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Us and them: the challenges of Haitian immigration in Chile

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The influx of immigrants from Latin America and the Caribbean– a wave that has been gaining momentum since the 1990s – is characteristic of Chile as a land of South-South immigration. The earthquake which hit Haiti in 2010, combined with the precarious position of the country's economy and institutions, sparked and accelerated this flow of migration towards Chile, heating up the debate around the migrants' adaptation and integration and the capacity of the host country to generate effective public policies. The reactions of the local community to Haitians make it possible to calibrate a series of processes linked to locals' perception of both their own identity and that of the incomers. This is a community of Afro-Caribbean, non-Spanish-speaking immigrants who are arriving in a country that does not have a significant, personal local history of African slavery. Moreover, Chileans have traditionally seen themselves as an ethnically homogeneous people, with a culture whose roots are predominantly Hispanic and European and the recognition of whose indigenous aspects is controversial.

This article analyses Haitian immigration to Chile as a new factor that problematises discourses about the local population's identity and how they perceive their own idiosyncratic characteristics with regard to aspects such as cultural differences, racism, social and cultural segregation, sexual myths, solidarity, phenotypical differences and aesthetic patterns. These perceptions appear to fluctuate between positive and negative evaluations which necessitate a re-examination of traditional categories of local identity.

Key words: *Haitian migration, national identity, identity discourse, racism, racialisation, ethnicisation*

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I. CHARACTERISATION OF HAITIAN MIGRATION TO CHILE

Poverty and the political and institutional crisis in Haiti have caused general and ungovernable inefficiency, both in the country's government and in interventions by the international community. The necessary, slow process of recovery could take decades. In the midst of this crisis, the earthquake that hit Port-au-Prince on 12 January 2010 caused devastation in the capital city and brought about a general collapse across the country (Pinheiro da Silva, 2017). The earthquake left more than 200,000 people dead and at least two million internally displaced, and triggered new waves of migration along the traditional route for Haitian emigration: towards South America (IPPDH, 2017).

Various authors (Cejas Cárdenas, 2014; Nieto, 2014; Handerson, 2015) have characterised Haitian migration as diasporic and historical, beginning at the end of the nineteenth century and traditionally including as its primary destinations the United States, Canada, France, the Dominican Republic and the French Caribbean (IPPDH, 2017). However, the 2010 earthquake generated a new pattern of migration, with migrants now being prepared to accept greater risks and costs in their journey along new routes and displaying a certain rationale of survival (Pinheiro da Silva, 2017). These people travelled to new destination cities such as São Paulo, Santiago de Chile and Buenos Aires and had expectations of economic well-being, stability, safety and a realistic chance of earning a regular income (Rojas, Amode & Vásquez, 2015). Since 2014, the flow of migration, primarily to Brazil and Chile and to a lesser extent to Argentina, has evinced different characteristics from those seen between 2010 and 2014, as it consists in large part of family members of migrants who are already settled in the destination countries:

which will accelerate the predicted incipient institutional dynamics regarding family reunification, family integration and the slow feminisation of Haitian migration.It is also diversifying the social, economic and geographical origin of the new migrants, consequently multiplying migrant smuggling networks (IPPDH, 2017: 41).

A key challenge for these migrants' destination countries is the question of how to define the legislation that applies to different immigration categories: are they migrants, or are they refugees? In practice, both the categories laid out in the 1951 Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees and those of the 1967 Protocol and the 1984 Cartagena Declaration on Refugees make refugee status conditional on persons being displaced whilst

retaining a link with a well-founded fear of danger to life, safety or liberty; the serious circumstances which threaten the public order must also be caused by human acts and not by natural disasters (IPPDH, 2017).[1]

In the 1990s, Chile began its transformation into a magnet for multiple distinct migration flows. The percentage of immigrants among the population as a whole went from 0.4% in 1982 to 2.3% in 2014 (DEM, 2016). The majority of these migrants came from South America (Peru, Argentina, Bolivia, Ecuador, Colombia, Cuba),with these countries representing 75.8% of migration in 2016.[2] Haitian migration was insignificant during the first few years of this migration, amounting to just 0.4% in 2014. Nonetheless, the influx of Haitians has increased since 2010 and has risen substantially in recent years.[3] It is estimated that there are approximately 470,000 permanent migrants living in Chile, which would make up 2.7% of the national population (CASEN, 2015, cited by OIT, 2016). Although this percentage is low compared with the average number of migrants living in developed countries (11.3%, according to the 2015 figures published by the UN's Population Division), there is a strong upward trend: the percentage of migrants in the Chilean national population has quadrupled in the last 30 years (OIT, 2016).

