Making 'Race' at the Urban Margins:

Latin American and Caribbean Migration in Multicultural Chile

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I declare that the work presented in this thesis is my own.

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28th February 2020

Acknowledgements

Abstract

This thesis explores how 'race' is made at the national and local level in multicultural postcolonial Chile. Furthermore, it examines how Latin American and Caribbean migrants negotiate both state and everyday racisms, navigating boundaries of belonging at the urban margins. Racist state politics have not only been embedded since colonial times and the foundations of the Chilean nation-state by the systematic denial of the presence and rights of Afro-Chileans and indigenous communities, but are reinforced by immigration policies that have created exclusionary boundaries against the colonial 'non-white' 'other', especially Afro-descendants. Drawing on a 17-month ethnography, 70 in-depth interviews and two focus groups with migrants and Chileans between 2015 and 2018, this thesis deconstructs contemporary racism in Latin America amid growing South-South migration, uncovering multiple interplaying factors. I show how immigration policies have impacted migrants' lives, ranking them into racial hierarchies of belonging that are reproduced and materialised in the neighbourhood, even reinforcing everyday racisms. It reveals that contemporary racism emerges from a complex entanglement between 'old racisms' of biological heredity and cultural racisms. Foremost, it exposes how racism and the process of 'othering' operates at different levels across society. Both Chileans and migrants redefine their 'racial' identities and constantly assert their 'whiteness' in different ways. Racial formations and colonial representations of 'indigeneity' and 'African-ness' are redefined and racisms are reproduced in new instantiations amid the struggle for resources. This thesis contributes empirically and theoretically to migration, racial, and de- and post-colonial studies in Latin America, transcending both the nationally-bounded and biologically-grounded ideas on how racism operates. While Chileans produce difference to assert a superior status by making migrants feel like 'space invaders', migrants, especially former migrants, produce difference to navigate racisms and claim their 'right to the city' amidst social exclusion. This ethnography unveils the most challenging aspect of multiculturalism.

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Introduction

The day I went to Aisha's house in April 2018, something was off: it was silent, which was strange in this communal space where the radio was usually turned on. Someone opened the gate, letting me into the collective housing where she lives, and I walked through the corridor past the different rooms to the end. While Aisha, a 34-year-old Haitian woman, was cooking dinner with her baby daughter on her hip, Evens was shaving Frantz, Aisha's partner, both also from Haiti. Instead of their usual jokes, this time they were angry, sad and hopeless. I had known them for almost a year and a half. Yet, that afternoon, their optimism was gone, as well as their willingness to keep fighting for a better life far from Haiti and the Dominican Republic, their last port. After I greeted them, Aisha broke the silence, and in her Dominican Spanish, said,

> Aisha: There are people who sometimes say, 'welcome to Chile', but others, uuuh! Sometimes say 'you're a *weona'* (asshole), or say a bad word. People who say 'all you damned *morenos* (brown people) who come here to look for what?' And we say 'what does Chile have? Chile doesn't have anything... here it's *pela'o* (empty)... Sometimes, it's a *lucha* (struggle)! you leave your country to find a solution… and you arrive here to *dar la lucha* (to fight). There's a Haitian who died here, from the cold. The cold kills him! (said intensely).
> Evens: (interrupts) They speak very badly of Haitians!
> Frantz: People don't want to see Haitians… the President talks about Haitians, the Chileans talk about Haitians... It's not just the Haitians who live here... and everyone talks about Haitians...
> Aisha: They're talking about only two people, Venezuelans and Haitians. Because the Venezuelans are given a one-year visa and to the Haitian what? 30 days. That's wrong. If one has a 30-day visa, what would you look for? For me, one comes here to spend time working.
> Macarena: Why do you think that is? Why would Venezuelans have more opportunities now?
> Aisha: I don't know... Because Piñera is racist... There are many racist people too… many racist Chileans that don't want to know about Haitians. But we come here to work, not to steal someone else's stuff... To work!

They had several reasons to be angry and hopeless. The news has featured many Haitians deaths as a result of racism, violence and the precarious conditions many face. The media has shown reports about the arrival of Haitians as a 'strange' new phenomenon in Chile. And a TV documentary called 'Goodbye Haiti'

featured a privileged Chilean journalist who travelled to Haiti to show the poverty of Port-au-Prince through an evidently colonialist and racialised lens, trying to understand the 'culture' of these 'poor' and 'vulnerable' people. Moreover, the recently inaugurated President Piñera restricted Haitians' entrance into Chile and established a consular visa: a tourist visa that Haitians are not even interested in applying to. The racism they have faced is the everyday reproduction of something that has historically impacted politics in Chile yet remains in denial.

Aisha's, Frantz's and Evens' words portray the racism and exclusion that many migrants face in Santiago, Chile. They were part of the ethnographic study that I conducted over a 17-month period, which explores the everyday lives of more than 90 Latin American and Caribbean (LAC) migrants[1] and documents the different ways people live together as well as racism and division inside a multicultural neighbourhood in Santiago. Their experiences uncover the structural racism that has endured since Chile's colonial past yet remains invisible. It exposes the perverseness of the ideology of racism that is deeply embedded in state politics and everyday life: nationally – through state racism- and locally – through everyday racisms. Racism taints the everyday experiences of many migrant living in working-class neighbourhoods, whose experiences should be taken more seriously. Despite the historical disavowal of racism and the reluctance to seriously talk about 'race' in Chile, my research shows that 'race' is ever-present in people's lives. My aim is to unveil how 'race' is made and examine the boundaries of belonging in the everyday life experiences of LAC migrants in La Chimba, one of the most multicultural neighbourhoods of the capital city where many LAC migrants reside.

I followed migrants' journeys throughout the uncertainties of changing political times, exploring the different ways in which racism operates and the social

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[1] Throughout this thesis I use the term Latin American and Caribbean (LAC) migrants only for pragmatic reasons, without the intention of homogenising (and essentialising) the diversities of groups, identities and overlapping communities behind this term. I focused however in their shared experiences of exclusions, and I will (broadly) refer to different 'national' groups based on their countries of origin to explore how their experiences differ in this social context.

conflict that emerges in an increasingly multicultural low-income neighbourhood. I examine how Chileans, former migrants and newcomer migrants live together and socially interact, as well as the place-making practices that emerge in urban spaces. According to Back (2005:41),

> Inside cities there are still further invisible and mute cities. They are places that give space to be, not places of identity or unitary or fixed notions of selfhood, but a space to perform and claim belonging amid the inferno of contemporary city life.

This research looks at one of these contemporary invisible and mute cities where LAC migrants, especially those negatively racialised, navigate boundaries of belonging amid the uncertainties, constraints and precarities they face in their everyday life due to racism.

International migration from within the region has been key to unveiling the ways in which 'race' has come to the fore more strongly, revealing the colonial traces of racism in Chile. This thesis uncovers how the colonial past remains present in everyday multicultural Chile. It not only examines everyday racisms but also the state's structural racism and how the increasingly restrictive immigration policies and enforced border controls have impacted migrants' lives. In such pursuit, the research question is two-fold: how 'race' is (re)made in Chile at the national and the local level in a multicultural working-class neighbourhood in Santiago, and how 'racially marked' LAC migrants live and navigate state and everyday racisms and negotiate their 'right to the city' (Harvey 2008). The aim was to explore how hierarchies of belonging, as Back et al. (2012) put it, come into play in the urban space; and to what extent the production of difference perpetuates in renewed ways colonial racial hierarchies and the state's racist politics, shaping the ways in which LAC migrants navigate urban spaces and claim (or not) their right to belong. This thesis contributes to the current literature on racial, migration, and de-, post-colonial studies, by examining contemporary racism in the so-called Global South in a multicultural migratory context. The study of 'race' and racism needs to consider the role that the city, public spaces and local processes play in shaping, and being shaped by, racial formations, marking new boundaries of exclusion and inclusion that

challenge the 'right to the city' (Harvey 2008) of 'racially marked' migrants. Drawing on an extended ethnography, which included visual methods (urban photography), in-depth interviews and focus groups with both local nationals and migrants, conducted between 2015 and 2018, I provide a locally-grounded theorisation of the making of 'race' in urban multicultural postcolonial Chile today. I further analyse the complex entanglements between 'race', migration, citizenship, belonging and nation amidst an increasingly challenging global political scenario concerning human mobilities.

Over the past 25 years, the number of migrants in Chile has increased by 710%, according to the last census (INE 2003, 2018a), showing an unprecedented rise in migrant residents (DEM 2017), which predominately corresponds to a South-South migration. Although the migratory growth has been unprecedented in the Chilean context, migrants correspond approximately to a 4.35% of the total population (INE 2018b). However, the estimated number in late December 2018 corresponds to 6.6% (1,251,225 people), mainly from Venezuela (followed by Peru, Haiti, and Colombia) (INE 2018a), which is still a low figure in comparison to developed countries that reach double-digit figures. I argue that the exponential growth of migratory flows into Santiago since the 2000s (Martínez 2003), and especially since 2013 with increased arrival of Afro-descendants from the Caribbean, have challenged the racial formations of the presumed 'homogeneous' Chilean society, and has reinforced racism in unprecedented ways. Racism, however, is not 'new' and has been present throughout history, which is why it needs to be addressed by the social sciences, but especially 'race' and racism studies: a still underexplored field in Chilean academia.

In this quest, I begin arguing that these migratory patterns have exposed not only the emergence of renewed colonial forms of racism and social exclusion, but more importantly, how the ideology of racism has remained systematically invisible but still alive in Latin America and the Caribbean. The case of Chile provides a way of exploring these racial formations and racisms as a structural phenomenon and enables the opening of a new debate within the particular context of South-South migration. This allows discussion about the way 'race' is

made in this context where racial formations, that have both similar and different historical and political struggles, converge and are reconstructed in urban spaces in the everyday. As suggested by Solomos and Back (1994), this thesis explores how racial formations – that have been historically framed and continuously reconstructed in the everyday by both 'sending' and host countries – are performed in multicultural neighbourhoods through social interactions and place-making practices. Furthermore, it examines how the forms of racial exclusion some LAC migrants face, constrain their claims to citizenship and belonging to the host city. It is this particular way of understanding 'race' and racism as locally situated that articulates the significance of the present thesis.

Few literatures have focused on migration in Chilean academia, let alone on racism. Not even academic books concerning 'race' in Latin America have included Chile as part of the study. Racism has not been a matter of concern due to the mistaken assumption that 'race' and racism are exclusively associated with – or 'affect' –African-origin populations and that 'race' relations are about 'blacks' and 'whites' (Loveman 1999; Wade 2010). Furthermore, I argue that the idea of a 'homogenised' national 'imagined community' (Benedict Anderson 2006) -in which the intense *mestizaje* would dissolve any heterogeneous non-white element-, is prevalent in Chilean academia. The historical denial of 'racial' differences in the national narratives has reproduced the idea that there were no racial struggles or 'race' relations in the country before the recent migratory flows of Afro-descendant migrants, especially from the Caribbean, concealing a historical structural racism: as if no relations were conditioned by 'race' in Chilean society. This is due in part to the scant African presence as compared to other countries of the region, but foremost, to the historical rejection of the presence of Afro-Chileans. This view has been challenged, as 'race' increasingly disrupts the social textures of contemporary everyday life with the growing migration into Chile. It is a situation that has made racism come to the fore, albeit for the wrong reasons. This research contributes precisely to overcome such disavowal of racism by gaining greater understanding as to how it operates in contemporary multicultural Chile, and showing that racism, far from being new, is deeply seated yet emerging in renewed ways.

The limited emergent research about racism that exists today has come from the field of migration studies and has not approached racism as an autonomous phenomenon. Some studies have even reproduced racism by endorsing the common biologically-grounded understanding of 'race', or by misrepresenting migrant communities through an ethnocentric and Eurocentric perspective. This is why my aim is to provide a more nuanced analysis of racism in Chile within the migratory context, through a de- and post-colonial perspective, understanding racism not only as an issue that emerged from these human mobilities but as a structural problem that has historically impacted Latin America and Chile.

Using different modes of enquiry about 'race' and racism, through qualitative and visual methods and a historical perspective, I illustrate how the present form of racism is shaped by the past, as social processes are historically contingent and active. This study allows a comprehensive understanding of racism both at the national and local level, and how these macro and micro forces are intrinsically interrelated. In other words, I show how processes of racialisation at the local level are shaped by political, cultural and social processes, while at the same time, local processes and how people belong, interact and navigate the city in turn inform broader political processes. This sheds light onto the changes that the state has undergone as a product of these urban mobilities. Thus, the historical context and the changes in the political sphere need to be taken into account to understand racism as a phenomenon in its own that transcends the migratory experiences, yet at the same time, is shaped by them.

This research will reveal how 'race' and racism are still alive in the social textures of urban life. Understanding the making of 'race' requires a more nuanced analysis of how individuals live together in a multicultural neighbourhood and how such urban spaces produce difference notwithstanding the national category. Racism is a relational phenomenon and many actors converge in urban spaces; thus, exploring 'race' with a one-sided focus, which has been the common approach in Chilean academia, does not allow a comprehensive understanding of how racism operates. Furthermore, the emerging research in Chile not only has

focused on migrants' perspectives but also has approached racism as a unidirectional phenomenon of Chileans towards migrants, which obscures the complexities that racism entails in a multicultural city. This is why Chileans were also active participants in this study.

This thesis reveals how crucial it is not only to conduct an extended ethnographic fieldwork to understand the relationships, interactions and practices that emerge in neighbourhoods where Chileans and migrants cohabit, but also the importance of including the discourses of Chileans and LAC migrants to understand the racial formations behind the practices and interactions I observed and that migrant participants reported. Furthermore, this study unveils how Chileans are not the only ones who negatively racialise migrants. Migrants themselves also negatively racialise and exclude other migrants, reproducing (and facing) similar 'racial' exclusions from their countries of origin –and some shared with the LAC region –that often echo colonial racial hierarchies and power divisions in renewed ways. In effect, this thesis reveals how the colonial representations of the '*Indian'* and the *African* in the Spanish imaginary (see Wade 2009) have permeated the current representation of these non-white ancestries, and how they have shaped the (racialised) ways Chileans and LAC migrants perceive and treat 'racially marked' (negatively racialised) migrants.

The research setting is a neighbourhood in the borough of Recoleta, historically called La Chimba*,* meaning in *quechua,*[2] 'the terrain, neighbourhood, or locality on the other side of the river' (Rosales, 1948:52 cited in Márquez 2013:127). It has been described as 'territory of *mestizaje'* (Márquez 2013:124), and for more than four centuries it has been both a border and a place that harbours diversity. In effect, the migrants that the state regarded as 'non-desired', who did not conform to European ideals of 'whiteness', resided in La Chimba: Arabs and Koreans. Alongside working-class Chileans, people from Palestine, Syria, Lebanon, Italy, Korea, Ecuador, Peru, Argentina have settled in this district (2013:124). La Chimba was the first place where multiculturalism and poverty

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[2] Family of languages from the Andes.

were combined since colonial times, and where the 'natural' legitimation of social differences took place (Márquez 2013). Social exclusion was legitimised here. Now is no different. It is a territory in which all that is unwanted and invisible to the rest of the city (and its elites) is concentrated: poverty, garbage[3], loud noises of nightlife, madness[4], death[5], and the 'undesired' foreigner 'other'. It is a melting pot not only of different people but of institutions and services: residence, capital, entertainment, mental illnesses and death are juxtaposed. In general, this is a territory where all the 'undesirables' are relegated between the 'natural' boundaries formed by the *Mapocho river* and the *San Cristobal hill,* geographically and socially excluding this area of Santiago from the other side. I lived in front of Cerro Blanco's hill, an historical landmark and a key cultural heritage site[6].

Recoleta is currently the 4th of the 12 boroughs where migrants are most concentrated in Santiago. It doubles the capital's proportion of 7% with 15% of its population comprised by migrant residents[7] (INE 2018a). These characteristics make it an interesting urban multicultural setting to study 'race' and racism. LAC migrants have increasingly arrived to this area, particularly from Peru (57.4%), Haiti (10.1%), Colombia (6.8%) and Bolivia (6.1%), as well as Venezuela, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Argentina, Brazil, Cuba and Uruguay (see Figure 1). However, the 'other' still, to a certain extent, remains invisible to Chilean society. Even though this neighbourhood has historically been characterised by its multiculturalism, studies from the migration field still remain scarce (see Márquez 2013). Recoleta, therefore, is the quintessential setting to explore an incipient multiculturalism that has characterised the borough from its beginnings yet has emerged stronger by the exponential increase of different migrant populations in recent years. In such a context, I

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[3] La Vega, the most renowned farmers' market, inevitably produces bad odours and excessive amounts of waste.

[4] The country's most important psychiatric hospital is located here.

[5] The country's three most important cemeteries are found in this borough.

[6] At the foot of this hill, in 1545, Inés de Suarez (the first Spanish woman to set foot on Chilean soil) built the shrine to Virgen de Montserrat, called *Virgen Morena* (brown virgin) in the country's first religious building. The virgin is known as the patron saint of Chilean criminals, who pray and light candles to help them perpetrate thefts without being captured. It symbolises the marginalisation of this neighbourhood and its inhabitants.

[7] Elaborated by the author based on the 2017 Census data.

argue that new distinctions and racial formations have emerged, establishing different forms of racism and social exclusion that are performed in everyday interaction and socio-cultural practices that take place in residential neighbourhoods.

**Latin American and Caribbean migrants
in Recoleta by country of origin, Census 2017**
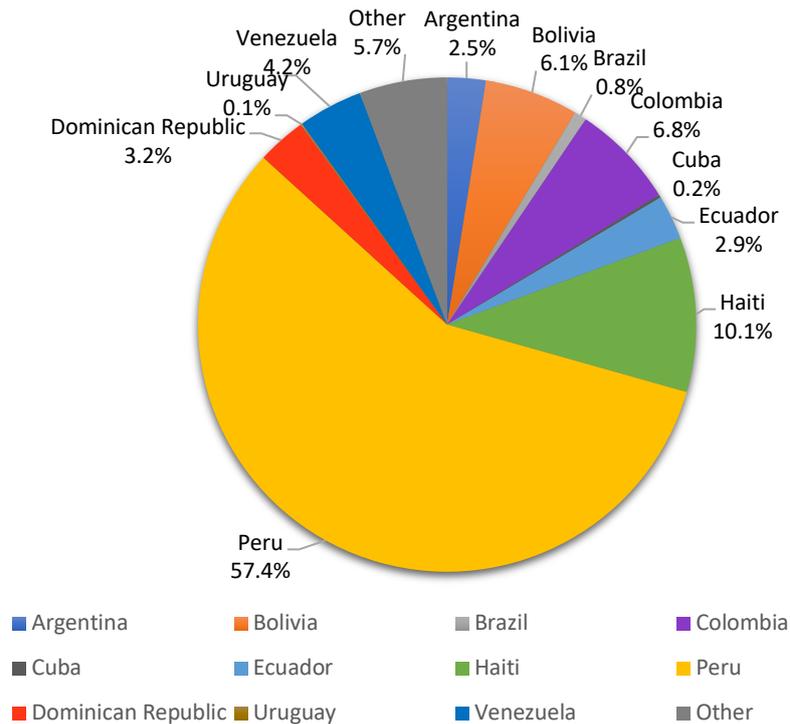
Figure 1. LAC migrants in Recoleta. Source: Elaborated by the author, Census 2017.

In Recoleta, I studied the social conflict that emerges in urban spaces among newcomers, former migrants and non-migrants. It is worth considering how the growing migrant population has been accompanied by a decrease in local population, which implies that many Chileans have left in recent years -quite an exception in comparison with other boroughs where migrants have settled (Razmilic 2019:106). This multicultural neighbourhood will exemplify how urban spaces within the city can become a lens (Sassen 2010) that reveals the segregation, racism, exclusion, and precariousness faced by many migrants. The relationships between people and places are all tinted with 'race' and ethnicity (Knowles 2006:518), and this research has shown how 'race' is always on the surface, and how these differences collide in working-class neighbourhoods.

Social divisions are just waiting to come out in the margins of such a segregated society, and in an historically multicultural neighbourhood like Recoleta. Chileans, old migrations and newcomer migrants, living side by side, are continuously competing for the same resources and public spaces in the everyday struggle of getting by. This setting is just one example of the so-called Global South, where 'race', although disavowed, is more socially alive than ever before, waiting to produce difference and boundaries of belonging against newcomers. In sum, this thesis uncovers how, in their daily lives, migrants, especially those negatively racialised, negotiate different forms of exclusion, navigating boundaries of belonging and claiming their 'right to the city' (Harvey 2008) in the midst of marginalisation and segregation on the other side of the river.

The following section contextualises the macro forces that make Chile a relevant case for studying these issues within the greater region of Latin America and the Caribbean.

Studying South-South migration and racisms: The political and migratory shifts in Latin America and the Caribbean

Political shifts, growing enforced border controls, restrictive immigration policies, social inequality and structural racism around the globe have shifted migratory trends in South and Central America. Increasingly, people from LAC countries have moved to other countries of the region instead of the usual South-North pattern. South-South migrants comprise 36% of total migrants (OECD 2019). According to the International Migration Report (United Nations 2017), migrants from the LAC region correspond to 14.6% of the international migrants around the globe, after Asia and Europe. Although the South-North migration pattern is still predominant at a global level, and the US is still the most popular destination for migrants from the LAC region, the flow of irregular migration has diversified their routes after the increasing detentions at the US borders[8] (OIM

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[8] Mainly migrants from Mexico and Caribbean countries (i.e. more than 6,000 migrants from Haiti were considered inadmissible at the US border in 2015).

2018). In general, between 2000 and 2017, in Latin American and Caribbean countries the number of migrants increased by 3 million (United Nations 2017). The intra-regional migration in South America intensified by 11% between 2010-2015, and 70% of the migratory flows are from the region, being Chile, Argentina and Brazil the main poles of attraction (OIM 2018). Not coincidentally, the same countries experienced a right-wing turn in their last presidential elections. Hence, the symbolic boundaries of migration policies and the institutionalised racism of these host countries still reproduce inequalities, and from these migratory shifts have emerged spatial reconfigurations where new spaces for belonging and citizenship are contested. In such a context, these migratory flows provide a unique opportunity to explore the (re)production of difference in a historically colonised context.

There is a need to study these new migratory patterns towards these countries, connecting current migration experiences and racisms to the colonial past in order to better comprehend the contemporary processes of 'othering' (Crang 1998) and unveil its historical reproduction and the renewed ways in which they operate. South-South migration becomes an interesting opportunity to understand the complex dynamics of racism and racial formations of Latin American and Caribbean populations. Accordingly, Chile –one of the countries with the most significant destination flows from within Latin America (OIM 2018)– is thus one of the quintessential settings for the study of these issues. These different ways of producing difference can be studied in Chile's capital since the migratory context allows exploring not only the coexistence among newcomers, former migrants and local nationals but also provide hints as to how 'race' is made in the everyday in the so-called Global South. It provides insights into how the racial formations of the destination country become contested and redefined with these new migratory flows and allows investigating how the national political context and its society, along with an increasingly contested urban space, impact migrants' racial formations and ways difference is produced in order to belong.

Particularly, South-South migration into Chile becomes crucial to achieve more in-depth insights on racial formations in Chile and in Latin America and the Caribbean, because the processes of racialisation involved and the question of the 'other' emerge from the juxtaposition of the social, political and cultural imaginaries of the national 'us' with a 'them'; yet a 'them' who, in general terms, shares political history, culture and 'racial/ethnic' differences (and their denial). Hence, it would be possible to find that similar exclusions within a society against certain negatively racialised 'minorities' could be reproduced when groups of people that share characteristics or stereotypes that have been historically attributed to those ethnic 'minorities', arrive in such context from elsewhere. This is because in Latin America and the Caribbean, structural racism has persisted, and negatively racialised groups have faced similar historical struggles and exclusions, as is the case of indigenous and African populations (Wade 2010).

Four aspects can explain these similarities among some countries in this region. First, because they were colonies whose native populations were in different ways subjugated and enslaved (and even turned into minorities in their own territory), alongside the transatlantic slave trade that was responsible for the forced migration of African people into those territories (Wade 2010). Second, because said countries gave rise to new republics based on the former colonial 'whiteness' hierarchies (Loveman 2009) established mainly by the Spanish colonisers (except in Brazil). Third, because they faced coup d'états and dictatorships (some of which were supported by the US), thus having to restore their democracies, some of them even recently. However, certain countries have particular struggles of their own. For instance, Colombia, that has faced a prolonged internal armed conflict, in 2016 was the main source of refugees of the region (OIM 2018:88). Currently, however, it has been replaced by Venezuela. Fourth, because South American governments (to a certain extent) have followed a global anti-immigrant trend encouraged by populist and nationalist movements. These right-wing governments have been influenced by the severity of the current so-called 'migratory crises' of the Global North. Since 2017, the restrictive, security-based immigration policies seen in the 1970s and 1980s, have re-emerged with the discourse of the need to 'control' migration (Brumat,

Acosta, and Vera-Espinoza 2018:205). Several factors explain this shift. One is the regional political change with its right-wing turn (i.e. Piñera in Chile, Bolsonaro in Brazil and until recently, Macri in Argentina) that has followed a global political trend amid this increased human mobility. Other factors are the rise in regional integration projects; the increment of migratory flows, especially Venezuelans; and the position of South American countries on the UN Global Compact of Migration (2018:205). Thus, what began in mid-2015 with Donald Trump's presidential election campaign in the US, and the Brexit referendum campaign in the UK in early 2016 has found allegiance in the 'Global South'. Chile's current government of Sebastián Piñera is part of the global shift towards far-right governments in the Global North, which are centred around populism and a resurgent nationalism, reproducing a similar anti-immigrant sentiment and racist discourses that use migrants as scapegoats for social problems, neoliberal politics and/or the decay of welfare states.

By looking at these similarities, however, I by no means attempt to homogenise the whole region, reducing the complexities that each country certainly has. On the contrary, each political, historical and economic process is different in every LAC country. For this reason, it is all the more pertinent to understand how their particular racial formations converge within a migratory context, whereby social inequality, exclusion and racism still matter, and are reproduced in the host country. The promise of economic development of Chile's neoliberal system has increasingly attracted people from the Latin American and Caribbean region, which in some ways has paralleled the so-called 'American dream'. As one interviewee claimed, Santiago is like a 'little Miami'. However, the idea of the 'oasis' country in Latin America, recently alleged by Piñera, was broken by the civil unrest that has filled the streets with citizens claiming against social inequality and the neoliberal economic system since October 2019.

Migration in Chile: Setting the context

Chile's last Census, in 2017, shows that the vast majority of migrants arrived between 2010-2017 (66.7%), which constitutes an unprecedented migration mobility into Chile, compared to previous years (INE 2018a). The majority of migrants that reside in Chile are mainly from Peru (25.2%), followed by Colombia (14.1%), Venezuela (11.1%), Bolivia (9.9%), Argentina (8.9%), Haiti (8.4%), Ecuador (3.7%), Brazil, (2.2%), and the Dominican Republic (1.6%). Even though the vast majority of newcomer migrants in the last years have been from Venezuela, a migration that exponentially increased 1,361% since 2012, the migratory groups that have attracted more attention from the media, Chilean people and the government (DEM 2015, 2016) have been mainly from Haiti, followed by those from the Dominican Republic. The increase of migrants from Haiti had been surprisingly vast: 2,874% since 2012. The report of the Iberoamerican Observatory on Human Mobility, Migration and Development (OBIMID 2016) suggests that the presence of migrants of (perceived) indigenous and African descent has led the public opinion to wrongfully perceive that Chile is 'getting filled' by migrants, who are seen as a 'threat'.

Migration from the LAC region has been mainly economic, with most migrants (65.2%) residing in the capital city, Santiago (INE 2018b), the national centre of economic activities. However, Santiago is nothing if not segregated. In 2010 Chile ranked second-worst on the GDP inequality index (OECD 2013). It is an acknowledged fact that social segregation in Santiago, a highly centralised capital, deepened as a consequence of the implementation of a neoliberal economy and the displacements of urban settlements to the city's outskirts during Pinochet's dictatorship (Chateau et al. 1987; Chateau and Pozo 1987). These forced displacements, instead of improving people's quality of life, reproduced inequality through the increased segregation and marginalisation of low-income populations, contributing to materialise and deepen social hierarchies into the urban geographies of Santiago. Accordingly, what happens to some LAC migrants who settle in Santiago today is no different. Their access to housing is hindered by their immigration status and the most available but expensive solution is subletting rooms in collective housing located in already

segregated low-income neighbourhoods (INE 2018b). The next map (Figure 2) shows how LAC migrants are concentrated in specific boroughs of Santiago; one is Recoleta (zone 14, near the General Cemetery). On the contrary, Argentinians and Mexicans, for instance, are located in high-income neighbourhoods (Santiago's east, zones 4 and 12 on the map) and Venezuelans in middle-high income areas. In that sense, migrants' residence reproduces even more the socioeconomic segregation of the capital city, which becomes shaped by processes of racialisation.

Latinoamericanos

- 0% - 3%
- 3,1% - 10%
- 11% - 20%
- 21% - 45%
- 46% - 60%

1	Cerro Santa Lucía
2	Cerro Renca
3	Plaza de Armas
4	Costanera Center
5	Parque O'Higgins
6	Parque Metropolitano de Santiago
7	Estadio Nacional
8	Plaza de Maipú
9	Plaza de Puente Alto
10	Universidad de Chile: Campus sur
11	Parque Bicentenario Cerrillos
12	Parque Padre Hurtado
13	Parque Quinta Normal
14	Cementerio General
15	Pontificia Universidad Católica: Campus San Joaquín

Figure 2. Geographical distribution of Latin American and Caribbean migrants in Santiago. Source: Centro de Inteligencia Territorial, Design Lab, using 2017 Census data.

Racist state politics in Chile have not only been embedded since colonial times and the construction of the Chilean nation-state but they also have been reinforced by migratory policies that historically restricted any 'non-white' migration: policies that have been replicated in different and subtle ways throughout the years. The increased and arbitrary character of border controls, as well as changes to migratory policies, have progressively restrained the mobility of migrants, predominately Afro-descendants, requiring consular visas and making it more difficult to obtain temporary or permanent visas. As I will show, however, restrictive measures have not stopped these mobilities, but made migration more dangerous and vulnerable.

According to the NGO *Servicio Jesuita a Migrantes* (OBIMID 2016), people from Valle del Cauca in Colombia (mainly Afro-Colombians), as well as those from Haiti and the Dominican Republic, were particularly vulnerable in their migratory journeys. Such vulnerabilities faced in getting into Chile are also reproduced in migrants' socioeconomic status once they arrive. For instance, while Dominicans, Haitians and Ecuadorians are groups concentrated in the lowest income strata of the country, Argentinians (who are perceived as 'whiter'), are in the richest social strata (OBIMID 2016). Such highly racialised social hierarchies, common in LAC societies (Grosfoguel 2012; Reiter 2012), are reproduced in the migratory context in Chile. Therefore, the colonial past continues to shape Chile today. This becomes even more evident with the presence of 'racially marked' LAC migrants, since it has revealed latent racisms and processes of racialisation previously invisible. Despite the historical denial of 'ethno/racial' differences by the state, these distinctions did not disappear; rather, they were reinforced by the invisibility that an ideology such as racism poses. Such productions of difference still segregate and position people into particular classes, jobs, and places in the city. In such a context, this thesis reveals the impact of the state restrictions and exclusionary boundaries on migrants' everyday lives. It shows how the idea of the existence of biological 'races' that categorise people persists not only in people's imaginaries but also in the country's legislation.

Nonetheless, this study shows how state racism is lived by its intended targets who make a living despite the challenging circumstances they face at the structural political level. In that sense, by providing an ethnographic account of migrants' lives, rather than reinforcing the current media sensationalistic approach of the so-called 'migration crises' and portray migrants as victims of an overarching state racism, my aim in this thesis is to break down those stigmatised representations of the 'other' and highlight their agency and how they creatively deal with state racism. As Back et al. (2018:3) argue, focusing on the spectacular portrayals of migrant suffering, only results in forms of compassion experienced at a safe distance. On the contrary, in order to achieve a truthful engagement with their realities, I am committed to represent migrants' everyday lives and create bridges to overcome such gaps so that migrants are portrayed, rather than victims, as active agents who face daily challenges. The participants that chose to share their everyday lives and migratory experiences, reveal how 'race' matters in Chile's cities, and the boundaries of belonging they continuously face.

Throughout this thesis, I use the term 'migrants' to refer to people who experience mobility and search for a new place to live, permanently or not, outside their home countries, whether to seek asylum or to have access to better living conditions. I am not alluding to the degrading social significance that the terms 'immigrant' or 'migrant' has acquired over the years, product of racist ideologies –which has led to the current (socially constructed) hierarchical divide that differentiates 'expats' from 'immigrants'. While avoiding the term 'expat' that exacerbates white privilege, I also avoid using the conventional term 'immigrant' due to its socially constructed degrading significance and its association with vulnerability and precarity that positions migrants as victims. But foremost, because 'immigrant', as De Genova (2005:2) argues, alludes to a nation-state perspective of migratory processes, as it implies a one-directional movement of 'outsiders' coming into a country, and thus obscures the more complex processes that migration implies as a global phenomenon beyond the standpoint of the host country. The term 'migrant' as a category of analysis, on the contrary, avoids the hierarchical character that 'immigrant' implies from such nationally-bounded perspective and it enables a complex understanding of

human mobilities that, rather than fixed and linear, are fluid and unpredictable (as this research clearly shows). More importantly, it allows referring to mobilities, that is, to any people moving into another country but always from the standpoint of the individual who is migrating, independently of the country they are settling into or the one they are coming from. My ethnography has proved that migrants not necessarily want to become national citizens, and their migratory trajectories go beyond the dichotomic understanding of the unilateral movement from country of origin to host country.

Chapter outline

In the Introduction, I provided an overview of the aim of this research and I set the current local political context from which it emerges and develops. In the following chapters my aim is to unpack how 'race' is made in Chile, taking into account macro and micro forces that interplay in the major aspects that concern LAC migrants' lives in Chile. In Chapter 1, 'Literature…', I review the literature on racism and migration, exposing the gaps in the scholarly research, as well as offering a key critical analysis of the theoretical and epistemological approaches on these issues in Chilean academia. I go on to provide the theoretical framework that sustains my approach. In Chapter 2, 'Methodology', I present the research methods and offer alternative ways to approach these issues, based on an extended ethnography that worked as an umbrella to include other methods, such as urban photography, in-depth interviews and focus groups. Moreover, I reflect on the challenges of my positionality and its implications on this particular research.

The following analytical chapters are structured by key themes that emerged from my ethnographic research and dialogues with participants. I structured this thesis using the image of a spiral in order to make an analogy of how migrants' lives unfold. The idea of the spiral conveys the deep interrelatedness of the different dimensions concerning the experience of migration, and especially the growing constraints they need to negotiate. I begin this thesis emphasising the macro forces at the national level, that is, social structures and systems that are beyond the individual, to then delve into the micro forces and people's

experiences and perceptions at the local level. I start by analysing the making of 'race' through an historical perspective, focusing on the state and its immigration policies into the present day. I then delve into migrants' lives and how their immigration status -determined by state policies and legislation- affects their everyday lives, constraining their access to the labour market and consequently, to housing. I move on to issues of housing and the residential neighbourhood coexistence, in order to begin to understand and deconstruct everyday racisms at the local level, which I pursue in the following chapter. I complete this study by further exploring the broader social discourses of the local society (Chileans and migrants), in order to unpack contemporary racial formations behind the racisms previously analysed, and in doing so, closing this thesis by showing the deep interrelations of these discourses with colonial and postcolonial histories and state discourses.

Specifically, Chapter 3, 'The racial state', examines the making of 'race' historically at the state level until President Piñera's administration, looking at the immigration legislation, policies and the state discourse. I argue that the state is a 'racial' state (Goldberg 2001), that reproduces colonial racial hierarchies, and establishes hierarchies of belonging following the *mestizaje* logics. Piñera's migratory reform and enforced border controls have managed the exogenous 'non-white' 'other', the undesired migrants, to maintain the imagined community of 'us'. In Chapter 4, 'The migrant...', I continue analysing the subtle ways the state produces difference through immigration legislation, and how immigration policies have impacted LAC migrants' daily lives through their immigration status. The uncertainty of the participants' immigration status emerged as a key issue. I argue that the state has triggered what I call a 'spiral of uncertainty' that constrains migrants' journeys, limiting their full access to the labour market, social services and housing. In Chapter 5, 'Housing', I further analyse the spiral of uncertainty and its racialised character, looking into the hindered access to housing. I show the subtler ways of making 'race' in the residential neighbourhood, by exploring residents' coexistence and understanding the politics of housing and the social structure of city life. This chapter reveals, for the first time, inner-city poverty in Santiago and the precarious housing

conditions that negatively racialised migrants face. Furthermore, it provides a key contribution to racial studies by highlighting the significance of the city as an agent, and examining the several factors that are at play in the emergent social conflict among local nationals, former migrants and newcomers in the residential neighbourhood. I argue that what causes social conflict is not simply a matter of 'race' relations but of the politics of housing and the major social, economic and political structures.

In Chapter 6, 'The neighbourhood', I examine the everyday making of 'race' in urban spaces beyond the residential neighbourhood, disentangling the multiple forms in which racism is performed and materialised, both tangible and symbolic, direct and subtle. In the context of migration, everyday racisms reveal colonial traces, and racist practices and attitudes are reinforced by migrants in order to ensure their 'right to the city' amidst the current political populist and anti-immigrant movements. I also explore the complex juxtapositions and entanglements of these renewed everyday racisms within the political context of the host city, the shared colonial past and the racial formations of both Chileans and migrants. Finally, in Chapter 7, 'Discourse and racial formations', I unravel the complexities behind 'race'-making, delving into people's discourses around migration and 'race' to unpack racial formations and the entangled complex relationships among 'race', belonging, citizenship and the nation-state.

I offer key insights into how these discourses reproduce and redefine in new ways colonial racial representations, in which biologically-grounded and cultural racisms converge to produce difference against negatively racialised migrants. I argue that the senses reveal the invisible character of 'race', facilitating understanding of how racisms are constituted. I explore the role that the senses play in the production of difference and power hierarchies. In the Conclusions, I review the main outcomes and theoretical insights drawing on this empirical study. Additionally, I suggest the need for further research to deepen the understanding of racism in the context of South-South migration. Finally, I offer a brief update on the closer participants' lives today.

Chapter 1. Literature and the disavowal of racism in Chile: A critical review of literature and a theoretical framework

Introduction

> Sometimes we hear, 'oh no, racism doesn't exist anymore'. And a lot of nonsense. But you have to understand that… our fight has to do with structural racism because within this social pyramid, we were in the lowest level and in a moment they disappeared us too. So that's called structural racism. So, they invisibilise you. They take you out of society… when they say that we don't exist. They took us out of history; they took us out of society. (Cristian, Afro-Chilean, NGO leader)

I argue the need to unveil the power of racism -still far from being socially and politically questioned in Chile-, by rethinking a way to study racism that acknowledges the particular character it acquires in the local context. It is also important to explore how these forms of power are historically active and continue alive, finding ways to produce difference in the everyday. As Cristian emphasises, the invisibility and exclusion of Afro-Chileans is one of the reverberations of the disavowal of racism: an invisibility that academia has reproduced in different ways.

This chapter is organised in three sections. First, it offers an overview of the current field of 'race' and racism studies in the Latin American and Caribbean context, and in Chile particularly, highlighting the gaps and relevance of undertaking the present research. Second, drawing on a de- and post- colonial perspective, I critically review the incipient literature available on racism in Chile from the migration field in order to discuss the implications of the ontological and epistemological approaches for studying the local production of difference. Third, I delved into the theoretical framework that guides this thesis to rethink these issues in a migratory context since a new account of 'race' and racism is needed to address the emergent issues of the twenty-first century (Winant 2009). I argue that it is crucial to take into account an historical understanding of the specificity of 'race' -which considers the reproduction of colonialism in everyday life- and a localised understanding of 'race' -which considers the significance of the urban context.

Research on 'race' and migration of Latin American populations

Within 'racial' studies, the literature available on 'race' and racism about Latin American and Caribbean populations is still scarce compared to the US and UK context. The existent literature mainly focuses on national contexts of countries like Mexico (Moreno-Figueroa 2010, 2011, 2013), Colombia (Wade 1991, 2009), Brazil (Kent, Santos, and Wade 2014; Kent and Wade 2015), Argentina (Anderson 2014; Geler 2016), Uruguay (Vedesio 2008), to name a few. 'Racial' studies in a similar vein in and about Chile, however, are almost non-existent.[9]

Peter Wade's (2010) work stands out because he has broadly analysed Latin America through an anthropological perspective of 'race'. Nonetheless, these studies concerning the Latin American continent, have focused on national contexts and their historical populations. One of the limitations of these 'racial' studies in the region is that they fail to connect directly with the complexities that emerge in multicultural contexts, as in the case of the growing South-South migration. Hence, the study of the intertwining relations among different Latin American 'national' identities within migratory contexts remains underexplored. In effect, as Solomos and Back (1994) argue, in order to understand the processes of racialisation of a particular context, it is necessary to locate them within broader processes of social and identity formation. Thus, focusing on the migratory context within the so-called Global South poses a different way of understanding racial formations and the phenomenon of racism. In this light, the possibility arises to explore how these different processes of racialisation converge in one particular context, something I explored in-depth. The colonial legacies of 'Global South' societies constitute a particularly apt scenario for exploring how 'race' and racism are constructed differently (or not) from the Global North.

Within the field of migration studies, research on Latin American populations has been usually centred on South-North migration, predominantly the case of

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9 Only a few years after starting this thesis (2014), the anthropologist Luis Campos (2017) published about Afro-Chileans, and another statistical study about 'race' was published in 2018 (Salgado and Castillo 2018), yet referred to the school context.

'Latinos' living in the US, which underlines particular processes of racialisation that differ from a South-South migratory context. In effect, some of the studies that have analysed racial formations in such context (see De Genova and Ramos-Zayas 2003a, 2003b), have engaged in discussions that focus precisely on the significance of placing the current debates beyond the conceptual framework of 'culture' and 'ethnicity'. Foremost, such studies strive to situate discussion beyond the exclusionary white/black racialised polarity (Loveman 1999) that prevails in the US. This, because the categories of 'Latino' or 'Hispanic' (De Genova and Ramos-Zayas 2003a) not only challenge this binary, but also emerge as another way of racialising this group, even helping obscure the production of difference within such groups, and the complex entanglements between class and the local context that it entails. In the UK academia, the situation is even worse since the research on Latin American migrants is scarcer (see Gutiérrez-Garza 2018; McIlwaine 2011; McIlwaine, Cock, and Linneker 2011). Moreover, as a minority group, Latin American migrants are practically absent from discussion, because the literature available on 'race' mainly focuses on the diasporas related to the British empire. For instance, in both UK and US contexts, terms like 'brown-ness' (*morenidad*), as used by Loveman (1999) are usually overlooked since they respond to another historical 'racial' struggle, both similar and different.

Connecting migration and racism

Although there has been a tendency within academia to increasingly engage in debate considering both immigration and 'race' issues, migration studies and the studies of 'race' and ethnicity have become ever more polarised subfields. Both the development of scholarly and policy agendas since the 90s have accentuated a tendency to differentiate between them (Solomos 2014a). According to Solomos (2014a:1), '[b]oth race and racism and migration are shaped by, and in turn shape, the changing patterns of globalisation and neoliberal economic and social policy agendas that have become evident over the past two decades'. I argue that a more interdisciplinary approach to these issues will help to better understand the complex entanglements between both. Migration studies should not be separated from 'race' and ethnic studies in the same way that racial studies

should also take into account issues of migration. The increased differentiation between the two fields in the studies focused on Latin America and Chile constitutes one of the failures of academia.

On the one hand, generally 'racial' studies have not considered the influence migration can have in shaping racial formations by including new elements that lead to the emergence of new distinctions –which although framed in historical processes of racialisation, are remade in everyday life encounters and practices. Such an approach does not sufficiently address the relationship between this ideology and the transatlantic slavery displacement –let alone the colonisation of the Americas by Europeans-, omitting not only the colonial roots of these radical forced exclusions, but also contemporary human mobility as a residual product of colonial empire (which is the case of impoverished LAC countries). Chilean social science academia lack 'racial' studies as such, and the scant literature that has addressed racism comes from the migration field. However, the lack of depth is evident.

On the other hand, migration studies in general have mainly focused on understanding the changing patterns of migration movements as well as the experience of particular migrant communities (Solomos 2014a). Sociological research on migration has also denied the role of 'race' (see Lentin 2014), forgetting that racial hierarchies preserve and permeate everyday life relentlessly, and disregarding the role that 'race' plays in establishing boundaries and generating social exclusion. As Solomos (2014a:1) argues, 'race' and racism studies follow both a historical focus and a contemporary research agenda. Thus, there is a need to create more dialogue to achieve a better understanding of the shifting role of 'race' and migration patterns and diversity in contemporary societies, moving beyond a national frame (Solomos 2014a). Racism becomes a reminder that

> where members of a society make distinctions between different racial groups, at least some members of that society are likely to behave in ways which give rise to racism as a behavioural and ideational consequence of making racial distinctions in the first place. (2014a:1)

In Latin American and Caribbean countries where racism is a structural phenomenon, racial distinctions are reproduced towards other LAC people, who can be 'racially marked' in different ways through the reproduction of similar colonial distinctions materialised in practices, interactions and discourse, as I will show later. Therefore, discussing South-South migration in Chile without taking racism seriously amounts to tunnel-vision: it ignores how historically societies have been subjected to processes of racialisation that are reproduced when a negatively racialised 'other' comes to the scene.

Although in migration studies conducted in Chile racial discrimination's issues emerge, these issues are barely analysed, and only mentioned as another difficulty for migrant 'integration'[10] into the host society, disregarding the role that 'race' plays in making boundaries and generating social exclusion. As this is one of the concerns of my research, I have drawn on literature from the US, the UK, and research accounts on 'race' in other Latin American countries, to engage in a more in-depth and challenging discussion that puts 'race' and migration studies in dialogue. My aim is to analyse racism in-depth in the LAC context, especially considering the growing South-South migration and the changing political scenarios in the region. In sum, establishing interdisciplinary theoretical frameworks where both fields of studies converge is of utmost importance. This is what I attempt to convey in this thesis.

The disavowal of racism in existent literature in Chile

Extensive research has emphasised that 'race' is not a product of a natural and biological division but a socially constructed one, and therefore, historically contingent, making it crucial to consider the process of racialisation in each local context. Following Hall (1980:337), it is a mistake to simply apply theories of racism that introduce a certain hegemonic context into any other context, since

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[10] Besides, the idea of 'integration' also alludes to a nationally-bounded perspective that assumes the 'other' should assimilate and integrate to society as it is, which differs from achieving a needed inclusion in which migrants are part of the host society on their own terms and as equals, without the need of acculturation.

'race' and racism are not mere 'variants of the same thing'. This explains the historical diversity in the social construction of 'race' (Loveman 2009) and why it is vital to create a theoretical approach that can 'deal with the historical specificity of race in the modern world' (Hall 1980:308), and the legacies of colonial power divisions that have led to the segregation and subordination of ethnic or 'racially' distinct social groups. This particular, local and distinct character of the processes of racialisation render especially relevant the need to critically review the available literature on the context studied. It constitutes an important starting point to study 'race' and racism in-depth and overcome its current disavowal. To this end, I critically discuss how social sciences in Chile has tended to disavow or mask the ideology of racism, rendering it invisible, and, foremost, failing to produce a truthful portrayal of migrant communities. Although some shifts occurred a few years after I began this thesis, this critical revision remains vital for both overcoming the traps of essentialism and to provide guidance for further research.

On the one hand, the few studies about 'race' and ethnicity have generally analysed relations between minorities -in this case usually *Mapuche* (i.e. Campos, Araya, and Cabrera 2018; Espinoza 2018; Trinchero, Campos, and Valverde 2015)- and majority communities (Solomos 2014b), and have been situated within Anthropology. Also within history, in the context of colonialism and the constitution of the nation-state, especially regarding indigenous communities (i.e. Bengoa 2011; Gaune and Lara 2009). Studies related to people of African descent are even scarcer, mostly found in historians' articles related to colonial slavery (i.e. Cussen 2010; De Ramón 2009; Sater 1974; Undurraga 2009). Even though these studies provide a valuable historical account for understanding 'race' during the colonial period, their approach does not suffice to comprehend the contemporary racisms in Santiago today, which must be studied empirically: a gap that this thesis aims to fulfil from a sociological perspective. Furthermore, as Wade (2010) has suggested, in these historical analyses and academia (see Cussen 2010, 2013; De Ramón 2009) it is also possible to find differentiated ways in which indigenous and 'black' populations have been portrayed, similarly to the manner these groups were treated by the Spaniards in colonial times.

Wade (2010:37) argues that the study of 'blacks' as related to racism and 'racial' relations, and of indigenous peoples concerning ethnicity and culture[11], is a 'deep-seated' division that dates back to the fifteenth century and remains in Latin American academia. Said division mistakenly assumes that indigenous, *mestizos* or 'white' people are not racialised (as part of a colour-based social spectrum) or subject to racial discrimination, and that people of African-origin do not have a culture or are part of a larger community -as if not all people lived through culture-, naturalising a presumed biological existence. This helps to see how the making of 'race' is linked to a visual experience, something that is also seen in the current research from the migration field. The colonial past has shaped Chilean academia through the differentiated approach towards indigenous and people of African descent. This ultimately raises the question of how these differences in regards to these two kinds of ancestries (the European's 'other') have been reproduced in Chile, which will be analysed in this study. Wade (2010:40) claims that since both 'indigenous'[12] and 'black' are categories that contain aspects of racial and ethnic categorisations,[13] this analytical split should be overcome by studying both groups from the same 'theoretical frame of reference', but at the same time, recognising the historical difference between them. This is why an historical perspective that considers both groups was key to include in this thesis (Chapter 3).

On the other hand, in social sciences in general, prevail economic and sociological theoretical tendencies that have neglected the study of racism as an autonomous phenomenon (Hall 1980) -which is the aim of this thesis. This is one of the reasons Chilean academia has not acknowledged racism as a subject of study on its own terms. Social sciences in Chile have reduced 'race' to economic relations, rendering it invisible. As Hall (1980:340) argues, the structures that are related

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[11] I will add political resistance, considering the *Mapuche* community and the historical conflict with the state regarding their lands.

[12] As Wade (2010) argues, it is a mistake to see indigenous people only as an ethnic group, because the category of *indio* was part of the racial discourse that emerged in the colonial period, therefore, it is also a racial category.

[13] While '*indios*' can become '*mestizos*', 'blacks' can also become '*mulatos*', '*pardos*', '*morenos.*' Therefore, the identifications of both blacks and indigenous are 'malleable' (Wade 2010:39).

to capital 'are not simply 'coloured' by 'race': they work through race'. Moreover, he claimed that 'today class is lived through the modality of race in the same way that race is lived through the modality of class' (Hall and Back 2009:681). Similarly, Gilroy (1987) critically evaluated the ways in which writers have brought 'race' and class into mutual relation, abstracting 'race' from other social relations and reducing it to the effects of these relations, without acknowledging the histories of subordination behind it. In sum, these tendencies in Chilean academia that have not acknowledged racism in its 'relatively autonomous effectivity, as a distinctive feature' (Hall 1980:339), explain why racism has persisted in Chile. This is why in this thesis I attempt to unfold the construction of difference beyond the class criteria in order to start seeing racism as a social problem.

The 'racism turn' in Chilean sociological academia: Analysing 'race' in ontological and epistemological terms

The academia's invisibility of racism as a social problem was first noted by Larraín (2001) in his analysis of Chilean national identity, yet not further examined. The mistaken assumption that 'race' or racism is exclusively associated with African-origin populations (Loveman 2009; Wade 2010) has not deemed racism a relevant subject of study. This can be clearly seen in the existent academic publications on 'race' and 'racial' relations in Latin America as a whole, where Chile is one of the countries that is excluded from the discussion (Earle 2007; Reiter and Simmons 2012; Telles 2014; Wade 2010)–with one exception (Sater 1974). For instance, only once Afro-Latin Americans and Afro-Caribbeans began to arrive in Chile, did people and academics, including myself, begin discussing racism as a social problem (as if it were a 'new issue'), legitimising, in certain ways, the fact that previously it was not a subject that warranted analysis. In this section, I discuss the implications of the use of 'race' in ontological and epistemological terms in the recent literature from the migration field, in order to challenge 'racial thinking', rather than reproduce it (Gunaratnam 2003b), which is one of the main concerns of this study.

The misconception and disinterest in tackling racism in Chile have had further implications, especially in regards to the recent migrations. This means that 'race' appears and matters only with the presence of a perceived 'non-white other' (Loveman 2009). In the common-imaginaries and even in the social sciences, 'whiteness' is experienced as *de facto,* and is deeply normalised within the presumption of 'homogeneity'. In effect, Loveman (2009:908) contends that considering that 'race' relations imply 'blacks' (African-origin populations) and 'whites', constitutes a mistake common to many Latin American countries. The idea of homogeneity and the rejection of any difference result in an evident lack of 'racial' studies about Chile, as if racism were an unprecedented issue. Consequently, only after the presence of Afro-descendants became 'visually evident' and was seen as something that came from elsewhere (outside Chilean society), some research was undertaken within the migration field, which I call the 'racism turn': a relatively recent shift towards racism issues. However, literature on the subject is still scarce to this day. Although I acknowledge their efforts have contributed to opening up the discussion of racism, I hope to signal the following paradox: while some literature began to recognise the significance of racism within these migratory conjunctions, their approach has reproduced the ideology of racism in hidden ways. The ontological perspective of research on 'race', which refers to how reality is understood in these studies, has implications for the way in which 'race' as reality is approached and researched (the epistemological approach to 'race') and, therefore, determines how knowledge is produced.

The politics of constructing migrants' lives and cultures within the sociological field were criticised and contested in the 70s and 80s, revealing how the discipline of sociology in the US and Europe is still constrained by 'colonising whiteness' (Back and Tate 2015). In the US during the 70s, different studies rejected traditional sociology and its study almost exclusively of the experiences of African Americans, alleging an institutional racism (Ladner 1998), which contends the existence of a bias in social science research that has traditionally studied racial attitudes from a white perspective (Lather 2004; Saunders 1998). Similarly, in the UK, black sociologists also developed a critique of white sociology (Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies Centre for Contemporary Cultural

Studies 1982; Gilroy 1982; Lawrence 1982a; Sharma, Hutnyk, and Sharma 1996) in the 80s, which was concerned with the complicit role in which sociology has studied racism (Solomos et al. 1982), reproducing racist ideologies when portraying African descendant communities. UK scholars contested the static view of sociological approaches that understand racism as a fixed principle present in different historical conjunctures and contexts. This is because it fails to understand that racism is 'a *contradictory* phenomenon which is constantly transformed, along with the wider political-economic structures and relations of the social formation' (Solomos et al. 1982:11). The same problems are also deeply rooted in Chilean academia. Critiques that questioned the politics of knowledge have not yet emerged in the Chilean academia studying migration, which is why I offer a critique in a similar kind of vein. I will discuss the implications of these shared ontological and epistemological approaches to 'race' within Chilean academia; while briefly reflecting on how migrant communities have been misrepresented.

The ontological approach to 'race' and racism

Only a few current literature on migration produced by Chilean academia make reference to 'race' or racism (Amador 2011; Carrillo 2013; Margarit Segura and Bijit Abde 2014; Mora and Undurraga 2013; Stefoni 2014; Stefoni and Bonhomme 2015a, 2015b; Stefoni and Fernández 2011; Thayer, Córdova, and Ávalos 2013; Tijoux 2013a, 2013b, 2016a). However, most of these literatures address racism obliquely, as another reason to explain the discrimination that LAC migrants face. Yet, 'race' even in reference to a naturalised individual variable (Amador 2011; Margarit Segura and Bijit Abde 2014) has not changed substantially in the past years. Among such studies, those that focus primarily on racism (Tijoux 2013a, 2016a) or processes of racialisation (Mora and Undurraga 2013), are even scarcer. Nonetheless, most of this literature shares the rigid notion assigned to 'race', which is attached to migrants' bodies. Accordingly, the indiscriminate use of 'race' as a category of analysis without critically discussing it could lead to the danger of reifying what is meant by 'race' (by the analyst) and falling into the trap of essentialism.

Furthermore, the characteristics of xenophobia and prejudice are mostly associated with Chilean society to explain the difficulties entailed in the 'integration' of migrants into the host society (i.e. concerning the labour market, school and citizenship). However, the literature that employs the concept of prejudice to explain racism, suggest that prejudice constitutes the inevitable outcome of something that is considered 'human nature' (see Hall 1980; Solomos et al. 1982:45), thus, implying that 'race' is nature-based. For instance, some studies fall short when they refer to 'racial condition' (Stefoni and Fernández 2011), as if 'race' were a human attribute, or 'the race they belong to' (Margarit Segura and Bijit Abde 2014), as if being 'racially marked' was synonym of cultural belonging. This suggests that the object of study is seen as something external and objective, reproducing 'the nineteenth-century idea of race as biological type of human being characterised by certain somatic attributes' (Miles 2009:193). Thus, following Miles' (2009:190) critique, a contradiction is evinced between the representation of 'race' as a particular collectivity or social group –which is not clear if this concept arises from biological constitution or is the product of the articulation of racism- and the argument of 'race' as an idea socially and politically constructed to represent the 'other'. In other words, although such studies assert 'race' is a social construct, in practice one observes an incoherence when referring to the term, as in the use of words like 'racial condition', 'phenotypes', 'racial attributes;' all of which imply a naturalised difference instead of a socially constructed one.

The danger is that these approaches may end up endorsing a biological version of culture, since 'race' is seen as attached to the body in such a way that change is impossible. And this is precisely what must be avoided because racism as a discourse of power does precisely that: it fixes difference to the body. Such understanding, however, is not rare within other sociological traditions. Common-sense racist ideologies play a significant role in the context in which the sociology of 'race relations' arises (Lawrence 1982a).

Hence, these theoretical approaches of 'race' and 'race relations' not only fail to challenge the common-sense understanding of 'race'; rather, they endorse it.

Literature, therefore, has essentialised 'race', making it epistemologically correct (Gilroy 2000) and imbuing it with particular meanings that refer to physical characteristics (Gunaratnam 2003b). By equating the social invention of 'race' with an external biological attribute, thus as a reality that is a given, these studies follow positivist and post-positivist paradigms, more related to natural sciences than to a constructivist approach that a conception of 'race' requires. This kind of ontological perspective in which 'race' has been used becomes problematic because it implies that 'race' is something unchangeable and rigid, and thus reproduces the ideology of racism (see Miles 2009). Other literature disavow racism through understanding it as only a matter of cultural differences (see Mora and Undurraga 2013), and such an approach (see Balibar, 1991) has masked racism by arguing that cultural (or 'ethnic') difference is what leads to discrimination.

Although racism based on skin colour has been predominant over different parts of the globe, it is not the only way in which racism operates, as Grosfoguel (2012:93) claims. However, focusing on culturalism rather than on racism can only mask the power of such ideology, which is a 'domination hierarchy of superiority/inferiority over the line of humanity' that can be constructed and marked in different ways -due to colour, ethnicity, language, culture or religion, yet it is still racism (2012:93). These issues are key for a nuanced understanding of the dynamics of mobility and the experience of migrants. Furthermore, the city as a site of juxtaposition, that can turn urban spaces into spaces of competition and struggle among different people, also becomes a way in which racism emerges reinforced, as this research will reveal later.

This recent literature has also obscured a deeper understanding of the historically active, contingent and continuously changing character of 'race'. This because considering 'race' as something fixed to the body reproduces the ideological purpose of racism, which poses 'race' as independent and outside of history (Hall 1980). As Hall (1980:342) suggests, 'racism articulates with other "ideological discourses", to dehistoricise –translating historically-specific structures into the timeless language of nature'. The idea that there is a universal

definition of racism only obscures its understanding and the different ways in which racism emerges, and, thus, the diversity of racisms in every social context. Thus, such universal mistaken understanding of racism has allowed people and even academia to dismiss racism as a social problem (Grosfoguel 2012:93). Further studies that engage better with de- and post-colonial perspectives are still scarce. This is a gap that I strive to fill.

This literature has failed to recognise the implications of using certain social (and racialised) categories to refer to the people researched, not only reproducing colonial hierarchies but also concealing migrants' voices and concerns. This occurs largely because the categories reflect deductive approaches that do not necessarily match with Chile's social reality, and what is worse, they tend to reproduce colonial racialisation processes in which the 'other' is still named the way the coloniser did. For instance, the use of '*negro'* (black) and '*indio'* (*Indian*) to refer to Afro-descendants and indigenous communities, respectively, reproduces colonial hierarchies in the politics of representation, especially when sometimes it implies ascribing such category to people that do not feel represented by it. Both '*negro'* and '*indio'* were names given by the Spanish coloniser, and thus, they are deeply (and negatively) racialised (Wade 2010). In particular, the use of the term '*negro'* to refer to people of African descent (Tijoux 2013a, 2013b, 2016a) has been taken for granted. Although the term 'black' has been re-appropriated by activists and Afro communities in the US/UK (Alexander 2010) and used largely in international academia, this term cannot be simply replicated in another locality and different language as has occurred in Chile, because in this case, *negro* alludes to historically charged concepts (i.e. Fanon 2008) and have an offensive connotation. In doing so, researchers essentialise 'race', and universalise a phenomenon that is locally specific. In effect, the term '*negro*' proved to be controversial for this study's participants –some disliked being called that way. Some interviewees told me they realised they were '*negro'* for the first time in Chile, which means they faced new 'racial' categories that were not previously acknowledged in their countries of origin.

Cristian (Afro-Chilean) find the term '*negro*' offensive because it stems from colonialism and contradicts what they decided to be called (at the UN convention): Afro-descendants.[14] This concept refers to the historical legacy and heritage of the African diaspora that alludes to the transatlantic slave trade, and considers the mixtures that the *mestizaje* involved in the region, while also emphasising how some participants identified themselves as having such African inheritance. Accordingly, I employ the term 'Afro-descendants' since I argue that the politics of this category are more appropriate considering not only the social constructiveness of 'race', and how racial categories have been socially constructed based on skin colour, which imply they vary across societies in time and space, but also considering my own social position within the field as a non-Afro-descendant myself -although I acknowledge having both indigenous and African ancestries from my Chilean background. Rather than emerge from fieldwork, as I suggest, these concepts are treated as fixed and lacking in historical character, reproducing racism and the visual legacy of colonialism in knowledge production. For this reason, it is significant to re-name and give another meaning beyond an hegemonic logic (see Lao-Montes 2010). Social categories emerge and are shaped by the social context, which makes them historically active, and thus, they cannot simply be explained by theories or local processes from elsewhere. Therefore, I argue for the need to develop new forms of knowledge that transcend 'white' concepts (Bennett 1972; Ladner 1998). A decolonisation of 'race' and the terms related to it is needed to escape embedded racist discourses (Mignolo 2010; Solomos and Back 1994).

Knowledge produced about racism and migration in Chile is constructed and shaped by the researcher's background and positionality in the social context. By positionality, I mean the position that researchers have in relation to the participants and the social context studied, and the relevance of acknowledging the power dynamics involved in the research practice and its effects on the knowledge production (i.e. considering 'race', gender, class, nationality). However, most academics in the migration field (i.e. Amador 2011; Margarit

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[14] Based on participants' accounts, I chose to use this term as it was the least problematic, also considering the common acknowledgement and pride of having African-origin.

Segura and Bijit Abde 2014; Mora and Undurraga 2013; Rojas Pedemonte, Amode, and Vásquez 2017; Rojas-Pedemonte, Amode, and Rencoret 2015; Stefoni 2008, 2014; Stefoni and Bonhomme 2015a; Stefoni and Fernández 2011; Suárez-Cabrera 2015; Thayer et al. 2013; Tijoux 2007, 2011, 2013a, 2013b) suppress questions about their positionality, hiding it behind scholarly authority. In some of these studies, they use 'race' or 'ethnicity' to refer to the 'other' (migrants) as if they were minorities' attributes, yet not to themselves, as previously signalled. This leads researchers to refer to migrants as victims of discrimination due to 'racial condition' or (Stefoni and Fernández 2011) the 'race they belong to' (Margarit Segura and Bijit Abde 2014): as if these elements were natural attributes of an 'other'.

Questions of 'race' and racism are explored therefore by academics who are 'raceless', lacking ethnicity, and talk from the perspective of an ethnocentric insider in a colour-blind position: a position of power associated with a national of a 'dominant culture' -sometimes referred to as 'our society' (i.e. Rojas-Pedemonte et al. 2015). This suggests that the national discourse of homogeneity has been normalised and diversity comes from elsewhere or 'racial'/'ethnic' minorities. This threatens to homogenise communities and dissolve the value of difference (Berg and Sigona 2013; Faist 2009; Rogaly and Qureshi 2013), ignoring the heterogeneity of the Chilean population as a colonised nation. As Prakash (1990:403) argued, 'all of the third-world voices… speak within and to discourses familiar to the "West" instead of originating from some autonomous essence'.

According to Lather (2004), racist ideologies have persisted in how (in her case) white scholars have disregarded issues of positionality and privilege in their research. Therefore, it is of utmost importance to be reflexive in such practice as it allows us to acknowledge the influence that the researcher's background has in the production of knowledge (Rose 1997:305). Since the subjects of such research tend to be from low-income backgrounds and somewhat 'powerless' residents, as well as negatively racialised, researchers moral responsibilities

have to be a matter of ethical concern (Jackson 2016) in order to pursue an honest dialogue with the community involved.

The epistemological approach to 'race'

My aim is to challenge the politics and ethics of the incipient research practice in the study of racism that have misrepresented the social worlds of migrants through the lack of a sociable and grounded approach, that should concede how academic disciplines are embedded in a global system of power and imperial legacies of Western knowledge (L. T. Smith 2012), which end up excluding the researched communities. I argue that the epistemological approach thus far has had two main problems for understanding 'race': first, the unilateral and narrative-based approach to racism, which lacks contextual factors, and second, the methodological nationalism.

Most social research in the migration field in Chile (Imilan 2015; Margarit Segura and Bijit Abde 2014; Mora and Undurraga 2013; Rojas-Pedemonte et al. 2015; Stefoni 2008, 2008; Stefoni and Bonhomme 2015b, 2015a; Stefoni and Fernández 2011; Suárez-Cabrera 2015; Tijoux 2007, 2011) has been mostly interview-based and relies on migrants' narratives and discourse, disregarding not only the complex dimensions hidden in verbal language, but also the local context and the role of the city. Although some of this research has relied on 'ethnographic' approaches, these are usually short-term observations (between a week and three months) that reveal little about racism and its spatial and more grounded dimension. Moreover, these approaches conceive individuals as having static lives and fixed identities. If racism operates in everyday life through actions, what researchers have to explore are those actions: the social practices and interactions that are 'acted' rather than 'read' (Lefebvre 1991). Unravelling racism exclusively through narratives can only account for what happened but cannot generate adequate insights into the *hows* and *whys*, when the contrast between what people say and do (between their experiences and discourse) is most profoundly revealing. As Keith (2005:260) argues, it is essential to place racialised subjects within the times and urban spaces in which their identities are

staged. Furthermore, focusing only on migrants' narratives does not fully grasp racism since it is a relational phenomenon that conveys multiple actors, that not necessarily work a single way, in which Chileans negatively racialise migrants and migrants are the victims of racism -as has been studied so far. Processes of racialisation are far more complex and different power dynamics emerge in urban spaces, especially considering the LAC context that shares a colonial history.

Another problem of such approaches is that they fall into the trap of methodological nationalism. Their purposive sampling strategies based on a particular nationality, (Amador 2011; Imilan, Márquez, and Stefoni 2015; Rojas Pedemonte et al. 2017; Ryburn 2018; Stefoni 2008; Tijoux 2013b), implies that they consider nationally-bounded societies as a natural unit of analysis (Wimmer and Schiller 2003:579), and, foremost, impedes the unpacking processes of racialisation in a multicultural urban context, let alone capturing transnational linkages and identities (Beck and Sznaider 2006:1). Such an approach understands identities and sociocultural practices as nationally fixed (Wimmer and Schiller 2003), rather than focusing on the experiences of people beyond nation-based confinements, as this thesis aims. It mistakenly implies that migrants continue having memberships in their homelands (2003). In doing so they homogenise individuals and reproduce nationalisms, as it can reproduce nation-state boundaries of 'us' vs. 'them', seeing migrants as 'nationally or racially fundamentally different others whose presence endangered the isomorphism between citizenry, sovereign and state' (2003:589). As Glick Schiller et al. (2006) argue, an 'ethnic lens' can obscure the different ways migrants relate to the host society and urban spaces (Berg and Sigona 2013:354). In contrast, I explored racism by considering migrants from all over LAC countries, to avoid essentialising identities based on 'imagined communities'.[15] Rather than trying to homogenise migrants' experiences, I wanted to explore the connections, juxtapositions and exclusions that many face beyond structural categories such as their nationality, which can bias the understanding of social

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[15] However, I show their countries of origin for pragmatic reasons.

division in contemporary Chile, and ultimately mask the role that 'race' plays. Thus, looking at a particular neighbourhood that brings together different identities constituted a valuable approach not previously explored in this field. The next section will further examine the theoretical debates and approaches I relied on to overcome some of the pitfalls in the current literature.

