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Migrant identity constructs: identities in resistance and strategic identities in Haitian children in Santiago de Chile

Construcciones identitarias migrantes: identidades en resistencia e identidades estratégicas en niños y niñas haitianos en Santiago de Chile

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Summary: In recent years, the arrival of the Haitian population in Chile has been increasing and has been characterized by a complex process of social insertion, which has had repercussions in the field of education. In this regard, this study is situated in the field of cultural conflict by seeking to interpret the identity constructions experienced by children from Haiti on the basis of social practices and perceptions of the socio-educational environment in a school in Santiago de Chile, from the conceptualization of difference and intersectionality in migration. In this way, it is realized that children from Haiti build their identities from identities in resistance and strategic identities. To account for this, the research is based on the thesis of the degree in anthropology. A qualitative methodological strategy was developed through school ethnography with a year-long field work, in which participant observation and in-depth interviews were conducted. The aim was to highlight a critical stance with respect to the importance of rescuing the perspective of children and their capacity for agency.

Resumen: En los últimos años, la llegada de población haitiana a Chile ha ido en aumento y se ha caracterizado por enfrentar un proceso de inserción social complejo, que ha tenido repercusiones en el ámbito educativo. Al respecto, este estudio se sitúa en el ámbito del conflicto cultural al buscar interpretar las construcciones identitarias que experimentan niños y niñas provenientes de Haití a partir de prácticas sociales y percepciones del entorno socioeducativo en una escuela de Santiago de Chile, desde la conceptualización de la diferencia e interseccionalidad en las migraciones. De esta manera, se da cuenta de que los niños y las niñas provenientes de Haití construyen sus identidades a partir de identidades en resistencia e identidades estratégicas. Para dar cuenta de ello, la investigación se desprende de la tesis de grado en antropología. Se realizó una estrategia metodológica cualitativa, mediante etnografía escolar con un trabajo de campo de un año, en el cual se desarrolló observación participante y se realizaron entrevistas en profundidad. Se busca relevar una postura crítica respecto a la importancia de rescatar la perspectiva de niños y niñas y su capacidad de agencia.

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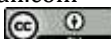
1. INTRODUCTION

Migration has been a global phenomenon throughout the existence of our planet. Today, globally, an estimated 200 million people migrate every year. In Latin America and the Caribbean, some 25 million people had already migrated to another country by 2011 (Pedrero, Oyarte & Cabieses, 2017). In the case of Haiti, although it was the first country in Latin America and the Caribbean to gain independence and expel the European colonies from its territory in 1804, it has suffered throughout its history the consequences of political violence, economic precariousness, political and natural disasters and political and economic interventionism, aspects that explain the reasons for the emigration of its population (Stefoni, 2017).

In this sense, it is relevant to delve into the factors behind the migratory trajectories of those who move from that country. In first place, regarding to the political field, we have that Haiti has experienced institutional instability following coups d'état and foreign military interventions on the island. The country's police structure has been relegated and suppressed with countless cases of human rights violations, deaths and torture of union leaders, movements and political parties (Rojas, Amode & Vásquez, 2017). Economically, over the last 100 years there has been a tendency towards stagnation and decline, while in the social sphere the inequity and lack of opportunities offered to the inhabitants in a context of widespread violence stands out. About to education, problems of low quality, little access and no State supervision are detected due to a tertiary education system that is concentrated in 90% private and paid (Navarrete, 2015). Currently, since the end of 2016, Haiti has been affected by a humanitarian crisis resulting from the passage of Hurricane Matthews during the second half of that year (Rojas *et al.,* 2017).

Today, the second largest source of household consumption in Haiti is remittances, which in 2011 accounted for twice the country's exports and more than 30% of GDP. In this context, the population has decided to leave the island as an alternative to find better living conditions, which is illustrated by the fact that approximately two million Haitians are abroad (2% of the country's total population) (Navarrete, 2015; Rojas *et al*., 2017).

