

EVERYDAY VISIBILITY:  
RACE, MIGRATION, AND NATIONAL IDENTITY IN SANTIAGO, CHILE

by

Megan Sheehan

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## ABSTRACT

Over the last two decades, migration to Chile has increased dramatically. This “new migration” (Martínez 2003) marks a demographic shift away from largely Europeans and Argentineans to the current arrival of migrants from Peru, Bolivia, and Colombia. As in other Latin American nations, previous migratory waves to Chile were often associated with racial improvement via *blanquemento*, or whitening, a deliberate move away from bodily, material, and cultural markers of indigeneity. While Chile and these neighboring countries share a common language, history of Spanish colonization, dominant religion, and some cultural traditions, the current arrival of Latin American migrants has prompted emphatic delineation of racial difference. In analyzing current discourses addressing migration, I argue that the new Latin American migratory flow is always understood in the context of historic migrations from Europe.

As Latin American migrants settle in Chile, racialization—the practice of making racial distinctions and pairing these distinctions with an accompanying racial hierarchy—profoundly shapes migrant experiences. I argue that migrant racialization emphasizes both the creation of racial others as well as the assertion of a Chilean national sameness. Indeed, this new migratory flow prompts the construction, contestation, and negotiation of Chile’s own national racial identity—one that is produced in constant awareness of global racial understandings. My research extends work on migrant racialization by exploring the recurring tension between racial distinction and national self-presentation through three examples: understandings and experiences of migrant domestic labor, migrant use of public space, and the consumption of Peruvian food. Throughout these examples, I chart the ongoing production of migrant visibility and how the discourses,

practices, and processes involved illustrate the shifting terrain of Chilean racial understandings.

## CHAPTER 1 - INTRODUCTION

### *A Cool Symbol of the Chilean Nation*

Chile's contribution to the 1992 World's Fair in Seville, Spain showcased its national aspirations, illustrated the crafting of a modern, Euro-American national identity, and displayed a material marker of Chilean exceptionalism. In commemoration of the Columbus Quincentennial, Expo '92 set out to reflect on the modern era, with each participating country illustrating their national achievements. Prior to the opening of Expo '92, the New York Times offered a peek into the preparations:

Inside dusty pavilions, national pride is already astir... And while Spain will dwell on its own discovery of the Americas, participating governments, Spanish regions, international organizations and a half-dozen private corporations have been asked to focus on what they have contributed -- scientifically, socially or culturally -- to the world as we know it. (Riding 1992a).

World Fairs offer nations the opportunity to present themselves to a global audience and market their products (P. Harvey, 1996, Munro 2010, Rydell 1993, 1984). For Chile, Expo '92 marked an important national self-presentation in an international venue. In May 1988, the government of General Augusto Pinochet pledged to send a Chilean delegation to Seville, but insisted on building a separate Chilean structure rather than joining neighboring nations in the Spanish-funded Latin America pavilion. Just five months later, a plebiscite ended the Pinochet dictatorship and heralded the transition back to democracy. With this ground-breaking political change, Chile's pavilion at Expo '92 became a means for the new government to break from the past and re-frame Chile's image abroad. The ensuing re-branding of the "New Chile" was designed to confront the pervasive international view of Chile as underdeveloped and controlled by the military (Richard 2004; see also Korowin 2010). The president of the Chile-Seville Commission, Fernando Leniz, emphasized that the goal of the pavilion was to show "a country

basically without conflict, honest, hard-working, efficient, with many natural resources (Tejada 1992: 29).<sup>1</sup> To viscerally illustrate this message—in a way that was later heralded as an exhibition of magical realism—the Chilean commission sent an iceberg to Seville to serve as the centerpiece of its pavilion.

When Expo '92 opened, the twenty-eight foot tall iceberg drew crowds and international publicity (See for example: Delano 1991, Jiménez-Martínez 2013, Riding 1992b). Eugenio Garcia, the director of the Chilean pavilion noted: “If we can transport this ice, we can transport fresh Chilean products like fruit or salmon to any part of the world with the same efficiency” (Delano 1991). The director also repeatedly assured the public that the pavilion (with its \$12 million price tag) was not a publicity stunt, but dedicated to fostering respect for Chile’s natural resources, technological prowess, and commercial potential while showcasing the country’s rich artistic and poetic tradition.

The Chilean endeavor was not without critics.<sup>2</sup> For many Chileans, the sticking point was the emphasis of the future over the past, embodying a national willingness to ignore the recent coup d'état, human rights violations, and very real (and very much still open) scars of the dictatorship (Korowin 2010, Moulian 2002, Subercaseaux 1996). However, the emphasis of the future over the past also silenced discussions of indigeneity, ethnic diversity, and the history of colonialism in Chile — all themes highly relevant to the Columbus Quincentennial. While critics posited the iceberg as a break from the past, it was indicative of Chile’s dominant historical constructions of race and Latin American exceptionalism. For some, the iceberg was a “symbolic representation of

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<sup>1</sup> All translations in the text are my own.

<sup>2</sup> The Chilean commission faced complaints and protests both nationally and internationally about the environmental damage and repercussions of extracting an iceberg from the Antarctic icecap. The environmental protests ultimately forced the Chilean government to “repatriate” the ice when the fair ended, rather than leaving it to melt in the Guadalquivir River, as had been the original plan.

[Chile's] whitewashing" through which Chile racially presented itself as an efficient, cool, and orderly "mimicry of Amsterdam or Stockholm" (Moulian 2002: 40). In the build-up to the Expo's opening, the Chilean Commissioner noted publicly that the primary reason for a separate Chilean pavilion was to ensure that Chile would not be associated with the "blacks and Indians" inside the Expo's Latin American Plaza (quoted in P. Harvey 1996: 147). The iceberg offers an explicit example of Chilean interest in modernity projects and creating distinction from other Latin American nations.

The constructed national self—symbolized by the iceberg—furthered the intentional presentation of an un-problematized notion of a normative "white Chilean identity" (Waldmen 2012: 68, see also Moulian 2002). This cool symbol drew upon racial associations linked to climate (Anderson 2003, Stoler 2002, Van Leeuwen 2011, Weismantel 2001), exhibiting a visceral and multivocalic material object that played upon climate-based racial associations to build ties with Europe and distance itself from its Latin American neighbors.

The spectacle of the iceberg continues to exemplify many Chilean national values (Moulian 2002, Subercaseaux 1996). Moreover, as Latin American migration has increased, the national priorities exemplified by the iceberg also guide Chilean engagement with migration. Chilean emphasis on modernity and development, the ongoing construction of Chilean exceptionalism, and the way that these two trends are racialized frames how the recent Latin American migration is discussed and understood. In this dissertation, I argue that migrant racialization emphasizes both the creation of racial others as well as the crafting of national racial identity. In ways that are similar to the constructed national image proffered by the iceberg, discourses addressing migration

fundamentally engage in the construction, contestation, and negotiation of Chile's own national racial identity—one that is produced in constant awareness of modernity, global racial understandings, and Chile's position in Latin America.

### ***The “New Immigration”***

*“The first ‘reaction’ in light of the increase in immigration to Chile has been an outcropping of certain xenophobic discourses and attitudes towards foreigners. These attitudes have transformed into a large mirror for Chilean society, one in which we can see that we are not as welcoming, as successful, or as supportive as we would like to believe.” - Carolina Stefoni (2000:12)*

Since the mid-1990s, migration to Chile has increased dramatically, driven by Chile's return to democracy, growing economy, and demand for unskilled labor. Total migration to Chile has more than tripled, and Peruvian migration has increased forty-fold (INE 1992, 2002, 2012). This explosive growth in migration also marks a demographic shift from largely European and Argentinean immigrants to those from Peru, Bolivia, and Colombia. This shift has been heralded as a completely new chapter in Chilean migratory history. As in other Latin American nations, previous migratory waves to Chile were often associated with “racial improvement” via *blanquemento*, or whitening, a deliberate move away from bodily, material, and cultural markers of indigeneity (Hale 2006, Whitten 1981, Wade 1997). Historically, migration—much like the iceberg—was an example of an intentional crafting of a racially-motivated national project. Currently, the increase in intraregional migration is producing a more diverse population in Chile. This significant change becomes ever more significant given that almost two thirds of Chileans self-identify as white or in line with European origins (Latinobarómetro 2010). As a nation, Chile has striven to present a homogeneous and white racial identity to the

world. Clearly exemplified by the iceberg sent to Expo '92, this national project is often viewed by Chileans as threatened by the increasing presence of Latin American migrants in Chile.

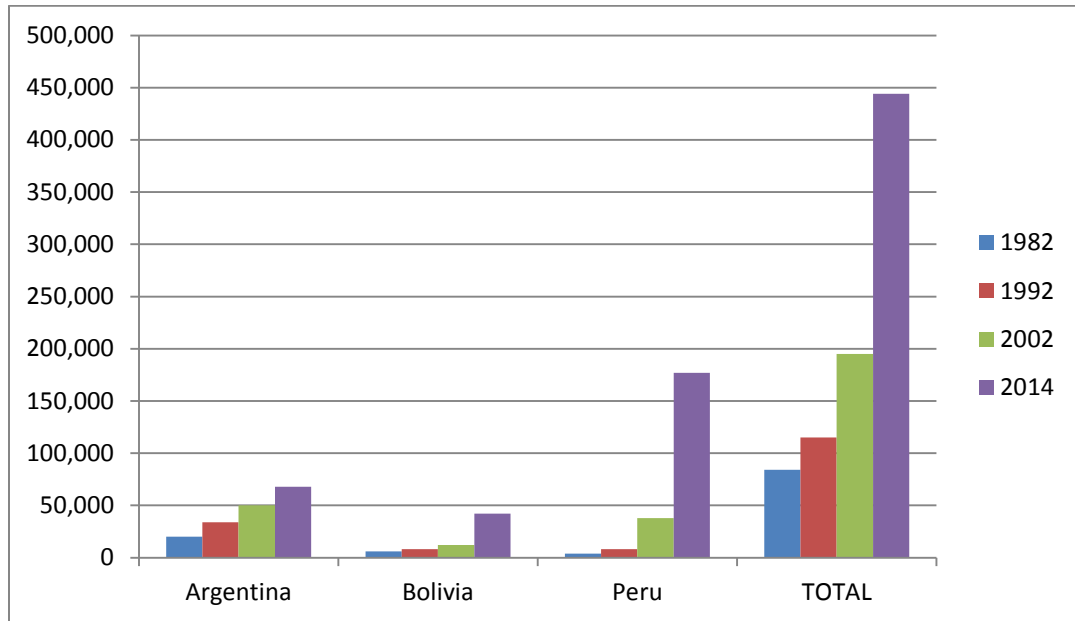


Table 1.1: The change in total migrant population between 1982 and 2014. The nations with the three largest migrant populations in Chile are represented.

<b>Migrant Populations in Chile</b>				
	1982	1992	2002	2014
Argentina	19,733	34,415	50,448	68,101
Bolivia	6,298	7,729	11,649	41,828
Brazil	2,076	4,610	7,589	12,534
Colombia	1,069	1,666	4,312	28,491
Dominican Republic	n/a	126	300	5,400
Ecuador	1,215	2,267	9,762	24,021
Haiti	n/a	37	50	5,503
Peru	4,308	7,649	37,860	177,178
Venezuela	942	2,397	4,452	8,190
China	624	788	1,712	8,182
France	2,000	2,362	3,418	n/a
Italy	5,697	4,451	4,077	n/a
Germany	6,251	5,603	5,906	n/a
Spain	12,290	9,849	9,531	14,544
United States	4,667	6,249	8,690	11,862
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>84,345</b>	<b>114,597</b>	<b>195,320</b>	<b>477,552</b>

Table 1.2: Total migrant population between 1982 and 2014. The nations listed include the most populous migrant communities in Chile, divided by Latin American nations and important migrant populations from non-Latin American nations.

While many Chileans voice concerns about increasing migration, the state has worked to legally incorporate migrants into the labor market. In 2015, the director of the Office of Foreign Affairs and Migration,<sup>3</sup> Rodrigo Sandoval, noted that as the Chilean workforce retires in increasing numbers over the next ten years, it is estimated that Chilean workers will only be able to fill 35% of open positions (González Isla 2015). The need for migrant labor and the desire to incorporate migrants into health, retirement, and tax systems drive the Chilean state's engagement with migration (Bellolio A. and Errazuriz C. 2014). Subsequently, most migrants have the necessary documentation to live and work in Chile. Typically, migrants enter with a tourist visa and receive 90 days

<sup>3</sup> Departamento de Extranjería y Migración (DEM)

of permission to be in the country. As soon as migrants have a contract for employment, they can apply for a year-long work visa. After two years of renewing a work visa, migrants may apply for permanent residence, ensuring them the right to all state programs (i.e. subsidized housing, educational loans) (Fundación Instituto de la Mujer 2012). Additional state support for migration includes the 2007 general amnesty program (La Nación 2007), state-sponsored programs to teach migrants their legal rights (Fundación Instituto de la Mujer 2012), and governmental offices charged with facilitating migrant incorporation in Chile (Oficina de Migrantes, Fundación Instituto de la Mujer, Instituto Nacional de Derechos Humanos). However, state support for migration often counters how Chileans understand migration.

The sudden growth in migration, particularly from Peru, galvanized the attention of the Chilean media. Early reports of migration ran under emphatic headlines: “Massive Eruption of Foreign Workers” (La Segunda 2001); “To Be a Peruvian Nanny in Chile: Trading an Apron for a Dollar” (El Mercurio 2001a); “Peruvians: The Difficult Path Out of Poverty” (El Mercurio 2001b); “Searching for the Chilean Dream” (El Mercurio 2003); and “Chile: New Hub for Immigrants” (El Mercurio 2004). Publication of the 2002 census data documented the significant growth in the foreign-born population, drawing further attention from the media, the public, and academics (see for example: Martínez P. 2003, Stefoni 2002). At the start of the United Nations-commissioned analysis of migration to Chile, Martínez notes:

It is a very special moment for many parties interested in the topic [of migration] in Chile. The phenomenon has been the cause of increasing concerns, and occasionally debates, due to the fact that during the 1990s there was an increase in immigration from neighboring [nations]. . . . In light of the verified developments, it is relatively simple to claim that this is a *new immigration*. (Martínez P. 2003: 9).

Martínez's subtle reference to rising concerns and his explanation of the verified difference as fundamentally linked to the changing sending nations are standard frames employed in the analysis of the new migratory flow.

The increase in the number of immigrants, the characteristics that migratory movements take on, and the people involved in these [movements] enables us to speak today about a new migratory pattern. It is a labor migration arising from nearby countries, concentrated in the Metropolitan Region, and with a segmented insertion into the labor market. (Stefoni 2011a: 31).

Country of origin, employment, gender, and settlement patterns became the primary axes upon which Chile's changing migratory terrain was studied. These analytical frames present the demographic changes always in contrast to historical migration—framed as the overseas migration of Europeans. This comparison between new and historical migrations is the essential framework through which migration in Chile is understood.

The demographic differences between migratory flows are often described in the academic literature as “visible,” and migrant visibility is implicated as generating public interest in the topic (See for example: Norambuena 2013, Ducci and Rojas 2010, Garcés H. 2007, Stefoni 2004, Araujo et al. 2002). Stefoni notes the “great visibility” of migrants (2004: 322); Garcés analyzes the “notorious visibility [of migrants] in urban space” (2007: 2); and Ducci and Rojas argue that “the most visible migrant group are Peruvian citizens” (2010: 97).

Even though the number of immigrants from [Argentina and Peru] are more or less similar [in 2002], the Peruvian migration is the one that is more visible. This is primarily associated, although not exclusively, to the fact that the Peruvian immigration is more recent and sudden, concentrated in the last ten years. Another factor that leads to their visibility is related to the networks of support which migrants have created, networks that have used public spaces like the Plaza de Armas. (Araujo et al. 2002: 37)

This noted visibility is frequently examined in an effort to determine its cause. What makes these new migrants visible? The use of public spaces, the rapid growth in the

population, and the role of Peru as a sending nation have all been implicated in generating visibility. “Seventy percent of recent immigrations to Chile originate from Latin American countries, among which the Peruvian immigration is particularly featured for its rapid growth and its visibility” (Ducci and Rojas 2010: 101). Particularly in light of the frequent implicit or explicit comparisons with Argentinean migration, the question becomes: Why is Peruvian migration more visible than Argentinean migration? Race, ethnicity, and indigeneity are central to this question, but have been absent from analysis both of migrant visibility and of migration more generally. In this dissertation, I will explore the practices of racialization that help produce this visibility, in historical context as well as through three specific examples of the presence of this new migration in Chile.

### ***Race, Migration, and National Identity***

Chile and its neighbors share a common language, a history of Spanish colonization, and some cultural traditions. However, the current arrival of Latin American migrants has prompted emphatic delineation of racial difference. In this dissertation, I examine both how Latin American migration is understood in the Chilean context and its significance for migrants and Chileans. As migrants settle in Chile, racialization, the practice of making racial distinctions and pairing these distinctions with an accompanying racial hierarchy, impacts migrant experiences (Omi and Winant 1994). In analyzing practices of racialization and discourses addressing the new migratory flow, I argue that this new Latin American migration is always understood in context of historic migrations from Europe. In discussions of both migratory flows, race, migration, and Chilean national identity are salient analytical frames often laminated by research

participants. While the same central issues are addressed in both historical and current migratory flows, the two migrations are racially understood in starkly contrasting ways. While historical European migration was understood as an important national racial improvement project, the new Latin American migration is strongly marked by racial difference. Underlying the contrasting ways these flows have been racialized is the consistent way in which the divide between traditional and modern is understood. Chile's embrace of modernity, pursuit of economic and cultural development, and sensitivity to its global image mediate how the new migration is racialized. Chilean discussions of Latin American migration are keenly attuned to perceptions linking migrants to racialized notions of indigeneity and traditional ways of life. These discourses engage the dichotomous traditional – modern framework in two ways; first by crafting racial boundaries in an effort to alleviate anxiety over the traditional influence of the new migrants, and secondly, by engaging migratory influences (like Peruvian food and domestic labor) to construct Chile as a multicultural, cosmopolitan nation. Thus, as Latin American migrants settle in Chile, racial distinctions are not only produced, but they are used in the construction of Chile's own national racial identity.

Race is understood by both natural and social scientists as socially-constructed. Yet physical, linguistic, and cultural differences continue to be marked as racial.<sup>4</sup> In Chile, as in other areas in Latin America, the concepts of race, ethnicity, and indigeneity are bound together, with only blurry distinctions made between the three. These concepts are often laminated in practice and discourse, producing new and ever in-flux social transformations. Latin American migration to Chile illuminates many of the complexities

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<sup>4</sup> Throughout the text, I use the term “race” to denote perceptions of naturalized distinctions based on physical traits. I use “ethnicity” to refer broadly to distinctions based on ancestry, kinship, or cultural distinctions.

caught up within these concepts. Here, I also discuss race, ethnicity, and indigeneity as overlapping. In light of the social reality of ongoing racism and in an effort to avoid the ethnicization of race (Tilley 2005), I position my analysis of these entwined concepts under discussions of “race,” following the racial turn in Latin American anthropology (see for example: Hale 2006, Poole 1997, Wade 2003, Weismantel 2001).

In Chile, migrants encounter a racial terrain far different than in sending nations (Hopenhayn and Bello 2001, Wade 1997). For example, in Peru, racial understandings are incredibly diverse and mapped conjointly with geographic, class, linguistic, and educational differences (de la Cadena 2000, Seligmann 1993). As Peruvians migrate to Chile, however, the way that they are racially understood shifts. In exploring Andean racial constructions, Weismantel (2001) argues that race is rooted (at least partially) in bodily practices of accumulation—that practices such as market negotiations with customers or the use of skin products accumulate and transform the body, making it legible in racially specific ways (Weismantel 2001). As Peruvian and other migrants move to Chile, their bodies are transformed both by their mobility as well as by their practices. Thus, a light-skinned Peruvian woman may be read as *criolla*, or EuroAmerican *mestiza* (mixed race), in Lima. But if that same woman speaks in a Peruvian accent on a bus in Santiago, she will be read racially as “Peruvian,” marked by Chilean interpretations of bodily features, clothes, accent, employment, or location in the city. Despite geographic proximity, these shifting racial classifications belie the social construction of race and imply racial flexibility, highlighting nuanced practices of racialization and the construction of salient racial distinctions.

In Chile, academic and public discourses often fore-ground ethnicity and indigeneity (Barr-Melej 2001, Gundermann et al 2003, Haughney 2006), while racially glossing the majority of the population as comparatively “white(r)” than other Latin American nations (van Dijk 2009). Chilean racial terrain is marked by an “exaggerated valuing of whitening” (Larraín 2001: 228), the pervasiveness of “concealed racism” (Larraín 2001: 227), and the aspirational Chilean gaze on global and European conceptions of whiteness (Dummer Scheel 2012, Subercaseux 2002, 1996). In his extensive work on Chilean identity, Larraín notes:

The fact that indigenous peoples are a minority, blacks are totally absent, and the majority of mestizos are relatively homogenous, frequently leads to a negation [or denial] of racism, as if it were a problem for other nations but not Chile. (Larraín 2001: 232).

Larraín suggests that the lack of social science research addressing race is an example of ongoing concealed racism. The normative nature of Chile’s contrasting racial engagements is seen even within this assessment. Larraín writes of subtle, ingrained racism and critiques the presentation of Chile as a nation that orients to a normative, single racial construction. However, he goes on to detail contributions of individual indigenous groups and positions his discussion of race as largely about indigeneity, further voicing the normative Chilean racial formations. It is this racial logic that frames how Chileans understand migration.

The new migration prompts discussions of *mestizaje*, a process of racial and cultural mixing (see for example: Appelbaum et al. 2003, Chambers 2003, Hale 1996, Stutzman 1981, Wade 2005). As a concept, *mestizaje* varies dramatically across Latin America and through different historical moments. The multiple and contrasting instantiations of *mestizaje* include everything from nationalist movements, as in

Vasconcelos' proudly *mestizo* "cosmic race" that lent a unifying notion of an imagined community to Mexico's newly formed nation (2007[1925]) to racial self-identification, as in de la Cadena's discussion of "indigenous *mestizas*" who strategically identify as *mestiza* in commercial ventures even as they adamantly participate in practices associated with indigeneity (2000). While often framed as an inclusive ideology, anthropologists emphasize the concept's power to exclude individuals who are seen as less capable of progressing toward the goal of whiteness (Stutzman 1981). As Weismantel notes; "In actual practice within specific social contexts, there is no intermediate or 'mixed' racial category: race operates as a vicious binary that discriminates superiors from inferiors" (2001: xxxi). On the other hand, de la Cadena argues that implicit in *mestizaje* is the assumption of an "evolution from 'primitive' Indianness into a more 'civilized' stage" (de la Cadena 2000: 5). Both Weismantel and de la Cadena discuss *mestizaje* in connection with the enduring valuing and pursuit of whitening. In my work, I emphasize the multiple ways in which Chileans engage the concept of *mestizaje* in their discussions of migration. I argue that these engagements are always positioned in the context of racial hierarchy.

Chilean discussions of migration centrally link both the inclusive and exclusive discourses of *mestizaje*. For example, Chileans often noted that historic and current migratory flows were both relevant in discussions of *mestizaje*, comparing the impact of European migration on Chilean racial formations to the processes of *mestizaje* in Peru, Bolivia, and Colombia. Even as the ubiquity of *mestizaje* is ostensibly touted, Chilean discourses concurrently emphasize the whitening process behind *mestizaje* at the expense of the inclusive, racially and culturally diverse version (Montecino 1991, Wade 2005).

This engagement with *mestizaje* is most comparable to Hale's (2006) discussion of racial ambiguity in Guatemala. While *ladinos*, Guatemalas of European descent, decry the racism of the past and commit themselves to a multicultural vision for the nation, few are willing to address institutional privileges and their racial ambivalence rests on the unchanging nature of racial hierarchy (Hale 2006).

Race and modernity are tightly interwoven in Chile. Here, I draw on Bashkow's argument that modernity is "a racial concept that links saliently with objects, institutions, places, and styles of activities" (2006: 12). Conducting research in Papua New Guinea, Bashkow argues that for the Orokaiva, race and modernity are so entangled that they cannot be discussed separately (see also: Winant 2001, Briggs 2003). While the linking of race and modernity has been widely critiqued as imposing colonial paradigms and touting a singular Euro-centric understanding of modernity (see for example: Mitchell 2000, Rabinow 1989, Stoler 1995), Bashkow bases his argument on the Orokaiva's own understanding of this connection. Likewise, Chilean racial projects have long emphasized a northern-looking modernity, borrowing trends, ideas, and goods from Europe and North America as markers of development. For example, Orlove and Bauer (1997) describe the history of Chileans as "civilized consumers." They note that the switch—among all social classes—from drinking Paraguayan tea (*yerba mate*) out of gourds to drinking tea and coffee from teacups in the late 1800s was heralded as a sign of the nation's developing "refinement" (1997: 131). The linking of race and modernity continues to be seen in the way consumer goods are viewed. For example, in a 2012 debate over a racial gaffe, one Chilean posted online, "I switched my Blackberry for an iPhone 4, #racialimprovement." The comment highlights the often multivocalic Chilean engagement with race by

simultaneously critiquing both a politician's racial gaffe and the racially marked image of high-end consumer goods. I argue that in Chile, understandings of race and modernity have been produced concurrently, continue to be co-constructed, and cannot be understood without the other.

Chilean social theorists stress the connection between Chile's pursuit of modernity and the crafting of its national identity (Moulian 2002, Larraín 2001, Subercaseux 1996). These authors argue that as a nation, Chile has emphasized its modernity in contrast to perceptions of underdevelopment, indigeneity, and ideas about "the traditional." As the new migrants settle in Chile, they are often racialized as indigenous and understood as connected to traditional ways of life. The perception of a traditional - modern distinction and the discourses pigeonholing migrants as 'traditional' are widespread and enduring, regardless of the actual engagements that migrants have with the trappings of modernity. As the new migrants arrive in Chile, they are seen as the point of "contact between traditional and modern societies" (Imilan et al. 2014: 22). Larraín argues that Chilean emphasis on the "trajectory toward modernity" and "modernizing civilization" belies deeply-felt anxiety about an underlying national underdeveloped state (Larraín 2001: 136). As Briggs notes in describing Venezuelan modernity, there is a prevalent "fear that barbarism might lurk within even the most ardent modernist" (2003: 197). In this dissertation, I argue that the anxiety around the pursuit of modernity paired with migrant racialization produce racialized fears voiced around migration, such as the threat migrants pose to the ongoing development of the modern and orderly city of Santiago.

Chilean understandings of race and ethnicity have been constructed over centuries, always attuned to global discourses. While national understandings of race are strongly context-dependent, racial discourses highlight a keen Chilean sensitivity to the norms of so-called “developed” nations, particularly those in Europe and North America. Chile’s northern preoccupation is reminiscent of Basso’s assertion that “Anglo-Americans, though rarely present in Apache homes, are never really absent from them either” (1979: 61). For Chileans, migration is often used to draw comparisons with “developed” nations. Historical migratory flows have been incorporated in discourses of national whitening and development, while current migration is posited as both a problem facing developed nations and a marker of Chile’s cosmopolitanism. Larraín argues that Chile’s interest in North America and Europe is indicative of the national “obsession with the foreign” (Larraín 2001: 252). Moreover, Moulian emphatically states that Chileans are “whitewashing” their race, nation, and culture through their consumption and interest in acquiring foreign consumer goods (Moulian 2002: 39). Chilean interest in positioning the nation in light of global racial understandings also provides a frame for the new migration. In light of Latin American migration, Chileans often emphasize racial distinctions—actual or perceived—between themselves and sending nations.

As Chileans debate migration and interact with migrants, migration is often constructed as a threat to Chile’s order and development. This racial logic generates anxiety around the potential failure to continually produce important markers of modernity and necessitates constant vigilance and labor-intensive identity work to guard against the transgressive aspects of the new Latin American migration. The remarkable expansion of the migrant population and their incorporation in the labor market,

particularly in situations of domestic labor, bring Chileans into close proximity with a racial “other.” Stoler (2002) demonstrates how bodily practices are linked to racial understandings and the negotiation of racial boundaries in several colonial encounters. Her work explains how distance is maintained when racially different bodies are in close physical proximity, as is the case when migrants work as domestic laborers. Hale’s (2006) analysis of the multiple and contradictory discourses involved in the maintenance or racial boundaries is particularly useful for exploring Chilean discourses framing the new migration. In his elaboration of “neoliberal multiculturalism,” Hale details how the Guatemalan elite employ an ostensible embrace of racial fairness and multiculturalism while concurrently maintaining important symbolic and material markers of racial hierarchy. As Chileans discuss migration, they employ a similarly ambivalent discourse, often noting that all Chileans are migrants and all Chileans are *mestizos*, even as they elaborate racial distinctions between historical and current migrations and between more indigenous and more European *mestizos* (discussed further in Chapter 3).

In Chilean discourses, migration is framed as having the potential to be both transgressive as well as transformative for the nation. The new Latin American migratory flow is a demographic trend that is continually produced as a challenge to Chile’s nation, racial formation, and modernity. However, the Chilean preference for hiring migrant domestic laborers, the growing consumption of Peruvian food, and the general inclination toward discussing the new arrival of Latin American migrants all speak to Chilean interest in realizing positive benefits from increasing migration. I argue that strategic engagement with migration, often through consumption of racialized domestic labor or multicultural projects, enables Chileans to position themselves as cosmopolitan

consumers, similar to the way in which Hale (2006) describes neoliberal multiculturalism, discussed above. Chileans likewise position themselves through their consumption of important racialized markers as comparatively whiter than the new migrants. The outward Chilean embrace of domestic labor, Peruvian food, and multicultural practices belies the fact that the structures of economic control and financial benefits, patterns of racialization, and hierarchical relationships between Chileans and Peruvians remain the same. Through these examples, I chart the ongoing tension between racial distinction and national self-presentation. This central dynamic lies at the heart of this dissertation, and I explore the way in which the creation of racial others and the assertion of a Chilean national sameness are debated in regards to the recent arrival of Latin American migrants.

### ***A Path to Migratory Research***

My experience with Latin American migration to Chile began in 2002, and this dissertation grows out of my long engagement with Chile and many interactions with migrants there. After my undergraduate studies, I spent two and a half years working in social services in Arica, a small city that served as Chile's border outpost. By 2003, Peruvian migrants had begun to arrive to the city in larger numbers than before, looking for better economic opportunities. During those years, I worked for a satellite office of a Santiago-based NGO dedicated to working with migrants. Migration between the border towns of Arica, Chile and Tacna, Peru has a long history, but by 2003, there was a sense that migratory patterns to Chile were beginning to change. While some Peruvian migrants continued to cross the border to work as domestic laborers in Arica or to harvest crops in

the nearby Azapa and Lluta valleys, the vast majority had their gazes fixed further south. These migrants spoke at length about their desires to go south, about the comparative earning power in Chile, about the challenges of finding professional employment in Peru, and about the economic needs or visions for future investment that compelled them to try their luck in Chile. It was here in Arica, while sitting on the curb in front of the Terminal Internacional and sharing sodas and stories with Peruvians, that I became interested in studying *this* particular migration. Amid the racial epithets shouted from passing cars, the anti-immigrant graffiti covering the Terminal's walls, the frequent police harassment, and most particularly, the women who shared their daily experiences of migration, I wanted to understand this migration and its racial entanglement.