Theoretical framework

To unveil racism in academia, I seek to develop a theoretical framework that considers an appropriate ontological and epistemological approach to 'race' to better understand the complex racial formations in LAC and Chile. My contribution is linking these theoretical frameworks to understand questions of migration and multiculture in Chile in order to fill the gaps in the literature and further the theoretical knowledge on 'race' and racism and migration studies, and offer relevant insights into urban and de- and post-colonial studies. First, I am going to engage in the debates that discuss the use of 'race' as a category of analysis, and define how I will understand 'race', racism and racialisation. Second, I will signal other main theoretical approaches that guide this thesis, 'capable of dealing with both the economic and the super-structural features of such societies, while at the same time giving a historically-concrete and sociologically-specific account of distinctive racial aspects', as Hall (1980:339) suggests. In light of this, on the one hand, in order to understand the active historical character of 'race', I have framed this study in the theoretical approaches of decolonial (see Fanon 2008; Grosfoguel 2010; Lao-Montes 2010; Maldonado-Torres 2010; Mignolo 2010, 2011; Quijano 2000a, 2010, 2014) and postcolonial studies (see Ahmed 2000; Gunaratnam 2003a; Hall 1980, 1992; Said 2003; Spivak 1988). On the other, in order to emphasise the role of urban spaces in the production of difference and the performative, relational and multisensory character of 'race', I am mainly drawing on the theoretical approaches regarding the city and social urban space (Harvey 2008; Keith 2005; Knowles 2011, 2012; Lefebvre 1991; Massey 2005; Sassen 2006, 2010), 'race' (see Alexander and Knowles 2005; Back, Sinha and Bryan 2012; Knowles 2003; Solomos and Back 1994), as well as those that highlight the sensorial dimensions of 'race' (see Gilroy 1998; Smith 2008).

Discussing the concept of 'race' as a category of analysis

The use of the concept of 'race' within academia is controversial and a matter of on-going debate. Although nowadays the biological idea of 'race' has been scientifically discredited (Miles 2009:193), it persists 'as idea, as identity, and as social structure. Racism perseveres in the same ways' (Winant 2009:678). Hence, it is necessary to systematically problematise the concept of 'race' used in academia, in order to visualise the ideology of racism and escape its reproduction.

In this regard, there are opposing views concerning how issues of 'race' should be analytically approached. Miles (2009) has critically contested, and is against the use of 'race' as an analytical category and its incorporation into sociological theory because it renews the idea of 'race' as a naturalised division, as shown previously. According to him, since theories also constitute an integral part of the social world, they tend to reinforce the biological conception of 'race' (Miles 2009). In turn, Miles (2009) argues that the concept of racism should be detached from the idea of 'race', suggesting that this social process is better described by the term 'racialisation', and that we need to deconstruct 'race' as an analytical concept (2009:195). On the contrary, Sivanandan (1982 cited in Miles 2009:187) claims that eliminating the term 'race' will not help to abolish racism either. In effect, the case of Chile proves this point. The concept of 'race' in certain academic circles, not only has not been a matter of concern in mainstream sociological studies, but it is also been regarded as forbidden and politically incorrect, perhaps due to the known rejection of the concept in human rights legal terminology. However, its non-existence from academic literature over the years has not positively influenced 'common-sense', mainly due to the fact that 'race' as such is still alive within societies, and it is real precisely because it is socially constructed in everyday life.

Racism in Chile has only become increasingly deeper within society the more invisible it remains, and what is worse, academia has helped to conceal its power. I suggest that not referring to 'race' as such can reproduce the hidden and silent

forms the ideology of racism operates, perpetuating its exclusionary effects. Nonetheless, it is necessary to engage in these challenging discussions about the political implications of using concepts of a social 'nature'. Hence, I argue that a shift to a constructivist paradigm is needed in practical terms in Chilean academia, starting with the way in which we write about 'race' and refer to it. I am going to approach and refer to 'race' in a way that will elucidate its socially constructive-nature. Thus, I emphasise the relevance of using the term 'making race' –as used by Mark Smith (2008)- as an understanding that allows us to see 'race' as a social construction at all times. I suggest that the process of making 'race' has to be seriously considered to understand the ideology of racism. The 'making' implies understanding 'race' as a continuous and changing process in every social and cultural context, thus, always in the process of becoming (Carby 2005). In effect, the use of quotation marks when referring to 'race', which can be seen throughout this thesis, is meant to suggest a questioning of the term itself as a category that is 'alive' only in the social world yet without any biological grounding. Thus, it acknowledges that it is a socially constructed category that varies in every sociocultural context. Although 'race' does not exist in the most commonly used sense, 'race' still matters in the social textures of everyday life; thus, it exists in the social realm, which makes the study of 'race' more relevant.

Defining 'race', racism and the process of racialisation

Defining racism and 'race' remains a controversial debate, as Solomos (2014b) argues. Even though one objective of this thesis is to explore what constitutes the emerging local forms of racisms and how 'race' is made within the context of South-South migration, I will introduce the theoretical approaches that have inspired my concerns about these issues.

It is clear that 'race' was an invention of the West to refer to the non-European 'others' that Europeans encountered in the sixteenth century (Fredrickson 2003; Quijano 2014) in order to legitimise domination over them. '[R]ace... has no known history before America' (Quijano 2014:778). The ideology of racism precedes the invention of 'race' because the concept of 'race' was invented after the introduction of ideas concerned with the division of the population by

inherited characteristics (Bernasconi 2009). The ideology had to be embedded with a scientific status to make it 'respectable' (Bernasconi 2009). According to Hall (1980), the ideology behind racism has as a central mechanism the assumption of its biological grounding. As he (1980:342) clearly states, racism is 'particularly powerful and its imprint on popular consciousness especially deep, because, in such racial characteristics as colour, ethnic origin, geographical position, etc., racism discovers what other ideologies have to construct: an apparently 'natural' and universal basis in nature itself'. As Fredrickson (2003:9) claims, the ideology of racism is constituted by difference and power: 'it originates from a mind-set that regards "them" as different from "us" in ways that are permanent and unbridgeable'. Thus, to produce relations of domination (Alexander 2009), external differences are conceived as a bodily manifestation of internal characteristics that are seen as immutable and inseparable from ideas of superiority and inferiority (Alexander and Knowles 2005). Following these approaches, racism is understood here as both an ideology that produces difference (based on biological grounding and cultural difference) in order to establish hierarchies of power within society, and a set of practices, which has a practical force since racism does not only emerge through discourse but through concrete practices and state policies. In that sense, this thesis reveals how racism operates at the national and local level through a set of state practices in immigration policies and legislation, and through the difficulties in accessing the city's potential through different exclusionary dynamics that produce divisions in society.

In this thesis, 'race' is understood as an on-going social construction that is real as long as the ideology of racism endures within society. Within the urban context and everyday life, I suggest understanding 'race' as something that is performed and materialised. It exists because people not only believe in its existence but also perform it in different ways through social practices and interactions. As Knowles (2003:29–30) claims, '[r]ace is certainly not just a social myth: it is acted on and has meaning in people's lives'. This characteristic is what makes 'race' historically active and ever-changing. While the use of the biological version of 'race' understands it as corporeally fixed, the understanding of 'race' as performative

implies the possibility of change since it considers 'race' a social construct that is constantly produced, and that is given different meanings depending on the social context. Consequently, as a category of power in which the aim is to produce difference that serves to social hierarchies, 'race' can be 'both imposed and (re)claimed' (Alexander and Knowles 2005:2).

It is worth noting that in this thesis I acknowledge the entanglements between 'race' and ethnicity as categories of analysis, since they are both socially and historically produced rather than 'natural' (Gunaratnam 2003a:11) or universal timeless categories (2003a:14). In this study I see the complexities behind both categories as used in the everyday and even in academia, which is why acknowledging the complex entanglements that are specific to the contexts of the study was key to avoid referring to these categories lightly. Even though 'race' has been the signifier of biological difference, and ethnicity of cultural difference (2003a:28), both categories 'evoke temporalized-normative distinctions between 'modern' and 'primitive' or 'advanced' and backward'' (2003a:11). I therefore preferred using 'race', acknowledging its constructive-nature rather than seeing it as fixed, as it better conveys the production of difference that both categories imply -although in different ways. Since 'ethnicity' has been understood as culturally based, I believe the ways in which it is racialised in each specific context (from an Eurocentric perspective) remain hidden. Ethnicity, at least in Chile, has been understood as a category for minorities: a 'culture' that is outside the 'norm', as mainstream Chilean society is assumed as 'not ethnicised' and homogeneously 'white', and thus whiteness is naturalised without falling into such categories. While whiteness is the 'de-racialised' and 'de-ethnicised' norm, 'race' and 'ethnicity' qualify only for the experience of 'other' groups (Gunaratnam 2003a:29). As Gunaratnam (2003a:29) argues, both terms involve processes of essentialism, especially in social research; neither are 'objective' and homogeneous categories, but 'are produced and animated by changing, complicated and uneven interactions between social processes and individual experience' (Gunaratnam 2003a:8). In effect, the notions of 'race' and later 'ethnicity' reveal how 'different elements of a geopolitical imagination came together in specific forms in different historical epochs' (Gunaratnam 2003a:11).

Thus, fixing 'race' and ethnicity is dangerous for social analysis as they can reproduce broader forms of essentialism, racism and stereotyping (2003a:19). My aim is to work 'with and against racial and ethnic categories at the level of epistemology and methodology', as Gunaratnam (2003a:29) suggests.[16]

Understanding 'race' as performative echoes the notion of *epidermialization* of Fanon, because the making of 'race' responds to a mind-set that has been historically naturalised by the negatively racialised 'non-white' due to colonialism. For Fanon, *epidermialization* is a process in which the 'black man' internalises this inferiority and becomes 'black' in relation to the white man (Fanon, 2008, p.6). For Fanon, the ontological colonial difference marks the colonial context in the everyday (Maldonado-Torres 2010:110).

When racism is deposited in the body, one's humanity is amputated, and the 'black' person begins to identify him/herself in relation to the dominant 'white'. The power of the West is making the non-white others see themselves as 'other' (Hall 1990:225). As the decolonial scholar Maldonado-Torres (2010:111) states, '[w]hat is invisible about the person of colour is its very humanity... Invisibility and dehumanization are the primary expressions of the coloniality of Being.' Cristian Baez-Lazcano's claims, at the beginning of this chapter, reveal the paradox of visibility/invisibility that 'race' entails. However, even though ideas about 'race' are attached to the body, they are not reduced to the body. These ideas are solely based on the person's look, but only at that point that the 'other' is fixed (Hall, 1990). This explains how these ideas about 'race' continuously shift so that the ideology of racism can endure. Fanon's approach, therefore 'reveals how lives are ordered and shaped by racism and racialisation' (Murji and Solomos 2005:8).

I argue that what seems to be racialised are the ways of seeing and sensing that have been educated (Gilroy 1998): 'race' is made through a process in which (colonial) ideas of superiority and inferiority are attached to the bodies and thus

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[16] I sometimes use the term 'ethno/racial' to imply the entanglements of 'race' and 'ethnicity' as forms of producing difference.

shape encounters, practices and interactions among people in the everyday, producing difference that functions based on biological assumptions -even when they are presumed to be a matter of culture or religion.[17] In other words, the ways of seeing and sensing entail a 'racial lens'. Such understanding of 'race' introduces another debated concept: racialisation, to which I refer, as a process, in order to understand how the ideology of racism has permeated several aspects of urban life as well as social, political and economic structures and institutions. While some scholars, like Miles (2009), claim it should be used instead of 'race', others criticise the overuse (to different groups and phenomena) and the analytical vagueness of the term (see Goldberg 2005) -since it could sometimes appear as 'more seamless' and 'closed' than what the construction of 'race' should entail (Murji and Solomos 2005:4). While I agree to some extent with both claims, in this study the concept of racialisation becomes useful to explain the process in which the ideology of racism has permeated social life. This coincides with the use of 'race' with quotation marks as another way to explain how the production of difference is not merely attached to bodies (not limited to them), but also is the key factor of several social problems in legislation, policing, employment, housing, and social services (see Murji and Solomos 2005:3). All of the above expose in different ways the structural character of racism. Furthermore, the scope of racialised relations is broader than the black/white focus (as I show in this thesis), and the idea of 'whitening' makes racialisation a complex and contradictory process, as Murji and Solomos (2005:17) state.

For Phoenix (2005), racialisation implies that 'race' is no longer seen as fixed, but as a result of the ways in which people are seen and classified. Thus, it entails the processual nature of identities, showing how 'race' becomes significant through cultural, social, economic and psychological practices (Murji and Solomos 2005:9). Foremost, the processes of race-making that exist within the city makes racialisation a useful and challenging term for exploring the metropolises (Keith 2005:251). According to Keith (2005:250), '[t]he concepts of historicity and spatiality are consequently essential to a contextualisation of the theoretical

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[17] Racism against African slaves in colonial times in Chile was based on religious matters (Cussen 2010).

language of racialization. This is nowhere more clearly demonstrated than in the contemporary metropolis.' As will be shown in this study, 'race' is performed (and even materialised) in urban space and place-making practices in the everyday, and thus, the city plays a vital role for understanding multiculturalism and its dynamics (2005:250). The mutability of racialised subjects is what makes urban spaces 'simultaneously both exciting and dangerous' (Keith 2005:261).

Following Murji and Solomos (2005:3), racialisation is a valuable term and will be used in this study 'for describing the processes by which racial meanings are attached to particular issues –often treated as social problems– and with the manner in which race appears to be a, or often the key factor in the ways they are defined and understood.' In that sense, it 'is the lens or the medium through which race-thinking operates' (2005:3). It is this performative character and changing dynamics of 'race' and the continuous process of its making, that perseveres because it is reproduced in everyday encounters, social relationships and place-making practices that still have not been taken into account in the incipient research on racism in Chile. For this reason, empirical research, like this one, is needed to help understand contemporary racisms.

This thesis focuses on the ways in which racism operates, and accordingly, I refer to 'negatively racialised' to describe the particular situation that certain migrants live due to both being subjects of racism and the racialised ways they are perceived and represented, which have had repercussions in their everyday lives. Since we all live in racialised societies, and thus we are all racialised, it is key to make a difference between those whose lives have been negatively impacted by being racialised, and those who have benefited from it and are rewarded with 'white privilege'. In that sense, is imperative that we do not fall into the trap of using the term racialisation (and 'race') as if both were a matter that only affects African-origin or indigenous populations, as processes of racialisation entail the naturalisation and legitimation of differences (Dalal 2002 cited in Murji and Solomos 2005), and thus, it involves all society members in different ways. Following Gunaratnam (2003a:7), I consider that as social discourses are entangled in individuals' experiences and institutional social relations, social

discourses are co-constituted with lived experiences, 'they intermingle and inhabit one another.' In light of the way in which racism impacts social, political and economic structures and institutions, constraining migrants' opportunities in their access to citizenship, labour market, housing, and local society's discourse, these key aspects will be explored in-depth in the empirical chapters.

A de- and post-colonial lens to understand racism: The importance of a historical perspective

Colonialism has forged the need to mark difference and make boundaries through categories and power hierarchies that are remade in the social imaginaries, narratives and materialities that constitute the postcolonial present. To understand how racism endures throughout history in different ways, Althusser's term 'articulation', as Hall (1980) suggests, becomes crucial to overcome the prevalence of economic and sociological tendencies shown previously. It indicates the linkage relations between things of different levels that need to be linked. In effect, they only emerged in their specificity from that connection, and are not reducible to the other (Hall 1980:325). This approach shows that it is not that elements change throughout history (they are invariable), but rather, what changes is the way in which they are combined: their articulation. It allows us to see history as something not necessarily progressive (1980). It becomes relevant to explore the new articulations that racism have had throughout history with class, nationalities and culture, and other variables. This notion of articulation acknowledges the risk of extrapolating a universal structure to racism and outside an historical location (1980:337). As Hall (1980:337) claims, '[i]t is only as the different racisms are historically specified –in their difference– that they can be properly understood.'

Assigning a transhistorical, unitary and singular character to 'race' obscures the significance of the local context, as it means that it always assumes autonomous features in any historical and local context, which implies that a general theory of prejudice could emerge (Hall 1980). However, a universal theory would constrain our understanding of the different characteristics that 'race' acquires in each context. Despite the persistence of racism across different social contexts and

historical processes, it does not operate in the same way. Those specificities are what makes this ideology persist over time, and what we need to capture through research. Hall (1980:338) urges that scholars study 'the specific conditions which make this form of distinction socially pertinent, historically active. What gives this abstract human potentiality its effectivity, as a concrete material force?' Following these approaches, I argue that there is a need for a historical perspective that acknowledges the development of these distinctive local racial formations in LAC and particularly Chile. As Alexander and Knowles (2005:16) claim, '[r]ace shapes us and our times in ways that are clearly marked by the past... the relationship between the past and the present is never settled.'

Many scholars have argued that the way in which the current notion of 'race' produces differences is a residue of earlier attitudes and views that were engendered by the colonial past (see Bernasconi 2009; Grosfoguel 2010; Lawrence 1982a; Quijano 2010). Such historical understanding allows us to see the relational character of 'race', since '[t]he encounters that characterize colonialism are not simply one-sided, or monological: involve at least two cultures who, in their meeting, transform the conditions of the encounter itself' (Ahmed 2000:11). Postcolonial studies become key to understand the complex relationship between European colonisation and new forms of globalisation: 'to investigate how colonial encounters are both determining, and yet not fully determining, of social and material existence' (Ahmed 2000:11).

Postcolonialism is understood here not as a specific historical moment or the overcoming of colonialism, but as a reference to the epistemological shifts that acknowledge the distinction between the 'West/Rest' that marks contemporary global relations and identities, as Gunaratnam (2003a:19) suggests. In effect, the idea of the elimination of colonial administrations is a myth, as 'global coloniality is not reducible to the presence or absence of a colonial administration', and thus we continue living in a 'colonial power matrix' (Grosfoguel 2010:73); which is why the decolonial approach needs to be considered. As decolonial thinkers argue, there was a move from global colonialism to global coloniality, as '[t]he old colonial hierarchies of European versus non-Europeans remain in place and are

entangled with the 'international division of labor' and accumulation of capital at a world-scale' (Grosfoguel 2010:73). I argue that both de- and post- colonial studies, although they differ, are crucial to rethink how colonialism has permeated social life in colonised nations, and thus deconstruct what 'race' has meant and still means in Chile today.

Quijano coined the term 'coloniality' in the late 80s to introduce a new meaning of the term colonialism that was conceptualised along with the concept 'decolonization' –concerning the struggles for liberation in Asia and Africa– during the Cold War (Mignolo 2011:2). The term coloniality aims to specify an epistemic and political project related to the idea of modernity and its constitutive darker side that emerged with the formation of the Americas and the Caribbean, and the massive slave trade of Africans (Mignolo 2011). The term itself is decolonial as it allows distinguishing the new meaning from the legacies of the decolonisation's concept (2011:xxiv). As Quijano (2010:24) argues, '[c]oloniality... is still the most general form of domination in the world today, once colonialism as an explicit political order was destroyed. (...) The colonial relations of previous periods probably did not produce the same consequences.'

Even though postcoloniality and decoloniality have colonial experiences in common, each emerges from different universes of discourse: the former as an option to poststructuralism and postmodernity, and the latter, to the rhetoric of 'development and modernization' (Mignolo 2011:xxviii). Furthermore, while postcoloniality emerged from the experience of British colonisation in the late 70s, decolonial projects emerged 'within the histories and sensibilities of South America and the Caribbean' (2011:2). The main argument of decolonial thinking is that modernity 'is a complex narrative... that builds Western civilization by celebrating its achievements while hiding at the same time its darker side, "coloniality"' (2011:2–3). Therefore, coloniality is constitutive of modernity, and global modernities imply global colonialities (2011:3), since the coloniality of power is based upon the 'racial' classification of the population from an Eurocentric perspective. As Mignolo (2011:8) explains, Quijano's *Patron colonial de poder'* is (partly) a struggle between European imperial states and 'their

enslaved and exploited African and Indian colonial subjects.' Thus, it conceives 'race' as 'the key element of the social classification of colonized and colonizers... the old ideas of superiority of the dominant, and the inferiority of dominated under European colonialism were mutated in a relationship of biologically and structurally superior and inferior' (Quijano 2010:25). Thus, the idea of the 'West' or 'Europe', in relation with other cultures is based on a difference that is perceived as being of nature (Grosfoguel 2010:28), and thus, a relationship of domination between rationality and 'nature'. This implied that other cultures are unequal and inferior by nature, and rather than subjects (as Europe), they are 'objects' of knowledge or/and of domination (2010:28).

Despite such differences, both postcolonial and decolonial projects 'drink from the same fountain' (Mignolo 2011:xxiii), and have the goal of social transformation and 'strive to unveil colonial strategies' (2011:xxvi). Thus, I will refer to both as an approach and lens for analysing these issues since both offer valuable and different ways for understanding racial formations and how colonial hierarchies continue to shape the present. However, I acknowledge that they are grounded in different geo-historical and bio-graphical genealogies of thoughts (Grosfoguel 2010; Mignolo 2010). The decolonial approach, in particular, allows seeing 'race' as what made the modern West possible and refer to the particular experience of LAC countries, which is significant for the current study. As Grosfoguel (2012:93) describes, the Third World Westernised elites have reproduced racist practices against ethno/racial inferior groups, in which the 'inferiorisation process' is 'marked' by religion, culture, ethnicity and colour. Analysing the historical process of racialisation, therefore, becomes crucial to understand the profound impact of 'race' in former colonies (see Goldberg 2009).

In this research, the historical analysis of the state discourse in relation to 'race' and ethnicity was key to understand contemporary immigration policies. In that sense, cultural studies as this one need to pay attention to the institutional forms of governance where that multiculturality is established (Keith 2005:252). Following Keith (2005:252),

In the allure of the contemporary global city cosmopolitanism, diversity, and difference shimmer for a moment. Racism, nationalism, ethnic cleansing, and xenophobia return as urban nightmares. Indeed, the challenge of discussions that link urbanism to race, multiculture, and forms and norm of intolerance is that both the subject (the city) and the object (multicultural) of debate keep on disappearing before our eyes only to resurface in different forms.

This historical perspective, therefore, needs to be combined with a localised understanding to generate insights regarding how 'race' is made in Chile. As Keith (2005:256) argues, '[t]he hidden histories of colonialism and empire, slavery and suppression of native peoples may resurface from their cells in the subconscious of the city. But they do not do so straightforwardly.'

A local understanding of the making of 'race' in the everyday

More complex aspects, such as the spatial, social, performative and sensory dimensions of the making of 'race', have been historically dismissed, ignoring the social constructiveness that such phenomenon involves. As Bell (1999:5) claims, '[d]ifference is sustained and produced on several levels and in complex ways, both within and beyond 'the subject''. I suggest that the study of the making of 'race' needs to consider the role that urban space and local processes play in shaping racial formations, bringing into focus 'race' in the making. To this end, I seek to connect the contemporary theories of 'race' and racism, suggested above, with theories that approach social change through the urban space and the city (Harvey 2008; Keith 2005; Massey 2005; Sassen 2006). Cultural studies also provide a key framework for this thesis, as they highlight the relevance of studying everyday life (Back 2013; Williams 1989) in order to understand cultural constructions of 'race', and the role that everyday practices play in the processes of racialisation. As Thrift and Amin (2002:8–9) argue, looking at the city enables grasping 'the significant banality of everyday life', and its multiple dimensions. Accordingly, Knowles and Harper (2009:17) claim that '[r]ace and ethnicity are made… in the scenes of everyday life. As we live so we make race/ethnicity on a daily basis. It is embedded in our ways of being and operating in the world.' What is crucial, therefore, is to explore who are rendered invisible within the city spaces, and who establish the markers of a kind of 'whiteness' and

thus boundaries of belonging to exclude negatively racialised migrants (Keith 2005), since the historiography of the city is written by the winners (Keith 2005:253).

The city becomes a key factor to understand how the making of 'race' works in times where global migration and contemporary racisms become increasingly entangled, as it has always been a site open to migrations, whereby 'newness comes into the world' (Keith 2005:255; Massey 2000). Thus, the city is a place of juxtaposition that brings together differences in space through history (Massey 2000:97–126). Cities, therefore, cannot be reduced to one; they are multiple. As Thrift and Amin (2002:30) suggest, they 'always exceed. Cities are machines of consumption? Yes, but never just that. Cities are artefacts of the state? Yes, but never just that. Cities are generators of patriarchy? Yes, but never just that.' The multiculturalism of twenty-first century cities is demographically inevitable, and although states attempt to control migration, it disrupts the logic of the city since the city's complex character challenge the extent to which it can be subjected to a 'singular moral order or governmental rule' (Keith 2005:250–51). Thus, diasporic and transnational links or forms of identification challenge the boundaries of the nation-state and the sense of a national culture; and consequently, the normative ways for organising the self, the family, the community and the neighbourhood (2005:250-251). This approach enables understanding the social conflict that emerges in multicultural neighbourhoods in Santiago.

The definition of space I use follows Massey's theory of space and place, which develops the concept of uprooting space from static, fixed and representational notions to a more relational and lively understanding. Space is the product of social relationships, full of meanings, voices, and multiple uses (Alexander and Knowles 2005). Places, as socially produced spaces, are therefore 'shared spaces', and, as such, internally contradictory: Localities 'contain' and are constituted by difference and conflict (Massey 1994:137–38). Consequently, urban spaces are conceived as being continuously constructed by social and cultural interactions and practices.

Some scholars argue that the social texture of space becomes a physical environment in which 'race' and racialised exclusions are materialised (Alexander and Knowles 2005; Knowles 2003). As Alexander and Knowles (2005) argue, both space and 'race' acquire significance in action in each social context. Following Lefebvre's (1991) theory of the social production of space, an previously existing produced space can be read and decoded. This means that the making of 'race' can be explored beyond individuals' narratives, in urban public spaces. Thus, a spatial approach to 'race' allows understanding on how 'race' is 'made' and 'remade' in the local context (Alexander and Knowles 2005).

Accordingly, city spaces, through social interactions and practices, shape and at the same time, are shaped by racism and processes of racialisation. For Massey (1994:147–48), what determines our understanding and experience of space is not only capitalism. Rather, 'race' and gender can also make people feel 'out of place', and therefore how we live the city is influenced by a complex mix of colonialism, racism, gender relations and relative wealth. In effect, as Back (2005) argues, racism constitutes a spatial form of power. The spatial configurations of the city and the design and materiality of the physical environment can create 'symbolic boundaries' (Keith and Pile 1993:4) and affect migrants' belonging by hiding 'consequences from us' (Massey 1999; Smith 2001; 1989:6). As Soja (1989:6) contends, 'relations of power and discipline are inscribed into the apparently innocent spatiality of social life', and therefore politics and ideologies are materialised in human geographies. Nonetheless, this literature also stress that the same urban spaces can also be shaped by their users (Alexander and Knowles 2005; Back 2005; Harvey 2008; Sassen 2006), and become 'empowering locations in which boundaries and essentialised ethnic and racial identities can be challenged' (Bhabha 1994 cited in Song 2005:72), which was key to consider in this study. Accordingly, 'the rational interest of the urban' -as many migrants demand labour- might differ from the 'articulated sentiment of the nation', as populist movements with anti-immigrant sentiment incite hostility to newcomers (Keith 2005:267). Thus, contemporary public spaces transcend the nation-state boundaries (2005:267).

Back's (2005) study shows that young migrants try to make their own space by inhabiting it in the everyday, instead of feeling that they are in the space of 'others'. Therefore, this theoretical understanding of space implies that socially constructed urban spaces have the potential to be shaped by migrants' practices and interaction, and thus shape the racial formations historically attached to them (by former or other current users of the space). Hence, urban space not only can withstand a racial order but also paradoxically provide possibilities for its own subversion or reorganisation (Alexander and Knowles 2005).

'Belonging' is another important concept of this thesis: it conveys approaches that are concerned with Harvey's (2008) critical understanding of 'the right to the city' as well as attachment and place-making practices (Bell 1999; Benson 2014; Benson and Jackson 2012). On the one hand, the 'right to the city' refers not only to the right to access urban resources, but especially for people to make and remake their cities; in the course of shaping their urban space, they themselves change (Harvey 2008:23). However, it is one of the most neglected areas of human rights. According to Harvey (2008), this is because urbanisation is a class phenomenon. In cities such as Santiago, characterised by socioeconomic segregation, class and 'race' are profoundly entangled and social hierarchies are materialised according to how the city is structured and lived. Therefore, 'race' matters, especially with growing migration.

On the other hand, for Bell (1999:3), belonging is performative and thus, a sense of belonging is established by repetition and rituals. Engaging in everyday place-making practices creates attachments to a group and to the site of the performance, which imprints particular meanings, discourses and identities on the space (1999). In that sense, coexistence dynamics with local nationals or former migrants can promote or rather inhibit newcomers' belonging, especially through racial discrimination and anti-immigrant discourses, which might impede their right to display their identities and rituals in that space. Accordingly, building a sense of belonging through place-making practices or using/transforming city spaces, is a human right. Migrants have the right to feel that the city spaces belong to them as much as former local residents, which

means they also have the right not to be discriminated or experience racism when they navigate these urban spaces. This right constitutes the basis for my analysis of neighbourhood coexistence among residents, understanding urban spaces as spaces of belonging, or rather, spaces of exclusion.

The invisibility of 'race' is anchored in its naturalised and essentialised existence (Bull and Back 2003). Thus, 'race' matters in every social encounter. It becomes relevant, therefore, to focus on the sensorial dimensions of 'race' rather than understanding 'race' as a visual enterprise since 'the preference for 'seeing race'' is as much a social construction as "race" itself' (Smith 2008:45). As Knowles and Sweetman (2004:1) assert, '[o]ur knowledge of the world is shaped by our senses.' Understanding the role of the senses in the production of difference over time enables taking distance from fixed notions of 'race', since 'race' is constructed either internally or externally. However, few existing research endeavours have focused on 'race' and its relation to the senses (see Bull and Back 2003; Gilroy 1991; Rhys-Taylor 2013). Concerning the Latin American context, the lack of empirical works that delve into all the sensory dimensions related to racism is a gap that needs to be addressed. The study of Moreno-Figueroa (2008b) based in Mexico, nonetheless, stands out for its exploration of the relationship between 'race' and the visual dimension. Other senses however have remained unexplored. Following Gilroy (1998) and Smith (2008), I considered in this study the sensorial experiences that 'race' as a social construction entails, which have been taught and reproduced throughout history in different ways, which I will show in the last chapter of this thesis.

Conclusions

This chapter not only has introduced the state of art of existing literature on racism and migration within the Latin American and Chilean context, but it has also critically discussed the particular challenges that research based in Chile will pose, through highlighting the current gaps. I have shed light on acknowledging the forms of power in which racist ideologies interfere in social research by questioning the politics of knowledge and the ontological and epistemological approaches to 'race' in order to escape its reproduction. The politics of

categorisation, signification and representation of migrant communities must be considered (Loveman 1999) to further the study of racism. I signalled the limits of the Chilean sociological imagination in regards to questions of migration and racism, and argued that academia have, to a certain extent, racialised migrant groups. The reproduction of common-sense racist ideologies is one of the reasons racism has remained invisible.

To make racism visible in Chilean academia, I insist on the significance of referring to 'race' as a social construction at all times, rather than only fixed to bodies or coded as culture. In that sense, a shift to a constructivist paradigm is needed. This points to the need to take the 'race'- making process seriously. I have argued it is necessary to rethink racism as an autonomous phenomenon to overcome the disavowal of 'race', and the significance of exploring racism locally, considering the historical specificities of each social context. Accordingly, a theoretical approach that considers both a historical and a spatial/city-bounded perspective becomes crucial. My aim was to create a dialogue between a broad range of theoretical and empirical approaches from the so-called Global North and South, in order to contribute to overcome the current challenges of the incipient research in Chile, as well as to provide insights into how 'race' will be approached in this thesis: 'Race' as an on-going process that is performative, relational and multisensorial. Such characteristics represent a compelling reason for employing ethnography and more sociable methods in order to produce knowledge that is locally engaged with the communities researched and achieve a truthful and decolonised representation of these communities, which I will discuss in the next chapter.

Chapter 2. Methodology: An ethnographic and more sociable approach to understand racism in a migratory context

Introduction

I knew Susana, a Chilean woman who heads of the Migration Office of a multicultural borough, from migration-related activities, and contacted her for a preliminary interview in 2015. Since she worked as a gatekeeper for many academics studying migration in Santiago, at first, she was very reluctant to participate as she felt disappointed with academia and researchers:

> your investigation lasts two, three months, and that's it... you deliver a product for your own benefit... But out of respect [to respondents]... just like they brought them together to conduct the interviews, then bring the people back together afterwards to tell them: 'look, this was the outcome of my study, and this is what I want to give you'. Even if it's a printed page... So the people feel they were part of something, and that they weren't like a zoo. A monkey display. And that's what struck me... That the academia comes here only to observe but won't deliver anything later.[18]

As migration in Chile has become the 'new' phenomenon that has attracted the attention of both the media and academia more than ever, the subjects of those studies, migrants, have increasingly felt 'used'. My study gave unprecedented insights into the implications of the disengagement of the community in research practice, and the suspicion of being used. Susana's words were vital to rethink my research practice and alternative ways of doing research with a different ethos, understanding my positionality and the power dynamics involved in a cross-class, cross-cultural, and cross-'racial' research like this one.

Susana's comments regarding Chilean academia perfectly illustrate what other interviewees expressed: that some academics 'used' them as research subjects, without sharing research outcomes and rarely acknowledging their participation. This unilateral power relationship is a common complex struggle

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[18] Own translation.

embedded in every research protocol and, I argue, it is another hidden way of reproducing racist ideologies in academia (see Lawrence 1982b; P. L. T. Smith 2012). Smith (2012), an indigenous researcher, shed light regarding how indigenous communities perceive research as processes that exploit their culture and knowledge, without yielding any favourable outcome. When researchers 'observe' for short periods of time, and there are no forms of outreach to the community involved, it reinforces power dynamics, legitimising colonial legacies as the extraction of data provided by the 'other', who is not included in the knowledge production nor recognised in its dissemination. The literature only speaks to the academic community. In that sense, from a decolonial perspective, Chilean academia has replicated European colonialism by approaching migrants as 'objects of knowledge' (Grosfoguel 2010:28), and thus 'using' them. So, although migrants are probably the most researched subjects these days, such research is useless for them, and makes them feel over-researched and almost exploited by academia; an institution that claims to fight for their right to migrate and belong. The current research practices have eroded academia's reliability.[19] As Back (2007:97) has noted, there is always 'a dialectical tension between theft and gift, appropriation and exchange…' In general, however, there has been neither gift nor exchange.

Following Smith (2012), I call for a more respectful and ethical research practice that ensures an on-going open dialogue with the researched community, who should benefit from participating in these studies. Although knowledge democratisation is hard to achieve within discipline conventions, migrant participants in this study felt they were part of something that could benefit their (and others) daily lives. Drawing on my critical review of the literature, I argue for the need to take the politics of knowledge creation more seriously (Gunaratnam 2003b) from a de- and post-colonial perspective, and from local engagement. Such an approach aims to create or rethink social categories, taking

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[19]Although some researchers working on racism have contributed to making racism visible by anti-racism strategies in social media, educational programmes, and workshops, to promote sensitivity towards migrants and the people working in public services, what I am addressing here are the negative perceptions of academia exposed by the participants behind those studies, which surprisingly came up during my fieldwork.

into account the participants and permitting the conceptual framework to emerge from the local context in order to better grasp the changing historical, social and cultural relations.

Beyond people's narratives, the role that urban spaces and local processes played, and thus the local context that surrounded participants' everyday lives, were key for this analysis, since lived experiences are framed within broader local and global processes. An extended ethnography was the method that better grasped how racism and social division operated in the neighbourhood. Such microanalysis of the social textures of urban spaces combined with in-depth interviews, visual methods, focus group and brief historical analyses, facilitated understanding of the interactions between global macro-level processes and people's daily experiences, and thus reflect a nuanced understanding of how racism works both at the micro and macro levels.

This research began in late 2015 in Santiago and consisted of mixed qualitative research methods involving 142 participants, aged between 25 and 65. After four months of preliminary fieldwork in 2015, I conducted an extended ethnography for 17 months, from late 2016 until mid-2018 in Recoleta[20], specifically in a working-class neighbourhood, La Chimba, with participants from Latin America and the Caribbean, and local Chileans (see Figure 3).[21] One third, including a Chilean man, self-identified as of African-origin.

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[20] While some participants lived near the La Vega farmers' market, close to the river and *Patronato* metro station, where most of *cités* are*,* others lived close to *Cerro Blanco* station, and many of them further away in *Población Quinta Bella* (a high-crime working-class neighbourhood) near *Einstein* metro station. These two areas of Recoleta are characterised as having low-income populations and are perceived as unsafe, due to drug trafficking and delinquency by different rival Chilean gangs.

[21] They were from Haiti, Colombia, Dominican Republic, Venezuela, Bolivia and Peru. In addition, six Chilean participants from the neighbourhood were also in the vicinity, and I saw them regularly. To characterise the sample, I decided to use their countries of origin rather than specifying 'race' or ethnicity, since not only was this the least problematic classification, but also it acknowledges that 'race' is made differently depending on the context and differs from one society to another.

Participants by country of origin
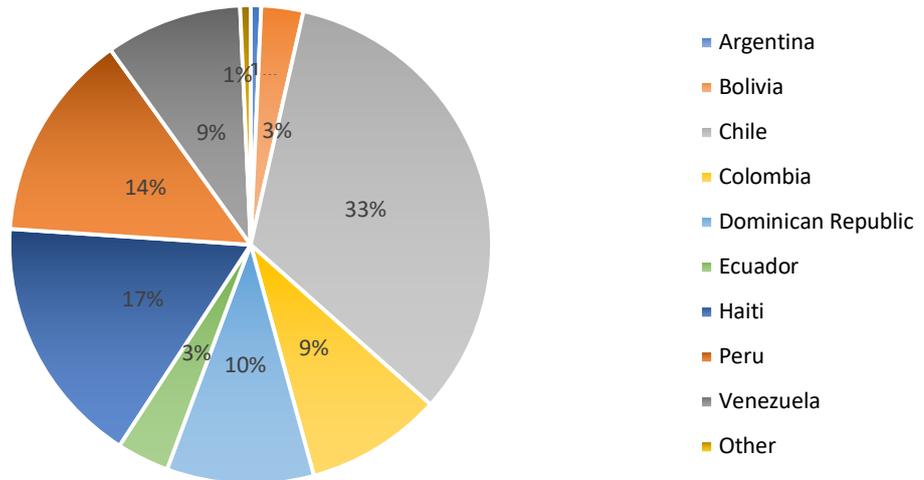
Figure 3. Participants by country of origin.

I had hundreds of spontaneous conversations with 94 LAC migrants (ethnographic interviews) and closely followed the everyday lives of 16 of these migrants the majority of whom self-identified as Afro-descendant (9 women and 7 men aged between 25 and 48). I maintained field diaries and recordings of the interactions and practices that I observed while becoming involved in their daily lives. I used photography during the last phases of the ethnography with the closer participants at their domestic spaces and the public spaces they usually navigated, including some street vendors at the entrance of La Vega -the capital's main and traditional farmers' market located in the heart of Recoleta.[22] All the participants that appear in these photographs signed informed consents in which they authorised the use of them for academic purposes, and parents give their consent before their children were photographed (see Appendix I).[23] I conducted in-depth interviews with 49 participants (migrants and non-migrants),[24] and 21 key informants from NGOs, neighbourhood meetings, state agencies from the current and last government, councils, and local police. Although I had

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[22] When I refer to La Vega in this thesis, I am not referring to this market itself but rather to the long urban area outside its entrance where people sell different goods, since migrant participants call it La Vega.

[23] I gave them the printed pictures.

[24] Some were interviewed more than once, and I conducted in-depth concluding interviews with some of the closer participants.

relationships with local Chileans on a daily basis, I interviewed other Chilean residents in order to grasp their lived experiences in the neighbourhood and explore their perceptions on migration as well as their understanding of the relations to broader political and social processes, especially during the dramatic changes in immigration policies. This organically led to exploring their discourses about 'race'. I wanted to understand the perspectives about migration and everyday experiences of people who have lived a lifetime in Recoleta as well as migrants, both long-term, and recent arrivals who arrived in the last 5-7 years[25], to explore the coexistence in the neighbourhood.

At the end of my fieldwork, I conducted two focus groups (one with six migrants and the other with eight non-migrants) in mid 2018, amid the contingent political changes before I was leaving the country, both of which emerged as an excellent opportunity to explore the latest experiences and perceptions of both Chileans and migrants in relation to Piñera's migratory reforms. Additionally, they generated concluding remarks in relation to questions that emerged at the end of my fieldwork and during the analysis of the research data.

My commitment was to conduct more sociable and long-term engaged research, acknowledging the community's criticism of academia and its limited commitment to accountability and reciprocity to the researched community. However, the research strategies I developed to overcome such disengagement, to foster more involvement with participants, also implied complex challenges related to intimacy. In this chapter, my aim is to describe my methodological approach for exploring the making of 'race' in the city, and to reflect on my positionality and briefly discuss the challenges it creates in racialised, classed and gendered terms for studying these issues.

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[25] To facilitate analysis, I sometimes refer to the first group as 'former migrants', and the latter as 'newcomers.'

Ethnography and visual methods: Overcoming the disavowal of racism

I argue for the need to conduct research differently and embrace new ways of representing migrant communities and overcome the over-reliance on interviews (Back 2009:212). I propose an alternative version of ethnography that aims to be stronger ethically and politically, and pursue a commitment to dialogue with the community researched, and reflexivity. I also employ visual methods that enable us to deal with the multiple, emotional and visual characteristics of urban life (Back 2012; Back and Puwar 2013; Law and Urry 2004), and thus, better capture the complex character of racism and exclusion.

How does racism operate in the city? How do 'race' and 'ethnicity' shape the way migrants and non-migrants live and navigate city spaces? How do urban spaces become spaces for belonging, or, instead, spaces for exclusion? Whose city is this and who is allowed to belong? An extended ethnography (Geertz 1973) and furthermore, living in the neighbourhood, constituted a valuable methodological approach for exploring mobility, racism and belonging in order to answer those questions. Such methodology also enabled achieving an understanding of urban life in complex and continuously changing cities, and provide a scientific grounding to socio-anthropological enquiries (Pardo and Prato 2018:2). I explored how people experience structures of racism and negotiate their 'right to the city' (Harvey 2008) thus recovering the locality's significance. The neighbourhood can be seen as a symbolic representation of the city. As Rogaly and Qureshi (2013:423) argue, 'an in-depth study of a single location can generate productive insights into different ways of inhabiting public space' as they are understood as 'critical sites of struggle over competing visions for the city.' Urban places become instances that speak about 'race' and ethnicity, as they tell us about boundary-making in the everyday.

The city, in effect, is the 'predominant setting of our daily lives' (Zardini 2016:141), and thus the urban environment becomes key to comprehend larger global processes and local change, and how established conventions become disrupted by increased mobilities into an urban space: new and changing ways

of being and doing that challenge the ways the city is experienced. The city not only shapes but is shaped by the people. With this in mind, I explored the realm of negotiations and how migrants live in the host city, looking at the city that flies under the radar: the intimate worlds. As Berg and Sigona (2013) claim, few studies have focused on migrant groups living together in the neighbourhood, giving significance to social relations and the local context beyond particular ethnic groups. This way of researching uncovers to what extent 'race' comes into play in migrants' everyday experiences. Whyte proposed in the 80s' the need to analyse how urban spaces like the street are used, and to approach the quality of urban spaces beyond the visual perception to understand the 'sensorial street' (Zardini 2016:145), a sensorial approach to the city and multiculture that some authors have increasingly embraced (see Jackson, Benson, and Calafate-Faria 2019; Rhys-Taylor 2010, 2013; Zardini 2016) by means of 'sensory ethnography'. This sensorial approach towards the city through ethnography was particularly useful in my research to understand how key aspects of multicultural cities are related to the senses of smell and hearing, revealing smellscapes and soundscapes (Zardini 2016:145) that determine the lived experiences of residents. In effect, the idea of 'hygiene' and the visual aspects of the city have always been key factors in shaping people's attitudes towards the city and its functioning (2016:145). A 'sensorial urbanism' allows a 'broader understanding of urban settings' and their atmosphere (2016:150), making a sensory approach a valuable way to understand the neighbourhood I studied. Unpleasant odours and noises, for instance, were also vital factors that emerged in every conversation with local residents. Thus, ethnography allowed me to grasp the sensorial dimensions of the city that ultimately are intrinsically related to residents' ideas of 'race'.

Ethnography also has a collaborative character that 'let the multiple voices of the people who had cooperated on that work be heard' (Becker 2007:101). As Duneier (2006:563) states, a thick description (Geertz 1973) of neighbourhood interactions and practices is the first step to subtly change social conflict by bringing awareness and engaging in dialogue. In that sense, I pursued a more collaborative way of doing ethnography, following Back and Sinha (2018). A few

expressed they did not want to remain anonymous, approaching this research as part of their activist agenda: as a way to disseminate their struggles and to overcome the invisibility of their communities. This meant including their real names, breaking the *ethical hypochondria* of sociology, and enable me to speak *with* participants rather than speak *on* or *for* them (Sinha and Back 2013:12).

I had access to different dimensions of people's everyday lives and the possibility to explore racism on a daily basis since such a long-term method facilitates building trustful relationships, overcoming the disengagement that Susana criticised. As I lived in the neighbourhood, I regularly visited participants' homes and followed migrants' journeys around the city (Büscher and Urry 2009; Pink et al. 2010). The settings I mostly had access to, were their homes, their surrounding residential and commercial areas, and workplaces, especially the street market La Vega. Following them implied using different modes of transportations (underground and buses), which became key spaces to observe practices of racism. It is worth noting that I decided not to mention or ask about racism until participants talked about it, since I did not want to force such a sensitive subject nor influence (with my views and knowledge) their ways of referring to these experiences. While a few of them started talking about experiences of racism after a few hours, others, after six months -once a trustful relationship was established.

Over time, I built more intimate relationships with sixteen participants, whose lives I followed more closely. Achieving a sense of mutual friendship with them was not only key for understanding their everyday social worlds and their sense of place and belonging, but also to get behind those hidden domestic spaces, especially considering the secrecy surrounding the kind of housing they have access to. Due to the precarious housing conditions, landlords (local nationals and former migrants) usually forbid migrants to invite people inside, so the irregularities and precariousness remain behind closed doors. Having access to those places was one of the main revelations of my fieldwork; something that I could achieve only through a sustained long-term relationship with participants. Furthermore, the photographs I took of these domestic spaces have documental

historical significance, as it is the first time that the precarious nature of the collective housing in which migrants live in twenty-first century Santiago is unveiled, despite efforts of landlords to conceal it.

Racism is a complex phenomenon precisely because of its multiple dimensions and the intrinsic invisible ways in which it is embedded in social life. Even though the making of 'race' implies other sensorial dimensions, racism is first 'thought' with the eyes. According to Moreno-Figueroa (2008b), although racism is defined by its visibility, its power is based on its invisibility in certain contexts. Thus, photography as a research method became a powerful tool to reveal what is worth and what we have the right to observe but remain hidden (Sontag 2005:3): racism and social exclusion (see Gilroy 2008). I photographed participants in public and private spaces using a 24-120mm and a wide-angle lens (35mm) in order to locate people in their social worlds (Harper 2003) and explore their experiences from an insider view.[26] Its specific imagery reveals the unspoken aspects of everyday life (Back 2007), and enable us to engage with 'social life in motion' (Back 2012: 31). The visual exploration of the local context unveils the relationship between seeing and 'race' (Knowles 2006) that would not appear in other modes of enquiry. As Becker (1974) suggests, images work better if they are combined with social theory. Since landlords usually forbid migrants to invite people inside, the irregularities and precariousness remain behind closed doors, so the photographs I took were key for revealing the struggles and exclusion many face, becoming a vehicle to tell about society (Becker, 2007) beyond words. Thus, photography allowed me to document and testify the poverty of the inner-city and disclose migrants' domestic spaces, intimate lives and how they navigate the boundaries to belong, enabling interpretative meanings of what Hall (2008:8) calls 'indirect evidence'. They capture the still complex journeys of migrants to citizenship; from invisibility to visibility in a 'changing postcolonial world divided by racism' (Gilroy 2008:21).

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[26] Some of the photographs were taken with my mobile phone as it was dangerous to bring the camera to certain places.

The traditional ways of discussing migration and racism are usually confined to a highly specialised academic audience having, most of the time, no direct impact on wider audiences, let alone the research participants, failing to translate sociological accounts into ordinary life language (Back 2012). This is why using visual methodologies can be a way of representation than can democratise knowledge beyond sociological boundaries (Puwar and Sharma 2012:59). Photography can reveal the power dynamics behind visuality, functioning as 'a politically mobilised rhetoric of truth' to what needs to be seen and rectified (Tag n.d. cited in Becker 1974:10). However, as Moreno (2008:69) suggests, as photography can be the visual parallel of the racial logic, and a 'poignant method', as racism and visuality are constructed in the same terms (Rose 2012:2), photography might reproduce postcolonial relationships and forms of discrimination. However, since photography 'is a materialized manipulation of the (equally manipulated) cognitive processes involved in seeing' (Knowles 2006:512), it can shape viewers' perceptions of racism through certain ways of representing it, as the frameworks in which the photographs are deployed give the meaning (Knowles and Sweetman 2004). Thus, rather than fixing people in my photographs, my aim was to make visible and unravel power racial hierarchies through revealing the boundaries of belonging that migrants experience in the city.

Using this visual method also constituted a form of participation and being involved in the field site through the performance of taking photographs. As my study shows, it implied the engagement between the ethnographer and the participants (Becker 1974). According to Sontag (2005 [1973]:12), 'using a camera is still a form of participation... the act of photographing is more than passive observing'. Thus, the performance of taking photographs became an alternative way to capture and access people's discourses that fill and shape urban spaces in the everyday. Furthermore, it allowed participants to get more involved with the research, and thus, promote a new way of collaboration. Having said that, I was very careful when taking pictures and always asked them if the let me every time, especially to those that were undocumented at the time. I acknowledge that I always have worried about the ethics issues of them being

discovered by the police due to my photographs, and that is why I promised I would only show that photographs to academic audiences, and I always ask the audience to not take pictures of the PowerPoint. In general, most of migrants enjoyed being photographed, as they felt important, listened and especially when I gave them the prints, they were happy to have more 'professional pictures' (as they said) of them and their families. They all signed informed consents in which I established that the photographs will be used only for academic purposes (see Appendix I).

Researchers' positionality

In contrast to many international researchers, defining my positionality as an 'ethnographer of race' has been an ambiguous enterprise. It continues to be difficult to position myself[27] within the ethnic/racial spectrum of Chilean society. On the one hand, stating that I am 'white' means reproducing the ethnocentric logic of the nation-state, by denying that I have indigenous/African ancestries, and falling into the trap of reproducing the 'imagined' national whiteness. On the other, stating I am not 'white' (while having blue eyes and considered 'blonde') entails being socially colour-blinded, not acknowledging the 'white' privilege invested in myself and from which I have been rewarded (although not willingly) in such a racialised society. Thus, it would be naïve to ignore that I am perceived as 'light-skinned' or 'white' with the corresponding complex entanglements of class and 'race' that are imprinted in the Latin American social context. Acknowledging the complexities that my positionality entails is key for on-going reflexivity, and, foremost, for different levels of engagement. Such reflexivity ensures an open and a more sociable and ethical research practice. Furthermore, it aims to tackle researchers' conventional disengagement with participants. In my case, different socially-installed categories such as 'race', gender, class and nationality interplayed.

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[27] In university questionnaires, 'Other ethnic background' is the closest fit.

Although some people believe that I am less entitled to study racism in Chile because of my privileged social background (as well as studying in a UK university -influenced by the logics of empire and colonialism), this argument erroneously suggests that studying 'racial' and cultural difference might be ethically problematic (Back 2002:37). That would imply I can only focus on 'white' studies, yet, as Back (2010:445) asserts, 'it is *racism* rather than whiteness that needs to remain our key analytical and political object of concern.' Such an argument would also mean the opposite: that 'black' researchers cannot study white privilege. On the contrary, 'racial-matching' between researcher and participants does not guarantee more identification and trust in the researcher, and even 'erects a racial palisade around the pursuit of wisdom' (Back 2002:37). In effect, my positionality turned out to be an advantage and a strategic means for exploring racial hierarchies in LAC through my interaction with participants. My presence and that participants perceived me as 'white' triggered conversations around 'race' and skin colour. Nevertheless, I had to continuously negotiate my position within the field.

As my intention was to research racism in this multicultural neighbourhood, interviewing local Chileans was as relevant as knowing the experiences of migrants. I was seen as someone who altered the spatial logics of the neighbourhood. At times I was questioned by street vendors that were suspicious of my frequent presence, suspecting that I was with the municipal council or even an undercover police investigator. Although such occurrences were rare, they nevertheless constrained some encounters, especially when taking photographs. However, the same participants would appease people who harboured such suspicions, explaining that I was an academic researcher who was actually trying to help them by unveiling their realities.

Furthermore, I had to negotiate class distinctions with Chileans. They would ask me where I live and even though I said I lived in Recoleta, they would pose the question another way: 'no, but, in which borough were you raised?', so that would indicate my social status. Nonetheless, being Chilean, albeit our class differences, put me in an advantaged position with interviewees, as they would try to find

common ground to share their opinions (or at least convince me). Although many knew that I spent more time with migrant participants, sharing the imagined 'national identity' brought them closer to the extent they would talk to me not only despite their anti-immigrant sentiment, but actually because of it, as they wanted to tell me their 'truths'. As Back (1993:220) argues in relation to studying racism from the position of 'white' privilege, '[w]hile it is profoundly true that whites cannot fully comprehend the experiential consequences of racism, we do experience the *transmission* of racist ideas and formulas.'

However, I still had to negotiate the terms of our relationship, since we need to consider how our actions, as researchers, legitimise or instead contest racist ideas expressed (Back 1993). As talking about 'race' is considered 'politically incorrect', when participants expressed the common phrase 'I'm not racist, but...', I decided to let them talk and remained silent, which may have been seen as a way to legitimise their ideas. However, that was never the intention, and every time they were eager to find my approval to their claims, I would change the subject. I wanted to respond firmly against the racist claims, yet I knew that if they sensed disapproval, they would stop talking to me. I also wanted to remain close to my Chilean neighbours, as they all knew each other, and if someone had an unfavourable impression about me, the others would not want to be interviewed later. Although ethically hard to sustain, my strategy worked.

Nevertheless, in the situations where I was on the other side of the perceived colour-line, the challenge was to preserve the trust of migrant participants. For instance, in La Vega, I spoke with both migrants and Chileans, some of whom had complicated relationships in competing for pitches at the street market. My apparent friendship with people who displayed racist attitudes may have caused some migrant participants to believe I betrayed them. I was particularly careful about the way I related to them. Participants knew that my sole goal was to fight against racism, and that I wanted to understand both sides of this relational phenomenon. Even so by that time, I believe trust with participants was established, so our relationship never became vulnerable when I had those encounters.

My status as Chilean also shaped the way some migrants narrate their stories, especially those who were not closer participants. There were several moments in which migrants over-emphasised how different they were from their co-nationals, attempting to overcome the stigmatised representations Chileans had of their 'national communities', defining themselves as an 'exception'. Such power relations were mitigated after we had become acquainted with each other. Although never entirely dispelled, our increasingly engaged relationship helped to balance the power dynamics that involved being a Chilean –host country's citizen– researcher.

In order to bridge the social differences with participants, I actively participated in their everyday lives. Building a sense of belonging in the neighbourhood meant cutting across and disrupting, in some ways, the boundaries of nationality, class and 'race' between the participants and myself, challenging the intrinsic associations between urban space and these social categories that determined our encounters. My condition as a migrant in the UK while doing this thesis (despite the student privileges) also allowed me to relate to many participants' experiences. Sharing that migratory experience comprised a bridge that allowed them to relate more to me, notwithstanding the entangled hierarchies between us. Moreover, albeit the many things and experiences we did not share, friendship was a great way to overcome power dynamics, and see all the other things we shared, as the motivation for supporting each other and the sense of humour. In those moments, my position as a researcher, as well as the social and cultural baggage I carried, was suspended for a while, and a more balanced and horizontal relationship emerged, in which they made me feel part of their families and community.

Likewise, I started meeting Chilean and migrant residents in an organic way[28], not forcing meetings through any NGO or the support of Recoleta Council. My

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[28] The first 12 months of my fieldwork, I lived in the neighbourhood and started to know my neighbours as well as other people that lived in the same building as me. At first, I started having conversations with the concierges, owners of local restaurants and shops, and as I get to meet them, I told them about my research. I took notes all the time in my walks around the neighbourhood, in every visit I made to La Vega (just a walking distance from my flat), or if I took a taxi (where usually talking about migrants emerged from the taxi drivers). One of the local shop

approach tended to organically build trustful relationships, although all participants knew I was doing a PhD. The mistrust I encountered in regards to the Council, especially by street vendor participants, corroborated my concerns of being associated with these institutions, which have their own power hierarchies that could force the willingness of people to participate, and thus affect the knowledge production. Being from a UK university actually gave me the independence I needed to gain the trust of the participants. On the contrary, the hierarchical and dependency linkage from a NGO, a school, public agency, civil society organisation or the council would have affected the capacity to build a trustful relationship. Disrupting these common ways of accessing participants turned out to be highly beneficial. The relationships established were free of the paternalism that characterises many NGOs that serve migrants/refugees - organizations primarily run by Chileans- and free of any obligation attached to local institutions that provide funding (which would entail stronger power dynamics and alter their responses). Such institutions might reproduce racist dynamics. By contrast, building a friendship allowed me to achieve different levels of intimacy. This 'organic' strategy to meet people while living in the neighbourhood made the first encounter more difficult but ensured the kind of relationship I wanted to create over time. It took me three months to meet the closest participants, who eventually introduced me to others (or opened the way into places that ended up being key to this study, as La Vega).

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owners contacted me to a person they knew and that is how I met one of my closest participants: she was Haitian. Then, I started to visit her home, as she was unemployed and taking care of her baby. I started knowing the rest of participants in a snowballing effect, and I started to know people from Haiti, Colombia, Dominican Republic, Bolivia, Venezuela, Peru, Ecuador, all of whom lived nearby in collective housing. I visited their houses depending on their schedules, which in the end meant seeing them at least 3 times a week or more. I also attended every Saturday to a Spanish course for Haitians and one time I ended up teaching them when the teacher could not go. Other times, some Haitian participants asked me to accompany them to different state agencies to help them with visa applications, as they felt unheard every time they went, and my presence was key according to them to be heard as I was a Chilean national. That is why, although I engaged in relationships with other migrants, I was closer to Haitian participants just because they demanded more guidance from me, and I could see the difficulties they faced. Even in the times I was not with participants, I observed the events and engage in random conversations about migration, as it was the key theme everyone talked about, so I would take notes. After I had to leave for a while the neighbourhood and end the contract of my flat, I decided to come back and continue my fieldwork for five months, especially when President Piñera won the elections. I started visiting the neighbourhood and continue collaborating with participants and even met new participants too, especially when I did a workshop for the community.

As I navigated racialised, classed and gendered fields, I often had to negotiate several markers (Twine 2000:17), which shaped my encounters and relationships with participants. Of all the distinctions, 'race'/ethnicity seems to be the most substantial category, similar to Duneier's (2000, 2004) study of street vendors in the US, since I was rewarded with 'white privilege' in such a racialised context. Surprisingly, participants' racialised perception of me, positioned me differently from what was considered to be 'Chilean', challenging the category of being a national from the host country that has imposed multiple constraints against them. Being seen as 'whiter' put me in a higher societal scale than other Chileans they knew, and somehow helped me, as they did not feel any competition as occurred with some working-class Chilean neighbours. However, similar to Back's (1993) research experience, although I was openly against racism, it would be naïve to pretend that my relationship with racialised migrants was utterly free from racism or processes of racialisation. The way participants related to me revealed subtle power dynamics. I noticed they reproduced racial hierarchies in our interaction, either through the way they spoke more formally to me (saying '*usted*' rather than '*tú*'), or through seeing me as someone 'expert', who knew certain daily stuff in my status as local national.

The intimacy I sought to build, however, did not come without challenges. While achieving a sort of intimacy with participants that lead to a more engaged research experience and truthful responses, the limits of rapport were inevitable amid the political, social, economic and cultural differences that our encounter implied. I identified three challenging issues.

First, as discussed by female anthropologists (Bell 1993; Caplan 1993), navigating gendered fields also shaped my research practice. Being an anomaly - as single and childless in my 30s- balanced the power hierarchy with female participants, as they saw me as unfulfilled. When I met the first participants, mostly women, they had babies and stayed mostly at home. Our relationship was charged with a kind of gender subjectivity, as when visiting them, they would give me their babies to carry them every time. In that sense, I could help them by watching their babies while they did domestic work, and talked to me.

Motherhood was part of their migratory experience, and it crossed all their everyday experiences and how they navigated urban life. Such 'gender solidarity' was crucial for building a trustful and a more horizontal relationship, becoming a way for mitigating classed and racialised gaps. According to Ganesh (1993:132), the main aspects of being a woman doing research had to do with age, marital and social status, and how far the researcher was perceived as an outsider. Female participants displayed their feminine identities, and the interactions with me involved jokes around those issues and me being childless or not knowing about life and children, bringing moments of laughter that actually made me closer to them. In that sense, they felt in a superior position as in their imaginaries, achieving those personal life aspects meant a more mature state, which balanced the power dynamics of our relationship, so it turned to be beneficial. Being a women researcher was the reason why it was easier to engage in more trustful relationships with women, especially due to the fact that they looked after their babies and had more time in their house to talk to me (as it was more difficult finding a job when there was no availability in the local nursery, as well as the intersectionality that entailed being a negatively racialised women). The same gendered identity, however, proved to be challenging to engage with some single male participants who would express interest in me or made sexual advances.

Second, the intimacy achieved in the course of time produced a different kind of relationship, based on dependency and assistance. Nonetheless, as I am very critical of researchers that 'extract' relevant information and then leave, tackling Susana's critique, I tried my best to reciprocate the participants tremendous help and their trust, expressed by opening their lives to me. Thus, reciprocity came organically. However, while I found most favours to be fair requests, others pushed the limits, so I had to constantly negotiate these issues. Third, our friendship was threatened by the outside world and society's fixed racialised notions of social encounters and relationships, whereby a mixture of any kind (in this case a Haitian migrant and a Chilean) is rare and 'disrupted' the racialised logics of urban spaces.

The moments of 'suspension' of societal labels and distinctions between participants and me were nonetheless only moments within a confined social space -their homes-, as it would be naïve to believe there were no power dynamics in place. I was still a Chilean and perceived 'white', differences that became even more evident when we navigated beyond the neighbourhood, which revealed how racism is deeply embedded in the social textures of the city.

Being both a researcher and a friend implied negotiating a dual character that influenced my relationship with participants. As an ethnographer, one becomes the friend and the enemy at different times within the research process. Both categories, along with all the markers attributed to me by the people researched, interplay in complex ways as broader social and political processes unfold in their everyday lives as migrants. While in such a hostile political and social environment for most participants, I became a significant ally; for a few others, (like Frantz), I came to symbolise the local national 'enemy' who was constraining their future.

Accountability and forms of outreach

With regard to the ways in which I held accountable to participants, seeking forms of outreach, I believe there were three main ways. First, by helping them with daily advice and accompanying them to their visits to *Extranjería* and by organising a workshop; second; by giving them printed pictures of them and families at the end of my fieldwork, and third; by let them collaborate through this research and be an active part in their seek for change and justice, and improve not only theirs but other people realities.

First, since the beginning, the closest participants asked me for help or advice. Having a Chilean friend who was following their everyday lives implied a good opportunity to rely on my 'presumed' knowledge and support to overcome everyday struggles and the many doubts that arose along the way. Many times, I felt like I was a relevant 'asset' for some. Instead of asking me advice, sometimes they wanted me to do all, which lead to a sort of dependency that, albeit expected,

I wanted to avoid. For example, during the visits to the Immigration Department (DEM), they stopped taking charge of the situation when I was there by not talking to the officer, waiting for me to ask their questions, or asking me to fill in the paperwork for visa-related issues (which I did in the case of one illiterate participant). I tried to answer their questions, and after noticing this practice, I even rehearsed with them beforehand how to ask what they wanted (considering the limited time, pressure and language issues) so they would learn rather than me doing it for them and reproduce the dependency cycle, and reinforce power dynamics between us. However, that was difficult in practice, especially when I noticed they panicked or stammered and looked at me for help. Afterwards, they only wanted to go with me since, according to them, I 'know more', or because I am from there. Another example was when Diane told me she wanted me to be her daughter's godmother: 'I wanted to give her [a Chilean godmother]... Because you are Chilean, one *extranjera,* and you always do me favours...' She was eager to maintain a relationship with a local national as it would symbolically mean having someone, in the host country, to turn to in case of any problem.

Nonetheless, such practices also were what legitimised my on-going presence in their lives, as our friendship was somehow situated in determined contexts. As I am very critical of researchers that 'extract' relevant information and then leave, I tried my best to reciprocate the participants tremendous help and their trust, expressed by opening their lives to me. Thus, reciprocity came organically, and I found some favours to be fair requests. Nonetheless, sometimes there were situations that pushed the limits. While I believe in reciprocity within research to remedy Mariela's critique of academia, there always were boundaries that I needed to maintain. A clear example was when a participant asked me to rent a flat for her in my name. In that sense, being a fieldworker and a friend caused many tensions, and I had to negotiate these issues.

I also organised a workshop after President Piñera announced the migratory reform, that entailed substantive changes, such as enabling a regularisation process, and closing the border for some migrants (see Chapter 3). In the workshop (in which I provided drinks and food for the attendants and made an

invitation with the Chilean women that shared her place for the meeting), I presented all the changes in ways that were more comprehensive, as many were afraid of these changes and knew that Piñera would be ruthless with migrants like them. They asked me questions regarding their particular situations, and I suggested different lines of action. This was a way in which I could give back to the community that were willing to actively participate in this research, and also help new people that would then tell all that information and notes to their neighbours in their respective collective houses.

Second, the way I had at the time of outreaching to the community involved was giving them the print photographs I took of them after I finished the fieldwork. They were really grateful as their phone pictures usually remain in the digital world and they thought these were professional pictures no one took them before. According to Pablo, a photograph that I took of Marta's daughter, 'seems like these documentaries they made in Discovery... like National Geographic!... beautiful, beautiful! Marta also added, 'no, but Macarena, it's amazing the picture of María, I saw a TV show where they put through people of colour, like in Discovery, where people passed by... because María has like a *feelin'* there'. This was a powerful moment in which photo-elicitation took place. They saw themselves as part of one of these documentaries in which the 'other' is deeply racialised, and such reflection was profound as it talks about how Afro-descendants have been portrayed by the media in LAC countries, where they see people like them only in those TV shows. Another picture I took of Marta and her other daughter, laughing before embarking in the new venture of selling Colombian empanadas in La Vega, caused them laugh again, and remember such moment many months ago. Marta claims 'what a joy you can look in me here!'. A joy that amid the everyday struggles she faces was forgotten.

Thirdly, Pablo told me that at first it was difficult to believe that someone would want to get to know them and help them through conducting research 'just because'. He had experiences of working with social workers and sociologists, but he always criticised how they were going to do their jobs and then leave, whereas he believed I was different from them, and that my intentions were

beyond my work and I was truly sincere. He believed that my role was pivotal to reveal how they live and the difficulties they have as migrants in Chile, and especially because of racism. Her partner Marta, a closer participant, in the same conversation explained him that as a researcher I wanted to get involved and try to be included in their community as a way for understanding everything better and more directly.

> Marta: Macarena integrate with us! She blends with us, and that's how she does research. There are other people that just do their job and that's it, but Macarena integrates with the people more deeply, so that they also become more comfortable and trust her when interviewing them, so they don't feel so… Macarena is a case! (laughs) She starts selling *empanadas* with me. Macarena with the people!
> Pablo: you're doing a job directly with what we are… You're coming to our home, you're seeing what's going on, that's super cool. Because that's what we want, that at least the situation changes, because look, we rent this room, and we'd like to get out of here.

Pablo made clear that he pursued justice and a better life, without abuse due to being '*extranjeros*', undocumented and Afro-descendants. Like Pablo, most of participants felt that by engaging in this research they were part of something that could benefit their (and others) daily lives. They knew that telling their experiences, opening their intimate worlds and letting me follow them, they would create awareness in society and improve their challenging lives. They knew their stories had to be visibilised to achieve social justice. As Milena stated, '… it also appears good people, feeling sorry for the mistreatment some gave (…) I hope that you can do something for us… to let the others know'. Participating in this study was their way of seeking change, and such a collaborative experience became in itself a way to give back and contribute to these communities.

Conclusions

To understand the shifting yet endurable character of 'race', I suggested a methodological framework that expands some of the conventional research methods. I pursued an interdisciplinary research, using a more locally-grounded approach through ethnography and the use of visual methodologies that show the unspoken aspects of everyday exclusions and place-making strategies in the

city. While I attempted to conduct research living by an ethos and moral responsibility with the community involved in order to stand in contrast to Susana's accusations, it was difficult to achieve in reality as I encountered other limitations, related to navigating racialised, classed and gendered fields. Furthermore, it becomes inevitable within our research margins and PhD time limitations, to escape (to a certain extent) participants' feelings of being 'used', when we are compelled to leave the setting in order to make sense of what we studied, albeit -and even because of that- I shared time with participants for over a year. Every time, filled with guilt, I would need to leave -something that actually became so difficult that kept me longer than I should in the field-, knowing that I might be disappointing some of them no matter how much I explain the need I had to write what was really going on. Without it, none of our work together made sense in the quest of fighting against racism: the reality had to be spoken. Even though I managed forms of outreach, ultimately, the sense of 'debt' or 'theft' always stood over the 'gift', and the dilemmas of being a fieldworker and a friend were ever-present. Nonetheless, I tried to reciprocate in different ways the friendship, time and support of participants by staying in contact with them after the fieldwork finished.

