ABSTRACT

ETHNIC DIVISIONS IN A GLOBALIZING LATIN AMERICAN CITY: A CASE STUDY OF THE PERUVIAN COMMUNITY OF SANTIAGO DE CHILE

by Charles H. Wade

Beginning in the early 1990s, there has been a dramatic increase of Latin American migrants, especially Peruvians, into Chile. This substantial increase has generated negative responses from some Chileans, which are particularly apparent in Chilean print media. Through ethnographic research and interviews with Peruvians in Santiago, this thesis examines some elements of an emerging and prominent Peruvian community in Santiago. Empirical fieldwork suggests that Peruvians in Santiago are a marginalized group in some respects but less so in others. Despite some ethnic tensions, however, Santiago is confronted with an inevitable growth in its ethnic and urban diversity as a globalizing Latin American city.
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CHAPTER ONE
INTRODUCTION AND METHODOLOGY

1.1 Introduction to the Research

During the last ten years there has been a substantial increase of migration into Chile from other Latin American countries. The Andean countries of Ecuador, Bolivia, and Peru, in addition to Argentina, are the most notable providers of migrants to Chile (Map 1). Peru provides the largest number of new Andean immigrants into Chile, most of which concentrate in greater Santiago. Whereas in 1992, there were less than 8,000 documented Peruvians living in Chile, as of the end of 2001 it was conservatively estimated that well over 60,000 Peruvians lived in Chile, with an additional 10,000 arriving annually (Ortega 2001). Estimates on more specific demographic attributes of the Peruvian migrants indicate that 60% of Peruvian migrants in Chile are women and that about 60% of the entire Peruvian population in Chile is situated in metropolitan Santiago (Nuñez-Melgar n.d.). The legal status of the Peruvian migrants is classified into three broad categories: Peruvians that come to Chile with legal documentation, Peruvians that enter Chile illegally, and Peruvians that enter legally but overstay their visas.

In regard to the increase of Chile’s Peruvian population, reports from Chilean newspapers and even some U.S.-based sources report allegations of very serious crimes. Some of these allegations include the destruction of Peruvians’ work permits and immigration papers by their employers in addition to more serious allegations of physical and sexual abuse of Peruvians on the job (Ortega 2001). These trends and reports prompted me to investigate the impacts of this very significant increase of Peruvian migration into Chile. In addition to this, I also chose to study the reported social problems the Peruvians face as a case study to contribute to the literature on the effects of international migration in Latin America.

Chilean newspaper articles that focus on Peruvian migrants cite how Peruvians are often involved in crime, as either perpetrators or victims, and often portray Peruvians as being desperate to escape Peru and start new lives in Chile. Based on the representation of the Peruvians’ experiences in Chilean newspapers and the tone used in the articles to describe the Peruvian situation in Chile, it would appear that Peruvians are marginalized in their new home. My empirical research shows that although there are Peruvians that have faced and continue to face difficulties upon moving to Chile, many Peruvians have adapted and adjusted quite well to their new environment. Thus, there is more complexity to the situation than some articles from Chilean newspapers have suggested. Therefore, Chilean newspapers sometimes present a relatively narrow interpretation of the problems and issues that Peruvians face in moving to Santiago by focusing on the professed problems attributed to the more recent waves of Peruvian migration. For example, Ortega’s (2001) article proved to be a key source for designing my research questions and establishing a major part of my project’s framework. As the remainder of this thesis shows, however, my findings present some potent contrasts to her interpretations of the Peruvians’ experiences in Santiago.
problems the Peruvians face as a case study to contribute to the literature on the effects of international migration in Latin America.

Source: Online map library, University of Texas—Austin.
http://www.lib.utexas.edu/maps/americas/southamerica_ref802636_1999.jpg
Another important aspect in understanding Chilean-Peruvian relations in Santiago is the Chileans’ perception of Peruvians “invading” public spaces in downtown Santiago, namely the Plaza de Armas in the center of the city. The Plaza de Armas is located adjacent to an area known primarily to Chileans as “Little Lima” (Map 2) because of the ostensible ubiquity of Peruvians (especially on the weekends) and the many businesses, services, and socializing opportunities that appeal to them. “Little Lima” has become the focal point of Peruvian social activity, as evidenced by its hosting the greatest concentration of Peruvian businesses such as Peruvian restaurants, grocery stores, travel agencies, Internet cafes, and calling centers. Also, it is a well-known fact in Santiago that “Little Lima” is the place to go to find workers, especially for casual employment and cheap foreign labor. “Little Lima” is also a familiar area to Peruvians who seek employment. It is important to mention that I discovered that the label of “Little Lima” has somewhat of a negative connotation that was imposed by Chileans to that particular part of the city. From this point forward, I continually refer to the area as “Little Lima” as a term of convenience, but I shall place each subsequent reference to the area in quotes to maintain as much neutrality as I can for this study.

Thousands of residents of Santiago, Chilean and non-Chilean, pass through “Little Lima” every day. These people may be Chileans looking for low wage or casual workers, the various customers of “Little Lima”’s businesses, or Peruvians who may work or socialize in the area. Other people that walk through “Little Lima”, however, are simply pedestrians just trying to get to their next destination and casually pass through the area and disregard its Peruvian qualities.

On the one hand, “Little Lima” is just one specific section of downtown Santiago, but on the other, an awareness exists among many of Santiago’s residents, both Chilean and non-Chilean, that the area known as “Little Lima” is regarded as a “Peruvian space”. This is most evident on Sundays, as “Little Lima” – despite being generally viewed by the Chilean public as a poor, dangerous, crime-infested, immigrant section of the city – becomes a vibrant space where hundreds, if not thousands, of Peruvians and other Andean peoples convene to worship, socialize, network, or conduct business. Thus, to Peruvians, “Little Lima” serves as a symbol of ethnic solidarity for Peruvians who have adjusted (though not without some adversity) to their new home in Santiago.

1.2 Research Problem and Questions

As is the case for most large, national capital cities, Santiago hosts a variety of ethnic and socioeconomic groups, both of which are concentrated in various parts of the city. This is primarily reflected in terms of income disparities, which vary greatly in Santiago (Scarpaci et al. 1988). Areas of immense wealth, as well as extreme poverty, are concentrated in specific areas of the city. But the condition of poverty in Santiago, and in the rest of Chile, has improved over time. In 1987, 38.7% of metropolitan Santiago and 45.1% of Chile lived in poverty (Dockemadorff et al. 2000: 175). In 1996, 14.8% of Santiago and 23.2% of Chileans lived in poverty (Dockemadorff et al. 2000: 175). The transition back to democracy since 1990 is largely credited with the reduction of poverty, although the locations of impoverished people within the city remains virtually unchanged (Dockemadorff et al. 2000: 174). Although economic disparities are still common, the reduction of poverty and continued economic growth of Chile are likely to be contributing factors to the more recent immigration.
Caviedes and Knapp (1995: 285), in describing some of the geographic characteristics of Chile, provide a description of the country that may lead some readers to deduce that Chile is physically and culturally isolated. Although the physical geography of Chile exhibits some naturally isolating features (such as the vast Pacific Ocean on the western coast, the towering Andes mountains on the eastern border, the Atacama Desert in the north, and the dense forests and archipelago in the south), the country is known to be a recipient of immigrants. Though the most significant amounts of immigrants arrived in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, today Santiago still hosts an array of ethnic groups, migrants and expatriates, including but not limited to Germans, Hungarians, Filipinos, Koreans, and Palestinians. As mentioned above, other Latin nationalities such as Argentines, Ecuadorians, and Bolivians are found in considerable numbers in Chile as well. But recently, it is the Peruvians that are becoming an especially significant group in both size and importance. This is manifest in the attention that Peruvians garner from the Chilean public and media.

Table 1 indicates that the number of Latin American migrants in Chile is small when compared to Brazil and Argentina. But given that an estimated 60,000-plus Peruvians are currently in Chile, there apparently has been a substantial increase since the data were compiled in Table 1. An increase of this magnitude in just ten years warrants
investigation. This is especially important taking into account the reports of struggles Peruvians face and how they are accommodating themselves.

**Table 1: Comparative Chart of Selected South American Nationalities Represented in Selected South American Host Countries**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country of Residence</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Peru</th>
<th>Bolivia</th>
<th>Ecuador</th>
<th>Paraguay</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Chile</strong></td>
<td>1982</td>
<td>4,308</td>
<td>6,298</td>
<td>1,215</td>
<td>284</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1992</td>
<td>7,649</td>
<td>7,729</td>
<td>2,267</td>
<td>683</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Argentina</strong></td>
<td>1980</td>
<td>8,002</td>
<td>115,616</td>
<td>771</td>
<td>259,449</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1991</td>
<td>15,977</td>
<td>143,735</td>
<td>975</td>
<td>251,130</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Brazil</strong></td>
<td>1980</td>
<td>3,789</td>
<td>12,980</td>
<td>758</td>
<td>17,560</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1991</td>
<td>5,833</td>
<td>15,694</td>
<td>605</td>
<td>19,018</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Uruguay</strong></td>
<td>1985</td>
<td>241</td>
<td>211</td>
<td>199</td>
<td>1,421</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1996</td>
<td>528</td>
<td>376</td>
<td>235</td>
<td>1,512</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Economic Commission of Latin America and the Caribbean, [www.cepal.cl](http://www.cepal.cl).

All other migrant groups mentioned in Table 1, with the exception of Paraguay, are currently found in greater numbers today in Santiago than the numbers reported in Table 1. Through my fieldwork experiences, I came across various non-Chileans, although there were no indications of an increase in the numbers of Paraguays in Chile. Given the increase in the numbers of other Latin nationalities mentioned above, Bolivians, Ecuadorians, and Argentines are other groups that are attracting some negative attention in Santiago. But according to Ortega (2001), it is the Peruvian community that faces the greatest discrimination of all of the ethnic groups in Santiago. This prompts several research questions: How did Ortega come to this conclusion? If she is correct, why do Peruvians face the most discrimination in Santiago? What are the bases for Peruvians reportedly being the most marginalized ethnic group in Santiago? From my preliminary research, “Little Lima” appeared to be the center of the Peruvian community in Santiago. Taking this into account, I focused my empirical research on the neighborhood of “Little Lima” and the surrounding area. From there, I set out to investigate if the neighborhood was an area of residential and social marginalization as described by Ortega and various Chilean news sources. This assisted in formulating my primary research question:

- **Is “Little Lima” the product of the voluntary congregation of Peruvians or is it the result of external discriminatory forces?**
Supplementary questions to be answered through empirical research include:

- What distinguishes “Little Lima” from other neighborhoods in Santiago?
- What distinguishes Peruvians from other nationalities in Chile? How are the Peruvians identified and classified? Do they possess phenotypic differences in appearance (height, skin color, etc.) or are they identified by social and cultural attributes (dress, linguistic dialects, etc.)? Or are they indistinguishable?
- What are the motivations or actions behind the formation of “Little Lima”? Has this neighborhood always been known as “Little Lima”? Was it named this by the Peruvians or Chileans?
- How do the Peruvians characterize their experiences in Santiago?

1.3 Methodology

Prior to fieldwork, I learned about the Peruvian situation in Chile by reading Chilean newspapers on the Internet. Several major Chilean newspapers are available online, and I drew most of my information from El Mercurio, Las Últimas Noticias, and La Segunda. These newspapers proved to be invaluable sources as I could follow developments on the status of Santiago’s Peruvian community before I left for Chile. I could also gather more background information in the newspapers’ online archives and could also keep up with stories on the Peruvian community after I returned from Chile. Stories specifically on the Peruvians, however, were only occasionally published and generally short. They did, however, provide useful facts and information for developing research questions and determining where to go in Santiago to conduct the ethnographic portion of my study. Finding available articles from the Chilean newspapers was not difficult, as each newspaper’s website offers a search engine for the paper’s archives that retain articles from at least the last few years. This was useful for examining previous stories, helping me to learn some of the facts about Peruvians living in Santiago and also for assisting in my generation of interview questions.

The fieldwork portion of this project involved research in Santiago, Chile over a period of seven weeks in June and July of 2002. The primary goal was to obtain an understanding of the feelings and experiences of Peruvians after resettling in Santiago and to gather a sense of whether or not they were in fact a marginalized group. I obtained this data primarily through nineteen confidential, semi-structured, open-ended interviews with Peruvians living in greater Santiago. I was also acute to observations or remarks from dozens of Chileans or other foreign residents about Peruvians during conversations with them. These interviews were conducted in a variety of parts of Santiago with a broad cross-section of respondents representing both sexes, a range of ages, Peruvian geographic origin for those of Peruvian descent, and other factors. All observations, acquired information, quotes, and interview responses were recorded in a notebook I kept with me in the field at all times. I also kept a second notebook as a clean, extra copy of my notes collected in the field, separate from my field notebook, and used this as a more permanent record of notes, observations, and interview transcripts.

Peruvian restaurants in “Little Lima” and other areas of Santiago were an accessible and obvious place to gain some familiarity with the Peruvian community and to begin finding potential Peruvian interviewees. Many of the Peruvian employees were curious as to why a young American would come into their restaurant and ask questions about the Peruvians in Santiago. This often led to more direct conversations and then,
after introducing myself and the study, usually at least one employee or other person involved in the initial conversation (such as a customer) volunteered to be interviewed about his or her personal experiences. To diversify my respondents, however, I was careful to not rely solely on respondents working in restaurants, and I also found respondents through other techniques that I describe below. Going to Peruvian restaurants, however, was a useful way to find Peruvian respondents that were both customers and employees.

Oftentimes just sitting on a sidewalk bench along the street in the Plaza de Armas or in “Little Lima” proved to be a useful method for obtaining a variety of information. In “Little Lima”, sitting and watching the interactions between Peruvians, and between Peruvians and others, provided insight into how Peruvians interacted socially in Santiago and what those who came to “hang out” or look for work (temporary or otherwise) would do in “Little Lima”. Trying to distinguish who belonged in which of these aforementioned categories was not always easy, and sometimes it appeared that some Peruvians could fit in more than one category. Those seeking work would often just sit and wait for someone or something to come along, while leaning against the Metropolitan Cathedral wall or mingling in the streets. Other Peruvians interacted with those waiting for work opportunities while passing through the area. And others, often Peruvian but sometimes not, came to “Little Lima” to shop in the many grocery and clothing stores or to make use of services such as the calling centers and travel agencies. By sitting and observing these businesses, and by asking some questions of people I would meet, I was able to gain a sense of how they operated and casually survey the number and types of customers they served.

I also employed photography as a tool in helping to capture the appearance and atmosphere of Santiago on a greater scale, “Little Lima”, and other parts of the city of interest in the study. In particular, I photographed businesses located in “Little Lima” and the surrounding area, the Plaza de Armas area, and mass gatherings of Peruvians in downtown Santiago to provide some visual documentation to the study. Other data I collected include various print sources such as Chilean newspapers and information such as flyers and advertisements. These were available from Peruvian organizations and businesses that handed out these materials to the public and to me personally.

The most important source of data comes from the interviews I conducted with nineteen Peruvians, including ten male and nine female respondents ranging in ages 19-47 and representing a variety of Peruvian geographic origins. Most respondents also contributed something distinctive or unique to the study by sharing a personal experience, a commentary on the Peruvian experience in Santiago, and/or reflections on the status of Peru. The size of this pool of respondents is not conducive to statistical analysis. Instead, the intent was to gain a qualitative understanding of the Peruvians’ experiences of living and working in Santiago (Murillo Castaño 1998: 191-192). Recent studies on racial discrimination demonstrate the advantages of using qualitative methods to study racism from the victim’s point of view (de la Torre 1999: 95). The data do not represent the entire Peruvian population in Santiago, although there was consistency in the responses (Morris 1998: 1117). Interviews lasted anywhere from ten minutes to more than an hour. I also wrote down quotes from individuals that I gathered in a variety of settings and contexts, although these were not obtained in an interviewer-interviewee interaction but rather from more informal conversations.
All interviews were conducted in Spanish. The core interview questions are listed below:
1) Where [in Peru] do you come from specifically?
2) How is it possible to tell that you are Peruvian (i.e. how would someone know you are from Peru by looking at you or speaking with you)?
3) Why did you move to Santiago?
4) How long have you lived in Santiago?
5) Where in Santiago do you live?
6) What are your reasons for living in that part of the city?
7a) Do your friends/family live in Santiago?
7b) If so, where?
8a) Was it your choice to live in that part of town?
8b) Why or why not?
9) What are your reasons for living there and not somewhere else?
10a) Are you currently employed?
10b) If so, what is your job?
11) Do you work for a Chilean, a Peruvian, someone else or are you self-employed?
12) How has your work experience been?
13) How have you been treated by the Chilean residents of Santiago?
14a) Do you feel welcome here?
14b) Why do you feel that is so?
15) Do you have any other comments about your migration to Santiago and your experience here?

No respondent indicated that he or she or anyone he or she knew had experienced problems in finding a home to rent. Some respondents explained their reasoning for living in their respective part of the city, and their responses overwhelmingly pointed to the respondents having a choice of where to live in the city. This contrasted with my preliminary hypothesis of residential discrimination, and redirected my research toward an investigation of social and economic discrimination.

Upon returning from fieldwork, I collected more scholarship supportive of my field research. Most of this scholarship is not specifically on Santiago or Chile, although many case studies on migration and urbanization in Latin America in general are related to my findings, as discussed further in the literature review. I found the journals *International Migration, Ethnic and Racial Studies*, and *The Professional Geographer* to be the most valuable and informative for my research. I also made good use of the Internet again to read Chilean newspapers in order to keep abreast of news from Chile and its Peruvian community.

### 1.3.1 Sample Design

A main goal in my methodology was to gain a qualitative understanding of the experiences of the Peruvians in Santiago. I never meant to employ any sort of statistical analysis, and I had no intention of presenting the results of a more humanistic study in a quantitative fashion. Rather, all information from people or by people was obtained in the field in a face-to-face interaction. This applies to my interviewees and the dozens of others (Chilean or non-Chilean) I spoke with in the field. I present my findings to represent more of a convenient sample rather than a fully representative sample.
In attempting to find prospective Peruvian interviewees in Santiago, I located Peruvians in more contextual “Peruvian” places. In other words, I found places throughout Santiago that various sources indicated where Peruvians could possibly be found. These places include more active times in “Little Lima” and places such as calling centers or Peruvian restaurants. In instances where conversations occurred where I mentioned to people that I was conducting a study on Santiago’s Peruvian community, oftentimes Peruvians would identify themselves as Peruvian and voluntarily talk or agree to an interview. These situations happened either in the streets of “Little Lima” itself or in businesses like Peruvian restaurants. At times when multiple people were involved in these informal conversations (which was usually the case), I was able to conduct a few interviews at one time. Conversations with non-Peruvians occurred in a variety of contexts and I include various quotes and observations from these parties in the appropriate parts of the thesis.

