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Tales of Migration from the Global South

The Civilised and Uncivilised migrant in the narratives from *La Tercera* and *El Mercurio*

By Dr Maria L. Urbina

Introduction

Migration is a global phenomenon that has caught the attention of the news media in Western countries where it has been framed in terms of a threat to both security and the welfare state (Miles 1993; Kaye 1998). Tales about migration in Latin America in the news media have also been rising because of the mobility of Latinos not just to the United States, but also to other countries in the Southern Cone. Founded by Spanish conquistadores in the 16th Century, Chile traditionally did not take part in the migration waves of the 19th Century, but it did manage to bring European migrants from Germany and Dalmatia province. In addition, Spaniards, Italians and Arabs were among those groups that settled in Chile during the early days of the 1900s- a wave that declined in the second half of the 20th century. By 1992, only 0.8% of the population were born abroad (Censo, 2003: 18). The political and economic stability that has characterised Chile since the end of Augusto Pinochet's dictatorship in 1990 has attracted a new wave of migrants from other countries in Latin America. Peruvians, Bolivians, Colombians, Haitians and Venezuelans have made Chile their home in recent years. According to the National Statistic authorities, 2,3% of the Chilean population were born abroad, which represents a growth of approximately one percentage point since the 2002 Census (Lafortunne & Tessada 2016,1). The majority of these are coming from Latin American Countries, particularly Peru (38%); Bolivia (13.5%) Colombia (13%); Argentina (6.2%); Ecuador (4.0%); Venezuela (2.6%); Haiti (2%) and Brazil (1.9%)(DEM 2017,7). This new trend brought new challenges regarding social and cultural integration in a country that was not used to massive waves of migration. According to 2007 survey conducted by Latinbarometro, just one-quarter of the Chile population were supportive of migration. Ten years later, the Chilean views about migration are no different. Now 40% of the Chilean population states that migrants take Chileans' jobs and 41% agree that they increase crime rates (CEP 2017, 38)

The Chilean news media has increased its coverage of migrants, both in the television news and newspapers, linking migration with topics such as poverty, crime and employment. Several scholars have criticised the way in which this new wave of migrants has been portrayed. Studies about the Peruvian community, one of the largest migrant communities in Chile, have shown that despite their positive impacts on regenerating semi-abandoned areas of Santiago (Ducci & Rojas 2010; Torres & Hidalgo 2009), racism and ethnic intolerance against Peruvians have been connected to the class structure that is found in Chile, where the working classes experience different forms of cultural and racial discrimination. As Stefoni (2001) pointed out, racism is not openly found within Chilean society, but there are hidden forms of discrimination and ethnic intolerances embedded within the social structure. Thus Peruvians experience racism in similar

ways to that of the Chilean indigenous population, who have suffered different forms of racism and discrimination since the formation of the Chilean state in the 19th Century (Bengoa 1999).

Proud to follow the liberal media model and its views about objectivity and professionalism, the Chilean news media reproduce these binary views about migration, not without contradictions. Teun Van Dijk (2005: 123) has stated that racism about Peruvians and Bolivians are found among news media narratives. Peruvians have also been praised for their food, music and cultural traditions (Stefoni 2001: 22) as well as characterised as hard workers (Staab & Maher 2006: 88).

This paper engages with the narratives of *civilised* and *uncivilised migrants* that are presented in the news media articles about migrants who have settled in Chile in recent years, focusing on the two major Chilean newspapers, *El Mercurio* and *La Tercera*. It is suggested that rather than stressing visions regarding cultural or ethnic background, it is possible to find neoliberal definitions of nationality and citizenship embedded in how Chilean media has constructed their tales about migration. The ideas about *civilised and uncivilised migrants* found in the articles are connected to early views of Chilean exceptionalism as a nation as well as neoliberal understandings regarding citizenship, where migrants' human capital is what entitles them to benefits in their host country. As a result, the media echoes the vision of *good migrant = civilised and bad migrant = uncivilised*, according to their weight within the capitalist society. The first part of this paper addresses the conceptual framework used to define civilised and uncivilised migrants while the second section discusses the main findings coming from the discourse analysis.

Nation, Neoliberalism and the Chilean Media

Forms of racial and ethnic discrimination have always been part of mainstream narratives about race, ethnicity and development in Chile. The national indigenous population was the first subject of these forms of discrimination and examples of this can be found amongst 19th Century chronicles that welcome European migration in the newly founded state as a way to improve development in their land (Rosales, 1886). These discourses have been integrated by mainstream news media discourses, as Teun van Dijk (2005, 123-4) states when he analyses the news media coverage of the Mapuche land conflict in Ralco. In the newspaper coverage, Mapuches have linked to protest, land occupation and violence due to the land conflict in the south of Chile. It represented them as barbarians in the same way that the Spanish Conquistadors did, but now linked to extremism or terrorism.

