

References

- Acuña, J. (2021). Informe No 3 OCEC: Subsidios en Pandemia. *OCEC UDP*.
<https://ocec.udp.cl/proye%20cto/552/>.
- Aedo, A. (2021). Conflicting visibilities: Police and politics among border migrants in Chile. *Security Dialogue*, 52(5), 418-435. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0967010620964676>
- Agamben, G. (1998). *Homo Sacer: Sovereign Power and Bare Life* (D. Heller-Roazen, Trans.). Stanford University Press.
- Agamben, G. (2017). *The Omnibus Homo Sacer*. Stanford University Press. ISBN: 1503603156
- Ajzenman, N. (2023). Migrants don't cause crime rates to increase — but false perceptions endure anyway. *The Conversation*.
<https://theconversation.com/migrants-dont-cause-crime-rates-to-increase-but-false-perceptions-endure-anyway-198054>
- Aradau, C., & Van Munster, R. (2010). Post-structuralism, continental philosophy, and the remaking of security studies. In *The Routledge handbook of security studies* (pp. 73-83). Routledge.
- Arostegui, M. (2018). Waves of Migrants Head to Chile, Putting a Strain on Services. *VOA News*.
<https://www.voanews.com/a/waves-of-migrants-head-to-chile-putting-a-strain-on-services/4516710.html>
- BBC. (2022). Chileans protest against Venezuelan migrants. *BBC*.
<https://www.bbc.com/news/world-latin-america-60197980>

BBC. (2022). Chileans protest against Venezuelan migrants. *BBC*.

<https://www.bbc.com/news/world-latin-america-60197980>

Berrios-Riquelme, J. (2021). Labor market insertion of professional Venezuelan immigrants in northern Chile: precariousness and discrimination in the light of migration policy. *REMHU: Revista Interdisciplinar da Mobilidade Humana*, 29, 117-132.

<https://doi.org/10.1590/1980-85852503880006208>

Bianchini, G. E., Navia, P. D., Cirano, R., & Nancuente, F. J. (2022). When Immigration is a New Issue: Evidence from Chile 2003 and 2017. *Revista Latinoamericana de Opinión Pública*, 11(2). <https://doi.org/10.14201/rlop.27287>

Bigo, D. (2006). Security, exception, ban, surveillance. In D. Lyon (Ed.), *Theorizing Surveillance*. Taylor & Francis.

Bonhomme, M. (2022). 'We're a bit browner but we still belong to the white race': making whiteness in the context of South-South migration in Chile. *Latin American and Caribbean Ethnic Studies*, 1-17. <https://doi.org/10.1080/17442222.2022.2099170>

Bonnefoy, P. P. (2017). Piñera frente a las elecciones en Chile: 'Voy a encabezar una derecha moderna'. *The New York Times*.

<https://www.nytimes.com/es/2017/11/17/espanol/america-latina/chile-sebastian-pinera-en-trevista-bachelet-elecciones.html>

Campbell, D. (1998). *Writing Security: United States Foreign Policy and the Politics of Identity*. Manchester University Press.

Canales, A. I. (2019). La inmigración contemporánea en Chile. Entre la diferenciación étnico-nacional y la desigualdad de clases. *Papeles de población*, 25(100), 53-85.

<http://dx.doi.org/10.22185/24487147.2019.100.13>

Centro de Políticas Públicas Universidad Andrés Bello. (2020). Sondeo de percepción sobre migración en Chile. Síntesis de resultados. *Centro de Políticas Públicas Universidad Andrés Bello*.

<https://www.extranjeria.gob.cl/media/2020/06/20200615-Resultados-Encuesta-Migracion-CC-en-Chile-UNAB-DEM.pdf>

Contreras, D., Larrañaga, O., Litchfield, J., & Valdes, A. (2001). Poverty and Income Distribution in Chile: 1987-1998. *Cuadernos de economía*, 38(114).

<http://dx.doi.org/10.4067/S0717-68212001011400004>

Cortina Orts, A. (2017). *Aporofobia, el rechazo al pobre: un desafío para la democracia*. Paidós.

Dauphinée, E. (2007). *The Ethics of Researching War: Looking for Bosnia*. Manchester University Press.

Dauvergne, C. (1999). Confronting Chaos: Migration Law Responds to Images of Disorder. *Res Publica*, 5, 21-43. <https://doi.org/10.1023/A:1009614925398>

Dillon, G. M. (1990). The alliance of security and subjectivity. *Current Research on Peace and Violence*, 13(3), 101-124. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/40725154>

Domenech, E. (2017). Las políticas de migración en Sudamérica. *Terceiro Milênio: Revista Crítica de Sociologia e Política*, 8(1), 19-48.