1.4 Structure of the Thesis

In the sections above, I described the research problem, the questions that come from this problem, and the methods used for research to address these questions. In structuring the remainder of this thesis, I draw from a variety of literature in Chapter 2 to build a conceptual framework for the study. I evaluate literature on topics such as international migration in Latin America, global and globalizing cities, concepts of race and ethnicity in Latin America, and some qualities of urban ethnic communities. In Chapter 2, I tie my research goals and questions to the literature, by restating my interview questions in the appropriate section of the literature review to illustrate the relevance of each section to formulating such questions.

Chapter 3 deals directly with my case study. In Section 3.2 I examine how Peruvians are viewed in media. Section 3.3 addresses how Chileans and Peruvians perceive each other based on my empirical fieldwork. Section 3.4 contrasts generalized theories of migrants in Latin America with characteristics of contemporary Peruvian migrants. In Section 3.5 I discuss Peruvian identity, institutions, and social networks in Santiago and relate these attributes to the urban landscape and sense of place found in “Little Lima” in Section 3.6.

In Chapter 4 I discuss my research findings and return to my research questions. I discuss whether or not the Peruvians are a marginalized group in Santiago in Section 4.2 and in Section 4.3 I evaluate in more depth how “Little Lima” is defined. I conclude the thesis in Chapter 5 by relating larger scale processes such as the globalization of Santiago to resultant, more localized processes such as the consequential draw of migrants and the reinforcement of ethnic identities from this migration.
CHAPTER TWO
LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

In this chapter I review some research revolving around four sets of concepts that are central to the conceptual framework I have developed in this thesis: International migration within Latin America, global and globalizing cities, concepts of race and ethnicity in Latin America, and the variety of urban ethnic communities drawn primarily from case studies of cities in the United States.

In section 2.2, I cover some of the major migratory flows in Latin America. I begin with the example of Central America as a site of important and complex flows, especially within in the last twenty-five years. I then move to the examples of Colombians migrating to Venezuela and then to the many groups, particularly Bolivians, moving to Argentina. I conclude this section by making comparisons of these studies to my own case study, and note how there are many similarities between them.

In Section 2.3, I discuss some of the concepts behind the construction of global cities. I especially draw attention to the fact that Third World cities are often left out of the discourse despite their contributions to the global city network. I conclude this section by arguing that Santiago plays a role in the global city network, although the term “globalizing” city is a more appropriate description of Santiago.

In Section 2.4, I review some of the concepts behind race and ethnicity in Latin America and their particular relation to my case study. I point to the fact that these concepts are quite complex and deviate from the Anglo American concepts of race and ethnicity.

Finally, in Section 2.5, I examine ethnic spaces and places in cities. I found that the studies that I present in this section are appropriate in helping to set up a framework to analyze my study of the Peruvians in Santiago. I begin with some general theories and concepts of how and why groups congregate in cities. I then review some of the debates on how ethnic enclaves are defined. Next I review some case studies of different ethnic groups and how the places and spaces they occupy in their respective cities assists in their identity construction as well as influencing relations with more dominant societies.

2.2 International Migration within Latin America

The findings from the literature on international migration within Latin America are a central component in helping to develop a framework for my case study. A variety of studies, both in English and Spanish, describe various cases involving different peoples, locations, and the many contexts of migration that is emblematic of the region of Latin America. My purpose here is to provide a review of some of the key works concerning international migration within Latin America.

International migration within Latin America is an underrepresented topic in the literature. As Diaz-Briquets (1983: 2) observes, “the coverage of detailed studies on international migration in Latin America is very uneven”. It is important to draw attention to the under representation of international migration in Latin America because it is a critical issue for the region. Chant (1999: 249) observes, “[r]ecognizing that until
early [in the twentieth century] Latin America was a major destination for international migrants, [but] most international movements in the twentieth century have been within the continent or from the region to North America.” The fact that major population flows within the region are common, yet understudied, should compel more Latin Americanists to engage in this field of research.

Another surprising issue regarding international migration in Latin America is the limited amount of attention given to the topic in some commonly used Latin American geography textbooks. Gwynne and Kay’s (1999) edited volume discusses some migratory movements in Latin America and cites a few specific examples. Blouet and Blouet’s (1997) edited text offers a broad overview. Clawson (2004) dedicates only one paragraph to the issue, although he does briefly mention the new Peruvian migration to Chile (Clawson 2004: 342). Preston (1998a: 173-174), in his own chapter of his edited textbook (Preston 1998b), presents nearly two pages on the topic and briefly discusses a few specific case studies. Caviedes and Knapp (1995) are perhaps the most thorough of this group of textbooks in their coverage of South America’s internal migratory flows, citing several examples and providing attention to various ethnic groups throughout the book. In sum, the range of attention concerning international migration within the region found in geography textbooks varies. Rather, major Latin American geography textbooks such as the five mentioned above generally focus mainly on immigration to the region from Europe and emigration from the region to North America.

A major source of emigration in the region is Central America. Mexico is a major recipient of Central American migrants, as illustrated by Bailey and Hane’s (1995: 174) observation of Guatemalans that traditionally migrate and work in the coffee fields of southern Mexico. Perhaps the most significant emigration flow in Central America comes from El Salvador. Bailey and Hane (1995: 178) note that between 1979 and 1992, over one million Salvadorans became refugees, fleeing the country to several different destinations. Some in-depth case studies on this topic include Basok’s (1993) and Quizar’s (1998) examinations of Salvadoran refugees in Costa Rica. Many diverse and complex exchanges highlight the region, as explained by Mármore’s (1988) study of the varied and multidirectional flows between Central American countries in the early 1980s. Palacio (1988) examines how Belize is another recipient country for many Central American and Caribbean nationalities as well as Mexicans.

Moving further south to draw other comparisons to my case study, I next examine international migration in South America. Taking into account Chant’s statement mentioned above regarding the prevalence of migration within the region, Caviedes and Knapp (1995: 157) note that during the last half century, South America in particular experienced and continues to experience an increase in migration between its own countries. Massey et al. (1998: 196) categorize the literature specifically discussing international migration involving South America into three groups: (1) Historical studies of transatlantic migration and its effect on South American societies, (2) studies of contemporary international migration and its relation to internal population movements, and (3) studies of contemporary emigration to developed countries such as the USA. In further evaluating this literature, Massey et al. (1998: 196) describe some specific topics that are commonly covered in the literature, such as analyzing macrostructural factors that determine migration, examinations of subgroups of migrants (such as undocumented, seasonal or agricultural workers), and the effects of international migration on
communities and households. Massey et al. (1998: 212) cite the effects of remittances, return migration, social networks, and urban communities of migrants as sparsely studied areas. In case studies involving international migration in South America, many authors cite Argentina and Venezuela as the principal migrant receiving countries in South America.

Taking this literature into account, I first turn to Venezuela and secondly to Argentina to briefly discuss some specific case studies regarding their experiences with immigration from other Latin American countries. I found that these studies offer parallels to my own case study. The findings that these authors present in describing the pull factors of Venezuela and Argentina closely resemble the current context for Chile now receiving many Latin migrants. They also serve as a good point of comparison to show similarities between past and present flows in the region.

Bleir’s (1988) study examines industrial development in Venezuela in the 1970s and how it affected economic and social relations with Colombia. Bleir (1988) explains this by comparing the more advanced economic position of Venezuela in the 1970s as compared to many Latin American states, but most notably with the then faltering economy of Colombia. The economic status of Colombia had a great influence on emigration, as Murillo Castaño (1988) notes in a similar study analyzing the situation of the 1970s and 1980s. Murillo Castaño (1988: 191) remarks that in the 1980s, Colombia became a major labor-exporting country. At the beginning of 1983, the number of Colombian migrant workers in neighboring Venezuela was more than a million and as high as 2.5 million according to some estimates (Murillo Castaño 1988: 191).

Bleir (1988: 76) describes how industrialization in Venezuela and Colombia had an important effect on labor migration from Colombia to Venezuela. This was important not only in terms of its magnitude, but also with respect to the destinations and types of migrants (Bleir 1988: 76). The increase in the number of Colombian migrant workers to Venezuela in the 1970s was a result of the rapid development of the Venezuelan economy during the oil boom in which there was a shortage of labor, especially in agriculture and commerce, and great wage differentials compared to Colombia (Bleir 1988: 76).

Sassen-Koob (1979: 455) mentions how the rapid development of the oil industry in Venezuela influenced the state to initiate an aggressive pro-immigration policy in 1973. She explains that policies in the 1960s were largely restrictive, although they did not hamper immigration (Sassen-Koob 1979: 457). Immigrants from other Latin American countries, many of whom were undocumented, were already known to live and work in Venezuela before 1973. In the 1950s, European immigrants overshadowed Latin immigrants in Venezuela, whereas immigrants from other Latin countries dominated in the 1960s (Sassen-Koob 1979: 457). Sassen-Koob (1979: 455) surmises that the pro-immigration policy of 1973 was not so much of a policy encouraging all immigration as much as it was a policy promoting legal immigration and more immigration from Europeans.

The effects of this policy are clear in terms of the reception of Colombian immigrants in Venezuela. Regardless of where Colombians worked in Venezuela at the time, they experienced “a climate of persecution and xenophobia” (Murillo Castaño 1988: 196). He elaborates on this by explaining how Colombians faced accusations of being the cause of crime and unemployment.
Argentina is another South American country known historically for large amounts of immigration. Strong economic growth, especially around Buenos Aires, generated a need for immigrant labor in the 1950s, 1960s, and 1970s (Massey et al. 1998: 199). Marshall (1983: 235) adds that the Southern Cone is, traditionally, the most important area for labor migrations in Latin America. Bolivia, Paraguay, and Uruguay are well documented sources of immigrant labor for Argentina for both skilled and unskilled migrants.

A specific case study is Dandler and Madeiros’ (1988) chapter on Bolivians from the province of Cochabamba migrating to Argentina. This chapter is based on data from the 1970s and 1980s, although Bolivians continue to migrate to Argentina in large numbers. Dandler and Madeiros (1988: 8) explain that migration from Bolivia to Argentina (and especially Buenos Aires) is set within the context of the economic and social changes that occurred in Bolivia following the 1952 Revolution. At that time and for years afterward, many of the Bolivian migrants came to work in the sugarcane fields of northwest Argentina, although large numbers also migrated to Buenos Aires, oftentimes taking jobs in construction or day labor. Dandler and Madeiros’ data show that the personal reasons Bolivians have for migrating are variable, although the wage differentials between Bolivia and Argentina are a major economic incentive. Dandler and Madeiros (1988: 9) present data revealing estimates from the 1970s of Bolivian immigrants in neighboring countries. In 1970, about 92,000 Bolivians were resident in Argentina. The estimate for Bolivians in Argentina in 1975 is 500,000. This disparity in the data is likely related to strong economic fluctuations and the differences between work opportunities between Bolivia and Argentina during this time period.

In contrast with the Venezuelan case, Argentina in the 1960s had an interesting policy (or lack thereof) for immigration. Marshall (1979: 490) explains that during this time, Argentina took little or no action to control immigration. Marshall questions whether this was because of an open door policy in Argentina or if the Argentine government possibly had surreptitious motives to take advantage of foreign labor. This is possible considering the favorable conditions for emigration in neighboring countries. The situation of Bolivian emigration that Dandler and Madeiros (1988) present – based on their findings in talking with Bolivian migrants and the time period in which their data were collected – may be a case in point. Although regional migration in Latin America slowed down in the 1980s due to the pervasive economic problems of the “Lost Decade” (Pellegrino 2000: 402), demand for immigrant labor in Argentina persisted despite continuing economic problems (Massey et al. 1998: 199).

From the preceding examples of foreign Latin migration to Venezuela and Argentina, it is evident that migration between Latin American countries is by no means a new phenomenon. These examples are also helpful in supporting my own findings of how migrants are received after moving from one Latin country to another. This is clear from Murillo Castaño’s (1988) description of the discrimination Colombians have faced in Venezuela, and Marshall’s (1979) allusion to Argentina’s exploitation of migrants from neighboring countries coming from vulnerable backgrounds. The similarities that I draw from these studies to my own indicate to me that, despite being underrepresented in the literature, intra-Latin American migration is common and the specific case of Peruvians migrating to Chile in significant numbers should not be viewed as an isolated incident.
However, this begs the question of what makes Peruvian immigration into Chile a unique or special case. Diaz-Briquets (1983: 11) specifically mentions how northern Chile, where the frontier with Peru and Bolivia meets (see Map 1), is well known to be the site of seasonal migratory flows (often for the indigenous Aymara populations in the vicinity between these countries). Factors such as economic fluctuations also influence migration in this area. Traditionally, Bolivians in particular settle permanently in northern Chile to work in the mining industry. Diaz-Briquets (1983: 11) adds that international migration in this area is an occurrence noted to be in existence “for centuries”. Given Diaz-Briquet’s description, it is clear that Peruvians do not have a completely new presence in Chile. Therefore, it is questionable as to how “foreign” Peruvians really are to Chileans. I deduced that there must be a new context where such purportedly strong discrimination against Peruvians could develop. In other words, could it be possible that there are reasons why Chileans react to Peruvians the way that they do in current contexts as opposed to how Chileans received foreign populations in the past? This question led me toward researching some more recent literature on international migration within Latin America especially regarding Peruvian migration.

More recent literature on international migration within Latin America explains that Peruvians are among the most mobile of Latin Americans in recent years. This Peruvian emigration is largely ascribed to the political and economic crises in Peru in the last several years. Pellegrino (2000: 400) points out that between 1980 and 1990, the number of Peruvians in all Latin American countries that were still open to immigration increased. During the previous period between censuses, Peruvians were the fastest-growing national group in Venezuela, Argentina, Brazil, and Chile (Pellegrino 2000: 400). A unique characteristic of Peruvian migrants is that, according to censuses, they are, on average, more educated than other Latin American migrants (Pellegrino 2000: 400). In fact, many Peruvian immigrants are also professionals and technicians (Pellegrino 2000: 400). In regard to the more recent numbers involved, Leonard (2000: 439) mentions that one million outmigrants, mainly from the middle class, left Peru for the United States and elsewhere between 1988 and 1994.

In regard to the push factors influencing Peruvian emigration and the pull factors in the host countries, Santiago plays a key role in attracting emigrating Peruvians. Chile is in closer proximity to Peru than, say, the United States. But cultural factors also come into play, such as Chile and Peru both being predominantly Spanish-speaking, Roman Catholic countries. Chile is host to a comparatively stable and democratic government in relation to some other Latin American countries. Economically, Santiago in particular appears to be currently benefiting from globalization (Gwynne and Kay 1999). Although Lima has also felt the impacts of globalization, so far it has not found a significant new role for itself in the larger regional economy of Latin America (Leonard 2000: 439).

Issues that I discussed above in this section from the literature on international migration in Latin America also helped in developing some of my interview questions for Peruvians in Santiago. Specifically, these include:

1) Where [in Peru] do you come from specifically?
3) Why did you move to Santiago?
7a) Do your friends/family live in Santiago?
8a) Was it your choice to live in that part of town?
8b) Why or why not?
2.3 Global Cities and Globalizing Cities

Santiago is unquestionably the primate city of Chile, dominating the political, economic, and cultural functions of that country (Gilbert 1998). As an example of the economic dominance of Santiago over Chile, in 1995, 47.4% of Chile’s Gross National Product concentrated in greater Santiago alone (Dockendorff et al. 2000: 173). Further, metropolitan Santiago is home to approximately six million of Chile’s fifteen million residents. The influence of Santiago, however, does not end inside Chile’s political boundaries, as Santiago is a city of growing influence, power, and prominence in Latin America and the world. An integral part of my case study revolves around how the current global status of Santiago is a major pull factor for the newly arriving Peruvians. To further understand this process, it is necessary to examine some of the literature that define what constitutes “global” and “globalizing” cities to determine whether either label represents Santiago and its status in Latin America and the world-system.

Several studies contribute to the debate on what criteria define a global city and which cities to include and exclude from the “global city” label. Sassen’s (1991) seminal work argues that advanced producer services are the distinctive features of contemporary global cities. Following from the work of Sassen, Beaverstock, Taylor, and Smith (1999) cite Santiago among only six other cities in Latin America identified in the various literature on global cities (the others being Buenos Aires, Caracas, Mexico City, Panama City, Rio de Janeiro, and São Paulo). In their classification of world cities, Beaverstock, Taylor, and Smith (1999) specify accounting, advertising, banking, and law as the four advanced producer services used as the criteria for their ranking methodology. After applying these criteria, the authors list Santiago as a major global advertising and banking service center, and a minor global accountancy and legal service center, giving it the distinction of a “gamma” (or third tier) world city. This means that Santiago is a global service center that is a host to at least two of the main service sectors that Beaverstock, Taylor, and Smith (1999) use for their criteria in listing the global cities of the world.

Following Sassen’s (1991) main definition over what constitutes a global city, and applying Beaverstock, Taylor, and Smith’s (1999) classifications, it is evident that Santiago plays a role in the global economy. Therefore, within the past several years, Chile has become a very dynamic country, both regionally and globally. Substantial immigration from neighboring countries into Chile is a testament to Santiago’s visibility in Latin America and the world-system. Another important characteristic of Santiago and its regional and global connections is the fact that it is the capital city of Chile and site for most governmental and diplomatic exchanges. A clear example of this is Santiago’s position since the late 1940s as the host city for the Economic Commission on Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC), a division of the United Nations. Chile’s regional role is evident from the regionally influential economic analysis and development policy work of Raúl Prebisch.

After considering these notable global characteristics, it is important to be clear that Santiago is far from the “global city” status of dominant cities such as New York, London, or Tokyo. In this circumstance, the term “globalizing cities” is used to describe “other” cities in “other” places that are typically left out of the discourse on globalization (Yeoh 1999: 608). The term “globalizing city” acknowledges the different degrees of globalization found in various cities and often points to cases of Third World cities that are often overlooked in the literature on globalization (Yeoh 1999: 608). Tyner (2000:
71), in his case study of the global characteristics of Manila, argues why it is important to not overlook the role that Third World cities play in the global economy: “By situating our studies of global cities a priori in these locations [New York, London, Tokyo], we risk losing sight of the important role of Third World cities in the functioning of the global economy.”

While Santiago possesses some attributes of a “global city” in terms of advanced producer services, its infrequent citation in the literature on global cities is likely due to the fact of its location in a semiperipheral country, which would generally place into the “other” category as described by Yeoh (1999). Later I present evidence from my own fieldwork as to why I believe Santiago will gradually earn greater visibility on the world scene. I believe this will likely happen within the next quarter century. But as for now, it is important to take into account the fact that, although Santiago has some global characteristics, the categorization of “globalizing” city is more accurate for the time being and for the scope of this thesis. I shall use the term “globalizing city” for the remainder of this thesis when I describe the global features of Santiago.