Due to the anti-migrant policies that were established especially after the September 11 attack in the United States, the earthquake in Haiti in 2010 and a global context of economic asymmetry and globalization of migration, the flows were transformed. While Ecuador and Peru have become arrival and transit destinations, respectively, the biggest boom in the last two years

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has been in Chile, due to the socio-economic crisis of the subcontinent's main power (Brazil) (Riedemann & Stefoni, 2015; Rojas *et al.*, 2017; Rojas, Koechlin, Eguren & Yaksic, 2017).

In the case of Chile, interregional migration has had a greater boom since the 1990s, under a spontaneous migration that has its explanation in the movement of the economy and the search for work, related to the global phenomenon of migration (Arriagada & Silva, 2017). Among its causes are the closure of borders in the developed world (United States and Europe); greater political and institutional stability, due to the end of the dictatorship; the constant decrease in poverty; the geographical proximity that allows interregional migrants the possibility of returning home frequently; and finally, the Southern Common Market (Mercosur) treaty, which generated links with the various South American countries in the search for economic, political and cultural integration that would facilitate human mobility within the region (Cano & Martínez, 2009; Stefoni, 2013; Tijoux, 2013; Suárez, 2015).

Regarding to statistics on the migration phenomenon, the most recent estimate by Instituto Nacional de Estadísticas (INE) and Departamento de Extranjería y Migración (DEM), of Ministerio del Interior de Chile shows that up to December 2018 there were an estimated 1,251,225 foreign residents. Haiti ranks third as the largest community with 14.3% of the total, below Peru and Venezuela. Based on the analysis of surveys such as Casen (2016), it can be argued that this is a migration of active working age, since the age group with the largest population is the 30-44 age group, with 34.9% of the total. However, studies show that family reunification processes have been taking place since 2004, which implies the arrival of migrants' children in Chile (Pavez, 2013).

The migrant population in the country currently lives in conditions of social vulnerability, due to the impoverishment of this population, poor housing conditions, unemployment or informal employment and experiences of discrimination, racism and constant abuse (Bernales, Cabieses, McIntyre & Chepo, 2017; IPPDH, 2017). In this context, one of the most affected groups has been the Haitian population. Their insertion is portrayed from a position of loneliness, as it is only developed at an economic level and, therefore, at a work level (Rojas *et al.,* 2017). The main areas in which they are developed are construction, cleaning and formal and informal sales, which shows a work division with poorly paid jobs and high levels of risk and workload (Valenzuela *et al.,* 2014). There are also signs that their qualifications are being wasted, because there is no recognition of studies in the country (IPPDH, 2017; Bustamante, 2017). At the sociocultural level, studies argue that there is exclusion marked by racism and discrimination as something that is

transversal to their experience (Rojas *et al*., 2017). Studies such as Pérez (2008) report situations of racism even in everyday contacts such as transportation.

In education, it is important to mention that the increase in the number of children of different nationalities entering the Chilean system has been significant. According to data from the Ministerio de Educación (Mineduc), there are 61 thousand migrant students in the Chilean education system (La Tercera, 2017) and 50% of these, between one and six years old, come from poor households in a multidimensional way (twice the Chilean population) (Pedrero *et al.,* 2017). In the case of the Haitian population between the ages of zero to 14, this represents 13.5% of the permanent population, according to data from the DEM (2016).

On education policies, work is still incipient at the ministerial level to guide schools on how to approach and work with the multiplicity of cultural groups that make up the school. The first Mineduc policy related to migration was to guarantee in 2003 the right to education for all children living in the country (Stefoni, 2013). Likewise, the new educational regulations state that migrant children and young people have the right to access, remain and progress under equal conditions and regardless of nationality, origin or migration status (Mineduc, 2016). Some considerations have been established in this regard, such as the right of access, food, school books, national student card and school insurance, as well as the recommendation to implement measures and pedagogical adjustments in educational establishments for the inclusion of these students.