<https://www.revistaterceiromilenio.uenf.br/index.php/rtm/article/view/2>

Doña, C. (2022, May 18). Article: Chile's Welcoming Approach to Immigrants. [migrationpolicy.org](https://www.migrationpolicy.org). Migration Policy Institute.

<https://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/chile-immigrants-rising-numbers>

Doña Reveco, C., & Mullan, B. (2014). Migration policy and development in Chile.

International Migration, 52(5), 1-14. <https://doi.org/10.1111/imig.12157>

Espinoza, M. V., Rosas, V. P., Zapata, G. P., Gandini, L., Fernández de la Reguera, A., Herrera, G., Villami, S. L., Gómez, C. M. Z., Blouin, C., Montiel, C., Gálvez, G. C., & Palla, I. (2021). Towards a typology of social protection for migrants and refugees in Latin America during the COVID-19 pandemic. *Comparative Migration Studies*, 9(52). <https://doi.org/10.1186/s40878-021-00265-x>

Esposito, A., & Avila, M. (2013). Europeans fill jobs void in Chile's thriving economy. *Reuters*.

<https://www.reuters.com/article/us-chile-immigration-idUSBRE90O17G20130125>

Esposito, A., & Iturrieta, F. (2017). Chile's presidential hopefuls bet on anti-immigrant sentiment. *Reuters*.

<https://www.reuters.com/article/us-chile-immigration-idUSKBN1591CF>

Figuroa, J. A. C. (2016). "Education must not be for sale". *Dandc.eu*.

<https://www.dandc.eu/en/article/chiles-poor-youth-suffer-privatised-education-system>

Finn, V., & Umpierrez de Reguero, S. (2020). Inclusive Language for Exclusive Policies: Restrictive Migration Governance in Chile, 2018. *Latin America Policy*, 11(1), 42-61.

<https://doi.org/10.1111/lamp.12176>

Freier, L. F., & Espinoza, M. V. (2021). COVID-19 and Immigrants' Increased Exclusion: The Politics of Immigrant Integration in Chile and Peru. *Frontiers in Human Dynamics*, 3. <https://doi.org/10.3389/fhumd.2021.606871>

González, F. C. (2022). When Chile Faces the Otherness: Aporophobia and Racism in the New Migratory Policy of Chile through Transnational Lenses. *Global Histories*, 7(2),

58-78. <http://dx.doi.org/10.17169/GHSJ.2022.469>

González, R., Guerra, L., & Bertrand-Galindo, M. (2018). Inmigración en Chile: el diálogo de las naciones. *Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile*.

<https://www.uc.cl/noticias/inmigracion-en-chile-el-dialogo-de-las-naciones/>

Haiti Libre. (2016). Haiti - Social : Stampede of thousands of illegal Haitians in Chile.

Haiti Libre.

<https://www.haitilibre.com/en/news-18331-haiti-social-stampede-of-thousands-of-illegal-haitians-in-chile.html>

Hansen, L. (2006). *Security as Practice: Discourse Analysis and the Bosnian War*.

Routledge.

Huysmans, J. (1998). Security! What Do You Mean?: From Concept to Thick Signifier.

European Journal of International Relations, 4(2), 226-255.

<https://doi.org/10.1177/1354066198004002004>

Huysmans, J. (2000). The European Union and the securitization of migration. *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 38(5), 751-777.

<https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/pdf/10.1111/1468-5965.00263>

Huysmans, J., & Squire, V. (2017). Migration and Security. In T. Balzacq & M. Dunn Cavelty (Eds.), *Routledge Handbook of Security Studies*. Routledge.

ILO. (n.d.). Poverty, Inequality and Employment in Chile [Conditions of Work and Employment Series No.46]. *ILO*.

https://www.ilo.org/wcmsp5/groups/public/---ed_protect/---protrav/---travail/documents/publication/wcms_248029.pdf

Inter-American Development Bank. (2021). Migration flows in Latin America and the Caribbean: statistics on permits for migrants. *Inter-American Development Bank*.

<https://publications.iadb.org/publications/english/document/Migration-Flows-in-Latin-America-and-the-Caribbean-Statistics-on-Permits-for-Migrants.pdf>

IOM UN Migration. (2021). Chile — Monitoreo De Flujo De Población Venezolana 4. *Global Data Institute: Displacement Tracking Matrix*.

<https://dtm.iom.int/reports/chile—monitoreo-de-flujo-de-población-venezolana-4-febrero-2021>

Kozak, P. (2017). Peruvian immigrants in hospital after being set on fire by Chile fishermen. *The Guardian*.

<https://www.theguardian.com/world/2017/jul/18/chile-peru-immigrants-burned-fishermen>

Laclau, E. (2017). Discourse. In *Companion to Contemporary Political Philosophy* (pp. 541-547). Blackwell Publishing Ltd. 10.1002/9781405177245

Laclau, E., & Mouffe, C. (1985). *Hegemony and socialist strategy*. Verso.