2.4 General Concepts of Race and Ethnicity in Latin America

The complex conceptualizations of race and ethnicity in Latin America necessitate a concise survey of the interdisciplinary literature that examines these concepts. First, it is important to understand that Chile has a more relatively white population, which is mainly attributed to its strong European influence. Peru, however, has a more distinct indigenous component to its population. These are both somewhat broad generalizations. Still, it is critical to understand the generalized differences between the cultural constructs of these two nationalities for my case study. But now I proceed to briefly discuss the ethnic diversity found in Latin America, as well as some of the background behind these cultural constructs.

To briefly paint a portrait of the demographic and cultural features of Latin America, and more specifically South America, Caviedes and Knapp (1995: 97) succinctly offer a description of the ethnic diversity found there today:

South America displays a predominance of Iberian language and Roman Catholic religion. But the cultural map of South America is actually far more diverse, combining ethnic contributions from America, Africa, Europe, and Asia. This cultural and ethnic diversity promises to be of increasing importance for tourism, politics, and the achievement of economic development . . . The history of migration, contact, and extinction of peoples explains the contemporary cultural and ethnic mosaic of South America, as well as the spatial distribution of population in the continent.

It is important to consider this ethnic variety. Brea (2003: 3) observes how many North Americans are unaware of the vast ethnic, demographic, and social diversity found in Latin America.

A key concept in race relations in Latin America is the prejudice found in the region regarding “whiteness” and its effect on the cultural, social, and economic factors of Latin American society. This prejudice is manifest in “the fact that the darker one’s
skin, the lower one’s social class and the poorer one’s economic circumstances are likely to be” (Clawson 2004: 165).

It is important not to confuse the concepts of race and ethnicity. However, due to the complexity of their respective definitions in Latin America, it is difficult to pinpoint the correct term to use for my case study. Cubitt (1988: 59) explains that due to the degree of miscegenation found in Latin America, it is cumbersome to differentiate between race and ethnicity. She contends that distinguishing between groups on a biological basis is “virtually impossible”, though ethnicity is still a critical construct in the structure of Latin American society (Cubitt 1988: 59). Brea (2003: 9) describes how racial identification in Latin America is “extremely fluid” and is based as much on social and cultural factors as it is on physical characteristics or ancestry.

Furthermore, distinctions between ethnic groups and classes are not always straightforward. De la Torre (1999: 93) explains:

The racial and ethnic terms blanco (white), mestizo (mixed-blood), and indio (Indian) are social and cultural constructs which refer to physical features and appearance, language, dress style, [and] rural or urban origin . . . The fluidity of this system of racial and ethnic stratification, where changing dress and hair style or learning to speak ‘proper’ Spanish, for example, can transform an Indian into a mestizo makes it difficult to differentiate clearly between these categories […]

Despite such semantic complexities, “whiteness” and the desire to “become white” or become “more white” is widespread in Latin America. This is largely because whiteness is a criterion for potential upward social mobility in Latin American society. The process of this kind of upward mobility commonly known as “whitening,” or “bleaching,” and has both physical and cultural implications (Clawson 2004: 163).

After the near annihilation of many indigenous and African populations, the “physical whitening” of Latin America continued in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries after the introduction of the widely accepted philosophy of Social Darwinism (Clawson 2004: 164). Latin American elites interpreted this philosophy to mean that the economic development of Latin America rested upon the advancement of the white race (Clawson 2004: 164).

In present-day Latin America, however, social whitening (whitening based primarily on social criteria) is more prevalent. The phrase “money whitens” is common throughout the region (Clawson 2004: 164). Clawson (2004: 164) also points to another common custom known as “marrying up”, or taking a spouse with a lighter skin color. A result is that many Latin American countries (such as the countries of the Southern Cone) claim that they no longer have indigenous or black populations. Regardless of the accuracy of these assertions, this mindset is symptomatic of the rejection of non-European culture that shapes the foundation for racism in contemporary Latin America (Clawson 2004: 164). De la Torre (1999: 108), quoting an interviewee, succinctly sums up the mentality: “’The Indian wants to be a mestizo, the mestizo wishes to be white, and the white yearns to be a gringo.’”

It is interesting to see these values played out even in state policies. Diaz-Briquets (1983: 39) states that in Latin America, it is common for states to have a policy
favoring professionals and skilled workers of European stock from outside the region. Diaz-Briquets (1983: 41) specifically cites Chile in the 1970s when it disallowed the Japanese and Rhodesian governments to embark on planned emigration schemes to Chile involving their respective citizens. Pressure from local political opposition groups in southern Chile and their expressed fear of “foreign takeover” induced a negative Chilean response (Diaz-Briquets 1983: 41).

It may appear that from the incidents described above that Latin American societies have racist customs and policies. It is important to acknowledge, however, that the concept of “racism” in Latin America differs from that of the Anglo American perspective. Clawson (2004: 165) explains how Latin Americans reject the idea of laws based on a person’s physical appearance, such as the ones that once existed in the United States. However, Clawson (2004: 165) adds: “Latin America today is afflicted every bit as much by social racial prejudice as the United States has been by physical racial prejudice.” This creates a conundrum in that I actually witnessed physical racism in my fieldwork. Due to some of the results of my own experiences in talking to Chileans and asking them about their perceptions of Peruvians, I am skeptical to claims of the nonexistence of physical racism in Latin America. Larraín (1999: 198) notes that racism in general in Latin America is well documented, even though it is a relatively neglected area of social science research and is generally is not perceived by Latin Americans as an important social problem in their societies.

The fact that racism – physical or social – in Latin America is not widely researched creates more problems in assisting to establish a framework for my study. My case study points to reasons why racism is a social problem in Chile and that it can impede the currently promising outlook for the state and its people. I also suspect that the Southern Cone is one region of Latin America where such “social” racism is more marked. I will elaborate more on this in my discussion in Chapter 4.

There is a myth in the Southern Cone that there was never a substantial Indian population, that slaves were not imported in any significant numbers and, therefore, that the people have always been predominantly white (Cubitt 1988: 59). This myth is especially prevalent in Chile, which in reality is “a thoroughly mestizo country with a sizeable Mapuche Indian population in the south.” (Clawson 2004: 170) Caviedes and Knapp (1995: 117), however, explain that after Chilean independence in the nineteenth century, Chilean mestizos began to refer to themselves as white.

As Chile globalizes and enters the twenty-first century, a reexamination of Chilean identity may be necessary, especially as Chile faces greater ethnic diversification. Peter Wade (1997: 1) makes the observation that Latin America’s concepts of race, ethnicity, and identity are being called into question in the processes of globalization:

All over Latin America, and indeed the world, racial and ethnic identities are becoming increasingly significant for minorities and majorities . . . Once widely predicted to be on the decline, destined to be dissolved by political and economic modernisation, issues connected with race and ethnicity are taking on greater dimensions.

This is clearly the case in Chile. Wade’s (1997) remark helps to set the stage for a new arena of research for the constructions of race and ethnicity for the region of Latin
America in the context of globalization. Wade (1997: 18) continues by commenting on the geographical dimensions of this phenomenon:

[E]thnicity is, of course, about cultural differentiation, but . . . it tends to use a language of place (rather than wealth, sex, or inherited phenotype). Cultural difference is spread over geographical space by virtue of the fact that social relations become concrete in spatialised form. . . . People thus use location, or rather people’s putative origin in certain places, to talk about difference and sameness.

Wade’s point in the preceding paragraph is reminiscent of the problem I mentioned above in conceptualizing Chilean/non-Chilean identity and by whom this identity is being conceptualized. I found that place plays a key role in how identity is constructed in contemporary Santiago. The construction of race and identity in Latin America is subject to argument, but in a contemporary context I chose to examine the dichotomy in Chilean-Peruvian relations in Santiago as an appropriate case study to the current issues surrounding ethnicity and identity in Latin America in the face of globalization.

However, I was careful in deciding how to obtain methodologically the answers my research questions. Again, Wade (1997: 18) rationalizes the most suitable approach: “Of course, not all objective differences in location are important in terms of people’s perceptions of cultural geography . . . it is the people involved, not the analyst, who define what features constitute difference and sameness.” This prompted me to investigate the problem facing the parties in question (i.e. the Chileans and Peruvians) and to examine the situation from their perspectives in trying to understand the importance of the issue of Peruvian migrants and their place in Santiago. In researching this, interview questions that I asked Peruvians in Santiago in regard to race and ethnicity include:

2) How is it possible to tell that you are Peruvian (i.e. how would someone know you are from Peru by looking at you or speaking with you)?
13) How have you been treated by the Chilean residents of Santiago?
14a) Do you feel welcome here?
14b) Why do you feel that is so?

2.5 Ethnic Spaces and Ethnic Places in Cities

In this section I discuss some of the literature on ethnicity in cities. Research from various cities and city spaces around the world on this topic is well developed and can serve as a point of comparison for the less researched aspects of these issues in the Latin American context. As I show in Chapter 3, many similarities are evident between the following studies and my case study. However, it is important to note that there are still some key differences such as the different city structure of Latin American cities that Ford (1996) describes that influence many geographic aspects of a given Latin American city. Therefore, theories of ethnic concentration, adaptation, and assimilation from the following examples should not be viewed as deterministic models of the cases found in Latin America.
The discourse on ethnic concentration, adaptation, and assimilation is a controversial topic within the social science literature. In regard to studies within the urban context, the clustering of groups within distinct sectors of a city is commonly described as either a ghetto or an enclave. A ghetto is a cluster created by external forces and is a result of discriminatory actions against the minority ethnic group. Enclaves, on the other hand, are the result of clustering of an ethnic group because that group chooses to preserve its own heritage, and is reflective of that group’s desire for a sense of unity (Fellmann et al. 2000: 208). In other words, ghettos are a forced concentration of a particular group, whereas enclaves or ethnic neighborhoods are voluntary. Fellmann et al. (2000: 209) also mention that both discrimination and voluntarism determine the changing pattern of ethnic clustering within cities. This clustering is illustrated by situations in which forced segregation limits residential choices and, in that case, ethnic or racial minorities may be confined to the older, low-cost housing areas, typically close to the city center.

In examining ethnic characteristics of certain parts of cities and their spatial ramifications, sociologist Alejandro Portes (and his many colleagues) pioneered some of the fundamental concepts and aspects of what defines an ethnic enclave through his numerous studies of Miami’s Little Havana. In one article on conceptualizing an enclave and in responding to criticism of the original conceptualization of an enclave, Portes and Jensen (1987: 768) note how the word “enclave” can misleadingly evoke an image of residential concentration. However, “enclave” was never initially defined as an area of residential concentration (Portes and Jensen 1987: 768). In the original work of *Latin Journey* where an enclave is defined, Portes and Bach (1985: 204-205) clearly state that we must . . . distinguish enclaves from immigrant neighborhoods. Most immigrant groups initially resettle in ethnically concentrated communities and generate a few small businesses to serve immediate, specialized consumption needs. Ethnic neighborhoods fulfill important social support functions, but lack the extensive division of labor of the enclave and, especially, its highly differentiated entrepreneurial class.

Portes and Jensen (1987) mention that in the case of the Cuban enclave of Little Havana in Miami, many Cuban businesses concentrate in one area. Nearby in Hialeah, similar Cuban businesses are more dispersed (Portes and Jensen 1987: 769). Typically, the immediate areas surrounding these businesses are old and dilapidated residential neighborhoods (Portes and Jensen 1987: 769).

But it is important to note that the immigrant businesspeople, professionals, and better-paid employees that Portes and Jensen describe do not live in the areas surrounding the Cuban businesses and instead they tend to live in suburban Miami (Portes and Jensen 1987: 769). Portes and Jensen (1987: 770) mention later that, through their meticulous fieldwork, they discovered that the enclave of Little Havana was more than just a residential concentration and that social networks were an especially prominent characteristic of the enclave. They later state that while much of the Cuban population in these areas moved away from initial areas of concentration, the businesses in these areas still thrive, a point that supports the original definition of an enclave (Portes and Jensen 1987: 770). Portes and Jensen (1987: 770-771) end by saying that although immigrants
do typically concentrate in particular sections of a given city, the label of “enclave” for these concentrations is incorrect when it is solely based on residential concentration. The enclave comes into existence through the interplay of the ethnic firms and by the firms’ employing the group in question and should thus be examined based on firms and labor markets and not just housing (Portes and Jensen 1987: 770-771).

Logan et al. (1994) diverge slightly from Portes and Jensen (1987) by citing three main criteria that determine what constitute an ethnic enclave, and more specifically, an ethnic economy. First, they explain that the foremost characteristic of an ethnic economy is that it is bound by race, ethnicity, or national origin (Logan et al. 1994: 693). This common ethnicity provides some degree of advantage, such as the type of relationship between employers and employees, or between firms in complementary sectors (Logan et al. 1994: 693). Logan et al. (1994: 693) specify that an enclave economy is a certain kind of ethnic economy that is fundamentally defined by owners and employees sharing the same ethnicity. The second key characteristic of an ethnic economy, as defined by Logan et al. (1994: 694), is spatial concentration, which they identify as “essential to the concept of enclave economy.” Logan et al. (1994: 694) explain their rationale by stating that “[s]patial concentration is also likely to be encouraged by the typically segregated residential pattern of ethnic communities, which provide both a labor pool and a market for many enclave firms.” The third element of Logan et al.’s (1994: 694) definition of an ethnic economy is sectoral specialization. This specialization can entail the unique opportunities that some groups may have for self-employment, advantageous access to specific raw materials or other goods, unusual skills that are in demand or a group’s alacrity to work in certain kinds of businesses (Logan et al. 1994: 694).

The empirical research that Logan et al. (1994) carried out involved a study of five different Asian groups, three different Hispanic groups, and various non-Hispanic white and black populations in seventeen cities around the United States. Logan et al. (1994: 718) raise an important question: Why do some large cities (like Los Angeles) have multiple enclaves, whereas others have none? They are keen to point out that it is not simply a question of immigration, as cities such as San Diego and El Paso are, by tradition, large recipient cities of Mexican immigrants, yet they have no enclaves (Logan et al 1994: 718). All in all, through the methods that Logan et al. (1994: 719) employed in their study, they surmise that enclaves are a relatively rare phenomenon. Logan et al. (1994: 719) note that the Cuban enclave in Miami may be an exceptional case, given its higher economic and social diversification as opposed to other enclaves. Logan et al. (1994: 719) assert that in describing the “ideal type” of enclave, more common instances “based on low-wage production in a single productive sector with low levels of capitalization (and possibly high levels of female employment), in conjunction with ethnically stereotyped restaurants or food stores and some services oriented to group members” are a more appropriate comparison. Although Portes and Bach’s (1985) work is widely considered to be pioneering in defining the differences of ethnic enclaves and ethnic neighborhoods, an important question is raised: Can and should Portes and Bach’s (1985) definition of enclave be interpreted as a concept that is applicable to all ethnic communities worldwide or is it an atypical case?

Though Portes and Bach’s (1985) definition of an enclave is valid, it is not clear if it can be carried over in its entirety to describe urban ethnic communities outside of North America. Although Miami, Florida possesses many Latin characteristics, it is still
part of the United States. Therefore, it cannot be automatically assumed that “Little Lima” is or is not an enclave when it is compared to just Little Havana and Portes and Bach’s (1985) definition.

Another key element in differentiating between ethnic enclaves and ethnic neighborhoods is the degree of assimilation into the host society for the group under examination. Portes and Jensen (1987) and Logan et al. (1994) mention how economic diversification is a critical factor in determining how an enclave/neighborhood is defined, though they differ on whether spatial concentration is characteristic of enclaves (Portes and Bach argue that spatial concentration is not a necessary characteristic of an enclave and Logan et al. argue that it is). Some case studies by geographers that I review below explore the correlation between spatial and economic assimilation.

Allen and Turner (1996) study twelve ethnic groups in Los Angeles and how the spatial patterns of the residential clustering for some groups has changed in conjunction with their level of assimilation. This clustering is often evident by examining the part that ethnic commodities and services play for an immigrant group’s assimilation. Allen and Turner (1996: 142) explain:

Residential dispersal out of an ethnic neighborhood does not eliminate the need for visiting, shopping for special ethnic goods, and otherwise participating in the life of institutions located in the concentration. However, individuals who are more assimilated culturally should need to visit that area less often. Thus, assimilation can be expected to show a distance gradient from the concentration: as distance from the concentration increases, the relative assimilation of individuals should also increase.

This is a logical explanation for some of the patterns explored by Allen and Turner (1996), though they are quick to point out that this theory does not apply to all cases. Some groups fit this theory more closely than others, creating a variation in spatial assimilation between groups. Allen and Turner (1996: 149,153) also state in their results that there is a misconception that all recent immigrant groups concentrate residentially upon arrival. They do note, however, that they are more likely to do so than the same immigrant group that arrived earlier. Also, different groups settle in different patterns and assimilation varies between groups, so a uniform model of assimilation may not be a practical measure for evaluating the assimilation of all groups.

On a more local level, the notion of particular areas of immigrant neighborhoods in cities is relevant to this thesis. Not only do these areas typically serve as primary receiving areas for new immigrants, but there is often a question of difference and how these neighborhoods distinguish themselves and how they are distinguished from other parts of the city. These neighborhoods may take on features that make them markedly different from other parts of the city and offer a different sense of place. This distinctive sense of place may be a characteristic that aids in drawing members of this ethnic group from around the city to congregate there for various reasons.

McLaughlin and Jesilow (1998) explore these ideas in their study of the Vietnamese community of Los Angeles and the “urban village” of Little Saigon. They argue that Little Saigon is what they refer to as a “belt of ethnic businesses” that serves
Vietnamese that live mostly outside of the actual neighborhood (McLaughlin and Jesilow 1998: 51). Little Saigon is a model of how these ethnic business belts that “facilitate activities that furnish a sense of place.” (McLaughlin and Jesilow 1998: 51) McLaughlin and Jesilow (1998: 52) describe the seemingly contradictory nature of Little Saigon as compared to what they define as more traditional examples: “Spatially dispersed Vietnamese Americans scattered throughout metropolitan communities travel miles to temporarily bask in culturally familiar surroundings with others who, like themselves, will soon return to live and function as visible minority members within a vastly disparate culture.” Furthermore, McLaughlin and Jesilow (1998: 53) note that Little Saigon is not exclusive to the Vietnamese community of Los Angeles, as Chinese also have a visible presence in Little Saigon. They conclude by arguing that Little Saigon exemplifies a new type of ethnic community that diverges from the stereotypical slum life of newly arrived immigrants. Rather, the new communities are primarily commercial areas that help an ethnic group to sustain a particular identity and, most importantly, that help them to adapt to new conditions (McLaughlin and Jesilow 1998: 60).