At the same time, access to education is restricted to families labour insertion and their socio-economic level (Carrillo, 2016). In addition, the schools would be designed for the majority of Spanish-speaking students, without differentiating policies for those who have little command of the language, as is the case of some Haitian students, even though for this population it constitutes a barrier to their integration (Queiruga. 2018; Campos, 2018, 2019). The difficult adaptation to the local culture is also reflected in the school (Fuenzalida, 2017; Pavez, Ortiz, Jara, Olguín & Domaica, 2018), where situations of racism identified through expressions at the discursive level are experienced, which are not only manifested in an overlapping way, but also in an open and explicit way: with symbolic violence, insults, gestures and physical aggression (Riedemann & Stefoni, 2015; Pavez *et al,* 2018; Pavez, Ortiz, Sepulveda, Jara & Olguin, 2019). Campos (2018) mentions that cultural conflict is one of the most latent problems and that if there is no intentional, designed, planned and monitored process, racist attitudes will continue to be reproduced by a Chilean population that marginalizes and denigrates negritude. In this regard,

Stefoni, Stang and Riedemann (2016) assert that there is no public policy to care for migrant students and that interculturality does not predomínate in educational practice.

Based on the above, this study is situated in the sphere of cultural conflict, seeking to interpret the identity constructions experienced by children from Haiti on the basis of social practices and perceptions of the socio-educational environment in a school in Santiago de Chile, conceptualizing difference and intersectionality in migration.

The relevance of responding to these questions is due, in the first place, to the fact that much of the research carried out so far has focused on studying migration as a phenomenon among adults, relegating children to a secondary role and not understanding them as actors in the process of their insertion in Chile (Pavez, 2012). This study, however, takes over from James & Prout (2015) in understanding childhood as being immersed in a structure that affects its life and, therefore, understands its capacity for agency within structural frameworks. Children participate in building and determining their own lives, as well as those around them and the societies in which they live. In addition, due to the recent boom in Haitian migration, studies to date have focused especially on the Peruvian population and those studies that refer to Haitian migration have not addressed the phenomenon by observing social relations inside and outside the classroom.

Finally, it is relevant to mention that this study was carried out during the first and second basic level, according to the Chilean educational model, that is, with boys and girls of six and seven years of age respectively, with the same course during the years 2016 and 2017 in a school in the municipality of Pedro Aguirre Cerda in the Metropolitan Region. These levels were considered because they are key to "the recognition of symbols and expressions of national identity and diverse local identities, to strengthen the sense of regional and national belonging" (Mineduc, 2013). By observing and analysing social relations in the educational environment and how these influence the identity constructs of Haitian students, this aspect could be affected by the educational objective being pursued.

2. METHODS AND MATERIALS

The following results are derived from the research to obtain the degree of anthropologist. This was based on a qualitative strategy and it is oriented to the deepening on the subjective and intersubjective dimensions of the problem, as it is the social actors who reproduce the context of interaction that is being researched (Sautu, Boniolo, Dalle & Elbert, 2005). It was tried to represent, as Canales (2006) proposes, the feelings and thoughts of the social actors; their

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valuations, motivations, desires and beliefs. That is why the ethnographic method was used, as it allows the registration of cultural knowledge together with the detail of social interaction patterns, besides carrying out a holistic analysis of societies (Restrepo, 2015). The ethnographer participates actively in the daily life of the people studied (Hammersley & Atkinson, 1994). This experience, according to Wolcott (1975) in Wilcox (2007), is developed throughout a faithful investigative position at the time of describing and interpreting the nature of the social speech of a group of people, in addition to the studied culture, which was the beginning of the study.

Among the ways of doing ethnography, for the purpose of this research, school ethnography was implemented; an ethnography that is done in and about the school, with the aim of applying an ethnographic practice and an anthropological reflection and, in this line, exploring the events of a school. Its purpose is to provide information about the means, contexts and participants in education, in order to find patterns of behaviour in the social relations and dynamics that occur within that institution (Velasco & Díaz de Rada, 2006). This type of ethnography is relevant in this study to describe and interpret the socio-educational context through social relations and practices in the school.