As most Haitian immigrants enter Chile through Santiago's international airport, they represent a small percentage of both clandestine entrants and those with irregularities in their immigration status. In addition – contrary to assumptions about the reasons behind their migration – they represent a minute percentage of refugees (IPPDH, 2017), given that 42.9% arrive with a visa subject to a contract of employment and 54.5% hold temporary permits, according to the Chilean Aliens and Migration Department's records for 2005-2014 (Rojas, Amode & Vásquez, 2015).[4]

There have been three phases of Haitian migration in Chile.Migration before the earthquake of 2010 was primarily motivated by young people coming to Chile to study, as the political crisis prevented them from continuing their studies in Haiti. The majority of these people are now professionals working in their respective fields. The migration which occurred after the earthquake was primarily motivated by issues of safety and a need for employment. This group has settled in Chile fairly easily, with the help of local organisations. The third wave of migration, involving younger migrants who have greater difficulty entering the labour market, began at the end of 2014 and is still ongoing. This wave is made up partly of people reuniting with family members, and partly of Haitians who follow the migratory trend towards Chile to explore their options there, but who are often both emotionally and economically unprepared and have less social capital, experience and mobility (IPPDH, 2017).

From a transnational perspective, the construction of an imaginary view of migration helps us understand the background to and the motivations of migration; that is, the perceptions the potential emigrants have formed of their country of origin and of their destination, rather than the objective features of those places. The imaginary migration:

[1] Both the 1951 Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees and the 1967 Protocol state that the term 'refugee' applies to any person who: 'owing to well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality and is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country; or who, not having a nationality and being outside the country of his former habitual residence as a result of such events, is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to return to it' (Art. 1.A.2).
According to the 1984 Cartagena Declaration on Refugees, the definition should also include 'persons who have fled their country because their lives, safety or freedom have been threatened by generalized violence, foreign aggression, internal conflicts, massive violation of human rights or other circumstances which have seriously disturbed public order.' As the *Regional Diagnostic on Haitian Migration* (*Diagnóstico regional sobre migración haitiana*) states, 'these final predictions, which may be considered to apply to the context from which Haitians emigrate, have however been interpreted in the sense that they must retain a link with a well-founded fear of threat to life, safety or liberty (ACNUR, 2005). On the other hand, it is also understood that the serious circumstances which threaten public order must have been caused by human acts and not by natural disasters' (IPPDH, 2017: 26).

[2] 'In Chile, migration is distinctly regional: three in four migrants living in the country are from other South American countries, with the principal countries of origin of the migrants being: Peru (31.7% of migrants resident in Chile), Argentina (16.3%), Bolivia (8.8%), Colombia (6.1%) and Ecuador (4.7%)' (OIT, 2016:4).

[3] In 2010, 697 temporary visas were issued to Haitian immigrants; by 2015 that figure had reached 8,888 (DEM, 2016).

[4] According to official data from the Chilean Aliens and Migration Department, approximately 9,000 temporary residence visas were issued to Haitian immigrants in 2015, representing an increase of 144% on the number issued in 2014 (Rojas & Silva, 2016). The types of visa issued to Haitian immigrants between 2010 and 2017 were as follows: subject to contract: 9.8%; student visa: 0.4%; temporary visa: 89.8% (DEM, 2018).

'would be formed by the representation of migration that they create in relation to those elements which identify a group, whether that group be the migrants themselves or local individuals, uniting them in relation to what they communicate and what they conceal about the migration process' (Aliaga, 2012: 4).

Various studies have shown that Haitian immigrants have a low level of knowledge about Chile and highlighted their association of Chile with a safe country that is more developed than Haiti; a more accessible country, from a migratory point of view, than the United States, Canada or France; a less racist country than the United States or the Dominican Republic, with a better economic situation than Brazil (DEM, 2016); a country with better political and social security; a country with support networks among their fellow countrymen which make it easier for migrants to settle in and enter the labour market (Valenzuela *et al*., 2014).

One study of the reasons why Haitian migrants should consider Chile an attractive country revealed certain imaginary migrations based on two factors: proximity (geographical, spatial, and with the possibility and frequency of travel there) and closeness (cultural, idiomatic and historical) that could establish Chile's position as opposed to other aspects of migration (DEM, 2016: 7).