Another example of an ethnic group’s utilization of space and place in the city is Jokisch and Pribilsky’s (2002) study on Ecuadorian migration to Spain. This is especially evident in their description of calling centers, courier services, and travel agencies that cater to Ecuadorian immigrants in Madrid (Jokisch and Pribilsky 2002). Furthermore, Jokisch and Pribilsky (2002) describe how Sunday is a popular day for Ecuadorians to meet in public areas to socialize and look for work. Other similarities include organizations to help improve working conditions of Ecuadorians and to create an awareness of their “plight” in Spain (Jokisch and Pribilsky 2002: 89). Although the contexts are not identical, the similarities between my case study and Jokisch and Pribilsky’s (2002) study draw attention to possible correlations on international Andean immigrants. This calls for closer examination of the geographic, as well as sociological and anthropological dimensions of this phenomenon.

Law’s (2001) study of Filipino women in Hong Kong also presents many parallels to “Little Lima”. Although Law’s (2001) study focuses almost exclusively on female Filipino domestic workers, strong similarities in the social functions of the Filipinos and their making of certain spaces provide compelling insight. Law (2001) makes specific references to globalization processes in Hong Kong and how these processes draw migrants from around Asia. Over time, a community in Hong Kong known as Little Manila has emerged that is especially known to attract thousands of female Filipino domestic workers living in Hong Kong on Sunday afternoons. At this time, thousands of Filipino women convene to socialize, eat Filipino food, read Filipino newspapers and magazines, and shop in stores targeting Hong Kong’s Filipino community (Law 2001: 265-266, 272). The Filipino women also utilize services such as phone and postal services to communicate with relatives in the Philippines (Law 2001: 266). An important aspect of the area known as Little Manila is that “[i]t is also a place where Filipino women express a creative subjective capacity with the potential to displace the hegemonic images that describe their lives and work – if only for one day a week.” (Law 2001: 266) Non-Filipino women also share nearby space, such as the thousands of Indonesian women also working as domestic employees in Hong Kong (Law 2001: 273).
The three preceding examples convey the significance of the meaning of each place that each neighborhood offers to its respective group for very similar reasons. Especially in the cases that Jokisch and Pribilsky (2002) and Law (2001) provide, it is clear that the identities of the migrants “are reworked through the nature of the destination in which they find themselves. In addition, as migrants settle, they rework the destination itself.” (Silvey and Lawson 1999: 125) Furthermore, “[m]igrant identities are also constructed through the process of mobility itself in ways that incorporate and blend experiences of multiple places simultaneously.” (Silvey and Lawson 1999: 125) Put another way, identities of migrants do not disappear after migration; migrants possess multiple identities (Silvey and Lawson 1999: 125). A key way in understanding these identities and how they are reshaped is through studies of migrants in their destination (Silvey and Lawson 1999: 125).

Another relevant example of Silvey and Lawson’s (1999) point is Anderson’s studies on Vancouver’s Chinatown (1991, 1996). Anderson (1991) examines the historical development and relationships between Vancouver’s Chinatown and Canadian society. Anderson (1996: 199-200) follows how the meaning of Vancouver’s Chinatown changes over time for the host society, from an area of vice, to a popular tourist destination, to a slum, to a heritage district and “ethnic neighborhood”. “Thus, Chinatown,” as Anderson (1996: 200) explains, “like that mythical region of Western imagining called the Orient, was recurrently White Vancouver’s Other, I argued, a place through which a dominant group forged its own cultural understanding of its identity, boundaries, status and privilege.” It is important to add that through this time period, Vancouver’s Chinatown was not a static area, and meaning of the neighborhood for the Chinese who lived there changed as well (Anderson 1996).

Conflicts in meaning of urban neighborhoods and landscapes are also key points in the literature on ethnicity in cities. Kong and Law (2002: 1503) argue that “[i]n deconstructing contested landscapes, one of the fundamental theoretical underpinnings is the notion that landscape identities and meaning are socially constructed, rather than given.” Reasons for contestation over identities associated with particular landscapes (such as “Little Lima” or any other ethnic neighborhood mentioned above) are related to the dynamic and divergent nature of the landscape (Kong and Law 2002: 1504), as meanings for the landscape may vary for the contesting groups in question. In order to understand the reasons for such contestations, it is necessary to examine social constructions and dominant ideologies behind these constructions, institutions aiding such constructions, and the landscapes themselves that naturalize them (Kong and Law 2002: 1504).

These methods are useful for understanding conflicts between Peruvians and Chileans because “[i]n the construction of landscapes and meanings, dominant groups often seem able to create structural oppositions in which they conceive of themselves and their landscapes as ‘normal’ and ordinary while subordinate groups and their landscapes are treated as ‘other’ or extraordinary.” (Kong and Law 2002: 1504) This point becomes more evident in Chapter 3, as the dichotomy between what “Little Lima” means to Peruvians and Chileans and in understanding the different constructions Chilean identity versus Peruvian identity in Santiago. Kong and Law (2002: 1504) continue: “Landscapes of the ‘other’ are then constructed by the dominant group as disruptive of the ‘normal’ order, to be eradicated, or at least contained and managed. On the other
hand, attempts are made by the ‘other’ to construct their own landscape or invest their own meaning in landscapes of the dominant.” Further contestation in urban (and even non-urban) settings can result in what Sibley (1995) refers to as exclusionary space, or a space controlled by a dominant group to exclude or marginalize minorities or groups deemed by the dominant society to be “undesirable.” Sibley’s (1995) work contributes to several more specific concepts on exclusionary spaces for understanding the meaning of “Little Lima” to both Chileans and Peruvians that I address throughout this thesis.

The literature in this section surrounding issues of ethnicity and its meaning in cities prompted several more interview questions to ask Peruvians in Santiago to understand how they live, where they live and work, and how they feel about their new home. These questions include:

4) How long have you lived in Santiago?
5) Where in Santiago do you live?
6) What are your reasons for living in that part of the city?
7a) Do your friends/family live in Santiago?
7b) If so, where?
8a) Was it your choice to live in that part of town?
8b) Why or why not?
9) What are your reasons for living there and not somewhere else?
10a) Are you currently employed?
10b) If so, what is your job?
11) Do you work for a Chilean, a Peruvian, someone else or are you self-employed?
12) How has your work experience been?
13) How have you been treated by the Chilean residents of Santiago?
14a) Do you feel welcome here?
14b) Why do you feel that is so?

2.6 Conclusion

My review of the literature on international migration in Latin America, the conceptualizations of race and ethnicity in Latin America, and ethnic spaces and places in cities that I presented above assisted in establishing a conceptual framework and the formulation of interview questions to apply to my empirical fieldwork. By noting the studies on large flows of migrants in Latin America and the effects of these movements, I see some consistencies in several aspects of the migration process. For example, there is a significant economic motive for people to migrate in the region and flows and destinations change with time. Will Chile soon become the foremost immigrant receiving country in Latin America? Due to the status of Chile as a globalizing city and a leading city in Latin America, it is certainly possible. But there are consequences to gaining a more visible position within the world-system. As migrants move to destinations, differences become more apparent between groups. This is why it is essential to understand some of the basic concepts of how race and ethnicity are defined and conceptualized in Latin America. Although the reception of international migrants in Latin American cities is not the most frequently researched area in the literature on Latin America, several case studies from around the world provide strong corollaries and insights into understanding Chilean-Peruvian relations in Santiago.
CHAPTER THREE
CASE STUDY

3.1 Introduction

The fact that Chile is gaining a more noticeable presence in the global economy creates a perception among prospective migrants of a greater well being found in Chile as compared to other Latin American states. A recent development in enlarging Chilean presence in the global economy is the free trade agreement between the United States and Chile that gained approval from the U.S House of Representatives and U.S. Senate in July of 2003 (Abrams 2003a; Abrams 2003b). The agreement is scheduled to go into effect on January 1, 2004. The agreement is the first between the U.S. and a South American country and is viewed as a flashpoint to create similar agreements between the U.S. and other Latin American states (Abrams 2003b). The deal between Chile and the U.S. will eventually eliminate tariffs and it is projected to increase the Gross Domestic Product for each country (Abrams 2003a).

Measures such as the new trade agreement between the U.S. and Chile are a clear indicator of how opportunities purported to be associated with trade agreements such as the new one between the U.S. and Chile are currently found in some countries but not in others. These opportunities help to set the stage for migration to Chile from around Latin America. Several economies in the region are currently not performing well and this provides an impetus for migration to countries such as Chile. Peru is just one example of a sending country. From 1976 to 1995, the number of Peruvians living in extreme poverty in Peru rose from 5 million to 12 million in a country with a total population of 24 million (Laurie and Bonnett 2002: 35). Other Latin groups have an increasing visibility in Chile. These include Ecuadorians, which number at least 15,000 in Chile (Perú al Día 2002a). There are 2,000 Bolivians in Santiago alone (La Segunda 2002d). One source of evidence for the increasing immigration into Chile is the 2003 first-quarter profits for LanChile, Chile’s flagship airline (Reuters 2003). LanChile reported a 26% increase as compared to the same period from the previous year (Reuters 2003). The quarterly report specifically cites the rise to be attributed to inroads into the Peruvian and Ecuadorian markets (Reuters 2003).

From this increasing immigration into Chile, the Peruvians immigrants appear to be generating the most attention in Santiago. Section 3.2 discusses some of the attention that Peruvians receive from Chilean print media and the type of reaction that these sources purport Chileans to have toward Peruvians. In Section 3.3, I describe some of my own first-hand experiences with Chileans and Peruvians in Santiago and their mutual feelings. I then compare my findings to what is reported in Chilean print media. In Section 3.4 I offer a more detailed description of my findings by discussing some of the traits of my Peruvian respondents in relation to some general theories about international migrants in Latin America. I summarize the results of my interviews in Table 3. From this information, I discuss what helps to make the case of the Peruvians in Santiago a distinct situation. In Section 3.5 I argue that attributes of the Peruvians’ identity/identities are evident in their institutions and social networks in Santiago. In turn, these attributes help differentiate the current Peruvian migrants in Chile from “traditional” or theoretical Latin American migrants. Finally, in Section 3.6, I provide insight into the urban landscape and sense of place of “Little Lima” and demonstrate how
the actual space of this neighborhood is perhaps the best interpretation of what
the Peruvian community in Santiago is and how it is constructed.

3.2 Representations of Peruvians in Chilean Media

As I mentioned in Section 1.3, print media – and especially Chilean newspapers –
helped me formulate many of the questions that I set out to answer in my fieldwork in
Santiago. Because of the relatively recent nature of the large scale Peruvian migration to
Santiago, articles from Chilean newspapers were the most accessible way to receive
information on the issue before my fieldwork. These articles provided me with certain
expectations of what to find in Santiago, although as I show in the rest of this chapter, my
expectations did not entirely match the reality.

Articles about the Peruvians in Santiago from Chilean newspapers consistently
describe the Peruvians as very poor and as coming to Chile almost out of desperation.
Other articles link Peruvians to crime in some way, either as victims or as criminals. One
example of this was the use of a commercial bus between Arica and Santiago (Map 1) as a
means of transport for “Peruvians’ cocaine”\(^1\), as the headline states (La Segunda
2002b). This article mentions how some employees of the bus company used their bus
route to help transport cocaine from indistinct “Peruvian drug dealers” in Arica back to
Santiago (La Segunda 2002b). Although this is obviously a crime, the article presents an
unclear image of the criminals involved, and obviously makes Peruvians in general to be
“the bad guys” through the headline, by not differentiating Peruvians as a whole from
Peruvian drug dealers. Ortega (2001: 23) mentions how Peruvians in Santiago are often
accused of crimes such as drug dealing, prostitution, and vandalism. She says that the
only major crime that a group Peruvians were actually linked to involved the
manipulation of cellular phones to be used to call Peru at discounted rates (Ortega 2001:
23).

Other news articles focus on Peruvians as victims of crimes or mistreatment. One
incident involved a street gang that attacked two Peruvian men and an Argentine man for
no clear reason (La Segunda 2002c). The gang that, according to one victim, “appeared
to be on drugs” approached the Peruvians and Argentine, who were working in the
neighborhood, and began to beat and attack them with shovels, knives, and dogs (La
Segunda 2002c). Interestingly, the gang verbally attacked the Peruvians using derogatory
names, although the article does not mention such verbal abuse toward the Argentine (La
Segunda 2002c). The “immigrants”, as the article refers to them, escaped with cuts and
lesions, though they were not seriously injured (La Segunda 2002c). Throughout the
article, the victims are referred to as “immigrants” or “foreigners” and it makes a specific
to reference to one of the Peruvian victims coming to Chile in search of better economic
opportunities (La Segunda 2002c).

Other stories of Peruvian mistreatment in Chile involve alleged police brutality in
the form of beatings and insults (El Mercurio 2003), specifically from Chilean police
officers allegedly calling one victim an “illiterate Peruvian” during “a gathering of the
foreign community” (Boetsch 2003) one Sunday in “Little Lima”. A police colonel
commented on the incident of police brutality alleged by Peruvians: “I feel admiration

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\(^1\) My translation. Throughout the remainder of the thesis, I periodically quote from and make references to
sources from the original Spanish. In such cases, all wording within the text that is obviously derived from
source written in Spanish is based on my own translation.
toward the Peruvian community and I can assure you that xenophobia or discrimination [from the police] does not exist” (El Mercurio 2003). In Santiago’s educational system, a recent sociological study revealed that Peruvians are one of the largest groups that face prejudice in Santiago’s school system and that discrimination is most evident in Santiago’s lower classes (Urzúa 2003).

Another clear misrepresentation of Peruvians in Chilean media is Arellano’s (2001) article about the famous sidewalk where Peruvians congregate in “Little Lima” (I describe this further in Section 3.6). The headline reads: “Without cebiche but with cell phones, Peruvians ‘take’ a sidewalk on Cathedral [Street]” (Arellano 2001). Cebiche is a type of marinated fish or shellfish dish that is a very well known part of Peruvian cuisine. Thus, the headline presents a very stereotypical image of the Peruvians found in “Little Lima”. This image is compounded by noting how the Peruvians on the sidewalk have modern devices such as cell phones, yet they lack cebiche, an ostensibly definitive characteristic of Peruvians. In other words, this image connotes that it is more typical to see a Peruvian eating or preparing cebiche than to use a cell phone. Furthermore, the Peruvians “take” part of a sidewalk in downtown Santiago.

Arellano (2001) continues by describing some of the Peruvians and the atmosphere of the sidewalk in “Little Lima”. The article briefly mentions how many Peruvians come to “Little Lima” early in the morning and wait to find work, sometimes by waiting all day. Interestingly, Arellano (2001) acknowledges the area as a social place for Peruvians as well. One Peruvian, “one of the few who chooses to identify himself” and who is “one of the hundreds of Peruvians who have ‘taken’ the sidewalk” explains how many Peruvians come to Santiago to look for work; some work more than one job, some can pick and choose, and others wait for something better to come along (Arellano 2001).

Arellano (2001) claims that 90% of the Peruvians in Santiago come from northern Peru (incorrectly including Cuzco in this evaluation; see Map 1) and that there are practically none from Lima (though I met several Peruvians from Lima). Arellano (2001) also mentions that other groups, such as Colombians, Ecuadorians, and poor Chileans are found along the street. Arellano (2001) explains that it is mostly women who sit and wait to be propositioned for work, although he reports that most of the jobs offered to the Peruvians are jobs “especially for men.” One Peruvian man speaks out about how Chileans insult Peruvians, treat them poorly, and are abusive. He continues to explain how Chileans see Peruvians as useless and as “pigs and thieves”, although he says how Peruvians are honorable people and that they come to look for a better life and they see opportunities in Chile. The same Peruvian man is quoted: “Peruvians were born to be slaves.” Arellano (2001) then reports that some Peruvians do not find success in Chile and they return to Peru, only to come back to Chile, their “adopted homeland”. From all of the negative attention that Arellano (2001) devotes to describing the Peruvian situation in Santiago, he ironically states that many Peruvians are reluctant to talk to the press because they accuse the Chilean media of portraying them inaccurately.

Although Ortega’s (2001) article served as a primary source for me both before and after fieldwork, I noticed some sensationalistic language that she herself uses in her article in describing “Little Lima” and the Peruvian situation in Santiago. For example, in reference to the social aspects of “Little Lima”, Ortega (2001: 23) mentions “[t]he many Peruvians who wander around the area day and night”, which suggests that many
Peruvians loaf or mope around “Little Lima” aimlessly and without purpose. In Chapter 4 I will return to more of Ortega’s descriptions of “Little Lima” in comparison to some of my own experiences and conclusions.

The above examples should provide a preview into how Chileans perceive Peruvians in Santiago. But I found from fieldwork that the Chilean media often only present part of the picture. Next I provide experiences from my own fieldwork in talking to both Peruvians and Chileans.

3.3 Attitudes and Perceptions between Chileans and Peruvians

In Section 3.2 I discussed only a sample of articles from some major Chilean newspapers and other sources. These sources served as an indication to me about some of the attitudes and perceptions of Chileans toward foreigners. Prior to fieldwork, these sources greatly shaped my expectations about feelings between both Chileans and Peruvians. While in the field, however, I encountered more varied opinions between Chileans and Peruvians than I anticipated. In this section I explain some of my own observations about inter-ethnic relations in Santiago that I obtained through interviews or by conversing with various individuals.

Even in an increasingly global society, attitudes tracing centuries back can still be deeply entrenched in a society’s values. Latin America is no exception to disagreements and prejudices between states, classes, or groups. Caviedes and Knapp (1995: 262) observe: “Mutual feelings of distrust still hamper cooperation among South American states despite the similarity of their origins, historical developments, and linguistic and religious traditions.” I add that these feelings are strong even on a smaller scale, as I witnessed in Santiago.

Ortega (2001) explains some of the historical and social basis for Chilean attitudes, citing the strong European influence on Chile, to the extent that Chileans consider themselves to be white and not mestizo (Caviedes and Knapp 1995: 117). Ortega (2001: 20) interviews a Chilean sociologist that explains that Chile’s “cultural identity . . . [is] constructed on the basis of the rejection of the indigenous population.” Ortega (2001) later explains that Peruvians face discrimination for being foreigners as well as being mestizos.

Other groups, such as the indigenous populations, the elderly, the lower classes, Protestants, and disabled, also face discrimination in Chile (Barrenechea 2002). Other well-represented foreign groups in Chile, such as the Koreans and Palestinians, are erroneously labeled “Chinese” and “Turks”, respectively (Ortega 2001: 21). In comparison to discriminatory attitudes experienced by Koreans and Palestinians, however, Ortega (2001: 21) maintains that they “are not comparable to what the Peruvian people in Chile suffer.” Barrenechea (2002), in an article from the major Chilean newspaper El Mercurio titled “The New Faces of Discrimination in Chile” cites a sociological study from a Chilean university on recent discrimination in Chile. Barrenechea (2002) mentions that the study concludes that the Peruvians are the group that faces the most discrimination in Chile and that it is largely based on Chileans’ rejection of their indigenous heritage.

