEGREE IN PUBLIC HEALTH. WE COMMENT ON THE IMPORTANCE OF SOCIAL RESOURCES IN THE INSERTION PROCESS BUT ALSO THE INTEGRATION BARRIERS.

(EMMANUEL) 5.16 It must be admitted that Chile is a racialized society. The whiter, the better. There are even people who have told me that if you were white, you would be much better in this country.

LOC 1: MARIA EMILIA TIJOUX, Phd. IN SOCIOLOGY OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CHILE, IT RECOGNIZES THE COLOR OF ITS SKIN AS THE MAIN OBSTACLE OF INTEGRATION.

(TIJOUX) 6:14 In the case of the Haitian community in Chile, it goes beyond the "language problem" because it is said or supposed to be the first obstacle to linking up with a Haitian or Haitian. It would be the language. Moreover, that is false. When a German, a Swedish, or an Italian arrives, people have no problem not knowing their language and linking in some way with him or her. The first obstacle is your skin color.

LOC 1: WILLNER WORKS IN A GAS STATION AND SAYS THAT YOUR EXPERIENCE HAS BEEN GOOD IN GENERAL. WHEN I ASKED YOU IF YOU HAD LIVED DISCRIMINATION SITUATIONS I ANSWERED

(WILLNER) 4:32 Chileans say there's a lot of everything. Encounter of everything. I'm generally okay, I have Chilean children, and despite everything, we're fine.

5:05 there are people there are of everything. The one that looks at you well, that looks at you badly, but as always answered. I prepare myself as a missionary ... I am prepared to live wherever I want despite everything.

(WILLNER) 19:29 Chilean and Haitian cultures are very different. There is nothing similar, from the language, the language, the way of working to function. When he arrives in Chile, a Haitian must start at zero.

MARIA EMILIA

5:04 From the moment you build the difference, it's because you are thinking from one place superior to the other, and that has to do with racism

LOC 1: MARIA EMILIA TIJOUX, DRA. IN SOCIOLOGY, IT EXPLAINS THAT THIS RACIST LEGACY IS ROOTED IN THE FOUNDATIONAL PRINCIPLES OF THE NATIONAL STATE OF CHILE. THE IDEA OF BUILDING A HOMOGENEOUS COUNTRY BASED ON EUROPEAN VALUES IMPLIES TWO ANNIHILATION PROCESSES DURING THE SECOND HALF OF THE 19TH CENTURY. FIRST WITH THE MAPUCHES IN THE ARAUCANIA AND THEN WITH THE PERUVIANS AND BOLIVIANS DURING THE WAR OF THE PACIFIC.

LOC 1: RICHARD, WHO ADMITS HAVING HAD LUCK, ACKNOWLEDGES THAT THE DIFFICULTIES IN THEIR ADAPTATION PROCESS ARE DUE TO ANOTHER CULTURAL CHARACTERISTIC OF THE CHILEAN, THAT SPECIAL TALENT OF REIRSE ABOUT THE DIFFERENCE.

(RICHARD) 6:40 But the fact that I was black did not cost me that much. I am working, I'm looking for work, and I'm meeting.

(RICHARD) 5:36 Maybe I am fortunate. I do not feel so far away here in Chile; that is why I say I'm lucky, but other blacks say it is hell for them. It has not touched me so much. It has cost me a lot to adapt, but it is part of the Chilean roots of Chileanism. He likes making jokes and bullying anyone. They get together and bullish to make you laugh. That affects me because I am not of that culture.

LOC 1: THE HAITIAN COMMUNITY HAS AROUND 200 THOUSAND PEOPLE IN THE COUNTRY, AND THEY ARE THE FOURTH GROUP MORE NUMEROUS, AFTER THE VENEZUELAN, PERUVIAN, AND COLOMBIAN. WORK MAINLY

CLEANSING STREETS, IN AGRICULTURAL ACTIVITIES OR ARE AMBULANT SELLERS.

LOC 1: THE EXECUTIVE SECRETARY OF THE MOVEMENT OF MIGRANT ACTION OF CHILE, EDUARDO CARDOZA I, COMMENTED THAT THE TEMPORARY WORK OF COLLECTION OF FRUIT WAS STAYING WITHOUT PEOPLE BECAUSE THE TEMPORARIES WERE AGED, AND THEIR DAUGHTERS WERE GOING TO STUDYING THE CITY OR LOOKING FOR MORE STABLE WORK

EDUARDO 21:34 Who is replacing that? Haitian workers. However, what is the problem with this? They are replacing them many times in conditions of abnormal work and uninhabitability.

LOC 1: IN THESE CONDITIONS OF INFORMALITY, HAITIAN IMMIGRANTS HAVE BEEN LOCATED IN PERIPHERAL COMMUNITIES OF THE METROPOLITAN REGION, SUCH AS QUILICURA, CENTRAL STATION, AND CERRO NAVIA.

LOC 1: MARIA EMILIA TIJOUX, A RESEARCHER OF MIGRATIONS IN CHILE, AND JEAN CLAUDE, IN CHARGE OF THE MUNICIPAL OFFICE OF THE MIGRANT AND REFUGEE OF QUILICURA, DELIVER SOME NOTIONS OF THEIR SETTLEMENT

(TIJOUX) .12: 23 Residential segregation has always existed. The city of Santiago is a super segregated city where there are people who know one part of the city and others who do not. So, the sectors where the most disadvantaged people have always lived, where the migrants who came from the countryside to the city to work in the times of industrialization lived, are the exact places where they are piling up today for reasons to get work, another because they have no other place, the migrants of the region ... when they can change.