These forms of representation are connected to binary colonial views about citizenship that persist within Chilean society, where it is possible to divide citizens into categories of civilised and uncivilised individuals. While working classes and ethnic minorities were seen as uncivilised subjects, savages and incapable of adapting to capitalist development, the middle and upper classes- as well as migrants from Europe- were seen as the engines of Chilean development. Spanish *conquistadores* introduced a racialised distribution of labour in their territories, and Chile was no exception. These ideas have persisted over time. Analysing the racist views of Chilean intellectuals, Gazmuri (1981, 226-7) pointed out that *criollos* thinkers, when attempting to explain the economic struggles in Chile, followed the Western views about race and development in the first half of the 20th century. He identified three key thinkers: Nicolas Palacios, Francisco Encina and Alberto Cabrero, who explained the evolution of the Chilean

economy based on biological heritage or race. All three defined a Chilean race, resulting from genetic heritage as well as its particular cultural and psychological characteristics. Palacios identifies a distinctive Chilean race in the Chilean *Roto*, an upper-class denomination of the national mestizo, born from two patriarchal races: the gothic race and the *Araucanos*. According to Palacios (1918, 483), both races gave unique characteristics to the Chilean identity that defined its temperament, character and intellect. While Palacios openly criticised Latin European migration for its negative impact on the Chilean race, Francisco Encina—one of the best known Chilean historians—praised the wave of European citizens arriving in Chile. This is because the negative impacts of the *mestizaje*, that is to say, the mix between *Araucanos* and Gothics, had corrupted the Chilean genetic heritage (Encina 1949, Vol 3, 59). As a result, he legitimised the class division in Chile as an essential requirement because the Chilean upper classes would have stronger Spanish genes. Unlike Palacios and Encina, Alberto Cabrero (1948) conceptualised the Chilean race based on a cultural racism and a nationalistic perspective. Specific psychological characteristics defined the national identity, like racial pride, international honesty and attachment to the land, while stressing Chileans' feelings of superiority against other races of Hispanic America. Palacios's *Roto Chileno* merged these views about race, which became a national symbol that represented Chilean virtues (Gutierrez 2010). It was exalted as a disciplined, long-suffering figure whose patriotic sentiments drove the victorious conduct of Chile's wars, fought by the army forces during the 20th Century (Bawden 2016,17). These ideas were embodied by Augusto Pinochet's dictatorship while describing the role of Chilean Army Forces in the new political institutionality. He stated that the main characteristics of the Chilean army are loyalty, moral obligation and abnegation. Those features are summarised on his visions of Patriotism, described as "the sublime value of love for the land that saw it born and its traditions" (Pinochet 1989, 113). This vision of a nation is one that was encouraged during this dictatorship (1973-1990).

All these three visions of race have been embedded in the narratives about civilised and uncivilised subjects that have remained partly in the way in which Chile defined its social structure. They are also found in the image of Chilean exceptionalism that the country has constructed as part of its national identity. Chile's historical identity has been marked by its apparent institutional stability in comparison with its regional neighbours (Mullins 2006,109-11). This historical construction has been reinforced since the 1990s due to the economic and political stability that the country has experienced. Both characteristics have been highlighted as the main reasons why Chile has attracted Latin American migrants in recent years, particularly those coming from Haiti. Chilean Exceptionalism stresses the views of Palacios and Cabrero about Chilean national identity, whereby economic and institutional stability tend to be seen as a reflecting the superiority of the national character. These ideas are connected to the way in which Chileans see migration coming from other Latin American countries, visions that are reinforced by what Quijano (2000) describes as the historical identities that built nation-states based on Eurocentric models. Thus, migrants coming from other Latin American countries are not to be seen as civilised forces. Similarly to Encina (1949), views about the corruption of the conquistadores race because of the aborigines' position within the social evolution, Latin American migrants are not seen as civilised individuals but as primitive, uncivilised non-Europeans.

Narratives about nationalism were reinforced during Augusto Pinochet's neoliberal revolution, particularly the relevance of the Founding Fathers and their vision to renovate the national spirit

of Chile (Mansel, Urbina & Watkins 2019). Neoliberalism profoundly changed the political culture, reorganised around market-oriented policies that changed Chilean communities and social organisations such as trade unions and political parties. The national renewal narrative embedded in the Neoliberal project imposed by the Pinochet (1973-1990) dictatorship brought a new definition of the Chilean citizen, motivated by "competitive spirit" (Pinochet 1977, 13). This new political framework did not challenge the previous conceptions about civilised and uncivilised citizens or visions regarding race, class and ethnicity previously described. As Hindess (2002, 110) points out, current perceptions about citizenship still see individuals coming from Western countries as more prosperous and civilised than those coming from developing countries. Thus, neoliberalism did not challenge the previous conceptions about Latin America but framed them in a more technocratic approach where Anglo American ideals of liberty and property were stressed. As a result, not all citizens and migrants within a Neoliberal state would be included within it. Ong (2006, 3-10) argues that citizenship elements such as benefits and entitlements are associated with a neoliberal criteria of human capital expertise. It highlights values that allowed subjects to exercise citizenship in diverse locations. By contrast, those individuals that do not have the tradable competence or skills could potentially be excluded from citizenship practices. Migrants, refugees and working classes are among those that could see their human capital devalued or not transferable to the requirements of the locations that are occupied. As a result, they are excluded from the benefits or entitlement of their host societies. The tales of the civilised and uncivilised citizen presented among Chilean society are portrayed now in a global sense and that also includes citizens coming from other parts of the continent. While educated migrants would be able to adapt to Chilean society, those without the right skills will not be able to enjoy the benefits of global citizenship.