These stories stayed with me, and when I started graduate school, I began to think more critically about the continually-growing Peruvian migration to Chile. I conducted fieldwork for my Master's research in June and July of 2007, examining how people viewed the Peru - Chile border and the burgeoning migratory flow that passed through the local border crossing. I spent time on both sides of the border and interviewed both Peruvians and Chileans. Sonia,<sup>5</sup> a contact who lived in an impoverished community on the outskirts of Tacna, Peru, helped connect me with women in the community who worked as migrants in Arica. On July 1, 2007, Sonia walked me along the dirt streets, past open doors of internet cafes and sandy embankments where street dogs sunned themselves. We stopped at a cinder block house, identical to all the houses in the low-income planned housing community. Sonia knocked, we entered, and she introduced me to Doris before leaving us to talk. The ensuing interview was one that has stayed with me

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<sup>5</sup> All names listed in the dissertation are pseudonyms.

through the intervening years, and played an important role in determining the focus of this dissertation.

As I sat on Doris' couch with the springs peeping through, I saw the faded family photos proudly displayed on the wall, and I listened as she recounted stories and experiences that suggested how issues of race, ethnicity, and indigeneity pervade migrant experiences in Chile. Doris explained:

I've had problems with the same Chileans there, at my work. Because they call you "*cholo*" a lot. They say, "ah, these *cholitas*." Because you're Peruvian, they call you *chola*. It's like saying [indigenous] highlander, not [Euroamerican] *criollo*. . . . Like an indigenous they treat you, themselves they treat you like an indigenous person. They say, they imitate how you speak "*ya, pe mamita. Mama cetaneta*." It's that they imitate. Just like they speak, let's say, in Puno, in Juliaca, they speak like that. Then, they imitate you, many times they imitate you. I didn't like that. I told them, just a minute. Look at my face. I don't wear a *pollera* [skirts typical of the highlands]. I am a *criollo*. Many times we had a fight over that.

Doris' narrative was similar to other migrant stories and many observations of offhanded Chilean comments that normalized racial and ethnic distinctions, such as the frequent derogatory use of the word "*cholo*," a pejorative reference to out-of-place indigenous highlanders, one that has the "power to slander" (Weismantel 2001: xxvii), discussed in more detail in Chapter 3. These discussions illustrate the centrality of racial, ethnic, and indigenous understandings to the framing of migration and migrant experiences. This interview marked the beginning of my desire to delve into the complex and intertwined themes of race and ethnicity in the context of migration.

As a U.S. researcher who has lived and worked on the U.S. – Mexico border, I was drawn to the case of Latin American migration to Chile. The Chilean case offers an example of migration in a region where national and foreign born individuals often share many characteristics: a common language, religion, geographic region, similar economic industries, and some traditions. At the time that I completed my Master's research, the

border between Arica and Tacna was only 80 years old. I wanted to know how complex prejudices, stereotypes, and boundary creation had taken root so swiftly and compellingly. The distinctions between Chileans and Peruvians were marked and people held tight to these distinctions, effectively and recursively crafting the border through their interactions.

Race is often a critical subtext to discourses about migration, and its presence colors how this new wave of migrants are interacted with and perceived. Thus, my dissertation explicitly examines how these racial differences are constructed, produced, challenged, negotiated, and maintained in light of the ever-burgeoning Latin American migration to Chile. Racial, ethnic, and indigenous discourses framing migration bear two sets of important implications. Firstly, these discourses illustrate the ways in which migration and the Chilean nation are understood. And secondly, these ideas impact migrant everyday experiences as they move through the city, work, and interact with Chileans.

### ***Methods & Ethnographic Context***

This dissertation is based on sixteen months of ethnographic research conducted in Santiago, Chile in June and July 2009 and from March 2012 to July 2013. Data collection for the dissertation focused on participant observation; informal and semi-structured interviews; public commentary data; and primary and secondary sources.

## **Research Setting**

The new wave of Latin American migration has predominantly settled in Santiago and the greater Metropolitan Region. Scholars estimate that between 65% and 78% of Chile's total migrant population live in Santiago (Garces H. 2007, Stefoni 2011). Within the city, migrants cluster in several neighborhoods. These areas include Santiago Centro, Recoleta, Independencia, and Estación Central (Fernandez Tapia 2009, Garces H 2007, Imilan 2013, Ducci & Symmes 2010). The neighborhoods with strong migrant communities are clustered in Santiago's historic urban core. Given the centrality of the Chilean and migrant population as well as the importance of Santiago for the Chilean nation, the capital city was the most appropriate research site for this project.

Over the course of conducting fieldwork, I rented a small apartment in Santiago Centro, an area known for its concentration of its migrant population. I was introduced to the landlord through a Chilean family that I know, and was thus able to bypass the typical rental requirements that face foreigners, including almost all of the migrants with whom I worked. The landlord was willing to rent the apartment to me without the legal backing of an official lease or a Chilean co-signer, both common impediments to the accessibility of housing for migrants. In order to sign an official lease, a signatory needs permanent residency, only obtainable after an individual has lived for three years in Chile.

The apartment was in Santiago's downtown sector in a neighborhood that had a sizable migrant population. I lived within walking distance of the Plaza de Armas, in an emerging migrant area, although not the most iconic Peruvian enclave. My neighborhood was a working class mixture of populations, located just south of Santiago's main east-west artery. The neighborhood was marked by booming construction of high-rise

apartment buildings. The neighborhood's growing construction sector employs many migrants and is a material sign of the growth of Santiago and the city's increasing density. In the year that I did fieldwork, 583 high-rise apartment buildings were completed across the city (Nahuelhual and Pizarro 2013). Within one block of my apartment, three such buildings were being constructed. Jack hammers and other assorted construction noises were a constant refrain during working hours. The wash of cement poured from the construction sites, and navigating the narrow, bus-filled street to the metro stop required switching sides of the street three times in half a mile, as so many sidewalks were blocked by construction crews and cement trucks. The new buildings respond to the demand for housing, particularly among young professionals seeking to live in neolocal residences, where young couples live apart from their parents and other family members.



Figure 1.1: The view from my apartment of the changing neighborhood. The new high-rise buildings contrast with the older "*casos*" which are the low roofs visible at the base of the high-rises.

The new high-rises overshadow the old adobe and cement single floor “*casonas*,” or large houses, which line small private alleys branching off from the main streets. The often crumbling structures house growing communities of migrants. As in the historic downtown, an informal rental market has grown up to meet migrant demand for housing amid the legal limitations on renting. Dilapidated houses were often subdivided by plywood enclosures, enabling many migrants to sub-lease from a primary lessee or, in some cases, a coordinating squatter. Migrants reported that bathroom facilities were shared with up to 30 people, cooking was frequently done on single-burner stoves or not at all, and out-of-date electrical fixtures presented dangers. House fires were frequently reported in areas often inhabited by migrants living in precarious and overcrowded situations (Emol 2000, El Mercurio 2012). In one such fire, seventy-two people were affected, and 60% of them were Peruvian migrants (Aguila 2011). During my year in Santiago, I saw three such houses be destroyed by fire, including one fire that I watched from my apartment building on my last day of fieldwork. At least one of the destroyed houses was listed the next day in the newspaper as occupied by squatters, and I had interviewed migrants who had lived in the building.

The neighborhood where I settled brought together a diverse mixture of people and communities, representing the new migration and Chile’s engagement with it. Late at night on the weekends, I could hear the competing sounds of the neighborhood. Around 2am, a musical battle for dominance would play out between the American rock music blasting from the high rises (likely played by young Chileans) versus the tones of *cumbia* rising up from the alleyways near where many migrants found rooms. The local shop where I would buy bread daily was owned and managed by a second-generation

Lebanese migrant, whose family had made their home in the neighborhood in the 1950s, along with many other Lebanese migrants. The corner internet and calling center was largely staffed and frequented by migrants. Once, as I waited for the worker to photocopy my consent forms, I overheard a migrant woman using skype and incredulously describing how Chileans sometimes have an evening tea instead of dinner. “Can you believe they have cake for dinner?!?” When a Papa John’s franchise opened two blocks from my house, I waited in line for an hour for my own taste of home. While waiting, I befriended a Dominican couple who dreamed of opening a Dominican restaurant and who patiently explained the intricacies of Dominican cooking.

Living in this section of Santiago enabled me to meet migrants as I went about my daily routines, to engage in informal conversations, and to gain some insight into the entwined processes of migration and urban change. One Saturday night, I inadvertently stumbled upon a microcosm of the social life of my neighborhood. I was in need of groceries and walked to the nearest supermarket. It was 9pm and an hour before closing. The crowds were overwhelming, and checkout lanes had lines of more than ten carts each. As I walked through the store, Chilean and Peruvian accents intermingled, but the carts told a more detailed story. It was the beginning of the month and migrant families were stacking carts past full with kilo packages of rice, bags of pasta, multipacks of toilet paper, cereals, and yogurts. Groups of young Chileans, on the other hand, strolled the aisles picking out and carrying bags of potato chips, peanuts, and bottles of *pisco*, beer, and wine. The discrepancy was stark between migrant women, many of whom had likely just arrived home for the week from live-in positions and were helping their family provision for the week and month, and young Chilean students and professional who

were gearing up for a night of drinking and partying. This shopping trip encapsulated the very apparent distinctions present in the neighborhood and marked by linguistic practices, consumer goods, residence, music selection, household schedule, and many other characteristics. The neighborhood's diversity and the ever-evolving nature of this sector of Santiago made it an ideal field site. When I returned to Santiago to conduct follow-up fieldwork, I learned that my neighborhood had become the locus for an emerging Colombian enclave. It is an area of the city that is still in constant change, the new line of the metro will open in a year, new communities continue settling there, and ongoing construction projects physically alter the blocks while increasing population density.

## **Research Methods**

During fieldwork, I conducted participant observation coupled with informal interviews. Beyond my daily observations in my neighborhood, in public transportation, and in the city at large, I based my participant observation at three sites. Working through my research affiliation, I conducted participant observation at both the Centro Integrado de Atención al Migrante (CIAMI) and the Instituto Católico de Migración (INCAMI). Each agency runs a hiring hall, with CIAMI serving women migrants primarily for domestic labor opportunities and with INCAMI offering more diverse employment options and legal assistance, largely for migrant men. Additionally, I conducted direct observations at the Plaza de Armas, a site closely linked to migration.

CIAMI was the primary field site for my dissertation research. As the city's most established hiring hall, between thirty and seventy migrant women gather each day at CIAMI while waiting to be hired. Typically, between five and ten Chileans contract

domestic laborers on a daily basis at CIAMI (interview INCAMI, July 13, 2013). CIAMI has a large indoor and outdoor waiting area where I frequently sat with migrant women and spoke informally for several hours each day. Women would discuss where they were from, why they migrated, their experiences of Chile, what kind of employment they were looking for, and how each interview went. Every ten to fifteen minutes, a CIAMI employee would announce a new job offer, and interested women would line up to interview with the employers. Most of my relationships with research participants started on the porch of CIAMI. Every week, I volunteered at least one day in the CIAMI office, answering phones, greeting employers, and helping input the contact information of new migrants into the CIAMI database. In the office, I was able to speak informally with both the office workers as well as Chilean employers.

During the final seven months of fieldwork, I spent two days each week conducting participant observation at INCAMI. The office offered migrants legal advice around paperwork and aided men in finding jobs in Santiago. I would answer the phones, greet people as they came to the office, schedule interviews for employers, and help migrants create resumes.

Finally, I spent at least one day each week conducting observations in the Plaza de Armas. As the most iconic migratory space, it was important to observe the ebbs and flows of the social life of the plaza. In addition to informal interviews, meetings with migrants, and participating in migrant celebrations, I conducted several semi-structured interviews in quiet corners of the plaza. The plaza is discussed in detail in Chapter 5.

During my time in Chile, I conducted 118 semi-structured interviews with migrants and Chileans. These interviews ranged from forty-five minutes to one and a half

hours. For the interviews, I used two interview guides that I had developed and piloted based on my informal interviews and participant observation. The guides were adjusted for migrant and Chilean research participants. I recruited migrant research participants (n=90) at CIAMI, INCAMI, a local church serving migrants, in the Plaza de Armas, and through snowball sampling. I recruited Chilean research participants (n=28) both through purposive and snowball sampling, as well as through my contacts with employers at the CIAMI hiring hall. Half of the interviews conducted with Chileans included individuals who were, or had been, employers of migrant domestic laborers. The other half of the Chilean sample included individuals who had less regular contact with migrants.

I also gathered text and information from a variety of secondary sources. These diverse sources help contextualize the data from interviews and participant observation. These sources add historical context regarding migratory policy; current government and non-governmental perspectives on migration; guides, fliers, and information distributed directly to migrants; newspaper articles detailing migration; and online public comments linked to news articles. I gathered archival information, particularly on migratory policy, from the Biblioteca Nacional, both in person as well as from their well-curated digital archive (<http://www.memoriachilena.cl>). Numerous organizations, governmental and non-governmental, supplied me with programmatic information as I met and interviewed agency representatives.

Finally, I collected public discourse text about migration from online commentary boards linked to news articles. I collected this data in order to provide more robust insight into how Chileans view migration. This data enables me to triangulate the themes and concerns raised by Chilean respondents online with those raised in semi-structured

interviews. There has been a recent proliferation of research on virtual or digital realms. Most research splits virtual social science inquiry into two parts, research that focuses on understanding virtual worlds and research that argues that the virtual world mirrors the offline world, i.e. analyzing the “mapping” between the worlds (Boellstorff 2012, Coleman 2010, Pink and Mackley 2013, Wilson and Peterson 2002). As migration grows in scope and impact, public discourse in Chile often highlights the perceptions and conflicts which frame migration. These perceptions, debates, and sticking points provide complementary insight into how Chileans view migration. While conducting fieldwork, I read the online versions of two important daily national newspapers, *El Mercurio*'s emol.com and *La Tercera*. I focused on news stories that addressed migration to Chile, downloading each story along with the attached public comments. The total corpus consists of 123 articles. I draw on this data throughout the dissertation to corroborate and further triangulate findings from interview and observational data.

### ***Outline of the Dissertation***

My research explores the production of migrant visibility and processes of migrant racialization through three examples; domestic labor, use of public space, and burgeoning Chilean interest in Peruvian food. These three examples represent the most salient ways in which migrants are understood to impact Chilean society. The extent to which these three topics frame discussions of the new migration is seen in the January 2014 newspaper article, “How Peruvian Are We?” (Perez et al 2014). The article was organized around what the authors saw as the three most salient points of migrant impact in Chile: migrant domestic labor, migrant presence in the historic downtown, and the

growing interest in Peruvian food. Due to the salience of these topics and their centrality in shaping how Chileans understand and engage with migration, I organized the dissertation around these examples.

In Latin America, racial understandings are historically-grounded and have colonial roots that continue to impact racial articulations. The second chapter positions the new migration within historical understandings of race in Chile, arguing that the production of current migrant visibility is always understood in relation to the over-sized importance that historical European migration is afforded in the imagining of the Chilean nation. The chapter first addresses the racial legacy of colonialism and Chile's national development. Then, I explore the role of historical migratory patterns and how these migrations were part of an engagement in crafting the national imagination of migration as a whitening force. I then discuss the important shifts in Chile's social, political, and economic conditions in the 1960s, 1970s, and 1980s, and how these changes established early discourses positioning migration as a potential threat to the nation. The chapter closes by examining how one state tool, the census, was mobilized to help construct the *raza Chilena*. These historical processes are deeply implicated in how Chileans currently understand and engage with the recent Latin American migration.

Building on the historical constructions of race in Chile, Chapter 3 details the complex ways that the new migration is currently racialized, and how these processes of racialization emphasize the construction of a national racial identity. This chapter begins by charting the ways in which migrants and migration are discussed in terms of race, and the associated stereotypes that are linked to migrants. I then explore how the concept of *mestizaje*, or racial mixture, is employed in both of these efforts. Migrants are described

as indigenous *mestizos* while Chileans position themselves as *mestizos* in a way that emphasizes a European-looking *raza Chilena*. The seemingly contradictory discourses of *mestizaje* address the central tension surrounding the production of migrant visibility. It is a process that delineates difference on a transnational level, while heralding national racial sameness. In contrast to the many ways in which migrants are racially constructed as subjects in need of national integration (Silverstein 2005), migrant distinction is often engaged strategically to emphasize Chile's whiteness. In this way, even as migrants are increasing demographic diversity, their presence enables Chileans to further contrast their nation with other Latin American countries. Whereas historical migrations were used to incorporate the right kind of migrants into the national racial narrative, the new migration is used as a foil against which Chileans construct the nation.

Chapter 4 is the first of three specific examples detailing the complex articulations of migration, race, and the nation that frame migrant and Chilean experiences. Domestic labor has always been racialized in Chile, first reproducing inequality between indigenous and non-indigenous Chilean populations and now constructing racial, social, and class boundaries between migrants and Chileans. Chilean employers attest to the preferential hiring of migrant domestic laborers who are seen as more willing to adhere to the "appropriate attitude," i.e. embrace the traditional *patron - empleada* relationship. Migrant submissiveness and the crafting of a docile body (Foucault 1977, see also Stoler 2002) are strongly emphasized in these labor relationships. The assumptions of submissiveness are strongly tied to the racialized understandings of migrants as more predominantly indigenous. Chilean employers often discuss their employees in terms of the traditional way of life they are perceived to have left behind. In engaging racialized

ideas of the traditional and the modern, Chileans often emphasize a perceived scarcity of Chilean domestic laborers by arguing that they are now over educated and too cultured to opt to participate in the domestic labor market. Finally, Chilean employers emphasize racial distinction as they discuss the many preventative measures they must take to manage potentially transgressive behaviors, namely threats to hygiene and theft that migrants are perceived as introducing into the domestic realm. Migrant association with domestic labor is a strong stereotype and in Chilean discussions of migration, this discourse contributes to the hypervisibility of migrants within this important sector of the job market. However, as migrant presence in Chilean households is closely managed and docile bodies are molded, the everyday presence of migrants in upper-class households crafts a certain invisibility to the individual workers, even as the general presence of migrants in this workforce remains a polemic topic.

Chapter 5 highlights Santiago's historic Plaza de Armas as a key site in the construction migrant visibility. Migrant use of this central site is highly racialized, with Chileans now often derogatorily referring to the space as the "Plaza de Lima" or the "Plaza Peruana." This chapter analyzes the everyday lived social practices, public discourses, and symbolic connections tied to the Plaza de Armas, exploring how this site is produced by both migrants and Chileans; how migrant use of the plaza and right to the city is contested in everyday encounters; and how these ongoing contestations epitomize central debates over migration and reinforce racial distinctions linked to specific sites. The central tension running through these contestations revolves around the juxtaposition of racialized migrant use of the Plaza de Armas with the site's historic significance to the Chilean nation. As the plaza has become a contested space associated with migration,

migrants are often marked in relation to this space and are always vulnerable to being disciplined “to go back to the plaza.” Thus, racialization of migrant use of this site has made migrants more visible, regardless of where they are in the city.

Despite the racialization and stigmatization of Peruvian migrants, there has been a growing interest among Chileans in Peruvian food. New Peruvian restaurants attempt to meet this demand and migrant domestic laborers working in Chilean homes are often asked and expected to cook Peruvian food. Peruvian restaurants are a visible marker linked to migration, but one that is strategically employed by Chileans to demonstrate Santiago’s growing cosmopolitanism. Chapter 6 explores how Chilean discourses about Peruvian food emphasize both its potentially transgressive and transformative qualities. This chapter details how migrants are racialized for a range of food-related practices: eating in the street; consuming rice daily; and preparing spicy food. In engaging with and discussing Peruvian food in Chile, Chileans craft a sanitized multiculturalism, thus reproducing racial distinctions between Chileans and migrants while positioning themselves as cosmopolitan consumers.

Taken together, discussions of migrant domestic labor, contested public space, and Peruvian food highlight Chilean engagement with projects and practices of national racial construction. Migrant domestic labor embodies the paradoxical tension between modern and traditional, interpreted in a racial and ethnic frame. Chileans can opt to more fully participate in modern labor markets, while outsourcing domestic labor in way that hearkens back to the nostalgia of earlier decades in which young, typically indigenous Chilean women from the south filled domestic laborer positions in Santiago. Migrant use of public space is seen as a threat to the modern order and development of Santiago.

Additionally, Chileans discuss emerging enclaves as an index of perceived migrant unwillingness to assimilate to Chilean norms, thus further constructing migrants as failed citizens who fall outside national projects. Finally, the burgeoning interest in Peruvian food and the accompanying media attention of this trend enable Chilean consumers to participate in the veneer of multiculturalism, even while employing racialized discourses about Peruvian food to simultaneously construct both their own distinction and boundaries between themselves and migrants.

## CHAPTER 2: HISTORICAL CONSTRUCTIONS OF RACE AND MIGRATION

Historical migratory flows are instrumental in how Chileans understand current racial constructions. In particular, Spanish colonization and European migration are understood to be important facets in the formation of the *raza Chilena*. Discussions of race in Chile often begin and end with the powerful image of the *raza Chilena*, or the idea of a largely homogeneous Chilean population.<sup>6</sup> This concept has deep popular roots and the myth of a normative and homogeneous Chilean race endures forcefully among Chileans, even amid ongoing critique<sup>7</sup> (Montecino 1991, Richards 2013). Chilean racial understandings often emphasize national sameness. In pan-Latin American surveys addressing racial and ethnic identification, almost two thirds of Chileans self-identify as white, emphasizing their European ancestry (Latinobarómetro 2010). In conversation with Chileans, however, most are more inclined self-identify as ‘just Chileans,’ or ‘*chilenos no más*,’ when asked about how they personally or Chileans in general think of themselves in terms of race. The attraction of a homogeneous gloss of Chile’s national population and the construction of a normative racial framework is inseparable from both the ideologically-motivated colonial embrace of *mestizaje* and the discussions of racial distinction linked to migration—both historic and current.

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<sup>6</sup> Nicolas Palacio’s highly-critiqued book, *La Raza Chilena* (1904) helped legitimize a national narrative which continues to hold a privileged position in discussions of race in Chile. In the book, Palacio develops a version of Chilean exceptionalism, arguing that the Chilean population is a fairly homogeneous mix of Spanish Visigoths (of German bloodlines) and Araucanian (Mapuche) peoples. Palacio crafts Chileans as the progeny of two exalted warrior traditions. His noble savage inspired discussion of Chile’s roots draws heavily from two well-positioned sources: an early conquistador, Pedro de Ercilla’s, epic poem detailing early battles and Charles Darwin’s observations on the strength and toughness of the laborers in Chile’s northern mines.

<sup>7</sup> Academics have thoroughly critiqued the idea of the *raza Chilena*. Some authors critique the concept by exploring it as a construction of a Chilean “myth” of *mestizaje* that obscures the much more diverse reality of racial and cultural mixture (Montecino 1991, see also: Larraín 2001, Moulian 1997). Other academics emphasize Chile’s racial and ethnic diversity as a rebuttal to the homogenous national racial identity that is central to the *raza Chilena* (Bacigalupo 2007; Mallon 2005, Richards 2013).

The racial legacy of colonization helped produce the *raza Chilena* both by positioning much of Chile's indigenous population outside of the national focus and by emphasizing the process of *mestizaje*. The multiple ways in which indigenous peoples were marginalized limited the impact of indigeneity on the Chilean nation. From colonization through the mid-1900s, migration was actively positioned as a racial project of *blanquemento* and entwined with the concepts of economic and cultural development. Positioning migration in this way worked to reinforce the crafting of the *raza Chilena* as a European-leaning *mestizaje*. Public and academic accounts of the history of migration have long emphasized the role of European settlers, while downplaying the role of diverse migrant populations, including those from other Latin American nations. The almost-exclusive historical focus on European migration further impacted the construction of national racial identity,<sup>8</sup> producing it in line with global understandings of race. Narratives about the role of migration, particularly European migration, in Chile's national development shifted significantly in the 1970s and 1980s, with new discourses touting "migrants as a national threat." This turning point frames the current migration and its impact on the Chilean nation. Finally, the census offers one example of the process of crafting the *raza Chilena*, creating authority around Chile's national racial identity. The way migration has been crafted historically is ever-present in current discussions of the topic, framing how Latin American migrants are viewed

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<sup>8</sup> The lack of scholarly interest in historic flows of migrants within Latin America is evident. For example, in the United Nations-commissioned review of research on migration to Chile, only one paragraph in the seventy-page document discussed historic intraregional migratory flows (Cano et al 2009).

## *The Racial Legacy of Colonization*

Chile's colonial engagements continue to reverberate in current national understandings of race, ethnicity, and indigeneity. At the time of conquest, Chile had a far smaller indigenous population than neighboring Peru, which had been the seat of the Incan empire.<sup>9</sup> Less than a decade after the Spanish conquest of Peru, Pedro de Valdivia carried the battle south, establishing Santiago in 1541. Colonial Spanish efforts focused on Chile's central valley, which had been opened up by Inca settlement and administration (Collier & Sater 2004).<sup>10</sup> Much of the indigenous population lived in southern Chile, where continuous Mapuche rebellions and raids limited Spanish expansion. Judging themselves overextended and outnumbered by indigenous groups, the Spanish governors established the colonial border at the Bío Bío River, 300 miles south of Santiago. The settlement of Chile and the relegation of Mapuche groups as beyond the Spanish and Chilean government control facilitated processes of indigenous erasure in the construction of Chilean society and identity (Bengoa 2004). Southern indigenous groups (Mapuche) remained for several centuries largely outside of the jurisdiction of Spanish and later Chilean authority. This colonial dynamic continues to affect the often-

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<sup>9</sup> The Incan empire was estimated to have a population between four and thirty-seven million inhabitants at the time of contact (McEwan 2008). In contrast, only an estimated 800,000 people from diverse indigenous groups lived in the area that is now Chilean territory (Mellafe 1983). In the northern Atacama desert, Aymara, Quechua, Colla, and Atacameño groups occupied niche coastal valleys and the Andean highlands. The temperate central valley and humid southern forests were home to the largest indigenous population, the Mapuche (Araucanians). Finally, the austral areas of Patagonia hosted Alakaluf, Yagan (Yámana), and Ona indigenous groups who lived in small communities typically oriented around resources gleaned from the ocean and fjords (Villalobo R. 1996).

<sup>10</sup> Seventy years prior to the arrival of the first Spaniards to what is now Chilean territory, Inca expansion had already shifted group dynamics in the region. Inca rule had spread through northern and central Chile, up to the Maule River, which lies approximately 160 miles south of Santiago. Fierce opposition from Mapuche groups forced the Incas to halt their southern expansion. Inca rule set in place systems of labor payment and tribute, but during their brief domination, the Incas did not enforce any changes in language, customs, or religion (Villalobos R. 1996). It is also important to note that at the time of the Spanish conquest, the Incan Empire was in internal conflict, enabling the Spaniards to more easily take control of the region. Both Inca rule and its internal divisions laid the groundwork for Spanish conquest and colonization of Peru and Chile.

fraught relationship of the Chilean state to indigenous groups (see for example: Richards 2013, Bacigalupo 2007, Mallon 2005).

While southern indigenous groups were kept outside the nation, northern and central indigenous populations faced challenges for survival and the pressure to assimilate. Indigenous populations in northern and central Chile were more directly impacted by the developing colonial society. Colonial administrators apportioned the indigenous population through large *encomiendas*, which typically consisted of tracts of land paired with indigenous labor. The *encomenderos* were ostensibly entrusted to “civilize and Christianize the natives” (Collier and Sater 2004: 6). As part of the civilizing and Christianizing process, Spaniards were allowed to mobilize indigenous labor in early mining and agricultural efforts. While economically important for the developing colonial outpost, the *encomienda* system was devastating to the indigenous peoples who lived under its purview and led to a sharply declining indigenous population (Villalobos R. 1996).<sup>11</sup>

The marginalization of southern indigenous groups and the quiet incorporation of northern indigenous groups provided a foundation for the crafting of a *mestizo* national identity that privileged European influence. As the *encomienda* system took root, the number of *mestizos*, or individuals of European and indigenous parentage, began to increase. The most important colonial legacy in Chile was *mestizaje*, the racial and cultural mixture resulting from the relations between the colonizers and the colonized. *Mestizaje* was often actively engaged from an ideological perspective linked to the potential positive benefits of racial mixture for the colonial Chilean population. One well-

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<sup>11</sup> Hard labor through the *encomienda* system, the dismantling of families and communities, and the arrival of Old World diseases decimated the indigenous population (Collier and Sater 2004, Villalobos R. 1996).

known northern colonizer, Francisco de Aguirre, famously boasted of his efforts after his censure by the Catholic Church, “more service is rendered to God in engendering *mestizos* than sin is incurred in so doing” (Quoted in Collier and Sater 2004: 8). Aguirre’s ideologically-motivated desire to produce *mestizo* progeny in the service of God and crown emphasized the ideological power of *mestizaje* as a whitening process. The impact of *mestizaje* was central in framing later Chilean identity projects, aligning them with the pursuit of whiteness. Historians note that baptismal records from the early 1800s demonstrate that indigenous surnames had all but disappeared, suggesting that mestizos were being counted as ‘Spaniards’ (Collier & Sater 2004).

In this remote corner of the caste-conscious Spanish empire, there grew up a relatively homogeneous population in which only one vague ethnic division was of importance: the division between the predominantly *mestizo* (Spanish-Amerindian) majority and the more definitely European upper class consisting of ‘creoles’ (Spanish-Americans) and *peninsulares* (Spaniards from Spain). (Collier & Sater 2004: 8-9).

The ideological embrace of *mestizaje* and the desire to actively produce a new (and “improved”) racial group suggests early and active engagement in the labor of producing race and ethnicity. Success in subduing land and people and leaving a European mark on both typified colonial engagements in Chile. Furthermore, the civilizing of land and people in line with European standards became a recurring discourse in the construction of the Chilean nation. The embrace of European influence on national racial identity is central to *mestizaje* and features prominently in how both historical and current migrations are viewed.