The following empirical chapters aim to understand 'race'-making in Chile through different key aspects that emerged from this study. In the next chapter I will delve into broader national processes to analyse state racism. Drawing on historical accounts and key informants' interviews, I will give insights into the role that 'race' has played in both the past and the current immigration legislation, and Piñera's migratory reform.

Chapter 3. The racial state:
State racism and immigration control in Chile

Introduction

In late-2000, during the Regional Conference for the Americas against racism[29], held in Santiago with UN members, Chile's president at that time, Ricardo Lagos, was asked if there were 'black' people in Chile. Afro-Chilean NGO leader, Cristian Báez-Lazcano,[30] recalls the following:

> They asked him, 'Mr. Lagos, are there *negros?*' 'No… they disappeared due to the weather', or something like that, which is not true (…) So then… they say to him 'well, we want to officially introduce you to the Afro-Chileans'. And they [Afro-Chileans] appear. My black friends [members] of the Afro-movement of the Americas told me that was the most emotional moment in history. Because it (Chile) was the only country that rejected and denied black presence. Every country, even Argentina, had an Afro-movement. Only Chile didn't.[31]

Latin American countries gave rise to new republics based on the former colonial 'whiteness' hierarchies (Loveman 2009). In effect, the rejection of 'ethnic' or 'racial' difference -considering 'whiteness' as the norm- is an on-going structural problem reinforced by the creation of the nation-state. The colonial legacy of racism and the (negatively) racialisation of the non-white 'other' is deeply embedded in the LAC region, as well as in Chile's history. Cristian's words open up discussion on how 'race' has been made since colonial times. It reveals the deep invisibility and rejection of people of African descent (especially Afro-Chileans) (Salgado 2013) by the state[32]. Furthermore, it shows how such denial,

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[29] This conference was held in preparation for the World Conference Against Racism, Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia and Related Intolerance in 2001, Durban.

[30] Cristian Báez-Lazcano is an Experiential Researcher of Afro-culture in Chile and activist leader of the Afro-Chilean Social Movement. As requested by him, I used his real name.

[31] Own translation.

[32] While since the beginning of this study I acknowledged the relevance of addressing the historical rejection of Afro-Chileans, the word limit and the specified focus on LAC migrants were the reasons why I finally decided to remove it from this thesis, despite doing an historical review and analysis of Cristian's interview. Similarly, I could not address more in-depth in this thesis the history of exclusion, assassination, and discrimination of indigenous communities, especially the *Mapuche* community. Nonetheless, such historical review of both communities were key to understand the evident links to the ways in which LAC migrants are perceived and treated, and thus I allude to the colonial and the new republic's representations of both communities to

along with the massacre, discrimination and misrecognition of indigenous communities –not recognised by the Chilean Constitution (Aguilar et al. 2011), let alone Afro-Chileans[33]-, and the state's past efforts to attract European migration, were key for the construction of the nation-state and its 'imagined community' (Benedict Anderson 2006). In this chapter, I will briefly historicise 'race' to examine how it has mattered historically in Chile and foremost, how it has shaped the present.

Racist migratory politics have historically restricted 'non-white' migration. The new administrative orders (especially since 2012) and enforced border controls have progressively restrained migrants' mobilities, predominately Afro-descendants. Rather than stop these mobilities, such changes have made migration more dangerous and challenging, producing different forms of 'illegalities', and creating what can be referred to as an 'illegality industry', in Andersson's (2014:8) terms (Chapter 4). The inevitable result has been an increase of undocumented migrants as well as uncertainty in the migratory statuses of many. By creating invisible borders through establishing new consular visas, Piñera's migratory reform has only enforced a racially controlled migration. Foremost, it has reinforced racism at the local level against LAC migrants that share the same ancestries of Chile's population: ancestries that have been neglected in different ways throughout the histories of LAC states. I argue that the contemporary Chilean nation-state has historically been constructed as a 'raceless' and thus racist state (Goldberg 2001), which has its foundations in the *mestizaje* project. Such a historical perspective focused on these structural macro forces is vital to understand contemporary urban life in Chile. As this research shows, historical representations and colonial racial hierarchies are deeply embedded in the state's contemporary politics; and reproduced against LAC migrants settling in Chile. Furthermore, this racial state has impacted not only Chilean society's imaginaries and attitudes towards migrants, but also the everyday lives of different migratory groups over the

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understand how the colonial past has shaped the contemporary ways in which racism operates in contemporary multicultural Chile.

[33] The Afro-Chilean movement emerged at that conference with *Oro Negro,* its first NGO*.*

years. Currently, the most affected are those from LAC countries, who are the focus of this thesis.

Throughout the years, racist immigration politics have been in practice through shifting and subtle ways, making the ideology of racism prevail by selective processes. I argue that the border controls and its arbitrary character are apparatuses for 'racial' control. When rationalised in specific policies that make room for arbitrary practices, such control remains invisible. The same happens with the recent migratory reform announced by Piñera, masking the inclusion of new visas as a 'welcoming' way to tidy up the 'house', and a benevolent action, while restricting 'undesired' migration and fostering the migration perceived as promoters of development -similar to what the 1953 law pursued: highly-qualified 'white' people. I argue that these migratory reforms and the creation of new visas through administrative means (using executive power) have, and will create invisible borders marked by 'race', pushing away, in (non-)subtle ways, negatively racialised migrants. These reforms reproduce the idea of development and control the presumed homogeneity of the Chilean nation-state. These invisible borders constructed at the national level reinforce racism in multicultural neighbourhoods, deepening the difference between the 'us' and the 'other'.

In this chapter, I will address state racism, providing an historical context, through a de- and post-colonial approach, to understand how Piñera's government has tackled the increasing migrations into the country today. First, I briefly examine the construction of the nation-state and the immigration policies throughout the years. Following Goldberg's (2001) conception of racial states, I then analyse the Chilean state's official discourses, drawing on Piñera's remarks on TV and social media, and two top officials of the Foreign and Migration Department (DEM) in the Ministry of Interior and Public Security. This allows understanding the selective processes to control migration, and shed light on how the state has made, and now makes, 'race'. These analyses of state discourse are a key contribution to understand structural and institutional racisms, as research on state racism concerning migration is underexplored in Chile. Then I

delve into the migratory reform Piñera launched in order to unveil state racisms through the understanding of state thought. In such pursuit, I analyse the neoliberal narrative behind the reform, and finally, the selective process that it (re)installed.

The construction of the nation-state, the *mestizaje* project and the modern 'raceless' state

Developing a historical perspective on how 'race' -as a social construct- has been made since colonial times, and especially since the new republic, it is crucial to understand state racism and to explore the connections to the contemporary forms of racisms in the everyday.

'Race' emerged as a way to legitimise European domination by producing a difference between the coloniser and the colonised: differences that still permeate social relations, practices and policies. State racist politics, through the *mestizaje* project, are imprinted in Chile's history, creating politics of exclusion through immigration legislation. Colonised countries, like Chile, have reproduced (in new instantiations) colonial differences between indigenous and African people, which is key to understand the state politics and interactions that emerge in a context where Afro-descendants are increasingly migrating into Chile. More importantly, it is a context where racialised perceptions of indigeneity and 'blackness' mark the experiences of LAC migrants, not only by Chileans but by other Latin Americans. As this research shows, colonial 'racial' hierarchies are perpetuated in different ways. Thus, racism is far from being a 'new issue'.

The legacy of slavery has perpetuated racism against Afro-descendants and has determined the deep social inequality they still face in the Americas (IACHR 2011). Chile, however, becomes an exceptional case, as the site in which the region's last Afro movement emerged (Báez-Lazcano 2018). Neither the state nor legislators have taken into account the Afro-descendants in Arica (Salgado 2013:167). In fact, they have never been officially counted despite the 2015 campaign that advocated the right to include 'Afro-descendants' as an 'ethnic'

category in the 2017 Census, ultimately rejected for racist reasons (Báez-Lazcano 2018). Only in March 2019, the state officially recognised the Afro-Chilean community as 'tribal people' as they had requested (not an ethnic group), but like indigenous people they are still absent from the Constitution. As Cristian asserted when I interviewed him, not being counted has perpetuated the historical rejection and invisibility within Chilean society[34] (see Báez-Lazcano 2018; Salgado 2013). This state's rejection exemplifies the naturalisation of the raceless character assumed by the state, and how historically the state has shaped who is (or is not) 'Chilean', assuming that 'mainstream' society is not 'ethnicised'. Thus, a presumed 'whiteness' is taken for granted (Loveman 2009) and remains invisible, and 'race' as a concept appears with the perceived non-white 'other', currently personified in the image of certain LAC migrants. As the focus group of Chilean residents revealed, Chileans assume a 'white' background that lies behind the idea of being homogeneous *mestizos* (Chapter 7). Specifically, the only question about 'ethnicity' and self-identification in the national census –in which the Afro-Chilean movement wanted to appear as a separate category ('Afro-descendants')- asked if people felt they belong to an 'ethnic community', followed by different categories naming indigenous communities. The question itself is problematic since it associates ethnicity only with indigenous communities. 'Ethnic' is therefore related to minorities and based on culture, following the deep-seated division Wade (2010) warns. It implies that some identities are culturally and ethnically 'diverse', while others are the 'norm', which in this case implies that the 'mainstream society' (those who are not direct members of such communities) does not have 'ethnicity', and as if it does not live through 'culture' (Wade 2010), based on an hegemonic westernised discourse. Therefore, 'race', and even 'culture' and 'ethnicity' matter and are socially and visually more

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[34] The prohibition of slavery achieved in 1823 was only theoretical and a fiction, as Afro-descendant bodies were attached to a social structure that deprived them of human dignity. Their physical features conditioned their position in society: they were 'free, maybe, but not equals' (De Ramón, 2009, p. 199). In effect, as Cristian argues, the abolition of slavery was more a matter of economics (masters were paid for freeing them) rather than political rights, as the former slaves, due to the deep-rooted habit of remaining under the master's tutelage and security, usually continued to serve their 'masters' to provide for their families (Salgado, 2013, p.80). If during slavery, Africans were treated as objects and 'counted', as Cristian asserted in the interview, when their humanity was recognised in 1823, their worthiness became more devalued, symbolically vanished from the state.

evident with the presence of the 'non-white other' (Loveman 2009). 'Whiteness' in Chile has been deeply normalised, understood as default, within the presumption of an 'homogeneous', 'raceless' and 'de-ethnicised' population.

In Chile's history, broadly speaking, 'race' first mattered in colonial times to divide society into racialised social hierarchies or 'castes'[35], which allowed the subjugation and enslavement of indigenous and African communities - as did other LAC countries (see Moreno-Figueroa 2008a; Undurraga 2009). In colonial Chile, only people of Spanish ancestry could enjoy privileges, and non-white populations were excluded and enslaved (De Ramón 2009). The only way descendants could attain greater opportunities within the colonial society was if a lineage was sufficiently far from *negritud* (blackness) and closer to 'whiteness'[36](De Ramón 2009:199). While Spaniards and indigenous people lived within 'republics', Africans were considered (and introduced as) slaves, so they could not constitute their own communities (Moreno-Figueroa 2008a:286; Wade 2010) or enjoy the same 'opportunities' as indigenous people (Martínez 2004). African people were at the bottom of a social hierarchy based on 'race'. I argue that this lack of 'purity' attributed to African descendant population that lead to their exclusion during colonial times, significantly shaped the way in which Afro-descendants are seen, treated, and imagined in Chile since the new republic, permeating not only the nation-state's denial of their presence, but also people's encounters with Afro-descendant migrants today.

Second, for the construction of the nation-state, 'race' mattered as a way to provide a unique 'racial mixing' that allowed the constitution of a new republic, in which native people were key for the national identity (see Bottinelli 2009; Earle 2007). However, once the nation-state was established, 'race' followed colonial principles to subjugate indigenous people (see Bottinelli 2009). In the context of the new republic, Vicuña-Mackenna, a politician, historian and writer,

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[35] In late sixteenth century Spaniards' religious beliefs helped establish a racialised hierarchical classification system based on 'proportions of Spanish, native, and black blood', inspired by the concept '*limpieza de sangre*' (purity of blood) (Martínez 2004:483).

[36] This order was an illusion. In the course of the eighteenth century, the 'colourful construction of differences' were no longer evident in Chile (Undurraga 2009:351).

initially included indigenous people as part of the national identity, but later his portrayal of indigenous people in *Arauco* reproduced colonial references to indigenous inferiority, aiming to incorporate that territory (Bottinelli 2009). The idea of an indigenous ancestry, although part of the national identity -still alive in social imaginaries and patriotism that re-emerges for a week each year in mid-September independence day commemorations-, is neglected on a daily basis. The reproduction of a hierarchical social order based on 'race' mediates any social encounter. Such narratives of 'otherness' that produced unbridgeable biologically-based differences, persist today regarding indigenous communities and people who are perceived as having more distinct indigenous features, especially in the case of LAC migrants. This racialised social hierarchy was supported by thinkers and historians influenced by Darwin, who built the narratives of today's national identity (Rebolledo 1994:263). Nicolás Palacios, a Chilean nationalist political thinker, offered a national narrative with his book 'The Chilean Race'. The so-called 'Chilean race' was based on the idea of population homogeneity from the 'ideal mixture' between the Spanish coloniser and the indigenous '*araucano'* (*Mapuche*) (Palacios 1918). This Chilean 'fictive ethnicity', as Balibar (1991a) puts it, was thus sustained on the idea of intense *mestizaje*. The *mestizo*, however, was conceived as having only two ancestries (Larraín 2001), excluding any African background, and reproducing the colonisers' beliefs of the 'undesirability' of African populations.

At the same time, 'race' started to matter as a critical element for the country's development based on 'improving race', by attracting European migration (Bottinelli 2009), considering *mestizaje* as a racial project (Moreno-Figueroa 2013). In Latin America, many states of colonised countries, like Chile, encouraged a new process of *mestizaje* to whiten their populations through immigration policies. The state's objective was to improve the Chilean population's 'race', through the promotion of European migration, guided by racist ideologies. According to Quijano[37] (2000:232),

> The process of homogenization of the members of the imagined society from a Eurocentric perspective as a characteristic and condition of the

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[37] Own translation.

modern nation-states was carried out in the countries of the Latin American Southern Cone… through the massive elimination of some of them (*indios, negros* and *mestizos*). That is, not through the fundamental democratization of social relations and policies, but for the exclusion of a part of the population.

Such exclusion is the crux of this research, as are the different ways that perpetuate exclusion in multicultural Chile today. In the modern state, although 'race' mattered as much as before, its role became invisible through the consolidation of the idea of a 'homogeneous' society. Paradoxically, this invisibility did not eliminate 'race' as a criterion for producing difference and power in the society but reinforced it (in obscured ways) since 'race' is still constantly erupting through the social landscape. As Quijano (2010:24) asserts, 'Latin America is, without doubt, the most extreme case of cultural colonization by Europe.'

According to Goldberg (2001:16), when modern states articulate themselves nationally as racial and culturally homogeneous, mistakenly insisting on a homogeneous identity group, they embody the homogeneity repressively as a value. Thus, homogeneity is understood as a denied heterogeneity, or in other words, the acknowledgement of a repressed heterogeneity in order to create a unified state. Thus, the external 'ethno-racial' European 'otherness' was replicated. According to Prakash (1990:403),

> third world voices… speak within and to discourses familiar to the "West" instead of originating from some autonomous essence (…) The third world, far from being confined to its assigned space, has penetrated the inner sanctum of the first world in the process of being "third-worlded."

Latin American states, like the Chilean, were constituted as 'raceless' through the belief that the European colonisation and the intended attraction of a European migration would engender a 'superior' white blood in a single 'race', eliminating the less desired indigenous and African presence progressively (Goldberg 2001). Thus, the construction of the nation-state was built upon 'First World' imaginaries, in which the way to create a superior subject is based on the creation of an 'other', conceived as inferior, from which it is possible to differentiate. The

new republic was eager to bring 'white blood' and consequently create a *social order of white supremacy* based on a homogenised discourse (see Loveman 1999; Vedesio 2008). Hence, immigration policies became a political tool to reproduce and consolidate the desired population that preserved the European 'white' ancestry. Such policies aimed to create and maintain a 'fictive ethnicity' since "no national state, has an ethnic basis' (Balibar 1991b:49).

The new republic developed immigration projects to attract Europeans, not only to foster economic development, nor to 'colonise' national territories that were not yet populated by indigenous communities (not considered 'nationals'), but rather, to ultimately improve the 'racial' background by restricting other kinds of non-white migration (Rebolledo 1994). Thus, Chile could construct an 'imagined nation' based on the idea of a society composed of 'white' immigrants. The *mestizaje project* or *'blanqueamiento',* as Goldberg (2001:214) puts it, was a genetic, economic and political project for a progressive whitening, that implied states with no raciality. As Loveman (1999:913) states (in the case of Brazil), in the consolidation of the nation-state, the meanings of 'race' and 'nation' are mutually constituted, and even today 'whiteness is [still] obvious, whiteness is privileged, and whiteness is desired'[38] (Loveman 2009:227).

Drawing on Goldberg's theoretical approach, I argue that the Chilean state is constructed since its beginning as a raceless state, not marked by ethnicity and normalised by whiteness. As such, its population's whiteness has been historically considered as naturalised through the assumption of an intense *mestizaje* that progressively 'eliminated' any indigenous element and particularly any African descent. However, a raceless character does not eliminate racism, but quite the opposite: these are racist states because of how they were conceived and modernised (Goldberg 2001). Following this conception, I argue that the Chilean state, in assuming a 'raceless' and de-ethnicised status, is a racist state. It perpetuates racism in what it denies and obscures, through a national narrative that assumes a homogeneous society -

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[38] In the census questionnaires in Latin American countries from 1850-1950, whiteness is treated as self-evident (2009:226), as did the Chilean census.

whereby 'whiteness' is taken for granted. This colour-blindness –'committed to seeing and not seeing all as white' (Goldberg 2001:223)- has resulted in an historical disavowal of racism in Chile, and it endless reproduction, continuously shifting to endure in time and space. This is because the state in assuming a raceless character and the non-existence of racism, it extends exclusion by another name and means (2001:223).

The state strategy of '*mestizaje logics'*, as Moreno-Figueroa (2013) calls it, led to reinforcement of the disavowal of any 'non-white' racial elements, which later produced the progressive elimination of the term 'race' from official documents. However, that only obscured the forthcoming migration selection that would still be based on racial criteria: the ideology of racism began operating in the shadows. As my research shows, the state's gradual disavowal of 'race' is deeply embedded not only in social imaginaries but also in social structures today. Accordingly, Reiter (2012) argues that the logics of servitude have persisted in Latin America based on a hierarchical racial order that benefits the 'white' elites. As he (2012:xx) suggests, 'most Third World countries have elites and upper-middle classes living at very high standards –comparable, and often superior, to those of First World elites, because they can rely on an abundance of cheap labor.' The progressive marginalisation of the non-white 'other' reinforced by this project is perpetuated through immigration policies to this day. As a result, indigenous and Afro communities have historically been subjected to discrimination and racism. As Goldberg (2001: 221) asserts,

> Racelessness is the neoliberal attempt to go beyond -without (fully) coming to terms with -racial histories and their accompanying racist inequities and iniquities; to mediate the racially classed and gendered distinctions to which those stories have given rise without reference to the racial terms of those distinctions; to transform, via the negating dialectic of denial and ignoring, racially marked social orders into racially erased ones.

Thus, as Goldberg (2001:222) explains, the 'racial status quo', that is, the racial exclusions and privileges that benefit white elites, is sustained by legally formalising equality through implementing equal treatment principles, through which lived inequalities marked by 'race' are seen as a legitimate result of individual efforts rather than a product of historical racial inequalities. Thus, as

he argues, the racial neoliberal state exacerbates inequality by privileging those already privileged (2009:332).

These macro forces, therefore, proved crucial to analyse the current political changes regarding the way migration is tackled today in Chile, especially seen in the recent administrative orders to further restrict African-descent migration. Thus, the way the state has historically managed 'ethno/racial' factors was vital in this research. As Mignolo (2011:xxii) states, 'Bio-politics (or bio-power)… has served to… manage and control the population.' 'Race' is still marking biological, geopolitical, economic, cultural and legally defined configurations (Goldberg 2001:258).

The racial state and immigration policies

> As national controls on immigration have from the start been highly racialized, gendered and sexualized, then so has the 'nation'. Initial immigration controls not only reflected the exclusionary ideologies that set the limits to membership in the 'nation', but they also went on to continuously enact it. (Sharma 2015:103)

'Race' has shaped the history of immigration policies in Chile. Like everywhere else, immigration policies established the boundaries of nationhood and territory, 'materialising the difference between 'national citizens' and their 'non-national' others' (Sharma 2015:102). The long historical shadow of colonisation has shaped the normative 'us' that predominates in Chile: racism has permeated who belongs and who does not, based on a particular taken-for-granted 'whiteness' that is imprinted in Chilean identity formation (see Loveman 2009).

In the nineteenth century, Chile did not have an open-door policy for all migration. Spontaneous migrations, such as those from Arab and Asian countries, were unwelcome. A broad consensus held that selective immigration was more compatible and convenient and should consider migrants' 'moral quality or ability to work', to contribute to overcoming national 'ethnic' characteristics (Rebolledo 1994:258). Vicuña-Mackenna established a hierarchy of nationalities, with Europe as the prime 'development and culture' model Chile wished to foster (1994:258). Hence, racist politics were developed, and 'race' now was used as a

tool to select the most desired 'genotypes', deepening social divisions. While to the new European colonisers, the state offered land, money, materials, and free medical assistance (Cano, Soffia, and Martínez 2009), indigenous communities in the south were evicted from their ancestral lands. The racist politics of 'Araucanía Occupation'[39] (1861-1883) accelerated the exclusion of indigenous communities and the state's view of this group at the bottom of the social hierarchy.

Regardless of this selective/planned migration, other migrants started to arrive from China, Peru and Bolivia (Cano et al. 2009) without state support, and in late nineteenth century, from Palestine, Syria and Lebanon (Rebolledo 1994). Asian migration suffered restrictions in the new continents which were considered a monopoly of 'white' nations (Rebolledo 1994). In Chile, although no legal measures suppressed them, Asians were exposed to criticism since Chileans identified them as 'inferior races'. The press published complaints about the presence of Asian migrants, and several intellectuals stated that 'these immigrants were biologically inferior creatures who should be excluded from the country'[40] (Rebolledo 1994:259). In particular, Chinese and Japanese, followed by Arab and Jewish immigrants were most questioned (Rebolledo 1994). Xenophobia against Arabs, '*turcofobia*',[41] subjected them to discrimination (1994). This shows how the state started to shape people's perceptions (and at the same time was shaped by them), reinforcing processes of racialisation towards these 'others', which reproduced the colonial way of making 'race', and controlling the desired homogeneity.

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[39] During colonial times, after historical wars and battles (Bengoa 2011), the Spanish crown finally recognised *Mapuche* community borders and independence in 1641. However, as of 1850 the new republic undertook a more cruel colonisation of *Mapuche* ancestral territories, referred to as *Araucanía*, which the state masked by calling it the '*Araucanía Pacification.*' This is an on-going historical struggle as the Chilean state has yet to resolve its relationship with the *Mapuche* society (Bengoa 2011), even handling this conflict as a terrorist matter (see Crow 2014).
[40] Own translation.
[41] Calling the Arab diaspora 'Turkish' was derogatory since this term identified them not as another nationality but with their Ottoman Empire oppressors (Rebolledo 1994).

The 1953 Law[42] (No. 69) was the first to explicitly state the intention of promoting 'racial' selection to 'develop' Chile in every possible way:

> Bearing in mind:
> That demographic and ethnic reasons, as well as those related to the country's very survival in the future, advise carrying out an effective immigration plan immediately (...)
> That the immigration with selective elements, will contribute to improving the biological conditions of race... (Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores 1953)

Although it seems fictional, this law established a migratory plan for the sake of improving 'race'. Not any migrant was allowed to enter Chile. In fact, the concept of 'immigrant' here refers only to European migration. This law exemplifies the way racist discourses were reinforced by migratory policies that replicated the restrictions to non-white migration, making distinctions –some subtle, others direct– between 'desirable' and 'undesirable' migrants. As Goldberg (2001:31) states, '[t]he creation and promotion of difference is the necessary condition of reproducing homogenized sameness; and (re)producing homogeneity necessarily promotes the externalization of difference to produce its effect'.

More worrying is that during the dictatorship, when Pinochet established the Decree Law No. 1,094 in 1975,[43] known as the 'Foreigner Law', the 1953 law was not in disuse and remained part of the current legislative framework. I argue that this decree permeates subsequent immigration policies in the pursuit of the same aspired homogeneous 'whiteness'. Furthermore, colonial history and national imaginary on this issue imprinted upon state thought and legislation to a certain extent continues to shape the racial formations that Chileans have today in the neighbourhood, as this study will show, amounting to an 'imagined whiteness', as I will call it, that Chileans and LAC migrants constantly refer to in their discourse.

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[42] It is a decree with the force of the law, which is a legal norm emanated (written) from the executive power (President) after being delegated by the legislative power and afterwards approved by the Congress. This kind of law is not rare in a Presidential System as the Chilean one.
[43] Between 1973 and 1980 the dictatorship of Pinochet dictated laws bypassing the Congress, which is why they are called Decree Laws.

According to Goldberg, social exclusion in terms of 'race', that is interrelated with class and gender, becomes a social belonging marker that measures a state and citizenship. Through 'race', the racial state started mediating the tensions between economy and society in order to maintain the white privilege and power (Goldberg 2001:205). The denial of heterogeneity for the sake of a unified Chilean national identity has persisted through legal measures and policies regarding migration. In effect, 'national citizenship entails a *fundamentally* racist organization of societal belonging' (Sharma 2015:99). The state still operates in a continuous production of difference and builds upon hierarchies of power, in which 'race' is no longer an 'issue' yet lies latent. In effect, modern racially managed regimes have a state control rationality, acting as both container and excluder (Goldberg 2001):

> It enacts an evacuation of the space of those regarded as racially dangerous or threatening so long as the periphery of that space is fenced off by a "military cordon". Because the boundaries are clearly cordoned off and ringed, militarized and policed, symbolically as much as materially, the interior for the most part can be abandoned to its own anarchic and self-destructive practices. (2001:259)

Thus, homogeneity has been historically reproduced by the state through repression, restrictions and delimitations (Goldberg 2001:259), such as border enforcement and selective practices by either legislation and administrative orders, or the police at the borders, to maintain the national imagined community. Furthermore, national belonging is produced institutionally in and through the state, defined by racial markers that are inscribed in limits to economic, political and aesthetical access, where they represent in national and institutional terms the prevalent conceptions of beauty and excellence, the right and good (Goldberg 2001). In that sense, the creation of a Chilean 'fictive ethnicity' (Balibar 1991) -like the 'Chilean race' (Palacios 1918) and its homogeneous character- does not suffice to explain this modern raceless state- other aspects also matter. As Bridget Anderson (2013:2) suggests, modern states portray themselves as a 'community of value', whereby people share (not arbitrarily), values and patterns of behaviour expressed by their culture, ethnicity (although fictitious), religion or language, thus 'bonded by common

experiences'. Valued as such, the community comprised of 'good citizens' requires protection from 'outsiders' (2013:3), who might be seen as 'failed citizens' or non-citizens: perceived as 'incapable' of living by their ideals and values, who although some could be 'legally fixed', would still impersonate the idea of 'failed citizen' (2013:4). This argument allows a better understanding of how racism operates in immigration policies, in which the desirability of certain migrants over others is related to a racialised idea of shared values and 'culture' that are, at the same time, linked to ideas of European whiteness.

Racist politics and border controls: The 1975 Decree Law and administrative orders

The 1975 Decree Law introduced a national security approach (Cano et al. 2009), not addressing migrants' need to access public social services and the labour market, let alone human rights and non-discrimination. Not surprisingly, it did not replace the 1953 law, which remains valid. Furthermore, I will show how it is still reproduced in the way the state, especially Piñera's administration, aims to attract a 'desired' migration. The 1975 Decree Law established the term '*extranjero'* (foreigner), which reflects the context of maximum national security amidst one of the cruellest dictatorships of Latin America. All migrants were seen as a potential threat to the state. The term *extranjero* comes from the antique French word *estrangier (étranger),* which means strange, and *estrange* is the heritage evolution from the latin *extraneus*, from the root '*extra',* which means outside from, external. Thus, *extranjero* alludes to an outsider, or 'alien', as was translated in the English version of 1975 Decree Law (Ministry of Foreign Affairs 2000). The term is still used in migratory reform and the 2013 bill currently in Congress, implying the threat of an outsider, and reproducing the historical exclusion of the non-expected 'others'. The 1975 Decree Law established a mechanism of control and vigilance that still prevails, that have reproduced the differences between what the state called 'free immigrant' (the spontaneous migration) and the colonisers, whom the state sought to attract (and failed in part) in the past.

At the end of the twentieth century, international migration faced a new pattern: South-South migration (Martínez 2003). Chile became a new pole of attraction due to its economic and political stability in the region (Cano et al. 2009). The democratizing process in the 90's did not resolve the flaws of the 1975 law decree, but instead continued to operate with those security-based principles. Paradoxically, it subscribed to international human rights agreements and created social programmes to deal with the problems of access that the restrictive law imposed on 'undesired' migrants (Stefoni 2011), especially during Bachelet's government. While health became one of the most urgent rights that needed to be guaranteed regardless immigration status, housing, however, was not even a relevant issue in the 90s-2000, mistakenly assuming that migrants needed short-term leases (Cano et al. 2009). Housing is an issue that has not been addressed until today, as I will show (Chapter 5). These measures were 'band-aids' rather than effective solutions, and migrants came to be seen as a social problem (Stefoni 2011).

The restrictions of the 1975 law persisted in the access to labour since for a temporary visa (Work Contract Visa) people had to be hired by a single employer for two years as well as many other obligations for the employer that made migrants' job access unfair compared to Chileans (see types of visas in Appendix II). If the contract ended earlier, they had 30 days to find a new employer and apply again for a visa or lose their immigration status. The problem was that the jobs that LAC migrants usually had access to (in a patriarchal racialised society), such as domestic labour for women,[44] and the construction industry for men,[45] made it difficult to obtain and maintain temporary visas, let alone apply for a permanent visa to stay five more years. Moreover, such formalised hiring arrangements entailed that migrants become retained by virtue of maintaining their immigration status (Bridget Anderson 2006:11). Not only could employers benefit from that but it also created possibilities for exploitative work and abuse.

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[44] It depends also on personal relationships with the employee, and the problems with family reunification and the change from being working *puertas adentro* (living in employer's house: 'live-in') to *puertas afuera* ('live-out') (Stefoni 2011).
[45] It is highly rotative, and the subcontracting system entails short-term contracts (Stefoni, Leiva, and Bonhomme 2017)

These restrictive legislations led to a rise of irregular migrants, 'illegalities' that the state's policies had produced. To manage that situation, the government undertook two regularisation processes, called *Amnistía* in 2007-2008. However, calling it 'Amnesty' implied the forgiveness of a situation considered 'illegal' (Stefoni 2011), not acknowledging that these 'illegalities' were the inevitable consequence of political and administrative issues created by the law decree rather than migrants' wrongdoing. However, what the news media widely broadcast was the government's forgiveness of undocumented migrants (Stefoni 2011), suggesting a mistaken 'illegality' rather than a needed repair of state policy.

Although those measures allowed the government to deal with the situation at that time, they reproduced the stigmatisation of certain LAC groups by treating them not only as vulnerable but also as 'illegals', outside the law. Thus, there was no ambivalence in the way the government undertook the migration situation but it just made sure to comply (on paper) with the human rights conventions. The essence of its immigration policies were unchanged. According to Stefoni (2011), this was a 'policy of the no policy'. She argued that the 1975 Decree Law was not an immigration policy due to the political context in which it was created, and that the measures taken during democracy to address the issues these policies created for migrants, were inefficient. I argue, on the contrary, that these measures ensured that the selective racial control apparatus behind the 1975 policies remain obscured: the arbitrary discretionary authority of the investigative police (*Policía de Investigaciones* -PDI) at the borders. Immigration policy did not change but just shifted focus, while the situation remained the same, controlling heterogeneous elements and threats by other subtler means. Thus, there was a clear policy all along: a racist one. Far from being a non-policy, the 1975 Decree Law restricted entry of the same 'non-desired' migrants the state had tried to manage since the nineteenth century. This is precisely why the law is an effective racist policy indeed, by which the state power pretended to continue organising the society as a 'racialized community in which citizenship operates to create a positively racialized 'nation' and a negative racialized other' (Sharma 2015:99). The state subtly controls migratory flows at the border, giving

PDI the power to decide who enters or is refused entry (OBIMID 2016). For instance, while Europeans, and also some Latin Americans perceived as having a symbolic 'prevalence' of European descent (i.e. Argentinians, Uruguayans) have always been welcome, others, considered 'non-white', are denied entry.

Racist politics, therefore, have in subtle ways restrained undesirable migration, obstructing most negatively racialised LAC newcomers from becoming regular citizens. These policies treat them with hostility and suspicion when they enter Chile as tourists -which is entirely legal for three months, notwithstanding their intention to stay longer. The 1975 Decree Law established the possibility to apply from Chile for a temporary residency, and after two years for a permanent one (see Appendix II). However, such freedom on paper was not true in reality. While migratory patterns were shifting, the border controls experienced changes too, due to the discretionary attributions given to the investigative police, making room for arbitrary practices (OBIMID 2016).

The data collected on police border controls (PDI) show that the rates of rejection vary depending on nationality, based on 'racial' distinctions that affect mostly people of (or perceived) African descent (from Haiti and the Dominican Republic). The highest rejection rate in 2012 was one in two people (OBIMID 2016). In fact, NGO leader Mauricio claimed that at the northern borders (in 2015), officials divided people into two queues, separating Afro-descendants in a '*fila de negros'* (queue of blacks). Although the participants in this study did not corroborate this claim, they confirmed arbitrary practices. Cristian Baez-Lazcano (Afro-Chilean) stated that he made formal claims in UN shadow reports on police (PDI) discrimination of Afro-descendants.

> It's the exercise of the Chilean border... with Bolivia and Peru. Chacalluta and Chungará. When a black Colombian man or woman passes, they're checked until the end, or their entry is rejected. Chile, ehh... violates international treaties, because the Afro-Colombian migration, Colombian migration in general... seek refuge at the border, and it's denied. And that doesn't go with the Vienna protocol that says that a 'person who at the border... asks for refuge, must be received.'

Cristian explains that when migrants are rejected, they often return to Tacna where *coyotes* (human smugglers) cross them over the border by foot through an unauthorised and dangerous route. However, when they arrive in Chile, the police usually capture them. When Colombians request refuge they are charged with a crime, invalidating the possibility of refuge, and in such case, they cannot defend themselves. In general, people that were rejected at the border (usually because they were too nervous and 'unbelievable') try another day, hoping this time they will remain calm under police pressure and avoid being considered 'suspects' and that they will be attended by a nicer official who would allow them to enter. However, if still rejected, they start looking for irregular paths to cross the border with *coyotes* or people they meet at the border.

As Goldberg (2001) argues, the emergence of migratory movements has progressively created heterogeneous societies at a global level, challenging nation-states to maintain homogeneity through different tactics. This is why in 2012, alongside border controls, the state introduced unprecedented restrictions due to the great increase in migratory flows from Haiti and the Dominican Republic. Chile implemented new compulsory entry requirements, such as a consular visa for Dominicans, and an Invitation Letter for Haitians (OBIMID 2016). As expected, these measures did not reduce human mobility but on the contrary, it increased through irregular paths, making migrant mobilities more vulnerable. It also fostered what can be called an 'illegality industry' (Andersson 2014:8): people started selling invitation letters (for Haitians), *coyotes* smuggled migrants into the country (especially regarding people whose countries are not subscribed in the MERCOSUR[46] bloc) (Chapter 4).

I argue that these migratory policies explicitly perpetuate the racist politics from the 1953 law in subtler ways and make it possible to manage those migrations with enforced border controls. The power granted to the police at the borders reveals there is a policy in practice, so that the 1975 law, far from being a non-

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[46] It is a sub-regional bloc that promotes free trade and fluid movement of people, goods, and currency. Its full members are Argentina, Brazil, Paraguay, Uruguay and Venezuela, and associate countries are Bolivia, Chile, Peru, Colombia, Ecuador and Suriname. It provides access to a one-year temporary visa to people from Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Paraguay and Uruguay.

policy is a racist one, concealed by the way it operates at the borders. It is racist precisely because of its presumed 'open character' that enables discretionary delimiting of migrant entry. This reveals how the state is a 'racial state' (Goldberg 2001), as the border becomes an apparatus of 'racial' control. Racist controls configure the boundaries of belonging and citizenship to a territory, making arbitrary distinctions between desirable and undesirable migrants, based on racial hierarchies. The state has assumed modernity through the reproduction of homogeneity, eradicating the 'non-white' difference. Today, however, in an unprecedented way, the state has managed the exogeneous 'other', in order to maintain a coherent community of 'us' (Anderson 2013).

Reinforcing border controls: Piñera's migratory reform

> The deepening economic crisis has, in some quarters, found its scapegoat—not the mobile banker or trader with his squandered billions, but the impoverished, immobilized "migrant" stuck in the borderlands. (…) powerful border regimes seek to keep the undesirables out. Inland, unprecedented investments allow for increased surveillance and incarceration of those deemed dangerous or unwelcome. (Andersson 2014:6)

South American states have undergone a 'punitive turn' in recent years due to a radical transformation of the political scenario, with right-wing political coalitions that have led to more state violence against migrants amidst major changes in migratory patterns (Domenech 2017:20), as is the case of Brazil and Argentina. According to Goldberg (2001), when countries start seeing migration as an external threat, they appeal for national unity by promoting national identity. This is how successful discourses, such as those of Donald Trump, Brexit campaign, and the political repercussions in Chile with the political campaign of the elected president Piñera, were articulated.

My research was amidst political shifts on immigration policies during the governments of Michelle Bachelet (2014-2018) and Sebastian Piñera (2018-present). Migration started to become an 'issue' during Bachelet's administration, as shown in the last section. It started with positive changes with the new Chief of DEM, Rodrigo Sandoval, who, among other changes,

administratively created a new visa called 'Labour Motive Visa', which reduced the time migrants had to be with the same employer to obtain a work visa (one year instead of two) and gave fewer responsibilities to the employer. The aim was to balance the court with nationals understanding as well that these issues inevitably left many people undocumented. However, when Sandoval was unable to stop the government from establishing a consular visa for Haitians, he resigned, exposing internal political conflicts around migration. After the right-wing candidate won with a discourse of fear, however, such a consular visa was immediately established. Inspired by Trump's successful anti-immigration discourse, Piñera's main card promised migration control. Such reclaimed control of growing migration was fraught with racism. The use of 'migration' and its alleged 'uncontrolled' character was Piñera's main tactic as presidential candidate. Piñera won the elections in a country where the centre-left parties have mostly led after a brutal 17-year dictatorship. In 2018, President Piñera focused his initial days in office to make dramatic changes in immigration policies. He imposed unprecedented restrictions for certain LAC migrants, especially for people whose countries are not subscribed in the MERCOSUR bloc, through the 2013 bill and a restrictive migratory reform. That reform aims to control human mobilities through a racist selective process: such as limiting migration from countries of predominantly Afro-descendant populations (i.e. Haiti) while also promoting migration from other countries with perceived 'whiter' populations. As Andersson (2014:4) claims,

> Yet while some travellers—whether executives, "expats," or tourists—are celebrated for their powers to shrink distances and connect territories, others are fretted about for the same reasons. The label "migrants" is usually, and paradoxically, reserved for them. These migrants haunt the rich world, but it is rarely clear who they are or why they provoke such fear.

Like a *mantra,* Piñera repeated over and over again his presidential platform of 'safe, orderly, and regular' migration when introducing the reform. Yet he refrained from signing the Global Compact on Migration in late 2018 that had the exact statement, even though it was legally non-binding and grounded in no-discrimination, human rights and state sovereignty values (among others). At the

last minute, Chile pulled out of the agreement, constituting one of ten countries that refused to endorse it, together with the US, Israel, the Dominican Republic, and Brazil. Racism proved its power over populations with these unexpected victories around the globe when many thought racism was over. But racism, as this thesis shows, persists, resurfacing in both explicit and hidden ways.

A month after taking office, while announcing the introduction of his 'renewed' Migration bill of 2013 (never approved in congress due to its economist and lack of human rights approach), Piñera acted rapidly to issue administrative orders, bypassing the Congress, to control part of the growing migration criticised by society and fuelled by the media. One of his first measures was the '*Reforma Migratoria'* (See Appendix III), which consisted of a more refined selection of migrants by requiring visas that could only be acquired in their countries of origin: these visas specifically limit the entrance of the 'undesired' migration of African descent -with a consular visa for Haitians. At the same time, he promoted entry of 'desired' migrants with different kinds of visa: The 'Democratic Responsibility Visa' for Venezuelans, the 'International Orientation Visa' for migrants of higher qualifications and the 'Opportunities Visa' for qualified individuals looking for a job. Piñera also announced his own *Amnistía*, called 'Regularisation Process', to regularise undocumented migrants. It was an excellent strategy that appeared benevolent, while simultaneously making a radical turn by closing the borders to certain LAC people coming from non-MERCOSUR countries, such as the Dominican Republic and Haiti, countries perceived as having 'more prominent' African and indigenous backgrounds- as if Chileans ancestries were any different. Following Trump's racist policies, the state progressively created invisible walls to maintain the presumed homogeneity. What happened next seems evident: with these measures the government established a system whereby 'illegal migration' is produced and controlled, similar to what Andersson (2014:12) suggests regarding the European border.

Suddenly, Piñera closed borders for Haitians, who would no longer be able to enter seeking jobs. While this consular visa created an intangible wall to obstruct

Haitian entry, the president also established a 'Humanitarian Visa' -probably to counteract the effect of how racism was imprinted in such policy. The new visa, appeared to be a 'humanitarian' gesture, as it was extended to family members of Haitian residents (limited quota of 10,000 a year). The official announcement on 9th April 2018, via TV (Prensa Presidencia 2018) started like this:

> Chile has been, is, and always will be a country that is open and cosy with immigration. In fact, one of the richness of our country is its diversity, provided by our native peoples and by those who, -throughout our history-, have come to Chile in search of a better life (…) It's evident that our current migratory situation is far from… constituting that safe, orderly and regular migration. Quite the contrary: today, of the total of more than one million immigrants we have in Chile, it is estimated that about one third is in an irregular situation. These figures more than double those we had in our country just four years ago, which shows the exponential growth that migration has had in our country, and further justifies the need to modernise our legislation…
> This reality of both a poorly ordered and regular migration, doesn't benefit anyone… And that's why we have not only the right, but the obligation to face, with honesty, with determination, with a sense of urgency and also with a humanitarian sense, a situation that has become intolerable. (…) Dear friends… the time has come to put order in this home that we share… (…) We also need legislation in line with the degree of development that our country has reached and that has become a country of opportunities –as reflected in the migration figures… But we want those people to enter Chile respecting our laws, to be integrated into our society, to be a contribution to the development of our country and to have the opportunities to fulfil their dreams of a better life.[47]

Later in May, through a Facebook Live, he again reached out to the population to solve doubts. As the above, Piñera's discourse addressed (apparently) only Chileans, with constant references to the term 'our', employed 39 times in a 13-min video: 'our country', 'our development', 'our compatriots', 'our heritage', 'our government', 'our society', 'our house', 'our borders', 'our laws', etc. (see Appendix III). At the same time, he spoke about migrants as outsiders of what he believes is 'ours'. The discourse perpetuates the nationalism imprinted over the course of Chilean history. Piñera opened with the following:

> New migration law for Chile. Because of a very simple reason. The house was too messy and it was urgent and necessary to tidy our house in

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[47] Own translation.

immigration policies matters. The law we have today is obsolete, it's from the year '75, when practically there was no migration in Chile (…) Today we have more than 1,100,000. And almost a third of these *extranjeros* are irregular.

In his discourse, he associates migration with the idea of a massive increment and the idea of 'irregularities'. Afterwards, he answered questions from people watching the Facebook Live. The first question he chose was starkly brutal. He read: 'No longer receive more migrants. We're already plagued by them'. To which he replied,

> Our north and orientation is quite simple: we want to open Chile's doors to those people who come to obey our laws, to integrate into our society, to contribute to our development. But we want to close our borders to those who intend to enter in an illegal way, or come to cause damage: delinquents, *narcos*… all these people, we don't want in our country.

Later on, he continued:

> before a person enters our country, we'll verify if he has committed crimes… in his own country. And if they have them, we won't let them in. And if he enters Chile illegally, we'll put him on the border. And if he commits crimes in Chile, he'll never be able to be a regular citizen in our country.

Therefore, state policies make 'race' by making borders: both material -closing borders through visas- and symbolic -through state racism and reproducing everyday racisms at the local level (see Chapters 6 and 7). The *extranjero* can never belong, and can only be integrated as long as he complies with national rules and norms. These measures have deepened the (negative) racialisation of the 'alterity' and produce difference at both the national and the local levels.

The President reproduces the idea of 'plague' posed in the first question, by relating migration with delinquency. The idea of control and national security that inspired the 1975 Decree Law flourished again in the President's words during the Facebook Live, in which he even claims that the rights (and duties) migrants can have are to be given 'gradually', and thus, their rights depend on their immigration status:

for a democratic and humanitarian reason, we want *extranjeros* who… enter legally, in compliance with our laws, to have the same rights and obligations gradually. That's why the law states that when an *extranjero* comes to Chile, gradually, in time it will move towards greater equality of rights and obligations with Chileans, until they can reach definitive residence or even ask for [Chilean] citizenship. Those we want to avoid are people who enter illegally, who don't respect our laws, who come to our country not to contribute, nor to integrate, but to produce problems, harm, and even commit crimes. Then the principle is simple: open the doors to whom are good to Chile and close our borders to those that cause us harm. That's why we're going to strengthen the northern border because many people are entering illegally. And if we detect a person entering Chile illegally, we will immediately put him on the border. That's the spirit of the new migration law.

If before, the discretional character of the police allowed that the border act as a means for 'racial control', now the border control occurs through direct executive order and through a measure that closed borders to anyone without a visa.[48] In this regard, Piñera also misinformed the population about the situation of migrants that had entered as tourists and then changed their migratory status in Chile, as if it was something 'illegal', when the current law actually allowed it. More worrying is how he associates such mistaken 'illegality' with migrants from Haiti and Venezuela:

> We'll ask for the visa in the country of origin. We're going to do that with all those countries where the number of migrants that entered without a visa did not comply with our laws because instead of coming as tourists, they stayed pretending to be residents. And that's why we're going to ask for a visa in the country of origin. This is the case, for example, of Haiti, of Venezuela. In the case of Haiti, we're going to make an exception, because there are many families that are already in Chile that have children, parents or wives in Haiti. And, therefore, there will be a special, *Humanitarian*, family reunification visa. And in the case of Venezuela, due to the serious situation of lack of freedom, lack of democracy and lack of respect for human rights [of the people] living in Venezuela, it leads us to have a *Democratic Responsibility Visa*… And therefore, here we're combining the interest of Chile, and every country has the right to regulate the way foreigners enter Chile, and the way they should behave in our country. Immigrants have rights, but they also have obligations. (…) I insist… we're not going to be naive, and we're going to close the doors to all those who only come to violate our laws or to cause damages to our compatriots.

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[48] Except MERCOSUR-bloc countries.

The 'house' only welcomes some, as its disordered nature seems to be intrinsically related to the presence of people of African descent, since the main direct restriction was the consular visa for Haitians. Furthermore, the instrumentalisation of migrants in Piñera's discourse becomes evident. Migrant are seen as commodities, as long as they contribute to society, in which they are seen as strangers and would never be able to fully belong -unless they become part of it on the society's own terms. The idea of assimilation to the 'Chilean way' of doing things (as Piñera once referred) is ever-present. In the next section, I analyse the difference established between migrants from Haiti and Venezuela.

Humanitarian vs Democratic Responsibility Visa: Haiti vs Venezuela

This migratory reform meant the following: giving Venezuelans a year with a work permit, with no visa limits, yet restricting Haitians by a consular visa, while also establishing a 'Humanitarian Visa' (limited). Similar to the efforts during the twentieth century, the state selects the ideal migrants to enter Chile, those who most 'fit' the Chilean reality.

In the presidential discourse, we can see the differentiation between Haiti and Venezuela, using the word 'humanitarian' for the former, as if it was an act of good faith in granting a request that should be granted to anyone who needs to reunify with family. The government argues that this measure benefits these populations since migrants that come from 'poor' countries (due to their lack of qualifications and as victims of deception, as key informants argued), are likely to fail in their migratory journeys. This echoes what Anderson (2013:123) argues about how immigration controls work globally, since they are designed to prevent the 'immigration of the poor', and as she claims, ''poor countries' and countries whose citizenry are black are very likely to coincide.' In that sense, the state reproduces colonial thinking by restricting the arrival of Afro-descendants. Still worse, the idea of such arrival is linked to poverty, with a strong colonial resonance, which means a sort of regression rather than progress. Moreover, the government employs the language of humanitarianism, which has been vital in debates about undocumented migrants crossing into Europe and the US and is a

way to distract the conversation related to building fences by considering the entrance as 'humanitarian' (Ticktin 2016), hiding what I call 'invisible walls'. The other problem is that humanitarianism makes a distinction between guilty and innocent people, not taking into account life experiences that determine those mobilities (Ticktin 2016). The term, foremost, in this case, is associated with the perception of these countries as 'poor', and the superior character that Chile entails when it decides to be 'humanitarian', and to (apparently) 'benefit' those migrants. For the case of Venezuela, rather than using 'humanitarian', officials use 'democratic responsibility', arguing that they are helping them because they received political refugees from Chile during the dictatorship. Venezuelans gained benefits to enter the country with a particular visa, maybe because, as interviewees and key informants have said in this study, they 'look more like Chileans'.

In the end, the consular visas established to the Dominican Republic and Haiti are intangible walls in which the state racism remains invisible. This was the subtle way in which the migratory reform constrained Afro-descendant entry to the country - referring to a humanitarian way of entering- yet giving opening doors wider to people from a country in which the society is perceived as 'whiter' and 'more similar' to Chilean people.

One of the main issues criticised by social civil organisations was that the government only allowed Haitians 30 days (instead of 90) as tourists, as Aisha furiously claimed. A DEM key informant, some weeks after these measures were public, said it was a mistake and they were giving 90 days. 'It was corrected…, it was not a typing error (…) It would be irresponsible for me to tell you what caused that correction, ok?' However, it is hard to believe that there would be such a big mistake not only in the official presidential announcement but also in the documents available in the official government website, which I checked before the interview. I believe after being criticised for this unfair and racist policy they rectified the issue. Regardless, clearly the production of migrant hierarchies was based on 'race', by differentiating between the two major groups migrating into Chile during 2017: condemning one and favouring the other. Even

though the number of Venezuelans has been far superior to Haitians (INE 2018b), the differentiated politics were still clear: closing the borders to non-white migrations and opening possibilities to desired 'Chilean-like' populations. This deeply contradicts the idea of being a nation that welcomes and understands the political difficulties of a country since Haiti also had political conflicts that led to economic struggles that forced emigration. While migrants from these perceived 'poor countries' are restricted by measures that impede their mobility (apparently for their 'own good') through invisible borders, other migrants perceived as a 'better fit' are welcome.

During the interview with a DEM top official Agustín, regarding the restrictive policy against Haitians, I asked if he thought there was racism against Haitians in Chile. He replied: 'I believe that in some conditions there are problems of coexistence with the Haitian, because the Haitian speaks another language (…) and that makes coexistence difficult. And there are also issues, uh… social'. For him, discrimination had to do with living together: racism was not the issue, but rather, that would be inevitable with any 'newcomer' who comes to live in a neighbourhood. As Goldberg (2001:222) argues, the rejection of the existence of racism, and its 'unnameability or formal unspeakability' characterises the raceless status that the Chilean state presumes, and when Agustín denies racism and makes it a matter of coexistence and language barrier, he is obscuring true racist politics behind the migratory reforms, and how those coexistence issues are still product of the ideology of racism that produces domination of some over others. In effect, the myth of a racial democracy, which is defined as harmony among ethnic/racial groups, therefore, the absence of racial discrimination would lead people to believe that any display of racism and discrimination that may occur is usually the result of social and economic issues rather than racial prejudices, as occurs in Brazil (Goldberg 2001). As the author (2001:222) suggests,

> If racial reference is unavoidable as a state of being and yet as a form of governance the state is required to be raceless, it means that the state or state agencies are silenced. They are restricted more or less from addressing, let alone redressing, the effects of racial discrimination. Race

supposedly could not even be discussed as a public policy concern save to render its expression off-limits to public political and policy debate.

Thus, 'colourblindness fails as it succeeds' (2001:223) since declaring the end of racism only replaces the exclusion through other means (by calling it 'discrimination' or 'coexistence problems' as Agustín suggests). This actually happened in Chile when the idea of officially annulling 'race' as a term also implied that racism was rendered invisible but still reproduced in ways I intend to show in this thesis. In effect, as a newcomer myself into the neighbourhood, I never experienced any sort of discrimination or exclusion, which contradicts Agustín's view that it is a problem any newcomer would experience, and thus the key issue migrants experience is a power difference, provoked and sustained by racism, among other factors. The non-acknowledgement of racism becomes therefore another tactic of an ideology that is now materialised in a set of state practices that, through another means, hid the unequal treatment of two migratory groups, which is tainted by racism. This, mainly because the production of difference means power dynamics that put one group in a higher hierarchy by giving greater opportunities through a more open-door policy. In that sense, the name given to both visas is key in materialising the difference the state sought to produce.

Carlos, the other top DEM official I interviewed, however, did believe racism existed against Haitians and that it was not merely a matter of coexistence. Nonetheless, he dismisses the presence of Afro-descendants in Chile, viewing racism as a 'new phenomenon' that arose with the Haitian migration, another common mistake that reveals the state's raceless status:

> ...there's no declared racism; nobody is going to say: 'I'm a racist'. But many people clarify it to you. 'I'm not racist, I have nothing against blacks... but beware that they're bringing us problems'. Because in Chile we've always thought that it's bad to be racist. Bring it to other points. We have no coloured population in Chile, right?... this is why I told you about classism and racism and I put it with Haiti and I insist, Venezuelans can be a little more *morocho*,[49] [...], but it's very similar to the Chilean, it's more educated in his way of speaking and comes with studies... They're all

[49] Term that refers to a person with a brown/dark complexion and/or hair, yet not 'black.'

fascinated by the Venezuelan Uber, the Venezuelan waiter… is the whole world fascinated! And why don't we do the same with the Haitian? Who's against the Haitian… it's because he's poor, he's black, and he won't say it like that, but he lives it that way.

An interesting thing happened during the conversation with Carlos about racism and how Chilean people have reacted differently to the increased migration of Haitians and Venezuelans. He suggested how other migrations are not an issue, such as Argentinians or the 'Spanish executives', as he called them, 'because Chileans feel they're equal to, or better than us'. He associated these migrations with class distinctions. While Haitians were associated with poverty, Venezuelans 'aren't people who in Chile are quickly seen as poor, so there is something of class that makes Chileans more welcoming… and race'. I immediately asked him if he could see, like me, how the distinctions local Chileans make in their differential treatment of Haitians and Venezuelans, according to him, mirror the 'Democratic Responsibility Visa' and the 'Humanitarian Visa' created by the state. And thus, the different treatment local Chileans had of migrants was materialised in the creation of these two visas, and how they called 'humanitarian' the one granted to 'poorer' migrants. So, I asked if what happens locally is reproduced at the state level in the new visas:

Carlos: The visa, the the… visa… the consular tourist visa is requested for more than 140 countries. Why does it matter to you?
Macarena: No, but I was referring to the humanitarian visa.
Carlos: No, yes, but the visa of Haiti… we call it the 'humanitarian visa' … has nothing to do with the name, because it's not the democratic responsibility visa.(…) But the humanitarian visa is really the family reunification visa.(…) They can no longer come as tourists and that change will happen for the entire planet.

At first, he seemed confused, not knowing how to reply and, stammering, he started to reject the evident similarity of racism at the local and national levels. It was clear that macro forces and political changes shape, but also, are shaped by local processes and migrants' trajectories. In that sense, this sheds lights on how these policies are fed by migratory flows and interactions at the local level: by racist logics present in multicultural neighbourhoods; by the media's sensationalistic slant against migration; and finally, by the changing global

political scenarios that have seen migration as a 'crisis', whereby the anti-immigrant discourses of populist far-right political movements have won elections with migrants as scapegoats –in which Chile has been another case of this global current trend (as in the US, UK and Brazil, to name a few). This explains why what Carlos describes as the Chilean local level reality of migration and racism is materialised in the migratory reform, which reflects how macro and micro forces are deeply interrelated in a dynamic relationship. Causality does not explain, therefore, these new administrative measures that echo the local reality and people's imaginaries, embedded in colonial racialised ways of thinking. In effect, Alberto, Neighbourhood Union President, had this to say regarding the reforms and regularisation process:

> I think they're made to remove especially the Haitians (...) they're quite ignorant people academically speaking (...) They're not like Venezuelans; those who are arriving have professional careers. Haitians don't have a profession, and their behaviour is quite calm. And they're nicer, and simpler, and come with an aspiration... for living with greater dignity. But... they're black... and they're many, and they're going to kick them all out... because they won't meet the requirements. So... they're going to have to leave, and I think that the migrants who are today doing the queues there, waiting for the… regularisation… full of hope, have no idea that the great, great majority are going to the slaughterhouse. The vast majority will leave yes or yes... Piñera's government reform also has to do with fulfilling the [campaign] promises to the people who voted for him, right? And they have higher levels of discrimination (...) Chile is still a super discriminatory country… the opportunities that you're going to have because you have blue eyes and you're blonde are not comparable to those of a black curly-haired woman even if she had the same education. It won't be the same.

This particular discourse, alongside the state's discourses voiced by the president and key informants, shows how racism can be seen in the idea of 'mass' in which 'black' migration is perceived, and the implied lack of humanity -with the 'slaughterhouse' reference, among other racist stereotypes. It shows not only how it stems from a history of exclusion through racist immigration policies that restricted any non-white migration, but also that the new immigration policies reflect racism found in the everyday, and fuelled by the media. As Saha (2018) suggests, people often encounter difference through the media, so that the

racialised representations of migrants in the media, especially concerning Haitians, shape the ways they are seen and treated, as this study will show.

I argue that these macro-political forces and the everyday racisms that persist are mutually shaped. The new visas mirror the racism certain migratory groups face in the everyday, and what is worst, it is an 'official' racism, expressed by closing the borders to Afro-descendants, while opening the doors to people perceived as 'maintainers' of the racial national 'status-quo', allegedly represented by Venezuelans.

The neoliberal narrative of incentives: The hidden expulsion

It is evident that all these measures enacted administratively limit, reduce and control migration that appears to be massive and invasive, in subtle ways that appear benevolent and humanitarian, yet push people back to the border. This occurs not only through more restrictions, but also by provoking fear and reinforcing an anti-immigrant sentiment and racism locally, as I later corroborated in the neighbourhood. The interview with DEM officials revealed the final strategy of discarding the 'undesirables' while selecting others through different visas. Agustín suggested throughout the interview that migrants are resilient and adapt perfectly to different situations, despite their educational level.

> The measures announced by President Piñera last Monday 9th April, are administrative reforms that pertain to the concept of ordering the house today. And putting the house in order today is the logic of generating the right incentives for the people who would prefer to come through a regular way to Chile. And how do we generate those incentives?... the Opportunity and the International Orientation visas... And the idea is that any foreigner that arrives has a *carnet* (ID) from day one. We're doing the same with the Democratic Responsibility Visa, and... the Humanitarian Visa. (...) and the third leg of all this logic has to do with the concept of modernisation.

He begins his discourse mentioning the hierarchy that these different visas imply, starting with those that attract highly qualified migrants, and concluding with the humanitarian visa for Haitians. As Agustín stated, the aim is to create incentives to make (certain) migrants leave the country. These 'invisible' incentives are

invisible borders, that restrict certain groups (mostly negatively racialised), while at the same time mask a selective process to attract what they want: highly qualified migrants. During the interview, Agustín mentioned that it is difficult to stop migration from happening, and that there always will be human mobilities. This gave me the opportunity to ask if he also believed that more restrictions, rather than stop migration, would make it more dangerous and vulnerable, and there is a strong likelihood that Haitians will enter through irregular paths, as Dominicans did when the consular visa was introduced in 2012 (see OBIMID 2016). While I asked this, he was signing documents, not only being disrespectful but also not entirely attentive. Yet he responded:

> The objective of the reform is to put orderliness in migration. Not to decrease the flow but only to order it. We're just adding additional visas. In effect, we're adding this through an administrative way that's going to be evaluated. But this is, just, how we improve the process... And why was this needed? Because when I walk through the queue [before entering DEM], they wanted to sell me a contract for $60,000 pesos (£60), you know? Something that has no sanction and no conditions... and that's not a safe or orderly or regular migration. What we're doing is creating a measure very much in the logic of the economics of behaviour, which are... the right incentives for regularisation, so that it's so much better than the other option, that people will naturally make that decision.

The neoliberal economic approach of an 'invisible hand' that would naturally (through some incentives) lead to the results they want, is imprinted in his discourse. However, several studies show how, in reality, state controls and restrictive policies do not stop human mobilities, but rather lead migrants to commit different forms of 'illegalities' in order to continue their journeys, as they still need to leave or escape from their last port due to several reasons; even if it means making their journeys risky. Thus, Agustín's neoliberal narrative of 'incentives' is far from reality if they aim to stop migration. On the contrary, this state racism permeates migrants' journeys by violating their right to migrate and making them vulnerable in several ways, as I will show in the next chapter.

I described to him the case of Aisha (Haiti), who has lived in Chile for three years and has a Chilean baby. After not finding a job, she became a street vendor in order to provide for her family. However, without a labour contract, she could

not prove economic stability and thus, her application for a definitive visa was rejected. So, I asked him if these reforms will end up expelling people like her who already made a life here. He replied:

> Not necessarily... Look, in practice, we should not underestimate the ability of people to make decisions. Ehh... in general, when a person goes several years without a job... without a project that improves their quality of life, they naturally tend to keep looking for opportunities elsewhere. (...) People are super flexible. Therefore, they make the decision themselves (...) economic issues are super flexible. (...) The migrant is an entrepreneur by definition, and... takes opportunities, but also takes ehh... risks. In general, if they know that they have been unemployed for 3, 4 years, most likely they'll go to other emerging economies that are much better for them, such as Peru, Argentina. So, instead of having an expulsion logic, we have to think about how to generate the incentives so that they can effectively develop their life projects, and if they cannot, they would also find open doors to look for new opportunities in other countries.

For negatively racialised migrants, and especially for Afro-descendant migrants, open doors are only exits, as Agustín reveals. This incentive narrative pushes people out of the country, premised by the view that it is the migrant's own decision -as if the state policies do not impact their life projects and act as an apparatus that end up expulsing them. Such a perspective of the state thought with regards to incentives as well as the post-racial discourse crystallised by Agustín's narratives, clearly shows what Goldberg calls 'racial neoliberalism' (Goldberg 2009) and how racial governance works under capitalism in Chile: negatively racialised migrants become responsible for their migratory trajectory as well as for their own inclusion into society, disregarding historical racial inequalities and the state's management of heterogeneity. As Goldberg (2009: 329-330) states, '[r]ace is a foundational pillar of modernizing globalization, both shaping and coloring the structures of modern being and belonging.'

Therefore, the state creates 'invisible walls' to keep out certain migratory groups, such as Haitians or Dominicans, imposing 'right' incentives so they will not have any other option than leaving, (strategically) masking the expulsion with the notions of 'resilience' and 'entrepreneur', as migrants' main characteristics. The problem lies in the idea of migrants as uniquely responsible for their

opportunities, rather than migration policies, local processes, and economic structures that push them to fall into 'illegalities', which are enmeshed at the local level. Thus, when their projects fail, racism and anti-immigrant sentiments rise in the neighbourhood. In that sense, like Frantz and Evens (Haiti), some would leave because they cannot stand racism anymore. This is why I asked Agustín the following:

> Macarena: Some political decisions can create borders, let's say… because order has to do with putting limits too, right?
> Agustín: Not necessarily. I think that ehh... clear rules guarantee a safe, orderly and regular migration, both for migrants and for the country that receives them… We're not taking anything away; we're only adding visas.
> Macarena: But Haitians did not have to apply for a visa before… so it's more restrictive now.
> Agustín: In the case of Haiti, what we're doing is that we are standardising the situation in Latin America. Both in Venezuela and in Haiti. More than 90% of the countries in Latin America ask Haitians for a consular visa.
> Macarena: But that's the only reason?
> Agustín: That's point one. This doesn't happen with Venezuela. There are very few countries in Latin America that require a consular visa for Venezuelans. So, what we did… is to homologate ourselves to the regional situation (…) The model we're doing with Haiti is very similar to what Brazil did. The difference is that Brazil delivered 1,200 humanitarian visas, and we delivered 10,000 visas. Therefore… we're ehh... doing a positive discrimination with the people of Haiti… although we're standardising and being generous, ehh... we're concerned about the safety of the Haitian citizen… because many times when they arrive in Chile their rights are violated in the logic that they're exploited by certain gangs.

Again, the idea of benevolence associated with the 'humanitarian' visa resurfaces in his discourse, when he argues that 'adding' visas is not a restriction. This masks how the new additional visa really means closing borders for Haitians. I could corroborate this situation when I had to travel after these measures started. Before, many Afro-descendants could be seen at the airport (usually Haitians who arrived by plane), but by that time none were to be seen.

When Agustín contended they are establishing the same conditions for Haiti as any other countries, he emphatically adds: 'Then do you think that Venezuela is racist? that Brazil is racist?... That Mexico is racist? Because we're introducing the same conditions'. To which I replied, 'Yes, their politics could be racist as well,

but I'm interested in Chile'. 'But they aren't, because we're just standardising…', he replied. 'So, we could also standardise with Trump's politics', I answered. Angrily, Agustín reacted: 'Is Trump in Latin America? (…) Do you know how many countries Chile asks for a consular visa? For Haitians? 140 countries in the world. (…) But we're indeed making procedures orderly'.

Although both top DEM officials argued that Chile also requires a consular visa for people from 140 countries, according to the document provided by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (2018), consular visas are not issued for 140 but 103 countries. An analysis of which countries require visas was insightful, revealing the racist bias of Chilean immigration policies. Of the 103 consular visas, half were for African countries (51), which also corresponds to 94.4% of the African continent. One country with significant 'white' population, South Africa, was not on the list. Second came Asian countries (36), with 72% of these countries requiring consular visas, and then Oceania where the 10 visas required corresponds to 71.4% of the continent, excluding the larger countries of New Zealand and Australia. From Europe, a single country from Eastern Europe and three other Asian-European countries (only 8.3% of Europe) were asked for consular visas.

Most revealing was my discovery that people from only five American countries (14.3% of the continent) need consular visas to enter Chile: four of them have populations characterised by indigenous and most significantly African descent, such as Haiti, Dominican Republic, Surinam, Dominica, and finally Cuba. Regardless the agreements with some Latin American countries that Chile allows entry as tourist, evidently any 'non-white' migrant, and especially Afro-descendants, are not welcome. The phrase repeated over and over again by the President and Chilean participants –that Chile is a 'welcoming country'– hides racist politics that have persisted over centuries. Chile is far from being welcoming. At least not to all: not to any having a pronounced perceived indigenous, African or Asian descent.

The reason given for Haiti's consular visa -to standardise procedures with other countries of the region- reproduces the idea of obstructing entry through non-welcoming disincentives that discourage 'non-white' migration from visiting Chile, let alone making a life there. Chile's masked expulsion process of non-qualified migrants (drawing on such 'benefits' for Haitian migrants) culminated with the government's implementation in late 2018 of the *Plan Humanitario de Regreso Ordenado* (Plan of Orderly Return), a program of voluntary return for both documented and undocumented migrants. Although officially it appears to be for all migrants, it was created (and widely disseminated in the media) exclusively for Haitians as a 'solution to help' Haitians who were 'deceit', to return to Haiti 'in a freely and voluntarily way', as the former Minister of Interior, Andrés Chadwick emphasised (TVN 2018). The word 'humanitarian' again was used to obscure the real incentives of creating mass deportation of this group, with the only requirement being that they not return to Chile for nine years, as 'it's not a travel agency'. The government measures that restricted Haitians entrance were not enough for their ultimate purpose, so another 'incentive' was created for those who were in the country previously, despite not being the major migratory group. Thus far the plan has returned to Port-au-Prince 1,262 Haitians in eight Armed Forces (FACH) aeroplanes (Ministry of Interior 2019). This 'humanitarian plan' was a clear incentive to facilitate expulsion after previous migratory projects failed. The plan was undertaken to 'help' Haitians overcome precarious living conditions in Chile, instead of creating solutions through social policies to solve the hardships and inequalities many Haitians encounter. In effect, the former Minister affirmed that this plan was a benefit for those 'who made bad decisions' when deciding to migrate. Thus, such failure is put into these migrants' hands rather than on the restrictive migration policies that have inevitably led to precarious situations (see Chapter 4), cloaked under a narrative where the state becomes a 'saviour' that will help them return for free. This was another non-subtle way to mask a new form of 'voluntary' deportation[50] that in fact is a veiled deportation sustained by the idea of 'humanitarianism'. I argue that is the state's way of 'cleansing' and 'whitening' the country, reproducing its

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[50] In effect, some of the people were not proficient in Spanish, and they signed these documents without being supported by a translation.

colonial past. The exclusion of migrants, in this case, is not even latent but concrete, giving more possibilities to leave than to enter. This is a deportation plan masked as 'voluntary' with strong racialised colonial resonance, that reproduces racial hierarchies in which Haitians, like African communities in colonial times, are at the bottom of society.