TIJOUX 22:56 was one of the first communes where the migrants arrived. Then it made a difference; it gave you a floor to settle in space. Quilicura has an essential network of companies, more than 1,600 in its surroundings. Job opportunities are multiplied by 10.

(JEAN CLAUDE) 23:28, and we are also near the airport. In other words, if a relative of mine arrives, I can find him, bring him, and go to work. It favors access and the communal policy of an open commune that does not put barriers. The mayor today, in his speeches, no longer talks about migrants; he talks about the new neighbors who come to live with us, so we see there is an effort to ensure that integration is not stigmatized or difficult.

LOC 1: I WENT TO QUILICURA TO KNOW THESE ACTIVITIES OF INTEGRATION AND SEE WHAT IS OF THE OPEN COMMUNITY. ONLY ON MY JOURNEY TOWARDS THE PLACE, IT CHECKS A GREAT PRESENCE OF YOUNG HAITIANS IN THE STREETS OF THE COMMUNE, WAITING FOR THE BUS

LOC 1: THE WORKSHOPS OF ESPANOL WORK EVERY THURSDAY AT 7 PM IN THE HEADQUARTERS OF THE POPULATION SAN ENRIQUE DE QUILICURA. NEIGHBORS COUNT THAT THEY BEGAN WITH 20 STUDENTS IN 2016 AND TODAY ALREADY HAVE 150 ENROLLMENTS.

NEIGHBORS

(JOSE) These courses were born due to the conflict between Chileans and Haitians due to language problems.

We approached the migration office for help to see how we could find a solution that would benefit both the arriving people and the Chileans.

(IRMA) This was shocking for some neighbors because, in the beginning, there were many claims that they cut their hair in the street, urinated in the street, and condoms away. That is why these workshops were implemented to be able to communicate and try to adapt our culture to avoid claims with neighbors.

(MARIO) 4:20 I think that the ordinary Chilean was shocked by the color of his skin. In this sector, most of the people in this town were Peruvian. But because they are white, they are not noticeable. The Venezuelans are not noticed either. They pass piola

(MARIO) I think the Chilean is racist. Only for the skin color

(JOSE) 2.20 I do not take it as racism here in Chile. They came to occupy a space, but they do not adapt to our culture. The neighbors tell us: they are the ones who are coming. They have to adapt. Nor is it that we will put Kukuxklan and attack those who arrive.

There has to be a respect.

LOC 1: THE WORKSHOPS OF ESPANOL ARE SEEN AS AN OPPORTUNITY ON THE PART OF THE HAITIAN IMMIGRANTS, BUT FOR THE NEIGHBORS ARE A NECESSITY ACCORDING TO THEIR TESTIMONIES, THE ONLY WAY TO BE ABLE TO FIX THE PROBLEMS OF COEXISTENCE IS TO COMMUNICATE ...

LOC 1: JEAN CLAUDE OF THE MUNICIPALITY OF QUILICURA CLAIMS THAT THE MAJORITY OF THOSE WHO ARRIVED IN THE COMMUNE HAVE SOME SPANISH KNOWLEDGE.

(JEAN CLAUDE) 19:50 I do not know if by nature or not, but the Haitian himself has the resilience to enter, dominate, and be part of space. Then, mainly, the profile of the Haitian migrant who comes to Quilicura ends his 4th half. They are people who had an approach to the Spanish language at school, but perhaps they did not have the practice however, as they can understand it.

LOC 1: JEAN CLAUDE AND EDUARDO OF THE MIGRANTS ASSOCIATION TOLD ME THE IMPORTANCE OF THE RIGHT TO LEARNING AND THAT IT IS NOT ENOUGH TO TRANSLATE ONLY.

(JEAN CLAUDE) 15:49 We worry about the right to access education, but nobody cares about the right to learn. The child who goes to school with a desire to learn but who cannot interact with their peers we are taking away that right to learning.

(EDUARDO) 43:40 Attend to the intercultural approach to health. The customs of a Haitian woman are not the same as those of a Chilean woman. Understanding is not just translating; rather, it is understanding why.

(EDUARDO) 44:11 We have to advance in that aspect because it puts cultures into dialogue, but it also serves in the function that they are socially inserted in a better way. We believe that the reception is very important. The integration has to do with the dialogue between the two.

LOC 1: IN THIS AFAN TO KNOW ABOUT THE HAITIAN EXPERIENCE IN SANTIAGO DE CHILE, I TRIED MY CONSTRUCTION OF THE OTHER, WHERE EFFECTIVELY WE HAVE TO NATURALIZE THE DIFFERENCE AND ADOPT A PATERNALISTIC ROLE OF WANTING TO CULTURALIZE OR TO TEACH THAT ONE THAT IS NEW IN SPACE. TO FINISH, I STAY WITH THESE PHRASES OF THE HAITIAN IMMIGRANTS AND OF THE SOCIAL ORGANIZATIONS THAT HAVE COME INSTITUTIONALLY SUPPORT THE VOICE OF THE VOICE-LESS

EMMANUEL 21.13 Trying to unite, despite our differences.
The best way to do it is to learn to know each other.

RICHARD 12:43 My dream was not significant. I wanted to have a business here in Chile and live a quiet and everyday life. Do not be rich. It does not need money. I'm on the road.

JEAN CLAUDE 57:04 Many young people who left will go back and bring new knowledge, and they will renew the policy of the Haitian Society. I think it will be a contribution, and I have faith that in the next 10 years, we will have to talk.

WILLNER 11:54 yes. They totally look at us in a different way than before. I've been 7 years. The people who maybe want to compare me with those who just arrived. They have a different look