### ***Imagining a Migrant Nation***

The role of migration and connections to Europe are emphasized in Chile's history and continue to be central in narratives about national racial identity. However, in comparison to other nations, Chile welcomed relatively few migrants. At the height of the migratory flows (the late 1800s and early 1900s), migrants accounted for just over 4% of the total Chilean population (Cano et al. 2009). In comparison, during the same overseas migration boom (1880 - 1920), migrants accounted for 25% to 30% of the total Argentine population (Bastia and vom Hau 2014). Chile never received migrants on this scale, yet the history of Chile is linked to the imagining of a migrant nation. Historical narratives emphasize the role of European migrants in helping craft Chile as modern and developed. Chileans have long emphasized the role of migration in the nation's economic and cultural progress as well as its role as an explicitly racial project, aiding ongoing efforts at *blanquemento*, or whitening. These entwined migratory benefits are emphasized particularly through overseas, or "*ultramar*," migration, which extended from the mid-1800s to the mid-1900s (Norambuena 2013, Cano et al 2009, Stefoni 2002, Martínez 2000). Overseas migration is seen as Chile's *foundational* migratory trend (Stefoni 2002) and frames how Chileans perceive, discuss, and engage with current migrants. In this way, overseas migration occupies an over-sized historical role in the construction of the imagined Chilean nation.

Post-independence (1810), Chile focused on creating economic and migratory international ties with nations other than Spain. Among the first wave of settlers, the new nation welcomed an influx of business investors, mining entrepreneurs, merchants, intellectuals, professionals, and skilled workers from Great Britain, the U.S., France, and

Italy (Bellolio A. and Errazuriz C. 2014). As these migrants settled in Chile, their contributions helped position migrant labor as a fruitful means for increasing human capital and attracting skilled individuals to help develop Chile (Bellolio A. and Errazuriz C. 2014). Chile—like many other Latin American nations—actively sought to attract certain migrants who were imagined to be individuals who would advance national development. In this vein, significant efforts were made to attract colonies of European migrants. Europeans were considered “desired colonists” (Stefoni 2011: 35) who could help establish a productive and prosperous Chile, and several European migrant communities developed. An English community established itself in the port of Valparaiso, later taking on important roles in industry, finance, banking, insurance, mining, and port-based commerce (Bellolio A. and Errazuriz C. 2014). The early and notable English presence remains today in the practice of afternoon tea and in the common assertion that Chileans are “the English of the Americas” (Richards 2013: 8). Meanwhile, the formation of a French community “fundamentally contributed to the cultural character of [Chile’s] elite” (Bellolio A. and Errazuriz C. 2014, Fernandez Domingo 2006), and is reflected in the schools opened and the buildings designed by French migrants. The development of migrant communities, each making substantial and unique economic contributions to the new nation, helped advance the positive image of migration among the Chilean populace, tying migration tightly to notions of European modernity and economic development. The new Chilean state sought out European economic and cultural connections, and positioned these early European influences as exemplary impacts on national development.

Chilean academics frequently emphasize historical migration patterns, drawing on discourses which highlight migrant contributions to the economy, as well as the less-clear “cultural progress” (see for example: Bellolio A. and Errazuriz C. 2014: 18). In foregrounding the role of overseas migration, academics play an important role in producing European migration as part of Chile’s historical narrative. Researchers studying migration emphasize the role of historic migratory flows from Europe, arguing that they were central to Chile’s development as a nation (Cano et al. 2009; see also Bellolio A. and Errazuriz C. 2014, Rodriguez 1982, Stefoni 2002). While European groups did impact Chilean history, overseas migratory flows occupy an exaggerated role in the imagining of the Chilean nation. This positive origin story continues to be echoed in public and academic comments, indicating the lasting impact of certain migrant colonies on the national perception of migration. The constructed story of migratory history, much like the production of certain current migrant groups as visible or invisible, orient to narratives that are linchpins connecting migratory history to the production of specifically Chilean understandings of race, ethnicity, and indigeneity.

### **Settling Chile with the Right Migrants**

The idea of racial improvement through migration (a prominent political philosophy in the mid-1800s) was fundamental to national narratives of Chilean history and identity. A major proponent of this line of thought was Juan Bautista Alberd, an Argentinean writer who greatly influenced Chilean politics.<sup>12</sup> Alberd’s central maxim asserted that “to govern is to populate” and he argued that “it is necessary to populate

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<sup>12</sup> Alberd lived in exile in Chile for ten years, and was a vocal presence in the Chilean press and in intellectual circles. He was friends with Manuel Bulnes, Chile’s president from 1841-1851, and penned a biography of Bulnes in 1846.

with Europeans who are very advanced in liberty and industry, this is how they have done it in the United States” (AlberdÍ 1852). This political rhetoric emphasizes the state’s role in actively shaping the biological dimensions of its subjects by encouraging migrants to settle land and have children in Chile.

The strongest example of the Chilean state’s interest in European settlement involves the creation of German settlements in southern Chile. Discussions of historic migratory flows center on the iconic German migration to Chile, the epitome of AlberdÍ’s idea, “to govern is to populate.”<sup>13</sup> Indeed, the establishment of internal “colonies” in the south was an overt project of “civilizing” the region, in which land was only available to residents migrating from Europe and the U.S. (Pinto 2003). In short, the Chilean government gave formerly-indigenous lands to European settlers in an effort to bring southern territory into the national fold. The explicit emphasis on settling this territory with white colonists provides a clear example of the continued interest in a broadly-construed idea of *blanquemento*, whitening of the people, territory, and nation. To this end, migrants were given land, material support, and money to establish homesteads and colonies on land deemed vacant by the Chilean government (Mallon 2005, Pinto 2003).<sup>14</sup> In 1882, the Chilean Office of Colonization and Migration (Agencia General de Colonización e Inmigración de Chile en Europa) was established to promote the settlement of these colonies, and between 1883 and 1895, this program enticed more than

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<sup>13</sup> It is important to note that the Chilean government did not establish a treaty with the southern Mapuche groups until the 1880s, at which point the government had already given land titles of formerly-indigenous territory to migrant colonists. Furthermore, Chile continued to establish new colonies for another two decades (Richards 2013, Bengoa 2000, Pinto 2003).

<sup>14</sup> In analyzing the Ministry of Foreign Relations’ records from 1892 - 1902, Richards notes: “It goes without saying that the *colonos* recruited to the region received far more resources than did the Mapuche forced to reside in the *reducciones*; they also received more than most Chileans who acquired land in the region. Each *colono* family was granted sixty-two hectares, plus thirty more for each son older than ten years, free passage to Chile, boards, nails, a pair of oxen, a cow and calf (or a pregnant cow), a plow, a cart, a trunk-removing machine, a monthly pension for a year, and medical care for two years. (2013: 41-42).”

31,000 Europeans to relocate to the Chilean south, predominantly from Germany, Britain, France, Italy, and Spain (Bellolio A. and Errazuriz C. 2014). Chilean politicians hoped that settlers would alter indigenous communities and ways of life, which were imagined as consisting of lazy, drunk, and traitorous individuals (Pinto 2003). The idea that European migrants offered civilizing potential for both the land and the indigenous residents drew on long-standing discourses about race, modernity, and migration which link directly to colonial narratives. The rhetoric associated with this “civilizing” power lingers in post-colonial times (See for example: W. Anderson 2006, 2003; Bashkow 2006; Briggs 2003). The southern colonies demonstrate that the state was willing to invest in European settlers, believing that there was a role for the “right kind” of migrants to help fashion Chile into a more developed nation. The nation-building potential of migrants and the emphasis on their civilizing powers reinforces the racial framework present throughout Chile’s settlement, and illustrates Chilean interest in incorporating Europeans into national identity projects.

There has been an enduring quality to the goal of attracting the right type of migrant. This idea was still prevalent when Chile’s Department of Immigration was established in 1953. Among considerations of the fledgling department was the explicit goal to “contribute to the biological improvement of the Chilean race” (Departamento de Extranjería y Migración 1953). While this is no longer the stated goal of migratory policy, the historical trajectory of this idea is central to an understanding of modern Chilean attitudes towards migration. The idea of “bettering the race” or “*mejorando la raza*” remains a common theme in public discourse on migration.<sup>15</sup>

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<sup>15</sup> In 2012, President Sebastian Piñera was recorded congratulating the father of a blonde toddler, “Congratulations, you’ve done a great service, you are bettering the race.” (SoyChile 2012). While a

The concurrent and aggressive recruitment of European migrants enabled the erasure of historical migratory flows of Peruvian and Bolivian nationals—both as a subject for academic inquiry and as a contribution to the historic development of the Chilean nation. Amid the burgeoning research on the current and historic patterns of migration to Chile, there are few discussions of historical Latin American migratory patterns and those discussions all occur within overviews of migration in general (see for example: Bellolio A. and Errazuriz C. 2014, Cano et al. 2009, Rodriguez 1982). The widely-accepted categories for large-scale migratory patterns in Chile consists of overseas migration, Chilean emigration, and the current Latin American migration (Martínez 2000; see also Stefoni 2002). The category of overseas migration is particularly problematic because it encompasses numerous migratory flows triggered by myriad of push/pull factors. Additionally, even the name of this category, “overseas migration,” erases many historical intra-Latin American migratory flows, often from neighboring nations. This omission further positions the current wave of Latin American migrants as completely breaking with historic patterns, a notion that exaggerates reality. This erasure also enables European migratory flows and southern colonies to take on a large role in the historical re-imagining of the role of migration in creating the Chilean nation. The Chilean interest in attracting European migrants has a long historical arc, and remains central to how many Chileans understand the role that migration occupied and continues to play in the development—racial, economic, cultural—of the Chilean nation.

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commonly-used phrase, it is also a hotly contested idea, and Piñera’s comment spurred polemic public discourse as well as a Twitter hashtag. In their critique, Chileans posted: “I switched my Blackberry for an iPhone 4, #mejorandolaraza” and “‘Between jokes, truth hides’ teaches the proverb. Behind the #MejorandoLaRaza of the president there are signs of a tragic ideology.”

## **Positing Migrants as a National Threat**

The Chilean state continued in its efforts to attract largely European migrants through the 1930s, 1940s, and 1950s, until the total migrant population began a steady and significant decline through the 1960s, 1970s, and 1980s (Stefoni 2011, Cano et al. 2009). Even the limiting of immigration that occurred during the Pinochet dictatorship affects how the current migration is understood racially. The Pinochet era marks an important shift from seeing migration as contributing to Chile's national development to understanding it as a potential threat to the nation.<sup>16</sup> The economic turmoil during President Salvador Allende's government, and the political repression following General Augusto Pinochet's coup d'état in 1973, led to decreased immigration, which reached its lowest point in 1982, accounting for just 0.7% of the total Chilean population (Stefoni 2011, INE 1982). Fears within the military dictatorship over "potential subversives" and a distrust of workers in lower socioeconomic classes motivated a reappraisal of the legal requirements for entry and residency. New laws governing migration were drafted by the military dictatorship and Legal Decree #1094 took effect in 1975 (Stefoni 2011). This legal framework for migration emphasizes national security and elaborated detailed limits on the entry of immigrants to the country. Excerpts from Legal Decree #1094 are included below, highlighting the concerns to which this new law responded:

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<sup>16</sup> It is important to note that the Pinochet dictatorship also resulted in the large-scale emigration of Chileans, which also impacts current perspectives on Latin American migration. An estimated 850,000 individuals with Chilean nationality (Chilean emigrants and their children) live outside of Chile (Stefoni 2011), greatly exceeding Chile's migrant population of 440,000 (DEM 2014). Chilean out-migration, the transnational connections that Chileans maintain with family members abroad, and the general understanding that many Chileans personally experience migration are issues that Chileans discuss as they grapple with the new migratory flow facing their nation. The emigrant experience provides a further level of complexity to the Chilean engagement with discourses of migration, as it fosters global material and symbolic connections between Chileans at home and abroad.

*Legal Decree #1.094*

Article #1: Entry to the country, residency, permanent residence, egress, re-entry, expulsion, and inspection of foreign citizens will be governed by the present legal decree.

Article #2: In order to enter national territory, foreign citizens must fulfill the conditions indicated by the present legal decree.

By supreme decree, the entry of certain foreign citizens may be prohibited on the grounds of public interest or national security.

The following foreign citizens are prohibited from entering the country:

1. Those who would disseminate or promote through their speech, writing, or any other means, tenants that aim to violently destroy or destruct the social order of the country or its system of government; those who are union members or who have the reputation of being agitators or activists of these doctrines; and more generally, those who carry out acts that Chilean law categorizes as crimes against foreign security, national sovereignty, internal security, or the country's public order; and those who carry out acts against Chile's interests or constitute a danger to the State.

2. Those who are engaged in the illegal commerce or trade of drugs or weapons, contraband, human trafficking; and more generally those who engage in acts contrary to morality and decency.

4. Those who do not have or cannot practice a career or employment, or who lack the resources that would permit them to live in Chile without becoming a social burden. [All underlining is in the original.]

Institutionalized in 1975, Legal Decree #1094 remains active and largely unaltered, legally governing the current entry of the new wave of migration. The decree emphasizes Chile's security, order, and moral fiber, permitting the entry of migrants if and only if they will not threaten the stability and "national social order." According to staff I spoke with at the Instituto Católico Chileno de Migración, the law, both in its language and in its subsequent implementation, is subjective and open to. For example, it charges officials to ensure that migrants do not engage in illegal commerce or generally "engage in acts contrary to the moral or correct ways of acting." The concern over security and moral protectionism stand out in the laws governing migration, and the Chilean government, academics, and NGOs working with migrants all agree that the legal framework needs updating. Many groups emphatically call for a new migration policy (Servicio Jesuita a Migrantes 2016, INCAMI 2015, Thayer C. 2014). However, the concerns over migrant involvement in illicit activities, the desire to protect the Chilean populace, and the moral

threat posed by migrants all continue to resonate in current Chilean public discourse. The enactment of this 1975 decree brought about a transformation in how migration was understood; migration went from being seen as beneficial to Chile's economic, cultural, and racial development to being positioned as a potential threat to Chilean jobs and the nation's morality. In the context of the current racialized migration (detailed in the next chapter), this notable transition also marked a shift away from imagining migration as contributing to the development of the *raza Chilena*.

### ***Counting People and Constructing the Raza Chilena***

One important way in which Chilean national racial identity has been crafted is through the census. In his discussion of the role of the census, maps, and museums, Anderson argues that these colonial and state interventions established the "grammar" (2006[1983]: 185) which enables the ideological formation of a national identity. "The concretization of these possibilities" continues to reverberate powerfully today (Anderson 2006[1983]: 185). Here, I argue that the census is one particularly pertinent example of biopolitics (Foucault 1997, see also Stoler 1995), an apparatus of the state that has been and continues to be employed by the Chilean nation to craft a largely homogeneous and European-looking national racial identity. In taking count of its residents, the Spanish colonial government and later the Chilean government brought the bodies of their subjects under the purview of the state by legitimizing certain racial and ethnic categories while excluding others. The implementation of censuses thus worked on several scales to construct a national adherence to the myth of a homogeneous *raza Chilena*.

The Spanish colonial government first conducted a census in what is now Chile in 1778. Following the crown's guidelines, the original census counted "souls" and classified them according to class, religion, and caste (which served as a racial category). Accordingly, the census counted 259,646 inhabitants: 190,919 whites or *blancos* (73.5%); 20,651 *mestizos* or mixed race (7.9%); 22,568 Indians or *indios* (8.6%); and 25,508 blacks or *negros* (9.8%) (Gil 2012). The largely-indigenous region of southern Chile (territory south of the Maule River) and significant portions of the northern Atacama Desert were not included in any census before 1907, two decades after the official "pacification" of Mapuche territory. The limits of who was counted in these early efforts highlights which populations were imagined as part of the colony and part of the early Chilean state.

The first census after independence was carried out in 1813, with the new nation largely adopting the Spanish census categories of caste. The category of "whites," however, was adapted and became "Spaniards and European immigrants." Additionally, a new category, "*mulato*," referring to persons of mixed white and black ancestry, was added to the census (Gil 2012). The shift in these two categories suggests some of the racial concerns developing in the new Chilean nation. The new classifications also highlight early interest in the role of European immigrants in shaping racial categories and emphasize an awareness of racial mixture.

By the first official general census of 1834-35, the Spanish categories of caste were abandoned, and henceforth, race was not considered a relevant question. In 1865, Santiago Lindsay, the director of the Office for National Statistics, explicitly addressed this topic in his introductory comments to the 1865 census. He noted:

The Census for the United States of America [must] also determine: the population of black slaves, the freemen, and the freemen of color. Fortunately in our nation there is a single race, free and equal both in the color of their complexion and in their political rights and responsibilities, which releases us from the labor of differentiation which takes up long pages in the American census. (INE 1865)

Lindsay takes a comparative perspective on race, painting the Chilean case in contrast to the racially marked U.S. example. Lindsay's comparative stance illustrates the longstanding Chilean interest in framing national racial understandings vis-a-vis global understandings of race. His discourse suggests that the idea of a *raza Chilena* had already gained prevalence by 1865, framing governmental perspectives on the Chilean populace and the nation. However, in the context of the concurrent discussions of migration as an avenue through which to "better the race" (discussed above), Lindsay's comments suggest internal contradictions about race. At the same time as the Office for National Statistics was proclaiming only one race, equal in "color of complexion," Chile's Ministry for Foreign Affairs was opening an office in Europe to recruit the right type of migrants to "better the race." This contradiction highlights the unsettled nature of race, the acknowledgment of the fluidity of racial categories, and the multiple ways in which the Chilean government sought to mold its populace.

The absence of racial and ethnic census categories remained unproblematized for much of Chilean history. While the nation's first official census was carried out in 1834-5 and regularly administered thereafter, a question on ethnicity and indigeneity was not asked until 1992. Indigenous movements in the twentieth century worked for rights and recognition, gaining ground particularly in the 1960s in connection with agrarian reform (Collier and Sater 2004), and again in the early 1990s (Bacigalupo 2007, Richards 2013). This push for indigenous recognition was coupled with the turn toward neoliberal

multiculturalism (Hale 2006, Postero 2007, Mallon 2005), particularly in light of the 500th anniversary of Columbus's "discovery." The embrace of multiculturalism and ethnic plurality in Chile highlights the tensions currently mounting around racial, ethnic, and indigenous identity politics in Chile. The increasing desire for ethnic recognition finally prompted the Chilean government to acknowledge the myth implicit in discussions of a single national race, both by adding census questions addressing ethnic identity and by emphasizing multiculturalism (detailed in Chapter 6).

Under pressure to address ethnic plurality, the Instituto Nacional de Estadística (INE) incorporated a question about ethnicity. In 1992, the census asked, "If you are Chilean, do you consider yourself belonging to one of the following cultures: Mapuche, Aymara, Rapa Nui, or none of the previous?" In response, 998,385 individuals identified as indigenous, accounting for 7.5% of the total Chilean population. The question was subsequently re-written in 2002, becoming more narrowly defined: "Do you belong to some of the following original or indigenous peoples: Alacalufe (Kawashkar), Atacameño, Aymara, Colla, Mapuche, Quechua, Rapa Nui, Yámana (Yagán), or none of the previous?" The 2002 census shows a reduced number of people identifying as indigenous, 692,192 individuals, or 4.6% of the population (INE 2002, see also Haughney 2006: 4). The reduction in the number of people identifying as indigenous led several academics and indigenous social movements to decry the "statistical genocide" resulting from the way the census question was framed (Namuncura 2013, Seelau 2013, see also: Banco Interamericano de Desarrollo 2014, Mege and Campos 2013). As one analyst wrote of the wider role of such statistical processes: "Statistics occupy a privileged position of authority that gives them heightened rhetorical power in a context

of competing political ideologies” (Urla 1993: 818). Indeed, the changes in census categories identified the tensions within Chile’s ongoing national project of racialization, and revealed how political and social processes are implicit in the creation of census tools. These questions have produced ongoing contestation over the validity of these categories and, more generally, of the *raza Chilena*.<sup>17</sup>

While support for these changes appears to be gaining traction among Chilean respondents, the census still does not have a question explicitly addressing racial identification. Since 2000, a social movement has coalesced around the goal of adding a question on race to the census (Afrochilenos 2011). This movement acquired governmental backing in 2011, when the Senate passed a motion to support the addition of a question on race to the census (Gil 2012). However, the Instituto Nacional de Estadística (INE) has yet to make this change. In a meeting with leaders of the Afrochileno social movement, representatives from INE cited cost and the institute’s compliance with standards set by the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) as reasons for delaying the addition of a new question on race (Afrochilenos 2011).

The census is just one example of a state-controlled activity that plays an active role in producing the Chilean racial project and supporting the myth of a normative and homogeneous *raza Chilena*. The power of statistics in crafting how people think of collective identity has been documented (see Urla 1993, Hacking 1981, 1982) and connects with Foucault’s elaboration of biopolitics (Foucault 2008). Chile has worked to

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<sup>17</sup> Moreover, the 2012 census revealed a further caveat. In that census, 1,713,430 people identified as indigenous, accounting for 10.3% of the total population (INE 2012). Due to serious sampling issues, however, the 2012 census was categorized an “unofficial census” (INE, personal communication), as it severely over-counted the total Chilean population. That said, the increase might indicate changing ideas about indigeneity and a greater willingness among respondents to self-identify as indigenous.

produce a very particular normative national racial identity, partially by participating in the erasure of the racial and ethnic diversity present in Chile. As Urla notes:

The role techniques of enumeration have played in the formation and transformation of various types of social identities-ethnic, cultural, sexual, or national. . . how censuses, polls, and other official routines of surveying, counting, and classifying have contributed to the invention of the nation and society itself as a population of citizens (1993: 818).

In Chile, the census bears important implications on structural efforts to promote certain racial or ethnic identifications while de-legitimizing others. Who counts as a Chilean? What are viewed as legitimate Chilean racial and ethnic categories? Who is considered as part of the nation? Whose ethnic background is erased? The question of who gets to be counted has a long history of significance in projects of national self-identification and group identity in Chile. Viewed in this way, the census furthers the invisibility and marginality of non-normative individuals and groups. Thus, the census contributes to the prevalence of the myth of the *raza Chilena*, supporting the dominant racial paradigm of a fairly homogeneous and fairly white national population.

### CHAPTER 3: RACIALIZING MIGRATION AND CONSTRUCTING THE NATION

*Eduardo:* Migration is not such a recent thing. What is going on is that the migration, the migration from those nations [Peru, Bolivia] is recent. Migration in Chile began with the German colonies in the south.

*Megan:* Well, it changed to Latin American nations recently.

*Eduardo:* But in the south we opened the doors for them, that shows what Chilean idiosyncrasy is, and it's also classist and racist. When the Germans arrived we gave them territory in the south and wished for them to come, right? And today when you say Frutillar [a city that developed from one of the German colonies], you think about Frutillar's little pastries, about the cakes. But when we say Peruvians, you think about the War of the Pacific and the nannies. They are very different migrations. They are migration, um, I am a son, I am descended from a migration because my grandpa Beto, on the Lopez side were Spaniards.<sup>18</sup>

At the time that I interviewed him, Eduardo ran a division of a Chilean bank and lived in a central neighborhood where there was a large migrant presence. When I initially asked about the new migration, Eduardo positioned the new migration as a fundamental shift from historical migration—one that is always read in light of class and racial differences. He went on to highlight the stereotypes associated with different waves of migrants. For Eduardo, past migrations brought to mind German pastries and his family's role in "taming" the southern lands, while the current migration evoked war, political contention, and domestic labor. Eduardo is not alone in the way in which he understands and discusses Chile's engagement with migrants, both in the present and in the past. The framework for simultaneous comparison and distinction runs through many of my interviews, particularly evident in the ways in which people describe the implications of migration for race.

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<sup>18</sup> *Eduardo:* Es que la migración no es de tan recién. Lo que pasa es que la migración, la migración de esos países es reciente. La migración en Chile partió con las colonizaciones de Alemania en el sur.

*Megan:* Bueno, cambió a países latinoamericanos recién y un poco fuerte.

*Eduardo:* Pero en el sur les abrimos las puertas, ahí representa lo que es la idiosincrasia chilena, que igual es clasista y racista. Cuando llegaron alemanes nosotros le regalamos territorio en el sur y ojalá que vinieran ellos, ¿ya?, y hoy en día cuando tú dices... Y hoy en día cuando tú dices Frutillar, tú piensas en los pastelitos de Frutillar, en los queques. Pero cuando decimos peruanos, tú piensas en la guerra del pacífico y en las nanas. Son migraciones muy distintas. Son migraciones... Yo soy hijo, yo soy derivado de una migración, porque mi abuelo Beto, por parte de los López eran españoles. (Interview Eduardo, July 14, 2013).

### *Racializing Migration*

The new wave of migration to Chile has brought discussions of race to the forefront. Emerging research conducted in Chile identifies common discussions of migration and race (See for example: Stefoni 2001, Tijoux 2011, Mora 2009, Mora & Undurraga 2013). Researchers note the lamination of racial stereotypes and nationality (Stefoni 2001), and analyze how migration prompts reductive understandings of race (Tijoux 2011). Furthermore, discussions of xenophobia (Stefoni 2013) and migrant “visibility” (Garces H. 2007, Ducci and Rojas 2010, Araujo et al. 2002) highlight the importance and centrality of race to Chilean understandings of migration. Similar to the increasing racialization of migrants throughout the world (see for example: Silverstein 2005, Delanty et al. 2008, and Harrison 1995), the intricacies of racialization of migrants in Chile illuminates the complexities of race and ethnicity and the identity work that is implicated in constructing racial distinctions.

Chileans interviewed often spoke about racial and ethnic distinctions that they perceived between themselves and the new wave of migrants. When I would explicitly ask how people could tell if a person was a migrant, the first response almost invariably about physical features. “Physically; those who come to work, to do less skilled labor, they have more indigenous features. One can easily tell them [apart] on the street. You can tell. It’s just, we think of ourselves as gringos [laughter].”<sup>19</sup> The immediate discussion of physical features, typically based on skin color and height, highlights the

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<sup>19</sup> *Maca*: físicamente los que han venido a trabajar, a hacer este trabajo menos calificado, tienen rasgos más indígenas.

*Megan*: Ah, ya?

*Maca*: Sí. Uno los ve fácilmente en la calle. Y se nota. Entonces como nosotros nos creemos gringos... (risas) (Interview Maca, July 19, 2013).

first point of racialization of this new wave of migration. This woman's response also succinctly brings together several of the major aspects of Chilean perspectives of this racialized migration: migrant bodies, unskilled labor (particularly domestic labor), and migrant use of public spaces like the street. Additionally, she goes on to lightheartedly frame these central issues as dialectically connected to Chilean racial identity. For Maca, migrants are typically constructed as indigenous in contrast to Chileans, who are racially-aligned with "gringos"—understood locally to refer to North Americans. The emphasis on migrant bodies and assumed naturalized distinctions comes out in many assessments of migrant difference, as in this exchange between Norma and her friend Elsa:

*Norma:* Peruvians can be told apart from far away

*Elsa:* By the face, the features

*Norma:* By the face, because they have short legs, bowed. They are all almost the same. They are all almost the same. You see, you see a Peruvian from behind and you, rather, you see in this way, you compare, and you know in an instant that it is a Peruvian. And the face, the features of the face show it a lot.<sup>20</sup>

Like Elsa and Norma, Chileans often point to the bodily or physical features that they associate with race, ethnicity, and indigeneity in their initial assessments of migrant difference. However, race goes beyond the commonly-embraced "visual ideology" (Stoler 2002: 84) and is marked in concert with accent, class, dress, and geographic location, among other pertinent racialized signs.

Initial characterizations and discussions of migrant—particularly Peruvian—bodies being read as having "other features" and darker skin "*moreno*" belie a more complicated embodied racial terrain. Several of the Chileans I interviewed elaborated contradictory understandings of racial markers, migrant bodies, and *mestizaje*. As I

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<sup>20</sup> *Norma:* los peruanos se distinguen de lejos...

*Elsa:* Por la cara, facciones.

*Norma:* Por la cara, porque son... piernas cortas, chuecas... son casi todos iguales. Son casi todos iguales. Tú miras, tú miras por detrás a un peruano, y tú... tú, o sea, ves así, tú comparas, y sabes al tiro que es un peruano. Y la cara, las facciones de la cara, se les nota mucho. (Interview Elsa and Norma, July 9, 2013)

interviewed Mateo, a middle-aged Chilean professional, in the company of his wife, where I asked the couple if it was possible to tell whether a person was a migrant or a Chilean. Mateo responded first, noting:

*Mateo:* I believe that the majority of Colombians pass as Chileans, [but] the, um, physiognomic characteristics of Peruvians are notorious. They are, yes, if one has the ability, the eye for recognizing it, yes. What else? Well, obviously the blacks that come, obviously. But the rest, the Mexicans, some of whom I've seen, or the Argentineans no, no.

*Megan:* You can't tell?

*Mateo:* No, I believe that the Peruvians have something in their features that one can easily identify.<sup>21</sup>

For Mateo, certain migrant groups are visible while others are capable of passing. His discussion of Peruvians as having markedly different “features” or “physiognomic characteristics” illustrates a common racial trope. He also points toward the training or skill involved in being able to decipher the bodily distinctions that mark certain migrants. Just three minutes later in the conversation, Mateo went on to contradict himself, suggesting how unsettled and unsettling the issues of race, *mestizaje*, and migration remain. I asked the couple if it was possible for migrants to integrate into Chilean society, and after his wife lamented the discrimination that migrant children experience at school, Mateo noted,

I believe that this is part of the society, the same way they have, it's like, it is something that I don't understand because the phenotypical features are very similar between Chileans, Peruvian, and Bolivians. We have many aboriginal genes, the way of acting really captures my attention, how they discriminate against them. Because in the end, we are all the same, we are a mixture, we are mestizos, we are a mixture of Spaniards with aboriginals, obviously.<sup>22</sup>

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<sup>21</sup> *Mateo:* Yo creo que los colombianos pasan como chilenos, la mayoría, las características eh... fisonómicas de los peruanos son notorias, son... sí, creo que uno tiene la capacidad, el ojo de reconocer, sí. ¿Qué más? Bueno, obviamente que los negritos que llegan, obviamente. Pero el resto, los mexicanos, que algunos he visto, o argentinos no...

*Megan:* No se notan?