The reproduction of a selective 'qualified' migration

A more refined selection can be seen in the migratory reform that created two additional temporary visas: the 'International Orientation Visa' (3,000 per year) and the 'Opportunities Visa' (4,000 per year), both temporary visas for a year, that are extendable and holders are eligible to apply to the definitive visa. The creation of the 'International Orientation Visa' represents endeavours to create a selective migration, by which Piñera replicates the 1953 law to attract 'qualified' educated migrants for the country's development, directed to those professionals with a postgraduate degree in 150-top world universities. As Piñera said, 'we established a special promotion... because those people are needed in our country'. It is well known, however, that in LAC countries, the established racial hierarchical order has historically benefited white elites (Reiter 2012), who are more likely to have had access to better education -unlike people of (or perceived) African or indigenous descent, who have faced historical exclusion in their respective societies, and are at the bottom of the social scale (Wade 2010).

The 'Opportunities Visa' is one of the hidden mechanisms by which the state will select migrants through a point-based system. When I interviewed Carlos (DEM) he did not know the selection criteria yet. In effect, this visa was mentioned by both DEM informants as an opportunity for all migrants looking for a job, and a possibility for Haitians seeking a job instead of 'lying' by entering as tourists (according to them). However, once the minimum requisites were later released,

the visa targeted two kinds of people: workers with educational or technical qualifications[51] (3,000 visas per year) and entrepreneurs[52] (1,000 visas per year).

The requirements reveal another way of making it harder for Haitians and Dominicans to seek better opportunities in Chile since (at least in my ethnography) not all have technical qualifications or higher education, eliminating the possibility of looking for non-qualified jobs- the same jobs Chileans refuse to do. The state, therefore, is stopping migration as never before in the history of Chile. The government is establishing invisible borders for negatively racialised LAC, making Chile a hostile country, and selecting migration for the sake of 'development', that views migrants as commodities rather than people. This also corroborates that the process of regularisation was a state mechanism to appear benevolent since the other administrative orders and the bill sent to Congress, would enable Chile to restrict the entrance of non-qualified migrants. For Piñera, that is what modernity looks like: having 'better' (meaning 'educated') people that fit a presumed 'white' population, replicating the 1953 migration legislation narrative.

It will be interesting to analyse further who are granted these two types of visa and analyse the selection criteria. In any case, the control and regulation of heterogeneity, in Goldberg's terms, has never been enforced as it is today. And the way in which these measures have been given the appearance of benevolence and 'legality', has obscured efforts to control exogenous elements and establish a radicalised selective immigration plan based on 'racial' distinctions hidden in these visas targeted to certain LAC countries. As Goldberg (2001:258–59) claims,

> ...the high and the late modern states became more committed simply to segregating *out* those racially characterized as less developed. Through at their apex modern states have traded on segre*gating* logics and reinscribed segre*gated* spaces –(…) shanty towns at urban peripheries… racially confined neighbourhoods, gated communities, racially conceived

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[51] Candidates need a professional or technical title or certificate, and must speak Spanish, certified by an international SIELE or DELE exam.
[52] Candidates need a minimum investment of US$100,000, present a business plan, and must speak Spanish.

immigration quotas and visa denial– later modern segregation has differed from its earlier twentieth-century forms.

As Goldberg (2001) argues, with such measures, national belonging is produced institutionally in and through the state, and in doing so, the historical exclusions of people with more 'prominent' indigenous and African descent are reinforced through immigration control. However, as Goldberg (2015:124) later suggests, '[n]ational configurations… are thickened by the state while state sponsorship of the explicitly racial thin out.'

Conclusions

This chapter has shown how the Chilean state has historically controlled the colonial non-white 'other', the 'indigenous' and the 'African', through immigration legislation and policies. By that colonial thinking (and colonial representations), certain LAC migratory groups are negatively racialised until today. I argue that the *mestizaje* project invigorated by the nation-state was the foundation of the presumed homogeneity and 'whiteness', having a pivotal role in immigration policies throughout Chile's history, and in the ways Chileans distance themselves from certain LAC migrants today*.* The historical 'ethno/racial' diversity of Chile's population has been systematically ignored, endeavouring to build a homogenised 'imagined community' (Benedict Anderson 2006), and the current presumption of 'whiteness' of this racial state (Goldberg 2001) is concealed in the discourses on the *sociedad mestiza*. In the apparent homogeneity of the *mestizo/a,* racist ideologies are hidden. In Chapter 7 I show how the value Chileans ascribe to 'homogeneity' is intrinsically linked to the idea of 'being white', as well as to the historical European migration promoted by the state, which furthered such imaginaries to this day. Although the production of difference on 'racial' terms was ever-present, the presence of LAC migrants reinforced this 'imagined whiteness' (Chapter 7). The politics of homogeneity and the exclusion of any heterogeneous element have historically been controlled in subtle ways through various immigration policies: plans that attracted Europeans since the construction of the nation-state, the arbitrary character of border controls based on a national security approach, and the

recent administrative orders to immigration policies by Piñera. If the first negatively racialised migrants excluded by racial prejudice were from Arab and Asian countries, in the 90s they were from certain neighbouring countries, such as Peru, Bolivia and Ecuador (perceived as having stronger indigenous descent), and currently, people from Caribbean countries (perceived as having African descent). As Sharma (2015:98) claims, '[r]acism is central to the construction of the 'others' of citizenship.' Furthermore, within the spectrum of non-citizenship, state racism determines who is or not welcome to start a life in Chile.

This chapter was key to understand the national foundations of how 'race' is made, in order to comprehend the contemporary forms of racism at the local level, which will be shown in the following chapters. Its macro perspective reveals state thought and how immigration policies have shaped not only the migratory trajectories of negatively racialised LAC migrants, but also the everyday practices, interactions and discourse of residents at multicultural neighbourhoods, that reproduce these ways of exclusion locally. In the next chapter, I continue explaining the state racism and specifically how the divisions between 'desired' and 'undesired' migrants imprinted in immigration policies are radically impacting the everyday lives of newcomers, and more importantly, their access to citizenship.[53]

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[53] I refer to citizenship not in terms of a national citizenship but in the renewed forms of deterritorialised citizenship emerging with growing migration mobilities that have destabilised the conventional understanding of citizenship and its necessary connection with the national state (Sassen 2005:79–80) today in larger cities.

Chapter 4. The migrant and immigration status:
The spiral of uncertainty

Introduction
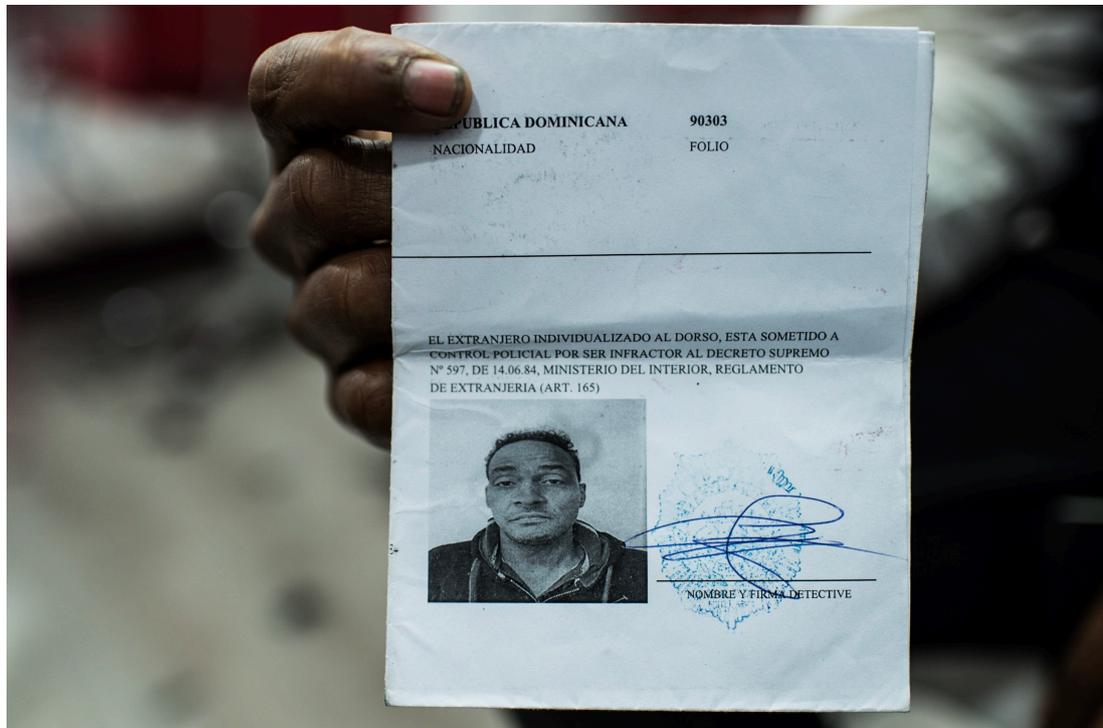
Figure 4. Pablo shows the document issued by the PDI at the border. It states: The herein identified foreigner is under police control for infringement of Supreme Decree No. 597. 2017.

Immigration status marks migrants' everyday lives. Pablo, a 30-year-old hairdresser from the Dominican Republic, was deceived by a *coyote* who later abandoned him. The police caught him at the border. He could not put into words the aggression he suffered at the police station. Being undocumented is an indelible stain. As many other undocumented migrants, his 'illegal' status marks his life and body. It criminalises him and constrains his migratory path, reminding him that his eagerness to find a better life had its costs.

> And there I found some human traffickers who began to brainwash me. I was in a place eating and he approached me, 'are you going to stay here?... in Chile you can have a better life', and started to talk, talk, talk... until I believed him. 'Look, that's my cousin, I crossed him over there. And look at how he is. (…) You'll earn about US$3,000 for two weeks or more. And… he…convinced me, and charged me US$500 for crossing... But I lost him in

the desert (...) At the border, there was the Chilean military. I wanted to die. I was attacked... a PDI police says to me 'we're going to take the data now'. They photographed me... That's forbidden in my country. They issued a form that stated... 'you're subject to police control for violating the Supreme Decree number...' (...), and made me sign a statement and put my hand there, 'sign now fast, for you to go'... (...) I've never committed any kind of crime... and I felt as if I had killed people. I felt bad. Emotionally, I spent more than 15 sleepless days because of that trauma. There came a time that I said it's not worth being alive if it's in a place like this... (...) 'No, what happens is that we don't want Colombians, and you look Colombian. What's more, I'm going to tell you the truth', he [policeman] told me: 'We don't want any kind of immigrants here in our Iquique' (...) there also was a PDI policeman who said between his teeth, 'these *negros culiaos* (black mother fuckers) come to invade our space...' I had to sign every month... [but] no, I won't sign it because if I go, imagine... I had many problems in my country.

The state agency, PDI, produced difference as of the moment Pablo entered, marginalising him not only through tangible (see Figure 4) but also symbolic ways by explicitly stating they did not want people like him in 'our' city. When a migrant crosses a border, as Back and Sinha (2018:91) claim, the 'migrant's life is reset'. State restrictions shape everyday lives and place-making practices of migrant participants, impacting the way they inhabit and navigate the city. When trying to lay bare migrants' everyday lives in the neighbourhood and the different boundaries and constraints they encounter, the main boundary that always came to the fore was their immigration status: their position within the non-citizenship spectrum of the host nation-state. As Anderson (2000:195) claims, citizenship 'becomes a device by which demands on the state are controlled and this denial is perceived as legitimate.' In Chile, citizens' rights, which should guarantee basic human needs, emanate from national membership rather than from humanity (2000:195). This chapter delves into how non-citizenship, and hence the limited access to rights, is lived by migrants in the everyday.

Migrants deal with uncertainty every day. Everyday talk about visas was always accented by concern and worry about the next step in the long rocky path to permanent residency. Immigration status is a topic of everyday conversation with neighbours. It is a shared concern that usually grows with the different stories migrants hear, even about strangers. Their daily lives revolve around

immigration status: negotiating how to become 'legal', obtain residency and deal with the restrictions and hardship. As Jones et al. (2017:160) claim, 'the performance politics of immigration control… dismiss the everyday pain and uncertainty of varying intensities that immigration controls causes, that increasingly touch on everyone's lives.' Drawing on participants' life stories, I argue that migrants, especially Afro-descendants, are trapped in a downward 'spiral of uncertainty'.

Immigration legislation controls human mobilities, reproducing historical differences among migrant groups, in which 'race' matters, and in doing so, the state reproduces the 'community of value' (Anderson 2013) I described earlier. Racial hierarchies and national imaginaries of 'us' mould the selective process by which the state controls mobilities. It is the first step by which the state produces difference. The next step can be seen in migrants' daily lives and the struggles they experience due to immigration status that some are or are not able to achieve (determined by state visa procedures), and the consequences that status has on their lives. At this stage, 'race' is not the only thing that matters. The neoliberal economic system is a significant factor. It is fed by and thus needs migratory flows in order to function. At this point gender also begins to matter.

This chapter's aim is two-fold: to show the production of difference by the state and its agencies through the immigration status that migrants can (or cannot) acquire, and how the immigration status impacts migrants' lives in the everyday. The previous chapter conveyed how historically the state has produced this difference, creating hierarchies among *extranjeros* and establishing legally who is (or not) allowed to enter through migration policies and enforced border controls. This chapter turns to the mechanisms the state employs to control migrants once they are in the country. Drawing on ethnography and in-depth interviews, I address how the state and its macro forces impact migrants' everyday lives and trajectories, challenging their 'right to the city' (Harvey 2008) from the start. I saw how migrants experience and negotiate immigration policy restrictions, and the struggles they face in order to achieve or maintain a legal immigration status: a 'legal' life. I argue that the state migration policies make

migrants' lives uncertain, and such uncertainty makes them more likely to break the law, producing different forms of 'illegalities'. The boundaries between what is 'legal' and 'illegal', therefore, become increasingly blurred, similar to Martins-Junior's (2000:195) study on Brazilians in London. Furthermore, the 'uncertainty industry' spawned by the state becomes key in this illegality production. These stories showed how uncertainty is deeply interrelated to labour market access, which becomes the basis for resorting to 'illegal' means. I draw on De Genova's work (2002) that analyses the socio-political processes of 'illegalisation', and the way in which the legal production of 'illegality' works.

Following De Genova's (2002) approach, I use quotation marks for the terms, 'legality'/'illegality' and 'legal'/'illegal' to denaturalise the reification of these distinctions to show how these binaries shape and modify migrants' everyday lives and reveal how binaries work particularly in a nation-state context. It is worth noting that the term 'illegal migrant' is incorrect since it implies migrants are criminals by using 'illegal' to label individuals rather than actions, obscuring the complex character of immigration law (Andersson 2014:17) and how the state actively produces those illegalities.

This chapter contributes to disentangle the primary ways 'race' is made within Chilean borders, by understanding the impact of state racism in LAC migrants' everyday lives, as well as how they negotiate state racism to pursue a 'legal' life. First, I present stories that give insights into the different hierarchies that migrants acquire within the citizenship/non-citizenship spectrum, as well as the intrinsic relationship and complex entanglements between their statuses and access to the labour market. These stories also show the constraints that the system imposes and how the path to 'legality' (and certainty) entails precarity and, foremost, the production of different 'illegalities' in order to belong. Second, drawing on migrants' journeys, I explain what I call the 'spiral of uncertainty', describing the everyday uncertainty that the immigration status means to migrants at different positions along the non-citizenship spectrum, considering undocumented migrants and the different 'documented' categories allowed by

the state. Third, I delve into the ways these constraints are reinforced by 'race' and then gender, pushing migrants down the spiral.

The path to permanent residency: Everyday uncertainties

The life stories of migrants living in the neighbourhood were key to grasp the boundaries they faced due to their immigration status and the complex hierarchical differentiation that the state produces regarding the 'other'. Throughout this thesis, I will call such boundaries 'boundaries of belonging' to define the limits and constraints that migrants face against their claim for belonging. In other words, these are the limits of citizenship imposed either by the state and/or by the local processes, the functionality of the city, and local people's place-making practices and interactions -which can be material or symbolic. In any case, these boundaries work against migrants' claims for belonging, obliging them to negotiate such constraints. This research exposes how such boundaries are shaped by racism. Drawing on migrants' trajectories, my aim is to comprehend the 'boundaries of belonging' they face, which are triggered by the state, and consequently, performed and materialised at the local level.

The uncertainty created by legislation is inevitably related to the emergence of 'illegal' practices (see Martins-Junior 2016). In more than a year I explored how temporariness is lived. I witnessed the participants' lives unfold, and their eagerness to regularise their status and lives according to the state requirements, using different strategies to enter and stay. However, it was not an easy and direct process. They experience several uncertainties, moving from what appeared to be 'legal' to the 'illegal', and then back to the 'legal', in order to make a living. I observed their journeys to claim citizenship, which usually were beyond their will. I saw how they made life decisions based on their immigration status, such as getting married to their partners to get dependant visas and remain in Chile with their families. They continue living temporary lives, waiting for laws and rules to change again, in an endless spiral that pushes them downwards. As Foucault (2008:280 [1979]) suggested, a legal prohibition creates illegal practices that surround it, whereby 'illegalities' are administered

in different ways. Thus, '"Illegalities" are constituted and regimented by the law…and with a considerable degree of calculated deliberation' (De Genova 2002:424). My ethnography shows how the distinctions of 'legality'/'illegality' are blurred in the course of migrants' everyday lives, and just as 'legality' is a state production, so is 'illegality'. De Genova (2002:422) states that '"illegality" (much like citizenship) is a juridical status that entails a social relation to the state; as such, migrant "illegality" is a pre-eminently political identity.'

Being or not *legalizado'* (legalised) as some participants called possession of a temporary visa or *carnet* (national ID card issued when the state grants a visa), was an everyday matter of concern for those working in La Vega. There I met Ana, an undocumented migrant from the Dominican Republic. When she introduced me to migrant friends, the first thing she said was 'she's an *ilegalista* too…', meaning she arrived 'illegally' like her. When I met a friend from Ecuador, the first thing he said to me was: 'my temporary visa expires in a month'. La Vega became a space for discussing the different ways to achieve citizenship, navigating through the boundaries of '(il)legality' in order to belong.

All my fieldwork participants are working-class (and most did not have technical qualifications), which makes them, once in Chile, low-skilled migrants. With such a background, some have no other possibility than to enter through irregular paths, while others enter pretending to be tourists to find a job and then from Chile apply for different kinds of visas. Today such a strategy is no longer possible with the changes made by Piñera's administration, but at the time of this study the 1975 Decree Law allowed that possibility. The few participants with superior education encountered difficulty in applying for jobs from abroad, and even once in Chile, due to the difficulties in officially validating their academic/technical degree. Migrants from MERCOSUR bloc countries have an advantage, and they can enter either for tourism or to look for a job. However, no country from that bloc whose population usually migrates into Chile has a significant African descent population. The immigration law has thus set a selective path for each kind of migrant, based on national belonging and also 'racial' hierarchies that are

hidden behind nationalities (see Balibar 1991b), determining the course of their lives if they migrate to Chile.

Paradoxically, due to immigration legislation and state bureaucracy, trying to be or remain 'legal' entails certain 'illegalities'. Since they are not allowed to work formally until they receive their visas, migrants need to find other ways to provide for their families, resorting to 'illegal' means, such as informal economies or irregular labour with no contract. Thus, they are susceptible to the vulnerabilities that derive from these situations. Some are exploited, working more than 10 hours per day, in order to maintain their jobs; and those who become street vendors, risk arrest, confiscation of their products and fines.

The problem is not the uncertainty of their migratory status in itself, but more the consequences associated with it. Without a *carnet* everything is more complicated and difficult, defying fair access to the labour market, housing, and even health services. Uncertainty almost inevitably leads to precariousness and creates a vicious circle: migrants need a job to apply for a visa, yet in order to get a formal job they need to be 'legal' since most employers require that migrants have a definitive visa. Moreover, to rent a house or flat, they need to have both a job and a visa. Thus, everything comes down to the visa and immigration status.

My ethnography showed how immigration status was intrinsically related to labour. Labour plays a constitutive role not only within the capital but with the capitalist state (De Genova 2002). The visa the majority of LAC migrants can apply for is the Labour Motive Visa (a one-year visa tied to a work contract, established during Bachelet's government and abolished during Piñera's), and the Work Contract Visa (a two-year visa tied to a work contract). However, the long-term requirements do not correlate with the job offers that the position of 'low-skilled migrants' allows them to access in a racialised and segregated neoliberal society. The restrictive journey to access the labour market launches a cyclical spiral of constraints. Piñera's administration has reinforced the restrictions against many negatively racialised migrants, turning this into a downward spiral. As Pedro (Peru) states,

> I've been here for six years now. Before it was better, now things are very difficult for foreigners... Because you no longer get work like before. Now all jobs need documents. If you don't have *definitiva* (definitive visa), they don't give you a job. About five years ago... you came, they hired you, you did your paperwork and you got your *carnet*. Not now... they don't want that anymore.

Some people like him must work two jobs - one formal and the other informal - to send remittances to their family. Others cannot find a formal job. The path to belonging and permanent residency, which is the final goal of most migrants, shapes the kinds of jobs they can access, and the relationship between the worker and the employer, creating a certain kind of worker (Anderson 2013). When more certainty is achieved in the immigration status (in the non-citizenship spectrum towards permanent residency), a better job can be obtained, and hence, a better relationship with the employer. The following stories are organised to show the path to citizenship as a spectrum from higher to lower uncertainty levels. Undocumented migrants experience the greatest levels of uncertainty (downward spiral), and thus I will start here to introduce what uncertainty means in the everyday. Then I move along the spectrum to explore the stories of those who achieved or started in a better position that enabled them to experience reduced levels of uncertainty. Regardless of how far migrants move along the spectrum, they are still, to some extent, exposed to levels of uncertainty due to experiencing racism in different aspects of their everyday lives.

Being undocumented

> The one that comes illegal is fucked up... Sometimes the police catch you... and don't deport you but make you sign every month... as a way to control you... (Nicole, Dominican Republic)

Migration policies have produced the uncertainty that many undocumented migrants experience. The politics of closing the doors to Dominicans in 2012 by

requiring a consular visa for tourism, not only failed to halt migratory movement but rather made it more dangerous, as the stories of many undocumented participants revealed. The recent imposition of new consular visas (for Haitians in 2018 and Venezuelans in 2019) will produce a similar effect. As the OBIMID (2016) report confirms, once the consular visa was established, expulsion orders increased, with 90% due to clandestine entering. The number of permanent residencies given to Dominicans is significantly lower, and few arrived before 2010. The uncertainty for them is total. They are destined to live in the margins within the boundaries of 'illegality', despite their efforts to regularise themselves.[54] As Nicole claims, 'the state still is in control'.

Ana (Dominican Republic) decided to move to Chile four years ago. As a 32-year-old woman, she could not apply for the consular tourist visa because of the stringent requirements, such as possession of a considerable amount of money, a hotel reservation, and a return ticket. None of these requirements was possible given the circumstances of her life: one of the main reasons to migrate. After a long journey, which included paying *coyotes* (human smugglers) to cross dangerous borders, walking through the desert and mined lands, and avoiding a refuge that is notorious for how women are raped at night, she managed to arrive in Chile. A friend suggested that she go, 'because here I get more money'. Her path remains uncertain. She must check in regularly with the police department (PDI), and each time she worries they will notify her of upcoming deportation. Pablo did not risk doing that, fearful of being deported at any time. The fact is that they never know how and when it might occur. However, as suggested by friends, Ana self-denounced to the police as that would mean a possibility for state pardon, implying lower risk of deportation. Such uncertainty is not temporary but permanent, until, if it is the case, she is finally deported. With the current right-wing government this is far more likely. Anyhow, she has been signing for four years with no resolution yet. For her, as any undocumented migrant, the uncertainty is total since she cannot rely on anything to achieve a degree of stability. She is completely vulnerable to others who may take advantage of her.

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[54] At this time of the fieldwork, Piñera's Regularisation Process was not in motion yet.

Without a visa, she could only look for precarious jobs without a contract. After several informal jobs with unfair salaries, along with labour exploitation and abuse from employers, she decided to work independently. She bought a robbed supermarket cart and a thermos and started selling cheap tea, coffee and biscuits to the people who work in and around La Vega, close to where she lives (see Figure 5). She begins her day at 5 am selling her pitch along the corridor outside La Vega farmers' market. She notes down every debt in a notebook, and around 5 pm, she follows up all debtors. After working 12 hours, she goes home. Ana established a set 'selling route'. However, such a route has its risks. Bicycle police roam the area or police patrol cars park at the entrance to the street market, conducting 'everyday inspections', though different every day. Nobody knows when the police will come, whether in a friendly manner, to warn of an imminent impounding of the migrants' stalls, or to dismantle stands and confiscate vendors' products.

Figure 5. Street vendors (*coleros*) nearby La Vega. 2017.

All migrant *coleros* are at risk of being caught by the police. Some have experienced harassment, abuse and a few even had their money stolen by the

police. As Jacinta (Peru) said, 'they treat us like animals'. However, the other option of working without a contract is worse. As Paola (Dominican Republic), also undocumented, says:

> If one day *carabineros* (Chilean police) catch me, I'm going to ask them to tell us what else we can do because nobody gives us papers... I won't steal. If you steal, you're going to jail for being thief, and if one is looking for their food?... I think that's not a crime... Even Chileans buy me lunch... (...) But I'll keep working like this, because without papers I won't work for anyone because they exploit you... uuuyy! I lasted nine months... they paid me $12,000 pesos (£12 per day), but they exploited me. I worked washing... and I said to the Mrs, she was Peruvian, 'turn on the boiler', and she said 'no! you have to get used to it', and with such cold water, my hand got swollen, and my skin was getting off... and if you don't do anything and they see you, they kick you out (...) A friend was fired, and the employer (Chilean) didn't pay her salary, saying 'you cannot do anything', because she didn't have papers. She said to me 'if you get per day at least 10 *lucas* or 8 (£10-8), take it and don't work anywhere else... here you're your own boss'. But I know the risk of what I'm doing because they [police] can take everything from you. But then I say yes, my friend is right.

Fear of deportation prevents migrants from reporting employer abuse to the police. Fear makes them a cheap, vulnerable labour force, due to the insidious mediated power of employers (Bridget Anderson 2006:12), who see undocumented migrants as 'easier to control' and especially 'less visible' (2006:21). The fact that employers are usually citizens while migrant workers are not, 'formalises their unequal power relations': they are unequal before the law (Anderson 2000:193). The only way out of such labour exploitation is to become independent to try to make a living, which means being street vendors: an economic activity considered 'illegal'.

These stories, and the forthcoming ones, reveal how the degrees of (non)citizenship are mutually dependant on labour access, and thus subject to job precariousness and abuse. The abuse is experienced across the different non-citizenship immigration statuses, and documented migrants can face abuse even from fellow nationals. For undocumented migrants, getting a formal job is simply not possible, as they fall easy prey to labour abuse and exploitation by former migrants who take advantage of them. As Mezzadra (2016:32) argues, this is not

new, as '[m]ultifarious forms of 'coercion', including racism and special legal arrangements also characterize the histories of 'free' migration that played a crucial role in the age of mass industrialization...' Labour abuse inevitably occurs with the state's multiple constraints against migrants, especially those undocumented, whose temporary visa has expired, or those waiting for visa results, since they cannot be hired in formal jobs without a *carnet.* The *carnet* is the materialisation of their visas, whether temporary or definitive. The vast pool of migrants willing to work enables that common practice in these companies, as happened to Frantz, which I show later. This opens up the possibility for small companies or contractors to give migrants, especially undocumented, an 'opportunity', offering contract-less and low-paid jobs. Some exploit such migrants. As Anderson (2006:18) states, there is a context of mutual dependence, whereby both employer and employee (especially if undocumented) seems to 'fulfil' each other's needs.

Becoming 'legal': From tourist to migrant

During my fieldwork, I learned that the majority of participants had entered through regular paths as a tourist, benefiting from the 1975 legislation that allows tourists to apply for a visa within the country.[55] Their goal is to find a job within the three months they are allowed as tourists and apply for a work contract to obtain the Labour Motive Visa, which was still available at that time. The problem many faced is that they could not find a job in such a short period. That gave them three possible options: leave the country and abort the migratory project and the money invested; remain 'illegally' without *carnet;* or buy/get a fake contract to obtain the Labour Motive Visa. I never met anyone who wanted to leave, despite all the hardships they encountered. Yet that changed at the end for a few, due to everyday racisms. The second option was also a choice that some made, but it had several costs. One was the impossibility of leaving the country without paying a fine and potentially getting caught by the police. However, it also involved restrictive access to jobs, housing and even health services, which means living a life full of constrictions. That was the case of Jacinta, a 30-year-old

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[55] Piñera changed this in 2018.

woman from Peru, who lost her permanent residency visa when she went to Peru for two years. When she returned to Chile, she could not find a formal job, which caused her to remain in Chile undocumented. When I met her, she was a *colera*. As she says, 'all the times they've given me the temporary [visa], they never gave me the definitive (…) you need six months of paid *imposiciones*,[56] and I don't have any. I had the temporary *carnet,* but I never had a contract'. Like Jacinta, some migrants that enter as tourists and cannot find a job within three months end up overstaying, becoming undocumented. Most, however, usually can regularise their immigration status by paying a fine for overstaying the tourist visa.

The third option, using a fake contract to apply for a temporary visa, was a common practice among participants. Elena (Peru), whose status was 'tourist' when I met her, asked an acquaintance to make her a contract in his company, which was a façade to work informally as a seamstress. As she said, 'I try to be legal'. This phrase illustrates how 'being legal' becomes an attempt, since they not always can achieve legal status without being 'illegal', or without using 'illegal' means. Being 'legal' is a constant negotiation process in the everyday. The pursuit of legality is rife with contradictions and ambivalences. Boundaries between what is 'legal' and 'illegal' become blurred, yet paradoxically it is the only possible route to permanent residency and perhaps citizenship.

Aisha (Haiti), a 35-year-old Afro-descendant woman, arrived in Chile in 2015 from the Dominican Republic, where she lived with her four children working as a street vendor. After experiencing economic difficulties, she migrated to Chile as a tourist with her partner Frantz. When I met her, she had a one-year temporary visa, dependent on a work contract. In order to stay 'legally', she bought a fake contract. I discovered this after visiting DEM with her, where she admitted having paid $50,000 (£50) to a cousin: the only way to avoid losing her 'legal' status after two months of looking for a job. Aisha was ashamed. The same day she told me the truth, she later sent me a Whatsapp text denying everything: 'you know that papers [contract] cannot be bought… many buy but I didn't buy mine, you heard?'

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[56] It is a local term for a percentage of the salary deducted for payroll taxes and social security (health and retirement benefits).

She was not working because she had to take care of her newborn baby, so she could not renew the visa. Aisha planned to work again after her daughter was older though it was uncertain which visa she could apply for. She was convinced that once her partner received the definitive visa, she could also get it. However, there was no guarantee, and she needed to get any possible visa to remain 'legal'. Then she heard from a friend that she could apply for the 'Linkage with a Chilean' definitive visa (for five years) thanks to her Chilean-born daughter. However, it was never that easy, as she had to prove economic stability.

The immigration status becomes a way to infer migrants' possibilities and thus, how they negotiate their path towards 'legality' to remain in Chile. As Aisha's case shows, many have to lie about their reason to enter, pretending to be tourists because finding a job in Chile from overseas is almost impossible, if they lack any qualification level. If they cannot find a job, they are compelled to do something 'illegal' to get a 'legal' immigration status: buy a fake contract. That was a common strategy for Haitians (see OBIMID 2016) in order to begin the process of citizenship -if acquired in legal terms. Some migrants saw this need as an economic opportunity and started selling contracts to others. The employer was a Haitian living in Chile with a permanent residency, who pretended to hire domestic workers. Such 'illegal' practice, however, had its immediate consequence. As a DEM top official told me, after discovering this strategy in visa applications, the next measure was to reject any definitive visa application from those who got their temporary residency through this means. In effect, when Aisha applied for the definitive visa, the state penalised her previous strategy by giving her another temporary visa, and foremost, made her wait more than six months, reproducing the uncertainty and, consequently, her precarious living conditions. The increased levels of uncertainty pushed her down, blocking her chances to be a permanent resident.

Figure 6. Aisha (with her baby behind) and Marisela selling at La Vega. 2017.

Aisha lived in uncertainty, without a valid migratory status, a never-ending wait in *limbo*. Without a *carnet* nobody would hire her formally. She started working in what she already knew: as a street vendor (see Figure 6). However, informal economic activity could not ensure the economic stability required for the definitive visa. Like many others, she had to resort to informal economies, suffering other forms of exclusion, particularly from the police. She was arrested briefly, and had to pay a fine for selling on the street without a *permiso municipal* (council permit or authorisation). She wanted to find a 'legal' way to maintain her independence. However, her wish to sell legally in the street collapsed when she visited the council with me and realised how complex and difficult it was to get that council permit. Not only did she learn that supermarket carts were not allowed because they implied an act of robbery, but also that the authorised carts were expensive. In addition, she had to write a letter to the mayor and submit proof of her income and tax payment report. But the most formidable requirement was possession of a definitive visa. The council also reinforced the levels of her daily uncertainty, requiring Aisha to make a 'legal' life in Chile. Rejection of the visa made that option impossible, limiting her possibilities to live within the rules. The last time I saw her, she still was waiting for the *definitiva*.

Waiting and temporariness

Mirlande (Haiti)**,** a 27-year-old Afro-descendant woman, arrived in 2015. Since the day I met her, she has always been very concerned about her immigration status, and was ashamed to have bought a fake contract. She had always done things 'right', within 'legality', yet, faced with no other choice, she did what everybody she knew did.

> A person said to me that takes four months to get the temporary [visa]. But without the temporary, without *carnet*, I cannot work... here to have papers, you look for a work contract, but you have to have papers for getting a job, and that's why people make a fake contract (...) and there's a... looong time for having the *definitiva*...

This quote crystallises how uncertainty becomes an endless spiral cycle, and the need of many migrants to negotiate within a range of other 'illegal' solutions to try to overcome the uncertainty they live in. Not finding a job became a real problem for remaining 'legal' in Chile, yet paradoxically, one reason for not being hired was lack of a *carnet*. Mirlande as many other migrants, navigates the boundaries of 'legality' in the everyday, adjusting her plans to ensure her permanent residency, and thus trying to stop the uncertainty of her temporary immigration status. She took a course offered by the municipality to increase the possibilities of finding a job, but in the meantime, she had to start selling lemons at the *feria libre* (street market) near her house, following Aisha's path but from what she considered a 'safer' place than La Vega. Fear of getting caught caused her to stop selling. In order to be a permanent resident, she is willing to postpone her plans to study and work in any formal job available to end her worry about immigration status. Having a temporary visa only extended her sense of uncertainty and non-belonging. But more importantly, as Mirlande's case will reveal later, 'race' became an invisible frontier that limited access to jobs and consequently the definitive visa. After months of being rejected, and doing some temporary contract-less jobs, she found a formal job as kitchen cleaner at a restaurant in an upper-class neighbourhood. She wanted to remain there long enough to prove economic stability, with the hope of getting the definitive visa. In June 2018, she had a second temporary visa, and upon advice from a friend,

decided to get married to increase the likelihood of getting the definitive visa. She has done everything to become 'eligible' and finally live her life without worrying about her immigration status. She is not alone in this pursuit, however.

It is 8 am, and Marisela, a 35-year-old Afro-Colombian woman, is cooking in the semi-collective space where she lives. Mackenson, an Haitian neighbour, asked Marisela if she had news about her visa application. She replied:

> It's in process. They told me that the next month it would arrive... uyyy it's been about nine months and it hasn't arrived yet. So I'm practising these *empanadas* (pastries) to go and sell in La Vega. I put it [visa] in September of the other year... very difficult.

After three years in Chile, she finally could apply to a definitive visa after finding a formal job. However, she left the job because the pay was too low. More than nine months in that situation implied having no *carnet*, and thus no possibility to find another steady job since her application was attached to the previous work contract. Her undefined migration status criminalised her willingness to work (Anderson 2000:6). She started working on weekends in a temporary job with an abusive employer in a small restaurant in La Vega. She finally received the definitive visa, and, currently, she has a contract, cleaning a lawyers' office. Her story, however, differs from other Afro-Colombians, who came to Chile escaping violence from their country, only to face other issues.

Baltazar (50-year-old), an Afro-Colombian man, had to leave his country because he was in danger in Valle del Cauca. He arrived in Chile asking for asylum, which meant starting a process to be fully accepted as a political refugee, yet he had not received any help from the state. This process also entailed many uncertainties. He and his family have to renew their refugee status every eight months, so the temporary situation of their residency is ongoing; they never know if the state will continue to accept them or not. Refugee claimants are granted refugee status after a five-year process, enabling them to achieve the permanent residency. He has a job in the construction industry. Other refugee claimants opt to resign their refugee status and apply for a temporary visa with a work contract, so they can apply after two years to a definitive visa and end the cycle of uncertainty in order

to get a job. However, that decision meant 'starting from scratch', and if they lose their jobs, the risk is imminent. Under these circumstances, they either remain in the country undocumented, or they migrate to another country since they cannot return to Colombia. Hence, not even refugee claimants have sufficient certainty to find a regular job. The only option is to work for construction industry subcontractors. Yet as Baltazar asserts, they are not treated the same as Chilean workers and must work overtime with no bonus: 'we're exploited'. The subcontracting chains involved in this industry (Stefoni, Leiva, and Bonhomme 2017) make the last person of the chain the most dependent for work, leading to an exploitative relation with contractors (Bridget Anderson 2006:18). Migrants have fewer options, and employees usually see that as an advantage: a 'flexible' 'docile' worker (2006:15). They all have been rejected by many employers since their visa is always about to expire, in addition to being Colombians. As he says,

> You go for a job, and they ask, 'do you have definitive?' 'No, I don't', and there your dreams go away. They say, 'oh no, this job is only for those who have *definitiva,* or it's not for immigrants, or it's not for Colombians, or it's not for Haitians.'

In general, most participants waited six to nine months to receive their temporary or definitive visas. The waiting time for a final resolution makes it difficult to afford living expenses, impeding migrants from finding regular jobs since employers are more likely to hire people with definitive visas. According to Back and Sinha (2018:7–8), the immigration system produces 'time traps'. Nearly every aspect of their everyday lives comes down to whether or not they have a *carnet*, and acquiring it inevitably involves waiting. The state controls migration by managing time. Waiting, as socially produced, is a key aspect of the uncertainty produced by the state. The wait for achieving a 'legal' life impacts the uncertainty felt by migrants as well as the idea of 'undesirability'. Foremost, it induces the constant fear of deportation, which puts them at the bottom of society. As Back and Sinha (2018:7) argue, the 'hierarchies of belonging' created by the state regulate migrants' relationship to time. Waiting is 'an existential straightjacket that restrain and comes to define life in the migrant city.' Since without a *carnet* migrants are not allowed to work, the experiences of waiting are linked to exclusion from the economic sphere (2018:97).

Waiting, therefore, inevitably fosters different kinds of 'illegalities', that can either lead to expulsion or make them susceptible to labour exploitation. Such were the cases of Mirlande, Marisela, and Baltazar, all Afro-descendant participants. While Mirlande had to buy a fake contract and sell at the *feria*, Marisela had to sell empanadas in La Vega and work for an abusive employee, similar to Baltazar's experience. According to Schwartz (1974:841), waiting creates both social and personal costs, which are distributed within the social structure, since time has a value in modern society. Thus, the production of waiting is related to the production of power, as waiting is assumed as a time waste, related to scarcity, and patterned by the power distribution within society (1974:843). Only those at the bottom of society suffer from it. In this case, 'time waste' is produced by the state and becomes productive only by negotiating 'illegal' ways to overcome the *limbo* status. Inequalities among migrants are therefore reinforced by the bureaucratic waiting that the visa entails. By controlling time -one of the main properties of power (Schwartz 1974)- the state controls migration within its territory, erecting another 'invisible wall' that works against migrants' claim for citizenship and belonging.

The Definitiva: Achieving freedom and certainty

Getting a visa sometimes means having to renounce the possibility of working in a regular job. That is the case of Samentha (Haiti), a 36-year-old Afro-descendant woman. She applied for a temporary visa as her husband's dependant, which precluded her from applying to formal jobs. She immediately started selling vegetables like Aisha. She preferred to secure the certainty and stability that comes from having a visa even if its cost is living in constant uncertainty by working in an activity considered 'illegal'. She relies on her husband's work for obtaining the *carnet* through the dependant visa. Evens, Samentha's husband, who has a formal job, once said:

> Evens: I have three months left to apply for the definitive visa. When I apply the *definitiva*, I have to do the errand for her too. She's not going to touch a *carnet* for two years, because I have to make that for her.
> Samentha: They told me I couldn't work with the *carnet* they're giving me... because it's not [a visa] with a contract...

> Evens: When she has the definitive, she's free (...) [but] she cannot work until she has it.
> Samentha: With the definitive anyone can work.

The *definitiva* is the dream of every migrant, no matter how it is obtained. It symbolises the end of uncertainty. As Evens claims, the *definitiva* means freedom, an idea that crystallises many other migrants' narratives on the importance of settling down, even though they can consider moving out. This reveals how crucial it is to achieve and enter the legal boundaries to enable them to do whatever they want. This also shows how concerns about finding a job are more related to the immigration status and overcoming the uncertainty since being street vendors gives them certain economic stability, but not without risks. As Evens states, when Samentha has the *definitiva* she will not need to work 'legally' and pay *imposiciones* (payroll taxes), because nobody will inspect, or so they assume. So far, she has not received it. This uncertainty is like a prison, a vicious cycle in which, if there is a way out, it means freedom. Having the *definitiva* means being completely 'legal', despite resorting to 'illegal' means. It means having access to public services, more rights, and, foremost, not being controlled by the state anymore.

The story of Adriana (Venezuela)*,* a 37-year-old woman, is quite different. She arrived with a university degree, and soon applied for a temporary visa and a work permit, to enable her to work while waiting for the visa resolution. She also had to live with uncertainty eight months, waiting for the work permit. She decided to sell home-made sandwiches in La Vega, where I met her. She exemplifies the reality of many highly educated migrants who cannot exercise their careers. However, unlike other stories, things started to improve for her: 'I already have the work permit, and the next month the temporary visa (...) everything is as it has come out alone. So awesome...' Her husband arrived two months after her and was granted political asylum. Two weeks later he found a job as a plumber, with a good salary and an indefinite contract. Unlike others, working at La Vega was just a momentary phase in desperate times. Not everyone can do that, yet the open doors for Venezuelans at the time, her educational level

and social networks, were all vital to manage the uncertainty and finally settle down.

Karina (Bolivia) is a 32-year old woman that has lived in Chile for more than six years, with her Argentinian husband and daughter. She illustrates what permanency is like and the better opportunities she had compared to other migrants. Since Bolivia is part of the MERCOSUR agreement, she could stay in Chile for two years with a temporary visa without a work contract, with access to different jobs that allowed her to finally apply for the definitive visa. She worked as a municipal secretary but resigned to be more present at home. Her immigration status and the certainty associated with it opened doors for her. When she decided to work again, she found a job the first day, in charge of the cashier at a fast-food chain. After three months, she resigned because her former boss offered her previous job. Karina's experience is far better than other migrants I met. She rents a room, but only to save money for a house in Argentina. Therefore, she is at the opposite and advantaged end of the spectrum, having an easier experience compared to others. Despite her advantages in obtaining a stable job, she has to listen to her Chilean colleagues' unpleasant racist remarks about migrants. At her work, she is negatively racialised no matter how certain her immigration status is, and how long she has lived in Chile. Racism permeates the workplace, and, as I will show later, also the access to it. Furthermore, as I will reveal in Chapter 6, despite the certainties achieved as a permanent resident, Karina still experiences discrimination even to the point of nearly losing her life.

In general, these stories show that resorting to 'illegal' means is a way in which migrants navigate the blurred boundaries of 'legality'/'illegality' in order to achieve a 'legal' life. I argue that these 'illegalities' are triggered by immigration legislation. Foremost, the 'illegalities' are sometimes inevitably accumulated, which is part of the vicious cycle of uncertainty, as seen in the stories above. Those boundaries become blurred since for participants, having to resort to 'illegalities' was a necessary step in their decision-making processes amidst the increasingly restrictive legislation. This is why I argue, following De Genova's (2002) approach, that those 'illegalities' are produced by the state as a result of

legislation, and as such, the 'illegal' character is constituted by law. The legal frameworks are also continuously reconstructed by how they are lived by the people that face such boundaries.

The spiral of uncertainty

Uncertainty is what most defined migrants' experiences and is what leads to the precarities migrants live in the everyday. In other words, their situation becomes precarious because it is uncertain, and such uncertainty is due to the state's aim to control migration by imposing barriers to migrants, especially Afro-descendants. Uncertainty, however, has not yet been the primary focus of migration studies in Chile, with few exceptions (see Ryburn 2018), although it encapsulates migrants' lived experiences. While my focus was on how 'race' was made in the neighbourhood, I soon realised that what most troubled participants was their uncertain immigration status, a notable finding that emerged from the grassroots and that hid other ways in which 'race' was made daily. This is why I stress the importance of addressing theoretically this uncertainty, especially the role that the state plays in it and how 'race' is entangled in these experiences.

While citizenship is unified and tied to a confined and homogenised national belonging, non-citizenship is highly differentiated (Anderson 2015) in many ways. As Anderson (2015) suggests, there are different kinds of migrants, and free-flow mobilities are easier for some and extremely difficult for others. This coincides with the Chilean reality, having a clear politic of open doors to those from the so-called Global North, but stricter and differenced politics for those coming from the South (i.e. LAC, African and Asian countries).

Immigration policies define who can be a 'legal' migrant, and, by default, that defines what corresponds as 'illegal'. Although the racial state immigration law regulates the entry of any 'foreigner', the system has a limited control due to the participation in different UN conventions that ensure the free movement of people and forbid discrimination. In addition, migrations are not spontaneous but produced, and the countries involved in such human mobilities are not random (Sassen 1998:56). Accordingly, immigrant employment is patterned,

especially in a neoliberal economic system like the Chilean, and within the context of a global capitalist economy. Capital and labour are 'mutually constituting poles of a single, albeit contradictory, social relation' (De Genova 2002:423), and thus, labour migrations are not autonomous processes. Hence, labour is mutually dependent on the immigration status of each migrant and status of documented or undocumented is produced by macro forces rather than a solely individual choice. In this globalised context, the state is one of the main factors that permeates migrants' journeys. However, if for capital 'race' matters in terms of the possibilities of exploitation and cheap labour, for the Chilean state, 'race' matters for demographic and ethnocentric reasons, as seen previously. The neoliberal character of the Chilean state, however, makes this more ambiguous and complex. The state's raceless character is both a product and a provider of globalised neoliberalism since while global markets are shaped by 'race' (and gender), their racialisation is no longer seen as explicit or imposed, as Goldberg (2001:257-258) argues. In that sense, 'in conditions of global flows of capital, national regulations more readily restrict the capacities of capital to expand as they do to enable them' (2015:123). Neoliberalism, as Goldberg (2009:334) argues, has remade racial states, and 'race' is now mobilised in different and less evident ways. Thus, neoliberalism, rather than reducing the state's intervention, has shifted the relation of state to private sphere by protecting it from state's regulations. Goldberg (2009:335) suggests that the slogan of neoliberalism might be:

> The state looks after your interests by encouraging you to choose to lock yourself in(to gated communities) while it locks up the undesirable (in prisons) or locks out the externally threatening (by way of immigration restrictions).

The extent to which Piñera's migratory reform have impacted the functioning of global capitalism in Chile still needs to be further analysed considering the recent on-going changes in migration policies, yet it becomes relatively clear how the state has managed the provision of cheap labour force through immigration control while ensuring that it fits with its presumed (fictive) ethnicity, taking advantage of the accelerated increase of migrants from the southern hemisphere, and thus, pushing off the most undesired migration.

In such a complex scenario where multiple factors intertwine, the Chilean state therefore has been unable to manage the increasing migratory mobilities into the country, especially in recent years. Consequently, some of those 'undesired' migrants have entered either by 'legal' or 'illegal' paths and means. This is why immigration policies and visa applications are key to manage 'undesired' migrants, through constraints that seem invisible, yet ultimately, produce differences among migrants. I argue that restrictive and racist state policies produce different degrees of uncertainty in migrants' immigration status. Consequently, such uncertainties have led to different precarities and the production of 'illegalities', that impact migrants' everyday lives and the way in which they negotiate access to permanent residency or citizenship. In effect, such interrelation of labour and immigration status creates two spectrums of 'illegalities', as Anderson (2006:11) suggests. One is related to employment and the other to immigration, as well as the way both are correlated.

In practice, immigration law produces difference among 'non-citizens' by turning them, for instance, into low-skilled migrants and asylum seekers, along with many other categories (Anderson 2015), which lead to different 'hierarchies' in the non-citizenship spectrum. These stories show how binary distinctions of 'legality'/'illegality' conceal complex processes occurring in migrants' lives. Immigration legislation, furthermore, reinforces 'the global exploitation of the poor by the rich', making migrants dependent on their employers to get a visa and even criminalising those (without or waiting for a visa) who work (Anderson 2000:6). As the previous stories reveal, Chile's immigration legislation produce a contemporary form of slavery, making negatively racialised migrants (especially Afro-descendants) 'legal slaves' (Anderson 2000:149).

The temporariness involved in immigration status is a significant factor in the growing levels of uncertainty, which also are intrinsically related to the emergence of 'illegalities'. Achieving a 'legal' and more permanent status for many meant 'illegal' actions. This is inevitable when the procedures migrants have to go through to get a permanent visa or a work permit take a long time. Not

everyone can afford to wait, especially if fleeing extreme violence, like Baltazar, or leaving their countries because they have no other option, like Aisha and many others. Thus, the state, through the long wait involved in bureaucratic procedures, not only makes life difficult for migrants and creates disincentives so they desist staying and self-deport, but above all, pushes them towards irregular citizenship pathways. In other words, the state produces 'illegalities' not only through restrictive legislation but also through excessively complex bureaucratic procedures and the wait involved in such a system. That is how the state controls migration from inside. However, and not surprisingly, the specific procedures for self-deportation that Piñera created especially for Haitians, the so-called 'Plan of Orderly Return' (Chapter 3), were rapidly executed: announced 30th October 2018, the first plane departed the 7th November 2018 (Cooperativa.cl 2018). Governmental priorities are clear regarding negatively racialised and underprivileged migrations, and temporariness becomes a control apparatus: a long waiting time for migrants' regularisation and accelerated time to ensure their departure.

Exerting power through time control becomes a form of state racism; an opportunity to invisibly select migrants by making them wait through bureaucratic procedures. It is the 'micro-enactment' of the state power (Back and Sinha 2018:81). Temporariness is therefore a key factor in the state production of such hierarchies: the excessive waiting time that the visa application entails and the bureaucratic procedures for achieving lawful immigration statuses produced increased levels of uncertainty in participants. As Goldring (2014) explains, temporariness is normalised through immigration policies that offer temporary entrance to the country, through state construction of different non-citizenship categories, based on migrants' economic activities, intentions, and ideas of who should be protected. Particularly in Chile, there are visas for tourism, workers, students, refugee claimants, dependants, and people with any Chilean linkage. While a permanent residency and citizenship guarantee more rights and protection, temporariness means less access to rights (Goldring 2014). However, as Goldring (2014) suggests, it is necessary to move beyond the dichotomy of permanence and temporariness, to shed light on broader processes

of precarisation and exclusion that, I will add, involve larger historical processes of differentiation, such as gender division of labour and social reproduction, as well as racism. Following Goldberg (2015:24), the enforced immigration controls of nations are not due to a 'newly assumed racial determination', since those conditions have existed long before (Chapter 3). Temporariness is therefore related in different ways to social exclusion, especially when the uncertainty regarding the visa application resolution becomes a long-term situation, since it leads to 'illegalities' and even deportation.

As my ethnography reveals, the temporariness involved in visa applications and resolutions meant uncertainty for migrants, and it is the uncertainty of their immigration status what starts what I call the 'spiral of uncertainty'. I suggest that through the immigration status, the state controls migration and produces hierarchies and boundaries of belonging among migrants within its territory. As Anderson (2015:45) claims, '[i]mmigration controls are not only about entry but are erected around services, jobs, housing, health...' I argue that this downward spiral starts with the immigration legislation that restrict entry, especially for certain negatively racialised groups, and has been reinforced by the uncertainty inevitably produced by the state's time-traps (Back and Sinha 2018:7–8). The latter produces several constraints that lead to a cycle of uncertainties, and inevitably, precarities, as shown above. The uncertainty is institutionalised.

The uncertainty becomes progressively embedded in the main aspects of migrants' daily lives. Migrants' access to work, public health services, and housing is highly limited due to their immigration status. According to Anderson (2010:300), although the government portrays immigration controls as a way to guarantee jobs for nationals and for protecting migrants from being exploited, in reality controls undermine labour protections, by fostering labour that change the relations to the employers: 'the construction of institutionalized uncertainty, together with less formalized migratory processes, help produce 'precarious workers' over whom employers and labour users have particular mechanisms of control.' Thus, the mutual dependency between labour and immigration status also produces the spiral of uncertainty, and follows the state aim to control

migration, in which there is no easy way out. Thus, some migrants become imprisoned within such cyclic downward spiral of uncertainty.

The *carnet* materialises the range and degrees of possibilities to make a life in Chile. It is the state apparatus that controls migrant mobility, and as I showed previously, it actually implies immobilities. I argue that the uncertainty associated with obtaining a *carnet* (especially regarding the definitive visa), is the way in which the state manages and produces difference, controlling the population in invisible ways within the borders. The spiral of uncertainty is an invisible form of state racism. The spiral of uncertainty defines the twisting process of restrictions produced by the state that limits migrants' paths to achieve or maintain legal immigration status and finally obtain the permanent residency or citizenship.

My fieldwork reveals that as soon as migrants arrive in Chile, they begin this downward spiral cycle that pushes them progressively down by obliging them to live different precarities and make decisions to navigate their way into a permanent residency and overcome their non-citizen status. This concept also illustrates the way in which migrants, documented and undocumented, live and negotiate the boundaries of belonging produced by the state. It sheds lights on how the immigration policies are experienced in daily life and the different dynamics and cycles that emerge from those policies. The concept of a spiral implies not only an ongoing cycle that expands or tightens but more importantly, a process in constant motion in which several aspects of migrants' lives become increasingly intertwined the more uncertain the scenario is. The different immigration status they manage to acquire determine their route within the spiral -whether their possibilities expand or reduce- in an ongoing process.

It is a downward spiral because on their way to becoming 'legal', the confined possibilities entailed by their immigration status lead them to resort to 'illegal' means, or 'illegal' activities that only deepen their situation and increase the risk of not achieving what they really want: the permanent residency. The spiral is perverse since although the state and its immigration legislation create those

'illegalities', the way the system works gives the impression that migrants are solely responsible for their destiny, and are 'guilty' of choosing irregular paths, as Agustín (DEM official) suggested in Chapter 3. Migratory journeys are thus truncated by immigration policies, while the state's role remains invisible. Migrants' lives become even more confined than before when they try to get out of this vicious cycle, inevitably pushed to the bottom and becoming almost imprisoned, as illegalities are accumulated. The way they navigate those constraints forces them to be involved in even more restricted circumstances once they transit across the boundaries of 'legality', as migrants' trajectories revealed. For instance, Aisha (Haiti) entered Chile pretending to be a tourist. After not finding work, she had to buy a fake contract to apply for the temporary visa. While waiting for the *carnet,* she had to sell on the street to sustain her family and have flexible time to take care of her baby. Then, when trying to apply for the permanent visa, she was rejected, as a penalty for submitting a fake contract. Although some migrants, like Marisela, succeed in obtaining the definitive visa, there is no way out from the spiral for those who have no other option than to sustain themselves through 'illegal' alternatives.

Furthermore, different kinds of businesses (legal and illegal) profit from the uncertainties of the immigration status of many: a status that is, or will be, acquired upon entering Chile. Smuggling (*coyotes*) and trafficking networks also constitute these industries of illegalities (Andersson 2014), and as such, are part of some participants' lived experiences. Although these businesses allow migrants to negotiate the legal constraints imposed by the state, it is at the cost of being subject to others who profit from their uncertain and thus vulnerable position. Drawing from Andersson's (2014) argument, these stories show the making of the 'illegal migrant' by the state through the spiral of uncertainty in which migrants are trapped (if not at the beginning by entering through irregular paths, once they enter Chile): they cannot get a definitive visa without a job, and at the same time, they cannot find a job without a definitive visa. Hence, their access to formal labour is increasingly limited, as well as their access to citizenship. This triggers the development of what I call 'uncertainty industries', emergent businesses that profit from the vicious cycle through deception or

taking advantage of the vulnerabilities associated with migrants' papers. They emerge as a product of the state legislation and restrictions imposed on migrants. This concept is inspired by Andersson's (2014) term of 'illegality industry'. Using the term 'industry' allows us to focus on the several businesses that emerge to make profit from the enforced border controls and the immigration legislation that constrain the entry and stay of certain migratory groups. As he (2014:8) argues, this industry also 'produces what it is meant to eliminate, curtail, or transform—more migrant illegality.' While drawing on his (2014) approach, I preferred to call these businesses 'uncertainty industries' since the feeling of uncertainty was what I unravelled from the lived experiences of participants. Therefore, these 'uncertainty industries' become key in the state's illegality production.

An aspect of the 'uncertainty industries' beyond the well-known *coyotes,* is the market of fake labour contracts and invitation letters. Many individuals profit from migrant vulnerability, including landlords, as I will analyse in the next chapter. Not surprisingly, state agencies by their inefficient and low-quality service to resolve migrants' questions about the visa applications and procedures, have also indirectly contributed to outside businesses[57] that profit from the inefficiency of DEM, as I corroborated. This becomes another way in which the state exerts its power and makes the visa application and the related procedures so unreachable for some migrants. Together with the long wait, this becomes a means of exerting control over migration. The conjunction of these factors produces 'illegal' means that migrants must resort to in order to reduce the uncertainty experienced. The management of uncertainty, therefore, has proven highly profitable in Chile.

The spiral of uncertainty can be seen as a spectrum, whereby some people enter the spiral, yet are able to leave the uncertain situation, and thus, become permanent residents. However, for others, the spiral is very constricted, and their

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[57] One example is the photocopy shop downstairs from the Immigration Department, which many migrants thought was an office of the government agency, that charges for documents and assistance that are supposed to be given for free upstairs.

everyday lives are confined by it, circling downwards without any possible exit. On that edge of the (non-citizenship) spectrum are the undocumented migrants, which is why I started telling their stories, followed by the stories of migrants who enjoyed more benefits and thus 'freedom'. The next sections show how the spiral of uncertainty is racialised and gendered, pushing migrants down in different ways.

How 'race' matters on the path to permanent residency

As seen previously, the freedom that the definitive visa implies can be acquired in different ways. Through their children, as with Aisha and Mirlande, although they still have not received it; through work, like Frantz, Evens, Adriana, and Karina, or through their partners, as Samentha. However, such freedom, if achieved, will be constrained by racism. The increasingly racist politics of the migration policies as applied to certain groups (such as people from Haiti and the Dominican Republic as shown in Chapter 3) might become another constraint that obstructs the attainment of definitive visas. Moreover, the everyday racism lived by many in their work places, impacts not only their path to such freedom but also once they achieve it. After I had followed migrants' journeys over a year, I can observe that racism has broken their sense of belonging, and their desire to remain in Chile.

Being negatively racialised limits migrants' possibilities from the beginning in different ways. The undocumented migrant who enters through an irregular path is negatively racialised due to the 'illegality' constraint imposed on their entry, as in the case of Dominicans. However, once migrants enter the country, the state produces difference through various non-citizenship categories (depending on nationalities), and 'race' comes to matter in even more perverse ways, as shown previously, since national identities are permeated by 'race' (Balibar 1991b). Therefore, the spiral of uncertainty is deeply racialised. As revealed, the immigration status and labour access are intrinsically intertwined. Being a 'temporary' migrant affects access to jobs, and, at the same time, migrants' legal status depends on having a formal job in order to be a permanent resident. Since acquiring a temporary or definitive visa depends on getting a formal job, the

access to jobs become relevant, and whether or not access is limited depends on the 'race' factor, which is deeply entangled with nationality and class. This explains why Aisha (Haiti) had such difficulty finding a job, and why Karina (Bolivia) found a job the first day. As Quijano (2000a) argues, in a colonial and capitalist world, 'race' constitutes a division line that crosses and organises all the relationships of oppression by class and gender. The majority of the participants of this study were racialised in different ways, especially in relation to labour.

Racial segregation can be also seen in the market place and local shops, where hierarchies are established through defined jobs allotted to some migrants but not to others. The story of Mirlande (Haiti) gives insights into how access to labour is diminished by racism. After she found a vacancy in a childcare centre for her baby, she enrolled in a free municipal course on elder care. On completion of the course, she looked for related jobs in the elder care field. By that time, the everyday lives of Haitians started to change. The media portrayed them as 'poor' and transmitted news about 'controlling the flow' of Haitians into Chile with a new consular visa. Several months later, the government did just that. By that time, Mirlande told me she was sad and surprised at her many job rejections. The same day a telephone call informed her that the vacancy had been filled. But a Chilean friend from the same course called later and got an interview. 'Do you think it's because I'm Haitian? I'm starting to think that it's because of that', she asked me. For the first time after months knowing her, she suggested having experienced racism. She seemed scared and sad upon realising that being Haitian was the cause of her rejection, as people could tell that she was not a fluent Spanish-speaker. In the end, the course did not enable her to find a better job. Once we went to ask for a job available at a local restaurant, and the Chilean owner said flatly he does not hire Haitians, alleging their lack of language proficiency, despite Mirlande's competence in Spanish. Clearly, the language limitation excuse camouflaged blatant racism. Mirlande's story illustrates the exclusionary dynamics and racisms that are in place in accessing labour, narrowing her options and tightening the spiral of uncertainty she lives in.

As the cases of Marisela (Afro-Colombian) and Mirlande (Haitian) showed, the jobs they finally found were to clean offices, restaurant kitchens, or as domestic workers. This shows the colonial 'servitude' residual and racialised labour hierarchies, which persist throughout time and space. Negatively racialised women in the US, as well as negatively racialised migrant women in multicultural contexts, for instance, have historically been relegated to doing the 'dirty work' (Anderson 2000; Duffy 2007; Nakano-Glenn 1992) as domestic servants or any work related to cleaning. That logic of servitude and the legacy of slavery are certainly reproduced in LAC countries too. In effect, in the case of domestic work, the racial or national 'otherness' provides an advantage for dealing with troubling aspects of such an intimate relationship between employer and worker (Bridget Anderson 2006:17), and foremost, it facilitates exploitative relationships, with other 'racial'/'ethnic' groups (see Rex and Moore 1967). Such jobs also have something in common, especially for Afro-descendant workers, including men (as Frantz shows): they remain invisible as low-paid labour. They are always behind doors, in the kitchen: invisible. The photograph below (Figure 7) illustrates the visible/invisible dichotomy in a local restaurant. While the Chilean owner is in front, Afro-Colombian women are behind cleaning. In contrast, Katy (Bolivia) was visible at the counter. 'Race' mattered in the kind of jobs they could get, and the visibility they acquired. According to Nakano-Glenn (1992:20), negatively racialised people usually do 'back room' work, which is the heavy and dirty work - as opposed to the more visible and public-oriented jobs usually performed by (perceived) 'white' people. As Reiter (2012:xx) asserts, '[t]he structuring of most societies and the forging of those social hierarchies that determine who works as a maid and who is an employer are reflections of very ingrained colonial legacies.'

Figure 7. Restaurant at La Vega. Marisela is in the back washing dishes, with the owner at the front. 2017.

The visibility/invisibility of the public/private divide, respectively, is marked by racial/ethnic hierarchies. Studies have shown that negatively racialised workers are disproportionately represented among workers that remain more invisible (Duffy 2007), compared to other (perceived) 'non-Afro-descendant' workers. As two Chilean *coleros* noted,

> Alejandro: What happens is that in a store they won't... it's very rare they hire a *negrito* (little black) for the skin colour... they'll not hire a Haitian, because of the skin colour, and because they are conflicting. Maybe more Venezuelan, Colombian women... she has another way to serve the public. Elvira: They have more culture... they have a better presence...

Thus, the key factor determining a worker's desirability is the entanglement of 'race' and nationality (Anderson 2000:154). Afro-Colombians, however, have a completely different experience in negotiating racism. Rosalía believes that racism played a role in her limited access to labour, which her brother and Baltazar, her dad, corroborated: 'yes, I didn't know much about the racism we had to put up with [here]... but what (the violent situation] we came out from is

worse than what you have here (...) The violence is worse'. Baltazar puts up with racism because in Colombia, his life was at risk.

The labour market racialises migrants by taking advantage of what they can 'offer' in their contribution to a capitalist economy. Unlike Mirlande, whose access to work was diminished by racism, Frantz (Haiti), was guaranteed work through racism. When he arrived in Chile, Frantz soon found a short-term contract job with a contractor in the construction industry. Later, it was discovered that the contractor was paying less than the minimum wage to the workers, all of whom were Haitians, pocketing the rest of the pay. When the construction company acknowledged this, it fired the contractor, who absconded, without paying the employees' salary. Suddenly they lost their jobs. As Frantz angrily said,

> No, I don't get involved with contractors anymore. The next time I work in a company, it's going to be of cleaning. (...) I'm going to work in construction when I have the definitive visa..., because there are construction companies that don't accept without definitive (...) I'll have to look for jobs in cleaning companies... because they pay all the *imposiciones*. It's more reliable.

And so he did. Frantz's case shows how racism enabled him to find a job immediately in the construction industry, yet in an unfair situation. The subcontracting model of that industry entails short-term contracts, which increase labour precariousness (Stefoni, Leiva, and Bonhomme 2017). Frantz navigated the uncertainties of his immigration status and the racialisation of the labour market, by accepting a job that offered a long-term contract in order to obtain a definitive visa, knowing that these jobs are usually low-paid.

The easier access to labour (and being 'legal') of men as compared to women, however, did not shield Frantz from everyday racism at work, which made him want to leave Chile. Overcoming the uncertainty in his immigration status transmuted into uncertainty in his migratory trajectory due to racism. In sum, the spiral of uncertainty is deeply racialised, since 'race' plays a key role in

migrants' access to the labour market, especially for Afro-descendants, yet even more so for gender.

The gender gap in access to the labour market

Figure 8. Aisha at La Vega, with her baby daughter far behind her. 2017.

Migrants' stories show that while most migrant men more easily found a job with an indefinite contract, and, subsequently, obtained a definitive visa, women had to adjust their jobs to care for their children (like Karina, Mirlande and Aisha). When Aisha started as a street vendor, she had to bring her baby to La Vega, since there were no vacancies in local nurseries (see Figures 8 and 9). She negotiated motherhood and working, but as the photograph reveals (Figure 8), she looks exhausted and desolate, and sometimes has to rely on other *coleros* to look after her baby.

Figure 9. Aisha's daughter near Jacinta. 2017.

Gender makes a difference in migrants' struggles to obtain permanent residency due to the historic gender gap in accessing employment. Feminist studies have shown how women's responsibility for unpaid household work at home becomes a disadvantage in their access to the labour market because of their periods of absence due to maternal care. This confines them to low-paid low-status jobs, as compared to men, which reinforces men's greater access to economic resources and power (Duffy 2007). In working-class neighbourhoods and within a patriarchal culture, this spiral of uncertainty is not only racialised but also gendered, since women are most affected as they usually must take care of children. Only 3-5 months after giving birth, Mirlande and Aisha started looking for jobs. Yet neither found a job that adjusted to their time restrictions. Migrant women's access to labour is limited to low-skill and demanding full-time jobs, if any.

Frantz's case shows how gender matters, reinforcing the gap in accessing labour, and reinforcing the temporariness and thus uncertainties in women's immigration status. Consequently, this situation leads to a precarious lifestyle for the whole family and restricts women's capacity to be independent of their

partners. For women, the spiral of uncertainty is usually downwards, as they face more difficulties that limit the possibility to belong.

As seen here, migrants are considered cheap labour and their bodies are instrumentalised to serve different industries and commerce. Globalising neoliberalisation and neoliberalising globalisations, deeply interrelated, stress the traditional models of state-bounded national capital, and shifting the capital to global flows of capital and people (Goldberg 2015:119). The neoliberal economic system needs migration to fulfil its potential, and migrant workers from less economically resourced parts of the globe are attracted to locations with more developed sources of capital (2015:120). In Chile, the major industries are mining and construction, both of which need low-skilled labour, benefiting enormously from migrant men. Migrant women, on the contrary, imply potential child-birth, which becomes a burden to the state with regard to public services. This is why the neoliberal economy does not benefit from women as much as from men, as can be seen in the difficulties that women have in achieving permanent residency. The economic and political systems, as deeply interrelated as they are in Chile, lead to women's failure to remain in the country as permanent residents, despite Chilean linkage through their children. Their partners, however, more easily obtain the definitive visa through steady jobs.

The practice of deceiving and abusing, as well as profiteering from, newcomers (even before entry as Pablo shows), are the inevitable response to this closed system that ends up pushing down negatively racialised migrants, especially women, into the bottom of the spiral. And by doing so, it progressively pushes them to leave the country. The failure of their journeys, in such a perverse cycle, rather than been seen as a consequence of the increasingly restrictive immigration policies that adhere to 'racial' standards, is assumed to be migrants' responsibility. However, I show that it is the state that triggers the downward spiral of uncertainty.