Pinochet's national renewal brought elements of neoliberalism within the definitions of citizenship, stressing in particular freedom of enterprise and private property. His vision of Chilean development was based on free initiative, private property and free market as he states in the following quote: "Free initiative, private property and the free market form a trilogy that is part of the true work, culture and progress that Chile is reaching" (Pinochet 1989, 122). Harvey (2007, 7) defines the neoliberal state as one that embodies freedom in a way that reflects the interest of private property owners, business and financial capital. Therefore, the new state is defined by the competition between individual forms and territorial identities. Subjects in neoliberal states are brought into this competition, where they are also competing for the benefits coming from the Welfare state as well as individual markets. As a result, migrants are integrated into their capacity to function into the neoliberal nation and their capacity to compete within the neoliberal state. Those who are unable to do so will be coded as security threats (Sparke 2006), criminalised as potential menaces to private capital which requires punitive policies that will punish them in the same way as the poor (Mitchell 2016, 118-29)

Nationalism and neoliberalism are not incompatible when narratives about migrants and migrations are set. Discourses about migrants and asylum seekers could be seen as nationalistic, and protecting sovereignty. In addition, they are seen as neoliberal due to the economic benefits of excluding the undesirable (Lueck, Clemence & Augoustinos 2015). Both discourses serve to conceptualise a power structure in defining those who are full citizens and those who are rightful migrants. In the Chilean case, it is possible to see both nationalist exceptionalism and neoliberalism when narratives are built about the civilised and uncivilised migrant.

Latin American historical identities were based on a racist distribution of power found in the European – No European duality (Quijano 2000, 536-7). Further, neoliberalism has not challenged these identities. It has framed them with assumptions of freedom of enterprise, economic liberties and development. When these views are applied to migrants coming to Chile, a certain meritocracy encourages the assumption that migrants who contribute economically to the society are welcome. In particular, this includes those coming from countries that are viewed as civilised by Chileans or those that have appropriate professional skills that will help the country's development - for instance, middle-class migrants coming from other Latin American countries with university diplomas. This perception sees a specific type of migration as a positive economic force that contributes to Chilean economic development. At the same time, national exceptionalism has been reinforced due to the economic miracle narrative stressed in Chile. This has continued since the 1990s as a result of free market policies leading to international compliments. The so-called *Milagro Chileno* (*Chilean Miracle*) described by Milton Friedman reinforced the views of national exceptionalism. Visions of civilised and uncivilised migrants were also shaped by ideas of economic exceptionalism. The power structure of colonial views based on racial capital relations is now framed by the modern narratives of entrepreneurship and competition, keeping the racial beliefs about national identity hidden beneath them. Therefore, migrants are seen under this frame, which is a mix of national and economic exceptionalism, and subsequently helps Chile to define themselves as a unique case in the continent.

Consequently, narratives about civilised and uncivilised migrants are defined by nationalist and neoliberal discourses about citizenship. The civilized migrants are those coming from countries similar to Chile, with the right set of skills or class background that adapt and contribute to narratives of human capital and economic development. The uncivilised migrant, by contrast, are those coming from countries considered inferior by Chileans, and without the right set of skills or class background that would allow them to adapt to the conditions of the neoliberal state. While people from Bolivia, Haiti, Peru and Colombia experience marginalisation and racism because of their cultural background and nationality, people coming from Venezuela have a different experience in the South American country. They are able to integrate into the upper echelons of the society because of their professional education.

Chilean news media has echoed this binary vision about the civilised and uncivilised migrant. As Hudson and Martin (2010, 98) argue, news media represents dominant ideas, influencing discursive formation as both channel and political actor. News media play a crucial role in the institutionalisation of dominant narratives and ideologies, including its news sources. As Manning (2010, 32) point out, news sources associated with text production involve power relations with the news organisation, meaning that the selection of sources shapes news texts.

Chilean news media is proud to follow the liberal media model and its views about objectivity and professionalism. The model of free press influenced the owners of the Chilean printing press throughout the past century, following a business model for journalism that developed in the United States. These paths allowed the introduction of new forms of journalistic practice, reinforcing the positivist tradition of objectivity and facts in journalistic practice (Santa Cruz 1988, 33-49). This new type of journalism enhanced the liberal model of press freedom without state intervention and adopted the freedom of market to ensure the journalism independence and objectivity within a liberal market of ideas. Chilean media lacks state intervention. However, their views usually reflect the ones coming from the economic and political elite. Therefore, the power relations between news organisations and social elites are defined by the existence of a

duopoly about news ownership, where both analysed newspapers, *El Mercurio* and *La Tercera*, represent the dominant forces of news production within the country. Therefore, both newspapers have a role to play in normalising visions about politics, economics or crime within the news coverage. They have an institutional role within the Chilean society, which allows it to reinforce the *homo economicus* vision of citizens, as well as emphasising both neoliberal and national exceptionalism tales when news about migrants is covered.

There is an element of social power that is embedded in the news system in Chile, but more importantly, there is an agreement regarding the narratives that the news media publishes regarding the issue of migration and migrants. Fairclough (1995, 17-8) states that social institutions are apparatus of verbal interaction, an order of discourse that formulates and symbolises a set of ideological representations based on particular ways of seeing. Chilean news fulfil this role, and distribute a specific narrative about migration that involves an ideological discourse based on the dominant neoliberal views about citizens. It also involves visions of national exceptionalism which concur with: (1) the narratives of neoliberal progress disseminated by the global capital, (2) racial division of labour, and (3) nationalistic views about Chilean identity. Both *El Mercurio* and *La Tercera* reproduce these binary views about migration, the civilised and uncivilised migrant is framed by the ideas described thus far, naturalising them and making them appear as common sense for most Chileans. The following section describes the way in which both newspapers articulate those narratives.