Although while in the field I took notice of some random comments by Chileans about Peruvians, I had a few experiences that helped to give me a first-hand impression of some of the inter-ethnic attitudes that abound in Santiago. For example, one afternoon
I was in “Little Lima” and stopped along the wall of the Metropolitan Cathedral where many Peruvians go for various reasons. After about fifteen minutes of observing the neighborhood itself, the number of Peruvians around, and some of the social interactions occurring among the Peruvians present, a very inebriated and well-dressed Chilean woman stepped out from a bar across the street. She made direct eye contact with me and approached me. Not knowing where to go or how to react, I remained where I was until she sat down next to me. She began our conversation by insisting that I leave the neighborhood immediately. I kept asking why and it took her a few minutes to formulate a response. She very unconvincingly told me about all the crime and “mafias” in the neighborhood and that “Little Lima” “is the most dangerous part of the city!” I asked what she was doing here drunk if it was so dangerous, although she never responded. I tried to ask her some more questions to help myself in understanding why she felt this way. She showed me a “wound” on her hand that she said came from “this neighborhood two weeks ago.” The “wound” appeared to be nothing more than a minor scrape and small bruise that could have come from anywhere. She said she was on her way home and when I asked where she lived she told me Las Condes (Map 4) – an upper middle-class Santiago comuna (similar to a borough) and a clear indicator of her social class. After a few minutes she was on her way.

That very evening I stopped in a restaurant for dinner. While I was eating, a woman at a table next to mine took notice of the fact that I was a gringo and asked if I was a tourist. I replied that I was a graduate student from the United States and that I study Latin America and that I was in Santiago for a project I was working on. She asked what the project was, and I responded that it was about the Peruvian community in Santiago. Her immediate reaction was one of disgust, by expressing how much she disliked Peruvians. I asked a few more questions to try to gain a clearer understanding of her feelings and she replied: “I am fine with the upper class Peruvians, I just don’t like the lower class ones.” I asked how she was able to tell the difference and she explained that “Its obvious. The lower class Peruvians are black, they have big noses, they are filthy, and they are more indigenous-looking.” I said that I was aware that many Chileans felt that way about their own indigenous groups, such as the Mapuche, but not toward the Peruvians. Her response was that the indigenous Chileans are more tolerable than Peruvians. I later found out that this woman was the owner/manager of the restaurant. I found this to be somewhat shocking, considering she expressed her feelings about the Peruvians not only to me, but right in front of other (Chilean) customers. It is notable how this woman specifically mentioned that Peruvians are “black” and “filthy.” Sibley (1995: 22) observes: “Black is used routinely to describe dirt which, in turn, is associated with shame and disease. In other words, it has both practical and moral associations, which make it a potent marker of social difference. In the common usage of white Europeans, it is a negative signifier of class, race, ethnicity.” The use of these adjectives by the Chilean woman suggests her awareness of her perceived identity as a more “European” Chilean woman and the Peruvians as “black ‘others.’”

Another insightful and more positive experience of a Chilean’s perception of Peruvians came from my conversation with the co-owner of a trendy and upscale Peruvian restaurant in the comuna of Independencia (Map 4). The owner and his partner were both Chilean and mentioned that the restaurant opened three years before. All employees were Peruvian.
A total of six other Peruvian restaurants were located on that same block in the neighborhood (Figure 1). Peruvian cuisine is a rapidly growing trend in Santiago, and as of February of 2002, there were at least 37 Peruvian restaurants in Santiago – a collection of ethnic restaurants that are second in number only to Chinese restaurants (La Segunda 2002a). It is also notable to mention that Peruvian restaurants are found in different parts of Santiago and there are a variety of restaurants reflecting the diverse cuisine of Peru (La Segunda 2002a). The owner also mentioned how Peru is very well known for its food and that it is often regarded as “the best in South America.” I noted how he seemed fond of Peruvian cuisine and his employees. Taking this into account given the context and the fact that the restaurant opened during the surge of Peruvian migration, I asked if he and his partner opened the restaurant in response to the growing numbers of Peruvians in Santiago. He admitted that this was a factor, though he added that most of his customers were Chilean, and that Peruvian food is popular in Chile. Ortega (2001: 23) mentions in her article that Chilean businessmen do capitalize on the growing Peruvian population by opening businesses that cater to Peruvians. Peruvian restaurants are one popular form of enterprise and “Chileans take advantage of the low prices and the chance to taste Peruvian gastronomic specialties.” (Ortega 2001: 23)

In regard to Peruvians in general, the owner stated that in Chile, Peruvians generally live poorly. They work in more menial jobs, send remittances back to Peru, and live in older parts of the city that are “not the best, but not the worst.” He added that he has two Peruvian nanas (maids or housekeepers) at his home and he owns another house that he sublets to Peruvians. He mentioned that Peruvians prefer to live together and that it is not unusual for them to rent large rooms or homes where as many as thirty live at one time.

The owner discussed his own Peruvian employees and said how they make four times more money at his restaurant than a typical Peruvian would earn working in Santiago. He said how he once placed a want ad in a newspaper looking for a waiter and over one hundred Peruvians called about the job. I asked about where his employees lived in the city and he said that they lived all over Santiago. I also asked how his employees related to the Peruvian community in Santiago and he mentioned that they all go to the Plaza de Armas on Sundays to socialize and make use of the calling centers and courier services (I explain these activities further in Section 3.6).

The conversation moved into the direction of “Little Lima” and I asked if he was familiar with “Little Lima”. He affirmed that “Pequeño Lima” is one of the names for the neighborhood, named so by Chileans. I asked more about what he knew about “Little Lima” and the Peruvians who go there and his descriptions closely followed my own experiences and observations (especially regarding the atmosphere and social qualities of “Little Lima”) that I discuss in more detail in Section 3.6. He also said how he personally knew many of the business owners in “Little Lima” and that “they are all Chilean.”
In response to the status of the Peruvians in Santiago, the owner affirmed that Chileans discriminate and Peruvians are seen as “Indians”. He said that there is a degree of xenophobia in Chile, though it is “not as severe as in Europe.” He mentioned how it was easy for Chileans to recognize Peruvians by their physical features, such as their shades of skin and the size of their noses. He then described the Peruvians in “Little Lima”, though not condescendingly, by saying “they are Incans.”

This is a seemingly calm reaction to Peruvians, however, as some Chileans elicit a more extreme response. An interesting case of this extremism is a neo-Nazi movement in Santiago and other Chilean cities, especially Valparaiso (Map 1) (Sanhueza 2002). Sanhueza’s (2002: 38) article on the neo-Nazis in Chile made a cover story in the magazine *Siete + 7* and specifically mentions that the Peruvians (among other groups such as homosexuals, transvestites, drug addicts, and other immigrants) are “favorite targets” of the neo-Nazis. The neo-Nazis name these sorts of attacks to be “cleanings”, as in ethnic cleansings. These include Peruvians being physically beaten or attacked, though other forms of aggression include neo-Nazi web pages and music (Sanhueza 2002). Interestingly, one of the neo-Nazis interviewed in the article accepted the fact that Chileans are *mestizo*, although his group of neo-Nazis wants to conserve the Chilean race and discourage the racial mixing of Chilean society (Sanheuza 2002: 38). In Santiago, the neo-Nazis are most active in the *comunas* of Santiago (downtown Santiago or Santiago proper), Puente Alto, San Bernardo, and Maipú (Map 4) (Sanhueza 2002), the
latter three of which are very poor areas of Santiago, and each of these represent areas of Peruvian concentration. I observed during my fieldwork that some young Chileans expressed a disagreement with the neo-Nazi mentality, especially from my own observation of high school-age students in Santiago with “¡No Nazis!” pins and other anti-prejudice pins on their backpacks.

On the other end of the confrontation with Chileans are the Peruvians, whom I found to have mixed feelings about Chileans and how they saw themselves in Santiago. Only one Peruvian woman had exceedingly positive things to say about Chileans. She stated that she never had problems getting along in Chilean society (see first interview, Table 3) and that “Chileans are very hospitable.” I was a little surprised to hear this reaction given my expectations concerning the situation before my fieldwork, although I very much got the impression that this woman came from a more fortunate background and had a higher social standing. This is somewhat evident by her frequent travel back to Peru and the fact that in her residence in Chile, she had lived in a few of the wealthier comunas of Santiago.

The more negative responses often mentioned physical characteristics that divided Peruvians and Chileans. Many Peruvians said how Chileans referred to them as “negros” or “morenos” in regard to their darker complexions. When one young male Peruvian told me that he was often treated poorly by Chileans and I asked why he felt that way, his response was simply: “Because they know I’m Peruvian.” Another male Peruvian offered a similar rationale, stating that Chileans do not like dark skin and eyes and that “they think we are Indians!” A third male Peruvian mentioned that Chileans do not like lower-class Peruvians because of “competition”, referring primarily to economic competition. He continued to say that Chileans are jealous of Peruvians because of their Spanish speaking ability by claiming: “The Peruvians and Colombians speak the best Spanish in South America.” This is an intriguing comment knowing that Chile is reputed for its distinctive dialect and grammar that is widely regarded to be very poor (Collier and Sater 1996: 27). It also provides an example of a cultural difference that may separate Chileans and Peruvians. A male Peruvian who held a prominent position in one of the many Peruvian organizations in Santiago said, “Generally, Peruvians are treated poorly because they are foreigners.” He also mentioned how he was certain that the many businesses that opened in “Little Lima” did so in response to the rapid increase of Peruvian immigrants after about 1998.

In discussing “Little Lima” with my actual respondents, I found that only one of the Peruvian respondents I spoke with was fully aware of the name “Little Lima”. He told me one name for the neighborhood is “Limeña”. Many Chileans, however, were familiar with at least one nickname for “Little Lima”. This suggests that because most Peruvians seemed unaware of the name “Little Lima”, the Chilean nickname for this area has a negative connotation. Davies and Herbert (1993: 90) explain: “[m]ost cities are full of different areas with distinctive territorial names. Although they can be a label, an identification, they also contain meanings to others. Some may be the informal labels attached by residents, or even outsiders fearful or envious of the character”. On a similar note, Sibley (1995: 3) says “it could be argues that the resistance to a different sort of person moving into a neighbourhood stems from feelings of anxiety, nervousness or fear. Who is felt to belong and not to belong contributes in an important way to the shaping of social space.” Of all the people I spoke with, those who knew about the name “Little
Lima” were overwhelmingly Chilean, which helps to illustrate Davies and Herbert’s point about groups (oftentimes contemptuously) attributing names to specific areas of cities. One Chilean male went as far to say “It isn’t ‘Little Lima’, it is Lima!” I discuss more about why I think “Little Lima” may hold a negative connotation in Santiago and its relevance to understanding Chilean and Peruvian relations in Santiago in Chapter 4.

Most Peruvian interviewees took a more moderate view of their experiences with Chileans saying they were treated “fair” or “okay”. One male simply said, “Some people treat you well, others don’t.” Some respondents expressed their feelings about Chileans. One male stated how Chileans love drugs like marijuana and cocaine. Thus, although Peruvians and Chileans sometimes hold strong feelings toward each other and about the situation between them in Santiago, most of the tension seems to me to take a more moderate form. Although each group may sometimes make fun of each other or resort to name-calling, violence or physical confrontation is rare. Some Chileans even said that the Peruvians in Santiago did not bother them. From this point, it is now necessary to examine how the Peruvians I interviewed matched the characteristics of Latin American migrants and later what the similarities and differences between theory and my case study hold for larger questions.

3.4. Theories of Migration, Characteristics of Migrants in Latin America, and the Case of Peruvians in Chile

Latin America exhibits many diverse types of migration. Some major types include: rural to urban, urban to urban, intra- or interregional, or international migration. Theories on migration in the region developed by Latin Americanists, however, generally lead to overly aggregate explanations for otherwise very diverse migratory flows. These theories are valid and offer much insight in explaining the many processes and dynamics involved in migration in Latin America. However, my own research and findings from empirical fieldwork show that general theories may be too broad for understanding all of the complexities and diverse kinds of migration in Latin America.

Clawson (2004: 341) maintains that, ultimately, destinations for migrants are determined by the perceived positive attributes that attract the migrant to that particular place. These attributes can be weather, climate, political and social conditions, services (such as health care), and proximity to friends and relatives (Clawson 2004: 341). Many scholars of migration in Latin America agree that economics and the perception of better opportunities are the primary factors in determining whether people will migrate. Clawson (2004: 341-342) adds a geographic dimension to this argument by explaining that migration most often occurs “when two nations or regions of widely differing circumstances coexist in close spatial proximity.”

Theories regarding the characteristics of migrants in Latin America typically describe Latin American migrants to be young (teens to mid-twenties), single, and mostly women when examining rural to urban migration (Blouet 1997: 130). Blouet (1997: 130) adds that migrants are often better educated and “more ambitious” than people who do not migrate. Blouet (1997: 130) explains that this is so because impoverished people do not generally migrate. Diaz-Briquets’ (1983: 21) depiction of the “typical” and “common type” of migrant largely concurs with Blouet (1997), although he paints a more negative picture. According to Diaz-Briquets (1983: 21), the “typical” migrant is “poorly educated and unskilled”, and of “rural origin who illegally moves into a country . . . in
search of work.” Diaz-Briquets (1983: 21) adds “[a]t the other extreme” are older, educated and skilled migrants of urban origin, that enter the country legally to pursue goals that cannot be fulfilled at the place of origin. However, Diaz-Briquets (1983: 21) fairly acknowledges that “[i]n between these two extreme types of migrants, obviously, many other types with differing characteristics may be found.” I found through my own fieldwork that the case of Peruvians migrating to Chile does not follow all of the “textbook” models of migration or characteristics of migrants. This is an important finding because I learned from my fieldwork and interviews that many of the Peruvians in Santiago in the current context differ noticeably from the generalized migrant found in some theories of Latin American migration.

Marco Nuñez-Melgar (n.d.), Consular General of the Peruvian Embassy in Santiago, (www.embperu.cl) offers a brief commentary on the recent history of Peruvian migration into Chile and some current information on the topic. Nuñez-Melgar says, “Peruvian migration is indubitably the most notorious in Chile”. He explains that until the 1980s, Peruvian migrants went mainly to the northern regions of Chile, especially the cities of Arica and Iquique (Map 1). Nuñez-Melgar (n.d.) lists the most “important” and numerous migrants in Chile to be Argentines (approximately 90,000), Peruvians (approximately 70,000), Bolivians, Ecuadorians, and Cubans.

Nuñez-Melgar (n.d.) explains that, in regard to Peruvian migration into Chile, the first half of the 1990s did not experience a significant amount of immigration. At that time there were an estimated 10,000 Peruvians in Chile, many of whom being professionals and technicians. After about 1996, however, less qualified migrants – primarily from an urban background – were more characteristic of Peruvian immigrants in Chile. The exceptions to this new rule are the migrant workers in the mining and agricultural sectors of northern Chile (Nuñez-Melgar n.d.).

Other Chilean cities host significant numbers of Peruvian migrants, such as Valparaíso, La Serena, Concepción, Temuco, Osorno, and Punta Arenas (Nuñez-Melgar n.d.) (Map 1). The age range of most Peruvian migrants is between 15 and 60 years old – the economically active sector of the population (Nuñez-Melgar n.d.).

The new waves of Peruvian migration are also bringing a varied pool of migrants. Although my sample of interviewees is small and not entirely representative of all of Santiago’s Peruvian population, it does cover a range a migrants that defies a blanket description of the “typical” Peruvian immigrant in Chile. Map 3 shows the origins of my interviewees and demonstrates the geographical variation of their origins. I supplement this with Table 2 to report the number of interviewees from each city on Map 3. I also include Map 4, a map of greater Santiago, as a reference for future references to specific areas in Santiago, such as neighborhoods of Peruvian concentration and sites for the events that I describe throughout the remainder of this thesis.

Some important information about the Peruvians in Santiago stands out from Table 3. Seven of the respondents came from Lima. In contrast to Arellano’s (2001) report of most Peruvians coming from northern Peru, I found that the three main regions of Peru are represented: la costa, la sierra, and la selva – the coast, the mountains, and the jungle, respectively (Map 3). When asked about what characteristics the interviewee may have to denote that he or she is Peruvian, four mentioned their skin color and eight mentioned their speech; one respondent claimed to not have any features that identify her as Peruvian. This question did not come up in all of my interviews, however, and I did
not obtain this information from the other six interviewees. The Peruvians offered some other minor reasons for why they came to Santiago, although the overwhelming response was to pursue economic opportunities. The respondents’ lengths of residence in Chile varied considerably.

Fifteen of the respondents lived either in downtown Santiago (El Centro) and other nearby comunas (such as Independencia and Recoleta), and the remaining four lived further away. Twelve of the respondents reported having family and/or friends in various comunas, though they were not always specific as to which ones. The more specific interviewees noted how many of their Peruvian friends, family, and acquaintances lived areas of strong Peruvian concentration such as El Centro, Recoleta, and Independencia. Thus, I found the residences of my respondents to be somewhat concentrated, although not rigidly so. All of the respondents verified that they chose to live where they were living and some specifically said how they preferred living in their comuna of residence as opposed to others. Therefore, from this information and the general sense of the situation that I gathered in Santiago, Peruvians do not appear to be a residentially marginalized group. Although I originally hypothesized “Little Lima” to be the main site for Peruvian immigrants living in Santiago, I found that this is not the case. It is true that “Little Lima” and El Centro are principal areas of Santiago where many

**Map 3: Map of Peru Showing Geographic Origin of the 19 Interviewees**

Source: Adapted from online map library, University of Texas – Austin. [http://www.lib.utexas.edu/maps/americas/peru_sm97.gif](http://www.lib.utexas.edu/maps/americas/peru_sm97.gif). Modifications by author.

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Table 2: Summary of Cities of Origin and Number of Peruvian Interviewees

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>City of Origin</th>
<th>Number of Interviewees</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Arequipa</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chiclayo</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chimbote</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Huancayo</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Huarmey</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iquitos</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lima</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paramonga</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tarapoto</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tingo Maria</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trujillo</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Map 4: Map of Greater Santiago and its comunas (districts)

Source: Adapted from Dockem dorff et al. (2000: 177). One inch equals approximately 8.5 kilometers.
Peruvians live, although I discovered that “Little Lima” is very much a social and commercial area in addition to being a residential area. I elaborate on this later in this chapter.