*Mateo:* No. Yo creo que los peruanos tienen algo en sus rasgos que uno lo puede identificar bien. (Interview Mateo and Juana, July 23, 2013)

<sup>22</sup> *Mateo:* Yo creo que eso se da en la sociedad, la misma forma que tienen... como eso de... es algo que yo no entiendo, porque las características fenotípicas son muy parecidas, de los chilenos, de los peruanos y de los bolivianos, nosotros tenemos muchos genes aborígenes, entonces la forma que tiene me llama mucho la

Even as Mateo notes that Peruvians have “notorious physiognomic characteristics,” he goes on to suggest that Peruvians and Chileans also share “phenotypical features” and that both have some indigenous roots. Mateo’s contradictory assessments highlight the contested and complex understandings of race in Chile. Even as migrant difference is naturalized and connected to migrant bodies, the naturalized distinctions are often brushed away in favor of a positively-framed ideology of *mestizaje*. In an interview with Carlos, a young Chilean journalist, he noted:

Where there are different features, that’s it. But many times it’s happened to me that who I think is Peruvian is a Chilean or the reverse. [. . .] I think that each nation is diverse. What happens is that a person makes a caricature of what is most typical or, for example, one develops a caricature of the Peruvian as brown [*moreno*], black hair with ethnic features. And one goes to the capital [Lima] and it’s not like that, and the people are really different. There are blonds, of course, one develops a caricature.<sup>23</sup>

While the first association of migrant difference is often a quick nod to physical racial difference, several Chileans highlighted the more progressive ideology that there is not as much difference as some people might first note. These contrasting discourses (sometimes voiced by the same individual) reinforce Chilean perceptions of racial flexibility, creating an indeterminacy that belies easy categorization. Flexible migrant difference enables its strategic deployment. The flexibility of naturalized and embodied distinctions and the ways in which it is strategically engaged figure prominently in the new racial constructions that migration has prompted.

In addition to perceptions of physical difference, skin color, and indigenous features, Chileans named “other features,” such as migrant ways of speaking, accents,

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atención, como los discriminan, porque al final, somos lo mismo, somos una mezcla, somos mestizos, somos una mezcla de españoles con aborigen, claro. (Interview Mateo and Juana, July 23, 2013)

<sup>23</sup> *Carlos*: cuando hay rasgos distintos nomás, pero muchas veces a mí me ha pasado que creo que es peruano y es chileno, o al revés. Yo creo que cada país es diverso, lo que pasa es que uno se hace una caricatura de lo más típico o... por ejemplo, uno se hace la caricatura del peruano como moreno, pelo negro con rasgos étnicos, y no va a la capital y no es así, y hay gente muy distinta, hay rubios... claro, entonces uno se hace la caricatura. (Interview Carlos, July 21, 2013)

and slang as distinguishing characteristics. For example, Ernesto suggested, “[You] can tell primarily because of the diction, by [the way of] speaking, communicating.” And his wife, Irma, added, “Of course, when they speak, because of the accent.”<sup>24</sup> During my time in Chile, migrants noted repeatedly the impact of migrant racialization on their everyday lives. Racialized reading of linguistic practice was one of the most repeated concerns. I often traveled with migrants throughout the city, walking or using public transportation. We would walk and talk, but upon entering the metro or a bus, migrants almost invariably fell silent. One woman recounted, “Now even speaking on the metro makes you scared because if you speak, they know then that you are Peruvian because of your, because of your accent.”<sup>25</sup> The many, and often embodied, signs mark migrants, increasing their vulnerability to racial stereotypes and unsolicited commentary.

### ***Tales of Mestizaje***

In light of Latin American migration, discussions of *mestizaje* are commonplace, linking migration, Chilean national identity construction, and historical constructions of race and migration. *Mestizaje*, or racial mixture, is central to Latin American formations of race, ethnicity, and indigeneity. “The ideology of *mestizaje* (mixture) in Latin America has frequently been seen as involving a process of national homogenisation and of hiding a reality of racist exclusion behind a mask of inclusiveness” (Wade 2005: 239). Here, Wade discusses the foundational theoretical work on *mestizaje*, particularly Stutzman’s famous description of *mestizaje* as “an all inclusive ideology of exclusion” (Stutzman

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<sup>24</sup> *Ernesto*: Se nota fundamentalmente por la dicción, por el hablar, comunicarse.

*Irma*: Claro, cuando se habla, por el acento. (Interview Ernesto and Irma, July 22, 2013)

<sup>25</sup> *Isa*: Ahora te da hasta de miedo de hablar hasta en el metro porque ya hablas y ya saben que eres peruana por tu, por tu dejo, pues no? Pero igual hay gente muy buena onda (Interview Isa, June 28, 2013).

1981). For Stutzman, the Ecuadorian nationalist project is one that embodies racial and cultural mixture, but that emphasizes the transformation toward *blanquemento*, or whitening. Of the three races that comprise the mestizo population, *india*, *blanca*, and *negra*, the white race is deemed the most valuable, in both racial and cultural instantiations. However, as everyone is perceived to have mixed blood, then no one is in the position to fully realize the position of whiteness (Stutzman 1981). Wade (2005) builds on Whitten's (1981) and Stutzman's (1981) work to argue that the processes of inclusion embedded in *mestizaje* needs to be prioritized, that "inclusion is more than just a mask" (Wade 2005: 239). Wade's analysis views *mestizaje* as an embodied experience and lived process, one that addresses tensions of inclusion - exclusion and homogeneity - diversity on both national and personal levels (2005, 2003). For example, Wade argues:

Homogeneity and diversity exist in tension with each other in discourses and practices of *mestizaje*. I highlight this in an attempt to nuance the opposition between, on the one hand, the nationalist glorification of *mestizaje* as a democratic process leading to and symbolic of racial harmony and, on the other, *mestizaje* as a rhetorical flourish that hides racist and even ethnocidal practices of whitening. (Wade 2003: 263)

Building on these tensions, my work emphasizes the co-occurrence of discourses pairing inclusion/exclusion and homogenization/distinction. Transnational migration within Latin American prompts the circulation of multiple discourses, conceptual frames, and nationalist goals of *mestizaje*.

Conversations about migration bring forth, and are inseparable from, discussions of Chile's founding, its national identity, and personal accounts of family ancestry. Chileans I interviewed often drew connections between migration and Chile's complicated history with indigenous populations within Chile. These connections illustrate how tightly migration is linked to race, ethnicity, and indigeneity, such that

Chilean discussions of what marks migrants as distinct from Chileans often goes back to tales of *mestizaje*, and a differentiation between what is construed as indigenous *mestizaje* and European *mestizaje*. In contrast to the positively-spun multicultural political ideology of *mestizaje*, Chilean tales often overtly emphasize the Spanish and European influence. As I interviewed two young, liberal Chilean men, the discussion turned to the current discrimination against migrants. They told me:

*Carlos*: There's also a question of 300, 400 years of history, of discrimination against indigenous [peoples]. Then the current discussions [of migration], what we told you just now is something cultural that is very difficult to eradicate. Because, or rather, the Spanish arrived to Chile and looked poorly upon the Mapuche, and there was born the discrimination. [...]

*David*: Yes, now almost the whole population is Spanish, I believe almost entirely. The Mapuche are too few. And Chile's independence was brought about by *criollos*, who are a mixture of Chileans, Spanish, and no, and now [...] The Chilean, the Chilean who has a surname Lopez, Gonzalez, something like that, that is a Chilean, and the others are Mapuches.<sup>26</sup>

For Carlos and David, discrimination of migrants and discrimination of indigenous peoples in Chile were entwined. This connection, repeated in multiple interviews, suggests that Chileans understand the new wave of migration in the context of historical engagements with indigeneity and non-normative racial and ethnic groups, even as there is also an element of national critique. Here, Carlos paints the original Spanish conquest of Chile (1541) as the origin story for discrimination, one that he views as relevant to understanding the current experiences of migrants. In its explanatory power and persistence, the connection referenced between migrants and Mapuches also suggests that migrants are always racialized and read as indigenous. Additionally, David follows

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<sup>26</sup> *Carlos*: Igual hay una cuestión histórica de 300, 400 años, de discriminar al indígena, al aborigen, entonces lo que te decía recién es algo cultural que es muy difícil erradicar, porque... o sea, españoles llegan a Chile y miran en mal a los Mapuches, y ahí nace ya la discriminación y llegan otros y los que vienen siguen discriminando y los que vienen también y así, así y así. Cada vez menos, probablemente, pero que sigue quedando ese resto de discriminación dentro de cada uno.

*David*: Sí, ya casi toda la población es española yo creo totalmente, los mapuches son demasiado pocos. Y... y la independencia de Chile fue hecha por criollos que son mezcla de chilenos, españoles, y no... y ya... (Interview Carlos and David, July 21, 2013).

Carlos' assertion by discussing the Chilean population and limits of *mestizaje* in Chile. Even viewed from the progressive embrace of a multicultural society (e.g. "the Mapuche are too few") through which David positions himself as valuing diversity and multiculturalism, there is still the assertion—and common assumption—that in Chile, the "whole population is Spanish." This statement furthers both the continued erasure of Chile's indigenous presence as well as the ongoing maintenance of Mapuche populations as outside the purview of the Chilean nation, a nation constructed in this account by *criollos*. Even though Carlos and David had positive and progressive views of both migration and indigenous groups in Chile, they still intricately linked these two populations, basing distinctions between migrants and Chileans on a very national discourse of *mestizaje* which emphasizes Spanish contributions to the Chilean population over all others.

Other Chileans also elaborate a connection between migrants and indigeneity through tales of *mestizaje* in a less progressive vein. An elderly Chilean, Ernesto, explained to me:

What is happening is that the cultural background of the immigrants is not at the level as that of the Chilean people. Rather, there are less, for example, I can ask a Peruvian who was Simon Bolivar, a normal Peruvian, and they won't have any idea. And if you ask a Chilean, they will tell you something, even if it might be a lie, they will tell you something. You understand me? Thus, there is a notable difference. However, what happened with the Spanish people and the Chilean people; among the Mapuches (you know about the Mapuches, right? That they are the original peoples from here.) and the Spaniards who arrived there was no type of unifying relations, they fought for 400 years, but then suddenly they began to, there already was a type of relationship that didn't work. Why? Because of the cultural difference.<sup>27</sup>

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<sup>27</sup> Ernesto: Lo que pasa es que el acervo cultural de los inmigrantes no está a la altura del pueblo chileno, no sé si me explico. O sea, hay menos... yo por ejemplo, le puedo preguntar a un peruano quién fue Simón Bolívar, peruano normal, y no va a tener idea, y si tú le preguntas a un chileno, algo te va a decir, aunque sea una mentira, pero te la va a decir, ¿me entiendes? Entonces hay una diferencia muy notable. Sin embargo, sin embargo, qué pasó con el pueblo español y el pueblo chileno, entre los mapuches (¿conoces los mapuches? Que son los originarios de aquí, y el español que llegó), no había ningún lazo de unión, pelearon 400 años, pero de repente empezaron a... ya a hacer una especie de unión que no da, ¿por qué? Por la diferencia de cultura. (Interview Ernesto, July 22, 2013).

A retired school teacher, Ernesto's enthusiasm for teaching permeates this statement as he offered to share with me his insights on Chilean history. However, Ernesto's narrative also recursively mirrors the Chilean he describes as giving any answer. As Ernesto equates decisive answer with a highly developed cultural background, he indicates Chilean respect for forcefulness. But he also draws on entrenched stereotypes. Research has shown that migrants have higher average levels of educational achievement than Chileans (Stefoni 2011, 2003; Cano et al. 2009). I suggest that these stereotypes reflect racialized associations that mark migrants as more traditional and less developed, regardless of their actual background. Furthermore, Ernesto's discussion of the Mapuche, military conquest, and cultural divides between the Mapuche and "Chileans" mirrors the dominant Chilean understandings of indigenous engagements. In contrast to the "400 years of fighting" that Ernesto highlights, Spaniards fought southern indigenous groups approximately 270 years until Chilean Independence, when the Chilean army intermittently battled southern indigenous groups for another 75 years. That Ernesto conflates Spaniards and Chileans is telling. He also paints Spaniards and Mapuche as so culturally different that there could be no common ground, "or unifying relations," downplaying potential *mestizaje* and its effects and implicitly reinforcing Chile and Chileans as most closely aligned with Spaniards.

The topic of migration also prompts Chileans to discuss their own Europeanized tales of *mestizaje*. Current discussions of migration often reference past migrations and the role of previous migrants in constructing the Chilean nation. One Chilean noted:

Chile was always a nation that received foreigners: Pedro de Valdivia, the Germans, the Croatians, the Spanish from the civil war in Spain. That is how Chile was built. Whoever attacks foreigners it is due solely to ignorance, or to perverse fascism.<sup>28</sup>

Voiced as a defense of current migrants, Alma builds up Chilean history with a European-aligned migratory story. Alma's argument emphasizes a close and enduring connection with European nations, and thus produces a notable distinction between past and present migrations and between Chileans and migrants. Both national and personal stories of Chilean *mestizaje* often highlight European connections, effectively constructing Chile in association with European whiteness. In an interview I conducted with two Chilean women, Valentina was quick to describe her own story of *mestizaje*.

*Valentina:* Well, let's see, you know that here in Chile, many people arrived from the second World War?

*Megan:* Oh, yes.

*Valentina:* Well then, we are very mestizo, for example

*Pamela:* There's a mixture of everyone.

*Valentina:* For example, I have two mixtures and I don't have any Araucana [Mapuche blood], not any of that, because my grandparents on my mother's side came from Spain and my grandmother on my father's side came from Italy. At the heart, I am the only Chilean because I was born in Chile. Then we are many mixtures. There are other that are Germans who came and some mixed with Araucanos, others at the end. . . . We are very mestizo, very mestizo.<sup>29</sup>

Here Valentina takes on *mestizaje* and shifts its meaning. Instead of using the word as it is commonly used to note racial, ethnic, and cultural mixing between Europeans and indigenous peoples (Whitten 1981, Stutzman 1981, Wade 2005), Valentina is adamant and vocal in asserting that she does not have indigenous blood, but that she is a mix of

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<sup>28</sup> Chile siempre fue un país que recibió extranjeros : Pedro de Valdivia, los alemanes, los croatas los españoles en la guerra civil de España, Así se ha construido Chile, quien arremete contra los extranjeros es por pura ignorancia, o por perversidad facistoide. (Alma, LT June, 16 2013)

<sup>29</sup> *Valentina:* Bueno a ver tu sabes que aquí en Chile llegaron mucha gente de la segunda guerra mundial

*Megan:* Ah sí

*Valentina:* Entonces somos muy mestizos, por ejemplo

*Pamela:* Hay mezcla de todo

*Valentina:* Por ejemplo yo tengo dos mezclas y no tengo nada de araucana, nada de nada de eso, porque mis abuelos por el lado de mi mamá vinieron de España y mi abuela por el lado de mi papá venían de Italia. En el fondo la única chilena soy yo (Risas) Porque nací en Chile, entonces son muchas mezclas. Hay otros que eran alemanes que vinieron se mezclaron algunos con araucanos, otros en fin, pero yo, porque somos muy mestizos... muy mestizos... (Interview Valentina and Pamela, July 20, 2013)

European ancestors. Rooted in the history and importance of European migration, Valentina's positioning of her own family's migration story embraces the positive racial associations of previous migratory waves. Valentina also classifies Chileans as "very mestizo" and concedes some indigenous influence even as her focus is the European influence, with Spain, Italy, and Germany all explicitly referenced. In this conversation and in many others like it, Chileans work to continually craft an understanding of Chilean *mestizaje* that prioritizes the European influence and even excludes indigenous influence. In repeating these stories, Chileans craft a new version of *mestizaje* in Chile, one that often explicitly ignores the an emphasis on European and indigenous mixture. In light of this, Latin American migration becomes a potentially perilous change, one that threatens to destabilize Chilean narratives of *mestizaje* and constructions of race, ethnicity, and indigeneity.

*Mestizaje* is often associated with migration, even as this "new immigration" is a relatively recent phenomenon. Not all Chileans view *mestizaje* in a negative light, but even when framed positively, the link between *mestizaje* and migration is strong. In an interview, one young Chilean explained to me how he saw the impact of migration on the city of Santiago. Claudio noted: "For example, Quilicura, that is a district outside of [Santiago]; it is; some time ago, the area took in many Haitians. Then it's exciting because many mestizo kids are being born in these districts." But, for many Chileans, the idea of *mestizaje* is one threat related to the new wave of migrants. When I asked Francisca if she had noticed changes linked to migration, she responded immediately, pinpointing what she perceives as the dangers of *mestizaje*:

*Francisca*: Yes, yes, a lot of changes. The other thing that I have realized is that the Chilean, the stature of the Chilean has already shrunk a lot.

*Megan*: You mean physically?

*Francisca:* Yes, physically of course. Because, because it is crossing with the Peruvian.

*Megan:* Oh, so there are changes?

*Francisca:* Of course, there are very abrupt changes, then the, the Chilean roots in themselves . . . We, yes, we are being mixed with them.<sup>30</sup>

Francisca's repeated assertion that the twenty years of a new migratory flow had already fundamentally changed Chilean bodies emphasizes the visceral fear and threat of *mestizaje* linked to migration, here Peruvian migration. The concern voiced in Francisca's "we are being mixed with them" and the pronoun use suggests that she does not imagine herself as an active participant in this change. She also indicates that this change is a threat to the nation, in that it is altering "Chilean roots." Similar discourses highlighting migration as a threat to the foundational pillars of Chilean identity are mirrored in Chilean discussions of migrant use of the historic Plaza de Armas, an iconic national site discussed in Chapter 5. The threat of *mestizaje* contradicts long-term Chilean racial identity construction, which harnesses the ideology of *mestizaje* in building up a European-focused racial mixture as a cornerstone of the Chilean nation.

### ***Debating Migration, Race, and the Nation in Chile***

Public discourse both reflects and is constitutive of overarching social and cultural constructs. In light of increasing technological access and its use, online fora are important sites for locating public discourse. Emerging sites of such discourse include commentary forums on newspaper websites. During fieldwork, I systematically tracked

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<sup>30</sup> *Francisca:* Sí, sí. Mucho cambio. Lo otro que me he dado cuenta que el chileno eh... la estatura del chileno ya... ha bajado mucho...

*Megan:* Como físicamente?

*Francisca:* Sí, físicamente, claro. Por qué, porque está cruzándose con peruano.

*Megan:* Ah... y físicamente hay cambios?

*Francisca:* Claro, hay cambios muy bruscos... entonces la... la raíz chilena en sí... Nosotros, sí, estamos como mestizándonos con... con ellos. (Interview Francisca, July 21, 2013)

public commentary linked to news articles on two on-line newspapers. These comments showcase vigorous public debate, demonstrating characteristics of an on-line public sphere (Habermas 1989) where participants enter into civic engagement with fellow citizens and jointly construct—and contest—visions of the nation.

This chapter closes with an excerpt from public commentary attached to the article, “One in Every Three New Restaurants in Santiago is Peruvian” (Rivera Elorza 2012). This article ran in *El Mercurio* to mark Santiago’s first ever “Restaurant Week”—so named in English. *El Mercurio*’s website reported that this article received over one thousand Facebook “likes” and more than two hundred and twenty separate comments.<sup>31</sup> The comments provide rich data, suggesting that the article was well-read and struck a strong chord among its audience. Moreover, this forum enables individuals to speak directly to one another. All of the topics discussed below also arose in semi-structured interviews. This excerpt epitomizes how migration is discussed and racialized in Chile. The text below exemplifies how these debates unfold in everyday discussions. Aspects of Chilean conversational style are clear; joking frames are often employed and eagerness for debate is apparent. Chileans and migrants alike are quick to self-identify, to voice strong opinions, and to engage directly with other commentators. As Chileans and migrants engage in this style of public discourse, they passionately address the heart of ongoing debates and understandings of Chile’s new migration. In this contested exchange, Chileans and migrants craft understandings of race by debating: how migration is viewed within Chile’s history of racially marginalizing indigenous groups; how the new migrants are seen as challenging the integrity of the Chilean racial formation while

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<sup>31</sup> All names have been changed, and pseudonyms were selected to mirror important characteristics of the names listed. All translations are my own.

historical migrations were racial improvement projects; how Chile aspires to building national comparisons with the U.S. and Europe; and how stereotypes are debated and reinforced.

Unpacking how these comments engage with migration, position the Chilean nation, and build racial associations offers the opportunity to analyze the complex, laminated, and multiple racial associations that are intricately bound to Chile's new migration. Each comment individually presents a stance towards migration, often coupled with an understanding of race and a discussion of Chile's national interests. At the outset of the conversational thread—presumably posted as soon as the article was published online—Carlos notes:

*Carlos:* It is interesting but also worrying that our nation, CHILE, lets in so many foreigners. We can also say that one in three Chileans is also a foreigner, Peruvian, Bolivian, Ecuadorian, Colombian. . . . [They] should arrive in an orderly way and not undercut jobs by [accepting] incomes less than the minimum wage. . . .<sup>32</sup>

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<sup>32</sup> *Carlos:* Se ve interesante pero tambien preocupante que en nuestro pais CHILE ingrese tanto extranjero tambien se puede decir que uno de cada tres chilenos uno es extranjero Peruano, Boliviano, Ecuatoriano, Colombiano que tiene que haber un orden y no desvalorizando los puestos de trabajo con sueldos menos que el minimo

*David:* Con esa lógica se podría entender que son los extranjeros (aprox 300.000) los que nos vienen a robar puestos de trabajo y dinero y etc...¿ Pero que dirías sobre los 500.000 chilenos que viven fuera de Chile? No le están robando un trabajo a otra persona de otro país también? En la balanza de los extranjeros q entran y chilenos que salen, si es por ser barsas... los chilenos ganamos

*Vicente:* viví algunos años en New York, y lo digo con conocimiento, sería una ciudad más sin los extranjeros que al fin y al cabo, hacen el trabajo que el Americano no quiere hacer.-

*TJ:* Si fueron suecos o alemanes seguro que no dirias que hay demasiado extranjeros

*Edward Moran:* En nuestro planeta tierra nadie es extranjero.

*Lautaro:* solo si fueran suecas y alemanas.

*TJ:* A las mentes cerradas y xenofobas, reuerden que el 95% de los Chilenos también tienen sangre indígena.

*Ignacio Santiago Sepulveda Irarrazabal:* Yo creo que la inmigracion debiera ser mas controlada. Por ejemplo en los países mas desarrollados como Suecia, Australia y Canada (donde inmigran muchos chilenos) las exigencias para que puedas vivir ahí si eres inmigrante son muchas. Porque antes recibian a muchos extranjeros y despues se dieron cuenta de que estaba mal.

*Gerardo:* LA PLAZA LLENA DE PERUANOS LEGALES O NO, ALGUNO QUE COCINE.  
JAJAJAJAJAJAJAJAJAJAJ

*Ernesto:* Bella mezcla española, inca y China. Todo apoyado con los ingredientes perfectos de uno de los países con mayor índice de micro climas.

*Felipe:* e italiana, japonesa, africana y francesa :)

*Roberto Cespedes Reagan:* mezcla de que? por que la gente allá es el 99% quechua o aimará.

*Enzo Rodriguez:* Roberto Cespedes Reagan a tu mama le gusta los peruanos preguntale que tal le fue conmigo veras que se pone feliz

Responding to the article, “One in Every Three New Restaurants in Santiago is Peruvian,” Carlos immediately focuses the conversation on migration, illustrating a close association between Peruvian food and Peruvian migrants, a topic that is discussed in greater detail in Chapter 6. Whether Carlos’ hyperbolic claim that one in three Chileans is a foreigner is made in jest or seriously, it posits migration as a threat. The numbers of migrants, the sending nations, their perceived disorderly arrival, and their undercutting of Chilean jobs are all racialized tropes associated with the new wave of migration. He weaves together concerns for the nation and the threat that migrants pose in a way that subtly emphasizes the racialized dimension of migration.

David responds to Carlos in a manner that illustrates the public sphere quality of the exchanges, as he engages with and tries to educate a fellow citizen through rational-critical debate (Calhoun 1992).

*David:* According to this logic, it could be understood that the foreigners (approx. 300,000) come to steal our jobs and money, etc. But what would you say about the 500,000 Chileans who live abroad? Are they not also robbing a job from someone in another country? In the balance of foreigners who come here and Chileans who leave, if it’s about being fair, we Chileans win.

David employs a wider, international view, appeals to the notion of justice, and uses a joke to soften the impact of his correction of Carlos’ exaggerated assertion. His argument emphasizes the importance of Chilean emigration and views the new migrants in light of these emigrants, a frequent discourse among many politically left-leaning Chileans.

David’s politically progressive stance to migration is couched in his desire to promote Chilean national interests. His final statement to Carlos uses the first person plural

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*Guiliana Gonzalez:* Roberto Cespedes Reagan perfil falso? jajajajajaja fácil aquí el único falso eres tu mapuche bruto

*Alberto:* Guiliana, al tratar" de mapuche bruto", ¿ a qué Dinastía pertenecía tu familia ?

*Marco:* Roberto Cespedes Reagan te recuerdo que los chilenos son sudamericanos, y a sudamerica inmigraron los pobres de europa, asi que tu decendencia blanca no es de la mjeor que digamos

pronoun, “we Chileans,” to appeal to common cause as they seek to understand the scope of migratory flows.

The following comment draws on Chile’s northern focus, toward nations that are perceived as modern. Vicente uses the influx of migrants to implicitly compare, and thus produce, Chile in light of the cosmopolitan New York City.

*Vicente:* I lived several years in New York, and I have to say with full knowledge, it would be just another city without foreigners. In the end, they do all the work that the American doesn’t want to do.

Vicente appeals to his lengthy experience in New York—itsself a marker of privilege—billing himself as an expert. He argues that the diversity from other nations serves New York in two ways, figuratively producing a cosmopolitan city and literally filling the lower echelon of labor opportunities. His comment also suggests a comparison between New York and Santiago. In so doing, Vicente advances the idea that migration offers the possibility for making Chile more cosmopolitan and for relieving lower-class Chileans from occupying the lowest rung on the labor market. These dual benefits of migration are both framed as advantageous for the development of the Chilean nation.

The first three comments in the thread only tacitly engage racial associations. However, TJ boldly enters the forum by asserting that race is the central reason for which migration is currently unpalatable for Chileans.

*TJ:* If they were Swiss or German, you surely wouldn’t say that there are too many foreigners.

*Edward Moran:* In our planet earth, no one is a foreigner.

*Lautaro:* Only if they were Swiss or German.

*TJ:* To the closed and xenophobic minds, remember that 95% of Chileans also have indigenous blood.

TJ critiques the racialization of the current migratory flow both by alluding to previous migrations where German settlers were actively recruited and by voicing the national bias towards Europeans and whites. This important conversational shift is countered by

Edward's full embrace of a colorblind ideology, although his northern-sounding name suggests that he might benefit from Chile's institutional and structural racism (Núñez and Pérez 2007, Barandiaran 2012). Edward's response combines a receptiveness towards migration with an unwillingness to acknowledge race and the very real impacts race has on everyday lives in Chile. Immediately, Lautaro responds by bringing the conversation back to the issue of race and emphasizing its centrality to discussions of migratory flows. It is important to note that the profile name Lautaro—whether given or chosen—is that of an indigenous colonial Mapuche resistance hero. In rejoining the conversation, TJ further pushes the argument on race by emphasizing Chile's indigeneity. His response draws on the always-present idea of *mestizaje*. As he implicitly references *mestizaje*, he also crafts a largely homogeneous Chilean race through his assessment that 95% of Chileans share indigenous blood. While TJ argues against the normative European-looking racial frame so often embraced in Chile, he does posit the Chilean nation as a unified, although *mestizo* populace; one that debates this racial identity on-line.

At many points, the larger conversational thread unfolds with circular repetitions back to the most salient topics. Here, the conversation returns to Chile's northern focus:

*Ignacio Santiago Sepulveda Irazabal*: I believe that immigration should be more controlled. For example, in the more developed nations like Switzerland, Australia, and Canada (where many Chileans emigrate), there are many requirements for living there if you are an immigrant. Because they used to receive a lot of foreigners and later they realized that it was bad.

In contrast to how most users construct their profile, Ignacio uses his two given names in addition to his paternal and maternal surnames. His name-based self-presentation affects a note of formality and is a political maneuver given surnames in Chile are read in light of ancestry, with certain names conveying associations of status, wealth, and European-

ness.<sup>33</sup> In arguing for greater control over migration, Ignacio depicts the new migrants as a threat to the order and development of Chile. He also posits national ties with the “more developed” Canada through the emigrant population and imagines the aspirational national goal of becoming “more developed” like Switzerland, Australia, and Canada.

The potential peril that migration poses and its importance to Chile’s current development is at the forefront of Chilean public discourse, such that this news article on the popularity of Peruvian restaurants provokes commentary embodying the most salient themes in ongoing discussions addressing migration to Chile. It is not until the ninth comment that the conversational thread returns to the theme of the news article.

*Gerardo:* THE PLAZA IS FULL OF PERUVIANS, LEGAL OR NOT, SOME SHOULD COOK. HAHAHAHAAAAAAAAA.

*Ernesto:* Beautiful mixture of Spanish, Inca, and China. All contributing the perfect ingredients from the nations with the most incidence of micro climates.

*Felipe:* And Italian, Japanese, African, and French :)

Here, Gerardo emphatically uses all capital letters to add conversational force to his derisive and stereotypical comments. He discusses migrant use of public space (the Plaza de Armas), potential illegality, and Peruvian food in one short compilation of the most racialized migratory tropes, all set within a joking frame. His stance on migration is clear. Gerardo posits Peruvian food as the small benefit of a negative situation. In this assertion, Peruvian food is positioned as a way in which migrants can begin to reimburse the Chileans for all that they “owe” this host nation. In the following two comments, Ernesto and Felipe temper Gerardo’s sentiments by offering their appreciation for Peruvian food and the diversity from which it originates. Their embrace of the “beautiful mixture” echoes the manner in which the famous Peruvian chef, Gaston Acurio, promotes Peruvian

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<sup>33</sup> Chilean researchers have noted that surnames correlate with income differentials and with race. Núñez and Pérez (2007) found that individuals with a Basque or non-Spanish European surname earned on average 13% more than other Chileans. Barandiaran (2012) argues that the correlation between surname and income differentials is due to understandings of race and racial discrimination.

food to national and international audiences, a topic that is critically discussed in Chapter 6. Finally, the discussion of international culinary influences forms part of the Chilean engagement with neoliberal multiculturalism (Hale 2006), where Peruvian restaurants help craft a cosmopolitan city and where Chileans can strategically consumer multicultural markers, even while reaffirming racial distinctions and hierarchies.

Discussions of food and racial mixtures are complex, prompting diverse comments on *mestizaje* and indigeneity. Ernesto's and Felipe's positive stance towards the diverse mixtures embodied in Peruvian food, other commentators respond:

*Roberto Cespedes Reagan*: Mixture of what? Because the people there are 99% Quechua or Aymara.

*Enzo Rodriguez*: Roberto Cespedes Reagan, your mom likes Peruvians. Ask her how I was and you will see she's happy.

*Guiliana Gonzalez*: Roberto Cespedes Reagan, is this a false profile? Hahahaha, it's easy here [to see] the only liar is you, Mapuche savage.

*Alberto*: Guiliana, in terms of 'the savage Mapuche,' from which Dynasty is your family?

*Marco*: Roberto Cespedes Reagan, remember that Chileans are South Americans, and Europe's poor people migrated to South America, such that your white ancestry isn't among the best of what we are speaking of.