Tales of Civilized and Uncivilized migrants in *El Mercurio* and *La Tercera*

Since its foundation, *El Mercurio* has been one of the most influential newspapers inside the Chilean political system, described as an institution because of its longevity. Its owners, the Edwards family, entered the newspaper business in 1878 when Agustin Edward Ross acquired *El Mercurio de Valparaiso*, a commercial, political and literary newspaper first published in 1827. His son, Agustin Edwards Mac-Clure founded *El Mercurio* in 1900. During those years, the newspaper was imported from the offices of the New York Herald. This was a new way of doing journalism and transformed the profession and the role of the journalist. This modern style appealed to the middle and working classes, which led to a dramatic increase in sales (Santa Cruz 1988, 45-7) and institutionalised the practitioner's routines to give them a professional frame, reinforcing the ideas about objectivity in the coverage of events. This way of practising journalism was tested during Salvador Allende's administration, where the newspaper took an open stand against the government, receiving money from the CIA to criticise the socialist government. Regardless of its political position, *Mercurio's* coverage of Salvador Allende's government (1970-1973) did not break its style of coverage (Alvear & Lugo-Ocando 2016, 1-19). Also, *El Mercurio* was one of the advocates of the neoliberal project and the changes introduced by the Pinochet regime later in the 1970s. In the early 1950s, academics and politicians got together at the Department of Economics at the University of Chicago, and were later known as "The Chicago Boys". They wrote newspaper articles advocating for monetarist economic policies (Correa 1985, 137-44)

El Mercurio expresses both neoliberalism and Chilean exceptionalism when it is addressing the issue of migration in its coverage. Its narrative of civilised *migrant* or *the good migrant* conceptualises the migrant's success regarding their capacity to adapt to Chilean society from an economic perspective. As Harvey (2007, 65) pointed out, 'individual success or failure is interpreted in terms of entrepreneurial virtues or personal failure'. When the newspaper describes

good migrants, the stories of success or acceptance within the host country are based on the contributions that they could make to the country's economic success. When it comes to describing the good migrants, *El Mercurio* headlines its news stories with views about economic contribution of skilled migrants but also the necessity of migration control,

*'Businessmen enter the debate for immigrants: They **are necessary, but** (migration) must be **regulated**'*. (Gonzalez 2016)

'Contribution of immigrants' (Editorial 2017)

*'Bachelet assures that immigrants "are a **contribution to Chile**" and that a **bill** on this matter will be prioritised'*. (Emol 2016b)

'28% increase in visas for foreigners who come to study in Chile'. (Emol 2017b)

The following reflect positive views about migrants because of the use of "talents" and "skills" within the headlines. Narratives are later reinforced with news that addresses these narratives in their body, using sources and quotes that strengthen these images.

*'Immigration is great news because it allows us to access **talents** from different geographies'*. (Gonzalez 2016)

*'From the business point of view, the truth is (migration) has been a very **good source of skilled labour, qualified workers**'*. (Gonzalez 2016)

*'Immigration "is probably beneficial because there are people (Chileans) **who do not want to do certain jobs** here (in Chile), and therefore these people (migrants) contribute to filling those spaces"'*. (Villalobos-Diaz 2016)

These quotes reflect the relevance of Ong's exceptions regarding labour force globalization. Skilful labours are welcome in Chile- those with talents that could also carry on the work that the local population is not willing to do. This vision of migration is found in the following quotes,

*'Immigration has always been welcome but in a **controlled manner (...)** that **contributes to the country(...)**. In this country, there is room for many more'*. (Gonzalez, 2016)

*'The issue requires that Chile (...) **regulates** (migration) rather than toughen it. (Migration) needs to be **regulated and ordered**'*. (Gonzalez 2016)

*'Chile always has been and must remain a country open to receiving immigrants coming to develop a new life, that integrate to our country, **who respect our laws and contribute to economic development**. But (Chile) has to completely close its borders to evils like drug trafficking, smuggling and illegal migration'*. (Romero 2016)

The ideas about control denote economic integration rather than cultural integration it is suggested that the entrepreneur and skilled migrant be able to adapt without being a burden to the state. The above phrases also stress the need to control migration and allow people into the country who will respect Chilean laws. This narrative could be connected to Chilean exceptionalism. Its uniqueness requires a specific type of migrants that will adapt and integrate to its society in a better way than general foreigners. Other phrases that stress these ideas include the following:

*“Immigrants, with their diversity and desire to emerge, are a contribution to Chile in many ways. We are an open and welcoming country, and we will continue to be, within **the framework of our laws and the human rights**” (Bachelet) said’. (Emol 2016b)*

*‘We have to be tremendously **careful to control the quality of the immigrants**. This is why (migration) should be done in such a way (...) **with necessary controls**, so there is no immigration of crime. We cannot have the same look for those who are **legal migrants as those who are illegal**’. (Gonzalez 2016)*

Both quotes set up the difference between Chile and the rest of the world. Besides, the idea of the quality of migrants stresses the narratives of exceptionalism as it refers to control in terms of the subjectivities of the migrants and their identity, rather than their numbers. The ones that are closest to Chilean national identity are welcome, not the ones that are different and cannot adapt to the country. The acceptance of the newcomers is not based on how close their identities are to the Chileans, but the ones that are perceived as able to adapt because of their skills or background. Europeans will always be welcome because there are seen as civilised forces, but other Latin Americans will not have the same welcome because they are not seen as equals to Chileans. This differentiation will define what is a good migrant, a civilised migrant and what is a bad migrant—an uncivilised menace who will arrive in the country and will commit crimes.