At the time of the interviews, nine of the Peruvians were unemployed. The ten who were employed had generally positive things to say about their jobs and working experiences. In terms of their day-to-day interactions in Santiago with Chileans and about how they felt overall about being in Chile, the responses were more variable. Although none of my informants told me about exceptionally negative experiences, several mentioned that they knew other Peruvians that had experienced problems in Santiago and most of the respondents were familiar with the generally negative treatment of Peruvians in Santiago. Almost all of the respondents offered something extra to the interview, such as stories or experiences of their friends and/or families in Santiago, Peru, or elsewhere. I included this information in the “Other Information” column of Table 3.

3.5 Peruvian Identity, Institutions, and Social Networks in Santiago

My descriptions of how Peruvians and Chileans relate to one another should make it clear that there is a division between these two groups within the context of Santiago. Given the generally negative reaction that Peruvians receive from Chileans, there may be a need for Peruvians in Santiago to reassess their identity or identities. While I was in Santiago, I noticed the presence of certain institutions that help to provide some comfort to Peruvians in their new home. These institutions are extensions of Peruvian identity and can also potentially serve as a step toward the assimilation of Peruvians into Chilean society.

Map 3 and Table 2 show that the geographic origins of the nineteen Peruvians interviewed in Santiago are varied. Through my fieldwork I noticed that Peruvians hold more distinct identities, whereas Chileans tend to use the broad “Peruvian” label. For example, Peruvians from Lima, or limeños, were often even more descriptive in describing their origins than Peruvians that were not limeños. Instead of simply saying they came from Lima, several of my limeño interviewees went as far as to tell me the specific section of Lima or neighborhood that they hailed from. Another identifiable example was a response from a young woman from Iquitos, who told me “Soy de Iquitos, en la selva” or, translated, “I am from Iquitos, in the jungle.” This indicates a stronger sense of regional identity and association for Peruvians, as opposed to a generic “Peruvian” identity attributed by Chileans. Doughty (1997: 81) explains: “Peruvians generally describe themselves as being from a particular place, a kind of ascribed status that does not change through life . . . . Place and social identity are strongly intertwined.” Doughty (1997: 81) speculates the strong sense of regionalism in Peru is attributed to the Andes Mountains where the valleys and mountain niches create distinct environments that are known for their unique qualities.

I gathered that despite the diversity of Peruvians in Chile, there appeared to be a great sense of unity among the Peruvian community despite any distinct regional affiliations they may hold while in Peru. This does not negate the significance of sub-identities, though in the eyes of Chileans and in the new setting of Santiago, peruano (Peruvian) served as the general identifier of Peruvians and the categorization used by Chileans in terms of a “regional identity”.
Altamirano and Hirabayashi (1997: 13-14), commenting on the construction of regional identities in Latin American cities, explain: “[A] sense of identity that comes from belonging to a particular region is heightened when social actors who share similar cultural, economic, and ethnic backgrounds find themselves together away from home. Common origins, then, are one part of the basis of a regional sense of identity in an urban setting.” Altamirano and Hirabayashi (1997: 13-14) add that when migrants enter a large and unfamiliar city and if they share an ecological/social location (or specific neighborhoods) and similar occupations (perhaps under conditions of labor market segregation), the migrants may view themselves as contrasting to other groups in the city. A sense of communal interests is thereby intensified (Altamirano and Hirabayashi 1997: 13-14). Likewise, when migrants are challenged in the new urban environment, which is sometimes initiated by people who are reluctant to recognize or accommodate newcomers and “others”, the sense of regional identity can intensify (Altamirano and Hirabayashi 1997: 14). Thus, “regional identities’ help to reduce the social, cultural, and psychological marginality of new migrants in the city.” (Altamirano and Hirabayashi 1997: 14)

This raises the question of how the “regional identity” of Peruvians is constructed in the specific context of Santiago. A primary way in which Peruvian identity in Santiago is manifested is through the institutions that develop in response to the needs of the Peruvian community. Peruvian restaurants are an increasingly important establishment in Santiago given their increase and number and popularity among Chileans and Peruvians alike. The recent opening of many restaurants appears to be a move on behalf of Chilean (and some Peruvian) entrepreneurs to capitalize on the large increase of the Peruvian population in Chile. But because these restaurants serve both Chileans and Peruvians, either as a service or a means of employment, their success indicates that they also serve as a medium between the Peruvians and the host society. This medium helps to both facilitate and create Peruvian identities.

Another institution and medium that connects Peruvians and Chileans is the newspaper Perú al Día (Figure 2). Perú al Día is the newspaper of the Peruvian community in Santiago that covers issues of interest to and involving Peruvians. The paper prominently includes advertisements for services of interest to Peruvians in Santiago as well, such as restaurants, travel agencies, courier services, and events around Santiago. Though it is written by and for the Peruvian community, I saw that it was available at newsstands around Santiago. This suggests a more widespread audience for Peruvians or other readers because the paper is not restricted to just “Little Lima” or more “Peruvian” areas of Santiago. The newspaper offers articles and commentary on news in Peru covering politics, the economy, sports, entertainment, and gossip.

Examples of some of the major institutions that serve the Peruvian community are the many clubs serving a myriad of purposes for Peruvians in Santiago. A leading club is Club Peruano, an institution founded in 1904, to help improve the social, cultural, and physical well being of the Peruvian community (www.embperu.cl). This association also aims to be directly involved with all other Peruvian organizations in Chile (www.embperu.cl). Other major organizations include associations run from churches to help recent migrants, and Comite Damas Peruanas (Committee for Peruvian Women) (www.embperu.cl).
I had the opportunity to attend one meeting for the Asociacion de Peruanos Residentes en Santiago (Association of Peruvian Residents in Santiago). A leader of the organization informed me that this association primarily served economic refugees from Peru and has a membership of about 600. (Only about twenty-five were in attendance at the meeting I went to, however.) While I was at the meeting, the members said that the association serves as a main organization for the Peruvian community and as a source of representation. The attendees told me that there are various neighborhoods around Santiago where Peruvians are numerous and that these neighborhoods host churches and organizations of their own for that community’s respective Peruvian population. These include religious, social, political, recreational, and economic organizations.

Doughty (1997: 74) reports that Peruvians are well known for forming organizations and associations of many types. He draws this interpretation from his many studies of migrants from all over Peru to Lima. Taking this behavior into consideration, I feel that it is reasonable to believe that this is a characteristic that Peruvians brought with them to Chile. This is also a logical notion considering the status of many of the Peruvians before they left Peru. Doughty (1997: 77) explains: “Beyond the extended family, Peruvians are surely the Latin American champions at self-organization. One of the singular features of Peruvian migration is the demonstrated capacity of people to constitute themselves into formal groups in their new city of residence.” Doughty (1997: 78) explains the rationale behind these clubs in that that they serve as “a venue for social life and psychocultural validation in an often stressful and insecure environment [and] they [are] important in giving people a sense of social solidarity among their peers . . . as well as retaining their sense of belonging to the homeland and its values.”

Figure 2: Perú al Día, Newspaper of Chile’s Peruvian Community
Given the number and variety of these organizations in Santiago and the widespread participation among the Peruvian community, this is a sign of success for the Peruvians and their adaptation into Santiago and Chilean society. There may be a historical basis for these organizations that also sets Peruvians apart from Chileans. Roberts (1997a: 353-354) observes that, with the exception of the Southern Cone, Latin America was primarily an agricultural region until the mid-twentieth century. The peasant, semi-proletarian nature of many Latin American agrarian societies influenced how countries developed during the rapid urbanization of the region in the twentieth century (Roberts 1997a: 353-354). The rural, agrarian background of many Latin American migrants in this time period accentuated kinship and networks among the migrants to aid in their adaptation to the city (Roberts 1997a: 353-354).

Currently, these associations help to create and maintain social networks in Santiago, and they serve as a link to Peru. Murillo Castaño (1988: 194) in his case study of labor migration of Colombians to Venezuela, explains communication between prospective migrants and those already in Venezuela: “[I]nformation networks between points of origin and destination offer greater detail to migrants who, before their journey, procure information about routes, cost and risks of travel, job opportunities, ways of life at destination points, etc. Migrants actually become the true barometer of the prevailing economic situation at both sending and receiving points.” Roberts (1997b: 4) also affirms that migrants are dependent on those that preceded them to help find work, shelter, and general orientation in their new environment. This is another component of identity for migrants, as Roberts (1997b: 4) explains: “These networks have a persisting importance in the city, reinforcing regional identities because of the continuing importance of informal channels to jobs, housing, and welfare.” Thus, while migrants may have a certain component to their identity, such as a strong presence in a particular economic sector (perhaps domestic work for Peruvian migrants in Santiago), migrant associations aid in incorporating new migrants through the methods described by Roberts (1997b: 4), and in turn reinforce particular identities.

Under these circumstances, migrants tend to concentrate in specific areas of the city and maintain close ties. Altamirano and Hirabayashi (1997: 12) state that in these settings, “a culture of the vecindad [nearness] can actually develop, which is characterized by solidarity, loyalty, and reciprocity based on regional and ethnic affiliations, involving the exchange of goods and services.” The place for the exchange of these goods and services in Santiago is primarily “Little Lima” which, as a physical and cultural space, is perhaps the most important aspect of the Peruvian community in Santiago. The centrality of “Little Lima” and the space it occupies helps to define and maintain the Peruvians’ identity in Santiago. I now turn to discuss the urban landscape and sense of place that one finds in “Little Lima”. These attributes are important in understanding the atmosphere of “Little Lima” and why it is more than just a place where Peruvian migrants go to find employment or where Chileans go to look for casual labor.
An important component to understanding the Peruvian experience in Chile is to recognize what makes the area of “Little Lima” different from other areas of Santiago. It is difficult to fully appreciate what makes “Little Lima” a distinctive place without actually going there and seeing and experiencing it firsthand. In this section, I deduce from fieldwork to show and describe some of the features of the physical landscape of “Little Lima” and some of the activities that occur there that contribute to its unique sense of place.

The area known as “Little Lima” is located next to the Plaza de Armas (Map 2) in downtown Santiago (El Centro). Determining the physical size of “Little Lima” in terms of city blocks is somewhat problematic because I found that after talking to both Chileans and Peruvians, no two people completely agreed on the size of the neighborhood. By casually surveying the area, I found the areas where the most activity takes place and the largest concentration of businesses appealing to Peruvians is. I then estimated the “core area” of “Little Lima” to be approximately three square blocks. I am cautious to offer any conclusions, however, because, as I describe in more detail below, I found that the “space” of “Little Lima” is fluid. This is especially apparent because, at certain times, the concept of “Little Lima” extends beyond rigid boundaries, and its “Peruvian” qualities extend further into the Plaza de Armas and El Centro – spaces regarded by the host society to be “Chilean”. Thus, although there are visible indicators in the urban landscape of Santiago that help define and signify – and help one locate – “Little Lima”, it is not as obvious where the neighborhood begins and ends. In other words, it is possible to locate “Little Lima”, although it does not stand out quite as obviously as some ethnic neighborhoods, such as a given “Chinatown.”

A critical landmark in helping one to find “Little Lima” and also to understand some of the contention evoked between Chileans and Peruvians is Santiago’s Plaza de Armas. Clawson (2004: 335) explains that plazas (“town squares”) are found in both small and large cities throughout Latin America and can serve a number of functions. These include soccer matches, religious and political gatherings and rallies, and daily or periodic sites of market functions to sell clothes, food, and other goods (Clawson 2004: 335). Santiago is no exception to Clawson’s description; I witnessed all of these activities in the Plaza de Armas. Another key aspect of a Latin American plaza that Clawson (2004: 335) cites is “the Catholic church that fronts almost every Latin American plaza.” Santiago’s main Metropolitan Cathedral is located right at the head of the Plaza de Armas (Figures 3 and 4), closely following Clawson’s description. The foremost function of the plaza, though, is that it is regarded to be the main site of the city or town in terms of facilitating social interaction (Clawson 2004: 335).

Walking along El Centro’s Pedestrian Mall and along the north face of the Metropolitan Cathedral will suddenly bring one to perhaps the best-known street of “Little Lima”. This may be apparent to some pedestrians because of the many Peruvians that linger on this street, although I did not always find it to be obvious who was and who was not Peruvian. Some Chileans may say otherwise. The many businesses along this street and a few contiguous streets helped to make it more apparent to me that I was in “Little Lima”. These businesses prominently display advertisements and products appealing to Peruvians such as sales or promotions on Peruvian foods, discounted fares or calling rates to Peru, popular Peruvian products such as delicacies or entertainment.
(music, periodicals, etc.), or advertisements of social events for the Peruvian community in Santiago. This is evident by the word Perú and its related variations, in addition to red and white – the colors of the Peruvian flag – which are conspicuously displayed in the windows of the stores or outside in the design (colors, signs, etc.) of many of the businesses for any pedestrian to see.

**Figure 3: The Metropolitan Cathedral in the Plaza de Armas, downtown Santiago**  
(Photo by author)

![The Metropolitan Cathedral in the Plaza de Armas, downtown Santiago](image)

**Figure 4: Another View of the Plaza de Armas, downtown Santiago**  
(Photo by author)

![Another View of the Plaza de Armas, downtown Santiago](image)
These businesses include, but are not limited to: Peruvian restaurants, travel agencies (advertising flights and bus services to Peru), grocery stores selling Peruvian snacks and delicacies, second hand clothing stores, bars, and clothing and fruit sold on the sidewalks, and newsstands. One of the principal types of businesses found in “Little Lima” that holds a special significance to Santiago’s Peruvian community is the “calling center.” (Figure 5) Several calling centers are located in “Little Lima” and they serve more than one purpose.

The basic idea behind a calling center is to provide a cheap, fixed rate to call someone by satellite for a given amount of time. This is popular with the Peruvians who come to “Little Lima”, because it enables them to call family and friends in Peru (or elsewhere) for a reasonable price. This is also appealing because many Peruvians and Peruvian families live together in Santiago and calling centers offer a reasonable and reliable means of communication for groups of tenants that may not have a phone or inexpensive international calling plans. I observed phone rates advertising calling rates to Peru, Ecuador, Bolivia, Argentina, Cuba, Venezuela, Colombia, Italy, Switzerland, Japan, Canada, and the United States. Other services offered at calling centers include currency exchanges. A few actually housed cyber cafes to provide cheap Internet access.

On a few different occasions, I sat and watched the activities in calling centers to get an idea of how popular they were and what types of clientele they served. I noticed that although some times were busier than others, the calling centers generally kept a pretty steady flow of customers and appeared to be lucrative businesses. Different types of customers also used the calling centers and sometimes groups of people, either friends or families, used services together. I also saw well dressed and business-type professionals that made use of the services in calling centers. This may signify that calling centers cater to a range of social and economic classes of customers, and that they

Figure 5: A Typical Calling Center in “Little Lima” (Photo by author)
may also be sites for business dealings, either in face-to-face interactions or through using the services provided.

Postings for various positions or services are also found in the windows of calling centers. These include households looking for nanas and/or gardeners and other jobs, advertisements for apartments and homes to rent, English classes, and cheap medical care. A similar enterprise found in “Little Lima” in conjunction with calling centers are courier services. Courier services offer discount prices to send mail to various places, although Peru is often advertised. These are resources that many Peruvians use for mail services, although the sending of remittances is a primary function of courier centers.

Businesses such as the kinds I described above are a central feature of “Little Lima”. But there are also more human characteristics that contribute to its sense of place. The area of El Centro where “Little Lima” is located is noticeably a poorer section of Santiago in terms of income levels and housing quality. It is definitely not the poorest, although “working class neighborhood” is an apt description. Although there are apartments in the surrounding area and many Peruvians live nearby, “Little Lima” itself, based on appearance, looks more like a commercial than a residential area. And although commerce is a major feature of “Little Lima”, many other activities that occur in the neighborhood make “Little Lima” a distinctive place.

Among the best-known characteristics of “Little Lima”, according to both the Chileans and the Peruvian community, are the Peruvians who sit, lean, and stand along the north wall of the Metropolitan Cathedral on a main street in “Little Lima” (Figure 6). According to Ortega (2001) and both Chileans and Peruvians that I spoke with in Santiago, this sidewalk of “Little Lima” is known as the primary spot in the city for Chileans to look for and hire Peruvians to work, either on a permanent or temporary basis. Peruvians know the area as the primary place to find work in Santiago.

I spent a considerable amount of time during my fieldwork along this wall and its respective street, watching interactions, talking with Peruvians, and looking for indicators that contributed to this area’s sense of place. Many of the Peruvians that sit or wait along the Cathedral wall are unemployed or underemployed. The standard in Santiago is that the place serves as a meeting point for employers and prospective employees. Because of the poor economic status of some of the Peruvians, many are often dressed in worn and sometimes ragged clothes. This especially became apparent when well-dressed and professional looking people (presumably Chileans) approached the Peruvians and began to speak with them.
From conversing with both Chileans and Peruvians, I learned that this is a common method for both Peruvians to find jobs and for Chileans to find workers. It is also a frequent occurrence in “Little Lima”. One Peruvian interviewee described a typical situation to be one in which a business owner (such as a restaurant owner) approaches a Peruvian and asks if he or she wants a job. The prospective employer will likely describe the job (such as cleaning, bussing, washing dishes, etc.) and the wages involved, and the Peruvian will accept or decline the job. This interviewee, as well as several other people I spoke with, added that the jobs offered to Peruvians waiting in “Little Lima” are often temporary, as in only a few hours or days.

Aside from the sidewalk along the Cathedral wall that serves as a sort of informal “temp” agency, that particular sidewalk is a main place in “Little Lima” for Peruvians to socialize. One can interpret this as a way to pass the time while waiting to be propositioned for a job, although I frequently saw many Peruvians stopping to chat with each other while walking through the neighborhood. A young female interviewee of mine happened to be sitting and waiting for some Peruvian friends of hers while they shopped in some of the businesses across the street. Other times I noticed a parent with a child or two waiting on his or her spouse while the spouse called relatives in Peru from the calling center or while they shopped for special Peruvian groceries at one of the stores along the street.

These are scenes that anyone can notice on any given day in “Little Lima”. Although the number of Peruvians that frequent this area varies from day to day, the sidewalk typically hosts anywhere from a few dozen to scores of Peruvians from at least the early morning until the early evening. The most vibrant activity in “Little Lima” unquestionably occurs on the weekends and particularly on Sunday mornings and afternoons. It is at these times when “Little Lima” and its businesses, in addition to
spaces nearby “Little Lima” such as the Plaza de Armas and the Pedestrian Mall, are most lively. One can easily observe several hundred and possibly a few thousand Peruvians in “Little Lima” and the surrounding area at these times (Figure 7).

Ortega (2001) explains that Sunday is often the only day that many Peruvians are able to take off from work and that they use this time to utilize the services in “Little Lima”, socialize, or in the case of the unemployed, look for work. Some Peruvian interviewees provided some additional insight to the Peruvian community’s weekend activities. Two interviewees explained that many Peruvians attend mass at the Metropolitan Cathedral on Sundays and afterward they remain in the area to socialize, shop, or look for work. One young Peruvian woman said that Saturdays are also active days for Peruvians, as many like to go out dancing and clubbing at night before attending mass on Sunday.