Roberto's rebuttal is read both in light of his comment and in conversation with what is implied by his profile name. Roberto's paternal surname highlights well-known and privileged Spanish influence and his maternal surname embodies a northern (and overtly political) influence. Roberto questions the diversity of Peruvians and Peruvian food, asserting that Peruvians are 99% indigenous, contrasting with the mixture of both food and ancestry to which Ernesto and Felipe allude. Roberto's comment positions *mestizaje* as beyond the grasp of Peruvian migrants, who are reductively racialized as fully indigenous. Emblematic of these discussion boards and an on-line public sphere, Roberto's brashly-stated comment elicits immediate response. The following comments discursively discipline his elevated language, helping craft a line of acceptable rhetoric

for civic engagement. Enzo challenges Roberto's comment with a sexual joke, referencing Roberto's American-sounding maternal surname and subtly drawing on the common jest positing foreign marriage as a way to "better the race." This joke also illustrates the historic legacy and enduring presence of racial ideas associated with Chile's overseas migration. Guiliana follows this by questioning the authenticity of Roberto's profile. Additionally, she critiques the air of racial superiority embedded in his assessment of Peruvian indigeneity by insulting him in light of Chilean indigeneity, calling him a "Mapuche savage." This instance of name calling also merits a disciplining force, with Alberto subsequently questioning Guiliana's own ancestry. The discussion of race that develops between Roberto, Guiliana, and Alberto suggests that while is often left undiscussed or glossed under a normative European-looking national racial identity, within Chile race is more central and vital to national identity practices than often perceived. In the next comment, Marco directly addresses Roberto. He argues against Chilean exceptionalism and his comment highlights the unspoken crafting of Chileans as white. Marco explicitly questions the superiority of Chilean whiteness by drawing on class-based arguments, noting that early migrants who are imagined as helping build the Chilean nation were poor. Thus, while they might be considered to be white, they were not occupying a privileged economic position and likely fell outside the parameters of the highly laminated concepts of modernity and global whiteness.

The conversation circles to Peruvian food. Jorge offers a levity to the conversation by joking about what Peruvian food he wants to eat.

*Jorge:* I am just happy to enjoy Peruvian cuisine and of course you need capital in order to invest abroad. This makes me hungry, a little tamale for breakfast, stuffed potatoes, and fried sweet potato, haha.

This full excerpt epitomizes the conversational circularity, direct engagement with other participants, and Chilean enthusiasm for debating national issues in on-line forums. It also highlights the central issues in Chilean discussions of migration, particularly how migration is understood racially and being racialized.

While there are many contradictory voices in these discourses of migration, at the heart of these debates is an impassioned involvement in the continued crafting of the Chilean nation. Who Chileans are as a people; how do they engage with each other across longstanding divisions of class and race; how Chilean history affects current social and economic processes; what are quintessential Chilean values; how individual Chileans envision Chile's path forward; and what is Chile's position in the modern globalizing world; these questions shape Chilean engagement in public fora and they provide the framework upon which Chileans engage with migration. How the new wave of migration fits into or alters the answers of these fundamental questions is at the heart of Chilean responses to this migratory wave. In relation to the new migration, these questions engage historical understandings of race, ethnicity, and indigeneity, while also producing new racial associations. As Chileans engage with this new migration, two ongoing processes are of paramount importance: the racialization of migrants and the concurrent continued construction of Chile's national racial identity.

This contentious commentary thread illustrates how Chilean understandings of race are thrown into high relief by the recent surge in Latin American migration. Discussions of which migrants pose a potential threat—namely Peruvians; which migrations are beneficial for Chile (Swiss and German); how migration is linked to domestic labor; how migrants might steal Chilean jobs and hold back Chilean

development; and how racial mixture, indigeneity, and *mestizaje* affect different nations *all* build on notions that fundamentally link race, migration, and national identity. This new migration prompts discussions of race, a concept which has a long history of being explicitly ignored and downplayed in Chile (Larraín 2001, Stefoni 2001). The discussions in Chapter 2 on the history of the census and the creation of the Raza Chilean both highlight Chilean unease in racial discussions and interest in crafting a unified national racial identity. To this end, migration has prompted Chileans to note salient racial differences between themselves and migrants, racially positioning themselves in a comparative way, as “white(r)” (van Dijk 2009).

### ***Conclusion***

Discussions about *mestizaje* centrally address perceptions about who is included, who is excluded, what domains are most relevant for bounding inclusion or exclusion in national considerations. These narratives also continually re-imagine historic migrations, and in so doing, emphasize the distinction between the prominently-remembered European migrations and the current, racialized Latin American migration. This comparative distinction of Peruvian and Chilean *mestizajes* further highlights Chilean exceptionalism, and the identity work that is engaged to craft the nation always in contrast to other Latin American nations. For Chileans, contrasting discourses “we are all *mestizos*,” or indigenous, and the personalized tales of *mestizaje* that frequently align with European ancestry are often recounted, highlight the contested debates of inclusion (Wade 2005) or exclusion (Stutzman 1981). Some scholars note an increased positive association with *mestizaje* (Wade 2005), but Chilean examples highlight both the

potential for *mestizaje* to be re-written as indicative of European migration as well as the potential for *mestizaje* to concurrently be applied in a reductive way, highlighting distinctions between groups perceived as more indigenous and those who are imagined as part of the normative Chilean *raza*. The deployment of multiple simultaneous *mestizajes* comes through in data from Chilean interviews. Examining *mestizaje* within an intra-Latin American transnational case offers this entry point for studying racial contentions and diversity of *mestizajes*. These contrasting discourses highlight the unsettled and unsettling issues of race, ethnicity, and indigeneity, and showcase what is at stake in the ongoing management of *mestizaje*.

Even as individuals debate migration, race, and the nation, public discourse on this issue exposes internal Chilean divisions and unsettled engagements with race, suggesting that race plays an important role in Chile—even though it is a role that is often explicitly minimized. The public commentary excerpt that began this chapter epitomizes the complex, contested, and chaotic way in which discussions of migration are racialized, highlighting the host nation’s engagement with race. As the commentators engaged in a vigorous debate of the role and impact of migration, racial associations related to migration were voiced. Additionally, commentators drew on racial markers such as surnames, food preferences, and time spent abroad to racially position themselves or others within the commentary thread. The pervasiveness of racial markers, practices of racialization, and the impacts of race are themes from the commentary thread that continue throughout this chapter and that frame all of the data collected.

How racialization of migration is produced, often discursively, illuminates Chile’s own shifting racial landscape. Both the acts of migrating and the perceptions about

migrants and migration are relevant to how individuals and nations conceive of themselves, juxtaposed to “others,” in the global order. These constantly constructed conceptions and juxtapositions provide a frame for the discourses on migration. Discussions of race and migration demonstrate what migrants face in Chile and suggest what is at stake for these individuals. Racialized discourses, jokes, and commentary circulate widely. As Chileans debate migration, contrast this migratory flow with historic ones, and construct Chile’s national racial identity in contrast to migrants, their words help craft the social environment of this host nation. As migrants navigate living and working in Chile, these discourses mold limits to their full belonging and ability to fully participate in Chilean social, economic, and cultural life. Additionally, as Chileans continue to discursively reinforce national ideas touting a largely homogeneous and EuroAmerican national racial identity, diverse groups and individuals who are considered as “others” are continually constructed as outside the national purview. Even as Chileans embrace an inclusive, homogeneous idea of the nation—often through discussions of *mestizaje*—these discussions concurrently outline boundaries crafted along racial lines.

## CHAPTER 4: DOMESTIC LABOR AND THE MANAGEMENT OF RACE

This chapter explores the strong association between the new migration and domestic labor, and how this association builds upon the long-standing incorporation of indigenous populations into domestic labor. The chapter examines the new iterations of the *patrón-empleada* relationship. As part of this central relationship—and highly indicative of its racial mediations—migrant domestic laborers are often positioned as “traditional.” The construction of migrants in this way emphasizes perceived connections with rural and indigenous populations. As migrant laborers are racialized in this way, Chilean employers engage in a range of practices to mold migrants into proper subjects of a modern nation. Strongly racialized ideas associated with indigeneity ensure, however, that this disciplining process is never fully complete. Thus, employers must engage in constant surveillance, management, governance, and oversight to ensure that migrant influence is not a threat to household hygiene or security. Chilean discussions of domestic labor, the disproportionately strong association of domestic labor with narratives of the new migration, and Chilean interactions with migrant domestic laborers all contribute to the multiple processes of racialization that migrants face in Chile.

During fieldwork, I typically spent Monday through Friday from 10am to 5pm with women at a migrant center, talking with them as they waited for potential interviews. The women would talk about their lives in their sending nations, how their process of migration had unfolded, their experiences living and working in Chile, and their day-to-day interactions with Chileans. At regular intervals, an employee from the center would announce the details of a job offer, and women interested in the position would go and interview for it. Women would often come back from these interviews and

immediately vent their frustrations: “She wanted me to wash the clothes by hand, as if I had never seen a washing machine!” “That woman asked to look at my teeth, the nerve!” “Did you hear that employer say she didn’t want to hire a Dominican? The director of the center told her that she would not be contracting anyone here and sent her away!” After the interviews, many migrants would lament about how low the proposed pay was or how onerous the job sounded. In these interactions, migrants at the hiring hall were constantly evaluating potential employers, even as they were being evaluated through interviews. Many of the women took it upon themselves to explain to me what it was like to work for Chileans and who they imagined to be the best employers. For example, the women spoke at length about the different “tells” they had identified to determine if potential employers would be good bosses. For some, the style of dress and presentation was most illuminating; others insisted smiles, laughter, and easy conversation during the interview were positive signs; some women closely observed how potential employers interacted with their own children; and several insisted that the best indicator came later during the house tour, if the employer had paid attention to the quality and comfort of the nanny’s bedroom. These interactions highlighted the centrality of the employer - domestic laborer relationship to many migrants’ everyday lived experience in Chile. These relationships, their hierarchical structure, and the racial undertones that many migrants felt at their core were the most frequently reiterated points of discussion among migrants.

Some of these women participated in semi-structured interviews, and in September 2012, I sat down with Barbara to talk about her experiences in Chile. Originally from Lima, Peru, Barbara was in her mid-50s. In contrast to most migrant stories, Barbara had come to Chile in the 1980s, before the increase in Latin American

migration. She had met a Chilean in Lima, fallen in love, and married. Barbara accompanied him to Santiago and worked for several years as an accountant. When she had children, she stopped working and devoted herself to caring for the children and the household. When the children were teenagers, she separated from her husband and they later divorced. She traveled back to Lima not long after that, visiting her aging parents and planning for her next phase of life. A year and a half before I interviewed her, Barbara had returned to Santiago in order to be near her children. For the first several months, she dedicated herself to looking for office work, even looking into assistant account positions and secretarial labor. She speculated that her age and lack of familiarity with computer systems, combined with being from Peru, hindered her job chances. Barbara needed to support herself, so—over the vehement objections of her children—she opted to pursue a job in the only path that she saw open to migrant women—domestic labor.

Barbara found work through the migrant center and recounted that the job had gotten off to an amicable start before things got rocky.

The first day was beautiful, then they began to raise their voice. Then afterward the discrimination began, moreover, they no longer see you like the person they interviewed, but as a nanny that is categorized as the, the lowest person in the household. One has to be treated like that, from a distance, [a person] who has their place, their bedroom for sleeping, their dinnerware for eating, their teacup for ... moreover, you can't mix with the family, you understand me?<sup>34</sup>

She described how she would work sixteen hours a day without stopping. She would get up at 6:00am and be caring for the baby by 6:30, before making breakfast for her employers and preparing the toddler for preschool. With everyone but the baby out of the

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<sup>34</sup> El primer día muy bonito, después ya te empiezan a alzar la voz. Después ya empieza la discriminación, o sea, ya no te miran como la persona que me entrevistó, sino ya la nana está catalogada como que es la... la... la persona, lo último del hogar, hay que tratarla así, de lejitos, que tiene su lugar, su dormitorio para dormir, sus cubiertos para comer, su taza para... o sea, no puedes mezclarte con la de la familia, me entiendes? (Interview Barbara, September 25, 2012).

house, she would clean as quickly as she could. After making lunch, she spent afternoons watching the children, preparing dinner, and finishing cleaning tasks. After the children had gone to sleep, she would do the ironing before she went to bed. Barbara recounted that she worked hard, did as good of a job as possible, and expected to be recognized for the work that she did. She reported that while the job was too much to ask of any one person, she did not have a problem with any of the tasks asked of her. What she found challenging was the attitude she sensed in her employer and her relationship with the family.

Her employer was strict in enforcing physical and social separation between Barbara and the family. When Barbara tried to use certain teacups, she would be told, “No, no, this is the nanny’s teacup.” She explained that the way her employer treated her and made her feel markedly different than them so rankled her that she began to experiment with small acts of resistance. She recounted that sometimes she would try the toddler’s food with his little spoon to make sure it was not too hot. She would eat fruit when she was hungry. She would drink the family’s soda when they were not around to tell her no. After each small incursion, her employer would “throw everything back in her face.” Barbara was cautioned that putting her mouth on the toddler’s spoon was revolting, “*que asco.*” And Barbara reported that her employer told her, “Coca Cola, if you want it, you can buy it,” and “I buy the fruit for my kids, not you.” After the first time her employer chastised her for what she had done, Barbara said that she knew there were surveillance cameras in the house. By that point, however, she was so frustrated that she continued with her small acts of resistance. After a while, her employer told her that she

had been given enough chances and she was fired. In reflecting upon this experience and what it takes to work as a domestic laborer, Barbara noted:

You have to be an Indian, silent, do everything. At the beginning, after a while you may win over the employer. And at the beginning you have to be an Indian. If you go back through history, what were the Indians like; they were mistreated. The silent Indian had to do everything that she was told, the slave, right? She has to do what her mistress tells her, so it's something like that. Well, here, in the past the live-in nannies never used to get days off because they brought them, the nannies came from the south. Mapuches. They were indigenous, right? Of course. The Mapuches, but they were like lambs and worked a lot, because of this they preferred the southern nannies; because they didn't complain, they did everything they were told, and they were available 24 hours. And it can't be like this. So, this bad habit has been changing, and now with the immigrant boom—particularly with Peruvians. Here there are many Peruvian nannies who are picking up the tab, moreover, they have let themselves be exploited, silenced, suffered, hora after hora.<sup>35</sup>

The feelings of division that Barbara highlights are produced in manifold ways. She is limited from interacting socially or from having many conversations with the family.

There is a physical separation of the household's space. Apart from when she is cleaning, her access in the house is limited to her small room and the kitchen. She is limited in the range of foods she can eat, with some foods being marked as for family only. She can only consume food using the separate, assigned plates, cups, and cutlery. Finally, her employers work to maintain these established boundaries, monitoring her actions both personally and through surveillance technology. The crafting of certain limits of what is acceptable and expected within Chilean households is central to discussions of domestic

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<sup>35</sup> Tú tienes que ser una india, calladita, hacer las cosas. Al principio, después ya te ganaras a la empleadora. Y al principio tú tienes que ser un indio... si tú te vas a la historia, cómo eran los indios, eran maltratados. El indio calladito tenía que hacer todo lo que le decía, o el esclavo, no? tiene que hacer lo que dice su ama. Entonces, algo así. Entonces acá, antiguamente que yo me acuerde las nanas puertas adentro, no salían con descansa porque las traían... venían del sur las nanas. Mapuches. Entonces eran como indígenas, no? claro. Las mapuches... pero eran como corderitos y buenas para el trabajo, por eso prefieren las nanas sureñas, porque no se quejan, hacen todo lo que les dicen, y están las 24 horas disponibles. Y eso no puede ser. Entonces esa mala costumbre ha ido variando, y ahora con el boom de la inmigración, sobre todo de las peruanas. Entonces acá hay muchas nanas peruanas que se han pagado el piso que te estoy diciendo, o sea, se han dejado explotar, calladitas, aguantando, horas de horas... (Interview Barbara, September 25, 2012).

labor in Chile and highlights how social and racial borders are crafted through interaction.

After her year-long stay in the household, Barbara's reflection on what leads to successful navigation of working as a migrant domestic laborer is simple—a submissive attitude. In her analysis, however, Barbara frames submissiveness as “being an Indian.” Her choice of metaphor suggests the extent to which the often-noted desire among Chilean employers for a domestic laborer with the “right attitude” (Staab and Maher 2006) is a racialized construct. For Barbara, what Chilean employers want is clear, a racial subject who performs without answering back, and one who is positioned within a racially-structured labor market. In this way, Barbara and other migrant domestic laborers are encouraged to comply with the “right attitude” by performing racialized roles. At other times, Barbara engages in resistance through small acts which contest or mitigate the claims of difference that her employers emphasize. The racial undertones framing Barbara's interactions with her employer are sometimes explicitly marked by employers' use of racial language or reference to the Andean highlands, but more often they are subtle. Race is subtly marked through notions of what plate should be used by whom, how domestic laborers need to self-govern so as to not pass germs to Chilean children, and the naturalized logic of the need for oversight (direct and technology-enabled).

### ***Peruvian Nannies as the New Migrants***

In Chile, domestic labor has deep historical roots, dating to colonial settlement. Structured household labor relations were common throughout Latin America (Araujo et al 2002, Gill 1994). Stefoni and Fernandez (2011) detail the historical trajectory of

domestic labor in Chile, asserting that the *patron-empleada* relationship is grounded in labor relations established under the hacienda system. The colonial ethos reverberates in this relationship as “domestic labor implies an idea of ‘rescue’ of the indigenous woman in order to transform her into a partially civilized woman” (2011: 51). In this model, the women employers assumed a “position of tutelage” (Stefoni and Fernandez 2011: 51) in order to help the laborer adopt more civilized behaviors. The management, disciplining, and governance of domestic labor has deep roots, with racial improvement projects firmly couched in a paternalistic framework. Stefoni and Fernandez argue that this mission is at the heart of the *patron-empleada* relationship (2011), and these discourses run through my interviews and observations.

Since colonial times, domestic labor has drawn predominantly on racialized populations and migrant incorporation into this racially structured system continues this trajectory. Traditionally, women from rural areas migrated to urban centers to fill domestic positions (Hojman 1989, Staab and Maher 2006, Stefoni and Fernandez 2011). In particular, rural migrants overwhelmingly occupied live-in positions until recently. For example, between 1970 and 1982, more than 83% of all live-in domestic laborer positions were occupied by women who had migrated internally to work in Chilean urban areas, namely Santiago (Szasz P. 1992). The prevalence of internal migration to fill domestic labor positions has shaped Chilean understandings of domestic labor, the women who occupy these positions, and the employer-employee relationships. The new incorporation of migrants into these positions further constructs domestic labor as a racialized labor market (Mora 2009, Mora & Undurraga 2013).<sup>36</sup> The strong association

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<sup>36</sup> The domestic labor market in Chile is highly formalized. Most domestic workers (both migrant and Chilean) have signed contracts, and their employers pay into health and retirement benefits (Anecap nd).

of “migrants as nannies” and the idea that Chilean domestic laborers are scarce shift the way that domestic labor is viewed in Chile, reinforcing the link between domestic labor and race while distancing Chilean working class women from how this labor sector is imagined. This, in turn, is a further example of a Chilean national identity project capitalizing on migration to continue in the ongoing efforts to racially craft Chile as whiter.

Since the beginning of the new migratory flow, Chile’s burgeoning migrant population has largely been perceived as synonymous with domestic labor.<sup>37</sup> More than 70% of Peruvian women migrants find employment in this sector (Martínez 2003). Demand for household help has increased as more Chilean women have entered the labor force (Stefoni 2011). Women’s participation in the labor market increased from 36% in 2003 to 47% in 2012 (Palma 2013). Chilean social scientists have pointed to women’s entry in the professional labor market as emblematic of Chile’s modernity and the nation’s economic development (Tironi 2005, Undurraga 2013). In light of these shifting attitudes, Chilean women are increasingly less likely to work as domestic laborers

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Additionally, domestic workers can join unions (Federación Nacional de Sindicatos de Trabajadoras de Casa Particular) and can initiate claims or complaints with the national labor office (Inspección de Trabajo).

<sup>37</sup> The migration of Latin American women in order to seek work in Chile as domestic laborers mirrors changes in migration demographics throughout the world. The feminization of migration is a growing phenomenon (Hondagneu-Sotelo 2001, 1994, Oishi 2005, Parrenas 2001), with women now accounting for 48% of the global migrant population; 52% of the migrant population in “developed regions” including Europe, North America, Australia, New Zealand, and Japan; and 43% of the migrant population in “developing regions” (UN 2013). In 2010, 53% percent of migrants in Chile were women (DEM 2010). Expansion of women’s migration is often linked to domestic labor (Hondagneu-Sotelo 2001, Oishi 2005, Parrenas 2001). As households in wealthier nations seek inexpensive domestic labor, migrants often become “servants of globalization” (Parrenas 2001), reproducing gender and racial equalities internationally. In light of growing international demand for child and senior care givers and the ongoing entry of women in developed nations into the professional labor market, domestic labor markets often look toward global labor pools to fill positions. The demand for migrant domestic labor is framed by global economic trends, such as increasing inequality and greater demand for caregivers, but it plays out on local levels, particularly through shaping structures and expectations of domestic labor relations.

(Martínez 2003).<sup>38</sup> These forces create a niche labor market for migrants, although it is important to note that migrants still comprise only 4% of the entire domestic labor workforce (Stefoni 2011, INE 2002). Despite this, the association between the new migration and domestic labor is incredibly strong. When I would explain to Chileans that I studied migration, a frequent response included a nod and the comment, “oh, the famous situation of the Peruvian nannies.” While domestic labor is an important arena for migrant workers, Chilean perceptions of the new migration often overemphasize its prevalence, equating domestic labor with the new migration.

News media frequently link migration to domestic labor in a way that circulates and furthers this stereotype. “Each time a Peruvian migrant arrives in Chile, domestic service is thought of as the only option” (El Mercurio 2003). Newspapers are replete with depictions of Peruvian teachers and nurses pursuing the “Chilean dream,” positioning work in domestic labor as the path through which migrants can economically provide for their family (see El Mercurio 2001a, 2001b, 2004a, 2004b). The role and impact of migrant domestic laborers on Chilean society is also touted. In the 2014 special report entitled, “How Peruvian Are We?,” the authors assert, “Today, there is a generation of the Chilean elite raised by Peruvian nannies” (Perez et al 2014). Other articles more explicitly position migrant domestic laborers as workers who have garnered a certain cachet for being the idealized version of household help, the “neo-governnenses” from Peru. “Since they come from Trujillo and Lambayeque have developed a ‘traditional’ style of rearing which is very valued by the elite. ‘For a family it is very attractive to pay

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<sup>38</sup> Facilitated by educational reforms in the 1960s and 1970s, Chilean women from lower socio-economic backgrounds increasingly opt for clerical and service-industry jobs instead of domestic labor positions, as office jobs are viewed as more prestigious, even though entry-level office jobs often pay less than domestic labor positions. (Martínez 2003)

a nanny's salary and have a teacher who cooks like a chef and is loving but at the same time conservative' notes Iskra Pavez, a sociologist at UCINF" (Palma 2013). Here, migrants are positioned as the best of both extremes, educated and yet still raised as "traditional."

In contrast to generally positive media portrayals, Chilean stance on this topic was conflicted. "In terms of labor issues, everything came crashing down with the nannies. The Peruvians arrived and would work for half of what a Chilean nanny worked for."<sup>39</sup> This cautionary migration origin story constructs migration as a threat to Chilean workers, voicing discourses reminiscent of Pinochet's protectionist 1975 law, discussed in Chapter 2. Migrants were frequently positioned as competitors for Chilean jobs, even as Chileans noted that migrants did jobs that Chileans preferred not to do. While some conflict over labor was noted, many migrants recounted stories of friendly relationships with Chilean domestic workers.

During interviews, general questions on migration often immediately brought out the stereotype of the Peruvian nanny. Even when asking about seemingly unrelated topics, respondents brought up domestic labor. When I asked a Chilean woman about migrant use of space, particularly Santiago's Plaza de Armas, she responded, "The nannies arrived there at the end of the 90s, the beginning of the 2000s."<sup>40</sup> This association also fundamentally draws on racial understandings of migration. As one Chilean man recounted: "One sees, what people note is the black guy, the brown guy, the *cholito* who arrived to Chile or the *cholita* who came to Chile to work as a nanny." As in Chapter 3,

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<sup>39</sup> "En el tema laboral cuando quedó la escoba con las nanas. Cuando llegaron las peruanas y trabajaban por la mitad de lo que trabajaba una nana chilena" (Interview Mateo, July 23, 2013)

<sup>40</sup> "Las nanas llegaron en los... fines de los 90, principios del 2000" (Interview Juana, July 23, 2013)

*chola* is used as a pejorative term referencing indigeneity and the Andean highlands.<sup>41</sup>

Finally, the link between domestic labor and migration illustrates how entwined racial and class stereotypes are. “There’s a lot that creates differentiation between Peruvians, Argentineans, or Bolivians versus Europeans. . . generally, those who come from neighboring nations, from Peru, Bolivia, even Argentina, they come to work in jobs, um, without education. . . many women come to work as nannies.” Expectations and perceptions of which migrants are capable of or should be working in certain sectors abound, further illustrating how migrants are racialized, often reductively along national lines.

As I conducted interviews with Chileans, I would frequently ask about the demand for migrants to work in certain segments of the labor market. One Chilean business woman recounted:

*Nilda:* Before, here in Chile there used to come out announcements, you would pick up *El Mercurio* [newspaper], and it would say, um, under job offers, ‘A southern domestic laborer is needed.’

*Megan:* Oh yeah, they always looked for southerners?

*Nilda:* Yes, for people from the south.

*Megan:* Why?

*Nilda:* Because there is like a myth that the people [who are] descendants of Mapuche, or what have you, are more hard working, are more honest, are more... It was like a myth already, but this always... On the other hand today, you open the newspaper, *El Mercurio*, and you see, who knows, ‘Peruvian domestic laborer is needed.’ Generally Peruvian.

*Megan:* Why? Do they have an idea, I suppose, of what it means to have a Peruvian domestic laborer?

*Nilda:* I believe that is exactly the same as when they used to look for southern nannies, thinking, I don’t know, that the person is here, they don’t have family, they are going to be able to work as a live-in laborer. And, how do you say it, at the beginning I believe that there was a type of abuse in labor and economic terms. Now not so much.

*Megan:* Is it difficult to find Chileans for jobs like this, like in houses or in construction?

*Nilda:* No, rather, I believe that it is a preference. I believe that they have come to be competitive in this sector, but this is not to say that, that, um...

*Megan:* That there aren’t

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<sup>41</sup> “Se ve... lo que la gente califica es el negrito, el morenito, el cholito que llegó a Chile, o la cholita que llegó a Chile a trabajar de nana” (Interview Eduardo, July 14, 2013).

*Nilda*: That people exclusively, the businessman or the housewife who needs a person to do the housework, that she should be of this nationality. Rather, they advertise in this way because, for the same reason as when they wanted someone a, a person from outside of, outside of Santiago.<sup>42</sup>

Here, Nilda offers the Chilean employer's perspective on the same dynamic that Barbara pointed to in her interview; the construction of the ideal domestic laborer as an indigenous, submissive woman, preferably one with no family or local attachments. Discourses of the "hard working," "honest" Mapuche woman who was far from home and not likely to assert her labor rights mirror the discourses framing the incorporation of migrant women into this labor market. Staab and Maher (2006, see also Maher and Staab 2005) detail what they term the "dual discourse" about migrant domestic laborers. The authors argue that these discourses simultaneously praise the hard working migrants but also chastise the Chilean working class for not properly adhering to the class structure, accepting available jobs, and working with the proper deference for their employers

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<sup>42</sup> *Nilda*: Antes aquí en Chile salían... avisos, tú tomabas El Mercurio, decía, eh... por ofrecer trabajo, 'necesito asesora del hogar sureña'.

*Megan*: Ah, sí. Siempre buscaban sureñas?

*Nilda*: La gente del sur. Ya.

*Megan*: Por qué...?

*Nilda*: Porque... existe como el mito de que... la persona descendiente de mapuche, o qué se yo, la gente del sur, es más trabajadora, es más honesta, es más... era como un mito, ya, pero eso siempre... En cambio ahora, tú abres el periódico, en El Mercurio, y tú ves, qué se yo 'necesito asesora peruana', generalmente peruana...

*Megan*: Como... por qué? Como tienen un... imagen, yo supongo, de qué significa tener empleada peruana?

*Nilda*: Yo creo que es exactamente lo mismo que cuando buscaban nanas que fueran sureñas, pensando que se yo de que... la persona está acá, no tiene familia, va a poder emplearse puertas adentro, eh... y, cómo se llama, y... al principio yo creo que existía una suerte de abuso, en términos laborales y económicos. Ahora ya no tanto.

*Megan*: Y... es difícil encontrar a chilenos para algunos trabajos así, como en casa, en construcción?

*Nilda*: No, o sea, yo creo que no es una preferencia, yo creo que ellos han llegado a competir en ese ámbito, pero eso no quiere decir de que... de que... eh...

*Megan*: No hay...

*Nilda*: Que la gente exclusivamente, el empresario, o esa dueña de casa que necesita una persona para que le ayude a las labores de casa, tenga que ser de esta nacionalidad. O sea, la llaman así porque... por la misma razón cuando se quería una, una, una... una persona que fuera de fuera de Santiago, digamos, me entiende? Yo lo veo así... (Interview Nilda, July 23, 2013).

(Staab and Maher 2006). The dual discourse aims to craft a properly-distant *patron-empleada* relationship (Staab and Maher 2006).

Expanding on Staab and Maher's work, I argue that there is a historical trajectory to these discourses, and that it is tightly woven with strong racial associations. While Chilean discussions often use migrant domestic labor as a foil with which to discipline working class Chileans, I argue that these discourses emphasize the construction of race far more strongly than they emphasize class disciplining. Discussions about how Chilean women *used* to work as domestic laborers and how southern indigenous women *used* to fill these positions imply an ascendancy of Chile's working class out of highly racialized positions. These women are also implicitly constructed as part of Chile's modernizing project. Chileans imagine that their developing nation has successfully educated young women. These workers are subsequently imagined as prepared for the modern workforce, even if entry level office jobs typically pay less than household employment. It is notable that Peruvian migrants are strongly associated with domestic labor, suggesting a shift in the perceptions of where this racialized workforce comes from—no longer Chile's south, but now Chile's northern neighbors. As this association constructs migrant women in line with the historic flows of indigenous domestic laborers, migrants are further racialized. Moreover, the workplace norm of submissiveness demonstrates the normalized and racialized role that migrants must perform in order to comply with the unwritten requirements of the job.