Chilean national exceptionalism seeks migrant integration on its own terms. Migrants that participate in popular activities in the country, such as football, are praised. In addition, other issues, such as compulsory military services, are seen as a way to integrate foreigners into the country. Both stories are covered by *El Mercurio* as positive examples of migrants’ integration into the Chilean national identity.

*‘The migration pushes an **unprecedented revolution** in young football. Luis Alberto Ramírez, the manager of the Youth Football of the ANFP, clarifies to *El Mercurio* that “all these players, finally, **are going to become Chileans**.” It is the reality that the country lives, and (football) have a sense of **social integration for children** ”’. (Emol 2017a)*

*‘Minister of Defence: Children of Haitian, Dominicans, Colombians, or Peruvians parents will be called to fulfil their Military Service **as good Chileans**”’. (Aton, 2016b)*

Integration is framed using the acceptance of Chilean identity by migrants as their primary national identity, participating in jobs or activities that are connected with the idea of national unity. Military service traditionally has been seen as an example of patriotic duty fulfilled by Chileans. Football, as in many other countries of the world, is shaped by a sense of national pride. Therefore, national exceptionalism is expressed in these examples of social integration. Further, Chilean exceptionalism is also found in the tales of the economic miracle. As previously suggested, the narratives of economic success presented in the country since the 1990s, have been integrated into national exceptionalism as another form that demonstrates the uniqueness of Chileans among Latin American countries. These images are framed as facts, as an objective and demonstrable empirical truth that is commonly known inside the country and abroad.

*‘Since the return to democracy in Chile, at the beginning of the 90s, this country became an **important destination for international migration, linked mainly to the strengthening of the economy, its growth and political stability**. In addition to institutional consolidation, facts can*

be relevant antecedents at the time of deciding to undertake a migratory project "consigns the study published this year". (Villalobos-Díaz 2016)

The uncivilised migrants would be those who are unable to adapt and integrate in Chile, in social and economic terms. Both neoliberalism and Chilean exceptionalism draw the line that divides bad migrants or uncivilised migrants are - when *El Mercurio* chooses the phrases and statements associated with these migrants that are different or are unable to contribute to human capital. Similarly to other Western countries, migrants in Chile are also linked to poverty, crime and drug trafficking. Headlines in *El Mercurio* stress these images at the same time as praising migration for its economic contributions.

Antofagasta: More than half of the families living in tent cities (shanty towns) are immigrants. (Emol 2017e)

'Migrants lead rental demand for "vertical ghettos"'. (Emol 2017c)

'Justice orders extradition of six members of the largest network of migrant traffic in Chile'. (Aton, 2016a)

Migrants as a subject of space marginality and crime are also connected to illegality, which reinforces the ideas of two types of migrants: firstly, the civilised and legal migrants and secondly, the uncivilised and illegal migrants. Among the latter are those that are involved in delinquency.

'Sebastian Pinera said that Chile "must absolutely close its borders to crime and illegal immigration."' (González 2016)

'I believe that Chile should not open its borders to evils such as drug trafficking, organised crime, contraband, or illegal immigration'. (Romero 2016)

'Drug trafficking is the crime that most immigrants defended by public attorneys commit. 82% of foreigners are located in Antofagasta Region'. (Emol 2016a)

The illegal migrant narrative also evidences class conceptualisations of poverty that traditionally have been found among the Chilean middle and upper classes. Words such as ghettos and overcrowding rooms have been used to describe the dwelling conditions of the working class in Chile. These ideas are found in the following phrases:

'The 2017 Census revealed the conditions experienced by some Haitians who have reached the country in search of better opportunities: Precarious living conditions and housing'. (Emol 2017d)

'The immigrants have become one of the groups that lead the demand for small apartments and have found a place in the buildings that were recently named by Governor Claudio Orrego as vertical ghettos'. (Emol 2017c)

'Many people are fitted in little space', describes the sociologist Pia Moran, a researcher at the Center for Public Studies at UC (Pontifical Catholic University of Chile). According to data from the latest CASEN survey, 64% of migrants have low-rent housing. And one in four lives in crowded rooms'. (Dominguez 2016)

Such images are now used to describe the housing conditions of migrants and in turn, recall the pictures of working-class housing conditions, which help to connect poverty narratives with low skilled migrants and economic migration. Quotes from migrants stress this situation, making it more credible. Also, it links migrants with illegality and crime, as subletting is often seen as a breach of the tenant's agreements as well as a way of landlord abuse.