Figure 7: A Principal Street in “Little Lima” where Peruvians Congregate (Photo by author)

From this information, I interpreted the description of many Peruvians attending the Metropolitan Cathedral as another source of contention between Peruvians and Chileans, as Chileans may regard the Peruvians as invading their church.

From my own observations, I found “Little Lima” to be particularly active for the precise reasons mentioned above. Social activities are always a big draw, and these include dances, lotteries, bars and restaurants showing sporting events, and appearances by Peruvian celebrities. These events are marketed by the businesses of “Little Lima” by signs in their windows or by flyers passed out on the street by their employees (Figure 8). Regardless of the events, “Little Lima”, the Plaza de Armas, and the surrounding areas are particularly active on Sundays. Two of my interviewees specifically mentioned that they liked and preferred to live in “Little Lima” for these very reasons. One said that he
specifically liked the convenience of Peruvian stores and knowing that other Peruvians are nearby. The other said how he liked the familiarity of the surroundings, the Peruvian food, and the sense of community in the neighborhood. From my own observations of the amount of activity, it appears that they are certainly not the only two Peruvians that feel this way.

Figure 8: A Typical Flyer Advertising a Social Event in “Little Lima”. This particular flyer is advertising a free event on a Saturday and Sunday afternoon in “Little Lima”. A Peruvian singer is scheduled to make an appearance. A selection of Peruvian foods is available. The advertisement also mentions gimmicks such as free beer for the first fifty people that attend and door prizes.

Despite the fact that some Peruvians are cited (especially by Chilean newspapers) as experiencing hardships upon moving to Chile, one finds that there is a visible and active Peruvian community in Santiago and there is a sense of community among the Peruvians in Santiago. Although the residential geography of Peruvians in Santiago is dispersed, their ethnic and geographic origins varied, and their economic status diverse, “Little Lima” is not a space that is exclusive to any one class or group of Peruvians or other Andean nationalities. Rather, “Little Lima” serves as a communal area for Peruvians of many classes and backgrounds from all over Santiago and illustrates their sense of community and identity within the Chilean context. This is manifest through the various interactions that occur in “Little Lima”. This space and sense of community also extends to the Ecuadorians and Bolivians in Santiago, although these groups remain somewhat distinct from the Peruvians for reasons that need to be explored in future research. I saw in a few advertisements for social events in “Little Lima” that
specifically mentioned an acceptance and reception of Ecuadorians and Bolivians at the events. Although these Andean peoples are not “Indians” per se, as many Chileans refer to them, I do recall seeing a few indigenous people from Andean countries in “Little Lima” and El Centro.

The relationship between the Chileans and Peruvians within the context of “Little Lima” is taking an interesting turn. In June of 2002, Santiago politician Joaquin Lavín and Chile’s Peruvian Consul Marco Nuñez-Melgar met to discuss Chilean-Peruvian relations in Santiago. The meeting occurred in response to Chilean businessmen and residents near “Little Lima” complaining about “friction” between themselves and Peruvians because the Peruvians allegedly “obstruct” the area and create an unappealing atmosphere for Chileans (Perú al Día 2002b). A proposed response to this is to “relocate” the Peruvians that Chileans say congest the area, and to create another place for them in downtown Santiago (Perú al Día 2002b). This new area is described in the news reports to be a commercial place that would be designed to look like Lima, Peru and to have a cultural ambience to attract Peruvians as well as tourists (Perú al Día 2002b). A more recent article from Las Últimas Noticias describes the planned area to be a five-story building with a disco, restaurants, and stores with Peruvian arts and crafts (Morales 2003). The Peruvian response appears to be positive (Morales 2003), although the building and planned area are new, and it is early to say whether this will ease any “tension” between Chileans and Peruvians.

Still, the proposed “relocation” of “Little Lima” is a clear example of a degree of exclusion of the Peruvians from El Centro. Sibley (1995: 57) refers to such movements as “purification processes” in cities “designed to exclude groups variously identified as polluting – the poor in general, the residual working class, racial minorities, prostitutes, and so on.” The current location of “Little Lima” in proximity to the “Chilean” Metropolitan Cathedral also connotes that the Peruvians are encroaching upon “Chilean” territory. Again, Sibley (1995: 84) mentions that planned sites (such as American Indian reservations or, in this case, the new “Peruvian” area in downtown Santiago) are examples of spaces of exclusion for minorities imposed by dominant host societies: “Locations are selected which remove the minority from areas valued by the dominant society and, in isolation, the design and regulation of space are supposed to induce conformity.” The preceding quote by Sibley very succinctly sums up the general reception of Peruvians by Chileans in Santiago and what some feel will “solve” the issue of Peruvians gaining a more visible presence in Santiago.
Table 3: Summary of Interview Questions and Responses by the 19 Peruvians interviewed in Santiago, in Order of Interviews

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sex</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Origin</th>
<th>Peruvian features noted by interviewee</th>
<th>Reasons for migrating to Santiago</th>
<th>How long have you lived in Santiago?</th>
<th>Where do you have friends/family in Santiago?</th>
<th>Do you live where you live by choice?</th>
<th>Are you currently employed? If so, what is your job?</th>
<th>Current employer’s nationality</th>
<th>Have your work experiences been positive or negative?</th>
<th>How are you treated by other residents of Santiago?</th>
<th>Other Information</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>F</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>Lima</td>
<td>skin color</td>
<td>New opportunities, work, make new friends</td>
<td>12 yrs</td>
<td>First Providencia, Now Las Condes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Not now; currently studying English full-time</td>
<td>Chileans &amp; Germans In the past</td>
<td>Great experiences</td>
<td>Very well</td>
<td>Visits family in Peru every year; Chileans very hospitable; not familiar with Little Lima; does not want to live in Chile forever</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>Chimbote</td>
<td>Work</td>
<td>El Centro, in Little Lima</td>
<td>1.5 yrs</td>
<td>In Peruvian communities in Recoleta and Independencia</td>
<td>Yes, prefers to live in Little Lima</td>
<td>Not currently employed</td>
<td>N/a</td>
<td>N/a</td>
<td>Treated poorly “Because they know I’m Peruvian”</td>
<td>Lives in Little Lima because of familiarity and the Peruvian businesses; prefers living in Peru</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>Lima</td>
<td>skin color [unreadable]</td>
<td>La Florida</td>
<td>1 yr</td>
<td>Many in La Florida and El Centro</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Calling Center (desk worker, etc.)</td>
<td>Chilean</td>
<td>Good</td>
<td>Treated well</td>
<td>Prefers to live in Chile; He said that “Limeña” is the name for Little Lima, named by Chileans</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>Lima</td>
<td>speech; skin color</td>
<td>To work, study</td>
<td>Lived here off and on [lengths of each residence unclear]</td>
<td>El Centro</td>
<td>El Centro, other areas</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Cook in Peruvian restaurant</td>
<td>Chilean</td>
<td>Great</td>
<td>Good</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sex</td>
<td>Age</td>
<td>Origin</td>
<td>Peruvian features noted by interviewer</td>
<td>Reasons for migrating to Santiago</td>
<td>How long have you lived in Santiago?</td>
<td>Where do you have friends/family in Santiago?</td>
<td>Do you have friends/family in Santiago?</td>
<td>Do you live where you live by choice?</td>
<td>Are you currently employed? If so, what is your job?</td>
<td>Current employer’s nationality</td>
<td>Have your work experiences been positive or negative?</td>
<td>How are you treated by other residents of Santiago?</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>F</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>Para-monga</td>
<td>Claims to not have any</td>
<td>Work</td>
<td>4 yrs</td>
<td>Outskirts of city</td>
<td>Many; all over Santiago</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Not employed</td>
<td>Peruvian</td>
<td>“Good and bad”</td>
<td>Chile is okay, prefers to live in Peru; knows a woman who worked as a nana [i.e. nanny] who was not paid and had passport destroyed, police did nothing to help her</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>Iquito-</td>
<td>speech</td>
<td>Opportunities</td>
<td>3 yrs</td>
<td>Recoleta</td>
<td>A few friends</td>
<td>Yes; prefers not to live in El Centro</td>
<td>Waitress in Peruvian restaurant</td>
<td>Peruvian</td>
<td>Good</td>
<td>“Good and bad”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>Trujillo</td>
<td>skin color &amp; speech</td>
<td>Opportunities, work</td>
<td>5 yrs</td>
<td>Recoleta</td>
<td>Has many</td>
<td>Yes; cheaper to live in Recoleta</td>
<td>Employed</td>
<td>German</td>
<td>Good</td>
<td>Generally treated poorly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>Arequipa</td>
<td>Work</td>
<td>8 mos</td>
<td>El Centro (in Little Lima)</td>
<td>No family in Chile</td>
<td>Yes; prefers to live there because of familiarity, Peruvian food, feeling of community</td>
<td>Has had temporary jobs in the past</td>
<td>N/a</td>
<td>N/a</td>
<td>“It’s not bad here”; but he says Chileans do not like lower class Peruvians because of competition</td>
<td>Mentioned moving to Canada if he cannot find a job; he has a brother living in Melbourne, Australia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sex</td>
<td>Age</td>
<td>Origin</td>
<td>Peruvian features noted by interviewee</td>
<td>Reasons for migrating to Santiago</td>
<td>How long have you lived in Santiago?</td>
<td>Where do you have friends/family in Santiago?</td>
<td>Do you have friends/family in Santiago?</td>
<td>Where?</td>
<td>Do you live where you live by choice?</td>
<td>Are you currently employed? If so, what is your job?</td>
<td>Current employer’s nationality</td>
<td>Have your work experiences been positive or negative?</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>M</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>Chimbo</td>
<td>Work</td>
<td>1 yr</td>
<td>El Centro</td>
<td>Has family in Chile</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Not employed</td>
<td></td>
<td>N/a</td>
<td>N/a</td>
<td>Feels he is treated well</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>Tarpot</td>
<td>Work, opportunities</td>
<td>6 yrs</td>
<td>Independencia</td>
<td>No family in Chile</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Employed</td>
<td></td>
<td>Chilean</td>
<td>Good</td>
<td>Some people treat him well, others don’t</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>Huarme</td>
<td>Opportunities</td>
<td>6 mos</td>
<td>El Centro</td>
<td>In Chile by himself</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Not currently employed</td>
<td></td>
<td>N/a</td>
<td>N/a</td>
<td>Treated okay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>Tingo Maria</td>
<td>Only by speech [unintelligible]</td>
<td>A few years</td>
<td>San Joaquin</td>
<td>No family in Chile</td>
<td>Yes; it is comfortable, cheap, close to Metro</td>
<td>Not currently employed</td>
<td></td>
<td>N/a</td>
<td>N/a</td>
<td>Treated well</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>Lima</td>
<td>Work</td>
<td>7 yrs</td>
<td>El Centro</td>
<td>In Chile with husband and two sons</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Employed; works as a nana [nanny]</td>
<td>Chilean</td>
<td>Good, never had any problems</td>
<td>Treated fairly well</td>
<td>Chilean</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>Huancayo</td>
<td>speech</td>
<td>4 yrs</td>
<td>Recoleta</td>
<td>In Chile with wife and some friends</td>
<td>Yes; cheap, convenient</td>
<td>Gardener</td>
<td></td>
<td>Chilean</td>
<td>Pretty good</td>
<td>“Good and bad”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Other Information:
- Prefers to live in Peru or the U.S.; has certification in teaching primary education; Very curious about living and working in the U.S.
- Treated fair here
- Works with many other Peruvians
- Treated well
- Preferences to live in Chile; says things would be great if family were here
- Works as a nana [nanny]
- Knows other nanas who have had problems in Chile; organizes a group to orient migrants and women working as nanas; husband is an artisan selling Peruvian crafts in markets (a good job because of tourist market)
<table>
<thead>
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<th>Sex</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Origin</th>
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<th>Reasons for migrating to Santiago</th>
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<th>Are you currently employed? If so, what is your job?</th>
<th>Current employer’s nationality</th>
<th>Have your work experiences been positive or negative?</th>
<th>How are you treated by other residents of Santiago?</th>
<th>Other Information</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>M</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>Lima</td>
<td>Work</td>
<td>3 yrs</td>
<td>El Centro</td>
<td>Alone in Chile</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Gardener</td>
<td>Chilean</td>
<td>Good</td>
<td>Generally poor</td>
<td>Works with other Peruvians</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>Chiclayo</td>
<td>speech</td>
<td>Work</td>
<td>2 yrs</td>
<td>Independencia</td>
<td>Has several friends in Chile</td>
<td>Yes; lives close to friends</td>
<td>Clerk in Peruvian grocery store</td>
<td>Peruvian</td>
<td>Pretty good</td>
<td>Good</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>Lima</td>
<td>Work</td>
<td>4 yrs</td>
<td>El Centro</td>
<td>No family in Chile</td>
<td>Yes; close to Peruvian businesses, other Peruvians</td>
<td>Not currently employed</td>
<td>N/a</td>
<td>N/a</td>
<td>Pretty good</td>
<td>Has heard stories of some Peruvians facing labor abuses</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>Lima</td>
<td>speech &amp; appearance</td>
<td>Work, opportunities</td>
<td>5 yrs</td>
<td>Recoleta</td>
<td>His wife and brother live in Santiago</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Calling center</td>
<td>Chilean</td>
<td>Treated well</td>
<td>Some Peruvians have problems in Chile, most do okay; opportunities are much better in Chile</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>Trujillo</td>
<td>“I have a very Peruvian accent”</td>
<td>Work</td>
<td>1 yr</td>
<td>El Centro</td>
<td>Alone in Chile</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Not currently employed</td>
<td>N/a</td>
<td>Treated okay</td>
<td>Has had trouble finding work but not necessarily due to discrimination</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
4.1 Introduction

This chapter reviews the main research findings from Chapter 3 and relates them to the literature review in Chapter 2. In Section 4.2, I discuss whether or not the Peruvians and their community are a product of cohesion or a result of marginalization from the host society. In Section 4.3, I further discuss the significance of the space known as “Little Lima”. Although “Little Lima” presents some attributes of the traditional definitions of enclave and ethnic neighborhood, it is important not to impose definitions from the Anglo American context on the Latin American experience.

4.2 Are the Peruvians a Marginalized Group in Santiago?

Through my fieldwork in Santiago and in my experiences that I documented in Chapter 3, I feel that my findings have some notable similarities with the literature I reviewed in Sections 2.4 concerning some of the general concepts of race and ethnicity in Latin America. In this section I relate this literature to my own field experiences to address why I, along with my Peruvian interviewees, feel that the Peruvians are or are not a marginalized group in Santiago.

As I mentioned previously, I discovered early on in my fieldwork and by talking with Peruvians that my sample of interviewees did not indicate strong evidence to suggest that the Peruvians are a residentially marginalized or segregated group in Santiago. I found from talking to Chileans, Peruvians, and from reading some Chilean news sources that, in reality, Peruvians live all over Santiago. However, some main concentrations of Peruvians are found in El Centro (especially around “Little Lima”), Recoleta, Independencia, Puente Alto, and San Bernardo (Map 4). I found that these comunas of Santiago have much in common with each other economically (by being more working class) than other comunas. Although there may be some concentrations of Peruvians, this does not imply spatial assimilation or marginalization. This correlates with Allen and Turner’s (1996) study of residential patterns of several ethnic groups in Los Angeles and how neither concentration nor dispersal solely indicates assimilation or marginalization of a particular group.

Economic and social marginalization is another matter, however. In the case of the business associated with Peruvian community and their considerable success as I described from my observations in Section 3.6, most businesses are intended for the specific immigrant niche. This does not necessarily mean that the businesses imply marginalization of Peruvians into specific economic sectors, but most of these businesses do not appeal to all residents of Santiago. Also, the businesses themselves do not imply a smooth transition of Peruvians into Chilean society.

If the Peruvians face marginalization, it is mostly in the social and cultural sense. Information from both Chileans and Peruvians I spoke with and the Chilean print media indicate that the Peruvians are generally viewed as inferior. But how severe is this perception? This question relates back to the concepts I discussed in Section 2.4 regarding race and ethnicity in Latin America.

Previously, I mentioned that Clawson (2004) argues that physical racism in Latin America is purported to be uncommon because the concept of “race” in Latin America
differs from that of Anglo America. But the remarks from Chileans regarding Peruvians that I mentioned in Section 3.3 clearly challenge this notion. Many Chileans used physical characteristics to describe the Peruvians, such as their skin color and facial features. The Chilean woman from the restaurant explained that “it is obvious” to differentiate between low and high class Peruvians just by looking at them and evaluating their physical features (such as dark skin and large noses). Peruvians themselves affirmed that some Chileans regarded them to be inferior, partially because of their skin color or physical features. These descriptions sounded very racist to me, but as several other Latin Americanist scholars suggest, these attitudes are generally not perceived to be racist in some Latin American societies.

Although Clawson (2004: 164) regards “social whitening” to be the more common form of racism in Latin America, it is important to note that this principle is based not only on economic and social, but also physical characteristics. This is evident from de la Torre’s (1999) study on middle-class Indians in Ecuador. He explains that the economic status of indigenous Ecuadorians does not always correspond to their physical features. In presenting his research purpose, de la Torre (1999: 94) explains, “I focus on the Indian middle class to avoid the common-sense assumption that explains away discrimination by class rather than by race.” His case study shows through several examples that middle class indigenous Ecuadorians do confront daily racial prejudice in Ecuador despite their social or economic standing. In discussing ethnic and racial categorization in Peru, Laurie and Bonnett (2002: 41, emphasis added) observe that:

[A] series of terms, many of which are pejorative, are ascribed to people whose physical features are assumed to be more obviously indigenous, African or Asian than the ‘mestizo-white’ norm. . . . Many of these terms are used in a casual and indiscriminate fashion, a habit that encourages geographical and cultural misrepresentations. For example, anyone who ‘seems to be’ recognisably East Asian in origin is called ‘Chino’, regardless of whether they are mestizo or whether their predecessors (usually several generations removed) originated from Japan or China.

This mentality exists in Chile as well, as described by Ortega’s (2001) findings and from my own observations. Furthermore, I found that Peruvians are often wholly labeled as peruanos despite the geographic variety of Peruvians that I encountered in my interviews. De la Torre (1999: 99-100) explains how, despite the economic or social status of indigenous Ecuadorians, “when they leave their communities [of origin] to work or study they are transformed into anonymous Indians. . . Whites and mestizos see them as representatives of the stigmatized generic Indian: a primitive, dirty, and ignorant being who does not belong to these racialized white and mestizo places.”