The arrival of Haitian migrants in both the region as a whole and Chile in particular highlighted existing tensions and the absence of policy instruments and policies capable of responding to such a situation (IPPDH, 2017). In the case of Chile, this migration breaks down to 68.3% men and 31.7% women, with 97% being concentrated in Santiago de Chile and the remainder in the regions of Valparaíso (1.4%) and Coquimbo (0.7%), although there has been a trend towards internal geographical dispersion in the last four years. This population segment is primarily young, with 88.5% being aged between 15 and 44 (DEM, 2018).[5] The main settlement areas in the Santiago Metropolitan Region are the districts of Quilicura, Independencia and Estación Central, although this area has recently begun to expand to include other municipalities such as San Bernardo and Santiago (IPPDH, 2017). On the other hand, more than half of the Haitians who have come to Chile had no direct family network waiting for them (Ibid.).

According to the latest available official figures at a local level, on 31 December 2018 there were a total of 1,251,252 immigrants in Chile, making up 6.6% of the total national population. 179,338 of these immigrants were Haitians, representing 14.3% of the immigrant population in the country and 0.94% of the total population (INE/DEM, 2019).

Haitians do not need a visa to enter Chile, although when they reach the border they must prove that they have sufficient financial resources to pay for their needs (for tourists, for the expected duration of their stay) and accommodation (IPPDH, 2017). In Chile, the policy that regulates the entry, residence and departure of foreign nationals derives from legislation passed in 1975.[6] The limitations of that legislation have demonstrated the urgency of finding a new regulatory framework, which has been debated in the Chilean parliament since 2013, and have led to various measures aimed at creating a national migration policy.

Multiple studies have revealed both Haitians' peculiar preoccupation with complying with immigration regulations and the legal obligations placed on immigrant workers (Valenzuela *et al*., 2014) and the idea, common among national and municipal officials and leaders of civil society organisations, that there is a compulsive strategy that aims to use current policies and regulations to regularise migration status (IPPDH, 2017).

The level of employment among Haitian immigrants is high, although that employment is primarily concentrated in specialised and non-specialised occupations. According to data from a socioeconomic survey carried out in 2015 by the Ministry of Social Development, 81.4% of the migrant population aged over 15 was in employment, while employment among Chilean workers in the same age bracket was 77.5% (IPPDH, 2017).

In spite of efforts to craft an institutional response to the phenomenon of migration in general and Haitian migration in particular, several critical areas remain, such as access to accommodation; the precarious state of housing conditions; the absence of a treaty between Haiti and Chile governing the recognition of academic and professional qualifications, whether from secondary school or university, the lack of which causes Haitian professionals to be disqualified from work or have their skills undervalued (IPPDH, 2017); a 'tolerance threshold' which is especially visible among Haitians when it comes to discrimination; the fact that the search for work is accompanied by persistent difficulties and tends to be confused and informal and to lead to precarious or short-term jobs; evidence of migration-related stress associated with displacement; the language barrier; and the fact that the integration of Haitian migrants in Chile has taken place almost exclusively on an economic level, with little intercultural inclusion, and against the precarious backdrop of a fundamentally transient existence (DEM, 2016; Sánchez *et al*., 2018; Razmilic, 2019).

[5] Calculated based on the total number of visas issued between 2010 and 2017 (DEM, 2018).
[6] Decreto Ley [Legislative Decree] 1.094 (1975).

II. HISTORICAL INCLUSION-EXCLUSION PROCESSES IN THE IDENTITY NARRATIVE IN CHILE: A LAND OF WHITE PEOPLE

The genealogy of Chile's identity discourses has much in common with the Latin American context, whilst at the same time incorporating distinct and contrasting elements. The black element has not been permanently erased from this genealogy.