*'It is a time bomb, says the Colombian Manuel Alarcon, president of the organisation Diaspora and Latin American Integration. "(There)Should be laws that prevent **sublet**, so they(migrants) do not live in **crowded** (rooms). But on the other hand, you need to generate housing, and with the demographic explosion that exists today with the arrival of migrants, laws must find a real solution'.* (Barreda 2017)

Similarly to *El Mercurio*, *La Tercera* also shows views about the civilised and uncivilised migrant linked to neoliberalism and national exceptionalism. The newspaper did not follow the steps of its counterpart, and it did not take a clear stand in favour of the economic policies as early as *El Mercurio*. The newspaper was first published on 7th July 1950, by Agustin and German Pico Canas (Monckeberg 2011,12). Initially, it covered mainly sports and crime. In the 1970s, *La Tercera* focused on hard news which brought more advertisement to its pages.¹ During Salvador Allende's administration, the newspaper opposed the socialist government, and it supported the 1973 coup d' Etat. *La Tercera* favoured Augusto Pinochet's dictatorship (1973-1990), but it was not a supporter of the Neoliberal reforms. Several critical right-wing voices from the market reform wrote articles for the newspaper during those years. (Monckeberg 2011,31)

In 1989, *La Tercera* was bought by one of the economic groups (Saieh Family) that benefitted from the economic policies introduced by the dictatorship (Monckeberg 2011, 45). The family consolidated the relevance of *La Tercera* as a political voice, turning the newspaper into a relevant asset for Copesa Enterprises. Thus, *La Tercera* has been connected to the neoliberal project (Navia & Osorio 2015) since then, supporting the right-wing Alianza por Chile (Alliance for Chile) and its free-market positions against the *Concertacion de Partidos por la Democracia's* governments (1990-2010). By 1972, *La Tercera* have a 15% concentration of the total of print news media advertisements in Santiago.

The newspaper *La Tercera* presents more detailed views about neoliberal citizenship when it is addressing the issue of migration. The narratives about civilised or good migrants are defined by tales about skills and qualifications of the migrants, their potential as individuals and their contributions to the economic development.

*'Clapes-UC: immigration has had a **positive impact on productivity**'.* (Leon 2016)

*'CASEN Survey: **migrants** earn an average of \$ 584,000, 28% **more than the average** Chilean income'.* (Herrera & Mardones 2016)

*'Migration: Government reviews **economic aspects** of bill before send (it to the Congress)'.* (Alvarez, & Nunez 2016)

Economic impacts reflect the idea of economic benefits that define the civilised migrant. Because of their skills, they can adapt to Chilean society and even earn more than the average Chilean. These images reflect the entrepreneurial spirit that migration tends to have in Chile. The right migrants will contribute to growth and wealth. The wrong migrants will become a burden to the state. The idea of entrepreneurship is one that is used to define who will be the successful migrants.

*'Gustavo Rayo, a researcher at the National Migration Center in the University of Talca, shares his thoughts: "Immigrants are better-qualified people, with greater autonomy, **decision and entrepreneurial spirit** because migrating from one country to another is a strong decision. Many times it implies breaking the family nucleus. Therefore, they **are highly motivated people.**"'* (Herrera & Mardones 2016)

*"Undoubtedly, our country requires migrant labour, and it is welcome. Our country needs to invest in science and technology. A formula used in those (technological advanced) countries was to promote the entry of what is called "**brain best**". Exactly that is what Singapore offered to **highly qualified** Chinese students: the possibility of education, "says the document'. (Canales 2017)*

*'A policy developed with a strategic perspective is fundamental to **attract qualified personnel or people who are interested in performing tasks in areas that have lost attractive for the national population** (...) On the other hand, incentives should be generated to retain the more than five thousand foreigners who are studying to obtain **higher education degrees** or postgraduate degrees in our country'. (Editorial 2016a)*

*'Chile has had a long and fruitful tradition of welcoming immigrants, **whose contribution to the development of the country has been invaluable**. But this was also possible because in general, it was people with a **high entrepreneur spirit and with the intention of settling and integrating into the national culture**'. (Editorial 2016a)*

Ong's idea of human capital expertise is evident when the newspaper is writing about migration. Entrepreneurial spirit, individual motivation as well as qualified personnel are traits to do with the type of migrants that will benefit and are welcomed in Chile. Examples of these views are found among the cases that the newspaper presents on its pages. The good migrant is exemplified as the middle-class professional that is struggling against discrimination and stereotypes. The following examples portray this:

*"We had business in Venezuela, and the situation in the country complicated them. My wife and I sold our things, and we came with some money to see what we could do", (Rafael Santelices) says. (...) **The profile of Venezuelans arriving in Chile is different from other Latin Americans who come in search of luck: many are professionals or entrepreneurs**'. (Perez 2017)*

*'The big problem I see concerning foreigners is the conjunction of several issues, **like the class**. I have heard comments like 'how weird, you do not look Peruvian', 'I did not know that there were Peruvians without indigenous factions' (...) I have not felt discrimination, but it must also be because **I am a university professor and I participate in academic spaces**'. (La Tercera 2016)*

*'(Gustavo) Espitia is a social communicator at the Externado University of Colombia (...) Currently, he works as a teacher at Catholic University of the North, in Antofagasta. "**When we***

arrived there were not so many Colombians. Most of us were professionals, with degrees and skills transferred for work". (La Tercera 2016)

Social class is a factor that differentiates the type of migrants accepted among Chileans. Ong's entitlements that allow migrants to enjoy globalisation are shaped by professional skills that are accepted by the Chilean society. Those skills would determine not only the position that migrants have within Chilean society but also their acceptance in the local context. Class in Latin American countries, as Quijano previously states, is connected to racial division of labour. Therefore, university educated migrants are located in the upper echelons of the social division. The following quotes graphically illustrate this issue:

'Iskra Pavez, sociologist and academic of the Bernardo O'Higgins University explains: "There are two categories of economic migrants: those who come to work in precarious jobs and those who come to work in highly qualified works, in whose cases they speak of brain drain when they are professionals"'. (Garrido -Sepulveda 2016)

'For Claudio Avendaño, a sociologist at the University of Santiago, the immigrant's changed because "usually the hegemonic public image is that the immigrant has no studies, (he/she) is dedicated only to manual works and disputes these works to the Chileans'. (Herrera & Mardones 2016)

This class vision of good migrants as skilled professionals determines the way in which the word is going to be used. The Eurocentric views about migration are visible when class division defines who the civilised migrants are that contribute to the country, - what Hindess defined Europeans' civilised force. The words 'expatriate' or 'foreigner' are used to differentiate Europeans from the rest of the migrants coming from other countries, as a separate category because of its racial background as well as job occupation. This narrative is reinforced by the newspaper, using reputable sources such as academics and migrant specialists as the following quotes show.

*'Cristián Doña, director of the Observatory of Inequalities at Diego Portales University, explains that **the expatriate is not a traditional migrant. "(Expatriate) is a low, but significant proportion (of migration). It is a minor group, staying mainly in the business world, and has contact with a highly competitive population"***. (Espinoza & Sepulveda 2016)

*'Daisy Margarit, director of Social Work at the Central University, who studies the subject, states that "we still do not assume that immigration is part of the country, that (...) can make us grow as a society. By contrary, we view (migration)as a curious object. **Therefore the real integration does not happen, and expatriates, refugees, immigrants, do not feel part of Chilean society "***"'. (Espinoza & Sepulveda 2016)

*'Felipe Berríos: We call **Europeans foreigners and Latin Americans, immigrants** (...) there is classism that as a society we must change and overcome'.* (Rodriguez & Vaccani 2016)

This differentiation is used for highlighting issues such as integration and racism. These are seen as common factors that occur when Chileans talk about migration. In some cases, 'expatriates' or 'foreigners' will be used to define a particular type of migrant that fits with the ideas of individual entrepreneurship thus qualifying them as very competitive individuals, as one specialist states above. These images do not contrast with those images that reflect the idea of national exceptionalism, where differences between locals and migrants define their acceptance.

Van Dijk (2000: 36-41) states that the media plays a key role in the diffusion and validation of what he describes as a new racism, where minorities are seen as socially different. This type of differentiation is reinforced with the idea of exceptionalism, where Chileans see other Latin American countries as different, without explicitly describing themselves as a superior nation. These images fit Van Dijk's concept of new racism, stressing again the social echelons defined by Westerners' views about race and ethnicity based on a racist distribution of cultural identities.

'Those who report more discrimination are those who come from more distant countries. "The more different they are from the Chileans, the more pronounced the discrimination they experience"'. (Garrido-Sepulveda 2016)

*'There is xenophobia, says the sociologist, who says that **there are culturally prestigious nationalities**. "It is considered **inferior** to be an **indigenous person or Afro-descendant**, who are seen as **economic migrants** (...) On the other hand, the **white foreigner** is seen as the **adventurer** and (he/she) is not called migrant, **but foreigner** "'*. (Garrido-Sepulveda 2016)

The above phrases reflect the persistent image of European and North American migrants as foreigners and entrepreneurs who will adapt well to the home country. On the contrary, there are those who do not fit within those images, because their skills and cultural identities would be seen as a burden for the country or a menace to its aspiration to become a developed country. *La Tercera's* visions about uncivilised or bad migrants are connected to the ideas described as poverty, overcrowded rooms and images of homelessness. These images are stressed in its headlines, including the Chilean views about migrant's crimes:

*'The forgotten immigrants **from the street**'*. (Jarpa 2016)

*'Cadem: 85% of **Chileans believe** that (the Government) must expel **the immigrants who commit crimes**'*. (Alvarez, M.E 2016)

*'Research shows that 28% of foreigners live in an **overcrowding** situation in Santiago'*. (Fernandez 2017b)

Encina's narrative about the negative impact of the so-called inferior races is still present when Chileans define who are the civilised or good migrants and characterise the uncivilised ones. The newspaper's articles connect the word migrant with the cases that in the collective image are seen as different because of their cultural background. Haiti's national are used to frame those pictures, linking them to poverty and dirt.

*'He maintains that some of his (Haitian) compatriots refused to open their doors when he wanted to interview them. "For shame. For fear that I will see that **they have containers with urine (in their rooms) or not spaces for hanging clothes**'*. (Fernandez 2017a)

*'What worries the Haitians the most is the winter, **since the toilets and showers are far from the bedrooms** (...) Each tenant must buy one (oven), but some are shared because new tenants do not have enough money. Some people **decided to prepare their food in their rooms**. **Those who earn more money install a refrigerator**'*. (Fernandez 2017a)

These narratives are linked to images that were common during the early 20th Century when migration from the countryside to cities resulted in social housing problems that pushed working-class families to share overcrowded rooms and flats. *La Tercera* brings these memories

back, comparing the situation of the newcomers with what locals experienced during the last century. The word 'foreigner' is used again but in a more negative sense, similarly to the Spanish word *afuerinos*, which means stranger. Therefore, strangers or outsiders are the ones who are living in extreme poverty conditions in the same way that strangers or outsiders from the countryside did 100 years ago.