La Tercera. (2019). Aclaración sobre artículo publicado por La Tercera: un error del que nos hacemos cargo. *La Tercera*.

<https://www.latercera.com/nacional/noticia/aclaracion-articulo-publicado-la-tercera-error-del-nos-hacemos-cargo/881975/>

Madariaga, A. (2005). Imaginarios vascos desde Chile. La construcción de imaginarios vascos en Chile durante el siglo XX.

Martínez, M. F. (2022). La persistencia del paradigma de seguridad en la regulación de los impedimentos de ingreso en la legislación migratoria chilena. *Oñati Socio-legal*

Series, 12(2), 287–327. <https://doi.org/10.35295/osls.iisl/0000-0000-0000-1227>

Medel, E., Jourdan, A., & Chang, R. (2021). 'They yell ugly things': Migrants in Chile's north fearful after fiery protests. *Reuters*.

<https://www.reuters.com/world/americas/they-yell-ugly-things-migrants-chiles-north-fear-ful-after-fiery-protests-2021-09-27/>

Meseguer, C., & Kemmerling, A. (2018). What Do You Fear? Anti-immigrant Sentiment in Latin America. *Sage Journals*, 52(1), 236-272. 10.1111/imre.12269

Milesi, O. (2018). Chile, an Oasis for Haitians that Has Begun to Run Dry - Chile.

ReliefWeb. <https://reliefweb.int/report/chile/chile-oasis-haitians-has-begun-run-dry>

Miller, M. J., & Castles, S. (1998). The Age of Migration: International Population Movements in the Modern World. *Guilford Press*.

Ministerio de Desarrollo Social. (2018). Encuesta de Caracterización Socioeconómica Nacional (Casen). *Ministerio de Desarrollo Social y Familia*.

<http://observatorio.ministeriodesarrollosocial.gob.cl/encuesta-casen>

Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores. (2018). "Chile is not going to adhere to anything that can be used against it and that threatens our sovereignty". *Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores: Gobierno de Chile*.

<https://www.minrel.gob.cl/minrel/noticias-antiores/chile-is-not-going-to-adhere-to-anyting-that-can-be-used-against-it>

Mussa, Y. (2021). Migración, la moneda de cambio del gobierno chileno. *The Washington Post*.

<https://www.washingtonpost.com/es/post-opinion/2021/02/15/chile-migracion-covid-pine-ra/>

Mutimer, D. (2009). Critical security studies. In *The Routledge handbook of security studies* (pp. 61-71). Routledge.

National Foundation for Overcoming Poverty. (2017). Calidad del empleo asalariado en población migrante de la región metropolitana. *National Foundation for Overcoming Poverty*.

http://www2.superacionpobreza.cl/wp-content/uploads/2019/06/01_MP_Metropolitana_Calidad-del-empleo-en-la-poblaci%C3%B3n-migrante.pdf

Newman, L. (2017) Chile: Outgoing leader Bachelet leaves uncertain legacy. *Al Jazeera*.

<https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2017/11/18/chile-outgoing-leader-bachelet-leaves-uncertain-legacy>

Newman, L. (2017). Chile: Outgoing leader Bachelet leaves uncertain legacy. *Al Jazeera*.

<https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2017/11/18/chile-outgoing-leader-bachelet-leaves-uncertain-legacy>

OECD. (2018). *How does CHILE compare?*

<https://www.oecd.org/chile/jobs-strategy-CHILE-EN.pdf>

Prensa Presidencia. (2018). Presidente Piñera anuncia Reforma Migratoria. *Prensa*

Presidencia. <https://prensa.presidencia.cl/discurso.aspx?id=73020>

Prensa Presidencia. (2019). ANTOFAGASTA - Presidente Piñera presenta Plan de

Desarrollo para la Región de Antofagasta. *Prensa Presidencia Gobierno de Chile*,

<https://prensa.presidencia.cl/discurso.aspx?id=73020>.

Prensa Presidencia. (2021). Presidente Piñera promulga nueva Ley de Migraciones para Chile. *Prensa Presidencia Gobierno de Chile*,

<https://prensa.presidencia.cl/discurso.aspx?id=173742>.

Prensa Presidencia. (2022). El Presidente Piñera realiza una declaración a la prensa sobre la entrada en vigencia del Estado de Excepción en la zona norte. *Prensa Presidencia*.

<https://prensa.presidencia.cl/discurso.aspx?id=186203>

Ramírez, J. (2020). From South American citizenship to humanitarianism: the turn in Ecuadorian immigration policy and diplomacy. *Estudios Fronterizos*, 21.