### *Racialized Domestic Labor*

Chilean employers elaborated a boundary between traditional and modern, positioning Chilean workers on the modern side of this conceptual divide. Many of these distinctions are made in the context of comparing migrant and Chilean employees. Discussions of Chilean domestic laborers embraced the perception that they are “super scarce” and “much more expensive.” The assertions “There are no Chilean [nannies]. In fact, when I have gone to the [employment] agencies, there aren’t, there are no Chilean nannies,” and “the majority of nannies are foreigners.” are commonly repeated. This notably contrasts with the statistics cited above, demonstrates the stereotype of migrant nannies, and furthers the erasure of Chilean domestic workers. In participating in these discourses, Chileans help produce the national working class as over-educated and too refined for household labor. By positioning migrants as the only remaining option, Chileans reinforce the gulf of stereotypes between the groups, emphasizing dichotomies of constructed distinctions—between traditional and modern, uneducated and educated, refined and uncivilized. Two Chilean employers of migrant domestic laborers spoke to me at length about the differences that they noticed between migrant and Chilean workers.

*Irma:* It is more difficult [to find Chilean domestic laborers] because the majority of Chilean people, almost all opt for a different type of work instead of working in a house.

*Ernesto:* What is happening is that the culture of the Chilean woman is superior, such that they have more options.

*Irma:* So they work in, in

*Ernesto:* In offices

*Irma:* In offices, factories, or commerce, as a saleswoman.

*Megan:* Like opening other doors?

*Irma:* Exactly

*Ernesto:* They have other possibilities, let’s say, because of their cultural heritage more than anything. It [is] not because there might be a difference or there might be discrimination, no, no. I believe that here in Chile there isn’t notable discrimination. There could have been, like in all parts of the world. But it’s not significant, [it’s not] a thing like, ‘I prefer this one because she is Chilean or I prefer this other.’

*Megan:* Well, it seems like there is also great demand for domestic laborers.

*Ernesto:* Indeed, what is also happening, that is tied somewhat to the economic development of the nations, because people aspire to more, within. If the nation is economically moving along well, [people] aspire to more, so this is natural.<sup>43</sup>

In this conversation, Ernesto and Irma use their personal experience with migrant domestic laborers to build an argument for the “cultural” differences between individuals from the two nations. Ernesto naturalizes the “cultural heritage” of Chileans, assuming an essentialized distinction that is highly racialized. For Ernesto, the superior development of Chilean women is what has led to greater labor opportunities, enabling Chilean women to apply their skills in jobs other than the traditional and unskilled domestic labor market. He argues that this is not “discrimination,” but based on “cultural heritage.” He goes on to tie the increasing demand for domestic labor in Chile to the nation’s economic development, positioning Chile’s advancement with that of individual working class Chilean women. Ernesto’s argument suggests a reification and naturalization of racial and class distinctions that are produced transnationally, furthering stereotypes of migrant domestic labor.

Many of the stereotypes linked to the new migration play on notions of the traditional, posited in contrast to the aspirational modernity embraced by Chileans. This

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<sup>43</sup> *Irma:* Es más difícil, porque la mayoría de la gente chilena casi toda optan por otro tipo de trabajo, más que trabajar en casa como...

*Ernesto:* Lo que pasa es que la cultura de la mujer chilena está superior, entonces tienen opción más...

*Irma:* Entonces trabajan en, en...

*Ernesto:* En oficinas.

*Irma:* En oficinas, fábricas, o comercio, de vendedora.

*Megan:* Como abrir otras puertas?

*Irma:* Exactamente.

*Ernesto:* Tienen otras posibilidades, digamos, por su acervo cultural más que nada, no porque haya una diferencia o haya discriminación, no, no, yo creo que aquí en Chile no hay discriminación... notable, puede haber, como en todas partes del mundo, pero no es notable, una cosa como “prefiero esta porque es chilena o prefiero esta otra...”

*Megan:* Bueno, parece que hay tanta demanda también por empleadas.

*Ernesto:* Claro, lo que pasa también, que eso va unido un poco al desarrollo económico del país, porque la gente aspira a más, dentro de... si el país marcha bien económicamente, aspira a más, entonces eso es natural. (Interview Irma and Ernesto, July 22, 2013.)

is particularly central to the racial frames mediating the ways Chileans perceive and engage with migrant domestic labor. In Chile, Peruvians are most frequently racialized in a way that draws upon indigeneity and Andean stereotypes, regardless of where migrants are from, how they racially self-identify, and even which country they are from (in the case of Bolivians who frequently note being referred to and stereotyped as Peruvians). Migrants frequently report being called “*cholo*,” a term that has the “power to slander” (Weismantel 2001: xxvii). Even migrants who classify themselves as *criollo*, or a European-aligned *mestizaje*, report this experience. Race is strongly present in the *patron-empleada* relationship and both migrants and Chileans note the ways it mediates this relationship. One Peruvian woman recounted her experience and contestation of racial stereotypes in the house where she worked.

The woman who I care for told me, she said, “Ah that Peruvian, that ugly one is Peruvian, how ugly Peruvians.” And I responded, “Misses, just so you know, the Mapuches are also part of the same Latin American race as the Peruvians, and don’t tell me, ‘No, but I am not Mapuche.’ Chileans also have their ancestry, they have Mapuche ancestry.” I told her, “so you should not come and tell me that Chileans are all blond, or that they’re all those immigrants, from Germany, England. If you go to Peru, you go to Miraflores, San Isidro [upper class neighborhoods in Lima], there are also, there are blonds, there are green eyes, blue eyes, there is everything Misses.” And I told her that because I also don’t like that they insult people.<sup>44</sup>

Whether addressing race directly as in this example or indirectly, like Barbara’s small acts against her employer’s divisions, many migrants also find ways to counter Chilean stereotyping. Small acts of resistance include refusing to take a position with an employer

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<sup>44</sup> Y la señora que cuidé me decía eso, decía: ‘ay, qué peruana, que esa fea es peruana, que feas, que peruanas...’, y le dije, ‘señora, por si acaso, los mapuches también son de la raza, parecida, latinoamericana, a los peruanos, y no me diga ‘no, pero yo no soy mapuche así’, pero los chilenos también son... su ascendencia, tienen ascendencia mapuche, le digo, así que usted no me venga a decir que todos los chilenos son rubios, o todos... porque esos son inmigrantes, de Alemania, de Inglaterra, como usted se va al Perú, se va a Miraflores, San Isidro, también hay... hay rubios, hay de ojos verdes, de ojos celestes, hay de todo, señora’. Y yo le decía porque... no, no me gusta que ofendan tampoco a las personas. (Interview, Honorina, July 13, 2013).

who is perceived to be racist; speaking up and asserting the similarities between migrants and Chileans; and emphasizing one's educational attainments.

The Chilean double gloss of migrants as Peruvians and Peruvians as indigenous brings together a number of related racial associations. Indigeneity in South America is strongly associated with notions of traditional ways of life and perceptions of underdevelopment, and Peruvian indigeneity is perceived in relation to the rural highlands (Colloredo-Mansfield 1998, Orlove 1998, Weismantel 2001, Briggs 2003). The conflation of Peruvian-ness and the rural highlands exemplifies what Radcliffe and Westwood discuss as “racialized imaginative geographies” (1996: 109), racial perceptions of indigeneity that fundamentally shape how other Latin Americans perceive people from (or perceived to be from) Andean regions. Radcliffe and Westwood further detail how Andean rural life is understood by outsiders, “pictured in a ‘commonsense’ way as backwards, uneducated and poor” (1996: 112), and Colloredo-Mansfield adds that indigeneity “connotes a crude way of life, poverty, and irrationality” (1996: 193). Finally, Colloredo-Mansfield (1998) and Orlove (1998) also elaborate the connections between indigeneity and dirt and disease. These grouped associations are strongly linked to indigeneity and fundamentally mediate understandings of migrant domestic labor, seen in discussions of personal hygiene, discussed below.

Perceptions of indigeneity often play upon an essentialized notion of a lack of civilization and development. In ways that mirror the “insurrectionary Indian” that Hale describes (2006) and the “underdeveloped self that lies within” that Briggs discusses (2003: 185), notions of indigeneity in Chile often draw upon the idea that a person's hidden, internal “nature” is unchanging and unchangeable. The amount of meticulous

identity work that goes into self-presentation and crafting a “civilized” self is irrelevant; the individual in question is always at risk of revealing their “true nature” or having it revealed for them. In Peru, this essentialized central core of indigeneity is exemplified by the idea that “*se me salio el indio*,” or “my inner Indian came out.” This common expression came up in several interviews, usually employed as a repair similar to the English, “excuse my French,” but with an extreme racial lens. One Peruvian man who I interviewed paused to explain the expression to me. “Because the Indian is the *mestizo*, he is from the jungle, the one from within, or the uncivilized.” This man’s discussion of “the one from within” referenced both the deepest, darkest jungle as well as the darkness within one’s self.<sup>45</sup> This idea of an essentialized nature implicit in indigeneity frames migrant domestic labor and is the central core prompting Chilean employers to engage in a myriad of disciplining and surveillance strategies, like investing in surveillance technology and checking employees bags before they leave for the week. Chilean employers must take care to avert or minimize the essential “nature” of racially-marked employees. These ideas of an inner indigeneity constitute a foundational base that must always be negotiated in the efforts to civilize migrant domestic labor and cultivate docile bodies by teaching migrants proper household and personal hygiene and overseeing their consumption of food. At heart, the dominant perceptions of indigenous Peruvian nannies and related racial associations further hinder the construction of racial and national boundaries and migrant efforts to foster belonging.

Racial associations of migrant domestic labor center on understandings of indigeneity and the perceptions of traditional ways of life, lack of a civilized manners,

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<sup>45</sup> “Porque el indio es el mestizo, es el de la selva, el de adentro. O sea, el no civilizado” (Interview Jaime, May 14, 2013).

and potential dirt or disorder. Chileans interviewed were frequently drawn upon the explanatory power of these associations in presenting racial distinctions as naturalized. However, their actions and efforts in producing docile bodies and maintaining household and personal hygiene practices point toward an underlying understanding of racial flexibility. In this way, Chileans grapple with the “the conceptual fixity of [racial] categories and the fluidity of their content” that Stoler identifies in her work on colonial Java (2002: 8). Within the realm of domestic labor, this paradox prompts a close disciplining of migrant domestic laborers so as to prevent possible transgressions. Similar to Stoler’s (2002) discussion of the domestic sphere, as migrants are hired to work with Chilean households, employers adopt a range of techniques to create and maintain social, racial, economic, and national boundaries, even as the physical distance between migrants and Chileans shrinks (Stoler 2002). These everyday interactional constructions of difference orient toward and help construct larger racial hierarchies.

### ***Paternalism at Work: Producing Docile Bodies***

During field work, I would frequently ask Chilean interviewees their general impressions of migration, and it was not uncommon for them to position domestic labor within a paternalistic framework.

*Megan:* I wanted to ask you, what are your impressions of the current migration?

*Maca:* Well, in regards to the Peruvians and Bolivians who come to do less skilled work, it’s been; I think it’s been very sad for them, because they have come in conditions that are, um, bad. To live in bad places and all of it. They are people; well, I would say, impoverished, so then the Chileans, we haven’t treated them very well. [...] Moreover, Peru and Bolivia, because they, regrettably, we feel superior to them.

*Megan:* Really?

*Maca*: Yes, because even more, the people who have come are people who come to be employed in houses, to do less skilled jobs.<sup>46</sup>

Maca's comments are typical and shed light on several of the ways in which Chileans view migration. The instant connection between migrants and unskilled labor is Maca's first response. But her response also reveals sympathy, charity, and paternalism, crafting a subtext of subtle superiority and distinctions before she even directly references Chilean superiority. Maca's comments: "it's been very sad for them;" "they come in bad conditions;" and "they are poor people" combine to craft an image of impoverished, migrants looking for any jobs they can get. As Maca paints migration in this way, she also implicitly suggests her own role in helping the migrant domestic laborers that she hired. In Maca's discussion, it is important to note that the current Latin American migration is often viewed through a lens that emphasizes politics and international relations. The longstanding friction between Chile, Peru, and Bolivia dates to Chile's imperialist conquest of its northern lands through the War of the Pacific (1879-1883). Chileans—particularly those living in northern Chile—often view migration and their personal relationships with migrants in light of ongoing international friction that is tied to the war northern expansion. Chilean military victory (alluded to in Maca's comments) adds an additional layer of superiority. Both allusions to northern conquest as well as discussions that frame Chilean reception of migrants as aiding the "poorer," "less

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<sup>46</sup> *Maca*: Bueno, con el tema de los peruanos y bolivianos que llegan a hacer un trabajo menos calificado, les ha ido... yo creo que muy triste ha sido para ellos, porque han llegado en condiciones... malas. A vivir en lugares malos y todo. Ellos son gente... yo diría, humilde, entonces los chilenos no los hemos tratado muy bien. Y están estos otros inmigrantes que están llegando ahora, que vienen con títulos profesionales y todo, cierto? Entonces... ellos vienen como más ganadores, más... porque vienen con este respaldo. Y ahí uno se ve pensando que nos van a quitar nuestras fuentes de trabajo, van a preferir una persona más joven, mejor capacitada... el chileno siempre ve mejor al extranjero, que a su propio par del lado. Aparte de Perú y Bolivia, porque a ellos, lamentablemente, nosotros nos sentimos superiores. *Megan*: Sí? *Maca*: Sí, porque además que la gente que ha venido es gente que viene a ser empleado de casa, a hacer trabajos menos calificados. (Interview Maca, July 19, 2013).

developed” countries shape common discourses framing migration. This recursive national and personal positioning also mirrors the processes through which migrant racialization most often plays out in Chile, with Chileans both outlining differences and strategically positioning themselves in contrast to these distinctions.

Maca went on to explain her reasons for hiring a Peruvian woman as a domestic laborer.

*Maca:* Well, Peruvians are easier to handle, more flexible. The Chilean, she wants to be in charge.

*Megan:* Oh, really?

*Maca:* Things are done as they wish, and not like the boss wants, you see?

*Megan:* Ah, okay.

*Maca:* Or rather, for example, I don't know. For me, the cleaning, suppose it was this house, 'Mondays I am going to clean here [downstairs] and Tuesdays I'll do upstairs.' And I can't tell her anything. If I say, 'No, I want it done another way,' she's going to tell me, 'No'.

*Megan:* Ah, okay, she has. . .

*Maca:* On the other hand, the Peruvian is like, 'How would you like this done?'

*Megan:* Ah, okay.

*Maca:* You see? They have another type of upbringing. They are more, um, submissive. It is for this [reason], because they are easy to handle. You are always in command, and she will always tell you, 'yes, great.' A Chilean nanny is going to argue with you, or lie to you, 'No, you told me something different.' On the other hand, the Peruvian will tell you, 'Yes, Misses, yes Mister, yes, yes.'<sup>47</sup>

Maca's comments also bring out an element of symbolic violence. She positions the economic and labor realities of the new migrants as partially responsible for the stereotypes that Chileans link to migration. Her discussion highlights both how closely connected the concepts of Latin American migration and domestic labor are and also

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<sup>47</sup> *Maca:* Eh... las peruanas son más fáciles de llevar, más... eh, flexibles. La chilena... ella quiere mandar.

*Megan:* Ah... sí?

*Maca:* Las cosas se hacen... a la pinta de ellas, y no de la jefa, te fijas?

*Megan:* Ajá. Ah, ya...

*Maca:* O sea, por ejemplo, no sé. Yo el aseo, supongamos que fuera esta casa, yo los lunes voy a hacer aquí y los martes voy a hacer arriba. Y yo no le puedo decir nada, si yo le digo, 'no, yo lo quiero de otra forma', me va a decir, no.

*Megan:* Ah, ya. Tiene...

*Maca:* En cambio, la peruana es: 'cómo lo quiere usted?'

*Megan:* Ah... ya.

*Maca:* Te fijas? Tienen otra educación. Son más, eh... sumisas. Es por eso, porque son fáciles de... de llevar. Tú siempre mandas, y ella siempre te va a decir, 'sí, bueno'. Una nana chilena te va a discutir, te va... por último te miente, 'no, usted me dijo otra cosa'. En cambio la peruana va a decir 'sí, señora, sí señor, sí, sí'. (Interview Maca, July 19, 2013)

what the stakes are for these discussions. When migration is equated with domestic labor, a spectrum of related stereotypes are deployed. In this way, migrant stereotyping—including many racial stereotypes—becomes a self-fulfilling process, one that gets reiterated to further structure labor markets, employer relationships, and migrants' role in Chile. Maca points out that as migrants work in unskilled labor and often as domestic laborers, they enable the Chilean employer to be “always in command.” For Maca, Chilean domestic laborers struggle to assert that they are “in charge,” while migrant workers allow themselves to be directed and managed. Even as migrants must strategically comply with the racialized “right attitude,” their compliance further crafts the employer – employee relationship in a strongly hierarchical way. Moreover, Maca's analysis of the situation also overlooks the reasons why migrants opt for this type of employment. Her discussion fails to recognize the structure of the labor market, and how domestic labor is one of the few arenas where Chileans prefer to hire migrants. The structured labor market plays upon elements of economic and racial superiority and is confirmed for many Chileans as migrants take on domestic labor jobs.

Chilean discussions of migrant domestic labor are substantively mediated by the associations of Peruvian indigeneity discussed above. Domestic laborers are imagined and constructed as submissive, simple, with traditional understandings of life, and not integrated in modern society. Often, the task of helping migrants “adjust” to life in Chile falls to the employer. In the case of Daniela—a high-powered career woman who juggles a successful business job with house, children, and spouse—the employee's adjustment furthers the social distance between them.

On the other hand, I feel that, I don't know, I could be wrong, that she [my Peruvian domestic laborer], it's like she makes more of an effort to, to please. She wants to do well. Now, it catches my attention because, well I told her when we spoke that for

whatever problem, she should tell me right away. So, sometimes I get home and she tells me, ‘Señora, something terrible, terrible has happened.’ And I will say, ‘okay, what happened?’ I imagine . . . ‘It’s that I broke three eggs. I will bring them tomorrow.’ Or rather, for her, this is the world.<sup>48</sup>

Daniela uses a description of how her *empleada* was upset and worried about breaking three eggs to reinforce distinctions between Chileans and migrants. The comment, “this is the world” bills her as provincial, home-bound, and aligned with a traditional way of life centered on household concerns. Given that the majority of Peruvian migrants who work as domestic laborers have completed all of their secondary education and many have at least some post-secondary education, Daniela’s understanding likely indicates more about how Chileans perceive migrant laborers than the reality of the situation. Daniela’s comment succinctly conjures this *empleada* in contrast to the bustling, modern office life, where individuals face much larger challenges than three cracked eggs. The subtext of Daniela’s comment posits migrant domestic laborers are submissive, sheltered, willing to work, soft spoken, and individuals who need someone to take care of them in the big harsh reality of the real world.

*Patron-empleada* relationships are highly structured on interpersonal levels, exemplifying Foucauldian discussions of the “docile body” (1977). The crafting a certain type of employee is often central to discussions of domestic labor in Chile. As migrants enter into these positions, they must heed employer instructions that mediate their daily lives, “becoming something that can be made; out of a formless clay, an inapt body, the machine required can be constructed; posture is gradually corrected; a calculated

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<sup>48</sup> En cambio yo siento, no sé, me puedo equivocar, que ella como que hace más esfuerzo por... por agrandar. Quiere hacerlo bien. Ahora, me llama la atención porque... yo le dije, cuando conversamos, que cualquier problema me lo dijera al tiro. Entonces a veces ha llegado y me ha dicho, ‘señora, me ha pasado algo terrible, terrible’, yo le digo, ‘ya... qué pasó’, me imagino... ‘es que se me quebraron 3 huevos... yo se los traigo mañana’, o sea, para ella, eso es un mundo. Me entiendes o no? (Interview Daniela, July 21, 2013).

constraint runs slowly through each part of the body, mastering it, making it pliable” (Foucault 1977: 135). Foucault also added that “a body is docile that may be subjected, used, transformed and improved” (1977: 136), indicative of the process that is involved in the crafting of docile bodies and the right kind of migrant domestic laborer. Notably, several migrants narrated stories of how they felt pressured to comply in certain ways and to have an attitude emphasizing humility and that the employer was always right. One Peruvian woman recounted:

They bring it up whenever they want, rather, they insult you, they try to offend you, to humiliate you appealing to one’s nationality. They believe that the Chileans, since they won the war, of the Pacific, they think they are superior to Peruvians. So they always try to humiliate and demean Peruvians. You know? Then, I don’t know, then, ‘ah Peruanita I don’t know what,’ ‘Peruvian over here,’ ‘Peruvian over there.’ ‘Miss, I tell her, do not call me Peruvian, because I do not call you Chilean, I call you by your name, and you need to call me by my name, I was not baptized as Peruvian. I have a name Miss.’ They get upset by this, and they fire you. Because they can’t accept, they want one to lower their head. There are many who do lower their heads, but it isn’t in my character, unfortunately it isn’t in my character.<sup>49</sup>

Her comment emphasizes the connection between disciplining practices and the national distinctions that are constantly reinforced. For Foucault, discipline also is enacted on national level, “collective coercion of bodies” (1977: 169), a dynamic seen as migrants move around the city and the nation, and in how they interact with Chileans. Foucault writes: “The human body was entering a machinery of power that explores it, breaks it down and rearranges it” (Foucault 1977: 138). The machinery of power that migrants face organizes their daily lives, from their movements around the city of Santiago to the way they go about their tasks as a domestic laborer. It should also be noted that migrant responses to racialized labor and expectations of submissiveness vary greatly, including everything from arguing with employers to careful self-governance to quitting jobs to

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<sup>49</sup> De eso se molestan, y a una la echan. Porque no resisten que... ellos quieren que uno baje la cabeza. Hay muchas que bajan la cabeza, pero no es mi carácter, no es mi carácter desgraciadamente. A veces yo quisiera ser un poquito más... no? soportar... pero no puedo. No puedo. (Interview Nelly, June 20, 2012).

responding with small acts challenging household divisions (like Barbara did at the outset of this chapter).

### ***Monitoring Transgressions and Managing Racial Influence***

At both the national and household level, migration is constructed as a potential threat to health and cleanliness. As discussed above, the idea of transgression is linked compellingly to understandings of indigeneity and race in the region (see Berg 2015, Weismantel 2001, de la Cadena 2000, Colloredo-Mansfeld 1998, Orlove 1998). The fear of potential contamination via migrant influence is noted as Chilean employers suggest a need to manage or mitigate migrant impact on the household. When I asked one Chilean employer what his general impression of migration was, Gerardo recounted:

Well, I think that immigration isn't bad, but here in Chile there is a lack of a lot, a lot of safeguards. For example, there are countries that aren't very developed in terms of sanitary [issues] so that people could come, could come without illnesses. Um, because in many of the neighboring countries they don't have all the vaccinations, um, as a matter of fact, tuberculosis is an illness that we don't have—we used to have it, but it used to be almost non-existent. Maybe there are countries abroad that don't have it. Well, rather, it brings about . . . The fact that so many migrants arrive who are not monitored, who are not checked in the health centers, in the clinics, what have you, this can also be dangerous for, for Chile generally.<sup>50</sup>

Recursively mirroring understandings of perceptions of disorder and lack of cleanliness on both the state and household level, employers noted concerns about having migrants in their houses and detailed how they tried to minimize potential transgressions. Gerardo went on to comment on his relationship with his domestic worker, making it clear that

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<sup>50</sup> *Gerardo*: Bueno, yo creo que la inmigración no es mala, pero aquí en Chile falta mucho... mucho resguardo... Por ejemplo... hay países que no tienen la parte sanitaria desarrollada de tal forma que las personas que lleguen, eh... lleguen sin enfermedades, qué se yo. Eh... porque hay muchos países colindantes que no tienen... todas las vacunas, eh... de hecho... la tuberculosis es una enfermedad que nosotros no la tene--- la teníamos, pero estaba casi nula, como que... a lo mejor hay países afuera que no la tiene, entonces... o sea, se produce... Y el hecho de llegar tanto migrante que no están controlados, que no se controlan en los centros de... de... los policlínicos, qué se yo, también eso puede ser como peligroso para... para Chile, en general. (Interview Gerardo, July 27, 2013).

she was one of the orderly, clean, upstanding migrants. He was very clear to note that his employee was not negatively impacting Chile. His comments suggest both the understanding of migrants as potentially contaminating (also seen in discussions of migrant use of public space), as well as the responsibility for monitoring and controlling potential spread of illness via migration. For Gerardo, he is doing his part, hiring an upstanding employee, instilling household norms for sanitary practices, and thus providing his nation with one small safeguard against the perceived threat of illness. Moreover, Gerardo's comments are not atypical in positing a racialized fear of contamination. Both contemporary and historical research explores the many ways in which associations between disease and racially-marked populations are constructed (Briggs 2003; see also Anderson 2006, Stoler 2002). Finally, migrants are often the racially-marked populations which are most closely perceived as a menace to public and household health (Santa Ana 2002, Shah 2001, Anderson 2006[1983]). This is seen in discourses and metaphors positioning migrants to the U.S. as a "disease" for both individual bodies and the body politic. In the context of domestic labor, particularly in the context of the paternalistic *patron-empleada* relationship, racialized fears of contamination prompt employers to manage what are viewed as potentially transgressive behaviors.

Proper hygiene and careful sanitary behavior are normalized as issues of concern, ones that enable employers to preemptively manage potential contamination. Even as migrants are charged with maintaining household cleanliness, migrants are also perceived as in need of explicit instruction on personal hygiene practices. The migrant center where I conducted fieldwork published a Manual for Domestic Laborers. The manual is

distributed to migrants who take their week-long course, “The School for Domestic Laborers.” An older Chilean woman volunteers her time and does a weekly two hour presentation on the standards of hygiene, hair care, proper clothing, and other issues promoting sanitary behavior. The manual largely contains recipes for Chilean meals, but there are also several pages addressing “personal presentation.” The center suggests: “A good self-presentation is fundamental for a job . . . During the work day the most proper thing is to maintain a modest and demure style, and—both out of respect for others as well as for [your] personal dignity and health—impeccable hygiene”<sup>51</sup> (CIAMI 2000: 63). The manual goes on to make recommendations on clothing, hairstyle, makeup, laundering, and nail length. In particular, women are advised: “The importance of bathing daily needs to be emphasized. If at first you do not have money to buy items for personal care (deodorant, toothpaste, toothbrush, etc.) it is best to ask for an advance from the owner of the house”<sup>52</sup> (CIAMI 2000: 63). Given the ongoing racialized perceptions of migrants as traditional, indigenous, and subsequently constructed as closer to the earth and dirt (Collardo-Mansfeld 1998, Orlove 1998), the perceived need to address hygiene is hardly surprising. Here, soap and small hygiene tasks take on civilizing roles, reminiscent of McClintock’s work on the role of soap in colonial times (1995). Selling soap and promoting its use was one way of teaching the virtues of cleanliness to colonized populations. In short, soap and the attendant bathing practices were positioned as whitening forces (McClintock 1995). Likewise proper personal presentation for migrant

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<sup>51</sup> “Una buena presentacion es fundamental en un trabajo. . . Durante la jornada lo mas indicado es mantener un estilo sobrio y recatado, y —tanto por respeto a los otros como por dignidad y salud personal—, una higiene prolija” (CIAMI 2000: 63).

<sup>52</sup> “Hay que resaltar la importancia del baño diario y si en un comienzo no se tiene dinero para comprar los artículos de uso personal (desodorante, pasta de dientes, cepillo, etc.) lo mejor es pedir un adelanto a la dueña de casa para tal fin” (CIAMI 2000: 63).

domestic laborers is posited as yet another racial marker, contrasting with the bundled understandings of indigeneity, dirt, and lack of hygiene. Through carefully managed bodily practices, employers can foster a neo-colonial civilizing process for their employees and migrants can strive to embody ideas of whiteness and civilization.

The hygiene practices of migrant domestic laborers are sometimes deemed as necessitating employer intervention. One employer remembered being called about a migrant who had previously worked for her.

They called me about this girl, for a recommendation. A woman called me and began to ask me, “So, what is going on is that I have this girl right here at my side, and I want to know if she is a good nanny.” “Yes,” I told her, I spoke to her and she responded, “okay, what is [the issue] is that she reeks.” I told her, “it’s that you should understand that she is just arriving back from Peru,” I said, “She’s probably coming from a trip of I don’t know how long, days and she is going around looking for work. Tell her, just instruct her that she must bathe. This is your issue, just tell her, ‘Listen, you must bathe every day.’” “Oh, okay, it’s just that she is very ungroomed.” The [potential employer] was crazy.<sup>53</sup>

Chilean employers often took a matter-of-fact tack in descriptions of their interactions with migrants around hygiene practices. The conversation about how the potential employee smells unfolded in front of the employee and suggests a level of dehumanization. But for Katerina, the issue was obvious, the potential employer should just be explicit in spelling out bathing expectations for her employee. Another Chilean employer, Maca, recounted her efforts to teach the migrant woman who worked for her proper hygiene practices.

*Maca:* The girl who I took on was young, and she didn’t have cleaning habits, then I had to like, to like teach her many things about personal hygiene.

*Megan:* I hadn’t thought about that.

*Maca:* Yes, it’s that she didn’t have money.

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<sup>53</sup> Me llamaron por esta niña, una recomendación, y me llama una señora y me empieza a preguntar, ‘ya, lo que pasa, es que esta niña está acá, está al lado mío, y yo quiero saber si es buena nana’, ‘sí’, le dije yo, le hablaba, le respondía, ‘Ah, ya, lo que pasa es que está hedionda.’ Le dije ‘es que entiende que ella viene llegando, de Perú, le dije, probablemente viene en un viaje de no sé cuántas horas, le dije yo. Días, y anda buscando trabajo... dile, dile que se bañe no más, o sea, ese es un tema tuyo, decirle, ‘oiga, báñese todos los días’, no más. ‘Ah, sí, es que no está muy bien aseada.’ La mujer loca, dije yo. (Interview Katerina, July 13, 2013).

*Megan:* Ah, of course.

*Maca:* For her, bathing with hot water was a thing, new. She came from the country. Because of this, then the connection we had, it was different with her. We had great affection for each other because I saw all of her failings, there was something every day, but it was important for her. Beautiful.<sup>54</sup>

Maca's narrative highlights her employee as impoverished, unskilled, rural, and lacking in awareness of hygiene, a succinct portrayal of the dominant indigenous associations. Maca also eagerly takes on her role as the "maternal" guide to her employee as she spent fifteen minutes detailing her affection for this young Peruvian woman and worrying that the woman's husband is now taking advantage of her and leading her astray. Maca was able to mold her employee into a docile body, one that fit with the norms of the Chilean household practices and posed less of a threat of contamination, although her concerns about the woman being led astray again suggest that Maca views this woman as always at risk of reverting to her former, less civilized self. The possible resurgence of less civilized ways of being (i.e. living in substandard housing and limits on being able to bathe regularly brought about by housing conditions) exemplifies the racial subtext to these conversations. This idea finds precedent in Briggs' discussion of how individuals are always at risk of the "underdeveloped self within" surfacing through the association of sanitation practices and disease (2003), as well as Hale's "insurrectionary Indian" which always threatens a violent reappearance no matter how integrated a person is in Guatemala's modern ways of life (Hale 2006). The staying power of the inner Indian

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<sup>54</sup> *Maca:* La chica que yo tomé era joven, no tenía hábitos de limpieza, entonces era como, como enseñarle muchas cosas, limpieza propia.