2.1 The ethnogenesis of the national identity: from denying the indigenous to its ethnicised inclusion

In a modern context, the issue of national identity in Latin America is in fact the result of a more or less successful process that was set in motion by the elites of the nascent republics which were formed during the emancipation of the former colonies of Spain and Portugal. In and around the 1820s, most of the former Latin American colonies, a majority of which were presidential republics, began to shape their institutional and constitutional structures based on the doctrines of political philosophy that emerged from the French and American revolutions. They took this path in the firm belief that the nation state was the heuristic and ontological foundation of the new republics.[7] To achieve this end, the state had to be endowed with the necessary powers of economic and political administration and territorial control; but first, the nation had to be created. During what can be seen as the foundational era (1810-1870), the discourse of independence in Latin America established a link between the temporal fall of the monarchy and republican ideas of progress. All nations need a narrative of time, in which their ancestral roots are passed on in memory and a project for the future is created that sows cohesion and gives the collective meaning, whilst at the same time attributing transcendence to the nation itself. There appears to have been an explicit allusion to a causal relationship between the rise of the nation and the process of independence, which in the discourse of the local Latin American elites rested on four assumptions: [a] that the potential for the aspirations and ideology of independence had already entered the popular consciousness before the crisis triggered by Napoleon's invasion of Spain in 1808 and the subsequent movement towards government by junta in the colonies; [b] that the nation-forming process was of long standing, ancient, and rooted in the 'national' (local) population; [c] that the nation had emerged as a collective phenomenon of local society as a whole; and [d] that the foundation of the independent republic was not only a necessary phenomenon, but an inevitable one (Daza, 1999; Isla, 2017). This justification enabled the ancestral, republican nation to emerge as the vicarious image of a monarch, based on reasoning that overlooked the irrefutable fact that colonial thought had essentially been anti-nationalist (Anderson, 1993).

Over the course of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, the discourse surrounding the nation in Latin America passed through a dynamic and often controversial canon of national ethnogenesis. Who was the 'we' in the official history of the nation? Who would embody the face and phenotype of the people of that nation? There are at least five identifiable shared mechanisms in this discursive construct in Latin America, which together form a historical network. The first is the configuration of a foundational nucleus of local elites of European descent (whether real or imagined), who were the builders of the national order, heirs to the founding fathers and bearers of responsibility for the defence and direction of the national *soul*, a process which took place during the foundational era. Secondly, the symbolic inclusion of indigenous people as a native, telluric group of humans – which took place at the same time and was based on an ontological need for an origin story – both satisfied the discursive necessity of a natural sense of belonging to the land and provided a handy reference point in the game of 'us' versus the 'other' (the cruel Spanish invader). In this way, indigenous people were transformed into the bearers of telluric ancestry, an epic construction that had almost nothing in common with the reality of life for contemporary indigenous people. Two further mechanisms of naturalisation were also in evidence here: the geomorphisation of the indigenous population, which attributed certain telluric qualities of elements of the landscape to its human inhabitants, and the anthropomorphisation of the landscape and indigenous flora and fauna, which transferred moral qualities from the population to the landscape, which formed the private backdrop to the nation within the new order of republican Creation (Isla, 2017).[8]

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[7] This chronology does not apply in the same way to Brazil, which declared independence from Portugal in 1822 but took the form of an empire ruled by Don Pedro I. Brazil did not become a federal presidential republic until 1889. In the case of Latin America, it is worth mentioning the monarchical interregnums in Mexico (1821-1823, 1862-1867) and the attempts at federalism in the Central American republics (1824-1838). The declarations of independence of the Republic of Cuba (1902) and the Republic of Panama (1903) are special cases – less for their ideological inspiration than because they came comparatively late.

[8] This process would enable Latin American nations to appropriate indigenous peoples, in order to incorporate them into the historical repertoire of the nation. In this way, every facet of the indigenous peoples of the Colony, from pre-Columbian times and even as far back as the Paleo-Indians, has been nationalised and claimed as national heritage: in museums, in ethnography, in historiography and in literature. This situation involves a

Thirdly, there was a process of homogenising racialisation, typical of the period of integration (1870-1930), in which the *mestizo* represented the historical, demographic and cultural synthesis of the nation's people. This period is related to the promotion of a supposed 'national race' which had to be reinvigorated and strengthened through work, sport, education or the military (Palacios, 1918), and which is also represented as the 'cosmic race' (Vasconcelos, 1925[1948]). Beginning in the second decade of the twentieth century, this process coexisted with the rise of indigenous nativism in Latin America, understood not only as the entirety of the ideas and concrete activities that were starting to create Latin American states in relation to indigenous populations, but also as an ideology which emerged during the 1920s and 1930s as a result of various practices and approaches that were developed into a theoretical justification. This nativism took hold in various institutional structures relating to indigenous populations and developed several different theoretical dimensions: indigenous nativism as a political, reformist or revolutionary expression, community-based nativism, developmentalist nativism and anthropological nativism (Bello, 2004; Máiz, 2004).