The lived experiences of migrants reveal that the immigration status and the *carnet*, as the materialisation of that status, become a state control apparatus

to constrain and create progressively invisible borders to limit migrants, now within the country. Such borders create different kinds of non-citizenship in order to simultaneously create an 'us' or 'community of value' (Anderson 2013), and marginalise and negatively racialise the 'other': the 'undesired' migrant. Intangible borders start pushing migrants away from a country that is 'welcoming' to some but remove 'others', as any attempt to put 'the house in order' entails -as Piñera stated. Anderson (2015:43) asserts that the 'law does not just give immigration flows a particular character but actively produces social relations. These social relations are premised on a citizen/non-citizen binary and on multiple differentiations between non-citizens'. Thus, immigration law and the different visas create invisible borders across the everyday lives of LAC migrants. The spiral of uncertainty becomes another way by which the state produces difference and 'hierarchies of belonging' (Back et al. 2012). The way the system is structured and how immigration legislation operates spawn a context of uncertainty, creating invisible, racialised and gendered boundaries for migrants. Citizenship is racialised and gendered (Anderson 2000:187). As Goldberg (2015:125) argues,

> Today citizenship seems closer to a set of privileges than to guaranteed rights... the failure to recognize or honor them invariably manifests at moments of letting live and making die. Citizenship, in the end, is a matter of sustaining life and its disposability.

The culmination of the state's obscure endeavours crystallised in the Humanitarian Plan of Orderly Return to expel Haitian migrants (Chapter 3). It constitutes the bottom of the spiral, revealing the perverseness of a system that gradually has excluded negatively racialised migrants. Yet the uncertainty, in this case, is eliminated through removal: the end of the migratory project. Moreover, this new 'voluntary' deportation strategy, as I call it, reinforces intangible walls against negatively racialised migrants, pushing them out, and does so as a state 'favour', which makes it all the more perverse. It shouts out to the world that migrants are not welcome, especially Afro-descendant low-skilled workers, let alone women.

Conclusions

That little piece of paper changed Pablo's life (Figure 4) and determined his migratory journey. He felt like a criminal for trying to find opportunities in another country. It marked the beginning of his imprisonment within the spiral of uncertainty: an uncertainty that only ends if he leaves. His life became 'illegal', but that was the only way he was able to live. His story is the story of many. The immigration status marks the trajectories, expectations and destiny of every migrant. Despite the differences in their journeys towards citizenship, considering their different lived experiences, skills, strategies and motives to obtain a permanent residency, something seems clear: such a path entailed more constraints against certain groups (compared to others) due to 'race' (entwined with nationality and class) and gender.

I explained the 'spiral of uncertainty' as the process that the immigration legislation has triggered, forcing migrants to navigate the boundaries of belonging and 'legality' in their struggling path to citizenship. The state has institutionalised uncertainty, and furthermore, enabled the rise of 'uncertainty industries' that foster different kinds of profiteering and abuse. This makes migrants subject to vulnerabilities, precarities and abuses; all of which leads to exclusion. This vicious cycle of uncertainties leads to the production of multiple 'illegalities' as the only way to navigate these uncertainties. The state, however, produce those 'illegalities' through the restrictions imposed not only at the border but also inside the country. The next chapter further examines the social textures of the spiral of uncertainty in the residential neighbourhood, showing how the production of difference continues within national borders, this time regarding access to housing.

Chapter 5. Housing:

Mapping 'race' and hierarchies of belonging in the city

Introduction

Housing is key to explore migrant urban segregation, how 'race' matters in everyday constraints, and how it comes to the fore in city life. If in the last chapter it became clear how uncertainty impacts access to the labour market of LAC migrants, here I continue unpacking the social substances of the spiral of uncertainty to explore how uncertainty is connected to the racialisation of urban spaces. Furthermore, how it is deeply racialised in determining the way migrants inhabit the city and their access to housing. This occurs within historical processes of urban socioeconomic segregation in Chile's capital. Santiago has changed over the years and so has the neighbourhood on the other side of the river: La Chimba. This working-class neighbourhood, like many others in the capital, experienced several changes and the mobilities of people to other neighbourhoods after successful applications for social housing. Moreover, the new people who started moving to this neighbourhood and renting here, were part of these changes. This implied the dissolution of social networks, relationships and certain kinds of civil participation within the neighbourhood (see Márquez 2008). Increasing gentrification processes are underway, and the urban landscape is a mixture of the past and the present: new high-rise residential buildings and commercial centres are intertwined with colonial architecture. It is an urban infrastructure that has been the refuge of poverty from its beginnings. La Chimba continues to be the place that harbours what is considered 'diverse' (Márquez 2013). It is an urban space that concentrates what the neoliberal city wants to hide: poverty, death and diversity. As David (Council top official), stated:

> This borough is the crib of migrants because, since the birth of the city, it concentrates everything that the city doesn't want to see, but it's essential. Next to the river, in La Chimba, were the cemeteries, the brothels, the convents, the market, the regiment. Everything fundamental for the functioning of the city also understood as the place of the concentration

of the dominant class that abandons the place of manual work, and the place of work of the land, which was fundamental at that époque. And, therefore… anyone who came from outside and had no way to insert and to be formalised in society fell into La Chimba… because here most relationships are always informal.

Figure 10. Residential neighbourhood at La Chimba. 2017.

Elena, a 69-year-old Chilean woman, is part of that exclusion by inhabiting a segregated and marginalised neighbourhood where poverty and informality are kept out of sight in this neoliberal city. The top council official, David, described the economic inequality of Santiago, where an upper-class borough has $1,300,000 pesos (£1,300) of council budget per resident each year, while Recoleta has only $140,000 (£140). This shows the unequal distribution of resources, 'where the citizens and residents aren't worth the same to the state, they're not equals before the law', as the top official states. In such an unequal context (see Figure 10), Elena has witnessed changes over the years and was nostalgic about the 'golden past' of the neighbourhood life she remembers:

It was very beautiful… very clean, without fear… the neighbours participated in events (…) It was a very clean neighbourhood, very decent… we all knew each other (…) Back then people shared… everyone

took out something... a little jar of peaches, bread...(...) we participated a lot (...) and the neighbours... were all good neighbours but started to change. Some died, the children left... A lot of unknown people from other neighbourhoods started to arrive, not immigrants like now (...) but we started to lose what we had (...). And the people... started to steal from my dad's house... (...). The houses from the entrance are... all leased rooms (...) and... they aren't like the families back then (...) Now in this *cité*, we're only five Chilean families, and the rest are all Peruvians... we've had some fights with the foreigners because of drunkenness...

Chilean neighbours like Elena, however, have constructed a distorted image of what this place used to be and is currently. To their narratives they add the arrival of migrants into the neighbourhood as the primary cause of the urban degradation, in the eyes of Elena apparently. I argue that migrants' way of inhabiting urban spaces is misunderstood through the lens of racism, which reinforces coexistence problems between migrants and Chileans. Such lenses impede seeing the complexities behind the racialised social structure of housing and how inevitably residents are in dispute for space. What happens in the neighbourhood is the product of historical dynamics and urban processes that are part of a neoliberal capital city's development and illustrates the changes that a marginalised neighbourhood like La Chimba has undergone. Foremost, it shows more complex processes of exclusion and racialisation related to the politics of housing and its provision. Her narrative, like that of other Chilean residents, reveals how urban spaces become marked by a sort of 'exclusive belonging' associated with a sense of community related to national belonging. It is also associated with cleanliness, whereby ideas of 'race' are associated with purity, morality and decency.

This chapter brings together newcomer migrants, former migrants and Chilean residents to understand neighbourhood coexistence and the emerging social conflict. There is the belief that the coexistence of different cultures causes social conflict within a neighbourhood. Agustín from DEM, believed that conflict was not caused by racism but just different people living together (Chapter 3). This assumption gives rise to concepts such as 'integration', 'assimilation', or 'acculturation'. Such terms are inadequate because they come from a 'host-immigrant' framework that assumes the migrant needs to change his/her own

patterns of behaviour to conform to those of the host society, as Rex and Moore (1967:13) suggest. Such assumptions regarding the need for migrants to assimilate/acculturate to the place and community they went to live in, are the basis of Chileans' discourse when referring to migrants' place-making practices in the residential neighbourhood. However, the reasons for the emergence of social conflict in the neighbourhood, which could be seen merely as a product of cultural difference among social groups, or a matter of 'race' relations, conceal more complex processes. Using the city as a lens (Sassen 2010), my aim is to unravel these complex processes, focusing on the forms of discrimination that unfold from social structures.

I argue that as a result of how the spiral of uncertainty determines housing politics, different 'hierarchies of belonging' emerge and become mapped into the neighbourhood: hierarchies that categorise residents and are deeply tainted by racism. First, I explain the politics of housing and its connections with the spiral of uncertainty. Second, I describe the hierarchies that are embedded in this structure, and how they defy the right to housing and belonging of certain negatively racialised migrants. Third, I delve into migrants' housing experiences, describing the material conditions of housing available to them, and the social dynamics and place-making practices. This will provide insights into the social conflict that emerges and how racism operates in residential neighbourhoods. Finally, I delve into Chileans' narratives about migrant residents and the exclusive belonging they feel entitled to. I describe the place-making practices and racial hierarchies that emerge from the housing situation in Chileans' discourse. This shed lights on what I refer to as 'spatial racialisation'.

The politics of housing

The politics of housing and the structure of urban life and resources are key for understanding racism at the local level and the social conflict that emerges among migrants and non-migrants due to uncertainty. Housing provision and its deeply racialised structure have caused a growing social conflict among residents, in which racism plays a vital role. In that sense, the politics of housing becomes an everyday lens into the local processes and dynamics of the city,

facilitating the understanding of the production of difference and power, and, therefore, the making of 'race' in this multicultural neighbourhood. This situation does not occur only in Chile but reveals social structures that emerged (and still are emerging) around the globe, repeating the story over decades. During the 60s in Britain, similar dynamics operated (see Rex and Moore 1967; Smith 1989). Smith's (1989:66) study revealed how housing policies provided a framework in which residential segregation reproduced racial inequality. As she (1989:5) argues, racial ideologies are one of the most pervasive belief systems. Connecting these experiences across the globe is key to unravel how 'race' and urban socioeconomic segregation are entrenched in the Chilean case -albeit acknowledging the differences of each local context and specific histories.

Although migration studies in Chile acknowledge the existence of collective housing in multicultural neighbourhoods in Santiago, no one has reflected on its constitution, characteristics and implications. It is key to understand how the urban space becomes contested with increasing migration. This chapter aims to fill this gap in the literature, contributing to both the sociology of 'race' and urban sociology, in order to understand the entanglements among 'race', urban space, belonging, coexistence, nation and the local community in the context of migration. I explore the dynamics, interactions and practices that emerge in the urban space to understand how migrants, former migrants and local nationals coexist, conveying both Chileans' and migrants' experiences and perceptions through a grounded analysis that takes into account the role of the urban space, the social structure of the city and the politics of housing. This, in order to understand how uncertainty determines processes of racialisation, and how they are materialised or performed in urban spaces.

Spiral of uncertainty and access to housing

Many Chileans acquired state subsidised homes and moved out of Recoleta. Nonetheless, many others, like Elena, stayed. Demographic changes and mobilities are inevitable for any growing capitalist city. According to Smith (1989:4), since markets, organisations and institutions drive the relations of production, distribution and consumption, racial differentiation becomes a

tangible ideological construct. 'Race', therefore, starts to map the spatiality of the city, shaping the housing market. In highly unequal and segregated neoliberal cities like Santiago, where the territory is intrinsically related to socioeconomic factors, the ownership in the housing market determines access to city resources. As Smith (1989:170) claims,

> Because society is spatially constituted – that is, because distance does constrain or enable access to services, resources and the opportunity structure of a nation – the form of residential differentiation has far-reaching implications for individuals' quality of life.

The spiral of uncertainty and its racialised character is intrinsically related to migrants' limited access to housing. In Recoleta, like other multicultural boroughs, the structure of housing and social housing provision has been limited to Chileans and, to a lesser extent, to old migration, such as Peruvians. For newcomer migrants, the possibility of buying or renting a house is practically impossible. On the one hand, applying to social programmes for state housing subsidy for those in a vulnerable situation becomes difficult for migrants without permanent residency, since it is one of the requisites. Migrants must live in Chile for at least five years to be able to apply after obtaining the definitive visa that can be acquired only after two years, which means that they can only apply to social housing programmes after seven years (Razmilic 2019). Not only is the system very competitive, but it also requires the applicant have savings and additional resources to receive a maximum amount from the state.[58] A formal job with an indefinite contract is the only way to ensure the applicant can save the necessary money to buy a house, and that could take years. Nonetheless, in 2015 the politics of social housing changed, suppressing the requirement of five years yet still requiring the permanent residency. Thus, local Chileans still dominate applications to these state programmes, and among migrants, in most cases only those who arrived many years ago can apply, such as Peruvians (62% of migrant applicants)[59] (Razmilic 2019). Similarly, to Rex and Moore's (1967:269) study in

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[58] 794 UF= £24,637

[59] They are followed by Argentinians (14%), Colombians (8%), Bolivians (7%), Ecuadorians (5%), and to a lesser extent Haitians, who are less than 2% (Razmilic 2019).

Birmingham, in Santiago, the system of housing allocation discriminates against newcomers as it takes a long time before they can be eligible for social housing. The waiting time involved in the visa procedures once again makes it difficult for newcomers to settle down, causing unequal access to housing compared to Chileans and former migrants. An available option is a subsidy for renting a house, in which the state assists families (only people with partners or/and children) in their rent.[60] It requires having a *carnet* and not necessarily definitive visa. However, having a formal job, six months proof of *cotizaciones*[61], and a savings account are also required. Not only is it difficult for newcomers to meet such requirements - many are unaware of the existence of these benefits.

On the other hand, to rent a house or apartment, the requisites are also difficult to meet. Even if landlords ask only for a *carnet* (temporary/definitive visa), they usually require proof of job stability (six months of *cotizaciones*, work contract), rent deposits for one or even two months, and the first month rent upfront. Prospective tenants also had to provide an endorsement from a person with a minimum salary of $1,000,000 (£1,000). Many old houses, as the interviewees mentioned, had Chilean owners, who have stayed -some rented part of their houses or the surrounding land was used to rent rooms- or rather, left and rented their houses to long-time migrant residents who can pay and meet the legal requirements. As I exposed, the uncertainty associated with settling down in the city makes it difficult to rent a house or an apartment, mainly because many lack indefinite job contracts, and even if they could afford it, would not have anyone to endorse them. As David (Council top official) claims, 'if you want to rent a house formally, they ask for a work contract and even seniority [in the company]...This country that many say is a model country, it's... tremendously inhumane'. While he acknowledges that the main problem for migrants is housing, the council cannot do anything about it nor regulate the excessive profiteering some are reaping from this situation. For newcomer migrants renting a room is the only option. In 2017, 78% of migrants rented compared to

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[60] The subsidy consists of 3,2 UF= £99 for a rent that should be maximum 9,2 UF= £286; for maximum eight years.
[61] Tax reports, salary, pensions AFP, health insurance.

only 20% of local Chileans. As income levels rose, informal agreements for migrant rentals reduced proportionally, yet such was not the case for newcomers (Razmilic 2019).

Since migrants are unable to sign formal rental contracts, due to their precarious or informal jobs, undocumented status, or because they save money to send remittances to their families, their only possibility is to sublet rooms inside old houses, living in small, overcrowded, unsanitary and dangerous conditions resulting from profiteering. Thus, 'uncertainty industries' (Chapter 4) emerge from increasing demands for housing through room leases, offering newcomers the possibility to rent unfurnished contract-less rooms in exchange for exorbitant prices, unregulated tenures and precarious conditions. Being trapped in the spiral of uncertainty consequently forces them to pay higher rents. This increased continuously with the higher demand -far from fair considering the average rental pricing in the area-, even three or four times over the last ten years, from $40.000 (£40) to $120.000 (£120), according to Pedro (Peru). However, prices differ, not due to better housing conditions but because of racial hierarchies. 'Race' comes to matter in the price of housing as well as in the access. Even rooms in warehouses cost $200,000 (£200), where Belén (Afro-Colombian) and her family live. Only Afro-descendant people lived in this warehouse, suggesting that the housing structure is racialised. This contributes to the segregation of certain migratory groups. This is why collective housing results in the concentration of migrant populations in particular geographies of the city, usually in marginal and socioeconomic segregated areas, known for a perceived relationship between poverty, crime, and drug trafficking. These become the only places where migrants can find a way into the city, yet their residency only contributes to deepening their marginalisation. As Harvey (2014) states, living in a segregated city area reproduces poverty as the opportunities to break the poverty cycle are very limited, since services and resources are scarcer. Furthermore, it deepens stereotypes of migrants that echo colonial representations.

Similar to Rex and Moore's (1967:267) study, the state (and council) politics of housing and its constraints, along with the spiral of uncertainty in which migrants are trapped, forces them to rent this kind of collective housing, and have 'a way of life that is damaging to the city' (1967:265), which inevitably creates other issues. Although many participants wanted to leave these rooms, that was almost an impossible quest, even when they have managed to escape the perverse uncertainty cycle, as Karina's case. For instance, Pedro (Dominican Republic) said that they

> wanted to rent an apartment to get out of here… but as we're foreigners, they rent us for a price, but if a Chilean goes, they'll rent him cheaper. A friend rented an apartment… and the things (documents) they asked her! It's almost impossible. They asked for an endorsement. For instance, Marisela spoke to a flat's owner, and he realised she was a foreigner, and what did he do? He never spoke to her again. It had to be her because I don't have papers… There's a lot of discrimination, although it's not visible.

Pedro makes clear the invisibility of the exclusion migrants face in their limited access to housing. The connection to the city that LAC migrants have, especially negatively racialised newcomers, is tenuous. They live not only in a segregated and low-income neighbourhood, but also marginal housing.

Subletting contract-less rooms, sometimes without receiving payment receipts, leads migrants to an even more vulnerable situation: landlords can evict them whenever they want, ignore construction problems or repairs, and can raise the rent as they please. The lack of contract or rent receipt potentially make migrants unable to claim rights for better living conditions. Chileans and former migrants with more economic stability (especially Peruvians, and to a lesser extent Haitians and Venezuelans) have taken advantage and profiteered from the vulnerability and the uncertainty of these newcomers, renting old and deteriorated houses for business. Similar to Rex and Moore's (1967) study, multi-occupation started to snowball in Recoleta, and former migrants started to exploit that financial opportunity to the maximum. As many newcomer migrants demanded accommodation, they profited by building rooms or dividing houses into multiple rooms, which lead to the emergence of what Rex and Moore call a

'twilight zone': an area of immigration and multi-occupation (1967:31). As Elvira (Chile) states, 'they're passing the houses to the Peruvians so that they rent them and then sublet. That's the business'. As James (Haiti) states,

> We're suffering from this same abuse from whose hand? Of the Peruvians. They're also immigrants, but they take advantage of us, see? Now it says that everyone has to pay for electricity. That's abuse. They forgot what they said, 'if you pay me $150,000 (£150)... everything is included'... now they say no. And since it's not easy to get a room in Chile, you cannot afford to 'you know what, I'm going to leave this room and move to another place', but where would you be going? You have to think it over... it's not easy.

Hierarchies of belonging and the struggle for urban space and resources

The dramatic view that Chileans, like Elena at the beginning, have of the neighbourhood is coloured by racism and provides a distorted account of the reasons why the social conflict has emerged. This study reveals that the issues occurring in this working-class neighbourhood reproduce colonial racial hierarchies in new ways, and thus are significantly marked by 'race' rather than merely 'class'. Furthermore, the real engine of the social division that emerges in the neighbourhood is not merely 'race' or culture, but rather the city's social structure and the housing politics that determine different 'hierarchies of belonging' based on housing tenure: who owns it, who leases it, and, consequently, whose city it is and who is allowed to belong and in what terms. As mentioned previously, the term 'hierarchies of belonging' (Back et al. 2012) becomes key throughout this thesis.

The research of Back et al. (2012) about young migrants in the UK suggests that ranking individuals' immigration status establishes 'hierarchies of belonging'. This approach was crucial to this thesis since it allows understanding how, in this case, racial hierarchies can be materialised and enacted not only by immigration legislation (Chapters 3-4), but also through everyday actions, practices and social interactions, conditioning migrants' opportunities, and belonging. By using the term 'hierarchies of belonging', I refer to the social re-ordering and society divisions that emerge in the context of migration and multiculture, in which

migrants are positioned within the host society in terms of their right to belong. Such hierarchies determine the 'right to the city' and how migrants are positioned in the social field, as well as the contours of inclusion and exclusion they navigate in the everyday. I argue that 'race' plays a key role in such social divisions since the production of difference towards negatively racialised migrants emerges from ideas of 'race', reproducing *mestizaje* logics (Moreno-Figueroa 2013) that value those who are 'whiter', as I show later. Hence, it determines that some migratory groups are more likely to be included in the host society and thus belong, while others, especially Afro-descendants, are positioned at the bottom of the social (racialised) hierarchy, having in practice less rights to belong. As Sharma (2015:99) suggests, '[r]acism… is one of the key vectors determining the validity of anyone's claim to national belonging.' In such a context, in a nationalised society like Chilean society, hierarchies inevitably emerge. Through performances and materialised racisms, these hierarchies determine the 'rightfulness' to belong of national residents. Thus, the right to citizenship is not only contested by the state legislations but also by local nationals, and furthermore, by the social structure of the city. Hence, these hierarchies encapsulate more complex factors beyond 'racial' or 'ethnic' relations.

Racism influences how people negotiate their right to belong to the place they inhabit, especially in the case of previous migrations. Similar to the study of Rex and Moore (1967:16) social conflict in this residential neighbourhood is not only a matter of racism alone, but also a matter of material conditions and the struggle for resources: '[c]ompetition for the scarce resource of housing leads to the formation of groups very often on an ethnic basis and one group will attempt to restrict the opportunities of another by using whatever sanctions it can'. Such competition is not only led by Chilean residents, who rather than compete for housing are competing both to reclaim the neighbourhood as it used to be and to assert their 'racial' and national superiority as I bring to light later. It is also led by former migrants, who profit and constrain access to housing based on 'race', in their own struggle to claim belonging and power in urban spaces.

> What happens is that the Peruvians are good at leasing and subletting, Chileans pass them houses and they lease to Haitians, and they don't have any water for them! They've limited the Haitian... he becomes a victim of the Peruvian people. The Peruvians here arrived earlier... they're more skilful. (Elvira, Chile)

Racism operates through the provision and tenure of housing, where Chileans, and especially former migrants, racialise the residential space and organise it in terms of profiteering. The production of power through the making of difference is what sustains and materialises symbolic hierarchies of belonging in different ways. As Rex and Moore (1967:12) argue, to understand diverse intergroup conflicts we need to 'explain this prejudice not in terms of the personality system but in terms of the social system, that is, in terms of a structure of social relations.'

The politics of housing and the structure of housing provision and tenure is intrinsically related to the 'hierarchies of belonging' (Back et al. 2012) that emerge in the neighbourhood: hierarchies that are deeply racialised. The structure of social relations determined by the politics of housing in the city, especially regarding newcomers, is what explains the emergence of social conflict. A conflict that is marked by different racialisation processes: not only identities and place-making practices become racialised but also urban spaces. The structure of housing tenure is pivotal to understand how racism works in the neighbourhood and how the production of difference is materialised in the city. The structure is clear: while some can be house owners, others can be intermediaries (landlords) who sublet these rooms, and the rest are tenants with limited housing options dependent on the selective practices of landlords. I argue that such structure is the basis in which racism takes form, that is, how 'racial' hierarchies are established and sustained by the housing social structure and tenure.

As house owners and older residents in the neighbourhood, Chileans perceived themselves positioned at the top of the neighbourhood hierarchy; a higher hierarchy which working-class people are not able to achieve outside this neighbourhood. Such superiority is crystallised by how they define the rules by which urban space can be 'owned' and who can belong to it and on what terms,

limiting the access to certain groups through a selective process of racialisation that starts with them but is reproduced along the societal scale (through house and room lease). It means that racism operates among migrants from different countries of origin. According to Smith (1989:21), 'in the apportionment of residential space, the niceties of cultural preferences are overlaid with the stark realities of a struggle for privilege and power.'

The increased presence and place-making practices of LAC migrants in the neighbourhood surprisingly leads to the re-emergence of racism against migrants who have lived a lifetime there: Peruvians. As shown, this previous migration resonates in Chileans' narratives even when talking about the new migrations. It is precisely what most upset Peruvian neighbours, who had already experienced years of racism and exclusion by Chileans (see Stefoni and Bonhomme 2015a). The new migration mobilities, perceived as a huge 'new' phenomenon in Chile, as Peruvian participants argued, reinforced the anti-immigrant sentiment and racisms they experienced, at a time when discrimination was no longer a major issue after a lifetime in Chile -or so they thought. That would made some Peruvians uncompassionate with newcomers although they lived the same vulnerabilities. Instead, they profited from them. According to Elvira (Chile), there is a saying: 'the Haitians are eating the Peruvians', which would be one of the reasons of their animadversion against Haitians. Elvira suggested that Peruvians disliked the way Chileans compared them to Haitians, not only because some Haitians started the same business of subletting rooms (to other Haitians), but also because they were 'black', and they considered that an offence.

As the next chapters reveal, (perceived) Afro-descendant migrants are at the bottom of this social hierarchy, reproducing colonial racisms. The way some Chileans treat and perceive Afro-descendants situates them at a lower hierarchical level than Peruvians, with whom they have coexisted a long time, and have done business with. However, it did not guarantee them immunity from racism. The housing structure made that argument clear. For example, Chilean owners rent entire houses to Peruvians; those who rent rooms in their houses

usually rent to Peruvians, and those who live in *cités*[62] mostly share the semi-collective spaces with them. Such scenarios are not usual for other LAC migrants, who mostly reside in more precarious kinds of housing. Furthermore, colonial hierarchies are reproduced among migrants since Peruvian landlords, by classifying migrants in positions that are determined by their 'vulnerability', place Afro-descendant migrants at the bottom -which is materialised by renting rooms for higher prices, lower-quality materials and more precarious housing conditions. The access to housing, and thus to the city, becomes more limited for Afro-descendant migrants.

> if one goes and looks for a [room] lease, the first thing they ask you is 'Where are you from? Because we are only renting to Peruvians, Bolivians and Ecuadorians'. Yes, it has already happened twice. So here there are loads of racism. And the rent is truly exorbitant. (...) These days I went, and there was a Peruvian who had a restaurant. I knocked on the door and she says, 'No, the room is leased'. 'Oh, well, thanks'. I went back, and a for lease sign was posted. Then the girl comes out and says 'no, it's because....' And I said, 'Look, you told me the room is leased for not renting to *negros* (blacks)?' 'no, it's... well, come in. And I said, 'I'll come later', and left.

That happened to Belén, an Afro-Colombian participant, who did not return to the place after being rejected. When Mirlande (Haiti) also looked for a room for her cousin, the room she asked about was not available anymore. As she told me: 'when Haitian comes, they say that they don't have, that is rented... but I don't know why...' However, Karina (Bolivia), was in a better position and with her Argentinian husband administered the house they lived in, which meant paying less for the biggest room.

Migrants are not all treated the same way. The access to housing is structured by racism. The spiral of uncertainty in which newcomers, especially Afro-descendants (as seen previously), are trapped upon arrival in Chile, determines their limited access to housing, and their relationship and interactions with local

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[62] *Cités* are a series of houses built as an alleyway, facing a common private courtyard space, connected to the public road through one or more points of access (Hidalgo 2002). One of their main characteristics is that they constitute a collective or semi-private space, which generates a collective transitional space between the housing and the street, hence facilitating social interaction between neighbours (Observatorio de Ciudades UC 2012).

Chilean residents. In some areas, the owners or tenants restrict their leases to certain people, sometimes excluding Haitians, Colombians, Venezuelans or Peruvians, depending on the case. Even some Chilean landlords, as corroborated in the focus group, put up signboards that say 'Rent only to Chileans' (maintaining an average rent). The landlords or intermediaries that sublet rooms are very selective in whom they sublet. Near Aisha's house, some signboards said 'Room for rent Not for Peruvians', or 'Rent room only for Haitians'. Racism arises in the way in which former migrants take advantage, money-wise, of certain migratory groups based on 'race'. As Jessica (Chile) states: 'it's so unfair because for Peruvians, landlords (especially Peruvians) charge $80,000 pesos (£80), but to Haitians $150,000 (£150)'.

This ethnography revealed how Afro-descendant migrants allowed former migrants -who have become landlords- to occupy a higher position within the field and thus claim a space, both tangibly within the neighbourhood, and symbolically within Chilean society. First, by subletting rooms only for Haitians, in order to charge them a higher price than other LAC migrants, and thus abuse them with precarious rooms in collective housing, which are far from matching the market price. This practice arises from the perception that Haitians can be taken advantage of due to the language barrier, their (perceived) origins from a 'poor' country and a presumed 'lack of education', and because of their fear of being kicked out would make them pay on time -as many participants stated. In other words, landlords are profiteering from the perceived vulnerability of a migratory group, and by doing so, they also racialise the entire group.

Second, by not subletting to Afro-descendants, as told by Mirlande (Haiti) and Belén (Afrocolombian), just because they are of African descent. This discriminatory access to housing has been stronger towards Haitians. According to Rex and Moore (1967:276), '[s]ince the basis of the lodging-houses is profit, and neighbourly ethics inhibit the willingness of individual proprietors to exploit their own kin and countrymen, landlords will normally recruit at least some of their tenants from ethnic groups other than their own.' For instance, I visited

warehouses[63] administered by Peruvians, where only Haitians and Afro-Colombians lived in inhumane and overcrowded conditions, thus creating a sort of ghettoization within the neighbourhood (see Figure 11). Karina (Bolivia), in charge of the administration, says that the landlord (Peruvian), has a different contract for Haitians: a higher rent, and it establishes that maximum three people can live there. Due to the rooms' high prices, this inevitably became a common practice among Haitians to reduce costs, especially those who are single (see Figure 12). Karina's landlord is very selective in choosing tenants, and Karina has strict rules. He told her: 'if a Venezuelan or Colombian comes, don't ever tell them that a room is available, because they bring too many problems, and many end up being *narcos'*.

Figure 11. Warehouse. 2018.

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[63] The council finally intervened one in May 2018, but many still remain.

Figure 12. Warehouse's room. 2018.

These racial hierarchies that are materialised in the room leases unveil the power structures in place, especially among migrants. Being the landlord implies a superior position over the lessee, exerting power to select who will live there, and the corresponding price, which inevitably reproduces the situation these landlords, as former migrants, experienced decades ago. In their business with newcomers, they replicate racism against others just as vulnerable as they once were, to achieve a higher hierarchical position. However, they do not profit from any migrant. Venezuelans are not their ideal lessee, since 'they complain too much'. This implies both that landlords perceived them as equals or superior, and that most Venezuelans assert a superior position by not tolerating abuse. In contrast, Haitians are seen as 'docile' and landlords profit from their 'language superiority'. I argue that profiteering from the more 'vulnerable' position of newcomer Afro-descendant migrants is also a form of racism. Moreover, it is a way that former migrants assert their 'right to the city'. Thus, former migrants perform a structural racism against newcomers, negatively racialising migrants by providing or restricting access to housing, while also profiteering from their vulnerability. These 'uncertainty industry' businesses are sustained by racism and the power dynamics it creates that allows establishing hierarchies. Thus,

racism was still performed through more subtle ways by the commodification of their uncertainty and vulnerability. 'Race' matters not only in social interactions but also in housing structure and provision. In the next sections I delve into the collective housing and the domestic lives of participants, seeking to disentangle the clashes that arise within the local population.

The *neoconventillos*
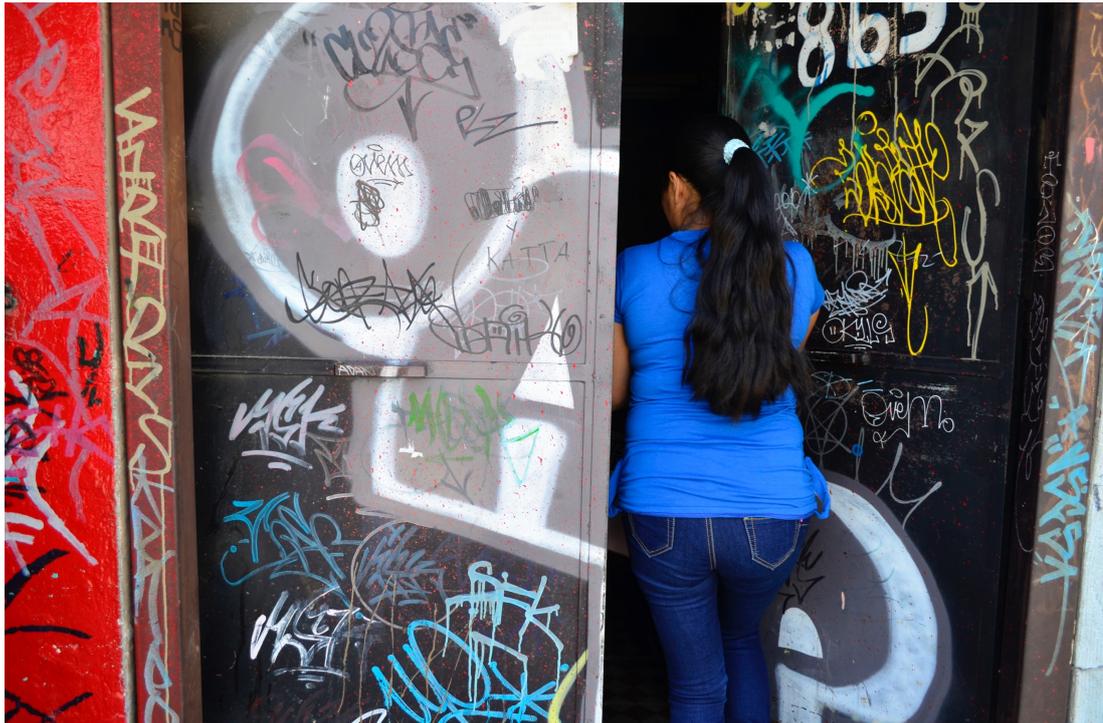
Figure 13. Woman opening door to a *neoconventillo.* 2015.

In the photograph, a woman is opening her front door*.* Like many other people I saw coming in and out, she entered quickly to her home, almost imperceptibly to avoid being seeing or letting somebody see inside. Rather than the visible fence of Elena's *cité,* where I could see the main corridor shared by each house, in this case, what was happening on the other side was imperceptible from the outside. This image captures the secrecy of this place. It symbolises not only the invisibility of exclusion, but also the vulnerability migrants must deal with in these places that constitute their homes. Despite the efforts of landlords to maintain these realities closed and inaccessible, I managed to grasp the realities inside. These photographs witness the inner-city poverty, disclosing the

domestic spaces and intimate lives of migrants for the first time. Since newcomers' access to housing is hindered by the spiral of uncertainty, the most available although expensive solution, is to sublet a room in a particular kind of housing that re-emerged with the increased arrival of migrants: *conventillos.*

However, such re-emergence has remained obscured and under-explored, although the housing situation of migrants is far from being new or unknown for the council and local people. The secrecy of the place has even transpired into academia. Nowadays this kind of collective housing within big colonial houses have started to be called as if they were the same kind, *cités.* However, today's situation is far more complex. I argue the main kind of housing migrants have access to in La Chimba is neither houses nor *cités*, but rather, a renewed version of the late nineteenth century *conventillos,* which I will call *neoconventillos.* *Conventillos* were houses that had undergone multiple low-cost subdivisions to make tiny separate rooms, characterised by their precariousness and overcrowded conditions resulting from the excessive profiteering by landlords to host the increased internal migration from the countryside into the city at the end of nineteenth century (Hidalgo, 2002). The difference between *conventillos* and *cité* is vital to acknowledge. While the *cité* was the first expression of social housing planned by the state in response to the severe housing deficit in the twentieth century due to the migration of rural families (Observatorio de Ciudades UC 2012), the *conventillo* corresponded to the previous unregulated, overcrowded and unsanitary form of collective housing where Chilean workers lived (Hidalgo 2002). It was what the *cité*, as a state housing solution, attempted to replace*,* ensuring more hygienic conditions. Although most of the houses within *cités* today remain unchanged externally, they have undergone internal changes through several divisions to create rooms for migrants -becoming in certain ways *conventillos,* replicating their overcrowded conditions and many other aspects of social life.

While today *cités* and *neoconventillos* share a common entrance and a semi-collective space that have to be shared among families, the conditions and tenure of them differ from a century ago. Although the similarities between today's

collective housing and those that emerged in the late nineteenth century are remarkable - which is why I call this housing *neoconventillo,* delving into this might deviate us. The most noticeable aspect today is that while *cités* have a gated entrance that permits visibility (see Figure 14), *neoconventillos* have solid gates that impede the view from the street.

Figure 14. Inside a *cité.* At the end, the gated entrance. 2017.

Figure 15. View of the semi-collective space of the *neoconventillo* from a participant's room. 2017.

This photograph inside a *neoconventillo* crystallises the prison-like housing migrants live in the everyday (Figure 15). It reveals the overcrowded, precarious conditions in the shared spaces of collective housing, and the secrecy that characterises the way migrants live. This attests to the confinement and overcrowded conditions, which can be seen in the number of clothes amidst several rooms on each side of the passage: a hidden reality impossible to be seen from the outside. Such secrecy maintains the precarious reality invisible, behind closed doors (see Figure 16), precisely what unscrupulous landlords aim to achieve. It is a like a prison from which migrants cannot escape due to the spiral of uncertainty they are trapped upon arrival. These aspects disclose the limitations related to how this housing is organised and deeply racialised. As Smith (1989:105) argues,

> Residential segregation is a medium for the reproduction of racial inequality. Neither economic development nor the welfare state has undermined this process. Neither centrally dispensed policy nor locally sensitive practices have reversed the trend.

Figure 16. View of a *neoconventillo* from above, which is invisible at the street level. 2016.

The first time I entered Aisha's house it was as I had entered a social world on its own. After passing through the solid black fence, I walked along an uneven pavement that led to what used to be an interior house with glass doors. Before that, three doors on each side of the corridor indicated that six families lived in recently built rooms at the front of the old two-story house. Down the corridor, I saw many clothes hanging and three washing machines. Aisha's room was the last one on the left, just outside the semi-collective space where the shared kitchen was. In the cracked walls of the communal space and Aisha's room, I could see cockroaches. Once one got into a pan in which she was cooking food, and fortunately she noticed.

Figure 17. Semi-collective space where all the stoves are, and different families gather. 2017.

Several gas stoves occupied the communal space next to the sink: the only thing families shared (Figure 17). Aisha's 9 m² room was very dark: it had no windows. She managed to fit a dining table where she stored the plates, glasses and cooking pans, and three chairs. It was next to the refrigerator and her baby's crib, which had a pile of clothes. A curtain separated the bed, and hid all her clothes piled on top. The wall next to the communal kitchen was severely damaged and cracked. The ceiling had a hole, and I could see the basic house structure (Figure 18). It felt like it would collapse at any moment. Aisha told me the landlord knew about that hole but did not repair for more than a month. She shares the bathroom with seven families and needs to heat water to take a shower. None of these *neoconventillos* has a boiler. During winter the building materials made the cold almost unbearable, and there is no heating system nor money to pay for any heater. The significant levels of garbage that each room gathered made it impossible not to leave them on the street to prevent bad odours and maintain sanitation inside. The degraded and precarious living conditions were overwhelming.

Figure 18. Damaged ceiling of Aisha's room. 2017.

Low-quality construction materials and substandard building add-ons that exceed the houses structural limits (see Figures 18-21), have made domestic spaces unsanitary, overcrowded, cluttered, and dangerous. Even though social and family ties exist among the tenants, each family, and thus each room, has its own stove and washing machine, preferring not to share to avoid conflict, as occurred with Mirlande.

Figure 19. *Neoconventillo.* View from the second floor of the house. 2017.

Figure 20. Warehouse. 2018.

Figure 21. Warehouse; second floor. 2018.

Each room has a fridge, a TV or radio, and sometimes a microwave, which makes the place extremely dangerous due to the high usage of electricity by a great number of tenants in a confined space. This, in addition to the several gas stoves, poses a serious fire hazard (see Figures 17, 22). Many have lost their homes or even died in fires (Emol.com 2014). Precisely because of such vulnerabilities, some landlords have explicitly prohibited tenants from having guests inside (No. 4 in the list below), so the irregularities and precariousness remain behind closed doors. In effect, after a year of visiting Aisha's *neoconventillo*, the landlord posted a sign in the common area with the following rules of conduct:

> It is forbidden[64]:
> 1. Avoid talking in a scandalous way (respect neighbours);
> 2. Do not drink alcoholic beverages;
> 3. Keep the bathroom clean after use;
> 4. Avoid visitors;
> 5. Pay the rent on time.

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[64] Own translation. The irony of the grammatical error in the signboard is impossible to miss.

Figure 22. Mercedes cooking on a stove inside her room. 2017.

All the *neoconventillos* I visited during my fieldwork shared the same structure and precarious building conditions: an old house that exceeds its occupancy capacity with new low-cost rooms, maximising any space around the house, and a small semi-collective space, shared by the families, open outside. Some communal spaces and even rooms had uneven deteriorated floors. Furthermore, I visited warehouses that have been adapted with low-quality materials to host, in even more precarious conditions, hundreds of people in a single semi-open space, in terrains with no concrete and uneven surfaces. One participant even claimed that near her house in a vast former factory someone was building a whole complex of rooms to host hundreds of families, which constitutes a sort of citadel.

Figure 23. Inside a *neoconventillo,* where James lives. 2017.

This is not exclusive to Recoleta. In general, evidence shows that the main problem of migrant populations in Chile is urban exclusion. They endure housing conditions far worse than the average local Chileans, especially newcomers who arrived in the last five years. Overcrowding is an extensive problem among migrants (Razmilic 2019). While only 6% of Chileans live in overcrowded homes (2.5 people or more per room), the migrant population in Chile triples that number at 19% (Razmilic 2019). According to OBIMID (2016), migrants that face overcrowding in Santiago are mainly from Haiti (52.8%), Peru (39.3%), Ecuador (26.3%), and Dominican Republic (17%). In Recoleta, the Census 2017 shows that overcrowded houses exceed the capital's average: 10.13% of Recoleta's houses are overcrowded, and 3% are critically overcrowded (INE 2018a). Besides, in the Metropolitan Region, 45.32% of people from low-income backgrounds lack a rent contract (see Appendix IV), which shows, in general, the deregulation of the rental housing market.

Overcrowded Houses in Recoleta, Census 2017

- Houses non-overcrowded
- Houses overcrowded
- Houses critically overcrowded
- Houses with ignored overcrowding
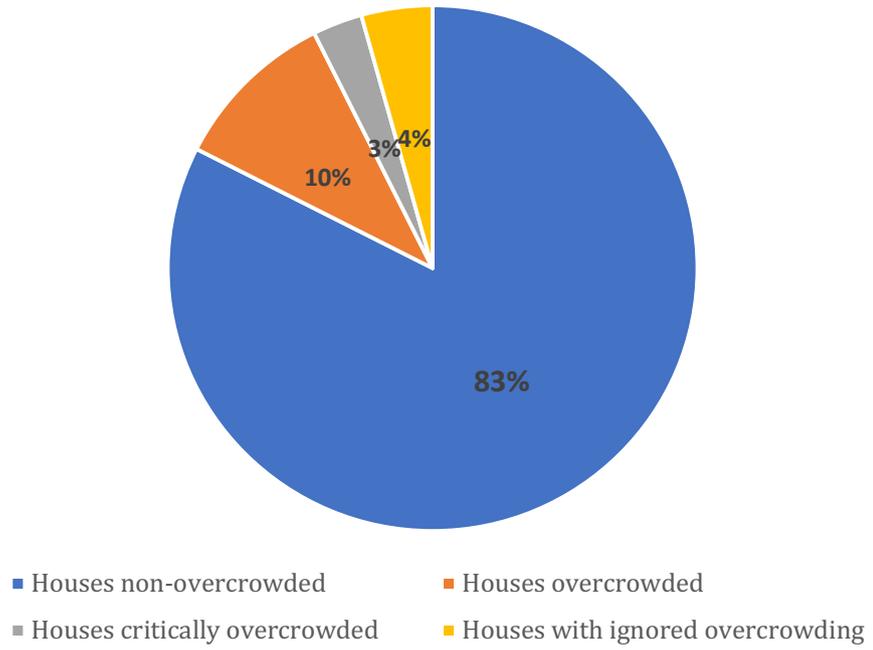
Figure 24. Source: Elaborated by the author. Census 2017.

Figure 25. Warehouse. View from the second floor of this warehouse. 2018.

Figure 26. Friends gathering in a room at a warehouse. 2018.

The housing situation, however, is not particular to Chile or LAC migrants. All migrations, whether internal or external, have such pressures on housing and the profiteering that ensues as a result (see Sayad 2004). *Conventillos* re-emerged when the increased arrival of migrants started to be seen as a very profitable opportunity, where informality and precarity reigned. The precarious housing conditions and overcrowded character I witnessed inevitably leads to insalubrity. In such a context, different forms of dehumanisation are intrinsically associated with this kind of housing, and 'race' comes to matter. This becomes evident with the emergence of warehouses conditioned to harbour migrant families. Warehouses are conceived as structures to house goods or objects, not humans. They reproduce a world of disadvantage and exploitation that see newcomer migrants as units (see Figures 25 and 26). A warehouse becomes a place where they can live, yet a dehumanised urban space.

Neither the government nor the councils have been able to regulate or penalise such profiteering, as well as the inadequate housing structures. As the council's key informant stated, the council cannot stop these unscrupulous landlords and intermediaries from profiteering from migrants, although it is illegal. According

to Alberto (Neighbourhood Union President), 'when the municipality evicts [a house] it's because the things are almost like... 1, 2, 3 going to fall'. David (Council top official) stated they have only given demolition orders to 32 houses because they cannot relocate all the families. As he noted, 'even having a firm hand against the landlord, you don't solve the problem but aggravate it, because [migrants] anyways need somewhere to live'.

Place-making practices and belonging

Figure 27. Daughter of a participant, playing in the semi-collective space. 2017.

Little, if any, sociological accounts have been conducted concerning social practices in residential multicultural neighbourhoods in Chile. As Thrift and Amin (2002:18) argue, 'strangely, the everyday rhythms of domestic life have rarely counted as part of the urban, as though the city stopped at the doorstep of the home. But domestic life is now woven routinely into the urban 'public realm.'' As I spent much time in participants' homes, I had access to their domestic spaces.

Figure 28. Aisha and Mirlande cooking at the semi-collective space. 2017.

Figure 29. Aisha dancing for her daughter in the semi-collective space. 2017.

The semi-collective space of the *neoconventillos,* where the gas ovens and washing machines were placed, became the space where communitarian life emerged sometimes replacing a public square or even the street: a space of

encounter and transit, where children played (see Figure 27). It is a unique place in which they can go outside their rooms and change the environment, and where residents have conversations while cooking, or doing their laundry, or taking care of their children (see Figures 28, 29). In that sense, *neoconventillos* are social worlds in themselves, from which communitarian practices emerge. Relationships, social interactions and place-making practices reveal how migrants negotiate their belonging and also face the social exclusion that they often encounter outside. For Aisha and Mirlande, their home allowed them to feel safe and protected from the outside, which they view as hostile (see Figure 30). And not only due to everyday racisms, but also state racisms that lead them to the spiral of uncertainty I described. As Anderson (2006:9) argues, home is not only a refuge from the labour market but also from the state. This is one of the reasons they usually spend their weekends at home, alongside the fact they do not have enough money to go out.

Figure 30. Mirlande in her room with her daughter. 2017.

However, as a result of these precarious overcrowded housing conditions, new spatial reconfigurations inevitably emerge, and public spaces become increasingly contested by migrants. The street outside the *neoconventillo* became

an alternative space to the overcrowded conditions: a space where social interactions, place-making and transnational practices take place. However, these practices and search for belonging clash with the place-attachment built by local national residents. Thus, the ways in which migrants are forced to inhabit have implied the emergence of new place-making practices in the street, and the emergence of tensions between private and public spheres where limits become blurred. Due to the confined and sometimes dark rooms they live in, they go out to share with friends or make calls as there is no signal inside.

Figure 31. Samentha on the phone just outside the *neoconventillo*. 2017.

In this photograph, Samentha (Haiti) is calling her sons in the Dominican Republic, and in that sense, transnational practices (Glick Schiller, Basch, and Blanc-Szanton 1992) take place in the residential neighbourhood (Figures 31,32). As Thrift and Amin (2002:3) claim, 'urban life is the irreducible product of mixture. Further, this mixture increasingly takes place at a distance, so challenging conventional notions of place.' Other migrants would sit down outside and/or make barbecues and drink with other migrant friends on the street (Figure 33); something Chileans usually do not do. According to Alvaro (Chile), 'Peruvians take out the grill, and take advantage to sell there to

neighbours. (…) Not like the Chilean, that never have taken out the barbecue. It's always inside the home, it's for him, and if lucky, the neighbour gets some'.

Figure 32. Participants taking some air outside the *neoconventillo*. 2017.

Figure 33. Barbecue in the street outside a *neoconventillo,* where different families gathered. 2017.

The urban spaces in the residential neighbourhood that migrants claim through these different place-making practices are not spaces actively used by Chileans, who in general, gather inside their homes, mostly due to having enough space but also due to other reasons. Since the twentieth century, former residents built a particular place-attachment whereby participation constituted a way to express citizenship sovereignty; a struggle that focused mainly on appropriating or marking city spaces (Márquez 2008). The 17 years of dictatorship along with the neoliberal economic model established in 1974, eroded participation as well as the appropriation of public space or place-making practices[65] (Márquez 2008). People became afraid of any potential conflict, escalating feelings of insecurity, which increased home reclusion and raised internal barriers that prevent individuals from making contact with others, and decreased the use of public spaces (2008). These differentiation and identification criteria within neighbourhoods become progressively dangerous since they establish differences between inside and outside, 'ours' and 'theirs' (2008). Hence, the use of the space or place-making practices have profoundly changed in the neighbourhoods that host migrants, long before their arrival. Nonetheless, it appears that migrant mobilities into the neighbourhood have reinforced this idea of a broken 'golden past' where the community participated and shared within the margins of a 'homogeneous' community.

This ethnography shows how the spiral of uncertainty, housing politics and the structure of the city and social life, have strongly determined how migrants inhabit and reclaim public spaces. In the following section, I show how the residential neighbourhood is spatially racialised by Chileans, marking boundaries of belonging. Thus, how 'race' has historically shaped the narratives about belonging, nationhood, class and urban space, which have led to different and symbolic forms of exclusion against negatively racialised migrants.

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[65] This time is characterised by the withdrawal of the state in urban development, leading to a deregulation of the real estate market (Borsdorf and Hidalgo 2013) and privatisation of public space.

Spatial racialisation and exclusive belonging: Cleanliness, morality and 'race'

Migrants' practices in the public space have led to everyday racisms that challenge their right to belong to urban spaces, through the association between 'race' and social or cultural practices in order to generate 'hierarchies of belonging' (Back et al. 2012). These place-making practices have been seen as a disruption to the logics and symbolic use of public spaces and a threat to the older residents, who claim a kind of 'exclusive belonging' that refers to the ways in which the space has been used. This means preserving the cultural practices and place-attachment associated to the use and dynamics of the space, and mainly linked to classed identities (Méndez 2018). While they do not use the public space, they are also disinclined that others use it. Hence, two moments are intertwined; on the one hand, migrants who, because of the limited space and precarious housing conditions are prone to appropriating the public space, and on the other, Chilean inhabitants who are afraid of the dangers of the city, yet feel the public spaces around them have been appropriated by 'others'. As Amin (2002:975) argues, while poverty and marginalisation have previously meant 'ethnic isolation' or hopelessness, in another situation and thus as a product of unique combination of factors, it can mean everyday racisms or anger, as '[e]very combination highlights the powers of situated everyday life in neighbourhoods… through which historical, global, and local processes intersect to give meaning to living with diversity' (2002:976). The way migrants inhabit the neighbourhood, by subletting rooms in *neoconventillos*, has a significant influence on how they are perceived and stigmatised by national residents. As Elena illustrated at the beginning, Chilean residents associate dirtiness to the collective housing where migrants live, imprinting racialised meanings into such characterisations where ideas of what is considered 'dirty' and 'race' become intrinsically linked. In every allusion to how different the neighbourhood was before migrants arrived, they mention the word 'clean'. I argue that being forced to live in precarious housing conditions, determines not only the limited access migrants have to other city spaces and reproduces their marginalised situation, but also reproduces racisms and social exclusion from the residential community, as I show next.

'I'm poor but clean'

Through the gate bars that separate the alleyway from the street, I saw the *cité,* where Rosa, a 68-year-old Chilean woman neighbour, has lived her entire life*.* After passing seven houses on each side, one next to the other, and puddles left by the rain, I see Rosa's two-story house where she has lived for more than 40 years. Next to it, a Chilean flag waved in the wind (see Figure 34).

Figure 34. *Cité*, where Chilean and Peruvian families live, with a Chilean flag in the background. 2017.

When I started to become acquainted with her, as she managed her own business near where I lived, she refused to be formally interviewed because migrants 'upset' her, as 'everything is given to them and nothing to us'. She perceived newcomers as taking advantage of council's resources that were meant to people like her, national citizens. Over time, however, we engaged in several conversations in her local shop. One day, she complained about how the neighbourhood had changed entirely due to migrants. She argued that migrants were dirty and were responsible for dirtying the streets during weekends,

leaving the pavement sticky and the street 'black' due to the oil that they throw out after cooking. She stated: 'of dirty because of the food I can talk of the Peruvians, but don't know about other races'. While making such 'racial' distinction between Peruvians and herself, she also correlated dirtiness with poverty. After complaining, she said 'I'm poor but clean'. This implied that although poverty could be associated with dirtiness, she was different, and thus, her cleanliness had to do with her 'racial' difference. While poverty is seen as a shared condition with migrants, cleanliness, associated as a cultural practice, is claimed as part of a national identity or way of doing things that positions her in a superior status. That is how racism works: the way she behaves in her home and neighbourhood, to which she refers as 'clean', is because she is Chilean, and a different 'race', as she said. What is clean is defined through the lens of racism. The hygiene some Chileans regarded as an established 'cultural practice', allows Chileans to position themselves in a higher hierarchy. This is what racism does, since a cultural code is assigned to the 'other' (Solomos and Back 1994), making the differences between 'us' and 'them' (in this case between Chileans and Peruvians), seem unbridgeable (see Fredrickson 2003:9). This implies the naturalisation of social formations in cultural or racial logics (Solomos and Back 1994). It is assumed that the practice of cleaning and 'being clean' constitutes an identity. Thus, cleanliness is linked to 'race': Rosa is clean because she is Chilean. It becomes an attribute that empowers her. She apparently 'knows' how to behave in her home and public space, overcoming the shared socioeconomic background of being 'poor' by being 'clean'.

On a different but similar note, Elena takes the same argument into a different level when referring to her neighbour: 'The only black dot is this man. I say to him, the filthy house you have, full of grease, full of rats' (…) He's the only nasty. (…) There's a saying… where is grease, there's a Peruvian'. Chilean neighbours show however a particular aversion towards migrants from Peru, who have spent a lifetime in Chile. They appeared in every conversation I had, with comments such as 'the Peruvians arrived and destroyed everything', making generalisations about the whole community. Alberto (Chile) believes that their visible and 'recognisable' presence through several practices is the main reason:

'100 of them are super, extremely visible… they are the ones that are shirtless, drink beer, fight in the street, and sell drugs'.

Dehumanised characterisations persist across time. These narratives strongly resonate with colonial representations of indigeneity, especially when alluding to Peruvians. For Spanish colonisers, the Amerindian slaves were portrayed as 'dirty as pigs', 'brutal animals', 'barbaric', 'drunk', and thieves (Valenzuela 2009:228); representations that were perpetuated in the new republic (see Bottinelli 2009:114). Chilean nineteenth century politician Vicuña-Mackenna portrayed Amerindians as 'savages', 'drunkards', and enemies of civilisation. As I show, this has stigmatised to this day some LAC migrants perceived with more pronounced indigenous features. Today's Chilean working-class reproduce the same racialised distinctions against LAC migrants. As I argued previously, like other LAC countries, in Chile 'race' and class are deeply entangled due to its colonial roots, which lead to a colour-based society in which those with 'white' European ancestry were at the top of the societal scale, and other racial mixtures -considered 'darker'- were at the bottom. Nonetheless, it is worth noting that these distinctions have always been associated as a matter of class rather than 'race'. Yet as I show, these representations are deeply racialised, reflecting the same colonial patterns of exclusion. Back then, indigenous people were also portrayed in a dehumanised way as 'animals', 'savages' as well as 'dirty'. According to Douglas (1966:2), however, dirt is relative: 'There is no such thing as absolute dirt: it exists in the eye of the beholder.' In that sense, all dirt is symbolic (Berthold 2010:10). Dirt 'offends against order' (1966:2), and in such relation to the social order as a behaviour, implies that the performance of not being clean and producing 'dirt' is associated with morality. As Douglas (1966:7) asserts, '[o]ur idea of dirt is compounded of two things, care for hygiene and respect for conventions. The rules of hygiene change… with changes in our state of knowledge'. As I observed, moral order is materialized in city spaces, in which dirtiness is seen as something against such order, for which migrants are held responsible, according to Chilean neighbours.

The symbolism that 'dirt' carries, however, is beyond what we commonly understand by it. The idea of dirtiness that Chileans frequently mentioned is symbolically charged by different meanings, all around ideas of 'race', class and even dignity. Dirt is directly associated with the 'other', who disrupts the social and moral order as it was conceived by the dominant elites. The 'other' is embodied by the migrant. Dirt, as opposed to order, is a way to express hierarchy, exaggerating a difference (Douglas 1966:3). Only by producing boundaries, the appearance of order is created (1966:4), and ideas of 'purity' emerge. In that sense, pollution lies between behaviour that people approve for themselves and what they approve for others (1966:133). Therefore, dirt rationalises the rejection of the 'other' (Berthold 2010:8).

Furthermore, Berthold's study (2010:2) explains how, in the US, cleanliness was related to civility, whiteness and high class. Whiteness is perceived as 'the lack of a mark of pollution', which has been symbolically related to 'purity' and thus morality. This parallels the colonial representations of indigenous and especially African communities: black blood was seen as a 'stain' and thus 'impure' in that social order (Martínez 2004). This 'helped bolster a dominant identity' (2010:2). Whiteness is cleanliness, 'the absence of a stain or mark' (2010:11). As Fanon (2008:146) describes, 'when one is dirt one is black—whether one is thinking of physical dirtiness or of moral dirtiness.' Fanon asserts that many usual expressions associate the black man with sin. Accordingly, in the Chilean case, the dirtiness that Rosa and others talk about is not only related to the literal 'dirt' or garbage, but also to loud noises and drinking. In that sense, ''dirtiness' has not only physical but moral implications', and as such, dirt represents 'moral dirt' (Berthold 2010:10). As Rosa, Elena and others show, dirtiness is associated with ways of behaviour and inhabiting the neighbourhood, which is seen as 'culture' (and mainly morality). Cintia and Olga, Chilean sisters in their 50s, claimed,

> Cintia: There's bad coexistence with neighbours... People, foreigners who have come from outside have a bad reputation I say, because ehh... Peruvians are dirty. The Colombians, the Dominicans are... kind of the same, so... Because... they rent a room, to *meter bulla* (make noise). They think they own the property, so... It has never been a nice coexistence (...) There are foreigners who are not what you thought they were... people

that were more honest, clean, that had good coexistence with Chileans but no. They're dirty... here they're on the street screaming swear words... they pee on the trees. On weekends it's worse because... here at the door, loads of those beer bottles... So, it's too much. (...) Because the Haitian with the... Peruvian, and the Colombian and the Dominican are three, four different races. I immediately know them because... they're darker, more black... the Haitians. And they're not people like us. I remember that when I came to live here, the streets weren't filthy... Now you leave the house and it's full of... because people sell food in the street... in those plastic plates. So, they don't have the kindness to throw it in the trash, but into the street... lying there... in the windows. (...) I think that's a lack of culture of the people... Because we're not like that. I don't take the trash out every day... just when the dumpster's going to pass.

Olga: the trash... here one tries to maintain hygiene, all that, but suddenly, this people [migrants] who don't respect...

Neighbourhood coexistence problems, therefore, are related to how migrants inhabit; ways that are directly connected to precarious and overcrowded housing conditions they have access to (due to uncertainty), and that have a direct effect on their everyday practices. The racialised spiral of uncertainty in which migrants are trapped also indirectly triggers social conflict in the neighbourhood: it places migrants into a vulnerable position within the social structure of housing. As Cintia's narratives reveal, coexistence problems are related to the way these practices are seen as 'cultural practices' and particular ways of behaviour that would signal a 'lack of culture'. Similarly, during the new republic, African people were portrayed as foreigners that lacked 'correct manners', were 'ignorant', 'lazy' and 'delinquent', which also reproduced Spaniards' representations (De Ramón 2009:222). Therefore, the argument of cultural differences, as the thing that matters over racism -since all Chilean participants made clear they were not 'racists'-, has become a new way of hiding racism (see Chapter 6). Everyday racisms are masked by the argument of cultural difference that leads to hatred against certain migratory groups. Thus, social conflict and the Chilean aversion towards LAC migrants are related to the racialisation of certain place-making and/or social practices in order to make distinctions and produce a power difference within the field: distinctions that are more related to 'race' rather than 'class', although both are deeply intertwined.

As Berthhold (2010:3) claims, these ideals of cleanliness, masked as healthy and innocent, in reality, have racist roots, and 'revitalize our racist heritage'. Accordingly, purity ideals related to cleanliness rationalise exclusion as they reinforce social identities and racialised socioeconomic hierarchies (2010:5). Berthold (2010:15) argues that whiteness, rather than an identity ascribed to bodies, is a practice, and thus, 'it must be reproduced in little ways every day'. It is a practice that Chileans perceive as a signal of high culture, and as such, they not only want to perform it but also include it in their anti-immigration discourse. I argue that Chileans perform 'whiteness' in the everyday practice of cleaning as well as in the repetitive narratives alluding to migrants' customs.

'Race' therefore, is produced in residential neighbourhoods in the everyday. 'Race' becomes the grease Chileans see in the streets, the garbage, the loud music, the disorder: everything that disrupts the moral order of things as Chileans conceive it. Everything that disrupts the moral logics and social dynamics of the space they formerly inhabited. Purity ideals, in that sense, 'serve to exaggerate symbolic boundaries…-what is higher and what is lower', reinforcing hierarchies (Berthold 2010:16). Unlike the US, where cleanliness is associated more to class rather than 'race' (2010:19), my study reveals that while this might usually be a matter of class in people's imaginaries, the narratives around cleanliness are deeply embedded in the logics of 'race', as directly alluded by participants. Viewed as a matter of 'culture', it becomes another way to conceal the production of difference, which is how racism perseveres: remaining invisible. Chilean neighbours, by ascribing migrants' place-making practices to cultural practices, perceived those practices through a 'cultural' lens, which is a racist lens, instead of understanding them as a result of being forced into precarious housing conditions due to their immigration statuses and the associated uncertainty. It allows them to reassert their national identity and claim a superior position within society in a context where they feel marginalised, and where they even feel they have been left behind by the local government, which apparently would favour migrants in the distribution of resources.

Exclusive belonging and assimilation

> ...in the *cité's* passageway they make barbecues outside, they start drinking.
> The other time they were out here, I told them, 'please... this isn't your place,
> you have your place there' [room], and they set up tables, and all of them
> are outside! in my space. So, they have to respect it. They want us to respect
> them? Then they should begin to respect because it's not up to you to
> occupy my space here. So that's the problem we have with them (...) I don't
> mess with the neighbours, 'good afternoon, good morning', that's all... (Olga,
> Chile)

Olga makes clear that although she shares a common space in the *cité*, the
passage is *her* space. Urban spaces are usually claimed by Chileans as if they
belonged to them. The past is perceived as the neighbourhood's 'best time',
associating the previous Chilean 'ownership' of the place, which is also related to
practices that are assumed as 'culturally Chilean'. However, historically this is far
from true, since similar problems existed in the late nineteenth century
conventillos (see De Ramón 1985; De Ramón and Gross 1984; Hidalgo 2002).
Chilean residents, who self-identify as members of a different 'race', also replicate
similar conflicts in other parts of the globe, 'lamenting the loss of a golden
ethnically undisturbed past', this time against LAC migrants who are perceived
as 'non-white' who claim a 'right of place' (Amin 2002:960–61; see Back 2013;
Rex and Moore 1967). The right to belong is intrinsically attached to a Chilean
national identity, which implies that every way in which migrants inhabit such
urban space is a conflict in itself: Recoleta does not belong to them. National (and
'racial') identity has materialised in the urban space of the neighbourhood,
sometimes silently, in every corner. The Chilean flag hanging in many *cités* -
where some Chileans live- is the material reminder that, although migrants live
there, it is Chilean territory (see Figure 34). If that is not clear, Olga's arguments
with the neighbours are. As Amin (2002:967) claims, all these narratives
reinforce 'a pathology of 'neighbourhood nationalism', that is reasserted through
discourses although they acknowledged changes began before migrants' arrival.
For instance, although Chileans acknowledged that crime is more related to
Chileans from the neighbourhood, crime is also a key aspect of their discourse
against migrants (especially referring to Colombians), echoing historical

representations of Africans in Chile (see De Ramón 2009). More remarkably, Sara (Chile) believes that the neighbourhood 'unevolved' because of migrants.

Figure 35. *Cité* with a Chilean flag. 2017.

However, as Massey (1994:138) argues, 'localities are not simply spatial areas you can easily draw a line around', but rather a result of interactions and intersections of social relations and processes that vary over time, and as such, imply social conflict. Accordingly, Keith (2005:261) states that despite citizens' right to create the city in the present and how urban spaces are appropriated through community-making, these forms of spatialisation take place within national and local regimes of power that determine their constitution (see Figure 35). In that sense, migrant belonging clashes with the historical nationally-bounded logic of the city: 'in both its spatialities and its historicities the appeal to move beyond race, to end raciology [the language of race] is continually rebutted as much by legacy as by intent' (2005:265). Hence, Chileans would always fight back against the appropriation of urban spaces (and its allocated council resources) they claim to be theirs.

Social structures and state housing policies, by constraining migrants' access to social housing or rent in the same conditions as Chileans, have produced not only urban deterioration but reinforced the emergence of social conflict among residents (local nationals, former and newcomer migrants) where racism, whether declared or not, arises and produces symbolic boundaries that defy migrants' belonging to the city. Community belonging in such neighbourhood is related to national identity, giving rise to racist discourses, especially against Peruvians:

> I don't like migrants. I don't hate them, but I don't like them, because they're invading Chile (…) I'd like the President to tell them that… that everyone gets out and only the Chileans stayed, as before… That there were pure Chileans… not Peruvians because they; you know what the Peruvians are: the biggest plague… No, really, they're ugly, bad, bad coexistence. (…) Colombians… That's why, I'm not racist but… people are not like you think. It's different from what one was told. They say that people are good, but I've seen on the street… They've killed people… One finds the worst here. This is the Peruvian neighbourhood, we call it… (Cintia, Chile)

> Paola: We're not racists… I think we're already saturated… that's the problem. We're welcoming, but there's a moment in which we're already invaded, which is what happens in this neighbourhood, it's the invasion.
> Marcos: …What people like is that they put things as they correspond… which is very different!... the fact that you demand rights for being Chilean doesn't make you a racist.
> Paola: yes, as it corresponds… Not as foreigner in your country! We feel like in here… we're the foreigners!
> (Chilean Focus group, 2018)

These powerful statements of hatred and the feeling of being foreigners in 'their' territory drive the making of 'race' in this neighbourhood. As Sharma (2015:101) argues, 'ideas of national belonging are *propietal* in character: national citizenship is modelled after private property rights. Like private property owners, national citizens assert the right to 'exclude 'non-nationals/non-citizens' from the enjoyment of what is theirs'; what they believe is exclusively theirs. Thus, due to the state's new immigration policies migrants 'came to be thought of as *out of place,* as not belonging, as not having the 'right to have rights'' (2015:102). Migrants are seen as 'space invaders' (Puwar 2004) who are occupying Chileans' territory. As Puwar (2004:8) states,

Some bodies are deemed as having the right to belong, while others are marked out as trespassers, who are, in accordance with how both spaces and bodies are imagined (politically, historically and conceptually), circumscribed as being 'out of place'. Not being the somatic norm, they are space invaders.

Elena's story and all Chileans narratives exemplify identity belonging to the neighbourhood, which is intrinsically related to having been born or raised there. Not all residents are *Recoletanos*. Recoleta does not 'belong' to migrants and thus, urban space becomes racialised: they are not welcome there. Following Sharma (2015:113), the discourse to which Chilean residents appeal is one of autochthony, which defines the national territory as belonging only to the people who 'originally' occupied it, in order to reclaim it amid the growing arrival of migrants. This discourse, is particular of people who are (or feel) already in a marginalised position in their society (Sharma 2015). The allusion to their 'native-ness' amid a working-class neighbourhood, for Chileans was key for fighting over urban spaces and resources.

Chilean residents' feeling of 'exclusive belonging' leads to ideas of assimilation or acculturation. A narrative that reproduces the idea that behind the social conflict in a multicultural neighbourhood different cultures clash -as in the discourse of Agustín (DEM official)-, rather than power dynamics due to racisms. For Chilean residents, migrants' belonging depends on achieving assimilation with the national community. For instance, Alberto (Chile) set rules when migrant families arrived in the *cité* where he lives:

Next to me, I have one migrant family, overcrowded, in a house like this. That family doesn't bother... [but] I had to mark the arrival rules. 'Here you came to live in a place that works this way, and you get on this carriage and you adapt to these standards, or I take care you have a hard time every day of your life here (...) They don't have this sense of adapting to the place they go. (...) When you're able to confront them like that, that people *se enrieló* (got channelled)... the secret is being able to say, 'Look, here we live this way, you adapt?', and they're not foolish, and know that if they make me a party... I'm going to call the police...