These attitudes are present in Santiago as well, especially toward the Peruvians who work, live, socialize, or look for work in the vicinities of “Little Lima” and the Plaza de Armas. This is most apparent through Chilean news reports and Ortega’s (2001) description of “Little Lima”. De la Torre (1999: 94), taking notice of the public setting for racist attitudes to project themselves, describes from his case study: “Discrimination takes place in a spatial continuum of sites which extends from protected spaces of residence to unprotected public arenas. The range of discriminatory actions includes
avoidance, exclusion, verbal attacks and, at its most extreme, physical assaults.” De la Torre (1999: 108-109) later mentions that when spaces are regarded to be racialized in some way (e.g. when a space is occupied but not exclusive to “Indian space”), “whites and mestizos avoid contact with them [Indians] for fear of being soiled.” This is reminiscent of some of the attitudes I saw from Chileans regarding the area of “Little Lima”. This may also be a reason why Peruvians (perhaps deceptively) appear to Chileans to “dominate” the Plaza de Armas and downtown Santiago on the weekends when fewer Chileans are around at those times.

From the above descriptions and from the descriptions of some of my own encounters in Santiago, it may appear that Chileans are outwardly racist and that Peruvians are strongly discriminated against. However, this is both true and misleading. While evaluating my findings, it is important to also take account of my own preconceived notions and attitudes toward race, class, and other aspects of difference. Sundberg (2003) cautions that Anglo American geographers must be mindful of their race as well as their gender, as these factors can have a profound effect on research results, especially in an interviewer-interviewee interaction. For example, gender differences between an Anglo American interviewer and a Latin American interviewee can potentially skew how data are collected and interpreted.

It is also important to take into account Peter Wade’s (1997) point that researchers need to consider the context of their study and examine it from the perspective of the people and places involved. For example, Weismantel and Eisenman (1998), in discussing race in the Andean region, mention that factors such as clothes, hygiene, sexual orientation, hairstyles, footwear, birthplace, and even cultural activities (dancing, for example) are some common concepts that help to shape racism in the Andes. These are some characteristics that are unfamiliar to the traditional Anglo American definition of racism. Additionally, Laurie and Bonnett (2002: 37) note that the concepts of race and ethnicity vary from society to society in Latin America. Thus it appears that the concepts of racism in Latin America are as varied as the races and ethnicities found in that region. But why do mestizos all over Latin America seem to have these inclinations toward non-mestizos?

Conceptualizing why white and mestizo Ecuadorians are so condescending toward indigenous Ecuadorians, de la Torre (1999: 93) argues:

The discriminatory actions of white and mestizo Ecuadorians clearly illustrate how they have constructed their racial selves. Given that only a few Ecuadorians can be certain of their European descent, each act of aggression against the Indian and black ‘Other’ is a form of denial and hatred of the mestizo self. The racist actions and beliefs of the dominant groups mark their superiority over those they consider to be their inferiors, while simultaneously expressing self-hatred.

Similarly, Sibley (1995: 11) explains that the “‘other’ could be examined solely as a social category, but feelings about others, the ambivalent sensations of desire and disgust which energize interpersonal and social relations, require and understanding of the self.” Brea (2003: 8) cites that in Latin America, only Argentina, Uruguay, and Costa Rica have predominantly European populations. Although Chileans may deny it, their population is
largely mestizo. However, Ortega (2001) explains that Chileans still regard themselves as white and reject any semblance of the non-white.

But does this accurately fit the “self-hatred” of the “mestizo self” as described by de la Torre (1999: 93)? Although I do not have any hard evidence to support this observation, my research and interactions with Chileans, Peruvians, and others suggest that much of the racism exhibited by Chileans toward Peruvians, either openly or privately, is a pretense for jealousy that many Chileans may feel toward the Peruvians. The Chilean co-owner of the trendy Peruvian restaurant maintained that “Peruvian food is the best in South America.” I heard this in varying capacities while in Santiago. A male Peruvian interviewee proudly explained to me how Peruvians speak the best Spanish in South America. I heard similar claims like this one more than once as well. As trivial as something like language and food may sound, historians of Chile Collier and Sater (1996: 25), in discussing Chilean identity, maintain that food and language are “two basic matters whose importance to any culture is undeniable.” Though food and language may not be seen as a threat per se, it is understandable that they may create defensive, resentful, or even hostile attitudes among Chileans that can easily be expressed through racist actions. Diaz-Briquets (1983: 37-38), using the example of comparing rural Argentine migrants in Buenos Aires to Paraguayan and Bolivian migrants, observes that “[w]here cultural, racial or linguistic differences are very marked, more serious difficulties in acculturation should be expected.” As another source of disputation, Caviedes and Knapp (1995: 139-140) cite Lima, Peru as a dominant and influential city in South America with a distinctive urban culture, while they describe Santiago as a less influential city with a less distinctive culture (142). The name “Little Lima” may be representation of this, as shown through Davies and Herbert’s (1993) quote in Section 3.3.

In sum, it is clear that that racism exists in Chile in a variety of forms and Peruvians are common victims of racism. Generally speaking, the Peruvians are perceived by Chileans to be an inferior group. I believe that the Chileans feel and act this way because of their own perceptions as being more European, as Chile can justly claim a strong European influence. Chile, however, is not as European as it wishes to be. And although a racist and discriminatory climate is present in Santiago, my research suggests that it does not appear to be as severe as media sources may lead one to believe. Ortega (2001: 22) herself mentions how Peruvian feel “that the problem of coexistence had been exaggerated by the media.” But it is important to note that Ortega is a journalist based in Santiago and that she likely had some preconceptions before she began her investigation of “Little Lima”. Although her article admits that serious problems such as physical and sexual abuse of Peruvians by Chilean employers is rare, she does not mention a specific example of a Peruvian migrant that does not feel threatened or alienated in Santiago.

Therefore, it is important to now return to my research questions to discuss the presence or degree of marginalization of Peruvians in Santiago. I found early on in my fieldwork from talking to Peruvians that there was strong evidence to indicate that they were not forced to live in any particular part of the city. Thus, the term “ghetto” does not accurately describe “Little Lima”. Some Peruvian interviewees went as far to say that they preferred to live in some parts of the city over others. “Enclave” is not an entirely accurate description of “Little Lima” either, for reasons I discuss further in Section 4.3.
It is a little more unclear if Peruvians are marginalized economically. Nine of my interviewees were unemployed and other Peruvians in general explained that many Peruvians had difficulty finding work in Santiago. Many Peruvians take lower service sector jobs, such as at the types of businesses found in “Little Lima” or in domestic work. Ortega (2001) describes some of the negative experiences Peruvians have faced (such as abuse) in working for Chileans, which may lead one to conclude that Peruvians do not stand great chances for upward mobility in Chilean society. I found, however, that of the Peruvians I spoke to that were employed, they were all very grateful for their jobs and did not report having any problems.

Social marginalization is perhaps the most obvious and frequent form of marginalization that Peruvians face in Santiago. This is evident from some Chileans’ comments regarding Peruvians and from Peruvians discussing how they felt they were perceived by Chileans. Generally speaking, Peruvians hold an inferior status in Chilean society. But from my experiences talking to both Chileans and Peruvians in Santiago, attitudes (albeit some blatantly racist attitudes) are not extreme in their nature, although some Chilean news sources tend to sensationalize mutual attitudes between Chileans and Peruvians.

4.3 What is “Little Lima”?

Originally, based on past experiences from both reading about and visiting ethnic neighborhoods around the world, before I entered the field I expected “Little Lima” to be a more rigid, distinct, and clearly marked territory. I discovered early in the study that this was not the case, and that although “Little Lima” has a bit of a core area, its “boundaries” are rather fluid. Though many poor and working class Peruvians live in and around “Little Lima”, it is not a ghetto, at least not in the sense that they live there involuntarily. The best source of comparison came from the literature I reviewed in Section 2.5 regarding ethnicity in cities.

In regard to the literature where the residence of a particular group is a moot point in labeling a neighborhood to be a ghetto or an enclave, Portes and Jensen (1987) clearly maintain although many enclaves do have residential qualities, it is erroneous to assume a place to be an enclave based solely on that principle. Logan et al. (1994) disagree with Portes and Jensen’s description of the ethnic economies of cities and how residential concentration of the ethnic group in question is in fact an important factor in defining an enclave. Both papers present cogent arguments for their respective cases, but Logan et al. (1994) make the valid criticism of Portes and Bach’s (1985) case of Little Havana as an example of an ethnic enclave because of its high degree of social and economic diversification that is atypical of many enclaves. “Little Lima” differs from Portes and Bach’s (1985) example of Little Havana because it lacks the economic diversification, at least to the extent that Peruvians are well represented in all economic sectors of Chilean society. Also it appears that, based on talking with many Peruvians that worked in “Little Lima” and other Peruvians familiar with the area, it is mostly the Chileans that are the entrepreneurs in “Little Lima”. There is still debate among scholars, however, as to whether enclaves must have the immigrants as the capitalists.

Before I submit my view on where “Little Lima” falls in this categorization, it is important to once again address the question of the applicability of Anglo American generated theories to answer questions from other regions. Lawson and Klak (1993:
ask about “the extent to which such Anglo-American geographic concepts and theory can explain processes in Latin American settings” and “[a]t what level of abstraction (or concreteness) can we usefully transfer central concepts and mechanisms of urban and economic geography from one context to another?” This is a crucial question when discussing the ethnic and economic character of Latin American cities and when comparing them to case studies from the United States (e.g. Miami, Florida).

This is especially apparent when considering Ford’s (1996) updated model of the Latin American city (Figure 9). Clawson (2004: 334) notes how, in Ford’s model of land use rings around the Latin American city, the social and economic value of this land decreases with greater distance from the city center – the exact opposite of a model for

Figure 9: Ford’s New and Improved Model of the Latin American City

the Anglo American city. Given the crucial factor of land value in a city, especially a
densely populated and dominating primate Latin American city, it stands to reason that
the spatial economic and social characteristics of that city will diverge from the Anglo
city in some capacity. Thus, defining an enclave that is based on the concentration or
lack of concentration of an ethnic group in a city may differ in the U.S. and Latin
American contexts. I do not disagree with Portes and Bach’s (1985) argument that an
enclave is more of a commercial rather than a residential district. However, I do feel that
more research is necessary on urban ethnic communities in Latin America before an
accurate comparison can be made to Anglo American cases and a more appropriate
theory can develop on the Latin American case.

In regard to residential patterns around Santiago, Scarpaci et al. (1988) present a
study of residential segregation in Santiago. They argue that in the context of the
Southern Cone, segregation is defined primarily by economic criteria as opposed to
ethnic characteristics of urban communities (Scarpaci et al. 1988: 23). Based on my
interviews with Peruvians and speaking to many other people, I found that in Santiago
today, segregation is still primarily segregated economically.

Then what is “Little Lima”? “Little Lima” is the main place for Peruvians to find
work, to access services, and socialize in Santiago and, to a lesser degree, an area of
residence for Peruvians. Though “Little Lima” exhibits an obvious Peruvian influence, it
is questionable to unreservedly regard it as solely “Peruvian”, as the name of the
neighborhood is more attributable to Chileans’ perception of “Little Lima”.

McLaughlin and Jesilow (1998) may offer the best comparison to “Little Lima” in
terms of their description of the neighborhood’s physical landscape through their study
on Los Angeles’ Little Saigon. Little Saigon serves the Vietnamese community across
Los Angeles, and it is not exclusive to Vietnamese living in the immediate area. The
“belt of ethnic businesses” in Little Saigon catering to the Vietnamese helps to establish
an ambience for the Vietnamese community as well as a sense of place (McLaughlin and
Jesilow 1998: 51). Little Saigon also attracts other ethnic groups such as the Chinese in
Los Angeles (McLaughlin and Jesilow 1998: 53), much like the Ecuadorians, Bolivians,
and other groups that come to “Little Lima”. This description of Little Saigon provides a
fitting comparison to “Little Lima” by presenting an example of an ethnic neighborhood
that does not conform to some previous studies’ descriptions of immigrant neighborhoods
to be marginalized communities (McLaughlin and Jesilow 1998: 60). Little Saigon
represents what McLaughlin and Jesilow (1998) refer to as a new type of ethnic enclave.

In terms of the activity and sense of place one finds in “Little Lima”, Law (2001:
269-270) provides a vivid comparison from her assessment of Little Manila:

In Little Manila domestic workers temporarily disrupt their position within
a hierarchy of employer/employee social relations, and in the process
define new networks and links across a range of spaces that redefine their
Hong Kong identity. Put another way, Little Manila is a ‘social space’, a
space saturated with Hong Kong/Philippines social and economic
geographies that reflect the political economy of labour migration and
domestic work. Filipino women – by virtue of their status as live-in
domestic workers – have few places in their everyday lives to feel ‘at
home’, and gathering in Central [Hong Kong] provides relief from
working in a foreign culture. At the same time, the city itself is always active and fluid – filled with signs and meanings that connect different places, people and relationships at different junctures. Gathering in Central is certainly about a day away from a difficult working week, but it is also about the freedom of the streets where new vantage points on life and work abroad are possible. It is this transformation that disrupts binaries of employer/employee, as Filipino women connect the Philippines and Hong Kong in new ways, to different cultures and spaces, and their relationship to the city is transformed.

It is difficult to define precisely what “Little Lima” is. There are some incongruities when “Little Lima” is compared to Portes and Bach’s (1985) study of Little Havana, such as the fact that Peruvians do not own the majority of Peruvian businesses in “Little Lima” (at least for the time being). Also, regarding my argument involving the different physical, social, and economic urban structure of Latin American cities, it is questionable as to whether “enclave” is an appropriate description of “Little Lima”. I will say that “Little Lima” has the potential to become an enclave, even if it may be somewhat artificial, as described by the proposed “relocation” of the Peruvian community in downtown Santiago into a planned environment (Perú al Día 2002b). It is too early to say exactly how the relocation will affect the current “Little Lima”.

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CHAPTER 5
CONCLUSION

Historians Collier and Sater (1996: xiv), in the preface to their history of Chile, argue that the “national character” of Chile “stems, no doubt, from the long isolation of the country, sandwiched between the great mountains and endless ocean, and with no neighbor to the south other than Antarctica.” Proceeding with their evaluation of the geography of Chile in relation to its national identity, Collier and Sater (1996: xiv) add: “Within these natural frontiers Chileans have devised their own ways of living and doing things, their own peculiar form of the Spanish language, their own highly developed sense of humor. They are distinctive members of the great Hispanic family.”

Chilean boundaries – physical, political, and cultural – are now being traversed and challenged in seemingly unprecedented ways through the resultant processes of globalization. Through my encounters with various people in Chile (Chileans, Peruvians, Americans, and others), I found widespread awareness of these changes.

My research involving the status of the Peruvian community in Santiago also led to my observations of the social and cultural attributes of the consequential changes of Santiago as a globalizing Latin American city. As in most of Latin America, stark social and economic disparities are found in Chile. This is evident through the different spaces that specific classes typically occupy in Santiago, as described by Scarpaci et al. (1988) and Dockendorff et al. (2000). And, in the case of “Little Lima”, there appears to be a challenge to Chileans to assess their identity and differentiate the Chilean from the non-Chilean.

Clarke and Howard (1999: 328) argue that the reluctance of Latin American states to protect their citizens from the increasing openness of international markets drives the development of ethnic identities. This can, in turn, create “social cleavage and discord” that is resultant from increased migration to the cities (Clarke and Howard 1999: 328). Clarke and Howard (1999: 328) add:

Moreover, ethnic allegiance may form the basis for successful enclave economies or political groupings which actively improve the social status and economic well-being of minority groups, many of whom may have previously suffered or have been marginalized as a result of their stated or perceived group consciousness.

Thus, migration and the convergence of differing ethnicities that are facilitated by globalization create social and economic effects on the local level as well.

The example of Peruvian and other Andean migration to Chile is just one case of what can happen when two dissimilar cultures meet as a cause of greater processes and the effects that occur within a presumably territorialized space. For example, the new macroeconomic policy of the free trade agreement between Chile and the United States creates a perception to those outside of Chile that better opportunities for jobs or higher standards of living are now available in Chile. A clear example of people migrating based on such perceptions are the Peruvians coming to Chile hoping to pursue a better way of life. The effects of this play out on the streets of Santiago as Peruvians, simply
looking to make a living, may find that they are not welcomed by all Chileans and are
generally seen as being intrusive, especially in downtown Santiago, which is ostensibly
becoming “more Peruvian.”

Though what is now known as “Little Lima” was at one time considered Chilean
space, it is now labeled as “Peruvian space”, though in current contexts it appears to be
evolving into more of a place that helps to facilitate transnational connections that serve
multiple ethnicities.  This may be a rude awakening for the previously “isolated” Chile,
as the integration of Chile into a more global market and society as Roberts (1997a: 360)
argues that the transition of a Latin American states economically into a greater global
context can challenge the meanings of identity for many Latin Americans.  To help
rationalize the inaccurate sense of cultural uniformity in Chile (by Chileans or others),
Sibley (1995: 110) argues that:

The myth of cultural homogeneity is needed to sustain the nation-state, to
ensure support for domestic and foreign policies which are conducted on
behalf of the nation.  Relations between groupings of states are similarly
informed by notions of purity and defilement, good and evil, in order to
secure solidarity in the conduct of international relations.  It is convenient
to have an alien other hovering on the margins.

Roberts (1997a: 354) notes how the dictatorships in Argentina and Chile
destroyed the previously solid sense of citizenship and organization in those countries.
Though the location and physical geography of Chile may influence the distinctive
culture described by Collier and Sater (1996: xiv), it is important to not forget that Chile
returned to a democratic society as recently as 1990.  The increasing immigration of
various nationalities is undoubtedly related to this transition.  Still, it is necessary to
consider the notion that Chileans may wish to seek reassurance of their citizenship and
identity in light of redemocratization, and in doing so, they may exhibit dominant
attitudes over those viewed as socially, culturally, or economically inferior.  This, rooted
in colonial Latin American mentalities of European ethnic superiority, makes Peruvians
and other Andean nationalities obvious targets.

Although Peruvians themselves do not appear to pose a threat to Chilean society
as some Chileans purport, to Chileans the Peruvians represent a disruption of the status
quo.  The opportunities offered to Chile (the free trade agreement with the United States
being only the most recent) for a more visible position in the global economy can
potentially propel Chile to a more visible and prominent economic status in Latin
America and the world.  The prospects for the further development of Chile are very real.

But Chile is globalizing both economically and demographically, and the
established social base of migrants will likely augment further flows of various ethnicities
as Chile gains an even more noticeable position in the world-system.  The economic
growth of Chile will necessitate a greater need for a greater array of people and the skills
they can contribute to the further development of Chile.  Discriminatory actions and
attitudes on behalf of Chileans will inhibit the promising opportunities both Chileans and
migrants are offered. Therefore, it behooves Chilean society to carefully consider how it
will accommodate its increasingly non-Chilean population.
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