The field work lasted one year, during the second school semester of 2016 and the second semester of 2017, in a school located in the municipality of Pedro Aguirre Cerda. This ethnographic experience emphasized the duration of the fieldwork, as proposed by Restrepo (2016), based on two reasons: the more time spent in the field, learning from the context and sharing with the people who make up the context, the more trust is generated with the social actors and, therefore, the more reliable the contextual interpretations that are made.

Before explaining the research techniques used, it is important to mention that the first and second elementary ones were carried out by the same head teacher or person in charge. In 2016 there were 12 students, three of them from Haiti, with initials W, SY and F[2], while in 2017 the course changed in its composition and increased to 15 students. W and SY left and D, T, J and S entered; all of them from Haiti. C, originally from Peru, also arrived. At the end of the scholar year M joined to the course, after an only few days of having arrived in the country from Haiti.

In this sense, the techniques that were used to give account for the research problem are participant observation and in-depth interviews. About the participant observation, it is understood as the practice that consists in living among the social actors studied and getting to know them

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[2] In this study, for identity protection, the initials of names will be used to refer to children.

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through the interaction (Berreman, 1968, quoted in Ogbu, 2006, p. 148) and a process of reflexivity (Guber, 2001; Restrepo, 2016). In this case, about 15 classes of different subjects and school activities, such as parents' meetings and national holidays, were attended; breaks were also observed. The in-depth interview was used because it has the particularity of focusing on the dialogue with the interviewees, in order to express the feelings and thoughts of the actors in an oral verbal way (words, meanings, senses, etc.) and in a gestural and corporal way (the expressions, postures, etc.) (Canales, 2006). Thus, interviews were conducted with five teachers, a coordinator from the Pedagogical Technical Unit at the basic level and a psychologist from the government Program "Aquí, Presente"; an interview was also conducted with D and F.

Once the information was collected and recorded, two methods of analysis were used: content analysis and discourse analysis. Both were required for two phases of the research: a first phase aimed at systematizing, coding and describing the information obtained with the research techniques, with content analysis (Andréu, 1998) and through the software Atlas TI; and a second phase of interpretation of the data described and systematized above, for which discourse analysis was used (Bolívar, 2007; Van Dijk, 2010).

3. RESULTS AND DISCUSSIONS

Conceptualizing the difference

According to Grimson (2011), all human beings belong to different groups, whether it is a village, a country, a region or the world, as well as age, class, gender, generation, cultural or social movements. The ways in which we relate to these identity categories are inscribed in our cultural histories by determining which groups one identifies with and whom one perceives as "other", along with the meanings and feelings that derive from those categories[3] (Grimson, 2011, p. 138). In this sense, it is understood that all identity construction is a social construction as it is necessarily relational and intersubjective. It is constituted in communication and integration processes in which conflicts and domination modalities are not absent; also, as a difference with respect to other identities (Vergara J., Vergara J. E. & Gundermann, 2010).

Thus, the concept of otherness becomes important in identity theory. Segato (2007) mentions that the segmented structure of difference has developed historically from otherness and the production of identity. The social groups that are perceived as "others" derive from that specific

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[3] Therefore, while the cultural refers to routine practices, beliefs and meanings; the identity refers to feelings of belonging to a collective and groupings based on shared interests (Grimson, 2011).

formation and from the history of each nation. The difference in this sense is understood as a social relationship built within the power systems that support the structures of these classifications (Grimson, 2011; Brah, 2011).

Therefore, in order to deep into being a migrant, it is necessary to refer to the difference. This concept is based on what Brah mention (2011), who proposes four ways to comprehend how difference develops: 1) difference as experience, by giving guidance and symbolic and narrative meaning to the world as a struggle between material conditions and meaning; 2) as a social relationship, as that which is constituted and organized in relationships through political, cultural, economic and institutional practices; 3) as subjectivity, by connecting with the recognition of emotions, desires and feelings, assuming specific subject positions; and 4) as identity, by linking with the three previous ones and finally becoming the way we experience the world and signify it as identity.