*Megan:* No había pensado en eso.

*Maca:* Sí, es que no tienen recursos.

*Megan:* Ajá, ah, claro.

*Maca:* Para ella bañarse, con agua caliente era una cosa... Nueva. Ella venía del campo. Nueva Sí, sí. Bueno, con el tema de los peruanos y bolivianos que llegan a hacer un trabajo menos calificado, Ellos son gente... yo diría, humilde. (Interview Maca, July 19, 2013).

suggests that for Chileans, constant monitoring of migrants and management of their behavior is needed to minimize the threat of contamination.

In addition to being constructed as a potential threat to national and household hygiene, migrants are also often racialized in connection to criminality, particularly theft. As with sanitary practices, the concerns about criminality surface in both national and household levels. Several employers interviewed brought up concerns about or experiences of theft.

I had another Peruvian [nanny] and imagine, this, this girl was a thief. She stole from me. She stole from me, not big things, but still. For example, we caught her one time, the backpack, we went through it. Because I would buy things and I realized that nothing remained, what happened. So, checking. And she would take, for example, milk, spaghetti, for the weekend to cook with of course. Oh, the rage. I had this bad experience with two people.<sup>55</sup>

Seen in both this recounting and in Barbara's experience described at the beginning of the chapter, employer oversight often takes the form of surveillance cameras, revision of bags before they leave for their day off, and in extreme (and illegal) cases, the confiscation of employee passports to limit their potential ability to travel. The larger stereotypes of migrant criminality that circulate in the news and public discourse emphasize the perceived risks of having migrants in the house and help create a climate in which surveillance is deemed necessary and naturalized.

Other employers also noted the more mundane everyday necessity of monitoring, limiting, and to some extent controlling what their domestic laborers touched, prepared, and consumed.<sup>56</sup> These narratives chronicle Chilean efforts to delineate boundaries and to

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<sup>55</sup> Tuve otra peruana, y fíjate que esta, esta cabra era, era ladrona, me robaba. Me robaba, pero no grandes cosas, pero sí...por ejemplo, la pillamos una vez, la mochila, la revisamos... porque yo compraba cosas y me daba cuenta de que no me quedaba nada, qué pasaba... entonces revisando, y se robaba ponte tú, una leche, los tallarines, para el fin de semana, para cocinarse pues. Oh... qué rabia. Esa mala experiencia tuve con esas dos personas. (Interview Katerina, July 13, 2013).

<sup>56</sup> Numerous migrant research participants spoke at length about the food rules in the households where they worked. Migrants in Chilean households are frequently barred from eating how they would at home.

maintain expected orderly practices. For example, the use of separate dinnerware is common.

Last year I started a job, and for me it was shocking. The Misses gave me, she isolated my plate [and utensils] as if I was a sick person. She gave me a teacup, she told me, “these are going to be your things for you, for your breakfast, your things.” I felt as if she thought of me, I think that not even for my pet, I wouldn’t even give a broken plate or teacup to my pet, and that is what she gave me. “This is your dinnerware.”<sup>57</sup>

Reserving some plates for the family’s use and older, broken ones for the domestic laborer connects to the idea of the potentially contaminating presence of migrants in Chilean households. Furthermore, separate plates are a material embodiment of the hierarchical relationship, one mediated by the creation of social and racial distinctions.

In discussing the need for food limits and the food practices of migrant domestic laborers, Norma, an affluent young Chilean professional, recounted:

Sometimes they go overboard. They eat so much. For example, the other day I had to chastise Isabel because she [and the other domestic laborer] had eaten a cake, and they said that it was my daughter. . . sometimes you have to, to restrain them, to tell them ‘not that.’ For example, [my spouse] bought ham that was more expensive. Then, I told her, ‘Isabel, don’t eat that one, eat the one that I brought home’ because [my spouse] eats one that, you know, has fat, and I eat one that is cheaper, it’s turkey cold cuts, you know. I don’t even [eat that] every day. I am used to eating, I like bread with [just] butter, you know.<sup>58</sup>

It is the *patron* or *patrona*’s responsibility to care for their *empleada* by providing healthy, nurturing food—something that Norma is quick to emphasize that she does. But

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Employers often insist that migrant domestic laborers refrain from eating expensive items or eat leftovers, leaving migrants subject to their employers’ food preferences and expectations.

<sup>57</sup> El año pasado entré a un trabajo, y para mí fue chocante. La señora me dio... me separó el servicio como si yo fuese una persona... enferma. Me dio una taza... me dice ‘esa va a ser tus cosas para que tú... para tu desayuno, tus cosas...’ me sentí como si pensaría... Yo creo que yo ni a mi mascota de mi mascota le pongo un plato roto o una taza rota, y ella me lo puso. ‘Ese... ese es tu servicio’. (Interview Monica, May 20, 2013).

<sup>58</sup> Norma: A veces, se pasan para la punta... Comen mucho. Entonces... el otro día, por ejemplo, yo tuve que retar a la Isabel porque se... habían comido un queque, que dieron que fue mi hija, y fue la...o sea, igual a veces hay que... que... frenarlas, y decirles, ‘esto, no’. Por ejemplo [mi marido] se compra un jamón, que es más caro, entonces... Yo le digo ‘Isabel, no coma de ese, coma del que traigo...’, porque [mi marido] come uno, no sé, con grasa, y yo como uno... que es más barato, que es jamón de pavo, no sé. Y tampoco todos los días, si yo estoy acostumbrada a comer... me gusta el pan con mantequilla, cachay, no sé. Pero sí hay gallas que siempre han tenido, y si... y son,... son pesadas. (Interview Norma, July 9, 2013).

she also highlights how it is proper for the working relationship for the *empleada* not to assume standards that are too high, i.e. eating cake at will and partaking of the expensive deli meats. Here, these negotiations of what food is appropriate and for whom addresses how food becomes a means of constructing social, class, and racial boundaries between employers and employees. This story also lends itself to a Foucauldian analysis, in which discipline and the panopticon come in to play (Foucault 1977) as Chilean employers oversee migrant food consumption to ensure that practices align with their expectations and that migrants do not take advantage of them. These narratives of surveillance and disciplining highlight the tension surrounding household food practices as well as the work necessary to ensure proper employee discipline and household order.<sup>59</sup>

Recursive disciplining strategies work to mold Peruvian migrants into docile bodies. Just as Chilean border authorities have the right to prohibit entry to any individual for any reason, Chilean employers sometimes also choose to limit Peruvian mobility, most frequently by not entrusting house keys to the *empleadas*, but also by sometimes (illegally) holding the *empleadas*' passports. Additionally, just as customs officials at the border search bags and persons, Chilean employers mimic these monitoring strategies. Migrants often reported having their bags checked by their employers every week as they left the house, and a couple Chilean employers reported monitoring what resources their *empleadas* had access to in the house and what they left with. Drawing on a Foucauldian framework, these are examples of discipline that aim to construct a specific subjectivity, in this case a docile labor force that benefits both the state as well as the household.

Furthermore, as migrants are molded into the submissive employee, Chileans are able to

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<sup>59</sup> These modern household negotiations bear resemblance to the bodily disciplining and its role in constructing and managing racial difference chronicled by work on colonial encounters. (See for example: Anderson 2006; Stoler 2002, 1995).

further produce and naturalize national distinctions. As they reinforce these distinctions, Chilean employers emphasize national identity as superior and more “cultured,” in contrast to the associations tied to indigeneity that they perceive migrant domestic laborers as embodying.

### ***Conclusion***

Domestic labor has a long history of racialization. Racial distinctions within domestic labor were first reproduced nationally. In light of the current migration, domestic labor relationships construct racial, social, and class boundaries, reproducing inequalities across borders and positioning Chilean employers as transnational consumers of migrant labor. Chilean employers attest to the preferential hiring of migrant domestic laborers who are seen as more willing to adhere to the “appropriate attitude,” i.e. embrace the traditional *patron - empleada* relationship. Migrant submissiveness and the crafting of a docile body (Foucault 1977, see also Stoler 2002) are strongly emphasized in these labor relationships. In desiring and hiring for racialized characteristics, Chilean employers are positioned in contrast to the perceived “traditional” workers, again furthering the processes of racialization. Migrant association with domestic labor is a strong stereotype and in Chilean discussions of migration, this discourse contributes to the hypervisibility of migrants within this important sector of the job market. However, as migrant presence in Chilean households is closely managed and docile bodies are molded, the everyday presence of migrants in upper-class households lends invisibility to the individual workers, even as the general presence of migrants in this workforce remains a polemic topic. Through their interest in migrant domestic labor, Chileans

engage migrant racialization both by positioning themselves as modern, opposed to the perceived “traditional” association with migrant domestic laborers, and by engaging in a relationship of transnational consumption.

## CHAPTER 5: CONTESTED SPACES OF MIGRATION

At the time that I interviewed her, Nelly was 35-year-old woman from Peru. Her two children lived with their grandparents in Lima. Two years before we met, Nelly had been struggling to keep her parents and children fed, dressed, and outfitted with household and school supplies. A neighbor had told her that she could easily find work in Chile, earn enough to support her family, and—most importantly for Nelly—finance post-secondary education for her children, a possibility that might afford them a more economically stable life.

For these reasons, Nelly chose to migrate. She arrived in Santiago after a 50 hour bus trip, exhausted and disoriented. It was a cool winter evening, and she was not sure where to go. She debated staying in one of the buildings that rented out rooms near the bus station, but she saw mostly men standing near the entrances to the closest options and worried about her security. Nelly had heard of a Peruvian community near Santiago's central Plaza de Armas where many migrants gathered, and, thinking this might offer safer options, she hailed a cab. Nelly reported that she had paid double the normal rate for the cab, but she had felt unable to navigate Santiago's public transit. Arriving in the plaza, Nelly was fortunate to find a group of Peruvian women, one of whom allowed her to stay in her room for the night. The following morning, the woman brought her to a migrant center which had a shelter and hiring hall. Nelly stayed there for two weeks before she found employment as a live-in domestic laborer.

At that point, Nelly's life in Chile had settled into a routine. She lived and worked in a house in Lo Barnechea, an upper-class suburb of Santiago, nestled into the foothills of the Andes. The family she worked for had three children. While the children were at

school, Nelly would clean the house. In the afternoons, she juggled childcare, ironing, and preparing the evening meal. Her weeks played out in a routine, and Nelly's time in this upper-class area was spent largely within the house and walled yard. Her most frequent excursions involved taking the children to nearby parks, accompanying them as they biked around the neighborhood, and occasionally walking to a local store to buy a missing ingredient.

On Saturday afternoons, Nelly traveled an hour and a half to the center of Santiago to spend her day off. The long bus and metro rides ate into her free time, and encounters on public transportation often made her feel distinctly unwelcome, like when women she sat next to would scoot farther away from her or when people would ask her directly where she was from. When Nelly reached the area near the Plaza de Armas, her first stop was a calling center. After talking with her family, she did necessary errands in the nearby shops and then often joined friends for strolls in nearby parks. In the evening, Nelly would go to the migrant center, where she could stay overnight for a small fee. After several months, Nelly decided to rent a shared room near the plaza with two friends. More expensive than staying at the migrant center, this option afforded Nelly a space that felt like it was her own. She only slept there on Saturday and Sunday nights, but she liked having a space where she could retreat to and where she could leave her possessions. Nelly's room was a partitioned area within a larger room that was part of a dilapidated house. The room was made of plywood, windowless, and had one electrical outlet. The bathroom was shared among five rooms, and there were no cooking facilities. At the time that I interviewed her, Nelly was still living in this shared room. She had left

her original job so that she could take an extended summer vacation and visit her children. Nelly had recently returned from Lima and was looking for a new position.

Nelly's story is not an uncommon one, and it illustrates the complicated migrant experiences of Santiago. Nelly's arrival highlights the centrality of the Plaza de Armas for many migrants, both in their arrival and during their lives in Santiago. Her experiences with housing and transportation demonstrate some of the ways racial discrimination mediates migrant use of the city. The juxtaposition posed between Nelly's engagements with public spaces in upper class suburbs versus the central city are emblematic of migrant experiences in Santiago and emphasize the ways in which migrants are seen or not; are made visible or invisible. In these different spaces, Nelly's employment and markers of her employment, such as the children she escorts, the uniform she dresses in, and even the walls she largely works behind, help make her presence in this upper-class area legible to Chileans who she might encounter. These markers construct her as a docile worker contributing in an expected way and having an appropriate reason for being in this space. Nelly's physical embodiment of a docile body help make her presence in the upper-class area in which she works less visible. Out of her uniform and on the bus or in the plaza, Nelly, like many migrants, then becomes hyper visible and subject to discipline. This chapter charts how migrant visibility and race are connected to a particular space, Santiago's Plaza de Armas.

For Nelly and for many other migrants, the Plaza de Armas is an important community space. Migrant narratives about the plaza point to the site as the central location through which migrant social relationships connect. It is also a site where transnational ties, via call centers and the sale of goods from other nations among other

things, map onto city space. Most importantly, migrants report feelings of belonging or spatial affect tied to this site. The experiences and social networks linked to the plaza suggest that it has been crafted as a space of migration, despite ever-present Chilean contestation of migrant right to the city (Lefebvre 1996, Purcell 2002, Harvey 2008). I argue that the simple presence of migrants at this important site is an everyday insurgent use of public space (Holston 2008, Hou 2010), in that their presence counters the dominant status quo of who belongs in the space while asserting their right to be there and to be in Chile.

Migrant use of the Plaza de Armas has not gone unnoticed. Migrant concentration in downtown Santiago and use of public space is highlighted as essential to the creation of migrant visibility. Stefoni notes that the high concentration of Peruvian migrants in the Metropolitan Region is partially what “enables the understanding of their great visibility” (2004: 322). In an early study on migration, Araujo argues that Peruvian migration is more visible than Argentinean migration because Peruvian migrants “have used public spaces like the Plaza de Armas” (Araujo et al. 2002: 37). In other research on migration, Ducci and Rojas explore “the most visible migrant group, Peruvian citizens . . . [and] the ways in which these new migrants use and appropriate urban space, as well as the effects that they are producing on the structures and functioning of the city” (2010: 97). The idea of migrant visibility plays a particularly large role in the work of Chilean anthropologist Garcés (2014, 2012, 2011, 2007; Lube G. and Garcés 2014). His general framework on the topic follows:

The immigrant element in the territory of the city of Santiago has had and continues to have a notorious visibility in urban space, and whether it results as an outcome of their insertion in the workforce or from their particular leisure practices and communal socialization, Peruvian migration to Santiago transforms and appropriates the city. (Garcés H. 2007: 2).

In light of the crafting of migrant visibility—in both academic and public discourse—the insurgent use of space becomes more complex. Migrant use of the Plaza de Armas illustrates spatial ties to racialization and disciplining actions, as well as rising stakes over migrant right to the city and vulnerability to discrimination. Here, I explore the connections of migrant visibility with discourses of racialization that link migrants to the iconic space of the Plaza de Armas.

Even when posited critically, migrant visibility in academic literature is seen both as a static social fact as well as directly dependent on migrant practices. If migrants are visible simply because they use a space, then why are the thousands of domestic workers in upper-class neighborhoods not as visible as those who sit on benches in the Plaza de Armas? And if migrants are visible because they engage in informal commerce, then why are the food sellers downtown stigmatized while the orange juice vendors at uptown subway stations are spoken about as contributing to the city? Visibility is not a static social fact, and here, I explore the social processes that construct migrant visibility. I argue that visibility is explicitly linked to practices of racialization and that contestations over migrant use of public space work to heighten this visibility and reproduce an understanding of migrant use of space as an ever more alarming practice.

Chilean actions, perceptions, and involvement in producing migrant visibility are notably absent. In this chapter, I explore the multiple and ongoing contestations over migrant use of the Plaza de Armas as one way in which Chileans participate in producing this spatially-mapped migrant visibility. Contestations over the plaza are centrally about practices of racialization, ones that construct a powerful racial and spatial connection between migrants and this important public space. Here, the dual practices involved in

migrant racialization come through in a different way. In this example, Chilean national identity practices are engaged with through the myriad ways in which the plaza is contested. For many Chileans, migrant use of public space, and in particular the plaza, is an incursion upon their nation and a site of national importance. Thus, Chilean contestations of migrant presence in the Plaza de Armas both challenge migrant right to the city as well as emphasizes the site as a fundamental part of Chilean social memory—even if Chilean research participants note that they do not actually use the space any more. As migrants are continually linked to the plaza, this association becomes so strong, that it is then used to discipline migrants along racial and spatial lines. The plaza becomes a social boundary and a way in which racial difference can be marked.

### *Migration and Urban Change in Santiago*

Migration and urbanization are intricately tied together. Historically, urban areas developed by drawing both resources and labor to emerging cities (Wirth 1938, Castells 1977). Globally, most migrants settle in cities, comprising “a uniquely urban phenomenon” (Benton-Short and Price 2008). This dialectical relationship between migration and urbanization lies at the heart of Davis’ (2000) assertion that migrants physically and socially transform urban areas. The contestation of migrant use of the Plaza de Armas offers one example of the ways in which social relations are spatialized (Low 2000). However, this one important public space sits within the larger urban area and demonstrates just one—albeit highly salient—impact of migration on the city. Thus, I briefly outline three important urban trends that affect migrant experiences in Santiago and frame discussions of the Plaza de Armas.

As a nation, Chile is highly centralized geographically (de Mattos 2015). In 1970, Santiago was home to 3.2 million people, accounting for 36% of the national population, but by 2012 the city was home to more than 7 million people, accounting for 42% of the Chilean population (INE 1972, 2012).<sup>60</sup> Due to Santiago's notable concentration of the national population, its residents play a vital role in both the national economy and the perception and construction of the nation—an issue that is hotly debated in conversations about migration. Holston and Appadurai (1996) highlight cities as the central, and pivotal, space in which citizenship is produced. Moreover, I argue that given the centralization of the Chilean population, civic engagement in Santiago is also significant for the construction of the Chilean nation. Thus, I argue that Chilean - migrant interactions in the city are understood as national identity practices.



Figure 5.1 depicts the ongoing replacement of older, low-rise homes with high-rise apartment buildings in central Santiago. In the area pictured, many of the low-rise homes are subdivided and rented, often to migrants. Middle-class families, young professionals, and college students often live in central high-rise

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<sup>60</sup> Chile is Latin America's second most centralized nation, after Uruguay. Montevideo is home to 1.7 million people, accounting for 51% of the nation's total population (INE Uruguay 2011). As a point of comparison, Buenos Aires is home to 30% of the Argentine population (INDEC 2010) and Lima is home to 31% of the population (INEI 2007).

apartments, which range from 280 square feet one-bedroom apartments to 500 square feet two-bedroom apartments (See for example: Portal Inmobiliario, <http://www.portalinmobiliario.com/> or Euro Inmobiliario, <http://www.euroinmobiliaria.cl/>).

From its founding through the present, Santiago's development exemplifies aspirations of modernity, order, and global integration. From the European architects who were enticed into designing buildings and planning early versions of the city to the current incorporation of skyscrapers, LEED-certified buildings, bike share programs, below-ground highways, the metro, and malls, Santiago's ongoing modernity project often draws on European and North American norms, ideas, and markers to construct the city—and by extension the nation—as orderly, advanced, and cosmopolitan. Larraín posits that there is an inescapable tension between the Chilean pursuit of modernity and the construction of Chilean identity (2001: 135-137, 2004: 38). In contrast, Subercaseaux (1996) argues that modernity often privileges neoliberal and technocratic goals over humanistic or cultural interpretations of modernity, noting that appropriations of foreign products and ideas are anathema to a real engagement with Chilean-ness. Building on Larraín's work, I argue that the Chilean pursuit of modernity often explicitly mobilizes products and ideas from Europe and North America to construct the Chilean nation as more closely aligned to global influences, aspiring for the nation to be seen in light of northern markers of modernity and global indexes of whiteness. Often these markers are written on the urban landscape, from the seventy-five Starbucks locations that opened over the last ten years (Starbucks 2013) to the 7.5 million square foot mall at the base of Latin America's tallest skyscraper—anchoring the “Sanhattan” financial district. By contrast, migrants are often racialized along the lines of indigenous peoples with traditional practices or as from still developing nations. In this way, migrant use of the

city is often understood by Chileans as a juxtaposition between traditional and modern, and thus, poses a threat to Santiago's pursuit of modernity.

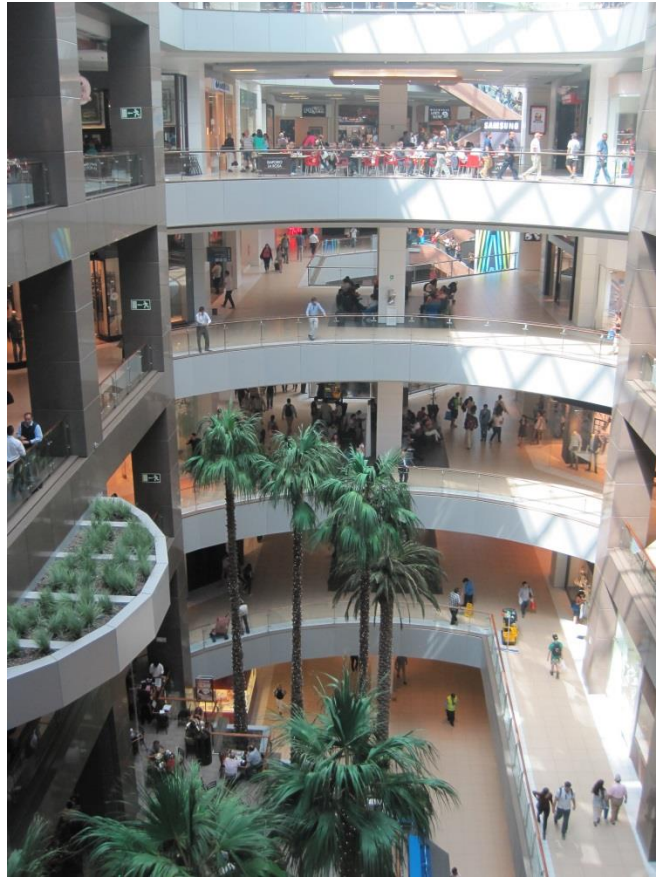


Figure 5.2 shows the seven-story Costanera Center mall, located at the base of Latin America's tallest skyscraper, within the region of Santiago known as the "Sanhattan" financial district.



Figure 5.3 shows Latin America’s tallest skyscraper, the Gran Torre Santiago, which anchors the region of Santiago known as the “Sanhattan” financial district.

Inequalities and socio-economic differences are frequently mapped onto city spaces and residential lay-out. While physical separation of socioeconomic classes has a long history in Santiago, divisions became more pronounced under the Pinochet (1973-88) dictatorship (Navia 2004), due to economic liberalization and deregulation (de Mattos 2015). There has been a growing spatial and socio-economic segmentation of the city (de Mattos 2015), with movement away from the historic core—where migrants often settle and use public spaces. These changes have fostered multiple urban cores. In these new sub-centers, public space is re-imagined and constructed in light of greater reliance on automobiles and greater class segregation. The new public spaces are increasingly linked to commerce and have the potential to re-shape urban citizenship, exacerbating divisions

along class lines and fostering an “implosion of modern public life” –as Caldeira notes for Brazil—in which fear and segregation lead to increasingly divided cities (Caldeira 2000). In this urban dynamic, migrants often settle in the historic core, counteracting some of the effect of residential movement toward the outskirts of the city. Additionally, work opportunities often place migrants in a position in which they cross city divisions as they travel from home to work.



Figure 5.4 is a map of Santiago. The four districts with the highest migrant population include Santiago, Independencia, Recoleta, and Estación Central (shaded in blue). The three areas where migrant domestic laborers (and many other migrant laborers) most frequently work include Las Condes, Lo Barnechea, and Providencia (shaded in red). The Plaza de Armas is located in the district of Santiago, marked by the red flag.

Social scientists have long touted the role of urban public spaces, particularly streets, sidewalks, and—especially in Latin America—plazas as central sites for civic engagement and the negotiation of social roles, responsibilities, and divisions (Caldeira 2000, Holston and Appadurai 1999, Jacobs 1992[1961], Zukin 1995). In Santiago, the Plaza de Armas offers a salient example of the delineation of new social boundaries between Chileans and Latin American migrants. The plaza has been historically crafted as an important Chilean site, and the plaza continues to be produced as a national symbol. Currently, migrant everyday use of the space constructs new spatial associations, facilitates migrant belonging, and contests Chilean representational frames of this important place. Associations surrounding migrant use of the Plaza de Armas highlight strong negative stereotypes, many of which build on racial associations. These representations emphasize a paradox of order; even as migrants are crafted as only “belonging” in the Plaza de Armas, their actual use of that space is seen as a threat to Santiago’s order and modernity. In making these associations, Chileans often laminate ideas of order/disorder, space, and migrant bodies, highlighting the practices of racialization that frame discussions of the new migration.

### ***Producing the Plaza as a Space of Migration***

*Plazas are spatial representations of Latin American society and social hierarchy. Citizens battle over these representations because they are so critical to the definition and survival of civil society. Plazas are also centers of cultural expression and artistic display reflected in their changing designs and furnishings. And finally, plazas are settings for everyday urban life where daily interactions, economic exchanges, and informal conversations occur, creating a socially meaningful place in the center of the city. —Setha Low (2000: 33)*

“*The whole world goes and gets together there*” – Beti, migrant woman from the Dominican Republic

As in other Latin American cities, the Plaza de Armas is a central site of city life in Santiago. Despite urban changes and population movement towards the peripheries of the city, the plaza remains a bustling space, full of multiple activities and a varied tapestry of individuals. On a daily basis, the mixture of people regularly includes: all types of individuals entering and exiting the subway; business people walking to and from work dressed in suits; children out with their parents, running around, playing on the statues, or being pushed in strollers; workers taking coffee breaks; older men trying to pick up younger (often migrant) women; indigent people talking amongst themselves; mounted police observing the action and sometimes intervening; evangelical preachers proclaiming via a speaker system; artists selling their work in established stalls; comedians performing on the steps of the cathedral to circles of onlookers; shoppers loaded down with bags; and tourists snapping photographs. Like any vibrant public space, the Plaza de Armas has a rhythm and life to it, with multiple groups and diverse individuals ever present; it hosts a shifting kaleidoscope of activities, events, and everyday encounters.



Figure 5.5: Plaza de Armas on a Sunday afternoon, with traditional and modern architectural influences meeting in the background. The cathedral overlooks crowds of passersby. A class of physical education teachers try to encourage onlookers to dance with them, as migrants walk by.



Figure 5.6: Sunday afternoon at the Plaza de Armas after the 2014 remodeling.

Santiago's Plaza de Armas is the public space most closely tied to migration, both within the Chilean imagining of the space and within migrants' narratives of their experiences in the city. For this reason, I frequently conducted observations and met with research participants in the plaza. One Sunday afternoon in July 2013, I went to the plaza. As I approached the space, I saw a Peruvian woman who I had interviewed. She was with a man who she introduced as her husband. We talked about how her most recent job was working out, and she told me that she and her husband had just gone shopping at the city's largest market, nodding to their overflowing pushcart. They were walking home to make a late Sunday lunch for their son. I wished them well and made my way to a bench facing the plaza's northern promenade. I sat, sipping tea to ward off the winter chill and observing the individuals and groups using the space. The two women on the adjacent bench nodded at me as I sat down and continued their animated discussion. One woman noted that "each country defines itself by the way they talk, their slang." Her friend then started a litany of emphatically-said Chilean phrases, "Sí po," "puuuuucha." But the first woman countered, complaining that Chileans often use Peruvian linguistic markers when they talk to her. "They always say to me, 'you are from Peru, pe.' They say 'pe' to me so much; it's in style to say 'pe.'" The women quickly moved on to discuss their children and grandchildren.

Along the promenade, groups of teenagers were gathering. Some had florescent green smocks with logos that they put on when they joined the group, others had flags that they gathered around. One boy enthusiastically waved a six-foot Chilean flag with the face of Jesus superimposed on the fabric, and two girls unrolled an eight-foot banner

bearing an image of Mary and baby Jesus. The groups of teenagers assembled over the course of a half an hour, before making their way to the cathedral.

As the teens gathered, two dads were offering their kids handmade plantain chips that are often sold on the street and are popular with the migrant users of the plaza. The kids would run after pigeons, chase them off, then return to their fathers for more snacks. A woman walked by speaking on a cell phone and I heard her say in a Peruvian accent, “Where the horse is, where the horse is. That’s okay. I’ll be waiting where the horse is” (referring to the mounted statue of Pedro de Valdivia, Chile’s founder). After hanging up, she went to sit on the base of the monument, where she waited for twenty minutes before another woman came by and the two headed north, toward many of the small, migrant-run businesses and the city’s central marketplace. Small groups of tourists got off a double-decker tour bus, and took photos of the plaza and the Pedro de Valdivia statue, as another small boy used the base of the statue as a playground, climbing up, jumping off, and occasionally calling out to his mother who was sitting nearby on a bench.

After an hour, I strolled around the plaza, passing benches of women, men, and less frequently, children. As I walked, I heard snatches of conversation and several accents, suggesting Peruvian, Bolivian, Dominican, and Chilean use of the plaza. I ran into another migrant woman who I had interviewed months before. I stopped to say hello and to catch up about where she was currently working, since I had not seen her recently at the migrant center. She told me that she had found employment through a private agency, and was working as a daily—rather than live-in—domestic laborer. We caught up about her plans for the future and about mutual acquaintances, and she told me that another acquaintance was sitting in the next row of benches. I went over to say hello to

the other woman, and she introduced me to her friend, all the while keeping a vigilant eye on her three-year old son's exploration of the dirt and plants at the base of one of the plaza's palm trees. I told the women that our mutual acquaintance had pointed me in their direction, and they turned to wave at her. I noted that I had seen several people that I knew in the plaza and commented how great it was to see familiar faces. At this, the women merely smiled, shrugged, and responded that this was just how the plaza was, that there were always familiar people around. The women said that they were just planning on spending another hour in the plaza; they had been seeking an afternoon outing and a place to let the boy run around for a while, outside the confines of a small room. After chatting a little longer, I said goodbye, wished them well, and headed home (Field notes July 7, 2013).

This account developed from my field notes illustrates the typical vibrancy and everyday interactions that play out in the Plaza de Armas. From teenagers gathering in an early celebration honoring Chile's patron saint (the Virgen del Carmen) to tourists snapping photos to migrants catching up with each other on their day off, this afternoon showcases the multiple stakeholders who use the plaza in very different ways. Migrants use the Plaza de Armas as a place for encounter, where individuals meet up with friends and acquaintances, where people who do not want to be alone go for company, a place where celebrations take place for migrant groups (like Peru's Señor de los Milagros procession and Bolivia's festivities for the Virgin of Copacabana), a day laborer hiring location (alongside the cathedral), a place to find services targeting migrants (i.e. calling centers, money exchanges, stores with goods from other places, etc.), and the southern point of an emerging Peruvian enclave.