<https://doi.org/10.21670/ref.2019061>

Redacción AméricaEconomía. (2018). Inmigración en Chile: el miedo a la diversidad. *América Economía*.

<https://www.americaeconomia.com/analisis-opinion/editoriales/inmigracion-en-chile-el-miedo-la-diversidad>

Reuters. (2015). Disapproval of Chile's President Bachelet hits record high - poll.

Reuters. <https://www.reuters.com/article/uk-chile-politics-idUKKCN0Q81KJ20150803>

Reuters. (2017). Chile presidential hopeful Pinera vows to double economic growth.

Reuters. <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-chile-politics-pinera-idUSKBN1CN33U>

Reveco, C. D. (2018). Amid Record Numbers of Arrivals, Chile Turns Rightward on Immigration. *Migration Policy Institute*.

<https://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/amid-record-numbers-arrivals-chile-turns-rightward-immigration>

Sabatini, C., & Wallace, J. (2021). Migration in Latin America. *Chatham House*.

<https://www.chathamhouse.org/2021/10/migration-latin-america>

Salter, M. B. (2008). When the exception becomes the rule: borders, sovereignty, and citizenship. *Citizenship Studies*, 12(4), 365-380.

<https://doi.org/10.1080/13621020802184234>

Schüller Gamboa, P. (2020). Gobierno llama al Senado a rechazar indicaciones de la oposición a Ley de Migración. *La Nación*.

<https://www.lanacion.cl/gobierno-llama-al-senado-a-rechazar-indicaciones-de-la-oposicion-a-ley-de-migracion/>

Servicio Electoral de Chile. (2019). *Elección de Presidente 2017*. Servicio Electoral de Chile. Retrieved May 21, 2023, from

<https://historico.servel.cl/servel/app/index.php?r=EleccionesGenerico&id=216&n=2&v2=13388&v3=0&v4=0&v5=0&v6=0&v7=0&v8=0&v9=0&v10=0>

Stefoni, C., & Contreras, D. (2022). *Migration in Chile: trends and policy responses in the period 2000-2021* [Policy Document Series]. UNDP Latin America and the Caribbean.

<https://www.undp.org/sites/g/files/zskgke326/files/2022-11/PNUDLAC-working-paper-3-2-Chile-EN.pdf>

Tesfahuney, M. (1998). Mobility, racism and geopolitics. *Political Geography*, 17(5), 499-515. [https://doi.org/10.1016/S0962-6298\(97\)00022-X](https://doi.org/10.1016/S0962-6298(97)00022-X)

United Nations Human Rights. (2017). Migrants face border closures and exclusion, amid rising hostility. *OHCHR*.

<https://www.ohchr.org/en/stories/2017/04/migrants-face-border-closures-and-exclusion-amid-rising-hostility>

Universidad Católica Silva Henríquez, Comisión Nacional de investigación Científica y Tecnológica, Universidad de Chile. (2019). ¿Seguridad pública o seguridad migratoria? Peligros para los migrantes, desafíos para el Estado. In *BOLETÍN N° 3 OBSERVATORIO DE POLÍTICAS MIGRATORIAS*.

<https://www.ucsh.cl/assets/uploads/2022/07/Boletin-No3-Observatorio-de-Policas-Migratorias.pdf>

Valenzuela-Vergara, E. M. (2018). Media Representations of Immigration in the Chilean Press: To a Different Narrative of Immigration? *Journal of Communication Inquiry*, 43(2), 1-23. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0196859918799099>

Walker, R. B. J. (2011). *Inside/Outside: International Relations as Political Theory*. Cambridge University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511559150>

Walsh, S. (2015). "One of the Most uniform races of the entire world": Creole eugenics and the myth of Chilean racial homogeneity. *Journal of the History of Biology*, 48(4), 613-639. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/43863429>

Walsh, S. (2019). The Chilean exception: Racial homogeneity, mestizaje and eugenic nationalism. *Journal of Iberian and Latin American Studies*, 25(1), 105-125. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14701847.2019.1579499>

Walton, S., & Boon, B. (2014). Engaging with a Laclau & Mouffe informed discourse analysis: a proposed framework. *Qualitative Research in Organizations and Management*, 9(4), 351-370. <https://doi.org/10.1108/QROM-10-2012-1106>

West, D. M. (2017). Election of Piñera and the end of an epoch in Chile. *Brookings Institution*.

<https://www.brookings.edu/opinions/election-of-pinera-and-the-end-of-an-epoch-in-chile/>

World Politics Review. (2018). Chile Takes an Anti-Immigrant Turn With 'Humanitarian Flights'. *World Politics Review*.

<https://www.worldpoliticsreview.com/chile-takes-an-anti-immigrant-turn-with-humanitarian-flights/>