In migrations, difference is built on intersectionality, that is, under social power relations and contexts that reproduce social inequalities. In the case of interregional migration, it is immersed in a global phenomenon of inequality between central and peripheral economies, becoming part of global inequality (Arango, 2003; Abad, 2005; Stefoni, 2013). In this way, oppressions intersect and interconnect in living conditions, based on classifications such as gender, race, class, national origin, migratory status and religion, among others (Lugones, 2005; Magliano, 2015), which can affect access to rights and opportunities, as well as situations of privilege or exclusion arising from the above. In the case of this study, national differentiation, migratory status and religion were particularly present.

It is worth mentioning that the meso-analysis in the study of migrations[4], also reveals that these are composed of networks, activities and patterns that include both the receiving society and the society of origin, which is called Transnational Theory (Glick-Schiller, Basch and Blanc-Szanton, 1992; Guarnizo, Portes & Haller, 2003). This will be fundamental to understanding how identities develop by connecting with the country of origin, in this case, Haiti.

In this way, the study seeks to show that identities become part of a process, sometimes diffuse, of recognition, resistance and strategy, which occurs from and among migrant children themselves. In this case, recognition and resistance go hand in hand and are produced in the

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[4] The meso analysis in the study of migration refers to the inclusion of the family dimension as a relevant aspect for understanding migration. This analysis considers the New Economics of Migration Theory, the Theory of Migratory Movements and the Transnational Theory of Migration (Pedemonte, Amode & Vásquez, 2017).

constant dialogue between distinguishing oneself as a foreigner/migrant and generating resistance to the new socio-cultural realities; while the strategy is produced by accepting that this reality cannot always be set aside and that in order to live in society it is necessary to give in and appropriate new patterns, behaviors and practices from and in the receiving country, as is in the case of Chile.

Identities in Resistance

Among the Haitian population, community is being built both inside and outside the course. In the case of the second basic year, a very solid friendship group has been formed and a protection barrier against unexpected events. They are supported by activities, especially linked to learning. For example, D, who is one of the most dedicated in the class, assists T and J. He helps them with their homework and on one occasion I observe that D writes in T's notebook the activity assigned by the teacher so that he can go home. They also share conversations about the food in Haiti and the sea there, as well as the experiences of their friends in the Dominican Republic, due to their previous migratory experiences in that country. Their conversations are always in Kreyòl because they prefer their language according to D, except when they are with a classmate or someone who speaks Spanish. Outside the classroom, during the breaks, it was possible to observe on countless occasions the union between Haitian students in the different courses. D, T and J played soccer with Haitian classmates of different levels and without the presence of any Chilean students.

Of all the classes observed, the one in which I noticed the most participation in the course, and especially the Haitian group, was in the religion class. It is conducted by a teacher who uses songs, videos, stories and other educational materials to encourage the teaching of God. They are very participative and sing songs strongly. They seem happy and even decide to stay at recess to continue watching videos. This shows the intrinsic religious connection of this population, which is even mentioned in some teacher interviews, and which is reflected in their attitudes during class.

In relation to this, it is possible to consider that an identitarian way is produced in the social relations among the same Haitians from the realization of common activities, memories and the development of cultural practices of the country of origin, religious practices and the use of the Kreyol. This refers to the exercise of differentiating from another, which in this case would be the Chileans, who become a minority in these situations, in part because of the predominance of the Haitian population in the school. Nevertheless, this differentiation of the migrant community is

also constituted in order to confront problems associated with their insertion process[5], such as mainly learning in the classroom. Inequality relationships would then arise as a result of State and institutional inaction regarding the complexities of school insertion. Although it is not central to this study, during the research it was possible to verify no initiatives in the classroom and no guidelines for responding to the problems that occurred for foreign students.