It is interesting how Alberto refers to migrants- 'I have one migrant family' - as if they had no agency and were at his disposal. Boundaries to belonging are

materialised, and migrants' right to belong is conditioned by following the lifestyle and adapting to the Chilean residents' norms and the place's 'character'. As Elena stated, 'here the passage is… without *bulla* (big noise), *limpiecito* (very clean)'. In Chileans' discourse there prevails a native 'mainstream culture' that should be followed and acquired in order to belong. Difference matters in terms of exclusion. Migrants are negatively racialised in Chileans' imaginaries through the assumption of a radical difference that is considered unbridgeable since it is understood as a cultural practice. While cultural difference predominates in this discourse, the allusion to this kind of 'native-ness' attached to territory and belonging to a national community is very tied to 'blood' or genealogy, as Sharma (2015:114) argues. The ideology of racism has shaped those narratives in which racial hierarchies are established based on considering the customs, habits and cultural practices of Chileans as the norm: what migrants need to assimilate. Such an idea is what hinders the racist lens that Chileans are unable to acknowledge, since they appear welcoming to migrants, but only as long as they comply with their rules. Thus, reproducing President Piñera's state discourse (Chapter 3). However, a complete assimilation would deny the possibility of reasserting their superiority.

This position of power of Chilean residents is not only due to their historical belonging in the neighbourhood but more importantly, due to specific moral, ethics, and behaviour that they associate to a national identification. Their way of doing things is perceived as more 'developed' and 'decent'. Those morals, ethics and particular culture they presumably have enable them to put themselves in a superior hierarchy compared to migrants, producing a radical difference within the working-class background they all share[66]. In Chileans' narratives, certain behaviours that differ from what they regard as 'correct', emerge as a cultural practice and an impassable barrier that separates Chileans from migrants. Racism, therefore, becomes culturally coded, and thus remains invisible when people misunderstand these conflicts as if they were caused by cultural differences.

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[66] However, we need to acknowledge the broad spectrum of socioeconomic experiences in the neighbourhood, as shown at the beginning of this chapter.

Thus, it is a matter of 'culture' that alludes inevitably to a matter of 'race'. Such ways symbolise the assimilation of the westernised model that the project of *mestizaje* intended, which aimed to leave behind any trace of indigeneity (and African-ness), overcoming the racialised colonial representations (see Valenzuela 2009): cleanliness and behaving in a more 'civilised' way by being quiet, for instance. I argue that these two purposes are deeply entangled not only in the way local nationals behave but also how they perceive migrants and exaggerate any difference as a matter of 'race'. This is why I argue that when Chilean participants talked about migrants they channelled their hatred particularly towards Peruvians, as they symbolise their own indigeneity. The perception exists that the Peruvian community has a more 'pronounced' indigenous physical appearance. In other words, they are seen as 'darker', according to participants. Therefore, Chileans need to state every time they can, the difference between them and Peruvians, and how they behave differently would indicate their distance to what indigeneity still symbolises in Chile-backwards or uncivilised (Wade 2010, 2013).

Chileans rank migrants based on how their ways of inhabiting and behaving assimilate the 'Chilean way', which tends to be described as 'clean', 'quiet', 'non-dangerous', 'alcohol-abstainers', 'non-partying person': behaviours associated with an established moral order. This 'higher culture', according to Chilean participants, in contrast to the migrants' 'lack of culture' (in Chileans' words), in addition to house ownership, positions higher and with apparently 'more rights' than newcomers: at the top of the racialised hierarchy of belonging, at the same time reproducing colonial representations of indigenous and African people in Chile (see Bottinelli 2009; De Ramón 2009; Valenzuela 2009). However, not only a certain moral or way of doing things rank migrants' entitlement to belong. Based on Chileans' perspectives, what ranks and classifies migrants into different 'hierarchies of belonging' is actually the politics of housing subletting, and the profiteering practices -'uncertainty industry'- that manage it. These factors make the space racialised, and certain place-making practices, such as the ones sustained by Alberto, restrict LAC migrants' belonging in different levels of this

hierarchy. Such practices determine the limits of their 'right to the city' in the residential neighbourhood.

Racism influences how migrants are ranked into hierarchies. This is why the housing conditions and place-making practices that emerged from them, allow a better understanding of how 'hierarchies of belonging' are constituted -which I explained earlier. Although in Chileans' narratives Peruvians were the centre of their attention, and consequently perceived as occupying an inferior position through symbolic hierarchical boundaries that Chileans perform against them, they were not perceived at the bottom of society. Over the years, Peruvians' position changed, especially with the arrival of migrants from the Caribbean. Newcomer migrants began to be positioned at a lower level of the hierarchy, reproducing the 'racial' hierarchies of colonial times concerning indigenous and African communities. The politics of housing and its provision enabled and reinforced the emergence of racial hierarchies, especially considering that all residents are working-class. Peruvians achieved a higher position within the field in their status of former migrants, since they saw in newcomers an economic opportunity, starting the business of reconditioning or building entire houses or warehouses to rent rooms. However, the same practices entail they are still profoundly criticised by Chileans, as shown. As Peruvians are seen as most similar and competitors for similar resources in a better position compared to newcomers, they become more threatening for Chileans, giving rise to the need to make the difference (make 'race') stronger in their regard. Here it seems clear what Amin (2002:969) claims, that '[h]abitual contact in itself, is no guarantor of cultural exchange. It can entrench group animosities and identities, through repetitions of gender, class, race, and ethnic practices'. My analysis of Chileans' discourse whereby racism was raised particularly towards Peruvians, conflicts with a 2010 Chilean study that concluded that more interaction between Chileans and Peruvians reduced prejudice against the latter (González, Sirlopú, and Kessler 2010). In this local context, animosity towards Peruvians was evident (or re-emerged) despite decades living side by side.

Thus, when different residents share a residential space in which they also share a class status, what starts to matter the most is 'race', precisely because it produces difference and structures power hierarchies amidst a common low-income background. For Chilean residents, who most of them are already marginalised by living in this neighbourhood, house ownership becomes key to assert a superior position against migrant residents, as I later show. However, ownership does make a huge difference in the way Chileans inhabit the city: they do not live the precariousness entailed by the room lease that migrants experience. Thus, the different hierarchies sustained by the housing structure determine as well different access to the city and resources, and thus, different access to rights. Negatively racialised newcomer migrants are the ones most affected as they are placed at the bottom of society in the hierarchical social structure that the politics of housing enables.

Materialising 'race' in the everyday

Multiculturalism in Chile today is what Hall (1999:188) calls a 'multicultural drift': the growing presence and participation of different ethnic groups (Watson and Saha 2013) in city life that has been an 'unintended outcome of undirected sociological processes'. It is clear in this study that migrants' presence has been highly contested by local nationals, who have constructed boundaries to belonging, excluding them. Given that Chileans cannot do anything against such a 'multicultural drift' in the city they feel as 'exclusively theirs', many put into practice exclusionary dynamics in which they claim their exclusive belonging, contesting the emergent multiculturalism. They do so through silent or rather explicit ways in which they perform everyday racisms. The former corresponds to implicit practices, such as formal complaints to the neighbourhood meetings – complaining about an excess of garbage, dirtiness of streets, crime- and civil complaints to the police –i.e. denouncing loud music or fights; as police interviewees and council employees stated. The explicit ways can be seen in the signboards for renting rooms restricted to Chileans; attitudes of aversion on the street, and even graffiti next to *neoconventillos* or *cités* where migrants live. Graffiti (see Figures 36, 37) has been a tangible way in which some Chileans

'marked' and reclaimed urban spaces, by making migrants feel 'out of place' (Sharma 2015; Watson and Saha 2013:2018).

Figure 36. Graffitti near a *neoconventillo*: 'Murder, kill Peruvians'. 2015.

Figure 37. Graffitti near a neoconventillo: 'No more Colombians and Peruvians plagues'. 2015.

'No more Colombian, Peruvian plagues' is written in the wall at the margins of the neighbourhood. This statement reveals how racism is materialised in the areas where migrants live. It marked the urban space by creating a visual boundary intended to define the outsider, by negatively racialising Peruvians and Colombians as 'plagues': as non-humans, as if they were disposable. These graffitied walls can shape symbolic spatial boundaries, legitimising social exclusion and reinforcing racism every time neighbours walk by. As Amin claims, '[d]iversity is thought to be negotiated in the city's public spaces. The depressing reality, however, is that in contemporary life, urban public spaces are often territorialised by particular groups' (2002:967). Such territorialisation, by the hands of Chileans, is materialised on walls like these ones. Scholars argue that racism and racial exclusions are materialised in urban space, and thus 'race' takes on a spatial form of producing difference (see Alexander and Knowles 2005; Back 2005; Knowles 2003). This is because a space is produced through social practices, interactions (Lefebvre 1991) and place-making practices (see Benson 2014; Benson and Jackson 2012). In this case, these place-making practices allows Chileans to exert power as national citizens against migrants' claims to belong.

> Being both insiders and outsiders, they occupy a tenuous location. Not being the somatic norm, they don't have an undisputed right to occupy this space. Yet they are still insiders. Their arrival brings into clear relief what has been able to pass as the invisible, unmarked and undeclared somatic norm. These new bodies highlight the constitutive boundaries of who can pass as the universal human, and hence who can be the ideal figure of leadership. What has been constructed out in the historical and conceptual imagination is brought to the fore. (Puwar 2004:8)

Puwar's study highlights how contested citizenship and belonging are for migrants, a situation that is clearly seen in this social context. There is an everyday production of 'otherness' in which migrants are seen and other people made them feel as outsiders, who disrupt the neighbourhood social landscape. According to Back (2005:19), '[r]acism is by nature a spatial and territorial form of power' in order to perpetuate power divisions and reinforce social inequalities. Thus, it produces difference through shaping boundaries that define the inclusion of some as well as the exclusion of others. An exclusion that shows

how '[c]olonial racism continues to produce zones of being and non-being on a world scale' (Grosfoguel, Oso, and Christou 2015:641).

This chapter has shown how 'race' is made in urban spaces in very particular ways, both symbolic and tangible, both subtle and explicitly imprinted in public spaces where LAC migrants live. I use the term 'spatial racialisation' to refer to the different ways in which the urban space becomes racialised by inhabitants. That is, shaped by racial logics through a continuous process, whereby inclusion and exclusion are performed, establishing relations of domination through different practices and social interactions. The contours of the space are shaped in relation to particular racialised groups. This concept highlights how 'race' is constructed not only through people's discourse and imaginaries, but also through marking spatial boundaries and thus exerting a spatialised form of power. 'Race', rather than being an abstract idea (as a social construction), takes on a tangible spatial form, which allows local nationals to assert not only an exclusive belonging to urban space but also their national identity. However, this concept refers to the materialised divisions -through the social interaction and practices that produce the space- that go beyond the known nationally-bounded binary 'us' versus 'them'. This reveals a more complex process that unravels how racism operates in different (and complex) scales. In other words, belonging is structured and constrained by different residents, since 'hierarchies of belonging' are also performed and marked by migrant neighbours that claim their 'right to the city' through subtler means, as the case of former migrants profiteering from negatively racialised newcomers.

Conclusions

This chapter has shed light both on the structural and everyday forms in which racism operates in a residential neighbourhood, exploring the symbolic boundaries of exclusion. Racial hierarchies are mapped onto the city. I showed how processes of racialisation embedded in the construction of a sense of belonging have marked new boundaries of exclusion that challenge the 'right to the city' of negatively racialised migrants. These hierarchies of belonging that categorise residents are sustained and performed through housing tenure and

provision. However, this chapter also reveals migrants' skills in navigating viable places in which to live in a city that attempts to exclude them in every possible way: these skills show the agency of the dispossessed who are skilled navigators of uncertainty rather than victims.

The politics of housing determine radically the social conflict and coexistence problems that emerge among Chileans, former migrants and newcomer residents. The Chilean narratives show the consequences of the precarious housing conditions migrants are forced to live in as they strongly dislike these ways of inhabiting the neighbourhood: an urban space they believe is exclusively 'theirs'. Cleanliness is associated with ideas of purity and a 'developed' cultural practice that, at the same time, is related to ideas of nation and 'race' that transcend class distinctions, reproducing colonial racial hierarchies in new instantiations. This is how 'race' is made in the everyday, but not the only way. A 'spatial racialisation' emerges, especially from the Chilean residents' practices, interactions and discourse, which I will further analyse in the next chapter. I will show negatively racialised migrants' everyday experiences and how their 'right to the city' is challenged beyond the residential neighbourhood.

Chapter 6. The neighbourhood:
Deconstructing everyday racisms in the city

Introduction

Figure 38. James teaching at the Spanish course. 2017.

James, a 50-year-old man from Haiti, is a volunteer Spanish teacher for other Haitians in a non-profit organisation located in the neighbourhood. They meet every Saturday in the living room of a house. The course not only is a place to learn and practise Spanish. It provides an open space to discuss the issues that many Haitians face and to learn how to live morally and ethically. The teacher raises relevant subjects and gives advice. He addresses issues ranging from not doing 'illegal' things to being careful to avoid being exploited and being deceived due to the lack of Spanish proficiency. Foremost, he opens up discussion on racism and discrimination in housing provision, on the streets and the workplace, including news related to the Haitian community. It becomes one of the few spaces to share experiences and perform a sense of belonging within their national community in order to deal with the boundaries they have to face and negotiate in the everyday. In other words, it provides ways to negotiate

uncertainty and avoid being trapped by the spiral of uncertainty that immigration legislation has generated. This chapter furthers the analysis of the spiral of uncertainty and its racialisation, showing how it is related not only to state racism but to everyday racisms.

This time, James wrote on the whiteboard: '*Muerto*' and *'[A]puñalado',* which means dead and stabbed, respectively (see Figure 38). He was talking about two Haitian men who suffered racist attacks, covered by the media. A man was stabbed by a Chilean colleague at work because, as the attacker confessed, he was upset that a Haitian had the same job as him at a fish market (El Mostrador 2017). The other was killed for owing $5,000 pesos (£5) of rent for the room he lived in (CHV Noticias 2017). These are two examples of the brutal racism affecting Haitian migrants in the city.

What are the different ways in which racism operates and power hierarchies are (re)produced in and beyond the neighbourhood? Whose city is this beyond the residential neighbourhood? How are boundaries of belonging produced, and how do migrants navigate city spaces and negotiate everyday racisms and boundaries? These are the questions I try to unravel in this chapter. As Knowles (2003:29–30) claims, 'race' is acted and has meaning in people's everyday lives. This performative character of 'race' is reproduced in everyday encounters, social relationships and place-making practices. I will further analyse the different ways in which 'race' is made (following Chapter 5), and thus, beyond the struggles within the residential neighbourhood. My study shows how 'race' is (re)made not only by Chileans but also by other migrants, a situation largely overlooked by Chilean academia. This omission reinforces notions of Chileans as racists (see Rojas-Pedemonte et al. 2015; Tijoux 2016b), not acknowledging more complex processes of racialisation in place. I argue that mainly Chileans and some LAC migrants defy the 'right to the city' of negatively racialised migrants' through everyday racisms in order to claim belonging in the city. Evidence found by my study reveals other aspects of South-South migration, that enable me to contribute a more elaborated theorisation of racism. It shows the particularities of racism in the context of migration. I draw mainly on my ethnographic

fieldnotes and to a lesser extent on interviews, since certain events were not informed by migrant participants, which confirms how some forms of racism remain invisible to those who are racialised in such performances. I argue that racism endures precisely through the ongoing shifting ways in which it operates by naturalising performances and actions, producing difference and power in the shadows.

As I am concerned with the processes of racialisation in Latin American populations, my study shows that not all LAC migrants are racialised in the same way in Chile. Therefore, I explore the various ways in which the production of difference works for some of them. Accordingly, though some migrants are negatively racialised, they might not experience racism directly. Yet that does not necessarily mean that they are not subjected to racism: racism takes on different forms. For instance, when in previous research projects I asked participants if they had experienced racism, they consistently said 'fortunately, not yet'. This revealed two important issues: first, how racism was something they expected to happen and a potential threat. Second, how racism is understood as an offensive and violent act or behaviour directed against them, through harassment or a physical attack. From such understanding emerges the misconception that racism is only a direct expression of violence due to the skin colour, especially when a person is 'black'. However, this view hides other forms in which racism is performed. I expose how, through different means, practices and interactions, the production of difference in the city reproduces colonial hierarchies where any African or indigenous element perceived and categorised as 'different', situates a person at a lower hierarchy of the social racially/colour-based spectrum (yet it interacts, and is juxtaposed with other factors). Furthermore, 'whiteness' is reconfigured in different ways to support existing power dynamics.

This chapter contributes to understanding *in situ* how racism operates in multicultural Chile and how migrants negotiate everyday racisms -key to answering this thesis' two-fold research question. In this quest, I unravel the complex entanglements between racism, colonialism, and urban space. First, I further analyse what I called in the last chapter, 'spatial racialisation', focusing

on what I refer to as 'everyday racisms' and the specific forms in which they are performed. The La Vega street market became the quintessential place to understand these complex entanglements, where I could situate different racisms taking place. However, other urban spaces are also key settings where everyday racisms continuously unfold. Drawing on migrant participants' accounts and my own observations, I describe different kinds of everyday racisms, starting with the most acknowledged or evident form of racism, with the 'hateful racism', to then delve into invisible forms of everyday racisms, just as perverse as the former, such as 'spatialised exclusionary racism', 'cultural racism', 'condescending racism', and 'inter-migrant racism'. Secondly, I explore in-depth what I call 'inter-migrant racism;' a term I use to understand how racism particularly operates among migrants in the context of South-South migration. This was one of the main revelations of this ethnography. In line with a few studies that have also highlighted the emergent conflicts among migrants in different contexts of the so-called Global North (Amin 2002; Fanon 1967; Martins-Junior 2016; Rex and Moore 1967), this study unveils the complexities of multiculturalism in a Global South working-class context.

I argue that the shared history of colonialism in Latin America, which permeates racisms through *mestizaje* logics (Moreno-Figueroa 2013), is one part of the equation of this migratory racism. Urban spaces are contested by migrants in their struggle to belong amid the exclusion they face from Chilean nationals. Thus, I argue that racism performed by LAC migrants becomes a way to fight for belonging, reproducing everyday racisms that echo colonial representations of the 'non-white' other, thus, reinforcing Chileans' racist attitudes and beliefs towards them. I show how racism operates among those who self-identified as 'non-black' or 'white' against Afro-descendant migrants. Finally, I analyse how migrants actively negotiate these racisms, highlighting their agency.

Colonial racisms have been previously categorised in two main distinctions: racism of extermination (exclusive racism) that seeks to purify society of the danger that inferior 'races' represent, and a racism of oppression or exploitation (inclusive racism) that seeks to hierarchise and divide society (Balibar

1991b:39). Although in the last chapters the way Chileans see and treat negatively racialised migrants may be viewed as a racism of oppression because of the labour exploitation that negatively racialised migrants experience and how it differs from other migrants racialised as 'white', such categorisation does not suffice to understand many other forms in which racism operates. The problem with these distinctions, as Balibar notes, is that they lead us to think the two categories are different. This binary approach impedes a more complex understanding of racism, as seen in colonial imperialisms that 'have practised both forced labour, the establishment of caste regimes, ethnic segregation and 'genocides' or the systematic massacre of populations' (1991b:40).

Therefore, these classifications of pure states of racism do not exist in reality, nor do they serve to understand societies. The concepts that I will suggest, however, illustrate and identify the different forms in which racism operates, but cannot be seen as pure states of racism since these forms are deeply intertwined. Foremost, they help to make racism visible in a more perceptible way, rather than reproducing generalisations and referring to racism as an abstract phenomenon, which obscures the way racism works and the ongoing process of shifting to endure. Thus, although 'race' is always under construction, and new racisms will keep emerging, I analyse the contemporary forms in which racism was performed in Chile from 2016 to 2018. I also further explore the hierarchies of belonging that are emerging, which echo colonial racial hierarchies in different ways. This chapter's main contribution is revealing how the ideology of racism not only stands as a discourse but rather, is embedded in people's everyday experiences and is performed as a set of practices and social interactions taking place in the city.

Spatial racialisation: Navigating the city

Figure 39. Mirlande at a *feria* (street market) outside the residential neighbourhood. Chilean flags are placed on many stands. 2017.

As exposed in Chapter 5, processes of racialisation are materialised in urban spaces in the residential neighbourhood through how housing is structured and how Chilean neighbours claim an exclusive belonging to urban space through different means. Furthermore, former migrants negotiate the constraints of the spiral of uncertainty by reclaiming their belonging to city spaces through forms of 'denationalized' citizenship practices that have increasingly disrupted the conventional understanding of citizenship confined to the national dimension (Sassen 2005:80).

Beyond the residential neighbourhood, I observed how Chileans claimed ownership to urban space in many subtle but repetitive ways (see Figure 39). Such practices where racism is performed are racialising urban spaces, marking the boundaries of exclusionary belonging and defying migrants' 'right to the city'. Urban space becomes racialised when Chileans perform practices and

interactions to exclude racialised migrants, in different ways. In doing so, they claim ownership of the space, advocate a 'racial' difference (i.e. when saying '*negro*'), and establish 'hierarchies of belonging' (Back et al. 2012).

Figure 40. Aisha working as street vendor with her baby. 2017.

La Vega has become a space of urban encounters, where Chileans and migrants work, transit and consume in the same space; where informal economies reign and also multicultural encounters occur daily. Aisha (Haiti) led me to this iconic market, which became a key urban space for the analysis of 'race'-making. Here Aisha acknowledged for the first time, after knowing her several months, that racism exists in Chile. When I met her, and even after observing racist attitudes against her, she told me she found Chileans more respectful than other Haitians. Yet, five months later she changed her opinion dramatically. Previously, most of her time was spent at the *neoconventillo*, a closed place where she felt safer. In La Vega, however, she started to experience a dual world, shifting between flourishing friendships and everyday racisms.

Although I had been to La Vega before, I started to see it differently when Aisha decided to become a street vendor. As I mentioned in Chapter 4, being a street

vendor was a way to 'get by' and negotiate the uncertainty. Some *coleros*, like her, sell vegetables at a cheaper price than some shops inside La Vega, gaining a pitch space at the market's entrance corridor. It is usually a crowded place. *Coleros* hawk their wares to prospective customers who pass by to gain their attention amid the busy noises of the street. Some are friends and talk to each other; others do not. In any case, migrant *coleros* are not safer. The risk of being caught by the police is imminent, as well as being subjected to racism. As a public space, its multiculturality is not well-received by many. It is a place where negatively racialised migrants experience racism from other *coleros* (both Chileans and migrants) or Chilean people passing by. The situation is more extreme for *coleros* without council permit, since they all are independent informal workers in the same public space. Conflict ignites in different forms by Chileans and also migrants, amid the risk of being detained by the police.

Hence, La Vega became a provisory world that sustained illegality yet at the same time restricted it. It is a space of encounters and confrontations, where it is possible to see two sides of the same story that are confronted in the everyday in the constant flow that constitutes this street market. On the one hand, it allows a multicultural encounter between migrants and Chileans, where solidarity ties emerge, and also allows migrants to claim their 'right to the city'. On the other, the emergence of conflict is latent since the struggle to belong to this public space is contested by migrants who try to make a living and 'earn' a pitch for themselves, which Chileans who worked there for years sometimes view as a threat.

Many times people have shouted at Samentha and Aisha (Haiti) 'why don't you go back to your country! You have nothing to do here...!' Such hateful speech is unfortunately common. Ana (Afro-Dominican) has also experienced hatred, which she highlighted the first time I met her:

> ufff! There are people that denigrate you sometimes because of your colour! Sometimes they say '*negrita*' out of love, that's ok! But sometimes people say to you 'no! this *negra culiá* (black mother fucker)' (...) Once at

La Vega, the owner said to me 'you're coming here to take away our jobs!… many Chileans aren't working!'

Samentha has also identified an everyday practice of a Chilean *colero* in which racism is clearly performed. When cleaning his pitch before laying his cloth on the ground, he sweeps the area, pushing the dirt towards a Haitian's pitch. 'Look at him… throwing all the dirt towards them, sweeping strong, strong! Throwing all the trash… it makes my blood boil… That's what really enrages me', furiously remarks Samentha. This is a clear example of how boundaries are materialised in the everyday where racism is reproduced, delegitimising the presence of negatively racialised migrants through aggressive practices that transcend words. This, however, never happened to other participants, such as those from Peru or Venezuela.

As shown in the introduction, racism can be directly expressed through violence. One way in which racism is performed is through crime that targets negatively racialised migrants, especially in the neighbourhood where they live. In March 2017, in a participant's house, a Peruvian friend told us how a Peruvian man she knew was stabbed to death near the underground station on his way to work. Afro-descendant participants too have been victims of crime, and many participants associated racism with robberies or assaults by Chileans. Mirlande (Haiti) was robbed twice in a two-week period: once on a bus, and another time on the sidewalk. As Juan, a 20-year-old Afro-Colombian man narrates, 'here, just getting out [from the warehouse] they [Chilean men] cut me with a knife to take away my mobile phone. I didn't want to give it away and… I threw a bottle at them'. Thus, the city spaces, especially this neighbourhood that historically had a bad reputation due to violence and drug gangs (before migrants' arrival), were experienced as unsafe, similar to Watson and Saha's (2013) study.

In March 2018, for the first time, Samentha told me she was affected in a way I never heard about before, which she defined as racism:

Now these *huevones* (moron) go on like that in the street. Yesterday they took from me an onion mesh… and the other day, the same *huevón,* robbed

me $3,000 (£3) in garlic (…) Other days he started talking a lot of *weas!* (stupid things), that 'I'm in my country! And in my country, I can do whatever I want! If you don't like it, you go away!' And this is not because I was talking to him, you get me? I didn't tell him that it was him [who robbed me], but since he knows it was him, he started saying 'I'm in my country! I'm in Chile! So many *extranjeros culiaos* (foreigner mother fuckers) in my country!... and that's why Piñera won, so many *extranjeros culiaos* can go away'. He said he didn't want to know about *extranjeros* in his country, that they come to ruin it.

The act of stealing those garlics questioned the legitimacy of her presence, reinforcing the idea that she was 'illegal'. Racism has taken the form of crime. Nation and territory are entangled to give rise to a particular form of racism, in which a national citizen's discourse defends him/herself by acts of racism and crime. This robbery shows how urban space is marked and claimed by Chileans. Samentha, like others, feels out of place, not only because of the police that twice a week punish her for selling, but because of everyday practices and interactions that continuously mark boundaries of belonging: defining the contours of exclusion. Those practices made clear that migrants are unwelcome and that if they want to live in Chile they should put up with the consequences, whether it is being robbed, hit or killed.

Everyday racisms that express hatred against migrants were mostly reported in spaces of transit like the bus and the underground, usually racist insults such as '*negro culiao*' (black mother fucker), or the common 'go back to your country!' Although these hateful everyday racisms re-surfaced when Afro-descendant migrants started to arrive in Chile, the level of aggression of these racisms rose in 2018 compared to the year before, as I observed upon completing my fieldwork. Piñera's migratory reforms increased the levels of racism. As Joel (Afro-Colombian) stated, 'once in the *micro* (bus), a Chilean man spit on my face'. Many participants told me that if an Afro-descendant migrant was sitting, Chileans ask them to give up their seats, 'hey, you stand up… you're not from here!' Silent forms of exclusion are also in place. As Baltazar (Afro-Colombian) states, people in the underground try to get away from him: 'there are Chileans that don't like the amount of migrants there are. Some more expressive people

exploit, and others don't… but I don't like that either… they demonstrate their contempt anyways'.

Others just push them and make their way without asking permission. In June 2018, a Chilean middle-age woman hit Mirlande in the stomach with her elbow, and when she asked her 'why you hit me?', she replied 'oh yes, I hit you, I'm Chilean'. The woman said she hit her 'because there are a lot of people that doesn't like *morena* people, you understand? I think that's why… because I didn't do anything'. The woman hit Mirlande on purpose trying to 'make space', which shows how this space of transit becomes racialised as she feels it is 'her' territory as a Chilean.

Not only passengers but also bus drivers have performed racism against Afro-descendants. In July 2017, Mirlande (Haiti), with her baby in a pram, and I were about to take a bus, yet the driver did not open the wide middle door (the only way she could get in with the carriage), although there was plenty of space inside. We had to wait another 15 minutes for the next bus. This happens to her and other Haitians with babies all the time. Sometimes drivers have even closed the doors when they are hopping on with the carriage, risking the baby's life. Drivers apparently assume that they won't pay the fare.[67] In March 2018, when Aisha and I were entering a bus, the driver said to her in an aggressive way, 'you have to pay your ticket!' Nonetheless, he did not say that to me. Aisha was upset and said, 'They're (drivers) really bad people!' She prefers to use the underground to avoid bad treatment. I refer to these forms of racisms as 'hateful racism', not only because they are particularly direct and aggressive but also because they are acknowledged as 'racist' by participants. Afro-descendant migrants, especially Haitians, were the only participants who told me about these hateful racisms. All assumed their skin 'colour' produces this antagonism.

Many Chileans' sense of superiority is reproduced when they interact socially with LAC migrants, with whom they can make colonial distinctions, consciously

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[67] People can only pay when entering the front door by the driver where the card reader is, yet a pram cannot fit there due to turnstiles that open once the card touches the card reader.

or even unconsciously, producing power hierarchies. This not only can be seen in practices, interactions or racist attitudes that actively discriminate against negatively racialised migrants, but also through other kinds of performances in which processes of racialisation of the 'other' emerge in everyday encounters yet remain hidden within the contingencies of city life.

In February 2017, I was walking with Aisha (Haiti) and her three-month-old daughter in her pram from Recoleta to the Immigration Department at the city centre. We were about to cross the street when Aisha started talking with another Haitian woman in *Creole* on the sidewalk, discussing the visa paperwork. Even though there was plenty space, a Chilean woman in her mid-60s who was crossing the street, stopped for a moment and in an aggressive tone of voice and a contemptuous look, interrupted them saying 'excuse me!' Aisha immediately tried to move the pram away to clear the path. Apparently, Aisha was in the woman's path, and she demanded that Aisha clear the way. This was not an isolated event. A similar situation occurred a few weeks later when a Chilean man, also in his mid-60s, walked towards us in a crowd, unpredictably stopped in front of Aisha, and looked at her furiously. Without words, the look on his face clearly expressed loathing. Aisha was the only person who interrupted his path, despite many other people walking in the crowd, including myself. Yet only an Afro-descendant migrant 'disturbed' his free path on the sidewalk. In both scenarios, Chileans marked a boundary by their practice and defiant gaze, claiming an 'exclusive right': a privilege materialised in the street, defying Aisha's 'right to the city'.

Following Fanon (2008:126), contemptuous looks negatively racialise and position a person in a lower hierarchy, constraining their right to navigate throughout the city: 'it is in his corporeality that the Negro is attacked. It is an actual being that he is a threat'. Being 'black' defined Aisha as migrant and exposed her to those Chileans who claimed not only an exclusive belonging but also their national identity and 'imagined whiteness'. As Fanon (2008:97) states, '[t]he white man wants the world; he wants it for himself alone.' And Aisha responds accordingly, moving out of their way. 'Race', in that sense, is (re)made

in public spaces, where racial hierarchies are performed by the assumption that Chileans are entitled to move freely with paths clear from an 'other'.

This is a form of what I call 'spatialised exclusionary racism' since it refers to the everyday performances of racism that are silent, indirect or so subtle that are not categorised as racist by the person to whom these expressions are addressed. Yet these are ways in which processes of racialisation emerge, producing power hierarchies in such interactions, while constraining the ways migrants navigate the city and thus their 'right to the city'.

'La Morenita': Migrants unnamed

Almost everyone at the street market knows Ana (Dominican Republic). As I saw several times, her migrant friends and most Chileans called her '*la morenita'* (little brown girl). She does not have a name despite many other Dominican and Haitian women who do similar jobs. For Chileans (even friends) she is her skin colour. A skin colour that is perceived as different from them, and also seen as inferior by the use of the diminutive '*ita',* that insists she not only does not belong there because she is different, but also that she is 'inferior'. The use of diminutives also implies a duality: a paternalist approach -that makes a power difference- while conveying the idea of caring and affection. Calling or referring to Afro-descendants as *'morenita/o'* was naturalised in street markets, especially in the case of negatively racialised women, deepening an inferior position by such naming.

I met Elvira, an established Chilean *colera* who has a council permit, through Franco, a Dominican man who sold vegetables at the time and helped Elvira in her business. Once I asked her about Franco, and she replied, 'Who is Franco?' She did not know his name even when she works every day next to him. After I told Elvira who I was referring to, she immediately says 'ahhh!!! *El moreno!'* He was 'the brown man'. One might think that nobody knows the others' names, yet that was not the case. Every Afro-descendant was called '*moreno/a'* or '*morenito/a',* or '*negrito/a*'. Furthermore, working-class Chileans also refer to other migrants as 'Haiti', as well as using diminutives to refer to their nationality

like '*peruanito'* (little Peruvian). Once a Chilean man called Ana '*cholita',* a term used to refer, mostly in a pejorative way, to a person that is *mestizo/a* with distinct indigenous physical features (see Wade 2013:188). Particularly in Chile, I argued such expressions are used to contemptuously assert migrants' indigeneity, and place distance between them, rejecting their shared ancestry.

In late 2016, the word that I heard the most, instead of the previously used '*negro/a'* was *moreno/a* and *morenito/a.* I learned Chileans found the latter to be a more 'respectful' term as the word *negro/a* is regarded as 'racist' and politically incorrect. They seem to believe that the use of a diminutive will erase the racial mark people imprint onto other's bodies. However, not calling the person by their names and instead using such term is simply another way to perform racism and mask it by the use of diminutives (*ito*) that 'wrap' the word with 'warmth', yet are used, whether consciously or unconsciously, to produce power hierarchies. The word '*negro/a'* was now specifically used to express aversion, hatred and rejection.

Chileans see Afro-descendant migrants as an entirely uniform group that does not need to be distinguished by each other's names. Being unnamed implies being invisible even though the reinforcement of the visual aspects ultimately causes invisibility due to racism. As Jamaica Kincaid (cited in Lao-Montes 2010:163) claimed,

> The blackness is visible and yet is invisible (….) The blackness cannot be separated from me but often I can stand outside it… In the blackness, then, I have been erased, I can no longer say my own name, I can no longer point to myself and say 'I' (…) I am swallowed up in the blackness so that I am one with it.

Her humanity and individuality are taken in this everyday practice in which they are their (perceived) skin colour, unnamed, and this is precisely why it is a form of everyday racism. Not calling migrants by their name is a way Chileans establish distance from the 'other' and make 'race'. It is how they racialise the space by materialising boundaries of belonging, whereby the 'other' is not entitled to be named. As Sharma (2015:109) claims, in the process of ethnicisation, there is a

need (for the nation) to maintain and protect its 'distinct identity' and in the mixture of 'race' and 'place' the group 'claim to 'its own' territorial space'. Chileans not only mark the place as theirs but also such practices allow them to feel superior and claim a 'whiteness' that was never claimed before in such a way.

These terms used to racialise migrants show how two processes simultaneously emerge: the negatively racialised 'other' is positioned in an inferior hierarchy of power by using '*ito*' (little), reinforcing a paternalistic attitude, while at the same time Chileans self-identify as the opposite (or whiter). This places Chilean participants, and what they consider 'us', in a position of power. Chileans need migrants in order to position themselves higher within the social hierarchy: not only do they feel superior as their national identity as host citizens becomes more valuable, but foremost, they can reclaim a better social position and (to some extent) jump across the class distinctions that have put them almost at the bottom of Chilean society. Now someone else is at the bottom, and they are 'relatively' better off. The way they refer to their respective 'other' allows them to reassert their identities within the national (classed and racialised) context. This is because when people talk about the 'other' they are also talking about themselves by contrast, since their identities are constructed through difference (Hall 1990). In this way, Chileans produce power hierarchies that reproduce the colonial 'white supremacy'. I refer to this as an 'imagined whiteness', since as a colonised country, such white supremacy can only be imagined, following Anderson's (2006) notion of 'imagined communities'. Whiteness becomes a social construct that allows the making of 'race' in the everyday (see Chapter 7).

An 'imagined whiteness' emerges in expressions in the textures of everyday life, especially among Chileans whose remarks about whiteness emerge in simple conversations. I ran into Leonardo (Chile), a shop owner near La Vega, when I went to the neighbourhood with one of my supervisors, Caroline Knowles. When I introduced them, saying she came from the UK, he immediately said in broken English, 'I Irish', and, while taking off his sunglasses, explained to me that that is why he has blue eyes. Even without knowing her, felt compelled to re-state his 'racial credentials', which shows how relevant 'race' becomes in random non-

familiar street encounters. Similar racialised moments happened many times during my fieldwork: 'race' is so close to the surface that it comes out in almost every encounter. In this case, an encounter with someone recognised to be white since she was English, provided Leonardo the perfect opportunity to reassert his European ancestry. Without signalling his (perceived) skin colour, showing his blue eyes sufficed to differentiate him in this working-class neighbourhood. He was not only asserting 'race' as much as asserting 'class', in a country where both are deeply interconnected. It came to the fore precisely because racism is in contention in Chilean society, and like many other societies, is the basis for distributing privilege and resources, and thus a tool for re-asserting racial privilege.

Therefore, boundaries of belonging are performed and sustained in urban spaces, where hatred is manifested by aggressive acts and hateful speech, but also by subtler actions against negatively racialised migrants. Migrants' citizenship in symbolic (non-national) terms, is rejected in the everyday. As Grosfoguel et al. (2014:641) stated,

> Migrants do not arrive in an empty or neutral space, but in metropolitan spaces that are already 'polluted' by racial power relations with a long colonial history... migrants arrive in a space of power relations that is already informed and constituted by coloniality.

The colonial past re-emerges in the present in ways that dehumanise migrants. Chileans make these differences to establish power hierarchies in a territory where they already have been excluded through social inequalities, class distinctions, urban segregation, and poverty. They now have found scapegoats to express their hatred and feel superior: LAC migrants.

'Race' as culturally coded: Cultural racism

Mercedes (Bolivia), attended a hairdresser workshop given by the Council, where she was discriminated by Chileans. According to her, 'They said 'she's from Bolivia... she must be ignorant.'' Once, the teacher asked for a volunteer to read a paragraph out loud, and Mercedes offered,

I read, respecting the commas, the periods, and everything. And everyone seemed shocked, surprised! So I kind of brought down the Chileans... They were murmuring. I could hear, and they laughed... even the teacher was looking at me and laughing. And I talked...not like them (Chileans). I talked as it should be the *castellano* (Spanish), and I pronounced the words correctly, without saying *cachai*[68] or nothing (laughs).

Everyday racisms can also be performed through bullying and laughing at some LAC migrants, evoking a lack of 'culture' and 'development' that position Chileans as from a culturally higher developed country. When I arrived in Karina's (Bolivia) room in April 2017, she was suffering from serious stomach pain. She had returned from the hospital. In the emergency room, after she explained her symptoms to the doctor, he immediately assumed she was pregnant or was having a miscarriage, even though she repeatedly denied that was the case. Then, unexpectedly, he asked what her nationality was. She replied, 'Bolivian'. Then the doctor says: 'Ahh, but Bolivians have less tolerance to pain', and started laughing in front of other doctors and nurses. As Karina stated, 'When he said that, I swear, I wanted to kill him (…) I looked at him and said 'doctor, I'm not exaggerating, it hurts a lot... why would I exaggerate?', but then he said, 'no, Bolivians are less tolerant to pain; there's nothing wrong with you'.

Although health is a human right, 'race' matters and becomes an invisible border that inhibits some migrants from exercising the right to health, as I signalled earlier. Karina's permanent residency did not guarantee free access to public health services. Associating her pain and sickness to her nationality, the Chilean doctor annulled her as a patient and discredited her by racialising her body. Without listening to her, the doctor transferred her to a gynaecologist, and after some exams, the possibility of pregnancy or miscarriage was discounted. After a hostile examination, they left her for five hours in the hallway, until another doctor sent her home.

Her pain was a joke, and made her feel embarrassed, diminished and angry. A day later, she had to return to the hospital urgently since she could not stand the pain

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[68] Word from the Chilean dialect meaning 'do you get it?'

anymore. She had appendicitis. Due to the doctor's negligence it became peritonitis. She suffered medical misrecognition because the doctors negatively racialised her as a Bolivian migrant, attaching to her prejudices about the tolerance of pain and making fun of her while she was seriously ill. This event shows how bodies become racialised through ideas that draw upon stereotypes related to 'culture', expressed as another form of racism that establishes power hierarchies. For this doctor, body functions were linked to a 'different' cultural behaviour connected to a nationality. Karina was negatively racialised, and that led to be treated differently. This recalls Fanon's (1967:7) powerful accounts on how the French doctor sees the North African: 'The North African is a simulator, a liar, a malingerer...' 'He touches, he feels...he questions, but he gets only groans by way of response... The belly contracts, resists... He "sees nothing"' (1967:7). This is because each organ is seen as a pathology: 'Every Arab is a man who suffers from an imaginary ailment' (1967:9). In this case, the Bolivian bears an imaginary pain not worthy of alleviation. Racism could have killed Katy. Racism indeed violated her human right to health regardless of her immigration status as a permanent resident.

I argue that this is another way in which racism works, cloaked by a supposed culturalism. In that sense, there is a cultural essentialism, and 'race' is re-inscribed into new cultural racisms (Solomos and Back 1994) or what Balibar (1991a) called 'neo-racism'. As Rattansi (2005:297) argues, '[t]he combination of biological reductionism, cultural essentialism, and judgements of individual personality... is the continuing legacy of race as it is inscribed in contemporary common sense, somehow bypassing... Even the relative sophistication of the new cultural racisms.' Thus, cultural attributes that arise from historical stigma and racial stereotypes are attached to certain migratory groups, and such practice is another form of racism, one that can actually kill someone.

This form of racism associates culture with a behaviour that is categorised outside the norm. By that rationale, what is seen as 'culturally' different ends up hiding the racist ideology from which that reasoning emerged. The idea of culturalism, therefore, enables the ideology of racism to remain invisible by highlighting cultural difference rather than a biological inheritance, since 'culture

can also function like a nature' when it is seen as immutable from the origin (Balibar 1991a:22). Thus, it 'naturalizes not racial belonging but racist conduct' (1991a:22). When culture is naturalised, 'race' is hidden in the cultural code (Balibar 1991a:23), yet is another way in which racism endures.

Migrants of indigenous descent, as almost any LAC person (including Chileans) who is *mestizo* are negatively racialised by the perception of their customs as less 'cultured' than the Chilean ones, but also by their skin colour, that give rise to stereotypes attached to indigenous ancestry (when perceived). Similarly, in colonial Chile while Europeans had a correct 'moral behaviour' and 'culture' - which Chileans believe they represent-, indigenous people were 'savage' and 'brute' (De Ramón 2009). These colonial representations re-emerge, allowing Chileans to reproduce, yet in different instantiations, the colonial racial hierarchies that place indigenous peoples (and Africans) at the bottom of society. In this case, in medical terms, racialisation took the form of invalidating a person's pain, due to attributing a certain behaviour to their 'culture', considered cowardly or overreacting to physical pain, allowing these racialised stereotypes to prevail over the human condition of feeling pain. The process of racialisation has colonial roots, and migrants perceived as having indigenous physical features are seen and treated as if they come from 'backward' societies (Wade 2010, 2013), compared to the presumed 'civilised' Chilean society. Therefore, Chileans reproduce colonial hierarchies in new instantiations to distinguish themselves and neglect their own indigenous ancestry.

With regard to Afro-descendant migrants, cultural difference becomes another way of expressing racism in different terms. Chileans' discourse concerning Haitians has changed over time, since I began researching this issue in 2015. At first Chileans perceived them as vulnerable, religious, 'good people', 'well dressed' (see Rojas Pedemonte, Amode, and Vásquez 2017). Then, in 2018, many, like Elvira (Chile), started seeing them as 'too conflictive'. Elvira once compared Haitians to Venezuelans to explain the new visas established by President Piñera that favoured the latter:

because the Venezuelans have a very big difference... they're educated, they come with a profession... they talk very nicely... they have more culture... better presence (...) what the Haitian women don't have, because they're more... because it's a poor country and they have less resources to be able to have an education (...) what happens is that they don't have any culture.

Although the idea behind the 'better presence' of Venezuelans alludes to a biologically-grounded and colonial idea of 'race' that reinforced the invisibility of Afro-descendants in colonial times, the argument of the culture and behaviour ('too conflictive'), and lack of education prevails, reproducing the colonial idea of 'backwardness' associated with 'blacks' (Wade 2010), and the idea of being 'cultured' associated with a whiteness that is hidden in discourse but is evident (when referring to Venezuelans). This revealed how racism was masked through culture, and how the cultural argument replicates colonial representations that portrayed Africans as inferior, 'ignorant', 'marginal' and 'lack of culture' (De Ramón 2009). Despite the prevalence of cultural difference in Chileans' discourse, obscuring a racial biological grounding that still asserts, with other subtler practices and acts, as seen previously, colonial racial hierarchies are still reproduced. In that sense, the category of immigration becomes 'a substitute for the notion of 'race' and even a solvent of 'class consciousness'' (Balibar 1991a:20). Cultural difference becomes another way of expressing racism in different terms.

While some Chileans have racist attitudes towards Peruvians and Bolivians, as shown, the ways in which they are racialised, compared to Afro-descendant migrants, differ, and cultural differences emerge as the main form of making distinctions and establishing racial hierarchies. As racism became an issue in Chile with the arrival of Afro-descendant migrants, it reproduced a common misunderstanding in which 'race' is associated with a biological grounding more related to 'black people', whereas ethnicity was more associated with culture (Wade 2010) and cultural belonging, that was seen as different from a 'mainstream' invisible culture. Hence, racist practices against migrants from Peru and Bolivia, for instance, who are perceived as having a stronger indigenous

descent, remained invisible and were seen as cultural differences, masking the processes of racialisation that are still in place.

As shown above, however, (and in the Chileans' racist discourses about Peruvians seen in Chapter 5), the differences established by colonialism in which indigenous people were referred in terms of their 'culture', and as an 'ethnic' group; and African people were referred in terms of their 'race' and their 'skin colour', is not as fixed nowadays in relation to migrants with indigenous and African descent (perceived or not). More complex ways have emerged in which both 'ethnicity' and 'race' are intrinsically connected. As Gunaratman (2003) argues, postcoloniality, globalisation and multi-culturalisation have unsettled the traditional binary meaning of ethnicity as culture and 'race' as biological difference, understanding them as categories inscribed by several forms of difference.

According to Balibar (1991a:26), 'we see how the return of the biological theme is permitted and with it the elaboration of new variants of the biological 'myth' within the framework of a cultural racism.' This is why I describe this form of racism as 'cultural racism', based on Balibar (1991a) and Solomos and Back (1994). Therefore, as I explored in the previous chapter, the racism that emerged in the residential neighbourhood against Peruvians was actually stronger than other migrations in terms of the hatred expressed by Chileans. Such racism took the form of cultural racism. It becomes more relevant to make a difference, especially in 'cultural' terms, by rejecting what Chileans historically have sought to dissolve: the declared indigenous ancestry as *mestizos*.

The subtle performance of superiority: Condescending racism

> They're (Haitians) so cute (…) they're like savages… they're tender… you have to teach them everything though… little by little. They have other customs… you have to help him. But they learn quick… they understand. This boy is teeeender, and understands what he wants to understand though (laughs). For instance, Aisha worked with me when she barely

spoke Spanish,[69] and when she swept, threw the dirt out. I had to tell her to use a shovel… over there is different (Marcela, Chile)

This was one of the first conversations I had with Marcela after she knew I was studying migration. She immediately talked about Haitians, and referred to her current assistant Aisha, who worked with her for a while and actually introduced us. This statement comprises the paternalistic way in which she relates to Haitians, and Afro-descendant migrants in general, as I corroborated later. Racism is embedded in this statement from the start by the use of the words 'savage' and 'tender', which allude to an uncivilised state, not fully human and a child, respectively. Colonial allusions are deep, as she takes the position of the Spanish coloniser whose role is to evangelise and civilise the 'other' -native and African communities (similar to how Britons in early twentieth century encountered black people as 'slightly less-than-human forms of life' (Gilroy 2008:31)). In this case, she had to teach them everything since Haitians were seen as 'savage' -the same way indigenous people were portrayed in colonial times (De Ramón 2009) and during the new republic in Chile (Bottinelli 2009). Marcela sees a cultural difference through what she refers to as 'customs' that, for her, apparently are not right and have to be taught, such as sweeping the dirt, which echoes the Chilean narratives I compiled regarding cleanliness and the cultural superiority in which they position themselves compared to migrants (Chapter 5). Yet, the way a person sweeps relates neither to a specific culture nor does it show more civility or education. Marcela, however, perceives Haitians as inferior. Regardless of how kind, thoughtful, and caring she talks about them, and even treats them, racism is still being performed in all of her interactions and discourse.

She would never think about herself as 'racist', since she has informally hired many LAC migrants (especially Haitians), and she is welcoming and even does favours for them, as I could see throughout my fieldwork. However, that does not mean her attitude is not racist. Rather, her caring and loving attitude towards

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[69] Aisha spoke Spanish perfectly when she arrived in Chile due to living several years in the Dominican Republic.

migrants (especially Afro-descendants) masked a deeply embedded racism, evident in her sense of superiority. Marcela exemplifies many people, who reproduce racism through small acts, practices, and interactions without a bad intention, simply acting according to the common negatively racialised imaginaries concerning Afro-descendants. Colonial history finds a way to repeat itself in even more obscure ways in contemporary urban life. She, as most people, reproduce racism (even unconsciously) as a product of our colonial history and within a social context in which racism prevails. It has remained invisible for her since racism is usually seen as an aggressive act, with bad intentions, violence and hatred. Although one of the forms in which racism emerges is caused by hate and violence, as I explained at the outset, it usually emerges in subtler, unconscious ways, that appear 'innocent' and benign yet mark divisions in society. However, I argue that these forms are still racism, and 'race' is made in every condescending and paternalistic attitude towards migrants who are negatively racialised in these social interactions.

Marcela reiterated her views during the months I was there. In March 2017, something she told me reinforced her position as someone 'superior'. Talking about Manu, the 'boy' she referred to in the previous statement, she said, 'Now he's more civilised; like I'm domesticating him'. She started teaching him how to do things as he was a little 'lazy'.

Marcela's speech and practices reflect deeply rooted colonialism. She, like many other Chileans and other LAC migrants, shared a similar paternalistic attitude towards Afro-descendants -unlike other countries where Afro-descendants are stigmatised and criminalised as 'dangerous' (i.e. US (Goffman 2009)). Her narrative of domesticating 'her' Haitian employee dehumanises him, as if he were an animal that needed to be 'domesticated'. She appears to 'help him' overcome a savage state and transition into a civilised state. Slavery re-emerges in another form. It parallels colonial Chile and the way Spaniards treated indigenous communities as well as African slaves. In effect, in the seventeenth century, 'black' or *morena'* servants were qualified as animals and treated in barbaric conditions (De Ramón 2009:219), which relegated them to the 'manual world'.

This 'domestication' alludes to a process of acculturation in which she helps him to become part of a supposed mainstream dominant culture. Acculturation becomes another tactic of racism, as I showed in Chapter 5 with Alberto. Through the veiled acceptance, care and pity, the (historically) assumed inferiority of this 'other' is implicit, and she sees the 'other' through a racialised lens.

As she once said about Haitians and their lack of aptitude and 'civilisation': 'poor them… I'm sincerely sad… so they should be prepared a little because really…, there was a *negrita* that worked here but, ufff the *negrita…'* Marcela not only negatively racialises Haitians' bodies by referring to them as *negrita,* but also their behaviour by explaining it due to their origins from a 'poor' country, as she stated, and thus presumed to be 'uncivilised'. Calling them *negritos* implies a superior hierarchical position, that entitles her to 'domesticate' them. Even the voice tone changes when talking about migrants, repeating the words such as '*pobreciiito'* (poor thing), and other diminutives that build an inferior image. If she was annoyed by someone, however, she referred to them without the diminutive as: 'this *negro* makes me upset'- the condescending kind way of racism was not always possible, and it definitely changed over time since I met her in 2015.

Another time I went to Marcela's restaurant with Marisela (Afro-Colombian), who asked for a job, and she immediately said, 'No darling', assuming Marisela was Haitian. However, when Marisela spoke to her in Spanish, Marcela looked at her differently, more interested in hiring her since, at that time, she had a bad experience with Haitian employees. In a condescending tone, as if she was talking to a child, Marcela said: 'You have to make a CV my love because that's how you are gonna get a job…' While saying that, she starts touching her hair and shoulders, looking at her with pity; something that Marisela (and I) found weird. I noticed Marisela felt uncomfortable as Marcela made her feel inferior, like someone who asked for mercy, which was not the case. Such an act of touching her in a paternalistic way showed that Marcela assumed she needed guidance. This echoed colonial Spaniards' treatment of native communities as minors who needed a tutor (Rojas 2002).

I coined the term 'condescending racism' to refer to everyday racisms that imply a paternalist attitude that considers the perceived non-white 'other' as someone inferior who needs support, and provokes pity and empathy. In other words, condescending racism emerges when someone through a kindness act, behaviour or attitude towards an 'other' expresses feelings of superiority, and thus, produces a power relationship (by 'othering'). By doing so, the person is racialised since their way of being and doing things are considered 'different' compared to the mainstream culture of the host society. Racism, in this case, is masked by a paternalist, empathic discourse, yet I argue, it pertains to another set of practices in which racism operates. Thus, racism is historically rooted, and although usually condemned, it often will emerge without a direct intention to despise the racialised 'other'. It is interesting how this condescending racism was not only performed through discourse but also through social interactions, and especially towards Haitians. As I argue, racism is deeply embedded in people's discourses and practices due to historical processes that have progressively educated our ways of thinking and perceiving the social world. This is why it is crucial to unravel different forms of racism, analysing the shifting ways in which racism persists over time, in order to acknowledge and prevent it.

Chileans' portrayal of Haitian migrants as 'black', 'migrant' and 'poor', as this case reveals, is key to their (negative) racialisation. The triple exclusion they face in this context reproduces colonial racial hierarchies that positioned Afro-descendants at the bottom (see De Ramón 2009; Moreno-Figueroa 2008; Undurraga 2009; Wade 2010).

In sum, this type of racism highlights not only a cultural difference but also a biological inheritance that is embedded in imaginaries related to poverty and backwardness. Therefore, culture is naturalised by understanding it as immutable in origin (Balibar 1991a:22), and thus, racism is expressed through a cultural code, that works as a mask that disavows racism, making it persist in everyday interactions and practices as the ones shown. As Back (2010:446) claims, 'race as a visual regime of power, has regulated and governed social and cultural life. Culture is understood as adhering to already defined racial bodies'.

It is worth noting that although this kind of condescending racism is present in some of the Chilean *coleros,* the socioeconomic background does matter in the kind of racism that is performed. This is because Marcela, the participant who most exemplified condescending racism, as a local restaurant owner in Recoleta had a better socioeconomic situation, and although she worked there, she did not live in the neighbourhood. It is interesting therefore to further analyse how socioeconomic position in society determines the kind of racism performed. Looking at the statistics, a recent study shows that Chileans in worse economic situations are prone to anti-immigrant opinions (González, Muñoz, and Mackenna 2019:340). This thesis sheds light on how a better social status allows Chileans to be more condescending and paternalistic with Afro-descendant migrants since they do not compete for the same local resources and urban spaces. The feeling of being threatened is key in the way 'race' is made in the multicultural neighbourhood.

In competition for resources, however, the use of '*pobrecitos'* (poor thing) to refer to Haitians by migrants was also present in everyday conversations and was used as another way to assert a superior position. In the next section, I analyse in-depth racisms among migrants, which, although deeply intertwined with the previous forms of everyday racisms, bring to the fore more complex processes that come to matter, adding critical aspects beyond a nationally-bounded perspective.

Inter-migrant racism: The dispute for urban space and belonging

Aisha (Haiti) gained her pitch outside La Vega with time and perseverance, respecting other *coleros*' jobs and pitches. Migrants have claimed urban spaces by actively using them (Alexander and Knowles 2005:2), creating sites where they locate versions of culture and politics in the city, as Keith (2005:263) suggests, since it 'facilitates the genesis of alternative public spheres'. Migrants' presence reveals emergent forms of 'denationalized citizenship' (Sassen 2005). However, such claims through place-making practices like appropriating a pitch, are not exempt from competition with other migrants; in fact, this alternative sphere is highly contested. The first time I visited Aisha in La Vega in mid-2017, I

was amazed by how many people she knew and had a friendship with, mostly migrants. There was solidarity in the atmosphere. Her friends would play with, and take care of her baby when she had to leave to use the toilet. However, the social dynamics and solidarity that existed at the beginning started to vanish. After Piñera's migratory reform, she lost her friends. I always saw Aisha and Jacinta (Peru) talking since their pitches were close. However, one time in 2018, while sitting next to Aisha, Jacinta complained to me about Haitians. Aisha remained silent, yet when I asked about Jacinta's friendship some weeks later, she said:

> Jacinta is too talky... She talks loads about Haitians... She's *extranjera* and likes to talk about *extranjeras*. She's saying that there are too many Haitians around here. That's why I almost don't talk to her anymore (...) Saying racist things. She talks to other people about this, and she knows I understand (...) She says I'm bringing more people here. I said, 'I haven't, La Vega's not mine'. No, she's not a friend, she speaks behind my back.

Although Aisha has worked in La Vega a long time, and earns her pitch every day, she still feels La Vega is not a place where she belongs. Everyday racisms are not only performed by local nationals but also by LAC migrants who share, with Chileans, a similar colonial history that has permeated the ways in which they perceive and represent others and themselves. Although most LAC migrants do not perform hateful racism against other migrants in and beyond the neighbourhood -I never personally heard nor did participants report it- they perform a hidden racism through the systematic practice of profiteering from subletting rooms (Chapter 5), as well as through the use of terms as '*negro/a'/'negrito/a',* or indirect speech, as I will show. Racisms against Afro-descendant migrants (i.e. condescending racism) did emerge in private conversations or interviews with LAC migrants (Chapter 7).

Jacinta (Peru) has appropriated the restrictive migratory policy that prevents Haitians from migrating into Chile as her own. This, in order to position herself in a higher hierarchy and validate her job as *colera*. While it may be true that more Haitians were working in La Vega the last time I went, Jacinta exaggerates it as an 'invasion' that threatens the public space to which she feels more entitled

than Haitians. The idea of an 'invasion' in Chileans' discourse was replicated here. In March 2018, only a few metres from Aisha's pitch -who could clearly hear, and despite her previous friendship- Jacinta says to me:

> Really it's too much. Too many Haitians, This is like a plague, you cannot walk... it's dirty... They leave all the dirtiness, they don't sweep. All the grime... They come, 'This is my space!' (she shouts trying to imitate Haitians), if not? I leave them a little piece and they come to own all of them. One sometimes doesn't know people very well. Uuff, but it's full! At 7, 8, 9, 10 [am] they start to arrive... it's full.

Haitians have been widely stigmatised and negatively racialised. Today they constitute the most racially discriminated group in Chile. If before there was a, although still racialised, positive and condescending image of Haitians, it changed dramatically over the years. The media and the viralisation of videos in social media portrayed Haitians differently, as a group that arrived 'massively' through 'illegal' ways (although there was nothing illegal) (La Tercera 2018a), as 'violent' (La Tercera 2018b), and even as a threat to the 'Chilean race' (La Nación 2018). In line with this, the government's resolutions that afterwards limited Haitians' entrance in 2018, officially positioned them as a threat and an unwelcome group: a measure that institutionalised and legitimised everyday racism, dramatically reinforcing racisms at the local level, as I witnessed. In effect, influenced by sensationalist news media, Jacinta also affirmed that Haitians were violent:

> *Carabineros* (Chilean police) mock us, that's why Haitians now hit *carabineros*, uuy! See it on the internet. They fight with sticks! When they [police] come I'm afraid of them... but they [Haitians] don't. They don't let them take away their things. I suppose they [police] should detain them.

Jacinta's narratives referring to Haitians as a 'massive' group and a 'plague' has a 'racial' basis: it is her way of negatively racialising an 'other' who she wants to distance herself from. Jacinta not only built these portrayals of Haitians as invaders in order to claim her place as a street vendor and in Chilean society - based on the longer time she has lived there-, but mostly, she intended that others working there, like Aisha, would hear her belief. Therefore, Jacinta, like other migrants, performs racism and marks exclusionary boundaries in the city through these kinds of everyday conversations. Like Jacinta, other LAC migrants

attached similar attributes or biologically-grounded allusions to dehumanise Haitians, by using the terms 'plague' or 'mass'. For instance, Adriana's (Venezuela) Ecuadorian boss warned her about Haitians: 'the plague, the worst of here in Chile are the Haitians… they're thieves… later we're going to see pure *negros* everywhere'. In this narrative, being black made them 'plagues'. While Venezuelans arrived in greater numbers than Haitians, the negatively racialised (and dehumanised) idea of a 'plague' was only attributed to the latter.

Colonial distinctions against African descent populations, especially Haitians, re-emerge through generalisations that represent them as a 'plague', aggressive, and 'dirty'. Thus, LAC migrants reproduce colonial racial hierarchies in the host country, by excluding and treating Afro-descendants (particularly Haitians), as not fully human, especially through hate speech. The same way Chileans negatively racialised Peruvian migrants, strongly emphasising their dislike by attaching cultural attributes such as 'dirty', 'trouble-maker', and 'drunk', former migrants negatively racialise Haitians by attaching similar attributes alluding to what they refer to as 'cultural' aspects, such as being 'dirty', and adding others such as being 'thieves'. Furthermore, these correspond to the ways colonisers and then the creole elite portrayed indigenous communities in Chile (Bottinelli 2009; De Ramón 2009; Valenzuela 2009).

Thus, the same process of producing 'unbridgeable' differences (using racist logics) between themselves and the negatively racialised 'other' seen in Chileans' discourse is present in LAC migrants' narratives, especially former migrants, in order to achieve a higher hierarchical position. Jacinta's speech against Haitians becomes a way to defend her own pitch as *colera*, and position herself in a higher hierarchy, not only in moral and ethical terms -by emphasising she is not aggressive but respectful with the police-, but also in 'cultural' and thus (inevitably) 'racial' terms, since she is producing power (a relation of domination) by asserting such 'cultural differences'. By criticising Haitians' way of claiming a space in La Vega, Jacinta implies she has 'lent' them a little space, which entitles her to a 'superior' social status. For former migrants, who have faced several racisms and exclusions from Chileans, making those distinctions

becomes more vital than for Chileans, whose belief of ownership is given by being local nationals and having been raised in the neighbourhood.

Amid the spiral of uncertainty in which many migrants are trapped, claiming the space in La Vega as their own (and thus producing difference and power) becomes fundamental. I argue that greater levels of uncertainty in migrants' everyday lives make them more likely to perform racism (in tangible or hidden ways) against fellow migrants. Former migrants like Jacinta, claim their 'right to the city' and their access to resources, through negatively racialising the newcomer 'other', (in this case Haitians), while also asserting themselves as a worthier 'good migrant'. The dispute for space in La Vega, and the struggle for resources provoke racism among LAC migrants. Producing a difference allows Jacinta to achieve a higher position within a context in which she shares the condition of 'otherness' (from the host country national perspective). Moreover, she is joining Chileans' discourse who exclude and discriminate against LAC migrants, asserting a stronger sense of belonging to the host city. In that sense, recent migrations not only redefined Chileans' 'racial' identity, making them feel 'better-off', but this is replicated at another level within the hierarchies of belonging that are continuously produced: former migrants also need newcomers, especially those from the Caribbean, to achieve a better position in a society that has excluded them.

Similarly, I witnessed comparisons among Afro-descendant migrants against Haitians. Their making of 'race' was related to other aspects that ensured their belonging, as the political situation of their countries of origin and language, in order to distance themselves from Haitians. For instance, Baltazar (Afro-Colombian) claimed,

> Haitians arrive in masses, as it's said... Loads, too much. And people from Haiti have no reason to be emigrating from their country. Colombia yes. It has a conflict of violence and the violence... you know you have to look for an escape.

Baltazar, as a refugee claimant, claims to have more right to belong than Haitians and in doing so, he negatively racialises them as a 'mass', dehumanising them.

Asserting a rightfulness to migrate and thus belong, is another strategy by which LAC migrants navigate racial hierarchies and the constraints of living in Chile. Moreover, being Spanish-speakers was something that Afro-descendant Dominicans and Colombians used as the main differentiator from Haitians. For many, language was what positioned them in a higher hierarchy.

Some LAC migrants also refer to Afro-descendants as '*negros'*. Similar to Chileans, saying '*moreno'* would be perceived as 'not racist'. This is clear by the fact that Afro-descendants refer to fellow Afro-descendants as '*moreno',* as I observed. On the contrary, referring to them as '*negros'* would imply aggression and blatant racism. Sometimes calling them '*negros'/'negritos'* was also a way that non-Afro-descendant LAC migrants differentiated themselves from them. One time, Roberto (Venezuela), when talking about migrants, referred to '*negros',* associating black people and migrants, even though he himself is a migrant. This association not only reproduced ideas of inferiority that relate to 'migrants' in Chileans' discourse (and elsewhere) but also differentiated him from other migrants. Identifying himself as non-Afro-descendant would be a strategy to erase his status as a migrant. Roberto, like others, also often used '*negrito'* to refer to a Dominican friend[70] of ours although he knew his name. Similar to Chileans, his refusal to call him by his name alludes to the eagerness to maintain a superior position, and to distance himself from African ancestry, probably to avoid stigmatisation. As Sayad (2004:286) claimed, 'the stigma itself generates a revolt against the stigma'. Racism therefore is internalised and normalised. According to Moreno-Figueroa (2013:139),

> The racist logics that sustain such a configuration have made it possible for racism to be lived as a constant, normalized feature of social life. Racism, as a structuring principle that creates racist logics, is not recognised institutionally or publicly, but rather is lived as an individual embodied experience.

This explains how racism emerges in LAC populations as a social force that is lived. It enables understanding the similarities of the racism performed by LAC

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[70] Franco did not self-identify as 'black' but as '*indio'* (lighter shade than '*prieto',* and darker than the 'white'). *Prieto* means 'black' for Dominicans.

migrants against other LAC migrants, and performed by Chileans against LAC migrants, both inspired by 'racist logics' (see Moreno-Figueroa 2008, 2013). However, I will add that the city and its local processes play a key role in shaping everyday racisms and racist practices. Rattansi (2005:296) claims that the process of racialisation reveals that racism 'always exists in complex imbrication with nation, ethnicity, class, gender, and sexuality', but as I argue here, it is also imbricated with local urban spaces. Unravelling the complex entanglements between 'race', urban space, belonging and the nation is key for understanding how the ideology of racism operates within a context of migration. This context permeates not only the way in which racism emerges but also the reasons for which it emerges. Similar to what Moreno-Figueroa (2013) asserts, although racism is not recognised publicly in Chile, the way the state institutionalises it through immigration legislation, transpires in embodied experiences in the everyday -as this thesis has revealed. This is why it was key to analyse racisms in an increasingly multicultural city like Santiago. The uncertainty triggered by the state determines not only migrants' 'right to the city', but also the greater struggles they experience in comparison to local nationals, albeit both are working-class. Thus, this means a double exposure to racism: experiencing it not only from Chileans, but also from other migrants.

In the struggle to belong and in order to reassert their 'right to the city', some LAC migrants also made distinctions to distance themselves from their co-nationals (see Martins-Junior 2016) by portraying themselves as the 'good migrant', reproducing Chilean stereotypes and stigma associated with some migratory groups. That co-nationals are a 'stain' to get rid of, was present in many conversations, especially with Peruvians and Colombians (stigmatised as drug traffickers and criminalised in Piñera's speech on Facebook Live in 2018). As Baltazar claimed, 'We, the majority, came to do good things'. Thus, like Jacinta, moral representations of the 'good migrant' became a strategy to reassert belonging. As Sayad (2004:286) suggested,

> Being conscious of the suspicion that weighs upon him and which he cannot escape because he is confronted with it throughout his immigrant life... it is up to the immigrant to allay it constantly, to foresee it and to ward it off by repeatedly demonstrating his good faith and his good will.

An exclusionary dynamic prevails in urban spaces within this migratory context, which can be seen in the case of Jacinta (Peru) regarding Aisha (Haiti): for me to be here you have to leave. This triggers the production of relations of domination and power dynamics in order to validate such rightfulness to belong, which is performed through discourse and practices that assert an alleged superiority. 'Race' matters, and the ideology of racism arises as the primary way to negotiate the boundaries of belonging, which entails creating forms of exclusion against migrants' respective 'other': confinements, constrictions and segregation. LAC migrants, like Chileans, reproduce the same colonial historical power struggles, whether consciously or unconsciously, in order to achieve a higher social position within the field. The 'otherness', which means the construction of a 'superior' self in opposition to an inferior 'other' (Crang 1998), is constructed beyond the conventional boundaries of the nation-state precisely because migrants constitute the 'other' in the host country where they live. They subvert the 'otherness' they experience in Chile by 'othering' fellow migrants. Processes of racialisation (embedded in colonial racial hierarchies and the *mestizaje* logics) become key in migrants' strategy of 'othering' people in a similarly uncertain position (with whom they share the status of non-citizenship). The production of difference (and making 'race') allows excluding their respective 'other', and simultaneously, claiming a rightfulness to belong. As Fanon (1967:17) argues, 'the enemy of the Negro is often not the white man but a man of his own color.' In the battlefield, as shown in this research, the enemy of the negatively racialised migrant is not only the local national but also another negatively racialised migrant, who reproduces the same exclusion he/she suffers in the pursuit of belonging. Making distinctions, not only regarding skin colour but also regarding stereotypes and cultural and moral attributes that differentiate themselves from co-nationals or other LAC migrants, provided a way not only to produce power hierarchies but also to establish their 'right to the city' (Harvey 2008) in the host country.