'Remember the households where the workers lived in Santiago early twentieth century, collective dwellings that were a poor choice to the massive influx of workers from the countryside to the city. Huge families lived there without basic services that give them comfort. And it seems that some neighbourhoods of the capital evoke that time in Chile. But this time those are the houses where foreigners live.' (Fernandez 2017b)

'(Referring to a Haiti national) Some of his compatriots are pregnant or have young children. They value the small space; despite the tough situation that they must endure. (Women) Cook and the children eat on their feet. The owner does not put common dining rooms although he knows that about thirty people are living there'. (Fernandez 2017b)

Their precarious ways of life are what the newspapers connect with the negative impact that this has on the locals, middle and working classes. At the same time, it reinforces the idea that foreigners are committing crimes or living illegally in the country. Therefore, uncivilised migrants are related to crime and illegality as the following quotes show.

'This is one of the issues that the senator developed during his campaign in 2013, when he transmitted (...) to tighten controls regarding the arrival of foreigners to the region (...) He said that "the arrival of migrants is deteriorating the quality of life of Antofagasta people, especially those with low economic resources."' (Carreno & Ganora 2016)

'In that sense, he added: "Many of the criminal gangs that exist in Chile, such as those that clone bank cards are foreigners. This is particularly serious in those regions where immigration represents a large percentage of the population "'. (Alvarez, R. 2016)

'Many of the criminal gangs in Chile are foreigners '. (Alvarez,R. 2016)

The above quotes could be related to fears about the negative impact on private property as well as in the economic development of the country- both of them jeopardise the current narratives about exceptionalism in economic terms because of the neoliberal policies in Chile. The images of an economic paradise are challenged with the influx of migrants that won't fit in the human capital images about development and growth. On the other hand, this represents a threat to the neoliberal states because of the burden that they bring into a country where fiscal austerity has guided most of the economic policies. The pressure that the newcomers put into the state could challenge these assumptions, even if the migrants have to serve time in prison or apply for social housing. These ideas are found when local politicians plead for an organised migration that contributes to the country, rather than the disorganised mobility of people that could bring economic drawback to the neoliberal state.

"We welcome those who come to contribute or work, but we don't (welcome) those who have committed crimes, even if they serve their sentence in Chile," says deputy Núñez. He adds: "Every migrant who comes to commit a crime should leave."' (Carreno 2016)

‘A disorderly immigration - there is some evidence of massive arrival from specific countries- does not favour this virtuous (positive) circle (of migration). And therefore it is essential to design a migration policy that is capable of attracting mainly those foreigners who contribute to the economic, social and cultural development of the country’. (Carreno 2016)

‘A good immigration policy should facilitate the procedures that allow migrants to enter the labour market successfully. It should make hiring more flexible; (it should) speeding up the validation of degrees, as well as (it should) be more active in attracting people who complement the skills and interests of the local workforce, people with a high educational level’. (Editorial 2016b)

Although it seems that *La Tercera* frames the uncivilised migrant within the neoliberal understanding of citizenship, it is clear that national exceptionalism is implicit in these ideas. Friedman’s economic miracle concept emphasises that the right people are needed to bring entrepreneurial spirit into the country. Those living in the streets or in extreme poverty are seen as uncivilised migrants because their differences or skills are not able to fit within the national identity.

Conclusions

When it comes to defining what a civilised and an uncivilised migrant are, both *El Mercurio* and *La Tercera* express similar views about who are the individuals that would contribute to the Chilean narrative of the economic miracle and who are going to be a burden to the human capital image that defines neoliberal citizenship. Both newspapers see the civilised migrant under the prism of neoliberal definitions of individuals (entrepreneurial spirit and highly skilled) as well as under the national exceptionalism narrative, characterising the good migrants as the ones who are accepted within the labour division because of social class and cultural background. The migrants that are not skilled or their background does not fit with Chilean national identity because of social difference are characterised as uncivilised migrants and portrayed among the ones suffering because of crime, poverty and illegality. This reinforces Van Dijk’s ideas of new racism.

These images or tales become the hegemonic views about migration presented in newspapers because of the duopoly of the newspaper's ownership, which concentrate the readership between two companies: *El Mercurio* and *Copesa (La Tercera)*. As a result, the tales of the civilised and uncivilised migrant frame the views about migration in the printed media, homogenising stories and sources when the newspapers run articles addressing these stories. There is an element of power embedded in these public narratives about migration, as the Chilean economic elite are the ones that frame the stories that are expressed in the newspapers.

It is important to highlight the complexities of this scenario in the world of social media, where capital inequalities are found on the Internet and social media. Initially seen as a way to democratise the news content, online news outlets and social media faced similar challenges that alternative printed newspapers have. As Fuchs (2017, 149) points out, contemporary social media is not participatory as large companies centralise attention and visibility, marginalising alternative politics or narratives. Both newspapers, *El Mercurio* and *La Tercera* are challenged

by alternative online newspapers (*El Desconcierto*; *El Mostrador*) or for weekly publications (*The Clinic*). However, their position as dominant newspapers, their impact on the Internet has not diminished, bringing this binary vision of migration into the cyberspace.