Another central element is the recognition of the flag respecting to the identification with their countries of origin and as one of the main ways to build their identity from the national classification. This is illustrated by what happened during a class I shared with C, who is a student of Peruvian origin. When talking to her, she tells me about Peru and the trips she has made. While she is drawing, she asks me what she can draw. I give her the idea that she should draw something about Peru. She draws the flag. T was sitting next to her at that time and he saw the whole situation. A few days later T comes over to me and asks me to make a square for him to draw the flag of Haiti. She remembers when C drew the flag of Peru. She draws two horizontal stripes and paints the stripes with blue and red. He couldn't finish it and couldn't remember what the Haitian flag looked like. He gets frustrated and says: "Aaaah, I don't know how to do it. But, look, I drew it for you". He shows it to me and, after my thanks, he sits down again at his post. In this sense, T also recognized how significant it is to show the flag to give an account of its origin.

In addition to the above, it is important to mention that building a Haitian community does not imply that students of different nationalities recognize and differentiate themselves. During a math class, a discussion took place between T and the teacher, due to T's bad behaviour. Because of this situation, C, a Peruvian student, realized what had happened and they began to talk. She told him that he has to change his attitude, that it is bad that he is annoying because they don't tell him anything. The following conversation takes place:

"C: You always call me Peruvian, as if to annoy me. You annoy everyone. You're a foreigner too, we're both foreigners. We're both immigrants.

T: (He is silent and affirms bodily) I don't trouble the J.

C: All three of them do the same mischief (in reference to J, T and D)".

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[5] In this study, the concept of insertion is used to refer to the process of acceptance, significance and appropriation that occurs upon arrival in a new environment due to migration, as is the case for Haitian children. This concept was decided upon over the concepts of integration or inclusion, because this study does not seek to analyze the state, institutional and pedagogical role with respect to valuing and recognizing the diversity of social groups.

After the conversation, C demands that T say he won't bother anymore. T affirms and they both look good. The atmosphere calms down and T with my help starts writing.

This shows that there is a recognition among migrants themselves of their experience as foreigners, through national differentiation. In this case, Haitian nationality is positioned above Peruvian nationality, which could be explained by their majority presence in the establishment. It calls attention, however, that C refers to both immigrants and foreigners. Tijoux (2013) reflects on this and maintains that the concept of "immigrant" reveals immigration as a constructed stigma, in relation to which not all foreigners are considered as migrants. Immigrants would be the unwanted ones, who by virtue of their skin colour, features or phenotypical characteristics, are far from the European ideal. In this case, the above could be justified on the basis of their experiences and trajectories as immigrants.

Strategic Identities

The construction of identity for Haitian students is also strategic, insofar as they recognize themselves as part of a new reality, due to which they must adopt and adapt certain identity and cultural elements in order to face their insertion in the country. As mentioned above, when they interact with Spanish-speaking students, they communicate through that language. However, they also acquire Chilean idioms and rudeness. In W I observed for the first time the use of words that were totally Chilean, especially in expletives. He repeated "huevón" when relating to his classmates and "po" at the end of his sentences. Others I heard from Haitian children were: "altiro[6]", "achuntar[7]", "bacán[8]", "cabro/a[9]"; "fome[10]"; "guata[11]", "lesear[12]", among others. In this way, they connected and understood each other in a common language. However, the use of Spanish and idioms also emerged in answer to the discomfort of Chilean students, who expressed their discontent with Haitian students when they spoke only Kreyòl.

The same goes for games. These are resignified from the Chilean culture. One day I came to greet the group that was made up of all the Haitian students of the course after class. D was angry, so I asked him what was wrong with him. He answered that he was angry because he had

[6] Do something immediately.
[7] Synonymous with being right.
[8] Adjective that qualifies what is positive or great.
[9] It is used to refer to "guy".
[10] Synonymous for boring.
[11] It refers to the stomach.
[12] Performing crazy actions in order to entertain or annoy.