Hence, there is a sort of complex sense of appropriation of a territory that is not of their national belonging. While migrants appropriate it, simultaneously it

appropriates them. Not only colonial racial hierarchies re-emerged in the antagonism against Haitians, but also a sort of assimilation in which migrants, especially former migrants (like Jacinta), make Chileans' and the host state's discourse against Haitians their own, in order to claim a 'right' to belong to a territory they contend as theirs but at the same time is not, since they are excluded from it in different ways. However, replicating such hateful discourse, and making a 'common enemy' with the host society, would allow certain migrants to appropriate such territory. Replicating such racialised discourses become a strategy to navigate boundaries of belonging in the everyday, and thus to face the constraints that the host country imposes.

Colonial racial hierarchies re-emerge more strongly and take different forms in the context of South-South migration in a marginalised area, especially when historical ancestries are shared, as a way in which migrants 'earn' their 'right to the city' and mitigate the social exclusion faced from Chileans. This resonates with other studies (Amin 2002; Massey 2000) that also shed light on the relevance of the struggle for resources and how competition fuels social conflict. A factor that has been usually ignored in other studies when opting for 'cultural explanations' is the 'violence of the violated' in which all sides of the ethnic divide cannot be grasped without an understanding of the contributing material privations' (Amin 2002:962). According to Amin (2002:962),

> Competition for scarce local opportunities combined with economic marginalization to fuel resentment... Social deprivation too exacerbated ethnic differences, for it removed part of the material well-being and social worth that can help in reducing jealousy and aggression towards others seen to be competing for the same resources.

In effect, 'Third World' cities struggle most due to 'growing inequality, lack of resources, the pressure to compete' (Massey 2000:126), which is seen in the struggle for urban space and resources I revealed, and that reinforce racism in the neighbourhood. According to Amin (2002:959–60), '[l]ocal negotiations of ethnicity-inflected by class practices, cultural habits, and ingrained norms – are seen to matter in quite crucial ways.'

The struggle to belong in the city amid urban divisions triggers these kinds of racisms in this particular multicultural context. This is why I argue that renewed racisms and racial formations emerge within a migratory context, reproducing colonial racial hierarchies that differ from one country to another despite having similar racial formations, but are entangled in complex ways with the host country's own particular racial hierarchies. Both are in constant conflict in the everyday, and racism shifts in new forms so migrants can mark their position within the field, achieve a higher level on the social scale, and thus negotiate their belonging in a territory where they are eager to belong and settle down. A territory that, similar to their countries of origin, validates the coloniser' culture and erases any vestige of non-white otherness. 'Race' becomes the only way to ensure stability and produce difference within the field through racialising the (respective) 'other' as well as the shared urban space. Otherness is therefore constructed at different levels along the non-citizenship spectrum.

The everyday production of difference and the performance of exclusionary practices, as well as evoking moral representations as the 'good migrant', provided useful strategies to navigate the constraints of racism and social exclusion experienced in Chile. This is what I call 'inter-migrant racism', a form of racism in which the process of 'othering' (Crang 1998) is directed towards fellow migrants. Two different processes, simultaneously, play a significant role. First, colonialism, as a shared historical process, produces power hierarchies in LAC societies. Racism historically emerges from colonialism and the constitution of nation-states. As explained earlier, these states were driven by *mestizaje* logics (Moreno-Figueroa 2013) and the idea that 'racial' mixture would make national societies 'whiter', erasing the indigenous and African ancestry of the *mestizo* population. Following Fanon's (2008; Sardar 2008) argument, it is clear how these 'racial' divisions and the pursuit of a 'whiter' background emerge as a result of how colonised countries internalised a racist colonising culture through the idea of 'inherent' superiority, which implied losing their non-European ancestries and culture. All LAC countries share this colonising European culture. This colonising culture is re-asserted in different ways in a segregated and racialised society where 'white' privilege is rewarded amid the current struggles

and exclusions many face due to their status as migrants (as shown in Chapters 5 and 6). Many used their (socially produced) distinctive 'race' (and what many referred to as 'cultural differences') for their own advantage to distanced themselves from a national group that has been unwelcome and has experienced more racism in Chile: Haitians. History corroborates this power hierarchy, especially in Latin America, where populations of African descent have been long denied, neglected and remain invisible. In colonial Latin America, indigenous people were considered superior to 'blacks'[71] (Moreno-Figueroa 2008:286; Wade 2010:29), something that is reproduced to this day.

In that sense, what many 'racial' studies of LAC societies ignore is that colonial racial hierarchies are not only reproduced through racisms within the national contexts but also are reproduced and redefined in international contexts with the increasing migratory flows to the Global North and the Global South. Therefore, South-South migration is the second key process that permeates racisms among LAC people in other national contexts.

The local context to which people migrate, becomes a relevant site where those colonial racial imaginaries and hierarchies can be reproduced and reshaped in urban spaces. This occurs, first, because there is a particular national understanding of 'race' attached to this local context (as although some share a colonial history, each nation-state is constructed in a particular way). Thus, those new imaginaries of 'race' can permeate people's own understandings of 'race' ('racial formations) that they bring from their countries of origin. In the context of migration within the host society, the media and social networks, as well as the social interactions and relationships that emerge, are ways in which those imaginaries are acquired and might be reproduced by migrants. Thus, I argue that the different understandings of 'race' within the local context in the host country, and migrants' country of origin, become entangled in complex ways. Second, these host country imaginaries are further reinforced, considering that urban spaces become even more contested when someone is a migrant in that

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[71] While indigenous people lived within 'republics' and had a more institutionalised position, Africans were considered slaves, and therefore they could not constitute their own communities.

host society. The struggle and racism they experience come not only from local nationals -for whom the migrant is the 'other' opposing the idea of 'us' promoted by unified nationalist and racial states-, but also from other LAC migrants –for whom that particular migrant might be negatively racialised in their countries of origin due to their own racial formations.

As this research shows, multicultural urban spaces in the so-called Global South become contested by migrants who struggle to make a living in a society that is driven by 'racist logics' (Moreno-Figueroa 2013), and thus the making of 'race' ensures their claim to belong. In that sense, two processes are connected: the national 'imagined whiteness' of the host country, and the 'imagined whiteness' (also national) of the countries of origin of LAC migrants. This 'imagined whiteness', in many cases, allows migrants to distance themselves from other migrants who inhabit the same territory, adhering and reinforcing the racist logics of the host country, which are usually similar within the LAC region (see Chapter 7).

In other words, urban space and the struggle for belonging shapes racisms and the racist logics of migrants. The racism that emerges among fellow LAC migrants is different and might even be stronger than the one they reproduce in their countries of origin, emanated by colonial distinctions. The struggle for resources and the dispute for urban space produce new ways in which racism is performed that are not solely explained by colonialism and *mestizaje* logics, since they are shaped by the local-national discourse on migration and colonial hierarchies, as well as by the claim of belonging. Inter-migrant racism, therefore, emerges from the complex juxtaposition of colonial racial hierarchies, the nation, the imagined 'fictive ethnicity' of both the country of origin and the host country, and the local context (with its migration patterns and immigration policies), where their claim to the 'right to the city' matters. Furthermore, I argue that exerting power over other migrants through racism comprises a way for LAC migrants to handle exclusion and racism from Chileans amid the competition for belonging in city spaces. This ensures a sort of entitlement to belong based on an alleged 'racial' superiority. Afro-descendant migrants face this double exclusion most: from

both Chileans and other migrants. Other ways of coping with the boundaries to belonging many face, especially imposed by Chileans, are analysed in the following section.

Negotiating everyday racisms: Migrant coping strategies

Figure 41. Near La Vega, a Chilean local owner closes his shop. A graffiti is written in Haitian creole. 2017.

> Sometimes I respond, sometimes I don't, because to me as a human being, I say that's ignorance. (Belén, Afro-Colombian)

Negatively racialised participants, like Mirlande, Aisha, Baltazar, Marisela, Mercedes, Karina, and James, faced racist aggressions, hatefulness and other kinds of everyday racisms. They also negotiate the symbolic boundaries imposed by many Chileans and other LAC migrants through different strategies: either through non-violent responses or even doing nothing to avoid conflict, thinking that any action could worsen their situation due to being migrants. Being a migrant, therefore, becomes a sort of 'condition', like a status that works against and prevents them from defending themselves or respond similarly. However, none were indifferent to these kinds of racisms.

The urban space of La Vega is a contested space where migrants navigate and face different kinds of everyday racisms. La Vega has become the space for urban encounters, to claim belonging through acts of solidarity and trustful relationships among migrants. Yet, it is also a space where migrants are more exposed to everyday racisms, at risk of being caught by the police, but foremost, where social conflict emerges as some have to compete with other migrants to claim their 'right' to work there. Aisha 'earned' her pitch with time, effort and persistence, although it was challenging at first. She had to wait to start selling until a Chilean *colera* leaves around 10:30. Although she is at the same pitch every day, Aisha said she has not 'gained it' yet: she respects previous *coleros*. People like her increasingly fight to gain one pitch to sell freely. She negotiates her way to belong to the place by getting there earlier and leaving last. Her on-going presence made her earn others' respect. Her pitch as *colera* is her way of claiming her 'right to the city' and how she negotiates her belonging to the public space and earn her living. Public spaces are contested by migrants who want to belong and claim their 'right to the city' despite all the constraints that the Chilean state has imposed and that are reproduced at the local level through everyday racisms (see Figure 41). However, such claiming is still an ongoing fight and some migrants struggle more than others.

At La Vega, as well as at the workplace, particularly in the construction industry, being called '*negro*' instead of their names,[72] provoked anger in most of participants. For Baltazar (Afro-Colombian), it was not acceptable: 'I don't let any Chileans say me '*negro*' after I met them. I say, 'my name is Baltazar'.

Ana once said, 'here [La Vega] appears every kind of people… Anyways I'm already cured of fright (used to it). I arrive home and I cry every day, but you try to deal with these things'. For Frantz in the attempt to ignore what others think, working becomes his way of resistance and negotiating racism:

> If someone talks or doesn't talk, I don't mind. Here I live with my sweat, nobody gives me anything (…) The people who talk don't pay my rent… nothing. (…) I work so I can live. If I don't work, I don't live.

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[72] This will be further analysed in the next chapter.

Thus, racism is confronted by migrants by maintaining their migratory project and continuing to work. Their way to cope is, often, to remain silent. Silence and non-aggressive responses became a strategy to negotiate the constraints imposed, yet by no means, do their lives continue as if it does not matter. Racism matters, and that is why I argue there is no such high 'tolerance threshold' as Rojas-Pedemonte et al. (2017) suggest in Haitians' case. That is actually another way in which racism emerges, naturalising 'race' and the way of coping with racism, by arguing that the more racism they experience, the more they can tolerate (Rojas Pedemonte et al. 2017), which is dangerous as it is a way of naturalising a behaviour. It suggests that negatively racialised people, as historically subjected to racism, could 'manage' more racism and aggression than others. This perspective takes away migrants' agency and humanity, and in doing so, patronises them as a fragile 'other'. Such understanding reproduces what these academics are, presumably, against. I argue that the non-response to racism is an active strategy to deal with everyday racisms.

What happens is much more complex. High tolerance does not enable them to put up with the precarity that the neoliberal economy offers negatively racialised migrants, and they do not become docile workers by following them, as Rojas-Pedemonte et al. (2017) suggest. The system constrains their opportunities and the precarities many face are not easy to avoid in a society where capitalism reigns and racial hierarchies are established more strongly through migratory reforms that select some migrants over others. This ethnography showed how Haitians (and other negatively racialised migrants) who faced abuse or labour exploitation at work, were not submissive workers, but rather, over time they defended their rights, complained to their bosses to unveil the racist abuse of co-workers, and they looked for another job if needed. However, many had to put up with the precarity of formal jobs to make a living and apply for the visa, as seen previously, yet they were aware of the abuse rather than being submissive to it, nor were they mere instruments for capitalism, as the authors suggests. They had to negotiate their ways to stay in Chile, but that was part of their strategy. They were aware of racist abuse and were tired of precarious

conditions, demonstrating an agency that is usually disregarded in most migration studies in Chile that portray migrants as vulnerable, submissive and passive. Labour exploitation and racist abuse were the main causes some participants decided to become street vendors, as were the cases of Ana, Paola (Dominican Republic) and Aisha (Haiti). In effect, the stronger the racism became, the more they thought of leaving Chile and returning to the Dominican Republic or Haiti, as Samentha, Frantz and Evens claimed.

As Samentha affirmed, '90% of Chileans are racists'. She had suffered racism from Chileans in La Vega and explained such racism as 'they know that many Haitians don't understand, so they abuse us'. Therefore, they are aware of labour abuse and profiteering, but they must negotiate how they deal with these issues and racisms in the streets. They create strategies to face these constraints and racisms in the everyday. An active strategy is remaining silent, as a way to protect themselves from further abuse or even being denounced to the police if they are undocumented. Such silent response gives insights into how perverse racism is, in terms of the difficulties migrants encounter if they raise their voice against racist practices and hateful speech. However, the few who do reply usually fuel conflict and they risk losing more, especially if they are undocumented. Consequently, they feel like second-class citizens, a feeling not unfounded because their everyday lives confirm that status, as shown in this chapter.

Some negatively racialised migrants go beyond these approaches to position themselves at a higher level, reproducing dynamics similar to those in which racism works. These include criticising Chileans as 'lazy', talking Spanish badly (as Mercedes's case), and affirming they are better than Chileans. However, all agreed that racism was a matter of ignorance. They understand that the perpetrator of racism lacks education and respect, so they place themselves in a higher moral position as they try to continue living their lives, like Mercedes. Thus, in their discourse, they re-balance power hierarchies that racism established against them, as a pivotal strategy to cope with it and avoid reproducing violence and hatefulness. Others, however, reproduced racism

against other LAC migrants, as a way to deal with their struggles as negatively racialised migrants in Chile, as the previous section showed.

On another note, it was interesting to notice how James, the Haitian Spanish teacher mentioned at the beginning, negotiated this increased racism against Haitians. He insisted it was their own responsibility for working in places that can be seen as threatening to Chileans. In short, he adopted Chileans' discourse by understanding migrants as people who occupy 'their' spaces, and thus are to blame from a host society's perspective. For James, they not only feel but actually are 'out of place'.

> Haitians started doing a cheaper service… Some people lose their job… because they get a Haitian who'll do the job for less money. And that generates all kinds of problems. First, today there's a lot of Haitians who are going to sell at the *feria* (street market)… You have to be careful. Why? Because they [Chileans] will feel like threatened. Because when you arrive in Chile no Haitians were selling. Now there are like ten or more... We're selling illegally. Those who have a pitch in the *feria* pay for those pitches.

Such awareness about how they might be disrupting the local processes of the host society, and internalising the potential reason for the exclusion and racism they live is reproduced in the way many understand racism. Racism was seen as a potential experience that came from being 'space invaders' (Puwar 2004), internalising Chileans' narratives regarding migrants.

In effect, as James argues, part of the complexity behind any strategy to negotiate racisms is the spiral of uncertainty. This chapter has shown how the transformation of the city into a contested space has determined the emergence of many varieties of everyday racisms. Claiming belonging was not in vain especially when uncertainty is ever-present. James' approach to the experience of racism that resonates with Chileans discourse is not shocking, but rather a way to navigate exclusion by aligning with the host country's own reasons to discriminate. As discussed at the beginning, in his classes he even teaches how to avoid experiencing racism. In sum, this chapter shows that negatively racialised migrants do claim their belonging and negotiate the exclusions they face in the midst of contemporary life. As Back (2005:41) suggests, '[i]nside cities there are

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still further invisible and mute cities' where migrants can claim belonging in a divided society. Thus, although migrants could become alienated when they internalise the sense of inferiority they face in the host country, there is a possibility to 'disalienate', as Fanon (2008:176) suggests. In this study I have shown not only how the social structures and local processes played a key role in how racism operates, but also the agency of negatively racialised migrants in the way they faced these struggles: ways in which citizenship was reclaimed, and thus, ways that might become opportunities for migrants to 'disalienate' and build belonging.

Conclusions

The chapter argues that contemporary racism in Chile echoes colonial forms and racial hierarchies. However, these older forms are reproduced in new ways locally. I identified five forms in which racism is performed in Chile. Although these everyday racisms are deeply intertwined, I suggest it is important to understand these different forms as they allowed us to identify aspects of racism that are not usually understood as such by local people. As I showed at the beginning of this chapter, many understand racism as a violent act against someone due to their skin colour, and that prevents seeing other forms that are subtler and as such, they allows the endless reproduction of racism, that as I revealed, ae beyond discourse and skin colour. I identified five kinds of everyday racism: 1) hateful racism- racism that entails an aggressive and violent act, interaction or practice against other-; 2) Spatialised exclusionary racism - everyday performances of racism that are silent, indirect or subtle, constraining the ways migrants navigate the city and their 'right to the city'-; 3) Cultural racism -it associates culture with a behaviour that is categorised outside the norm, which enables the ideology of racism to remain invisible by highlighting cultural difference rather than a biological inheritance, naturalizing racist conduct-; 4) Condescending racism - everyday racisms that imply a paternalist attitude that considers the perceived non-white 'other' as someone inferior who needs support, and provokes pity and empathy-; and 5) Inter-migrant racism - a form of racism in which the process of 'othering' is directed towards fellow migrants-, which of course is intertwined at the same time with these other types

of racism. I unpacked the contemporary racisms that emerge in the city, beyond the common nationally-bounded way of understanding racism. Not only Chileans perform racism in multicultural Chile. Within a migratory context, racism is exacerbated and colonial sediments arise, sustaining racialised exclusions among migrants in order to gain a higher position on the 'battlefield'. Making 'race' allows migrants to feel superior within a marginalised working-class neighbourhood and claim a local kind of citizenship (see Sassen 2005). 'Race' matters among migrants and racism becomes stronger when they face the same fight in a place where they are unwelcome. In Recoleta, as Amin (2002:960) puts it, 'mixture has failed to produce social cohesion and cultural interchange.'

The struggle for urban space in a context of migration has made these racial distinctions even stronger, and making 'race' reproduces but also redefines colonial rule and deep-seated racial exclusions. Consequently, a desired whiteness is also indirectly revealed, similar to Chileans. LAC migrants put into practice different strategies to re-assert their *mestizo* backgrounds, as well as other strategies to distinguish themselves from the colonial negatively racialised groups that occupy the bottom of the social hierarchy: Afro-descendants. In the context of migration different kinds of 'whiteness', 'indigeneity', and 'African-ness' are made and reclaimed in the everyday, which will be further analysed in the next chapter.

Chapter 7. Discourse and racial formations:
The 'imagined whiteness' and the role of the senses

Introduction

In May 2018 I was at the *neoconventillo* with Aisha (Haiti), when her partner Frantz called me from the semi-collective space where he was watching a video with Evens (Haiti). 'Look, look what the Chileans are saying about the Haitians...', said Frantz, and showed me a video that was circulating on Whatsapp. A Chilean workmate sent it, who earlier had said to him, 'Hey! I'm racist, I don't want to see blacks, no nothing, go to your country mother fucker!' The video shows a Chilean man driving in a multicultural neighbourhood in Santiago, recording the people walking on the streets, and speaking the following contemptuous words:

> Seriously, do you think that these people are going to take Chile to development? Do you believe it... really? We're going to observe... Some will think that I'm in Congo, but no!... look... the batch of black morons that are here, look, *negro*, *negro*, *negro*... only *negro* people are here, dude! This shit looks like Congo mother fucker! Look, a full block of only black people... *Weones* rascas (trashy assholes), uneducated, badly dressed, etcetera. (...) We don't have any possibility of being a developed country with this *gentuza* (riffraff) dude! There they are, these filthy rats speaking a shitty language that's not valued anywhere in the world, a sort of a tacky French. (...) Look, a compatriot there, hallelujah!

After showing me the video, they discussed leaving Chile due to the derision they felt in their daily lives. Evens spoke for both, 'It's my black colour... when I arrived I'm *negro'*. Frantz agreed, 'Yes, that's what bothers Chileans... because we're a lot...' Evens believed language was also an issue. Afro-descendant migrants increasingly started to arrive since 2012, and although Chileans no longer are surprised at their presence, the situation remains somehow 'troubling' for them, considering the rising anti-immigrant sentiment after the last presidential elections.

Frantz and Evens' concerns open a complex discussion, not only about the effects of these virilised videos that reinforce everyday racisms locally, but foremost, on how 'race' is made in Chilean society. This chapter unravels how 'race',

intertwined with nationalism, comes to the fore in discourses that highlight what I refer to as an 'imagined whiteness'. Accordingly, many Chileans claim such 'whiteness' based on sensorial allusions to 'race'. 'Race' is made beyond the colour-line in this social context. Although it prevails in racial formations, other senses beyond seeing matter in accounts on 'race' in people's imaginaries, such as hearing, noted in the video that ridicules Haitian language and speech. Thus, the senses become a way to explore racial formations and the basis for understanding the racial hierarchies I described previously. I argue that racism reproduces and perpetuates colonial hierarchies in renewed subtle ways, particularly in the way people experience and feel 'race', as it leads to reproduction of this ideology through discourse or exclusionary dynamics (Chapter 6). This study has shown that in Chile, what Balibar (1991a) calls 'old racisms', based on biological heredity, and 'neo-racisms', based on cultural differences; are deeply intertwined in people's discourse. The role the senses play in racial formations enable us to grasp the complex interrelation of biologically-grounded racism and cultural racisms in contemporary multicultural Chile.

Since 'race' appears and matters only with the presence of the perceived 'non-white other' (Loveman 2009), I argue that the presence of Afro-descendant migrants redefined the ways in which Chileans and other LAC migrants in a multicultural neighbourhood understand themselves and define their identity in 'racial' terms, whereby ideas of the nation and 'race' become deeply entangled. 'Race' came to matter in everyday life in a more prominent way, not as masked as before. It became a way for Chileans to distinguish themselves from an 'other', with biological and cultural allusions to 'race' that not only coexist in complex ways, but also reveal how the urban space matters in racialised discourses about the 'other'.

This chapter contributes to understand racism more in-depth, bringing together what I have analysed throughout this thesis, to make sense of how 'race' is made in contemporary urban Chile, focusing on people's discourses around 'race'.

Furthermore, it strives to understand the entanglements between 'race', nation and the senses, providing an in-depth analysis of the racial formations in which the hierarchies of belonging described in the previous chapters, emerge. What role does nationalism play in racial formations in Chile? How do Chileans and LAC migrants produce difference in their discourses? How do people redefine 'race' and 'whiteness'? What does 'being whiter' mean and how is it claimed in discourse? What constitutes racial formations? What role do the senses play in the making of 'race'? These are the questions that I attempt to answer drawing on ethnographic fieldnotes, in-depth interviews and focus groups with Chilean and LAC migrants. I unveil those processes of racialisation and show how the colonial past is imposed in different ways, redefining racial formations. As Balibar (1991b:45) claims, 'racism… continues to affect the imaginary 'fusion' of past and present in which the collective perception of human history unfolds.'

This chapter is divided in two main sections in the pursuit of exploring the racial formations of both Chileans and LAC migrants. The first reveals how in Chileans' discourse, nationalist approaches intertwine with 'race', reproducing the state's current thought and claiming 'whiteness', and thus unveiling how historical state racism is reproduced locally. More specifically, I begin by analysing the narratives around migration in relation to development. Then I delve into the meanings of 'race', and the construction of whiteness in Chilean discourse and how this is entangled with ideas of the nation. The second part of this chapter explores how the invisible character of 'race' is materialised in both Chileans and LAC migrants' discourse through a multisensorial dimension that uses different means to (re)claim 'being whiter' beyond the colour-line. I examined the sensory foundations that sustain the everyday racisms perceptible in people's discourses on 'race' that allude to the sensorial aspects in which 'race' has been historically constructed in the Americas. Specifically, I focus on how these ideas related to whiteness are naturalised following *mestizaje* logics, and the ways in which 'being whiter' is claimed. I delve into how these new racial formations have redefined self-perception in terms of 'race', understanding the role that the senses play in making 'race' in Chilean discourse. I explore how other senses, beyond sight, are relevant not only to construct racial imageries and 'whiteness'

but also to grasp 'race' and thus produce difference among migrants, focusing on sight, smell, touch (and taste), and hearing. All are key to re-state a superior position in every possible way. Finally, I explore the role of sight, which predominated in LAC migrants' discourse as a way to reclaim 'being whiter'.

Chileans' discourse: An 'imagined whiteness' and the nation

Nationalism, development and contribution

> In a survey, they said that we're very racist (…) and we're not racists. What happens is that we're more nationalists, which is different. We love our country. (…) We're a very unified country and we love our roots… and ourselves. So we want to be only us… But that doesn't mean we're racists, but that we're like this and we take care of our guests well, but when we give them a hand… and they take our elbow, now we brake. Of course… At least I don't find myself racist. (Juan, Chile)

Juan's discourse, however, is teeming with racism, as I will show. As Balibar (1991b:53) argues, '[r]acism is constantly emerging out of nationalism.' Nationalism is a field in which the ideology of racism is reproduced, and in this case, becomes a facade of racism: a tactic that enables racism to endure. The way in which racism articulates itself to nationalism is necessary to nationalism (1991b:50). Racism, 'which is heterogeneous and yet tightly knit (first in a network of phantasies and, second, through discourses and behaviours)… maintains a necessary relation with nationalism and contributes to constituting it by producing the fictive ethnicity around which it is organised' (1991b:49). Accordingly, nationalism is claimed as a way to refute charges of 'racist', that view nationalism and racism as different. However, as Balibar (1991b:37) argues, 'the discourses of race and nation are never very far apart, if only in the form of disavowal', as we saw with Juan. This section explores the entanglements between 'race' and the nation. It will show how the state discourse I analysed in Chapter 3 echoes in Chilean residents' discourse that focused on development and migrants' contribution. Racism in the twenty-first century still shapes the present yet remains invisible due to a presumed raceless nation-state and a national identity that rejects any heterogeneity, even one's own, in order to claim an 'imagined whiteness'.

The idea that Chile's development and superiority require migrants that 'fit best' in society, as stated in twentieth century migration policies, is also reproduced in Chilean nationalist discourse. That Chile attracts migrants is viewed as indicative of its superiority:

> There's the US, Canada, and then Chile, Brazil and Mexico. And there it's Chile, just below the US (...) because we're professionals, we have more development... more technology. There's a reason why we have the cleanest underground of the world... We're a powerhouse for them, they look at us from the bottom-up... we're on the top. That's why they all come here. (...) but the country has earned that with sacrifice.
> (...) we as Chileans... adapt to any country we go to. That's why we are above them [Haitians] in development. They come here and they cannot adapt because they live like this and they lack the development we have...
> (Juan, Chile)

Racist politics and the historical state discourse have shaped Chileans' imaginaries and discourse about LAC migrants, reflected in Piñera's speech announcing migratory reforms. Chilean's alleged superiority and aim to limit 'undesired' migrants echo the argument of the 1953 law: restricted entry for those who, apparently, would not contribute to the country's development.

The nationalism expressed by Juan, a 40-year-old Chilean man, refers to an intrinsic and naturalised superiority that is part of 'a historical system of complementary exclusions and dominations which are mutually interconnected' (Balibar 1991b:49). In the idealistic bubble of the national population's presumed homogeneity installed by the state, some Chileans seem currently surpassed by LAC migrants, calling their presence an 'invasion', as if they dramatically alter the country's 'racial'/'ethnic' (fictive) background (Balibar 1991b:49).

Discussion about migrants' contributions are common not only among Chileans but also globally. Migrants' worth is viewed as their ability to contribute, and even academics have stressed their potential economic/cultural contribution. I argue that such an argument to support migrants' right to migrate reduces them to a relative 'productive' value. Such argument prevails within the Chilean

neoliberal economic system, where capital flow is more significant than human mobility. Chile's migration policy sieves migrants through a selective (and racialised) process evident in Piñera's administration. It reinforces the portrayal of migrants in terms of a contribution that values 'white privilege' (Chapter 3). Especially in the case of migrants from low-income backgrounds who are categorised as low-skill workers when they arrive in Chile, this focus reduces them to their bodies, diminishing their human worth. These are migrations that must be 'controlled' by the state. Reproducing Piñera's discourse of a 'safe, orderly and regular' migration, Juan states,

> ...when there's no control, it's the same as you have a cattle and you don't control it, it gets away from you. But if you have the cattle very controlled, it will never be disbanded, and they'll reach a good port; where you want to take it. But if you take it like that, with no control, nothing, from a hundred that you have, only 5, 10 will arrive, but the others will go around doing silly things on the other side. That's what happens here... there's no control... Now with those two countries that are being controlled (Haiti and Venezuela), that's... I don't think Venezuela would have any problems, but...

He (negatively) racialises the 'other' as an animal who has to be controlled, dehumanising migrants as uncontrolled 'cattle' liable to cause a disaster. Alberto (Chile) also alluded to a similar analogy when referring to the process of regularisation. He argued that Haitians would be deported due to being 'black', and that the process was the government's surreptitious way to 'send them to a slaughterhouse'. This thesis has evinced the emergence in people's narratives of approaches that dehumanise certain LAC migrants, reproducing colonial representations of African people as animals (see De Ramón, 2009). Stricter border control, claimed by most Chilean participants, is another way in which racism is performed through discourse, since the use of the category of immigration obscures the racism behind it (Balibar 1991b:21). Yet distinctions of superiority and inferiority can be discerned in such narratives. Juan's discourse, similar to Elvira's in previous chapters, shows that anti-immigrant sentiment is not directed against all migrants, only those who they identify as 'dramatically different': Afro-descendants. Both clearly differentiated between Haitians and Venezuelans, echoing state discourse. The anti-immigration politics

and sentiment, rather than only arising from ideas of 'autochthony', whereby the native people can 'truly 'belong'' (Sharma 2015:113), in Chile's case, are mostly funnelled to the historically 'undesired' migration that reproduces colonial rule: any non-white migration. Thus, immigration controls transpires in an everyday sentiment and act that is lived by Chileans in the neighbourhood.

Hierarchies of belonging are established through discourse. Participants make several distinctions among migrants' nationalities, but they are not limited to that. In doing so, Chileans reproduce Piñera's selective migratory reforms, which benefit some perceived as 'white', like Venezuelans, and constrain the migration of those perceived as 'non-white', like Haitians, as seen in Juan's reference to 'cattle'. Thus, the focus on nationalities, rather than being the basis of migrants' exclusion, reveal the racist logics behind these distinctions configured as 'national' character, since national identity is permeated by 'race'. Nationalism needs this 'fictive ethnicity' (Balibar 1991b), and becomes another way by which people categorise others, obscuring racial distinctions. According to Balibar (1991b:56),

> Classification and hierarchy are operations of naturalization par excellence or, more accurately, of projection of historical and social differences into the realm of an imaginary nature (…) 'Human nature'… in no way represents an unmediated category.

In that sense, nationality -rather than a category that intersects with 'race' -is deeply entwined with it. Nationality is a way to make a distinction from an 'other' and racism mediates those categorisations that naturalise the artificial gathering of individuals into a territory through the allusion to a shared ethnicity of a 'community of value' (Anderson, 2013). As Sharma (2015:110) claims, what people usually refer to as 'migrant' (different from the so-called 'ex-pat') -in Chile's case the 'undesirable' non-European migrant- is already negatively racialised simply for being a migrant,

> …being a 'migrant' is read of one's racialized body and read off of the racialized meanings of the body politics of nationalism. 'Migrants' are those people who are not the 'people' of the "nation" over which any particular state exercises its sovereignty.

The meaning of 'race': Racial formations and the construction of an 'imagined whiteness'

> ...with the centenary of the Republic... the government of Chile at that time, ordered like an autobiographical investigation. Who were the Chileans after being liberated from the Spanish domination? And what's interesting... is that Chile recognised itself as a country of whites... such self-acknowledgement marks transcendentally this issue of racism. (Cristian Báez-Lazcano, Afro-Chilean)

As Cristian claimed, Chile has portrayed itself as 'a country of whites'. Even today, as this study reveals, Chileans self-identify as 'white' and 'whiter' than other Latin Americans (see INDH 2017). Furthermore, a study revealed that 53% of Chileans denied having an indigenous ancestry (CEOU-UTALCA 2018). Even if Chileans did not always explicitly say so, their narratives show they implicitly take 'whiteness' for granted. Some LAC migrants also claim to be 'whiter'. As announced, Latin American new republics were based on the former colonial 'whiteness' hierarchies (Loveman 1999).

The term 'race' was mentioned several times during ethnographic conversations and in interviews with Chileans, who refer to migrants as a different 'race'. Chileans affirm this idea, as 'here almost everyone is Peruvian, Haitian. It's always the same race that is repeated;' or 'for me, the race that I like is the Peruvians'. For most participants (migrants and non-migrants), 'race' was a way to differentiate groups based on national belonging. Thus the meanings of 'race' become entangled with nationality, sometimes even referring to 'Chilean race', 'Haitian race', and so on. I heard many similar references to 'race' from migrant participants. Frantz (Haiti) once told me: 'you have only one race... there's a Haitian race, and you have a Chilean race'. This confirms what I suggested previously: nationality is mediated by 'race' and is another way to naturalise belonging and inscribe difference into natural categories. It confirms how 'race' is a social construction permeated by this 'fictive ethnicity' (Balibar 1991b) that nation-states need in order to provide unity.

In the Chilean focus group, after the term 'race' came up, I asked what 'race' they considered themselves. Their responses evoked a mix of colour-based and nationality-based references.

> Marcos: Chilean, very proud to be Chilean.
> Macarena: So 'race' has to do with nationality too?
> All: Yes.
> Javier: We're of the white race.
> Paola: White.
> Juan: We're considered white race. When I was there (Haiti), they said to us we were white. 'Sorry, we're *café* (brown), the whites are white'. 'No, you're white. We're black'. That distinction that makes the African... because... we're white race and they're black race. Although we're a bit browner, but we belong to the white race.
> Isabel: I don't feel of Spanish descent; I feel of Chilean descent.
> Javier: Because remember a bit of history... when the Spanish arrived they messed with the indigenous ... and it produced this population. So we're like in-between Europeans and Latin Americans.
> Isabel: Like *mestizos.*
> Marcos: There is identification and an own idiosyncrasy.
> Macarena: Ahh ok, so the identification is also physical?
> Isabel: Yes, physical.
> Juan: Of course, because we're not the same... although we should be similar to Peruvians, but we're not, similar to Bolivians, but we're not either.
> Macarena: And what's the difference between Chileans and Peruvians?
> Juan: Their physical features... and also intellectually, we're like above in our surroundings. The Chilean... we have Chileans in the NASA, we have the best engineers, to make buildings. The best doctors... So we have that. It makes us being several steps higher.
> Marcos: The Chilean is clearer than the Peruvian.
> Juan: We're whiter, yes.
> Isabel: They're shorter. More *morenos* (browner).
> Javier: Like the *araucano.* In some way.
> (all agreed)
> Marcos: In Lima though you see a different Peruvian than the one we see here. There you can see a different kind of gene; the Peruvian here is genotypically different.
> Paola: It's like we haven't mixed yet, but all of us are going to mix too... And how we are going to end up?!

All concluded they were 'white race' yet linked to a particular 'Chilean race' that biologically determines Chileans' physical and intellectual features as *mestizos*. However, such particular racial character made them different from people of neighbouring countries like Peruvians and Bolivians, who they know share a

common colonial history. This is when physical distinctions come to matter. In effect, to produce relations of domination (Alexander 2009), external differences are conceived as a bodily manifestation of internal characteristics that are seen as immutable and inseparable from ideas of superiority and inferiority (Alexander and Knowles 2005). Nonetheless, such distinctions came to the fore after claiming to be 'Chileans' when self-defining in 'racial' terms.

Moreno-Figueroa's (2013:139) study on 'race' in Mexico, shows how Mexicans rather than considering themselves as racial or ethnic, mostly saw themselves first as nationals: '*Mestizas/os* or Mexicans have remained racially unnamed and unmarked, and when they are, it is in very precarious ways, precisely due to the logics of *mestizaje* that frame everyday life.' As Moreno-Figueroa and Rivers-Moore (2013:133) argue, '[c]elebrations of *mestizaje* obscure the hierarchies that are part of the region's colonial and postcolonial legacy.' While this was partly true in the case of Chileans, this study shows that this national 'raceless' identity, historically constituted, has changed dramatically with the arrival of LAC migrants. The notion of *mestizo* that emerged during the discussion soon differed in the distinctions Chileans made when comparing themselves to migrants who share their *mestizo* character, adding a colour-based spectrum that positions them in a 'whiter' hierarchy. According to Moreno-Figueroa (2013:139), the *mestizaje* project is unsettled and relational: 'people are not white or black, but rather, they are whiter than or darker than others', which is clearly seen in the previous extract. Beyond the skin colour binary, 'race' meant physical attributes, like height, which were associated to their own understandings of 'whiteness'.

It is worth noting, however, that (I perceived that) Chilean participants had a skin colour as 'dark' as their perception of Peruvians, Ecuadorians or Bolivians; a perception that is still shaped by racialised ways of seeing, as I am Chilean too. What I try to show nonetheless, is that Chileans racialise these migrants as having 'darker' skin colour than themselves, and at the same time, consider themselves (in a racialised way) 'whiter', similar to Moreno-Figueroa's (2013) study. Thus, in practice, 'race' relations in the LAC region rather than being about 'blacks' and 'whites' (Loveman 2009), are about different colour gradients and other ideas

about 'race' that are related to body features and senses that produce power hierarchies. According to Sharma (2015:101), '[r]acism, like all ideologies operates as a negative duality: through racism, our sense of self is established through the construction of an other who has characteristics said to be the opposite of 'ours'... Racialised adscriptions are crystallised in Chileans' discourse about migrants, in which comparisons of all sorts arise to justify greater immigration control.

As seen in Chapter 5, when Chileans talk about Peruvians, a sense of competition can be noted. Peruvians are active users of the public space Chileans believe as their own, which triggers, in the everyday, a discourse based on cultural difference, to assert a higher status and a 'whiter' 'racial' identity. Therefore, I argue that these processes of making 'whiteness' are connected to the establishing of hierarchies of belonging in this multicultural neighbourhood. Although these racial formations re-emerged more strongly with the presence of LAC migrants and thus have been performed into discourses and the everyday racisms I analysed, such processes of racialisation have always existed and are at the surface in Chilean society. The claiming of 'whiteness' and the rejection of non-European ancestries have been always present within society, hidden behind social divisions usually assumed as a matter of class. Racial hierarchies have always positioned people within the social field, transcending different social classes. For instance, indigenous communities and Chileans who are perceived as having 'darker' skin and more 'indigenous' physical features are also subjects of racism, called '*negro/a*' sometimes even in their families and social circles. 'Race' in Chile is deeply entangled with class, and people's socioeconomic backgrounds are mediated by 'race'. In effect, a recent study in schools evaluated how students' faces were categorised by Chileans into different schools from diverse socioeconomic statuses. Chileans who categorised them associated some faces with low-income schools, judging them as being 'Amerindian' or '*mestizo',* while students' faces associated with private high status schools were judged as having 'white racial traits' (Salgado and Castillo 2018:354). This statistical data shed lights on Chilean society's racial bias, something that this thesis contributes to understanding in greater depth.

The way Latin American societies were constituted, in which Spanish descendants ruled and enslaved indigenous and Afro-descendants, brought about a complex intertwining of 'race' and class. Upper classes are usually considered 'whiter' in the racial spectrum that reproduces colonial racial hierarchies. This class distinction and its complex entanglements with 'race' through skin colour difference emerged in the focus group. They made distinctions among social classes when they stated that *'cuiquitos'* -as upper-class people are called- were 'whiter', and that in Lima, there were also 'white' Peruvians (upper-class), unlike those migrating into Chile, who were working-class.

Bearing that in mind, LAC migrants, especially those from a working-class background, are subjected to a triple exclusion: negatively racialised by their (yet shared) 'non-white' ancestries, underprivileged, and migrant. These three aspects disrupt the racialised logics of urban space. Colonial residua, the anti-immigrant sentiment and class (poverty) converge and reinforce racism against these migratory groups, leading to a triple exclusion, and the creation of new hierarchies in which migrants are somehow ranked in Chileans' discourse.

It is not surprising, therefore, that racism against migrants perceived to some extent as similar (yet seen as having more indigenous features), such as those from neighbouring countries (Peru), was stronger in Chileans' discourse, focusing mostly on cultural differences that made Chileans more 'developed' (i.e. being 'cleaner') to mark a difference. In the previous extract, physical differences were also 'supported' by intellectual allusions, to make clear Chileans are superior: 'it makes us several steps higher', said Juan. In that sense, being from the 'white race' implied being more 'developed', allowing Chileans to reproduce the historical neglect of their own indigenous descent by distancing themselves from these LAC migrants. As Back (2010:446) argues, culture is attributed to defined racial bodies. Assuming such (naturalised) cultural difference becomes a way to make racism invisible in Juan's discourse, since the superiority of certain groups over others is hidden in the 'development' narrative, and avoids being

labelled 'racists'. Such discourses naturalise racist conduct rather than racial belonging itself (Balibar 1991a:22), which allows Chileans to avoid negatively racialising themselves due to shared (yet neglected by Chileans) indigenous inheritance. As Balibar (1991a:22) argues, 'culture can also function like a nature'. However, this discussion shows a more complex way in which contemporary racism takes form in Chile.

Cultural elements of this type, noted in the previous discussion, however, did not suffice to prove their point. Marcos immediately refers to skin colour, to contrast from Peruvians, to say Chileans are 'clearer', and thus 'whiter', adding again the relevance of genetics. In this discussion, they first followed the historically attributed character of 'white' populations since colonialism, and then reassert 'whiteness' based on a biological grounding through their (and others) colour-based perception. This shows white supremacy is alive today.

In people's imaginaries, as we saw throughout this thesis, the construction of the nation-state is built upon 'First World' imaginaries, in which the way to create a superior subject is based on the creation of an inferior Third World 'other'. As Hall (1990:229) argues, no identity exists without relations of difference, and Chileans make sure to distinguish themselves from these 'others', and reassert their national superiority. Hence, I argue that the presence of LAC migrants in Chile has redefined racial formations and reproduce national imaginaries in which colonialism is embedded, emerging as a way to position themselves at a higher social and 'racial' rank in comparison to this 'other', that is both negatively racialised and alienated. Chileans emphasise the difference between them and people from neighbouring countries, corresponding to one of the oldest and most numerous migratory groups in Chile (Peruvians). According to Hall (1980:342), racism is 'particularly powerful and its imprint on popular consciousness especially deep, because, in such racial characteristics as colour, ethnic origin, geographical position, etc., racism discovers what other ideologies have to construct: an apparently 'natural' and universal basis in nature itself.'

People refer explicitly to 'race' in biological terms and talk about 'culture' in terms of racialised differences. Yet when both local nationals and migrants talk about 'culture' to assert the differences between 'us' and 'them', other colonial references emerge that associate cultural attributes with the colonised figure that reproduces colonial representations, either *African* or *Indian.* Thus, I argue that together with these cultural differences, what happens in Chile is that contemporary racisms are not only cultural racisms (neo-racisms as coined by Balibar (1991a)) but constituted by a complex entangled association between 'old racisms' and 'neo-racisms'.

'Race' and the senses: Being 'whiter' in Latin America and the Caribbean

> Migration, then, is the spectre that haunts the nationalist fantasy of perfection. The nation would be perfect were it not for these 'smelly, noisy, lazy and overly fecund migrants.' (Sharma 2015:110)

'Race' is an on-going social construction that is performative, relational and multisensorial. Racism has different forms in everyday life to produce difference and power. This study reveals that 'race' is not reduced to the skin colour, but it is also the garbage, the dirt, the noise (as described in Chapter 5). 'Race' emerges from what people reject and despise from an 'other' and from themselves. Different aspects define the other's 'inferiority', making difference and thus creating power relationships that rank people in hierarchies.

According to Smith (2008:3), '[t]aking seriously the sensory history of race and racism helps us appreciate just how unthinkingly race is made, how racism is learned, and how the ideology of race and racism have arisen historically'. Drawing on this study's findings, I will continue the in-depth analysis on the making of 'race' opened at the outset, focusing on the construction of an imagined 'whiteness' in Chilean discourse, similar to LAC migrant discourse, especially in regards to the visual aspects of 'race'. I reveal how the processes of racialisation are constituted by the senses, especially sight, and how the ways people 'mark' the 'other' in racial terms have been historically educated, while 'race' remains 'unthinkable'. Sensorial distinctions, both regarding the neighbourhood and LAC migrants predominate in Chileans' discourse, and show how 'race' is a social

construct. As a social construct, 'race' also emerges from the other senses that structure the way in which people perceive their social worlds and allow people to produce difference against an 'other' that, in this case, shares their colonised history and 'ethno/racial' background. As Smith argues, the senses play a key role in shaping and perpetuating 'race' (9-10), and this study shows how 'whiteness' is claimed through the senses. However, stereotypes can be rewritten, as Du Bois argued (cited in Smith 2008:9). Just as senses are educated, it is possible to break away from patterns of perception and go against the grain of racism by re-educating the senses. This section's main contribution is to unveil how 'race' is made, taking into account the human sensorial dimension, suggesting that the ways of seeing and sensing are racialised. By unravelling how such racialisation works, it becomes possible to de-racialise them.

> What if we begin to restore the other senses – hearing, smell, touch, taste – to our understanding of the ideology of "race"... Plainly, seeing remains – and always has been – extraordinarily important for locating racial identity. But remembering that race was mediated and articulated in ways in addition to seeing helps profile ordinarily hidden dimensions of racial thought and racism... (Smith 2008:ix)

I argue that not only the ways of seeing are racialised, but also the ways of touching, smelling, hearing and tasting are entangled in the making of 'race' (Smith 2008), since the senses have been taught to grasp difference (Gilroy 1998). As Smith (2008:xv) contends, 'it is important to remember that contemporaries, particularly whites of all classes, racialized the senses in a deliberate effort to impose and maintain the artificial binary between "black" and "white."' Studying the making of 'race' in-depth implies the need to explore how racism has influenced the ways in which 'race' is experienced, touched, seen, smelled, heard and tasted. This ideology impacts the human experience (Gilroy 1998).

Racism is a complex phenomenon precisely because of its multiple dimensions and the invisible ways it is embedded in social life. Gilroy diagnoses the importance to rethink 'race' beyond the colour-line, acknowledging the crucial role that the senses play in the making of 'race', because 'the human sensorium

has to be educated' to grasp 'racial' differences (Gilroy 1998:838). Thus, historical processes like colonialism played a key role. In effect, the preference for 'seeing' race is as much a social construction as 'race' itself (Smith 2008). Smith's study of the construction of 'race' in the US follows Gilroy's suggestions, undertaking an in-depth historical analysis on how 'race' has been made since colonial times through ways that go beyond visuality, including all other senses. These allowed a more stable materialisation of racial difference that could overcome the increasing devalued power of sight that racial mixtures have implied throughout history. Smith (2008:20) argues that after 1785, 'race was not always easily seen'. Therefore, other beliefs and 'methods' became increasingly important to maintain the slaveholding society, and later, segregation. In the 1850s, racial identity became more problematic due to the increasing mixed-race population, producing slaves that looked white (2008:5). Under segregation, ascertaining racial identity was more relevant than under slavery 'because race had to be authenticated on a daily basis between strangers in a modernizing, geographically fluid South' (2008:7). Thus, the ways of constructing blackness and marking 'blacks' as different and inferior through European and northern pseudo-scientific support that gave authority to nonvisual sensory stereotypes, 'allowed whites to maintain the rhetoric of otherness while also experiencing that difference' (2008:21), and detecting 'racial' identity when it was no longer identified by the eye alone. Such tactics allowed 'white' people to maintain the system:

> the way the senses functioned on a daily basis provided antebellum white southerners with an idiom and lexicon for ways to mark otherness, difference and inferiority. Sensory impressions were understood by antebellum southerners from a young age to indicate binary values: good or bad, healthy or unhealthy. (Smith 2008:20)

The historical accounts provided by Smith are key to understanding how 'race' has historically being reproduced as a naturalised 'condition', in which physical and intellectual differences are established and persist through sensorial ways that relate to notions of morality.

> blacks were different. They sensed different and sensed differently- in both instances, like animals. Thus, even though Thomas Jefferson believed

that blacks' moral sense was equal to that possessed by whites, their physical and intellectual differences were, for the most part, natural, innate and ineluctable. (Smith 2008:16)

This research has opened up the issues that make 'race' a matter of culture but also biological, differences that are closely related to how 'race' is experienced in sensorial terms and, by doing so, reproduce racism. The sensorial dimensions of 'race' come to the fore in participants' discourses, in which they allude not only to intellectual differences, as Juan expressed, but also to corporeal and biological features, especially regarding Afro-descendants.

Chileans clearly experienced the neighbourhood differently, referring to sensorial aspects of the city, such as unpleasant odours from the garbage or loud noises. In this regard, there was a particular appreciation of the city in terms of the 'hygiene' that was directly associated with the senses. As Zardini (2016:145) argues, the preoccupation for the 'hygienic' has always shaped people's attitudes towards the modern city. Smellscapes and soundscapes, for instance, are key to gain a better understanding of how the senses have altered Chileans' views of the neighbourhood and their associations with migrants and 'race' (Chapter 5). Notably, while in Chilean discourse other senses also emerged with the frequent allusions to migrants in terms of other sensorial aspects (Chapter 5), in migrant discourse, 'race' more often was framed in visual terms.

Being 'whiter' in Chileans' discourse

Racialised ways of seeing: claiming 'whiteness'

Among participants the predominant reference to 'race' in sensorial terms was sight. As Bull and Back (2003:14) argue, racism is 'a discourse of power that thinks with its eyes... a categorical mode of thinking that anchors human difference in The Invisible'. Such discourse for producing difference based on visual imageries acquires different forms, which I analyse focusing first on Chileans' and then on LAC migrants' discourses in the next section.

The central mechanism of the production of power hierarchies is the assumption of its biological grounding (Hall 1980), as seen previously, in which the ways of seeing and its racialisation were predominant in Chileans' discourse. According to Smith (2008:2), although 'race' should not be reduced to it, 'race' is a 'largely visual enterprise'. 'Color' is always seen. In effect, '[s]ocieties based on racism think first with their eyes' (Back 2010:446).

When I specifically asked in the focus group what 'race' meant for them, Chileans understood it as 'colour' even though their narratives implied much more. During the interviews, while Chileans focused more on cultural differences -highlighting the incompatibility of lifestyles (cultured versus non-cultured)- rather than biological heredity, the skin colour was still claimed. When I asked if such difference in colour and culture had to do with biological differences, they all agreed that it was certainly biological. I then asked what physical differences defined 'race':

> Paola: The colour.
> Juan: Black race... The colour.
> Paola: The colour it's what most... yes, it's the first thing you see in the race. The race is super clear, black or white.
> Javier: Yellow
> Marcos: Yellow are many. The yellow you noticed by the eyes. Because the Chinese have the slanted eyes, and the Koreans, Japanese and Chinese, all do. The thing is very noticeable.

'Race' is a social construction that varies across societies, rather than biologically constituted. Nonetheless, 'race' is still naturalised in Chileans' discourse. The biological idea of 'race' has been scientifically discredited, so 'races do not constitute isolable biological units' (Miles 2009:193), and the 'behaviour of individuals and their 'aptitudes' cannot be explained in terms of their blood or even their genes' (Balibar 1991a:21). However, in social life 'race' persists as a human 'condition'.

My ethnography revealed how different hierarchies were established by colour, and that Chileans refer to migrants on the basis of colours that act as aspects of comparison (darker, whiter) most of the time beyond the black/white binary.

While in everyday interactions the term 'brown' was used most, in the interviews and focus group there was a more significant polarisation of 'race' as a black/white binary (yet including the term 'yellow' to refer to Asian populations). This also shows how the use of the term '*moreno/a*' (brown) instead of '*negro*' in the everyday, was related to a renewed form of racism that appeared to be more 'politically correct' than '*negro*', yet some migrants' 'blackness' (despite nationality) still put them at the bottom of the social hierarchy.

The use of *negro/a* and *moreno/a* represents the visual legacy of colonialism. These terms allude to something visual, which is also related to an understanding of 'race' as biological. As Grosfoguel et al. (2015:641) assert, '[p]ower structures at global and national level are still informed by racist/sexist colonial ideologies/discourses and power structures that go back several centuries.' As Cristian Báez-Lazcano (Afro-Chilean), claims, terms like '*negro*' were imposed by those who dominate society and came to legitimise the exclusion from the community. This reinforces differences that perpetuate the relevance of skin colour for defining and positioning certain social groups within a society.

This study exposed that 'race' has different meanings, depending on the social context. While it shows how racism operates in different ways, the result is the same: power hierarchies. These discourses echo colonial representations. While 'blacks' and indigenous people have been historically associated with 'backwardness', being (perceived) 'white' was associated with development and civilisation (De Ramón 2009; Wade 2013). As Reiter (2012) suggests, the logics of servitude have persisted throughout time in Latin America, based on a hierarchical racial order that benefits 'white' elites. Being 'white', therefore, means having more privilege and opportunities. Colonialism in Chile privileged a social order based on whiteness, whereby moral schemes were embodied in visible appearances (see De Ramón 2009; Martínez 2004). People had greater opportunities if their lineage were farther from 'blackness' and closer to 'whiteness' –the desired ancestry. However, as the eighteenth century progressed, the 'colourful construction of differences' was no longer evident (De Ramón 2009:199). The construction of the nation was founded upon the idea of

a profound *mestizaje* that tended to 'whiten' Chilean society. Thus, the making of 'race' has been historically linked to a visual experience, where colour and cultural references were entangled in complex ways, and thus the process of seeing became racialised, influencing aesthetic and beauty standards, as I show next.

Chileans in the focus group assumed a 'whiter' identity in contrast to LAC migrants. As Paola argued, they have not experienced any 'mixture' yet, referring to the mixture with Afro-descendant migrants. For Cintia, however, 'race' has already changed negatively, yet she meant the whole population currently living in Chile: 'the race isn't the same as before. We're now mixed. In the bus, there are not only Chileans, there everything goes'. She immediately expressed her 'fear' of the potential racial mixing that migrants would cause her 'race'. The idea was seen as a threat to Chileans' assumed homogeneous 'whiteness', especially when referring to Afro-descendants. A taxi driver in Recoleta once commented the following regarding 'black' people in Chile:

> maybe what's going to happen in a few years here! A mix... of terror! (laughs)... no... it'd be too much! There was already... with the Peruvian we were fine. The Peruvian now is more integrated with the Chilean. Now... previously seeing a *negrito* in Chile was like surprising: Look at the *cholito* there. One said '*cholito',* a *negrito'.* Now no, it's normal seeing a *negrito*. But there's too much. It's good that they (Piñera's government) put a filter.

This discourse is profoundly racist: 'black' people are simply non-welcome as they would 'dirty' Chilean genetics. This blatant racism is deeply entangled with nationalism, as nations are 'imagined as threatened communities, always vulnerable to destruction by various 'foreign' influences' (Sharma 2015:102). As Sharma (110) asserts, '[m]igrants are portrayed as the spoilers of 'national' space.' Racialised physical attributes that are constructed in comparison to the migrant 'other' are deeply intertwined with the idea of a national ethnicity, which must be protected against the threat perceived in other attributes that they neglect to see as their own (indigenous and African ancestry). As Balibar (1991b:59) argue,

‘race’ or ‘culture’ (or both together) is therefore a continued origin of the nation, a concentrate of the qualities which belong to the nationals ‘as their own’ (…) it is around race that it must unite, with race -an ‘inheritance’ to be preserved from any kind of degradation.

The *mestizaje* logics (Moreno-Figueroa 2013) that implied that the European ‘race’ would improve LAC people ethnicity/‘race’ has permeated deeply the aesthetic imaginaries of LAC populations, which I especially saw regarding beauty, as when the taxi driver talked about a ‘mix of terror’. For many participants, including Afro-descendants, ‘black’ people were perceived as ‘uglier’ than ‘white’ people. Thus, having a more prominent European descent, which would be visualised as ‘whiter’ skin, would mean being more beautiful. As Marcela (Chile) told me, when she liked a ‘black’ man from the US when she was young, her mom opposed the idea of him as her boyfriend, saying ‘You’re so beautiful, how are you going to hang out with a *negro*… You should be with someone more beautiful, more like you’. Cristian (Afro-Chilean) also stated in an interview, ‘When I was a kid, I was taught that everything white was beautiful…’ In contrast to Wade’s (2013:188) study, ‘blackness’ here is mostly related to ugliness, and, therefore, follows western beauty standards that are intrinsically attached to ‘whiteness’.

Unlike migrants from neighbouring countries that share a more relatable ancestry with Chileans, Afro-descendant migrants are not seen as competitors. Chileans were taught that no people of African descent remained in Chile after colonialism. Thus, Afro-descendants are seen as ranking lower on the hierarchical scale and are not viewed as a threat to Chilean national identity, unlike migrants from the Andean countries. Consequently, condescending racism is more frequently performed towards Afro-descendants (Chapter 6). However, Afro-descendants are still subject to racism as they are perceived as potential threats to ‘Chilean genetics’ and to development. This arises from colonial racial hierarchies in which ‘black people’ had an inferior status and were seen as ‘backwards’. People who evoke this discourse perceive them as a threat to the idealisation of ‘being white’, and to a developed nation closer to the so-called ‘First World’, reproducing *mestizaje* logics (Moreno-Figueroa 2013) that aspired

to increased whitening. The presence of Afro-descendants has reinforced the emergence of an 'imagined whiteness', that is performed more strongly in the everyday, and is a powerful mechanism for working-class Chileans to position themselves in a higher hierarchy, as seen previously. According to Goldberg (2009:243),

> Once a group is racialised, and especially where the racial creation of the group runs deep into the history of its formation, however, the more likely will it be that the group and its members are made to carry its racialised nature with them.

This racialised nature imprinted by colonisers onto the colonised population was negotiated and inverted through the *mestizaje* project, in which the mixture of 'white race' would whiten the population and eliminate the negatively racialised stigma of the indigenous and African ancestry. *Mestizos*, therefore, claim whiteness as their own. It is a claim that often emerges through references to 'race' as biologically-grounded, expressed through the senses beyond sight, as I will show next.

Being 'whiter' beyond sight: other senses and 'race'

When 'race' came to the fore in Chileans' discourse, strong references were heard to the visual aspects of 'race', but allusions to other sensorial aspects also depicted a particular racial imagery beyond the colour-line that sustained Chilean racial formations. Such narratives not only entailed how race was entangled with ideas of the nation but also how 'race' was made in terms of other aspects that would allow Chileans to reclaim the idea of 'being whiter' even when the skin colour was not indicative of such claimed whiteness. This was reasserted by employing other sensorial aspects, that included references beyond the visual, especially when seeing and ideas of national belonging did not suffice. I explored such aspects in Chileans' focus group. Ideas of the nation were often related to a certain morale, as shown previously, that was often materialised in the ways of perceiving the everyday urban life (i.e. cleaning; purity). Sensing the city became a way to grasp difference and assert power. Chapter 5 showed Chileans blamed migrants for the local changes they experienced. The different *smellscapes* and

soundscapes (Zardini 2016) were associated with LAC migrants and judged by racialised standards. Thus, their ways of sensing the city were linked to the ways they made 'race', as their experiences were expressed through 'race'. After analysing the visual aspects of 'race', I will analyse how 'being whiter' was claimed through smelling, touching and hearing.

When discussing about 'race', it was easier to refer to its tangible aspects instead of defining it. This shows how 'race' is constructed and still perceived as something biologically-grounded: something you can see and feel in different ways. However, such physical descriptions were commonly related to 'black' people. When I asked Chilean participants to talk about 'race', they referred to Haitians:

> Isabel: The Haitians are...
> Paola: The skin is like, it's like blue
> Isabel: Yes! It's like too much!
> Paola: It's like a black, a blue black.
> Isabel: You see them and immediately you know because of that different *pelito* (little hair) they have (...) because we have four *negritos* that if I see them from far I say 'they're all *negritos'*, but two of them are from Colombia, and are *negritos negritos.* And two brothers from the Congo, Africa are other kind of *negrito.* And the Haitian is like too much. That's *negrito,* but with a colour like...
> Marcos: Concentrated, concentrated.
> Paola: They don't have the same skin, because the Colombian has hair, but the skin of [Haitians], it's like plastic.
> Sara: It's thicker. Touching their hands... they're like harder.
> Juan: They're skinnier, and the physical contexture they have...
> Paola: They have a characteristic smell. The Haitian have a smell that other *extranjeros* don't have. It's like a... naphthalene
> Juan: No, it's perspiration... the food they eat and the perspiration.
> Paola: That smell can be for being black... it's not the same, because the Peruvian eats a lot of dressing, but don't smell. No. I'm talking about the black black, the Haitian. Not even the Dominican. Maybe it's because I see them... at the hospital, so, they do have a different smell. The Peruvian is like us, don't have any smell... don't have the smell that the Haitian has; a characteristic smell, but from the skin.
> Juan: At night it's really dark, and because of the smell I know that a Haitian is getting closer. So he opens the mouth and you can see his...
> Paola: Teeth
> Marcos: We also have a smell, ahh? (they agreed). Once I was talking with a black girl, and I told her 'your skin has a smell'... I could feel a smell like a sebum. And she said: 'yes, you have a smell... like sour milk'.

In this discussion, 'race' was expressed and felt by three predominant senses (in order mentioned): seeing, touching and smelling. The differences Chilean participants established among different migratory groups, always categorised by nationality, relate to physical distinctions of a 'racial' taxonomy, assuming nationality as an indicator of 'race'. Racism needs tangible identifiers to continuously recreate the racial imagery needed to support the alleged superiority based on nationality. This extract shows the relevance of ways beyond the visual aspect of 'race' to reassert a biological difference that seems unbridgeable. Haitians not only are 'blue black', and thus 'darker' than other Afro-descendants, but also their alleged 'thickness' of hair and skin, according to participants, is easy to identify from afar. Foremost, despite Chileans' alleged difficulties for recognising their presence at night, their smell would somehow 'give them away'. Thus, when seeing them seems impossible -which is interesting in itself as it appears that some Chileans need to identify who is walking on the street when the person they encounter is what they consider an 'other'-, it does not impede identifying them due to a certain smell. As Marcos bluntly said, like 'sebum'. 'Sebum' nonetheless is commonly known as a 'bad smell', since it is related to the lack of hygiene, which coincides with the ideas related to cleanliness as a superior cultural aspect that Chileans self-identify with (Chapter 5) and that historically has colonial roots (Berthold 2010).

In La Vega, a Chilean man once told me, 'I don't like Haitians. They stink', and I heard similar accounts of people working in the construction industry. The 'smelliness' was associated with inferiority: while Chileans smelled good, Haitians were 'smelly'. According to Smith (2008:14), African people have been historically considered as having a particular smell (usually associated with a bad smell: 'The negroes… stink damnably', as a US resident wrote in 1769). This even varies among different African groups, who according to Chilean participants (in regards to Afro-Colombians and Haitians), allegedly not only have different skin tone but also skin scent. In the US, the smell associated with 'the black colour of negroes' was considered innate and not a matter of bad hygiene, and certainly different from the 'red smell' of 'Indians', who had an 'innate sweetness of odor' even superior to 'white' people who were 'poor', as historical accounts show

(2008:14). Colonial slaveholders were told what they knew and was clear to them: that 'blacks smelled different and inferior' (2008:16). These ideas resonate to this day, with associations between migrants' smell and the food they eat, racisms that are reproduced in everyday narratives (see Anderson 2006:22).

Notably, however, some participants acknowledge that not only Haitians have a smell, and although they do not self-identify their own smell, they are aware of having it, yet from others' perspective. More remarkable, Marcos validates such identifier from someone he believes is completely different from him, a 'black girl', who said he smelled like 'sour milk'. This smell alludes to the visual attribute he sees of 'race': the smell is like milk, which is white. Maybe this 'white-based' reference allows Marcos to recognise Chileans also have a 'smell', yet an apparently 'better' smell, which becomes another way to assert his 'whiteness'.

Smelling constitutes a way to produce difference against LAC migrants. As shown in Chapter 5, 'race' in the city meant 'bad odours', 'garbage', and now the skin's smell. Physical features and practices become a way to make 'race', and for Chileans to distance themselves from African descent as well as from a migrant. While practices such as taking out the garbage at the wrong time, throwing things into the street, cooking and drinking were argued as part of a lack of culture and 'uncivilised' character, in Chileans' discourse practices like eating or how perspiring -seen as apparently different, come to the fore as 'racial' attributes. However, both arguments are intrinsically part of how 'race' is made and socially alive although it does not exist. It is as much seen as it is smelled, touched, tasted or heard. It is alive in people's discourses and imaginaries, and materialised in city life.

The sense of touch also emerged in Chileans' discourse, as a way to differentiate different kinds of 'negro' in which the Haitian would be those considered 'more black'. What is interesting is that such blackness was also a matter of touching: 'their (Haitians) skin it's like plastic', and, as someone else said, 'it's thicker. Touching their hands... they're like tougher'. In contrast, the sense of touching

'whiter' skin (perceived as their skin type) implied a 'softer' and positive experience.

For Chileans the different touch of Haitians' skin was a key matter to make a difference. I noticed the urge of women to touch the skin and hair of Haitian babies, almost every time I went out with Mirlande or Aisha and their daughters. They stopped to say things like 'oh, so cute!' Touching 'black' hair became something appealing. Such usual practices unveil another way in which 'race' is made through senses beyond seeing, and the urge to touch only proved the exoticism of the body of the 'black other' (Wade 2013), reproducing how differences are made between Chileans as 'whites', and Afro-descendant migrants as 'blacks', as if the latter were aliens that should be 'tested' and 'experienced' through touch. This also reproduces the representation of the 'black' other as exotic, confining them to their bodies. Following Fanon, not only seeing and marking the 'black' person but also touching them as an 'other' (and *Negro*) fixed them: as an exotic body. According to Smith (2008:16), the philosophical ideas related to blackness and the stereotypes about touch were relevant for justifying black slavery. The thickness of black skin was caused by their colour, and climate made that difference (2008:17). Many thinkers endorsed such differences. Not surprisingly, these colonial differences persist over time. However, while the physical attributes alluded in such 'exoticness' seen in babies were perceived as 'cute', in adults they were generally perceived as 'ugly'. Avoiding any form of contact is also used to produce difference daily. As Baltazar (Afro-Colombian) stated, Chileans in the underground would avoid being near and touching him, 'as if one sees a pig'.

The association of touching (and also tasting) food and racialised bodies are present in this social context. I observed how processes of racialisation related to Afro-descendant migrants, through the sense of touch in relation to tasting, emerged. In the construction industry, some Chilean workers showed aversion for sharing the same cutlery, dishes or cups with Afro-descendant participants, who told me: 'if you're in the refectory, and you need a knife to cut a lemon, there are tables of Chileans that... don't share it with you (...) as they're racists'.

Marcela stated that when she hired Haitians in her restaurant, there was racism: 'There were clients who said to me: 'you make me the hot dog please''. She claims that older Chileans especially felt disgust at being served, and their meals cooked by a 'black' person. According to Smith's (2008:6) study, southern whites in the US could not maintain 'the fiction of sensory inferiority', and some rules had to be suspended for society to function: 'black hands… had to cook white food;' practices that are reproduced in different ways in Chile. However, for instance, Elvira (Chile) tried to avoid eating foods made by LAC migrant sellers, mentioning she always buys her food in La Vega from a Chilean cook, because she is 'cleaner' and 'hygienic'. The racialised idea behind cleanliness is reproduced in the everyday,[73] meaning at the same time how 'Chilean' hands, like hers, are also 'white' hands, since ideas of cleanliness have racial roots associated to whiteness (Berthold 2010).

Elisa and Marta, both Peruvians, self-identified as white. They claimed that rather than being discriminated by their skin colour, they were discriminated for their accent, which was an indicator of their nationality:

> I haven't felt any discrimination because of colour, but I do when I talk… I'm Peruvian right away. When I arrived in 2003 there was a rejection, and always there was like a 'ay, you're Peruvian', and they pulled you apart. So I preferred not to talk, so I could go [unnoticed].

The non-Chilean accent, therefore, was a strategy Chileans used to make distinctions and exclude migrants, when sight was not enough to grasp any difference. In this case, they were negatively racialised through hearing. However, the sense of hearing was also added as another resource to negatively racialise migrants. In many conversations on migration, I noticed Chileans imitated and mocked migrants' way of speaking when talking about someone, mainly Haitians. The sense of hearing is also an historically educated sense. According to Smith (2008:6), in southern US society, segregationists mocked the sound (noise) of blackness. My ethnography and interviews with Chileans made

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[73] This concurred with a brief study that found most Chilean participants believed migrants were 'dirtier' than them (INDH 2017).

clear how accents were not only a way to negatively racialise migrants but also to identify non-Chileans and categorise the 'other' with a 'racial' identity. Non-Spanish speakers, like some Haitians, were especially excluded due to their language, which, as the video at the beginning showed, Chileans mocked, saying it was like a 'tacky French', and 'shitty language' that they refused to hear in city streets.

Speaking a language other than Spanish was seen as uncomfortable and became a way to produce difference with Haitians and the use of Creole, their mother tongue. Evens (Haiti) was aware that language was a constraint in the everyday, and speaking Creole increased the risk of being subject to racism. Frantz agrees that 'if someone talks Chinese with other Chinese person, that doesn't matter, but with Haitians it's not the same because the Haitian here worth nothing'. Once, after dropping off Haitian friends, the taxi driver told me, 'I've nothing against them... but they don't speak in Spanish. It's the only thing that bothers me... because sometimes you don't know what they're talking... maybe they're... laughing of us. It's like a lack of respect'. In the focus group, a similar argument emerged, arguing that Haitians speaking in Creole bothered them as they felt criticised. In the case of Haitians, speaking another language than Spanish has intensified their social exclusion.