A fourth mechanism relates to the folklorisation of the rural and urban poor. This mechanism was used to construct a cartography representing membership and vectors of identity based on certain'spontaneous and authentically representative' creations of the people of the nation, although the authors, creators or cultivators of this cartography were rendered invisible in a mass process of shared, symbolic, patrimonial appropriation. This mechanism is typical of the period of transformation brought about by a developmentalist state in combination with the market and the mass cultural industry (1930-1970). As Martín Barbero has argued (2001), the national absorption of difference through folklorisation was not only a stratagem used by centralised government, but also a way to manifest the consciousness of a new country. Folklorisation made it possible to unite emotional national feeling with picturesque local diversity; a telluric ancestry with the market of symbols and patriotic merchandising; the iconographic construct of the interior of the country with the cultural offering made available to exterior markets through tourism and souvenirs; and the production of popular wisdom and local cultivators with the scientific gaze of academia through anthropology, ethnography, philology, musicology and history. All this has produced a wealth of symbols of authenticity, by virtue of mass-produced stereotypes that are put up for sale to a wide audience of sightseers, tourists, intellectuals and those lost in nostalgia. Here we can see a mechanism that attributes an essentialist identity to cultural artefacts and to the social collectives to which they belong. Folklore reveals the battle for authenticity, exclusivity and dominion of cultural artefacts in terms of the construction of identity. Hence, the rural character of the *hacienda*, and later that of indigenous people, formed one of the axes around which this corpus of national canonical folklore was formed. One corollary of this attribution of identity is the fossilisation of canonised manifestations of folklore, which makes it possible to reproduce those manifestations to a pattern, with reference to a place (the country, or part of the country) but with no reference to a point in time (a 'lifelong', unaltered tradition), lending permanence to an essentialised feature of the identity in question. The work of academia, the goals of political authorities and the exigencies of distribution and reproduction through their commodification have had the effect of promoting this process of fossilisation.[9]

A fifth mechanism relates to ethnicisation, or in other words the enthronement of the concept of ethnicity that designates a social and relational process within which the ethnic condition of a specific group (in this case, indigenous people or people of African origin) is constructed, with reference to the state and its hegemonic groups. In Latin America, the processes of ethnicisation have resulted from state action related to the processes surrounding the recognition of ethnicity. Rather than being a descriptive criterion relating to a specific social group, ethnicity is rather a process of the attribution of asymmetries, based on what today we would view as a form of cultural racism (Wieviorka, 2009), differentialist racism (Taguieff, 1988) or neo-racism (Balibar, 1991). These asymmetries become natural, logical and necessary to the processes of ethnicisation and biopolitical control which form part of social disciplining. However, ethnic identities can also be understood as a collection of internalised, valorised and comparatively stabilised cultural repertoires, through which social actors recognise each other, establish their boundaries and distinguish themselves from other actors within a historically specific and socially structured space (Giménez, 2002). From this perspective, ethnicity is a matter of subordination and historical othering, rather than an *essential* or *permanent* condition. It accounts for the performative capacity of racialist discourses (Todorov, 2007). It should be noted that the concept of ethnicity in Latin America has acquired a specific character: it ceased to be a term used to refer to certain urban groups that were culturally differentiated from the local hegemonic group, and began to refer to racialist differentiation that has been attributed in particular to indigenous people, although more recently it has also come to be used for

process of cultural fossilisation that makes it possible to purge the social exclusion and physical elimination of actual indigenous people from the national story.

[9] Tourism, presented as the tranquil image of the land and its peoples, came to outwardly complement this identity construct. It was not only the rationale of the state that contributed to this situation, but also – indeed, especially – that of the market (Isla, 2017).

people of African origin and for various minority groups who share both certain phenotypical differences and the marginalisation (whether real or symbolic) associated with poverty.[10] In practice, this means that ethnicised movements define emblems of identity, icons of contrast and differentiation: land and territory, cosmovision, language, an attachment to nature, ancestral roots. Every symbol needs someone to interpret it: symbolisation in ethnicised movements requires interpreters or recipients, whether they be the ethnicised group itself, the state or the national community. In this vein, the policy of recognition resorts to the rationale of a group's 'better right', 'original right' or 'authentic right' to certain goods or resources (as is the case for indigenous populations) or to the visibility, recognition and legitimacy of the group's difference (as with people of African origin). The search for difference, however, is not the only foundation for these movements. Their collective action calls for the fundamental transformation of the state, based on culture and identity and, progressively, based on the state's legal and institutional rationale.