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lost his "taca taca"[13]. I told him that we better play something together and asked if they know how to play "cachipún[14]". He said yes and that we should play, but that we should do some penance. I proposed to jump five times when someone loses. That's how we started:

"Ca-chi-pún" repeat after me. Lose D and jump. Then I lose and jump. Then D, and so on for three more games. Two friends of S from first grade arrive and join the game, while D and T explain the game in Kreyòl. We finished the game and S and her friends go home. F tells us to play again, but this time another game:

"Ca-chi-pun... Fireman! Police!" They laugh and yell that he's losing D, because he didn't get to talk and ended up being the fire. I can't understand and they explain. The game was that instead of stone, paper or scissors, you have to be fire, water, police or fireman. The loser is the fire, because his classmates manage to put it out by saying one of the other three, that is, either water, policeman or fireman. We play for a while and then they go home.

This scene reflects that the games that are known in Chile are used by them and reappropriated according to their interests. In this case, for me to be able to participate in the dynamic, they had to play something I knew about. Already in the second dynamic they took advantage of this game to turn around to a new one they had created. In this way they continue, somehow, to differentiate themselves from what is established in the country.

Language is also very important for social relations, on the one hand, because those who do not know Spanish cannot relate to the Chilean population. This is illustrated by the distance that the girls in the course take from S, who only met at recess with her lower-level Haitian classmates. Given this situation, I ask C why she didn't share with S, to which she replies: "We don't play with her because we don't understand her". On the other hand, language also meant some confrontations between Haitian students, as is the case of F and her discomfort to play the role of interpreter and translator with respect to Kreyòl, due to the teacher's request, which is exemplified as follows:

When W arrived I told her if she could translate for us and she says 'no, I don't know his language, I only know Chilean', 'Ahhh, I tell her, I'm going to have to call another girl (...)' ah yes, now I know'. (...).Mmm, it bothers him. Sometimes I tell her, I don't know, the S asks me something and we don't know what, so I say, 'F, can you?'; "'no, I don't want to', and later, when

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[13] Taca Taca is the name given to table football in Chile.
[14] The cachipún is also known as "rock, paper or scissors" in other countries.

she saw the S so afflicted, she spoke to her in the language and said 'rubber' 'Ah, teacher, she want the rubber, pass it to her'" (Interviewee E1. November, 2016).

Among the reasons for this reaction and discomfort of F would have to do with a process of insertion into the Chilean context in the face of which he avoids any relationship with his country of origin. This situation was interpreted by the teacher as an attempt to leave Haiti aside and recognize herself only as a Chilean. For D, this situation is constant with those who have recently entered the country, as he expressed during the interview. He mentions that it was difficult for him to go to school once he arrived in the country because he did not know Spanish, when he was in another school.

In this sense, although it is mentioned in the previous section that among the ways to create a migrant community was the use of Kreyòl, learning the language used in Chile is fundamental to carry out the insertion in the country. In the case of not knowing it, social relations are largely limited to interaction between Haitians. However, when there is knowledge of both, this can also give rise to situations such as the one exemplified by F, insofar as the use of Kreyòl to link up with and insert oneself more socially with respect to the Chilean reality is avoided.

4. CONCLUSIONS

The main objective of this study was to interpret the identity constructions experienced by children from Haiti in an educational context. Thus, it was shown that identities are produced from a process of recognition, but at the same time of resistance and strategy, from and among migrant children themselves in the new socio-cultural realities. In this way, a dialogue is produced between social relations and practices that differentiate, on the one hand, from resistance with a Haitian community that is also a way of facing problems associated with the insertion process; and on the other hand, through the exercise of strategy, by recognizing themselves as part of a new reality, due to which they must adopt and adapt certain identity and cultural elements to deal with their insertion in the country.

The results proposed here are based on an idea of identity(s) as a social construction, as it is developed in a necessarily relational and intersubjective process. With this, it is proposed that identities in resistance and strategic identities are not mutually exclusive and, on the contrary, they are part of the diverse forms that they can acquire. In this case, special reference was made to the intersectionality of difference from nationality, which invites us to think about the urgency of addressing these identity processes in migrant children on the basis of categories such as gender,

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sexuality or race. To this end, it is undoubtedly more necessary than ever to use school ethnography, understanding schools and direct contact with their actors as one of the essential ways of understanding the problems experienced by the foreign population, especially children, in the receiving countries.

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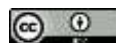
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