Chileans also made a difference regarding volume and voice tones:

> Sara: The Dominican and the Colombian speak super strong (loud).
> Paola: But more than the Peruvian, they don't speak loud.
> Juan: No, the Peruvian is weaker. We speak louder than the Peruvian.
> Macarena: And do you think these differences in sound have to do with 'racial' things or with customs and personality?
> Sara: No, because of nationality.
> Paola: Customs.
> Marcos: It's their essence.

The voice loudness was also an aspect by which Chileans differentiated themselves from other migrants in opposite and contradictory ways, assumed to be either due to a 'racial' factor or to nationality. Both naturalise the way of speaking. On the one hand, speaking too loudly or 'strong' would mean a lack of education and respect. On the other, speaking quietly is seen as weak. José stated

that by speaking louder Chileans are more forceful or confident than migrants, referring to Peruvians.

Furthermore, Chileans in neighbourhood meetings often complained about the loud music and noises from group gatherings in the streets and inside *neoconventillos* (Chapter 5). These sounds are experienced as an invasion of both 'their' private and public space. In that sense, exploring soundscape logics and its racialised character, in terms of what is defined as appropriate in regard to speaking and music volume, reveal subtle ways of 'making race' in urban spaces. According to Bull and Back (2003:15),

> Racialized logic confines some sounds to particular colour-coded bodies but music offers what Berendt calls a kind of 'crossing place'… you can't segregate the airwaves –sound move, they scape, they carry. The sound proofing around culture is always incomplete even in the face of those who forbid it to be so.

As the authors (2003:15) argue, thinking 'with' sound and music enables greater understanding of coexistence issues and inclusion. Sound allows us to discern who dominates a scene and how the sense of hearing is used to justify whose city this is, and thus, determine boundaries of belonging. The emerging soundscapes in a multicultural neighbourhood become racialised for local nationals and a barrier to belong for migrants as long as they disrupt the sound's pattern related to spatial logics. This is because soundscapes connect individuals with places articulated by feelings of belonging, since sound helps individuals to make sense of everyday places (Duffy and Waitt 2011:133). For this reason, Haitians speaking in Creole disrupted neighbourhood logics and what Chileans are familiar with. As Bull & Back (2003:9), '[s]ounds transforms public spaces into private property.' Hearing, therefore, is not an isolated factor. Sounds are part of how people create social relationships and their relationships to urban space; especially their ideas of 'race' and the nation.

I argue that sensorial aspects of 'race' were raised as a way by which Chilean people could sustain power hierarchies. Superiority was established, therefore, not only by sight, although it was the strongest way of differentiation, but also by

other ways that make the 'other' much different from them, and thus, much 'inferior'. The nonvisual stereotypes that related blackness with other senses were historically reproduced, allowing Chileans, as well as non-Afro-descendant migrants, to make a difference and position themselves higher. The working-class background shared among the residents make those distinctions even more relevant, endorsing the colonial 'white' thinking. Similarly, Smith (2008:8) stated,

> Poor and working-class whites under segregation endorsed the thinking of those higher in social rank because, in reality, their rough skin also rasped, their bodies also smelled, and they too could sound loud and noisy. But by racializing what was in effect a class distinction, lower-class whites elevated themselves. (…) Poor and labouring whites achieved this level of false consciousness on a daily basis because they had every incentive to do so.

Among Chilean residents, racial differentiation, and the reproduction of racial imaginaries, especially when confronted with Afro-descendant migrants, became a way to support class distinctions and claim a superior position in a class-divided and segregated city. However, this study shows that those class divisions are challenged and reinvented with the arrival of migrants and its association with 'racial' differences. Thus, renewed racial formations that emerged more strongly have been critical for Chileans to achieve an 'imagined' social mobility.

Being 'whiter': Redefining 'race' in LAC migrants' discourse

'Whiteness' is also redefined among migrants that share a colonial past, yet their societies operate with different colour shades or what some have called 'pigmentocracies' (Telles 2014). Yet this is more complex. As Reiter suggests (2012:305), a 'deep-seated historical process of racialization' has stigmatised non-Europeans.

This research has shown how *mestizaje* logics, and thus, racist logics (Moreno-Figueroa 2013) are reproduced in the ways LAC migrants identify themselves, especially when producing difference (Chapter 6). The production of difference by using terms such as *'negro/a'/'negrito/a'* was also a way in which LAC migrants claim 'being whiter' by alluding to a white/black binary, although the

spectrum is much more varied. Similar to Chileans, non-Afro-descendant migrants assumed certain 'whiteness' through everyday practices and interactions with others, and myself. My own presence was racialised, and 'whiteness' arose in the discussions (Chapter 2).

An 'imagined whiteness' could be inferred not only by everyday conversations among LAC non-Afro-descendant migrants who referred to other migrants as '*negros',* but also through private conversations, interviews and the focus group. Many reproduced the idea of a taken-for-granted 'whiteness', like Chileans. In the focus group, two Peruvian migrants self-defined as 'white' while affirming they have never experienced racism in Chile, associating racism with 'black' people.

The African ancestry is not the only ancestry that is rejected by distinctions made among Chilean people, but also non-Afro-descendant LAC migrants (racialised by Chileans as 'darker' than them) would also reject their indigenous ancestry as *mestizos,* like Chileans do. The use of the word '*indio' (Indian*) was also reproduced in La Vega. Julio (Ecuador), responding to Alvaro's (Chile) remarks about Peruvians' barbecues in the street, said that he had a inner patio to hold barbecues since it 'wasn't appropriate' to have them in the street,

> no… that's for the *indios*… the more *calla'o* (quiet) the better! Because if you're going to share with friends and others, [it should be] in your house… what happens is that the Peruvian is very, very scandalous! They want the others to know what they're doing (…) It's too vulgar, *ordinario.*[74]

The distinctions Julio made that differentiate him from Peruvians based on a conceived 'cultural practice' reproduce a similar pattern that Chileans express against Peruvians in which racism takes on a cultural code. Since Ecuadorians, Peruvians and Chileans share similar ancestries, producing difference through a 'cultural practice' is a strategy to produce power by differentiation. However, like many Chileans, cultural difference is not demonstrated by itself but accompanied by pejorative terms that have colonial roots, like '*indios',* as Julio called Peruvians. Such cultural practice (doing barbecues outside) made Peruvians, according to

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[74] This term 'ordinary' in Latin American Spanish is usually used pejoratively to refer to practices, behaviours and even people who are considered vulgar or 'low-class.'

Julio, '*indios',* reproducing derogatively the colonisers' representation of native populations, since it is a term that has attached symbolic meaning associated with inferiority and backwardness (Wade 2010, 2013). Europeans invented the term '*Indian' (indio),* which is the 'white image' of the New World's inhabitants (Earle, 2007:1). This is why it is a racialised concept (see Wade 2010). As Todorov (1984:175) stated, '[e]nslavement... reduces the other to the status of an object, which is especially manifested in conduct that treats the Indians as less than men'. Julio, from Ecuador, a country with a *mestizo* population and thus indigenous descent, uses the term to distance himself from Peruvians to achieve a higher rank.

Mercedes and Karina, both Bolivians, also made clear that they considered themselves 'white'. Although they did not specifically state it, they distinguished themselves from an 'ethnic' group in Bolivia with indigenous roots, making distinctions between *cambas* and *collas*. Furthermore, Mercedes also made a distinction from Peruvians by evoking a moral behaviour: 'I don't mess with them. Because the Peruvians are vindictive... are bad. They like to fight and all that. We Bolivians don't like that'. As Sayad (2004:286) argues, '[a] sort of social hyper-correction is required of the immigrant, especially one of lowly social condition. Being socially or even morally suspect, he must above all reassure everyone as to his morality'. In that sense, claiming different ethics and morals was a strategy that both Chileans and some LAC migrants used to distance themselves from their respective 'others'. Migrants from neighbouring countries reproduced the same discourse against Peruvians that Chileans repeated over and over again. Thus, the rejection of an indigenous ancestry is somehow shared by other Latin Americans, and racism unfolds in such context, especially targeted towards a given group. These strategies in which 'whiteness', along with ideas of high culture and moral standards, are often reproduced by every social group in Chile. It is interesting to note, however, that the ways in which this is (re)claimed in the everyday differ, as seen previously.

Claiming a predominant indigenous ancestry (over an African ancestry) for other LAC migrants who Chileans and other migrants perceived as 'black', however,

was a way to position themselves higher, distancing from other 'black' people (particularly Haitians) who experience racism in Chile. As Franco stated,

> There are loads of people here that don't want to know about *prieta* (black) people. As I'm not Haitian nor *prieto…* I'm *indio*. But many treat us well and aren't racist… but when I was living in Maipu, I was treated badly, because they're racist, they said, 'I don't like to know about *negros'* and I said to them that I wasn't *negro.* I was *indio* and Dominican*.*

Figure 42. Franco standing at La Vega's corridor. 2017.

This is a clear example of how societies have different perceptions and meanings of 'race' depending on the social context (Becker, 2000). 'Race' is socially constructed. While some Dominicans were perceived as '*negros',* some self-identify as '*indio'* (Figure 42)*.* Such identification precludes them from being taken as 'blacks'. Hence, the making of 'race' pursues another purpose and is redefined in the local migratory context, understanding that being '*negro'* was not well received by Chileans. For Franco, self-identification as '*indio'* was key to confront racism and keep a distance from Afro-descendants. Claiming his '*indio'* colour, as he called it, was a way to negotiate racial distinctions against him, and avoid the categorisation of being 'black', since it is considered at the bottom of the imagined racial hierarchy that LAC societies inherited from colonialism: a

hierarchy that is still negotiated in the everyday. Similarly, when Nicole, from the Dominican Republic, met me, she suddenly explained her racial background by re-stating her 'white' and 'black' racial mixture, especially emphasizing her mother's whiteness, and the deception of having a more pronounced 'blackness' due to her father, which made her not as pretty (as she stated). Yet at the same time, her white background made her feel prettier than Haitians, as she was not as 'black' as them, similar to Chilean discourse in which they related 'race' to similar Western beauty standards.

> Nicole: We have problems regarding colour with Haitians... that they are darker than us. More *ordinario* (...) we say 'ordinary' to a person who has physical features that are ugly. They're uglier than us (laughs)... They have the mouth... uglier... like thicker... The nose too... they have it wider than ours. They're totally ordinary. (...) they have the hair like worse than us (....) very hard, very curly (...) What I do know is that their mix like African...They're Africans.
> Macarena: Ahh ok, and what about you?
> Nicole: We have a mixture... of *mestizo*... because the *mestizo* is an African with another mixture, with the Spanish. That was the mix.

Nicole, therefore, asserted the difference between Dominicans and Haitians based on a biologically-grounded idea of 'race', associating African descent with ugliness, and self-identifying as *mestizo* (and thus, less African descent and 'whiter' skin), which meant being more beautiful, reproducing colonial racism through aesthetics. Similar to what Fanon (2008:178) claims, '[t]he black man wants to be like the white man... there is only one destiny. And it is white'. The colonial era fervent rejection of African populations, as compared to indigenous populations, arose from the view that 'black blood' was a 'stain on a lineage' (Martínez 2004:484). Today that view is reproduced in different ways in LAC societies, and has become evident in this context. According to Sardar (2008:xiv), '[i]f all you represent –your history, your culture, your very self– is nothing but ugly, naïve and wicked, then it is not surprising that you do not see yourself in a kindly manner.' This is clearly seen in Nicole's discourse when she laments possessing African ancestry, embodied as a burden. As Moreno-Figueroa and Rivers-Moore (2013:134) argue, beauty is lived and embodied in concrete ways, which in this case follow the *mestizaje* logics of aspiring to be 'whiter'.

Once, on the street, Marisela (Afro-Colombian) pointed out the differences among Afro-descendant migrants like her by facial complexion and hair (Afro-Colombians apparently use human hair extensions, whereas Haitians use artificial hair).[75] Hair, in effect, for Afro-Colombians and some Afro-Dominicans, is a concern, as it simulates Western beauty conceptions associated with European and 'white' ancestry: natural and straight hair is a way to 'whiten' themselves and remove attributes attached to African ancestry. Hair, therefore, becomes a symbolic way of 'whitening'. In this example, remarking on the hair difference between Colombians and Haitians was a way to position the former symbolically as 'whiter', and in a higher social position than the latter. Furthermore, Marisela (Afro-Colombian) asserted that Colombians had 'Aryan blood'. This emerged in a conversation in the *neoconventillo* about who the most beautiful woman was. In this case, the idea of *mestizaje*, and the mixture with 'white' blood allowed Marisela to assert that women of her nationality were prettier than Dominicans and Haitians.

Fanon's concept of *epidermalization* is key to understand the way in which 'whiteness' is desired by Afro-descendant LAC populations. *Epidermalization* is the process by which the 'black man' internalises inferiority (Fanon 2008:6). This term can be taken further to understand how the historical colonial mistreatment, slavery, and the nation-state's subsequent rejection of African and indigenous populations are internalised in LAC populations, who reproduce the colonial dualism of uncivilised/civilised, inferior/superior, ugly/beauty of native populations in contrast to Europeans. As Fanon (2008:174) argues, in Nicole's case, she became alienated when she conceives European culture as a 'means of stripping' her race. Like Fanon suggests, colonised peoples have internalised the idea of colonisers' superiority, losing their own cultural behaviours, and in this particular case, losing their physical features as a means to 'whiten' themselves. The rejection of any non-whiteness is reproduced in everyday life and becomes even stronger in the context of migration to make distinctions that could favour them in some way within a social context where 'whiteness' is valued. In the case

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[75] Both commonly attach extensions to their natural hair.

of Nicole, her self-perceived 'brownness' made her feel uglier than other people who she perceived 'whiter' (Chileans and Argentinians for her)- something that she wished and found ways to achieve (by straightening her hair). Similarly, Marisela followed the same western beauty paradigm.

These discourses show how even though colonialism shaped the historical racial hierarchies and continue to permeate processes of racialisation nowadays in LAC countries, each society has its own racial formations and understanding of 'race'. Thus, each has its particular racial hierarchies that allow them to produce difference and categorise people in order to produce power. Thus, various spectrums of difference exist, that allude to colour shades, but not limited to skin colour, since they convey different meanings and stereotypes that despite having biologically grounded colonial (and racist) roots, differ among LAC societies. People who can be perceived as 'white' can be 'black' in another social context (Becker 2000:250). In a migratory context, these differences interplay and are juxtaposed. Visual imaginaries of 'race' therefore are different in every LAC society, and the 'racial visual lens' differs when making 'race'. Similar patterns to those used by Chileans are reproduced to make distinctions in discourse. Migrants who are perceived 'whiter' are treated differently than those perceived as 'darker'. Racial hierarchies are reproduced, starting from the selective migratory reforms, which rank Venezuelans at the top, and Haitians at the bottom, for instance. Whiteness for LAC migrants, therefore, is desirable not only because of colonial sediments but also to claim more opportunities and 'rights' in a host country where 'whiteness' is highly valued. As Charles (2008:37) claims, '[c]olor permeates all dimensions of social life and is consciously used as a political and ideological instrument for the acquisition, maintenance, and/or reproduction of class position and privileges by different social groups.'

Furthermore, non-Afro-descendant LAC migrants, due to their own societies' colonial history, have an understanding of themselves as closer to European whiteness in the colour spectrum of these colonised societies. Being or self-identifying as *mestizos* allow them to claim a sort of whiter background that separates them from those of African descent and achieve a higher social

position. Similar to the analysis of Fanon (1967) concerning West Indian and African migrants in France, LAC *mestizo* migrants, who had an indigenous ancestry (same as Chileans) predominately also speak of Afro-descendants in the same way as the European colonisers at every level. As Fanon (1967:20) argues, the

> inescapable feeling of superiority over the African develops, becomes systematic, hardens. In every West Indian... there was not only the certainty of superiority over the African, but the certainty of a fundamental difference. The African was a Negro and the West Indian a European.

Similarly, the *mestizaje* project is so deeply rooted in their imaginaries and racial formations, that sometimes LAC migrants felt superior and 'white' like Europeans, internalising the racist colonising culture. As Fanon (1967:20) suggests regarding what occurred in France, '[t]his was because, between whites and Africans, there was no need of a reminder; the difference stared one in the face. But what a catastrophe if the West Indian should suddenly be taken for an African!' As this superiority was reproduced in different levels, first with regard to Afro-descendants, and second concerning indigenous descendants, in almost all LAC societies and certainly in Chile, for migrants living in Chile, making and exaggerating the distinction from other Afro-descendant migrants was pivotal, and definitely needed, as in the cases of Franco and Nicole. If Chileans felt 'whiter' and more 'European' than other LAC migrants, those migrants would also reproduce racial distinctions in the everyday to distinguish themselves from other LAC migrants who they also considered 'darker' or 'black' migrants. By doing so, they would not only assert an imagined whiteness of the *mestizo* (reproducing colonial power hierarchies from their colonised countries, where the indigenous ancestry would mean a 'better' status than African ancestry), but also a closer 'racial' relation with Chileans' own imagined whiteness, following Chileans' superiority discourse and rejecting what they mostly disavow and what they see as a complete 'other': Afro-descendants. The term '*negrito'* used by LAC migrants to refer to whom they considered 'black' people, was widely used to serve that purpose. As Fanon (1967:26) writes, 'The West Indian identified himself with the white man, adopted a white man's attitude, "was a white man."'

What is interesting is that most migrant participants also redefined Chileans' presumed racial self-perception, by considering them 'whiter', reproducing Chileans' discourse and the racial imaginaries associated to their national identity.

Thus, these racial hierarchies attached to certain populations are negotiated and reclaimed in the city. LAC migrants, as well as Chileans, navigate these racial hierarchies and some claim a whiteness that redefines the colonial European conceptions of whiteness. 'Race' therefore is remade in different ways to claim such whiter gradient. This means both producing difference with other migrants or co-nationals through racist discourses and practices (as seen in Chapter 6), and changing their own physical appearance to become what they desire, like Nicole revealed here. By doing so, they abandon the representations that others have of them.

Although there was a stronger reference to the visual aspect of 'race' in LAC migrant discourse, the sense of hearing also became another way to claim belonging, especially to achieve social mobility (Chapter 6). Language allowed not only Chileans but also Spanish-speaking migrants –especially negatively racialised migrants- a reason to validate a superiority discourse compared to Haitian migrants and thus, make 'race' in the everyday.

Conclusions

'Race' is alive to mark boundaries of belonging or define boundaries of exclusion. Chileans' nationalist discourse is intertwined with 'race'. The different ways of representing the 'other' given by the narratives of Chilean participants, are key to understand the basis of their entitlement and how hierarchies of belonging are performed and established in their discourse. By doing so, they also inform about how they redefine themselves in terms of 'race', something that always has been obscured through the presumption of homogeneity. I argue that racism works more evidently in relation to ideas of nation to reassert superiority and reclaim an imagined whiteness following *mestizaje* logics, yet 'race' is still referred as biologically grounded. In people's discourses, 'old racism' and 'neo-racism'

become deeply entangled and/or juxtaposed in different ways. Moreover, they replicate in new instantiations the colonial legacies that have sustained the Latin American historical rejection of the 'non-white' other: the *African* and the '*Indian'*, that come alive anew through symbolic or deliberate allusions to their colonial representations.

Racialising the senses became a way by which people, especially Chileans, made differences against the 'migrant other' 'in a deliberate effort to impose and maintain the artificial binary between "black" and "white"' (Smith 2008:9), even though they pretended to be 'white', and considered it as default. Like many other Latin American societies where this binary regarding 'race' is still a common mistake (Loveman 2009), this chapter has shown that much more complex processes of racialisation are in place, beyond the colour-line and going deep into the ways in which the senses have been educated.

In migrants' case, producing 'racial differences' in discourse becomes key to assert a superiority over others. Colour shades and physical features related to ideas of 'race' are therefore (re)produced in different ways. Migrants make differences and categorise people to 'fight' within the social field amid their everyday life struggles. 'Race' matters even more and is redefined in a segregated context. In sum, an 'imagined whiteness' would be performed in different ways: through everyday racist practices -as Roberto (Venezuela) who calls a Dominican '*negrito'-*, by producing difference with co-nationals -as Karina claimed herself 'whiter' than other Bolivians-, and by changing their own appearance to 'whiten' themselves -as Nicole. For both Chileans and LAC migrants, when such imagined whiteness cannot be claimed, other strategies of making difference come to matter, such as language, redirecting the stigma against co-nationals, moral attitudes, and even physical differences related to beauty.

Conclusions

Introduction

Figure 43. Historical Protest, 25th October 2019.

This thesis has contributed to understanding how 'race' is made at the urban margins in the context of South-South migration in Chile. This study reveals how 'race' is latent but alive in urban life. The end of this project was marked by an unprecedented context of civil unrest and protests, fuelled by police violence and human rights violations, yet October 18th 2019 not only meant that Chile 'woke up' condemning the neoliberal system and demanding social equality (Figure 43). It also meant the return of a very nationalistic and racialised version of Chile. Opposite to protesters, a new figure emerged: the *chalecos amarillos* (yellow vests), who defend private property, the police repression, and sing the Chilean national anthem in the streets against non-violent protesters. Among those who supported this position, in social media a well-known motorcyclist shared photos of people 'destroying' the streets, in his view. He wrote: 'There you go your peaceful protests and the eagerness to change the country, '*indios de mierda*'

(shitty *Indians*)... Peaceful protest? What happens to these '*indios*' that don't get this isn't the way to change this country![76]'

He called them pejoratively '*indios*' (*Indian*), which shows how colonial legacies are still brought to the fore to express hatred and diminish others. He associates indigeneity with what for him meant 'chaos' as well as 'low-class' to undermine the equality claims of protesters. Foremost, in doing so, he is reproducing in this new context colonial portrayals of indigenous communities as vandals, barbaric, and uncivil -a glimpse of what this study unveiled. 'Race' is continuously made in city life. This thesis has exposed that racism, rather than emerge from these growing migrations, has been latent: deeply seated and concealed in Chile's history. South-South migration into Chile has, however, redefined the ways it operates, making it more visible in ways that transcend both nationally-bounded and biologically-grounded common understandings of racism. The migratory context, the local urban processes and the social, political and economic structures of the host country, have made racism re-emerge, and racial formations have been redefined and re-imagined in different ways.

The aim of this thesis was to deconstruct racism in contemporary multicultural Chile, exploring both state and everyday racisms and how negatively racialised migrants negotiate them to claim the 'right to the city' on the other side of the river. I began exploring the making of 'race', starting with Chapters 1 and 2, by exposing the gaps in the literature on 'race' and migration, and, foremost, unveiling its disavowal in Chilean academia and the reproduction of racist logics in studies and research practices. Throughout the empirical chapters, something remained clear: LAC migrants experience racism in several different aspects of their lives: through the state and its immigration legislation -from which their immigration status derives, and consequently their limited access to the labour market and quality housing-, through housing politics and local urban processes, through local nationals, fellow migrants and everything else that city life entails. Racism is experienced at different levels, in different ways, and by different

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[76] Own translation.

perpetrators. Boundaries to belonging are raised as the production of difference continuously emerge in every area of migrants' lives.

I unravelled how the constant negotiation to transcend such boundaries to belonging are not without struggle and social conflict, but deeply interrelated to the production of difference, and thus, reinforce racist logics within an already racialised society. The path to belonging and citizenship is far from easy amid a society divided by racism and class struggles. Even racism against fellow migrants and co-nationals provided a way to negotiate the invisible walls that are continuously raised at every step of their migratory journey.

Key findings and contributions

This thesis responds to the evident lack of attention that 'race' and racism has had in Chile. Furthermore, it fills the gaps in racial studies in Latin America which have deemed Chile out of their analysis, and in migration studies on Latino populations that have not fully explored the processes of racialisation that emerge in multicultural South-South migratory contexts. Chile as a case study proved to be an exceptional scenario for understanding contemporary racisms today in Latin America and the Caribbean.

Racism works in mostly invisible ways. Its disavowal in Chile has been significant. The concealing of racism in Chile is part of the way in which it is reproduced. Conducting an extended ethnography while also including visual methods were key to understand the relationships, interactions and practices that emerge in multicultural neighbourhoods where Chileans, former migrants and newcomers cohabit. Foremost, as Chapter 2 revealed, my ethnographic approach of living in the neighbourhood was vital to comprehend and theorise about these contemporary racisms at the state and local level. By overcoming the methodological nationalism and conventional research practices of most migration studies in Chile, this thesis exposed the complexities behind racism.

Analysing the foundations of the ideas of homogeneity behind the Chilean state as a 'racial state' (Goldberg 2001) was pivotal to reject the idea of racism as an

isolated and a 'new issue' in Chile. The growing human mobilities have only unveiled the structural racism that exists in Chilean society, and Chapter 3 showed how racism has come to the fore stronger in ways that are far from subtle since President Piñera's administration. The state has strengthened its control of the 'ethno-racial' composition of newcomers through a hierarchical rank of migrants via different visas or even time-traps in visa applications/resolutions. It has followed the same principle of the 1953 Law: attracting those who would 'likely' contribute to the country's development, and consequently would 'improve the biological conditions of race' (Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores 1953:1). The Chilean state has dramatically controlled the colonial 'non-white' 'other': the 'indigenous' and the '*African*', what the Chilean national identity rejects from itself. By manipulating the immigration policies, Piñera's administration made it impossible for certain (negatively racialised) migratory groups to make a life in Chile. In the state discourse prevails a neoliberal mindset in which the migratory trajectory is seen as an autonomous process that follows different incentives, rather than a product of major global (and local) political, cultural, social and economic processes and structures -as this study demonstrates.

The state institutionalises everyday racisms by closing the borders to Afro-descendant migrants, while opening the doors to those perceived as 'maintainers' of the racialised national 'community of value' (Anderson 2013) (i.e. Europeans, Argentinians, Venezuelans). As Sharma (2015:111) claims, '[t]he ultimate cost of maintaining national fantasies is the death of migrants', which in the Chilean case, only corresponds to those 'non-white' 'others' (paradoxically reproducing the European perspective from which Chileans already are, as a colonised country, the Europeans' 'others'). Even though Venezuelans migrated into Chile in greater numbers than Haitians, the migratory group that has been dramatically excluded and positioned at the bottom of society by both the state and local society are Haitians. They are the 'official space invaders', as Chapter 3 demonstrates. Only Haitians were offered a self-deportation plan executed far more speedily than visa bureaucratic procedures. Thus, for the state the 'quality' of migrants matters rather than the 'quantity'. My endeavour in Chapter 3,

therefore, was to indict the Chilean state and its historical racist immigration policies that follow the *mestizaje* logics (Moreno-Figueroa 2010, 2013). In that sense, from the findings is clear that racism in Chile is particularly an anti-black racism as the practices, acts, and discourses are mostly directed towards Afro-descendants and historically towards Afro-Chileans. Piñera's immigration policies show a clear anti-black racism that continue closing the border for Afro-descendant migrants. Furthermore, the new visas mirror the racism LAC migrants face in the everyday. I argued that these political macro forces and local everyday racisms are mutually shaped, but foremost, state discourse has evidently reinforced and somehow 'validated' the everyday racisms migrants' face in the neighbourhood.

The Chilean state's raceless character and its disavowal of racism, especially by historical ignoring the Afro-Chilean community, are clear examples of anti-black racism as it has followed the *mestizaje logics*. The work of Moreno-Figueroa and Saldivar-Tanaka (2016:527) in Mexico becomes key to understand the Chilean case, since in Chile the project of *mestizaje* also reinforced racial exclusion when the 'mestizo normativity' was related to racial privilege. As the authors (2016:523) argue,

> We believe that it is the hegemonic character of mestizaje that is difficult to break through... due to its normalization force, the promise of inclusion it bears, its deeply rooted anti-black racism and the belief that Mexico's deep social injustice is solely rooted in class stratification.

Thus, it is pivotal to analyse more in-depth the ways in which anti-black and anti-indigenous racisms shape not only the state's politics, but also the local community, reinforcing social exclusion.

State racism transpires into people's lives: 'race' is mainly lived and experienced. Chapter 4 evinced the impact of macro political forces on migrants' everyday lives, uncovering the uncertainty and exclusion amidst a working-class context. State racism is channelled through uncertainty, which is embodied in migrants' everyday experiences. The restrictive policies have triggered the 'spiral of uncertainty' that trapped migrant participants in a nearly endless cycle,

restraining not only their human rights and access to social services, but also their 'right to the city', especially for Afro-descendants and women. This downward spiral is racialised and gendered as citizenship is. In such an uncertain context and *limbo* status, migrants are progressively forced to negotiate between the increasingly blurred boundaries of 'legality'/'illegality' in order to be or remain 'legal'. Resorting to multiple 'illegalities' sometimes is the only way migrants navigate these uncertainties, giving rise to profiteering businesses, the 'uncertainty industries', which are triggered by the state and have made migrants subject to abuse and precarity, deepening their social exclusion. I showed that such 'illegalities' have created invisible, racialised and gendered boundaries for LAC migrants: invisible borders raised to stop 'undesired' migrations -an undesirability that echoes colonial predecessors. Participants' stories showed there is no easy way out: the spiral of uncertainty is an on-going downward cycle that makes it harder to get away from. The uncertainty is institutionalised. While uncertainty shaped all migrants' experiences, not all experience the same levels despite sharing a working-class background. This is where racism comes to matter; whereby the state produces difference within national borders through intangible and subtle ways. I argued that the *carnet* (visas) become a state control apparatus, and foremost, a way in which the state ranks migrants into different hierarchies determined by 'race'.

While there is no novelty in how uncertainty delimits migrants' lives around the globe (see Anderson 2010; Goldring 2014; Ryburn 2018), the covered construction of an institutionalised spiral of uncertainty by racist state politics through subtly controlling migrants' immigration status (via time-traps in visas' resolutions, bureaucracy, high visa requirements) that increasingly affect migrants' lives, was a key aspect that this study foregrounded. This makes a significant contribution to migration studies in a (so-called) Global South context. I show how state racism is embodied in lived experiences; how it becomes materialised and lived in every abuse of power, in every labour exploitation migrants face.

This ethnographic approach to migrants' lives showed their active daily negotiations of the materialised forms of state racism: they must navigate the increasing barriers to belonging in the pursuit of a 'legal' life to not be reduced by those constraints, even if this paradoxically implies breaking the rules (i.e. by resorting to informal economies). Racism is lived as a force against LAC migrants' claim to belong. Racism excludes and might even kill, inspiring fear especially for those who have decided to leave. State racism therefore makes citizenship a privilege (Goldberg 2015:125) rather than a guaranteed right. As Goldberg (2015:123) claims, '[t]he implications are palpable: denial of access, of privileges, of rights, indeed, of the right to rights.' Participants' uncertain immigration statuses have adversely determined their access to work, housing and public health. This ethnography brought a renewed focus on migrant collective housing, and the consequent marginalisation it implied, which I examined in Chapter 5.

State racism is reproduced in residential neighbourhoods, profoundly impacting everyday racisms. Chapter 5 brought into the fore not only the precarious housing conditions of *neoconventillos* where migrants mostly live, but more importantly, how the causes and consequences of migrant housing reveal another way in which racism operates in the shadows. It begins by revealing the spatial dimension of 'race' (Alexander and Knowles 2005; Back 2005), key for understanding its pervasiveness and how it has remained invisible in Chile. The term 'spatial racialisation' exposed how 'race' is performed and materialised through place-making practices and interactions in urban spaces. This ethnography showed the tensions that are played out in urban space to understand whose city is this. Furthermore, to understand who was allowed to work and trade, who had access to better housing, who can be outside and is entitled to use public spaces, who were the citizens, and who had the right to have rights. Spatial markers of belonging determined who was at the opposite side of these racialised notions of public space: who was the 'space invader' (Puwar 2004).

'Race' matters in people's narratives which are spatially bounded in a city where boundaries are constantly materialised one way or another: in the streets, in the

houses, in the lack of windows, in the darkness of cluttered rooms. 'Race' is performed and experienced, it constrains people's lives, their opportunities and their access to rights. This study contributed to racial studies by bringing an alternative understanding of the everyday making of 'race' through the lens of the city and urban life, highlighting the key role of the neighbourhood as a lens for social theory (Sassen 2010), and transcending a discourse and nationally-based approach, as 'race' has usually been addressed. The city becomes an active agent and material aspect in the production of difference and power: vital for understanding the ways racism is negotiated and navigated by migrants.

The 'right to the city' of LAC migrants is challenged in multiple ways by Chilean residents whose narratives reveal the belief of an exclusive national ownership - along with its morale and customs- that should be preserved in the neighbourhood. Chapter 5 exposed that migrants' place-making practices, which I argue are determined by their limited access and precarious housing conditions, are seen by Chilean participants as a set of cultural (racialised) practices, allowing them to make distinctions. For Chileans, LAC migrants should either assimilate or leave, rather than disrupt the spatial logics imprinted in the city. Chilean residents produce an unbridgeable symbolical difference and build 'otherness' to place themselves in a superior position, reproducing colonial racial hierarchies primarily related to indigeneity -an ancestry they strongly reject and need to distance themselves from. This partially explained the animadversion against Peruvians. The emergent social conflict I witnessed is driven by racism, performed in a set of practices -i.e. civil complaints, graffiti, insults- and discourses -i.e. the assertion 'I'm poor but clean'. However, I argued that the emergent social conflict, rather than being simply a matter of 'race' relations, is caused by the structure of social relations which is determined by the politics of housing, housing provision and the material conditions at the urban margins. Thus, major social, political and economic structures are the key factors that explain the coexistence problems among neighbours. These social structures have constructed the foundations for emergent hierarchies of belonging in the neighbourhood, which are sustained by racist logics as the following chapters showed.

By exploring the coexistence beyond the confinements of the nation-state, I offered a key contribution to migration studies, which have usually disregarded the production of difference among migrants in multicultural contexts, by assuming such conflict only emerges through the nationally-bounded binary of 'us' versus 'them'. This research contributes to unveil the complexities behind the simplistic, and sometimes romanticised view of migrants, to understand the complex entanglements that 'race'-making implies, working at different levels and disrupting the national logics in the pursuit of belonging.

Looking at the different experiences of racism, Chapter 6 showed that racialised divisions were just below the surface, waiting to appear, and within such a marginalised working-class context, the production of difference exploded. In a presumed 'raceless' society, with the growing migration, Chileans have now reclaimed power by asserting an 'imagined whiteness'. Hence, we are far from a post-racial society as 'race' is alive in the city. It is in the city -where migrants' lives unfold- where racism has force. It is where the production of difference needs to be triggered, where 'being whiter' or not is experienced as a set of practices of being in the world. The privileges or exclusions are lived in the everyday, and racialised hierarchies of belonging are always acting behind people's experiences, marking their way into the city; and by doing so, symbolically marking their way into society -and its imaginaries of community and national identity.

The city becomes a strategic site for claiming new forms of citizenship practices (Sassen 2005:92). In line with the literature, this research shows how urban spaces are continuously shaped and marked by racism, imposing boundaries to belonging that migrants need to negotiate to claim a space in the city. Nonetheless, migrant participants have shown that urban spaces can simultaneously be contested by those who are subjects of racism, in the attempt to claim their 'right to the city' in every possible way. While I showed that migrants negotiate everyday racisms differently, an interesting discovery was that some migrants performed racism against other fellow migrants as a way of navigating social exclusion. Overcoming being subject of racism meant becoming

racist perpetrators, whether through place-making practices, exclusionary dynamics, or everyday interactions. In other words, many LAC migrants reproduce the same everyday racisms that they face from Chileans; the same racisms they were escaping from. The making of 'race' is embedded in all levels of this multicultural racialised society.

I argued that although both Chilean and migrant residents need to engage in the process of 'othering' through racist (and *mestizaje*) logics in order to reclaim their 'right to the city', for LAC migrants such pursuit of belonging makes this process of making 'race' stronger in discourse (and many times in everyday practices) against fellow migrants, as a way to negotiate the barriers imposed. I defined such 'race'-making processes of 'othering' as 'inter-migrant racism': migrants negotiate and redirect the 'otherness' they experience in Chile by 'othering' fellow migrants through everyday racisms and racist discourse. Particularly, some LAC migrants negatively racialised Afro-descendant migrants (and even co-nationals), in order to distance themselves and exert power amid the struggle for belonging in a contentious urban space. As migrants compete for the same resources and the 'right to the city', 'race' comes to matter in order to draw lines of difference, to draw the right to belong. It is in these everyday materialities, amid the multiple city encounters, where 'race' comes to the fore anew.

By problematising the notions of ethnic solidarity commonly raised in migration studies, as well as the notions of local nationals as the only racist perpetrators against 'victimised' migrants, I by no means intended to further stigmatise migrants, but rather, uncover their complex realities and understand how 'othering' and redirecting the stigma against fellow migrants becomes a needed strategy to negotiate radicalised exclusion. It reveals that the strategies to belong entail the endless reproduction of racism in a context where reclaiming 'being whiter' becomes key. It highlights how perverse racism is and how deeply imbricated it is in city life; in the way local nationals, former migrants and newcomers coexist amid urban marginalisation. Similarly, rather than judging Chileans' practices and/or discourses that negatively racialise or exclude migrants, my intention was to

understand such practices and discourses as part of the way racism works and how embedded it is in our daily lives, providing a theoretical understanding of how racism continuously finds ways to reproduce itself, and produce difference at different levels across society. This thesis therefore exposed the most challenging side of multiculturalism and coexistence, opening up further debates that become vital in the context of the 'multicultural drift', as Hall (1999) puts it, that is taking place in Chile today.

Chapter 6 therefore contributed to understand how colonial racial hierarchies are not only reproduced within national contexts but also are re-made and redefined in new instantiations amid the growing South-South migration, which was scarcely explored until now. The case of Chile became quintessential as Piñera's administration represented the current global anti-immigration political movement around the globe. I show that this inter-migrant racism emerges from both a shared legacy of colonial racial hierarchies and the South-South migration context. Such multicultural context involves the local-national racist logics and the state's 'fictive ethnicities' (Balibar 1991a), as well as how contested urban spaces become for belonging. Furthermore, how Latin American colonial legacies re-emerge against Afro-descendant migrants, who are excluded by *mestizos*, both Chileans and LAC fellow migrants. Racism in a migratory context not only echoes and reproduces the hierarchical colonial representations that sustained the historical rejection of the 'non-white' other: the *African* and the '*Indian'.* But rather, it transcends these colonial representations of indigeneity and African-ness, perpetuating them since they are brought into the fore anew in contemporary urban life amid a postcolonial world. Hence, this empirical chapter has contributed to de- and post-colonial studies in the (so-called) Global South by uncovering how the legacy of colonialism still shapes the present in multicultural contexts.

I make a significant contribution to 'racial' studies by providing an in-depth understanding of 'race' in Latin American populations, looking at Chilean and LAC migrant discourse on 'race'. These accounts concerning 'race', in Chapter 7, allow us not only to comprehend racism as an active ever-present social force,

but also to overcome and fight against it as long as we can understand what 'race' is and means in this social context. This thesis has shown that racism works at different levels and is deeply entangled with classed hierarchies that are in place within the field. This final chapter unveiled how 'race' is not only socially (and symbolically) present in the everyday and socially constructed as a skin colour: it is alive through and beyond the colour-line. I have contributed to unravel the complex and multiple dimensions of 'race' that make the ideology of racism remain invisible while 'race'-making persists in the shadows. As a social construction, 'race' is neither an abstract idea nor biologically-grounded in this multicultural urban context: it is the dirt, the garbage, the noise, the drinking, the manners, the hair, the smell, people in the streets that ought to be inside. 'Race' is even the complete uncertainty that some migrants, especially those who are undocumented, experience in their daily lives.

'Race' is everywhere and 'whiteness' nowhere. The visibility of 'whiteness' is embedded in its invisibility: in the subtle dehumanisation of an 'other', power hierarchies are established to ensure some people's 'rightfulness' to belong (as the condescending racism showed in Chapter 6). This research has shown that in a multicultural neighbourhood where social class is shared among residents, 'race' is what starts to matter the most, because it can produce difference and structure power hierarchies amidst a common low-income background. When the 'us' and the respective 'other' share a socioeconomic (and 'racial') background, every distinction produced matters. Thus, the legacy of slavery and colonialism is especially present at the urban margins. Whiteness is the aspired 'racial' ancestry for both Chileans and LAC migrants, reproducing the *mestizaje* logics (Moreno-Figueroa 2010, 2013). Being *mestizo* became sometimes a way of claiming 'whiteness'. Being 'white(r)' -but not reduced to that- would mean more privileges and embodied a more positive experience (see Moreno Figueroa and Rivers-Moore, 2013), especially in the case of LAC migrants in social context where 'whiteness' is highly valued (as in Chile).

While Chapter 6 showed how an 'imagined whiteness' is claimed on a daily basis in the city, Chapter 7 exposed in-depth how Chileans' discourses also become key

for sustaining the process of 'othering' by advocating distinctions that echo colonial representations. These imagined distinctions would distance them from their respective racialised 'other' in order to reclaim their 'whiteness' and assert a higher position in the field: Developed/undeveloped; civilised/uncivilised, educated/uneducated, moral/unmoral, human/non-fully human(objectified), where Afro-descendants would be at the bottom of the hierarchy. I add to these fictional dualisms or divisions the distinction clean/dirty, rooted in racist logics (Berthold 2010). Making 'race' became a powerful tool in their narratives, intrinsically linked with national identity, that entitled Chileans to feel they 'own' the neighbourhood.

Accordingly, this study also illustrates how identity emerges from the encounter with difference (Hall 1990): such an encounter has particularly allowed working-class Chileans to reassert their position and feel better-off amid a deeply unequal society. As much as they have an animadversion towards migrants, Chileans need LAC migrants to feel superior, and foremost, to achieve an 'imagined' social mobility and navigate their own everyday struggles. As Sharma (2015:116) claims,

> Citizens' and their 'migrant-others' go together: they are co-produced. Only by rejecting national citizenship as the basis of our connections to others. (…) can we open up the possibility of reclaiming our planet from capitalists and states and taking it back as our collective source of life.

However, the Chilean state's nationalism -which has been reinforced in the context of growing migrations- has made the possibility of underpinning a denationalised citizenship almost unreachable.

Furthermore, the exclusionary dynamics produced by Chileans to re-assert a sense of superiority are replicated at another level: former migrants also need newcomer migrants, especially from the Caribbean, in order to achieve a higher position in a divided society that excludes them, and as a way to navigate racism and hostile environments. However, in these emergent hierarchies of belonging traced in urban life, Afro-descendant migrants are the ones who experience a

radicalised triple exclusion for being migrants, negatively racialised as 'blacks' and (perceived) 'poor'.

I revealed that participants, especially Chileans, produce difference or make 'race' differently regarding the migrant perceived with more African descent and the ones with more indigenous descent. However, that does not necessarily follow the deep-seated division that separates 'race' and 'culture' (Wade 2010), whereby 'race' is only related to 'black' populations (alluding to a biologically-grounded version of 'race') and 'culture' to indigenous populations, the same way both groups were treated in colonial times by Spaniards. This study argues that contemporary racism becomes a much more complex process of distinction, in which both 'old racisms' of biological heredity and cultural racisms or 'neo-racisms', in Balibar's terms (1991), are entangled and/or juxtaposed in different ways. Hence, this research corroborated how such historical division is mistaken, as Wade (2010) asserted, since in contemporary racisms biologised notions of 'race' and essentialised notions of culture become increasingly blurred in relation to both (perceived) ancestries.

A remarkable contribution to racial studies in Latin America that this chapter foregrounded, has been to vividly demonstrate the complexities behind processes of racialisation that transcend the colour-line, analysing the role that the senses play in 'race'-making and exposing how 'race' is ingrained in our lived experiences to maintain social divisions in Chile. Unveiling these contemporary racial formations that also rely on sensorial approaches exposes the covert ways in which people grasp and produce difference to redefine and reassert their own racial identities that neglect the shared 'non-white' ancestry of LAC populations. Understanding whiteness as a social force (Blight 2019), allows us to comprehend how the racialisation of the ways of seeing and sensing has made whiteness historically constructed in relation to power and privilege. This chapter shows that such a colonial way of thinking and sensing has sustained power hierarchies across colonised countries. However, its main contribution is that we can fight against our ingrained racialised bias (Back 2002:37) by acknowledging how we produce difference in unconscious ways as inheritors of

colonialism. As the senses have been educated (Gilroy 2000) to make and grasp difference, it allows the possibility to re-educate our senses and unlearn such racial bias. Therefore, unravelling how processes of racialisation work in a multicultural Latin American and Caribbean context opens up a way to de-racialise identities and practices.

Although acknowledging its limitations, the richness of this ethnographic fieldwork makes this thesis a key contribution to sociological Latin American studies. By pulling together the literature on international migration and 'race' and racism studies, my aim was to create new theoretical advances to better understand the making of 'race' in Latin America and the Caribbean amid the growing human mobilities around the globe, and the consequential rising South-South migration. I not only uncover the implications of the relatively recent shifts in the migratory pattern of sending Latin American countries, especially with Trump's enforced border controls in the US -the usual main destination for LAC migrants-, but also shed light on the potential ways 'race' is made and redefined in other increasingly multicultural contexts in the postcolonial Global South.

Furthermore, theorising about contemporary racisms in the context of South-South migration in Latin American countries like Chile, becomes especially relevant considering many fellow Latin America-based scholars are more focused on producing empirical relevant research to make a direct impact rather than theoretical advances (Mu and Pereyra-Rojas 2015). One of my aims was to uncover racism and its impact on LAC migrants' lives, exposing the challenges of exclusion, and condemning the state racism and its historical rejection of the 'non-white' 'other'. I call for further actions to eliminate (or at least mitigate) racism, starting with the promotion of radical changes to immigration policies and legislation to mitigate the levels of uncertainty and ensure that migrants' human rights are met at all levels, independent of their immigration status, especially the least acknowledged right: the 'right to the city' (Harvey 2008). In such a pursuit, however, my goal was to offer new theoretical perspectives to a relevant and still underexplored phenomenon -racism within a South-South migratory context- through establishing dialogues between migration and racial

studies, but also including urban, de- and post-colonial studies, and cultural studies. Combining these relevant literatures with this rich ethnographic evidence in this particular social context has contributed to understanding the impact of human mobilities and the complexities that the making of 'race' entails in Latin America in the twenty-first century.

Although my main research question was about how 'race' is made in a South-South migratory context, I wanted to highlight that although racism and social exclusion were ever-present in migrants' everyday lives, there were also moments of conviviality in their everyday experiences, in which I saw solidarity and support, especially among migrants, and to a lesser extent between Chileans and migrants. As Back and Sinha (2016:523) argue, 'in midst of the ruins of racism – or what might be called the social damage of anti-immigrant times – an uneven but nonetheless vital convivial multiculture is also being made'. In that sense, as the authors assert, (2016:522), the notion of conviviality provides the possibility of an alternative understanding of culture based on people's everyday experiences instead of only focusing on their cultural origins.

Since the immigration status and the visa was an everyday conversation in the *neoconventillos* and the street market, migrants from every LAC country would share their experiences and support with strategies to others that were at the beginning of such journey. Some, especially Aisha (Haiti) would also share their experience as *coleros* to close friends, despite that would mean increasing competition. At La Vega, Chileans and migrants would let the other *coleros* know when the police were nearby, and all showed great solidarity. Such a support and solidarity in sharing their strategies were key in building trustful relations of cooperation among migrants, where moments of conviviality emerged. In effect, I say moments because such solidarity broke with Piñera's administration, that would make some of the same group that had established friendships, would start making barriers against others, as the case of Jacinta (Peru) and Aisha (Haiti).

After I met Mirlande (Haiti), she introduced me to a Chilean woman, Jessica, that had a non-profit organisation based in her house, where the Spanish course was

given. She was very involved in supporting and helping migrants from the neighbourhood, giving valuable advice and her friendship. Another example was a couple of Chilean *coleros*, who despite had some racist opinions about negatively racialised migrants, they would offer commission to some of them depending on how much they helped to sell their products. And the last case I wanted to mention is a sixty-year-old Chilean man that almost every day would entertain a participants' baby daughter (see Figure 44). While we wait for the rules to change, boundaries of belonging may begin to blur in everyday urban encounters.

Figure 44. A Chilean man watches and make a participant's daughter laugh, while she works at La Vega.

Directions for future research

Before ending and returning to the lives of my participants today, I want to point out some of the potential new areas of research that emerge out of the findings of this ethnography. These can be summarised in six interesting areas for future research: first, exploring citizenship practices; second, comparatively examining racism according to social class; third, comparing migratory contexts in Global South cities; forth, exploring the role of the media; fifth, analysis more in-depth

the relationship between gender and the processes of racialisation in Chile, and finally, exploring racism at the Chilean northern borders.

This study offers insights into how urban spaces are increasingly contested in the everyday by migrants to claim their 'right to the city'. Nonetheless, further research becomes key to in-depth exploration of other emergent citizenship practices beyond the nationally-based and formalised understanding of citizenship; or to what extent a 'denationalised' kind of citizenship (Sassen 2005) is claimed. For instance, exploring how migrants' relationship to different communities, social/civil organisations, or their participation in local governments, national politics or activist networks, emerge as part of the way they claim the 'right to the city' -often delimited by the state and society.

Even though I signalled the relevance of social class in the way racism works (see Chapter 6), this study has fallen short in how social class impacts the levels of racism and the kinds of everyday racisms performed. Future research on the relationship between social class and people's perceptions on 'race' becomes key as well as local nationals' perceptions on LAC migrants through a comparative approach between different socioeconomic backgrounds contexts. A comparative approach among migratory contexts in different multicultural cities in the Global South will also constitute a valuable subject to research in order to comprehend the similarities and differences of 'race'-making in different local contexts, especially in Latin American countries.

This study revealed the key role that the media play in shaping local people's perceptions and/or reinforcing racialised representations of migratory groups, especially in the case of Haitians. It would be interesting to explore therefore the role of Chilean media in the contemporary representations of migrants, and how they have (or not) reinforced racisms locally.

A key aspect that requires further analysis is the relationship between gender and the processes of racialisation, exploring the intersectionality of 'race' and gender in multicultural neighbourhoods. While I considered the gender

dimension in the way 'race' was made, particularly in my research strategy, research practice, and in my analysis in Chapter 4, this was one of the limitations of this study. Since I sought to understand how 'race' is made in Chile in general terms, yet considering the gender differences that appeared, a more in-depth analysis of the gendered dimension that this research revealed is much needed.

Although in Chapter 3 I analysed state racism and its boundaries to migrant belonging, new amendments to immigration policies emerged after I finished my fieldwork. Accordingly, the final aspect that needs further examination is the situation of LAC migrants at the borders and how 'race' is made in such a precarious social context that places migrants in an uncertain 'in-betweenness' (Bhabha 1996). The government established a consular visa for Venezuelans in June 2019 (Ministry of Interior 2019) amid the so-called 'humanitarian crises' (SJM, 2019), dramatically changing the way Chile approached them. These migratory groups were described as having a different pattern, considered more vulnerable than previous Venezuelan migrants (SJM 2019). Although the Democratic Responsibility Visa favoured this group in 2018, the applications surpassed what the government was willing to offer. As a case in point, the government only granted 28% of the requests from Venezuelans between April 2018-June 2019 (SJM, 2019). Accordingly, the rejections at the border increased as did the number of Venezuelans crossing through irregular paths since early 2019 (SJM, 2019). At the Chilean northern border migrants have established precarious camps in between Chile and Peru. Neither country has offered a concrete solution. In late June, 400 Venezuelans were stranded at the Chacalluta border crossing (SJM 2019). Such precarious conditions have placed Venezuelans in vulnerable positions: they are more exposed to become victims of human trafficking (as has been the case of undocumented Dominicans) and many have reported bad treatment from the police, repeated ID controls and have been forced to hop on buses back to Peru (SJM 2019). Several cases of human rights violation emerge every day and are broadcasted by the media. Such a dramatic situation urgently needs to be researched, as racism finds different ways to manifest in these changing and unpredictable political scenarios -

something that this study has clearly revealed. The fight against racism continues beyond the reach of this thesis.

La Chimba today

Today migrants' lives remain unchanged although they have negotiated successfully past struggles. Other struggles have resurfaced in the new challenges they still need to navigate. Aisha (Haiti) keeps fighting to 'get by' as a street vendor while her daughter finally goes to the nursery. She still hopes the *definitiva* will come through this time. Mirlande (Haiti) finally got the *definitiva* in late 2019 but she still has to endure an abusive racist employer until she finds another formal job that gives her economic stability. A job-contract has not ensured a fair treatment and racism is still a big issue she has to negotiate: she is still trapped in the racialised spiral of uncertainty, seeking a change. She left the *neoconventillo* to live in a rented house, much farther from the city centre. Mirlande and Aisha are no longer friends.

Mercedes (Bolivia) left Chile a while ago, and Karina is still trying to leave the *neoconventillo* where she lives to start a better life in Argentina. After Pablo (Dominican Republic) had a fight with his colleague, he left Santiago and nobody knows where he went. His undocumented status leaves him in a challenging position. James (Haiti) does not teach Spanish anymore, and the community that emerged around discussions about everyday struggles vanished. Marisela (Colombia), Samentha, Aisha, Frantz and Evens (Haiti) still live in the same *neoconventillo.* They, like many others, are waiting for the rules to change. While they wait, everyday racisms do not cease, and they still need to navigate boundaries of belonging in a society that excludes them. They are thinking about leaving Chile for good. For now, however, they still live in a territory continuously 'marked' by local nationals and former migrants. As Aisha claims at the beginning, they came to '*dar la lucha'* (fight)*,* and many like her, are still fighting on the other side of the river.

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Appendices

Appendix I. Informed Consent[77] (translated into English).

INFORMED CONSENT TO TAKE PHOTOGRAPHS

You have been invited to participate in a research project about migrants in Chile, as part of a doctoral thesis based on an urban ethnography in the municipality of Recoleta. This investigation is conducted by sociologist Macarena Bonhomme, doctoral candidate in Sociology from Goldsmiths, University of London. The study consists of analysing and documenting experiences of migrants in Santiago to understand their everyday lives, the urban space where they live and other places they frequent. Your participation, which would involve taking photographs of you and your family (including children under 18 years old), is free and entirely voluntary. Although you will not receive direct benefits as a result of your participation, your participation is fundamental to contribute to greater understanding about how migrant women and men live today in Santiago, and the difficulties they face. All information given during your participation will be confidential.

The photographs obtained under this consent may only be used for scientific and academic purposes. Specifically, photographs will be selected for exhibits related to the doctoral thesis and for the book to be published upon completion of doctorate study. They will also be used to participate in photography competitions. In addition, they will be shown in photography exhibitions in London and Santiago, in which case participants will be informed of these events.

If you need more information or have any doubt, please contact Macarena Bonhomme at phone numbers +56990203011, +447903593283 (Whatsapp), or at m.bonhomme@gold.ac.uk.

I agree to participate in this study. ❐
I authorise the use of photographs of me and/or other family members (including children). ❐

_____   _____

Name of Participant   **Signature**

_____   _____

Name of Researcher   **Signature**

                                                                                    _____

                                                                                               Date

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[77] I have oral informed consents from interviewees, in which I read the first paragraph above and ensured anonymity, but in the case of photographs, they signed this written informed consent.

Appendix II. Types of Visa (1975 Decree Law)

Tourist: Foreigners that enter for recreational, health, studies, business, family, religious or sport purposes, with no intention of residency or to work in the country.

Work Contract Visa (*Visa Sujeta a Contrato*): It is issued for a 2-year period and requires that the migrant have the same employer for the duration. It expires if either party terminates the contract. Should this occur, migrants have 30 days to find a new contract with a new employer.

Student Visa: Foreigners are permitted to enter to study in a private or public educational establishment recognised by the state, but they are not allowed to work.

Temporary Visa: Issued to foreigners with the purpose of family reunification, or establishing business interests in Chile, as deemed useful and convenient for the country. It allows foreigners to engage in any activity, and it lasts a year, renewable for 2 years, after which they can apply for a Permanent Visa. This visa also contemplates the Visa with Chilean Linkage (family ties with a Chilean national), yet beneficiaries must have sufficient economic resources to stay in the country and not become a charge for the State, as this research corroborated.

Official: Diplomatic and consular representatives accredited by the government and international organisations; visa with work permit.

Asylum and Political Refuge (*De Asilo y Refugio Politico*): Issued to protect foreigners in danger due to political circumstances in their country; through a Chilean diplomatic mission. Visa with work permit.

Permanent Resident Visa: For foreigners who will reside indefinitely in the country and are permitted to engage in any activity.

For more information about the different types of visa see: https://www.extranjeria.gob.cl/vivir-en-chile/visa-temporaria/

Appendix III. President Sebastián Piñera Facebook Live discourse

Spanish version. 10/04/2018, 13:05 minutes.

Tenemos que ordenar la casa. Por eso nos conectamos con ustedes para tener una conversación franca sobre migración y resolver sus inquietudes del proyecto que presentamos ayer. ¡Acompáñenme!

Nueva ley de migraciones para Chile. Por una razón muy simple: la casa estaba muy desordenada y era urgente y necesario ordenar nuestra casa en materia de política de migraciones. La ley que tenemos hoy día está totalmente obsoleta, es del año '75, cuando prácticamente no había migración en Chile. Y en los últimos tiempos, hemos tenido un crecimiento exponencial de la migración. Por ejemplo, hace solo cuatro años atrás habían 400.000 extranjeros en Chile. Hoy día tenemos más de un millón cien mil. Y casi un tercio de los extranjeros en Chile están en forma irregular. Por esto producimos una moderna legislación. Para tener una política migratoria segura, ordenada y legal. Y a eso apunta la propuesta que hicimos ayer. Ahora, yo sé que hay muchas preguntas, y por eso hemos querido tener esto Facebook Live: para responder preguntas.
Por ejemplo, aquí estoy viendo algunas.

"Ya no reciba más inmigrantes, estamos plagados de ellos" (lee comentarios del Facebook).
Bueno, Chile siempre ha sido un país abierto y acogedor con la migración, eso es parte de nuestra riqueza: la diversidad es parte de nuestro patrimonio. Pero tiene que ser hecho en forma legal, ordenada, regular. Por eso nuestro norte y orientación es muy simple: queremos abrir las puertas de Chile a aquellas personas que vienen a cumplir nuestras leyes, a integrarse a nuestra sociedad, a aportar a nuestro desarrollo. Pero queremos cerrar nuestras fronteras a los que pretenden ingresar en forma ilegal, o que vienen a causarnos daños: delincuentes, narcotraficantes... estas personas, no los queremos en nuestro país. Y a esto apunta la nueva ley de migración.

Una pregunta: "¿Porque tenemos inmigrantes que están forzados a competir por los trabajos de menor calidad y bajar los sueldos de los chilenos?" (lee comentarios del Facebook).
Esto es parte del problema. Cuando hay inmigración ilegal, cuando tenemos más de 300 mil extranjeros en situación irregular, naturalmente que eso puede provocarles un daño a muchos chilenos, porque produce problemas en el tema laboral, el tema de vivienda, en el tema de salud... incluso en el tema de la seguridad ciudadana. Por esto que queremos hacer que la migración a Chile sea ordenada, legal y segura. Por esta razón decidimos, por ejemplo, les voy a mostrar algunas cifras.

Esta grafica muestra cómo ha evolucionado el número de migrantes en Chile. Usted se da cuenta que pasamos de 400 mil a un millón cien mil en cuatro años. Y por lo tanto, no podíamos seguir con una situación en que muchos de los inmigrantes que venían a Chile lo hacían pretendiendo que venían como turistas. Pero no eran turistas, venían a quedarse. Y por tanto, no estaban respetando nuestra legislación. La ley actual establece una migración ordenada, legal y regular. ¿Para qué? Para permitir que lleguen a Chile las personas que vienen a aportar a nuestra sociedad e impedir que vengan a Chile los que vienen a causarnos daño.

En algunos casos, vamos a pedir la visa en el país de origen. Esto lo vamos a hacer con todos aquellos países en que el número de migrantes que entraba sin visa no cumplía con nuestras leyes, porque en lugar de venir como turista, se quedaban como pretendiendo ser residentes. Y por eso vamos a pedir la visa en el país de origen. Este es el caso, por ejemplo, de Haití y de Venezuela. En el caso de Haití, vamos a ver una excepción, porque hay muchas familias que están ya en Chile que tienen hijos, padres o esposas en Haití. Y por tanto hay una visa especial, humanitaria, de reunificación familiar. Y en el caso de Venezuela, por la grave situación de falta de libertad, de falta de democracia y de falta de respeto por los derechos humanos que viven en Venezuela, nos lleva a tener una visa de responsabilidad democrática. Y por tanto, aquí estamos combinando el interés de Chile, y todo país tiene derecho a regular la forma en que ingresan los extranjeros a Chile, y la forma en que deben comportarse en nuestro país. Los inmigrantes tienen derechos, pero también tienen obligaciones.

Veo otra pregunta: "¿porque el Estado irá a gastar sus recursos en ayudar ciudadanos extranjeros?" (lee comentarios del Facebook).
Bueno. Nunca nos olvidemos que también hay chilenos que viven en el extranjero. Y por lo tanto, por una razón democrática y humanitaria, queremos que los extranjeros que vienen a Chile y que entren en forma legal, cumpliendo nuestras leyes, puedan tener los mismos derechos y obligaciones en forma gradual. Por eso la ley plantea que, cuando un extranjero viene a Chile, gradualmente en el tiempo va a ir avanzando hacia una mayor igualdad de derechos y obligaciones hasta poder llegar a la residencia definitiva o incluso pedir la nacionalidad. Los que queremos evitar son las personas que entran ilegalmente, que no respetan nuestras leyes, que llegan a nuestro país no a aportar, ni a integrarse, sino que a producir problemas, daños, e incluso cometer delitos. Luego el principio es simple: abrir las puertas a los que le hacen bien a Chile, y cerrar nuestras fronteras a los que nos causan daño. Por esto vamos a fortalecer la frontera norte, porque por ahí están ingresando muchas personas en forma ilegal. Y si detectamos a una persona ingresando a Chile en forma ilegal, lo vamos a poner inmediatamente en la frontera. Esa es el espíritu de la nueva ley de migraciones.

"Ahora tendremos una cantidad de venezolanos increíble" (lee comentarios del Facebook).

No es así. Porque los venezolanos que quieran venir a Chile van a tener que pedir visa en Venezuela. Sin embargo, considerando la especial situación que vive Venezuela, donde tenemos un país sin libertades, sin democracia, sin estado de derecho... y también recordando que Venezuela acogió a muchos chilenos en tiempos difíciles en nuestro país, vamos a tener una visa especial que se llama "de responsabilidad democrática". Pero lo vamos a hacer con un marco regulado, seguro, ordenado, dentro de la ley y no afuera de la ley como hasta hoy día.

"En el norte, en Antofagasta, se ha convertido en un tráfico de droga y prostitución". (lee comentarios del Facebook).

Es verdad. Ahí tenemos un grave problema porque están entrando a Chile muchas personas, que tienen antecedentes penales, que han cometido delitos en su país de origen. Por ejemplo, en el caso de Colombia, donde tenemos la Alianza del Pacifico, tenemos un acuerdo de intercambiar informaciones policiales. Y por tanto vamos a aplicar este acuerdo, que lo estamos implementando ahora. Para que antes que una persona ingrese a nuestro país, vamos a verificar si ha cometido delitos, si tiene antecedentes penales en su propio país. Y si los tiene, no lo vamos a dejar entrar. Y si entra a Chile en forma ilegal, lo vamos a poner en la frontera. Y si comete delitos en Chile, nunca va a poder ser un ciudadano regular en nuestro país. Por eso el proceso de acogimiento a los inmigrantes que vienen a chile está basado en que vengan a aportar, a respetar nuestras leyes, a contribuir a nuestro desarrollo, a integrarse a nuestra sociedad. No como ocurre en muchos casos hoy día que vienen a incumplir nuestras leyes, a cometer delitos y a causarle daños a los chilenos. Eso lo vamos a evitar.

"¿Que harán con los delincuentes extranjeros?" (lee comentarios del Facebook).

Muy simple. Si una persona ingresa a nuestro país cometiendo un delito al no respetar nuestra ley de inmigración entrando en forma ilegal, lo vamos a poner en la frontera. Si una persona comete un delito adentro de Chile, va a tener que enfrentar la justicia. Porque lo que queremos es que en Chile las familias puedan vivir con más paz, con más tranquilidad, con más seguridad. Y combatir al delito, a la delincuencia, al terrorismo, y al narcotráfico, con toda la fuerza de la voluntad y con todo el rigor de la ley. Independientemente si quien comete el delito es chileno o es extranjero. Lo vamos a perseguir y le vamos a aplicar la ley.

"Millones de personas viven con menos de dos dólares diarios. ¿No será mejor enviarles ayuda a sus propios países y no traerlos a engrosar la pobreza en Chile?". (lee comentarios del Facebook). Pregunta una persona.

Bueno, es verdad. Por eso, una parte esencial de nuestro programa de gobierno es recuperar la capacidad de crecer, de crear empleos, de mejorar los salarios, de mejorar las pensiones, de mejorar la calidad de la atención de salud y de la

educación, de combatir la delincuencia. Esas son las prioridades de los chilenos. Estas son las cosas que inquietan y angustian a muchos chilenos. Y estas prioridades de nuestros compatriotas son las prioridades de nuestro gobierno. Y por tanto vamos a hacer, y estamos haciendo, un esfuerzo inmenso por lograr que Chile vuelva a recuperar el liderazgo y el dinamismo. Que vuelva a crecer, a que se creen muchos y buenos empleos, que mejoren los salarios, que mejoren las pensiones. A terminar con la lista de espera en la salud, a mejorar la calidad de la educación que reciben nuestros niños, a hacer retroceder la delincuencia y el narcotráfico. Con un solo propósito: que usted y su familia puedan tener una vida más plena, más feliz, con más tranquilidad, con más seguridad.

Tenemos muchas, muchas preguntas. Pero les quiero contar el espíritu de esta ley. No podemos permitir que sigan ingresando a Chile, en cantidades de cientos de miles, personas que empiezan no respetando nuestra ley de migración. Porque vienen pretendiendo ser turistas y no son turistas, y muchas veces son abusados y explotados por verdaderas bandas y mafias de trata de personas, que les prometen el oro y el moro en sus respectivos países, los traen a Chile y aquí los abandonan. Por eso decidimos cambiar la ley de migración. Y a partir de hoy día Chile tiene una ley moderna, que satisface todos los estándares y criterios de derechos humanos y los tratados internacionales que Chile ha firmado. Pero que parte por pedir una cosa básica: el que quiera venir a Chile, tiene que partir por respetar nuestras leyes. Tiene que cumplir con nuestra política migratoria. Porque así va a ser un aporte. Pero hay más: no solamente se trata que vengan a Chile los que quieran venir a Chile, también Chile puede tener una política proactiva en materia de migración. Y por eso hemos establecido una promoción especial para que vengan a Chile personas con alto nivel de calificación. Personas con doctorados, científicos con notados, médicos especialistas, porque estas personas son necesarias a nuestro país. Acabamos de saber, por ejemplo, que el déficit de médicos especialistas que proyectamos llega a más de siete mil médicos, especialistas y generales. No vamos a poder formar estos médicos en Chile con la rapidez que queremos. Pero sí podemos traer buenos médicos, que hayan egresado de buenas universidades, que vengan a mejorar la calidad de la salud y la oportunidad de los servicios de salud que recibe usted y su familia.

Bueno, hemos podido contestar a algunas preguntas de la ley de migración. Pero yo les aseguro, que a partir de la aplicación de esta ley y las medidas administrativas que hemos tomado, la inmigración en Chile va a ser una migración mucho más moderna, que va a reconocer los derechos, pero también los deberes de los inmigrantes, y que no va a permitir que sigan entrando a Chile personas que vienen solamente a causarnos daños: narcotraficantes, terroristas, delincuentes… no los queremos en Chile. Y por eso vamos a fortalecer nuestras fronteras: para proteger mejor la calidad de vida, la paz, la seguridad de todos los que vivimos en este país. Esto va a beneficiar no solamente a los chilenos, también va a beneficiar a los migrantes que están ya en Chile y que han venido a

formar una nueva vida, a cumplir sus sueños, a integrarse a nuestra sociedad, a aportar a nuestro desarrollo.

Por eso insisto: Chile va a seguir siendo un país abierto y acogedor, con los migrantes que cumplen con nuestra ley y que vienen a aportar. Pero no vamos a ser ingenuos, y vamos a cerrar las puertas a todos aquellos que solo vienen a incumplir nuestras leyes o a causarle daños a nuestros compatriotas. Muchas gracias.

Appendix IV. Complementary Table

Housing by overcrowding index[78]

Urban Area	Number of houses	Houses non-overcrowded (less than 2,5 people per room)	Houses overcrowded (2,5-5 people per room)	Houses critically overcrowded (over 5 people per room)	Houses with ignored overcrowding (overcrowding not reported)
Metropolitan Region	2,087,797	1,854,779 (88.84%)	139,494 (6.68%)	20,893 (1%)	72,631 (3.48%)
Santiago	163,947	140769 (85.86%)	12,857 (7.84%)	4,547 (2.77%)	5,774 (3.52%)
Recoleta	46,615	38,455 (82.49%)	4,724 **(10.13%)**	1,415 **(3.04%)**	2,021 (4.34%)

Source: Elaborated by author. Census 2017 http://www.observatoriourbano.cl/estadisticas-habitacionales/

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[78] Considering quintile I (first 20% per capita income) which is equivalent to approx. $0-302,797 Chilean pesos (£302), quintile 2, equivalent to approx. 302,797-491,649 Chilean pesos (£491), according to the data provided by Ministerio Desarrollo Social, CASEN 2017 http://observatorio.ministeriodesarrollosocial.gob.cl/casenmultidimensional/casen/docs/Resultados_ingresos_Casen_2017.pdf)

Percentage calculated from the tables provided by Observatorio Ciudadano from CASEN 2017 data http://www.observatoriourbano.cl/estadisticas-habitacionales/