2.2 The sexualised racialisation of the black immigrant body

Nevertheless, in the case of Chile, and especially since the start of the sustained rise in South-South immigration that has been recorded in the past three decades, a new mechanism must be added to the ones described above: the mechanism of sexualised racialisation. This phenomenon operates primarily in relation to collectives of people of African origin, who were not present in any real or symbolic way in the repertoire of identity/otherness – and the resulting repertoire of inclusion/exclusion – in Chile's identity narratives.

The construction of national identity in Chile has always gone hand in hand with prescriptive claims about the *racial*, cultural and religious homogeneity of the population (Larraín, 2001; 2019). To a certain extent, the evolution of policies aimed at settling the territory – from the centre to the extreme north and south – and the exclusion of indigenous people from the repertoire of cultural and social relations have contributed to this perception. Adding to this homogeneity is the matter of Chilean hospitality towards foreigners, which is cited as an argument for a supposed absence of racism based on the rejection of difference. However, the official nationalist discourse has been articulated around racialisation with respect to population groups with a more or less indigenous phenotype who come both from neighbouring countries such as Peru and Bolivia and from within Chile itself. This same rationale makes it possible to differentiate perceptions of immigration according to origin and racist criteria, as can be seen in the positive view of European immigration, with its potential civilising quality or its effect on economic development. Put another way, it is not the difference between the immigrant and the national community that is the problem, but rather the perception of that difference, particularly when it is associated with indicators of poverty.

Nevertheless, when it comes to people of African origin, their virtual absence until the new flows of migration that have taken place in recent decades had made it possible to declare the absence of racism – especially in comparison with other Latin American, North American or European contexts – as not only was there the well-documented *racial* homogeneity, there had also been no people of African origin to discriminate against.[11] On the other hand, it is true that racism is not openly accepted, and its manifestations are more likely to be expressed in 'subtle prejudice' (Meertens & Pettigrew, 1997). This means that new ways to express racist prejudice, ways that are better adapted to modern times, may develop that could not be proved using traditional methods of measurement, which in turn presents a more subtle repertoire that could look more positive than is really the case, portraying Chilean society as less prejudiced and discriminatory because those attitudes are expressed in a more 'acceptable' way (Cárdenas, 2006).[12]Multiple studies in Latin America and in Chile have shown that, although people tend to view their societies as prejudiced and discriminatory, they overlook racist prejudice and discrimination, preferring to allude to social conditions such as poverty or cultural factors (Chong & Ñopo, 2007; Van Dijk, 2007, cited by Espinosa & Cueto, 2014). Denial of racism, on the other hand, is one of

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[10] The foreign minorities who have integrated economically (in the case of Chile these are German, French, Arab, Korean, Croatian, Polish and Russian migrants) are not susceptible to ethnicisation. Ethnicised groups align fully with the American Indian groups euphemistically called 'native peoples'.

[11] In Chile's social discourses, the concept of *racism*(*racismo*) is connected with an attitude of rejection of Africans and people of African origin, while the term *discrimination* (*discriminación*), although it does have a connection with that attitude, is associated with indigenous people and groups with indigenous ancestry, among other stigmatised collectives.

[12] 'Subtle prejudice can be characterised by three central dimensions: the defence of traditional values (and the corresponding perception that out-groups do not respect them), an exaggeration of cultural differences (these differences in values, beliefs, hygienic and sexual practices, religion, language, etc. are used to justify the subordinate position of the out-group in the social hierarchy) and fewer manifestations of positive emotions towards members of the out-group (the subjects are careful not to openly manifest negative emotions towards minorities – hate, anger or hostility – but would not find it easy to express positive emotions towards them – affection, admiration or attraction)' (Cárdenas, 2006: 103).

the central characteristics of modern racism, which replaces racialist and racist categories with cultural determinism or ethnic categories whilst maintaining the same rationales of segregation and social exclusion (Wieviorka, 2009; Riedemann&Stefoni, 2015; Tijoux, 2019).

Specifically, the previous absence of Haitian immigrants and the ignorance of their home context align with the absence of categories either to analyse the phenomenon from an academic standpoint or for society to deal with their presence. That being the case, the categories of *refugee*, *asylum seeker* or *natural disaster victim* have established the initial approaches to this collective, based primarily on press coverage; this has produced an attitude which veers between solidarity and pity and which focuses both action and attention on these migrants' economic and employment conditions. The linguistic barrier has contributed to this vacuum and has added an exoticness to the Haitians' cultural character; this is clearly a marker and a differentiator from black immigrants from Colombia, Dominica or Ecuador, in a markedly monolingual national context. However, there is one point that has been little discussed despite steadily gaining visibility: the exoticisation of the black body. This aspect makes it possible to observe the construction of an ambivalent stereotypical representation (Espinosa & Cueto, 2014), associated on the one hand with supposed abilities and, on the other, with supposed limitations; these are then presented with the aim of making sweeping generalisations, and their extent remains undefined. However, the explanatory frameworks surrounding such representations vary according to how permanently the Haitians are settled in the country; their level of socioeconomic integration; whether or not they are implicated in disruptive behaviours – in particular the attribution of criminal 'tendencies', 'professional' criminality or criminal 'involvement' (Dammert & Sandoval, 2019); morally or culturally questionable behaviours – such as whether or not they are significantly integrated into sexualised labour markets[13] (Carrère & Carrère, 2015); or the vicissitudes of the economy, social policies and the labour market against a backdrop of disputed social benefits (Bravo, 2019; Fuentes & Vergara, 2019). The stereotypical representation is thus not only ambivalent; it also oscillates and comes with its own expectations.

The intersectional approach to the practices of racism and sexism in Chile has only recently been analysed by some local authors (Tijoux & Palominos, 2015; Tijoux & Córdova 2015; Belliard, 2015; Carrère & Carrère, 2015). Citing Viveros' study of the Latin American context, Tijoux & Palominos consider whether:

the scarcity of jobs linked to notions of sexualisation and racialisation in Latin America is due to the existence of the hegemony of a racial discourse that promotes a whiteness that is imagined based not on race itself, but rather on the absence of it; in turn, this operates as the other side of the coin of racialisation, perceived as the realm of eroticism (2015: 251).

Racialised sexualisation and the racialisation of sexuality find their heuristic foundations in the Eurocentric categories of civilisation that persisted under slavery, with a particular emphasis on the eighteenth century, relating to the process of exoticisation of the other within the framework of the biological paradigm of the races and taxonomies that can be applied to human communities that were 'discovered', 'conquered', colonised and enslaved. The performative power of the racist discourse explains its naturalisation through the various processes of racialist social discipline that are used to explain differences within a given social order.

In terms of the origin of sexualisation as a racist act, Carrère&Carrèreargue that:

Although it could be argued that there is not yet enough data to support such an assumption, we can assume that Chile has inherited these stereotypes. Ultimately, if Chileans see new female immigrants of African origin as women with an exuberant sexuality, that is because they have adopted the stereotypes constructed by the European continent, long ago, surrounding this same categorisation: the 'black woman' (2015: 38).

The legitimising discourse of these stereotypes reduces men and women with black skin to a supposed state of animal irrationality. As Carrère & Carrère (2015) note, in a more general sense, sexualisation was a stereotype constructed by 'white' colonials around the 'black' man, with the aim of aligning him with a supposed original state of nature, based on an alleged natural determinism in which (from a social Darwinist perspective) evolution was the preserve of the coloniser, not of the colonised. In this ideological construct, which was conducive to the system of slavery, sexualisation was the very proof that black people were 'closer to nature'. This was reinforced at the time using a scientific justification for political domination. 'It is in that sense that we should understand sexualisation as a discriminatory act, when it is the expression of a negative stereotype that is used to justify a power relationship' (Carrère&Carrère, 2015: 40).

[13] 'The term, which was coined by Brazilian researcher Adriana Piscitelli (2011), has the useful function of bringing together within the same sector all activities that imply an exchange of goods, whether monetary or not, for a sexualised act. Of course this includes prostitution, but it also encompasses table dances, pornography, the 'escort' industry and, in the case of Chile, *cafés con piernas* [hospitality venues with scantily-clad waitresses; literally, "cafés with legs"]. Ultimately, the sex market includes all sectors in which the body of the woman [or man] (…), through its eroticisation, is among the goods exchanged in a financial relationship' (Carrère & Carrère, 2015: 36).

In terms of the configuration of the image of the black body, the phenomena explored above combine with a series of resources supplied by the cultural industry and the sexual market in relation to its sexual and erotic characteristics, which are today fostered by the liberalisation of mores and the various market devices directed towards the commodification of the human body. The structural asymmetry implied by the immigrant condition does not enact this commodification, but rather fosters it, presenting a paradox: the thing that Chileans have sought in the Caribbean or in Brazil in recent decades is now within the borders of their own country.

III. THE NEW CHALLENGES OF OTHERNESS IN THE CONTEXT OF THE CONSTRUCTION OF IDENTITY

Increasing Haitian immigration has revealed the racist ideas and practices of Chilean society, which were pushed underground or denied when it came to racism towards indigenous groups. This may constitute a wake-up call, an opportunity to reflect on the racialist logic that has permeated official historiography, national folklore, the education system, humour, the mass media and ingrained nationalism.

However, a series of markers has caused the Haitian immigrant population in Chile to be viewed differently from other collectives of African origin in the country. This is evident in relation to the Colombian, Dominican, Cuban and Ecuadorian immigrant populations, on the one hand, and the emergent − and in general less visible − collective of Chilean people of African origin, who exaggerate their own ethnic and nationalist self-imageand therefore do not see levels of transversality with black immigrant collectives. Although the attitude towards the construction of stereotypes about Haitians is still at an expectant and ambivalent stage, this does not mean that the local population expresses undifferentiated or generalising stigmatisation of black collectives.

In one way or another, Chilean society is having to rethink its self-image and its sexual stereotypes of men and women. This is linked to a process in which the capacity of the local society is calibrated comparatively, according to the competency rankings of internationalisation and the cosmopolitanism of consumption. This is particularly crucial in a country which perceives itself to be remote and isolated within South America, given its emotional and geographical estrangement from its South American neighbours, yet also close to the European context into which it aspires to be accepted, cleansed of everything that smacks of Chilean, tropical or Latin American folklore. Since the 1990s, the steel of this perception has been tempered in the furnace of the modernisation, liberalisation (or perhaps neoliberalisation) and globalisation of Chile's markets, and it has been strengthened in the aspirations of the population thanks to the stability of its macroeconomic indicators in contrast with the other countries in the region.

For this reason, academic approaches to immigrants in Chile still evince a certain amount of bias, which is expressed in the use of categories of victimisation or in unilateral and ethnocentric analyses, in which immigrants are interpreted according to the repertoires available in the social imagination or using academia's underlying ideological reference points. Perspectives of gender, for example, are interpreted restrictively as they refer to female immigrants and their defence or protection; the prevailing categories of race, ethnicity and ethnic identity are very robust and enjoy total immunity in terms of their racialisation; the national context is seen as the forum for unvarnished discrimination and racial segregation, to the detriment of the recognition of the racist and racialist categories which the immigrants themselves have internalised and naturalised in their home contexts and which, in some cases, articulate dynamics of endoracism in the collectives to which they belong.[14] Similarly, there is a tendency to emphasise the condemnation and elimination of racism, rather than promoting an understanding of the mechanisms used to practice and perpetuate it in the specific local context.

The factors explored above could lead to the reproduction of mechanisms of exclusive inclusion – mechanisms that are so prevalent in today's context of globalisation, and to which the immigrants themselves appear to obligingly consent – which diminish discriminated collectives through the ethnicisation and folklorisation of the signs of their identity, in such a way as to transform those signs into a *performance* of identity that is presented as a spectacle of *authentic* identity. This would be the apparently innocuous face of social discipline, which makes use ofracialist criminalisation and prides itself on apparent integration and fossilising social participation.

The most fundamental corollary of the phenomena discussed above is, first, the reassuring (for the national social actors) observation that immigration is a problem which should be mitigated or neutralised.Secondly, it promotes the idea that immigrants' incorporation into a differentiated and precarious labour market would facilitate their integration; as this is a market in which impoverished immigrants represent a reserve army of unemployed people, this could be a punishment for immigration, given its inevitability or

[14] 'At the level of the collective, studies in Ecuador, Brazil, Costa Rica and Peru have shown that members of indigenous groups and people of African origin incorporate into their collective self-representations some of the negative characteristics attributed to them by members of higher-status groups, thereby affecting the construction of a collective identity among the members of these groups' (Espinoza & Cueto, 2014: 9).

ungovernability.Finally, it suggests that the defence of ancestral concepts of purity and the authenticity of the local culture (the defence of national norms and values) can facilitate racial purity through the rejection of intermixing, the refusal to tropicalise the national identity, the redemption of traditions or the defence of a patriotism that is founded on the alleged racial, cultural and mystical homogeneity of the national community.

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