Figure 5.7: Peru's Señor de los Milagros procession just after it passed through the Plaza de Armas.



Figure 5.8: Bolivia's festivities for the Virgin of Copacabana, celebrated in front of the cathedral.



Figure 5.9: Businesses targeting migrant customers line the street across from the Cathedral.

Santiago's Plaza de Armas is linked to migration through both everyday practice and symbolic associations. As one Chilean research participant succinctly noted, the Plaza de Armas is “a Chilean icon, but symbolically so Peruvian these days.”<sup>61</sup> Contestations over the meaning and use of the plaza reflect “a war of cultural values and visions of appropriate behavior and societal order” (Low 2000: 128). As Chileans increasingly imagine the plaza in terms of migrant use, everyday activities in the plaza take on new meaning. For migrants, simply being in the plaza is an act of resistance. Everyday practices allow users to “re-appropriate the space organized by techniques of sociocultural production” (De Certeau 1984: xiv). In this way, migrant presence in the plaza resists the dominant Chilean norms and desires for this space, crafting this site as a space of migration.

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<sup>61</sup> “Simbólica chilena, pero tan simbólicamente peruana hoy en día.” (Interview Mateo, July 23, 2013).

The blocks spreading north from the Plaza de Armas are an emerging enclave and the geographic heart of the Peruvian community in Santiago (Tijoux 2007). In light of inadequate or non-existent housing, public space takes on growing importance, and the plaza's location is key to its use by migrant populations. As Ilda, a Bolivian woman reported:

In the Plaza de Armas, that's where I am. . . I don't have anywhere I can go, so I go there Sundays. . . I go to Mass first, then I go for breakfast. I'm Catholic, [so] I go to Mass there at the Cathedral. From there, it is then time for me to have lunch. I have lunch at the [central market].<sup>62</sup>

Ilda works as a domestic laborer and during her day off, she is encouraged to leave the house where she works, leaving her dependent upon public and community spaces. In her discussion, Ilda emphatically constructs her engagement with and use of space in a wholesome and pious way, suggesting that as a church-goer she is not in need of the plaza's added surveillance cameras and security guards and implicitly challenging the racialized stereotypes surrounding migrant use of this space. For migrants, the plaza is a third place (Oldenberg 1989), an informal gathering place different from home and work, one which is crucial for individual and community well-being.

The Plaza de Armas represents the spatial node for migrant social relationships in Santiago. As in Nelly's example discussed at the outset, for many migrants, word of the Plaza de Armas and its role in migrant communities reaches them before they even reach Santiago. Ana, a Peruvian migrant, recounted that upon her arrival in Santiago:

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<sup>62</sup> En la Plaza de Armas, allí estoy. . . . No tengo donde ir entonces me voy los domingos. Voy a misa. De allí ya es hora de almorzarme. Almorzar a la Vega que dices. De allí me vengo, esa sombra que me encuentra. . . . Voy a la plaza, voy a misa lo primero, voy al desayuno, voy a misa, soy católica, allí a la catedral. Allí estoy. De allí ya es hora de almorzarme. Almorzar a la Vega que dices. (Interview Ilda, Feb. 5, 2013).

I didn't have, I didn't have anyone. With just one compatriot who I met in the Plaza de Armas and who brought me here [to the migrant center] and from there I met everyone, everyone.<sup>63</sup>

The perception of the plaza as a migrant public space and information hub extend far beyond Chilean borders, indicative of what Lefebvre describes as a representational space of “symbolisms, sometimes coded...linked to the...underground side of social life” (1991[1974]: 33). These narratives indicate the word of mouth transmission about the centrality and importance of the Plaza de Armas and the strength of this new layer of representational space. The plaza offers Nelly, Ana, and others like them, a space where individuals can connect to migrant social capital and can tap into a variety of resources (such as jobs, housing, and health care). This space of encounter often enables individuals to quickly establish friendships, join groups, and become part of communities. Arrival stories often feature the Plaza de Armas as central to settling and living in Santiago. The space is important as a nexus to social relationships, and provides a spatial grounding to many of these emergent friendships.

Despite discrimination, migrant narratives about the Plaza de Armas suggest that the Plaza is a space that migrants feel is theirs, and thus subsequently safe. This is not to suggest that discrimination, acts of violence, and structural disciplining, often by policing, do not occur. Rather, I argue that migrants often feel an affective connection to this space that is indicative of a feeling of belonging. Monica noted:

Sometimes you are walking in the Plaza de Armas, and ‘There’s a girl I know, one from my neighborhood . . .’ ‘Yes, hello!’ Yes, here in Chile we are so many Peruvians, half of Peru is here.<sup>64</sup>

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<sup>63</sup> “No tenía, a nadie tenía. Con una sola compatriota me he conocido en una Plaza de Armas, y me trajo acá, y desde ahí me conozco con toditos, con toditos.” (Interview Ana, November 16, 2012).

<sup>64</sup> “A veces uno está caminando por Plaza de Armas: ‘esa chica la conozco, es de mi barrio...’ ‘sí, hola!’ Sí, pues, es que acá en Chile haremos hartos peruanos, la mitad de Perú está acá.” (Interview Monica, May 20, 2013).

Monica ended her fond recounting of the Plaza in laughter. For Monica, her friends, and for many other migrants, the Plaza de Armas has become a space of comfort and a place where they can transcend their daily life in Chile by connecting to social, cultural, and material connections to their home countries. By their presence and engagement with individuals and activities located in the Plaza de Armas, migrants in Chile are producing the site collectively, investing it with meaning. As Harvey notes:

There is a politics to place construction ranging . . . across material, representational and symbolic activities which find their hallmark in the way individuals invest in places and thereby empower themselves collectively by virtue of that investment (1996: 323).

The recognition, community, and camaraderie that many migrants noted about the plaza point towards the site as a community focal point, where simply the act of being present contests dominant Chilean norms for the appropriate use of the space and feeds into the production of a migrant space.

### ***Producing a National Space***

The Plaza de Armas has always been an important Chilean site. Santiago was founded in 1541, and the city's planner followed the standard colonial Spanish grid-plan format, designing the city around a central plaza. Like other Latin American plazas, Santiago's Plaza de Armas was originally used for defense, military, and religious purposes. A church (later the cathedral), presidential residences, governmental buildings, the jail, and commercial centers were located around the plaza. The plaza was originally established as the symbolic as well as geographic center of Chile, marking kilometer zero, the point from which mileage in Chile was measured.

Much like the city of Santiago, the Plaza de Armas' physical space has reflected trends in urban planning and an embrace of modernity. Each iteration of redesign produces a new incarnation of the built plaza. For the first three hundred years, the Plaza de Armas was largely a flat and open space, later with the addition of a central fountain. In 1860, the first major redesign of the Plaza refashioned this space in line with European aesthetics at the time, creating a parklike fenced-off space filled with grass and plants. The plaza emphasized a park-like feel, full of exotic plants, until a large-scale transformation in 2000 redid the plaza and incorporated a new underground metro stop. At that time the green areas were largely removed in favor of planters, the plaza was paved, and along two sides of the plaza about ten meters were completely cleared, creating long esplanades (Colegio de Arquitectos de Chile 2000).

In 2014, new pavement, the addition of free Wi-Fi connectivity, LED lights, and closed circuit security cameras were added. Much like the plaza remodeling that Low describes in Costa Rica (2000), the closure of this site temporarily forced migrants out, and allowed political and planning officials to address what they perceived to be space's most pressing needs. The focus on technological upgrades and security-minded additions indicates that city officials wanted to address fears of criminality. It is also important to note that the "free Wi-Fi" requires users to log in with a Chilean ID number (Emol 2014). Santiago's mayor, Carolina Tohá, justified the plaza's upgrading and its year-long closure:

The improvement of the Plaza de Armas was urgent and necessary. . . . What we have done here is rescue an emblematic city space and give it the dignity it deserves. We have invested in modern cameras for TV surveillance and a system of guards to create security for the passersby, tourists, and visitors (Emol 2014).<sup>65</sup>

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<sup>65</sup> "El mejoramiento de la Plaza de Armas se hacía urgente y necesario.... Lo que hemos hecho acá es rescatar un espacio emblemático de la ciudad y darle la dignidad que se merece. Hemos invertido en

Tohá is a strong supporter of migrant rights and multiculturalism. However, her discussion of the need to “rescue” an important city site and the idea that the addition of surveillance cameras and guards might create “dignity” in the plaza must be read in the context of the plaza’s close symbolic connection with migration. In this light, her comments posit the new interventions as potentially mediating the migrant presence in the plaza or allaying Chilean fears over this presence.

Tohá’s comments ran in a newspaper article announcing the re-opening of the plaza. The article appeared in El Mercurio’s website (Emol 2014), and was followed by public commentary. The first comments included the following:

*David:* Have they removed the Peruvians as part of the remodeling??

*Mateo:* It’s ironic, the question should be; do Santiagans have the right to the plaza?

*Carolina:* Without wanting to attack our Peruvian brothers, I was wondering the same thing this morning.

*Marta:* I’m Chilean and I didn’t see Peruvians yesterday. It turned out beautiful and clean. Full of surveillance cameras.

*David:* Thanks Marta, and it’s not to discriminate, but the Peruvians who set up and sell their onion-based [foods] in their carts, truthfully, they make the downtown ugly, since it seems more like an eatery than a plaza. I hope they exert more oversight on them.

*Marta:* David, that’s the idea. To position downtown as a tourist attraction and dress it up. (Emol 2014)<sup>66</sup>

David jokingly frames Peruvian removal from the plaza as part of a cleaning-up process.

Mateo and Carolina also critique migrant use of the site, implying that it interferes with

Chilean use of the site. Mateo’s question, “do Santiagans have the right to the plaza?”

suggests that Chileans imagine social and spatial divisions as a zero sum proposition, i.e.

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modernas cámaras de televigilancia y un sistema de guardias para dar seguridad a transeúntes, turistas y visitantes.” (Emol 2014)

<sup>66</sup> *David:* habrán sacado a los peruanos como parte de la remodelación??

*Mateo:* Es ironía, la pregunta sería, ¿los santiaguinos tendrán derecho a la plaza?

*Carolina:* Sin ánimo de agredir a los hermanos peruanos, me preguntaba lo mismo en la mañana.

*Marta:* soy chilena y no vi peruanos ayer. quedó bonita y limpia. Llena de cámaras de vigilancia.

*David:* Gracias y que bueno no es por discriminar pero los peruanos q se ponen a vender sus encebollados en sus carros, la verdad afean harto el centro, ya parece cocinería más que plaza...ojala pongan un poco de control.

*Marta:* David Esa es la idea. Posicionar el centro como polo turístico y subirle el pelo. (Emol 2014)

if migrants use the plaza, then Chileans cannot or will not use the space. This question and Carolina's seconding of it hints at the extent of the social boundaries that exist between Chileans and migrants and recognizes the spatial boundaries elaborated along the lines of national origin. Marta rebuts their contentions by suggesting that they do not match the reality of the situation, and by positioning herself as a Chilean who uses this space. However, even Marta's commentary suggests a change, positing the clean, beautiful, secure plaza implicitly in contrast to the way it was before the remodeling. Notably, both Carolina and David couch their commentary in a hedge, so as to not "attack our Peruvian brothers" or "discriminate" against them. These hedges soften the commentators' stance toward migration, making it harder for people to dismiss them as anti-migrant. Remodeling, cleaning up, making the site beautiful, and keeping the area free of street food; these interventions are all linked to reducing or controlling the migrant presence in the plaza. Additionally, this framing of migrant use of the plaza as disorderly, ugly, or improper link to racialized stereotypes of migration discussed in Chapter 3. As Chilean public discourse continues to link the plaza to these enduring stereotypes, the space itself is increasingly racialized, such that guards, security cameras, and remodeling are needed to help re-instill the purity of the site.

Plazas—particularly each country's central one—are linked to the national project, seen as a quintessential urban public space, and continually built up and reiterated through representational work carried out through public gatherings, monuments, and events (Low 2000). In its iterations, Santiago's Plaza de Armas has been produced as a historical and national site, one that is rich in social memory. Throughout the plaza, there are monuments remembering the city's founder, Pedro de Valdivia; the

city's namesake, Saint James; Latin America's Independence; three Chilean cardinals, and Chile's native peoples (a recent addition unveiled in 1992). Also, along one promenade, engraved plaques line the ground, featuring a series of historic maps of Santiago, commemorating the construction of the Cathedral and honoring Pope John Paul II's visit to Chile. These monuments serve as physical reminders of Santiago's founding and the plaza's national importance, emphasizing national values. Further representational work occurs through events and activities. National folkloric dance festivals featuring the *cueca*; the annual celebration of the University of Chile's founding; historic photo exhibits; outdoor city-sponsored concerts; the annual procession to honor Chile's patron saint, La Virgen del Carmen; and other events continue to produce the Plaza de Armas as a space embodying Chile's national character.



Figure 5.10: Dancers performing the Chilean national dance, the *cueca*, are seen in this photo. Santiago's municipal government invites folkloric dance groups to perform most Sundays.

### *Contested Space*

As Santiago's Plaza de Armas has become the central gathering place for migrant communities, particularly Peruvian migrants, this association has left an indelible impression on how Chileans see the plaza. Chileans have not taken the change in either in migratory demographics or the use of the Plaza de Armas without comment, and migrant use of this space has garnered widespread attention, push-back, and public discourse. In response to my initial question about the Plaza de Armas, many Chilean research participants answered with terse associations, calling the situation: "lamentable," "a stigma," "symbolic," "revolting," "an ISSUE," "invaded," "robbery," and "packed," "teeming," always "full of Peruvians." Chileans interviewed pinpoint this site as centrally important to understanding migration to Chile, and the connotations embedded in their responses highlight the lamination of representations of the nation, migration, race, and stereotypes. One sympathetic Chilean noted about the situation of migrants in the city:

We haven't treated [migrants] well because we think of ourselves as superior. I believe we treated them badly. When one, in the street, when one goes about the Plaza de Armas, wow! One just looks at them because they are eating, because, they don't have anywhere to go to the bathroom. You see? And nobody has worried about this, so they get looked at in an ugly way. I think that they do not fare well here.<sup>67</sup>

Even while Maca has an empathetic view of migrant use of the plaza and also recognizes some Chilean complicity in the establishment of racialized stereotypes, she also identifies these stereotypes as unalterable behaviors. Eating in public and going to the bathroom in the street are practices that feed into Chilean discussions of migrant disorder and lack of

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<sup>67</sup> "No les hemos tratado bien. Por este creernos que somos superiores. Entonces los hemos tratado mal yo creo. Uno... en la calle, cuando anda ahí en la... plaza de armas, ay! Uno los, los mira porque están comiendo, porque... no tienen dónde ir al baño, te fijas? Y nadie se ha preocupado de eso... entonces los miran feo. Yo creo que ellos no lo pasan bien acá." (Interview Maca, July 19, 2013).

hygiene. They are also understandings that frame conversations like those heralding the cleaning up, beautifying, and remodeling of the plaza.

The comments about migrant use of this public space present racialized understandings of nation, modernity, and order. One politically-conservative Chilean woman explained the contrast between current and past use of the plaza by noting nostalgically, “it’s that when Pinochet was here, the nation was so orderly.”<sup>68</sup> Migrant use of this public space is seen as disorderly, and thus an incursion on the Chilean nation and destructive to the city. As one Chilean man noted of the Plaza de Armas, “that’s where the heavy resentments began, like the bad vibes, you know, the period that began the bad vibes with the people in the Plaza de Armas.”<sup>69</sup> The plaza is proffered as a spatial origin point for many of the stereotypes linked to migration and for the emerging frictions related to this new wave of migration. In short, the plaza becomes a multivocal kilometer zero; symbolic of the Chilean nation and ground zero for contested responses to the new migration. When discussions of the plaza are couched in language that emphasizes possible invasion, occupation, theft, disorderly behavior or even when conversations are positioned around the desire to make the plaza beautiful again—seen in the discussion of its remodeling—they suggest both Chilean dissatisfaction with migrant use of the plaza and they craft migrant engagements with the plaza as aligned with transgressions. These discourses subtly elaborate boundaries defining who the proper users are and what behavior is acceptable at the site.

For some Chileans, the current migrant use of the Plaza de Armas brings up an idealized reimagined past, of the plaza before it became associated with migration. One

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<sup>68</sup> “Es que, es que cuando estaba Pinochet, el país era ordenado pues.” (Interview Norma, July 9, 2013).

<sup>69</sup> “Ahí empezaron heavy los resquemores, así como la mala onda ¿cachái?, la época en que empezó la mala onda con la gente de la Plaza de Armas.” (Interview Mateo, July 23, 2013).

Chilean research participant fondly remembered the plaza as a site that she used to go to, one that was more than just a physical space.

It is a place to gather, to meet up. . . . But one that already it's like, it's getting a little less. There used to be more, yes, yes, Chileans used to use it a lot. . . 'Where should we meet?' 'In the Plaza de Armas.' 'What are we up for?' 'The Plaza de Armas, yes.'<sup>70</sup>

Among the Chileans I interviewed, the social memory of the past everyday use of the plaza was always constructed in contrast with their current movements and use of city spaces. Many Chilean research participants noted that it had been years since they had actually gone to the Plaza de Armas. One noted:

I never go downtown, rather, I, it must be eight years since I went downtown, and I . . . I never, never go downtown . . . But, based on what they have told me, my nannies, who go every Saturday and Sunday to meet up with their friends, every one. And they say that it is packed with Peruvians, more than Bolivians, all the same, it is full, full, full.<sup>71</sup>

Despite not actually going to the plaza herself, this woman remains invested in the space. Chileans often noted that they were aware of the plaza's current use through TV reports, news photos, friends' stories, and from what some of their domestic laborers told them. Even Chileans who do not actively engage or visit the Plaza de Armas, participate in crafting the social memory of a national site, constructing its importance, and imagining its current state. Through it all, the plaza as a quintessential Chilean space remains central to Chile's national social memory. Even while the geographic "kilometer zero" was long ago moved a mile away to the spot where the Panamerican highway crosses Santiago's principal boulevard, for many Chileans, the plaza remains Chile's symbolic and

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<sup>70</sup> "Es que una... es un centro de reunión, de encuentro. Eh... y, y ahí se... es como un punto fijo del mapa de Santiago, entonces ahí llega todo el que se quiera encontrar. Pero esto ya como que se está eliminando un poco. Antes era más. Era más, sí, sí. Usaban mucho el chileno... dónde nos encontramos? En plaza de Armas. Dónde estamos? En plaza de Armas. Sí." (Interview Francisca, July 21, 2013).

<sup>71</sup> "Es lo que uno escucha, y por lo que ve por la tele, pero que yo haya ido... no, no voy hace muchos años. me han contado, mis nanas, que van ellas, van todos los sábados y domingos a la Plaza de Armas. Ella va todos los domingos a la Plaza de Armas, a juntarse con sus amigos, todo. Y dice que está lleno de peruanos, más que bolivianos, pero igual, está lleno, lleno, lleno." (Interview Esperanza, July 26, 2013)

geographic heart. As one Chilean research participant repeated emphatically several times to me in an interview, “The Plaza de Armas is kilometer zero for Chile, it’s Chile’s center!”<sup>72</sup>

Ongoing practices of racialization connected to migrant use of the plaza follow a dual approach, emphasizing national connections to the space and distinguishing current migrant use in ways that reinforce racial stereotypes. In a conversation with two Chilean women, one initially noted, “It’s no longer the Plaza de Armas,” recognizing the transformation that has occurred, and almost ceding the space to migrants while also relegating it as a national space only in memory. As she commented, however, she was interrupted and corrected by the second woman: “It is no longer the *Chilean* Plaza de Armas, it is the Peruvian plaza, listen, and they don’t do anything, they are sitting there sunning themselves there.” Here, the second woman highlights the everyday use of the Plaza de Armas as a way to enact the nation, and in this case she views it as enacting and marking the space as Peruvian. Furthermore, she implies that they are not using the space properly, but only to relax and sunbathe. The women went on:

*Valentina:* And those are the ones who rob, those are the ones who do other things, why even think about it.

*Megan:* Are there many things like that that happen there, thefts? Are there many thefts?

*Valentina:* In the stores, of course!

*Pamela:* Yes, for example, we went in May when it was the Day of Cultural Patrimony. We reached the Plaza de Armas and it was full, and they were going around robbing.

*Megan:* It was a Sunday?

*Valentina:* And they were robbing.

*Megan:* How could you tell?

*Pamela:* The police who were on patrol there told us. They said to be careful because there were purse snatchers around.

*Valentina:* And you know that Peruvians are incredibly cunning; they walk around with a little thing with a magnet and they pickpocket.<sup>73</sup>

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<sup>72</sup> “Y date cuenta que la plaza de armas es el punto cero de Chile, es el centro de Chile!” (Interview Norma, July 9, 2013).

<sup>73</sup> *Megan:* La otra cosa que siempre me impresiona es la Plaza de Armas.

*Valentina:* Ah no es que esa es la plaza de los peruanos

*Pamela:* Ya no es la Plaza de Armas...

Here, Valentina and Pamela lament that the plaza is no longer Chilean, while crafting migrant users as inappropriately using space and as a threat to Chilean users. The women build their example from an experience traveling downtown for the biannual Day of Cultural Patrimony, when the government opens government buildings and important historic sites to the public. As part of their experience of the national celebration, they decided to go through the plaza, where they saw migrants. Apart from the warning from the policeman to be careful, no traumatic event took place. However, their trip reinforced both the racialized stereotypes that they hold of migrants as well as the idea of the plaza as solely a place of social memory, of the past. These comments are a common refrain and highlight the deeply embedded stereotypes linking migration, race, and this site.

Discussions of proper behavior—and more frequently improper behavior—construct boundaries that contrast with the proper racial boundaries exemplified by the idealized *patrón - empleada* relationship discussed in the previous chapter. Stereotypes often present associations of the plaza and its migrant users as embodying everything that goes against the image of the upstanding, hardworking, disciplined migrant who exhibits

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*Valentina:* Ya no es la Plaza de Armas de Chile, esa es la plaza de los peruanos, oye y no hacen nada, están calentándose al sol ahí

*Megan:* ¿Cómo descansando, juntando con amigos?

*Valentina:* Y esos son los que roban, esos son los que hacen otras cosas, porque imagínate

*Megan:* ¿Hay muchas cosas que pasan así allá, robos, hay muchos robos?

*Valentina:* En las tiendas po claro

*Pamela:* Sí, por ejemplo nosotros fuimos en mayo fue, cuando fuimos al día del Patrimonio cultural.

Llegamos ahí a la Plaza de armas, y estaba lleno, y andaban robando

*Megan:* En un día domingo?

*Valentina:* Y andaban robando

*Megan:* ¿Y cómo se dieron cuenta?

*Pamela:* Nos dijeron los carabineros que andaban como en punto fijo, dijeron que tuvieran cuidado porque andaba cartereando

*Valentina:* Y sabes tú que son re pillos los peruanos andan con una cosita que tiene imán y te sacan las billeteras.... (Interview Valentina and Pamela, July 20, 2013)

the proper Foucauldian “docile body” that Chileans look for when they hire migrant laborers. One Chilean employer described his employee to me:

For example, in the case of my, of my, of the girl that was the Peruvian who took care of me, that is Mari, she didn't participate in anything like that [gathering with migrant communities]. She's a very calm woman. I doubt that, that she's part of the group who go to the Plaza de Armas. She, she, on the contrary, she, when her family had just arrived here, the only thing that she wanted was to be with her family. She even has a cousin who is a nun. . . She's a very calm girl who, not, she doesn't mix with, nor with the group of Peruvians who sometimes throw huge parties.<sup>74</sup>

Here, Gerardo suggests the extent to which the plaza's reach spreads well beyond the plaza's physical limits and the strength of stereotypes associated with this important public space. In viewing migrants through a lens of direct connections to the plaza, Gerardo constructs his “girl” vis-a-vis behavioral norms and perceptions of the plaza, indicating what type of person his employee is through her perceived lack of an association with a space located an hour and fifteen minutes (via two buses) away from his neighborhood.

Chilean public discourse also emphasizes racialized stereotypes associated with the Plaza de Armas. In on-line newspaper commentary, racialization and the hypervisibility of migrants in public spaces is clear. Here, discussions of migrants as pigeons, Andean camelids (like alpaca and llama), and pigs are strong metaphors which racialize migrants as less than human (Santa Ana 2002) and which provide constitutive racial frames for Chileans, actively producing racialized understandings linking migration, race, and this important site (Hill 2008). In response to a newspaper article on migratory policy, one Chilean commentator noted:

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<sup>74</sup> “Por ejemplo, en el caso de mí, de mí, la niña que era peruana que me atendía a mí, que es la Mari, ella no participa en nada de eso. Ella es una mujer muy tranquila, yo dudo que, que haya sido del grupo que se va a la Plaza de Armas, ella, ella todo lo contrario, ella, cuando ya llegó su familia acá, lo único que quería era estar con su familia. Incluso ella tiene una prima que es monja. . . . Ella es una mujer muy tranquila.” (Interview Gerardo, July 27, 2013).

THIS THING OF SEEING HOW PERUVIAN SWINE DIRTY OUR PLAZA DE ARMA,, [sic] IT'S HORRIBLE TO SEE MOBS SITTING THERE, I WANT THEM GONE" (Emol 2013).<sup>75</sup>

The emphatic stance carried in capitalized letters and the connections between race, dirt, and animal imagery are repeated motifs.

THE CAMELIDS HAVE TAKEN CONTROL OF THE PLAZA DE ARMAS, WE SHOULD KICK THEM OUT. IT SEEMS WE NEED MORE WOMEN MIGRANTS FROM SCANDINAVIAN COUNTRIES TO BETTER THE RACE (sic, Emol 2013).<sup>76</sup>

“Swine” or references to Andean, indigenous “camelids” (like llamas and alpacas) play on racial notions. In contrast to hypothetical Scandinavian migrants, migrants from Andean areas, namely Peru, are continually crafted as a threat to urban spaces and to the racial integrity of the Chilean nation. Santa Ana locates his discussion of “immigrant as animal” metaphors within ideas of biological determinism and the notion of evolutionary progress. Thus, “immigrants correspond to citizens as animals correspond to humans” (2002: 86). In this marriage of national and racial frameworks, the dividing boundaries are inflexible, implying that racial notions behind animal metaphors affect the willingness of Chileans to see migrant civic engagement as valid and something to be fostered. Given the theorizing behind the importance of cities and the interactions that they enable and citizenship (Holston and Appadurai 1999), these animal metaphors take on a particularly salient role. In addressing Santa Ana’s work, Hill adds a discussion on the constitutive aspect of metaphors; that these types of metaphors “create our understanding rather than merely elaborating it,” thus “shaping unreflecting thought, speech, and behavior among those who share it” (2008: 127-128). Additionally, as migrants are constructed through

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<sup>75</sup> “ES COSA DE VER COMO LOS COCHINOS PERU-ANO NOS ENSUSCIAN NUESTRA PLAZA DE ARMA,, ES HORRIBLE VER PATOTAS SENTADOS,...LOS QUIERO FUERA.” (Emol 2013).

<sup>76</sup> “LOS AUQUENIDOS SE HAN APODERADO DE LA PLAZA DE ARMAS, DEBEMOS DESALOJARLOS, AL PARECER NECESITAMOS MAS EMIGRANTES MUJERES DE PAÍSES ESCANDINAVOS PARA MEJORAR LA TASA DE NATALIDAD Y LA RAZA.” (Emol 2013).

metaphors that liken them to animal bodies, the plaza is continually linked to migrant bodies, establishing it as an easily accessed symbolic resource available for contesting migrant use of the plaza.

The discursive underpinnings which enable a mobility of representational space, often find root in the framework of humor and jokes. In ways that are similar to the circulation of metaphors and symbols relating to migration to the U.S. that Santa Ana's work examines (2002), humor and jokes that play toward stereotypes of Peruvian migration circulate widely in Chile, often becoming embedded in public understandings of migration. Early in an interview with two young, progressive, and professional Chileans, David and Carlos, I commented that migration was often in the press and the two men spoke out against the negative public discourse surrounding migration, also immediately tying these portrayals to the Plaza de Armas.

*David:* Generally, when immigration is spoken about, even among us, it is because there are too many Peruvians, the Plaza de Armas is packed. . . .

*Carlos:* I think that what you see most of are Peruvians, by far, here in Santiago at least. . . . Or in the south also, there are many more Europeans. But I think that here in Santiago, perhaps, in general also, there are many more Peruvians.

*David:* There are sooo many, in reality, you go downtown and see many Peruvians, many, many.

*Megan:* In the Plaza de Armas?

*Carlos:* The Peruvian border, you mean.<sup>77</sup>

Here, David and Carlos immediately tie the new migration to the physical space of the plaza, while European migrants are still associated with the broadly ambiguous "south,"

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<sup>77</sup> *David:* Pero en general cuando se habla de inmigración, incluso entre nosotros mismos, es porque peruanos hay demasiado, está lleno en la Plaza de Armas. Hay harto, en realidad vas al centro y se ve mucho peruano, mucho, mucho.

*Carlos:* Yo creo que lo que más se nota son peruanos, lejos. Acá en Santiago por lo menos, por ejemplo, en Antofagasta, pese a que está más cerca de Perú, Bolivia, se nota mucho más colombianos, hay mucho colombiano, es impresionante.

*Megan:* Ah, no conozco harto, eso no lo sabía.

*Carlos:* O en el sur también, hay mucho más europeo. Pero yo creo que acá en Santiago, a lo mejor, generalmente también, hay mucho más peruanos.

*David:* Hay harto, en realidad vas al centro y se ve mucho peruano, mucho, mucho.

*Megan:* La plaza de armas?

*Carlos:* La frontera de Perú. (Interview David & Carlos, July 21, 2013)

where German migrants were given land and materials in exchange for appropriately settling indigenous territory. Notably, when I asked about the Plaza de Armas, Carlos jokingly equated the Plaza with the Peruvian border itself. Even in a joking format with two liberal Chileans, Chile's prominent migratory space calls into question issues of boundary maintenance, border crossing, and even the physical border itself. This joking framework is often employed and offers latitude for reinforcing distinctions between migrants and Chileans while speaking from a removed stance. These joking frames allow speakers to reinforce national, racial, and ethnic distinctions even while distancing themselves from anti-migrant sentiments. The jocular delivery also enables these common discussions to function as covert racist discourse, such that they reproduce negative stereotypes in a way that is invisible to Chileans (Hill 2008). Thus, for many Chileans, even those who espouse progressive beliefs about migration and embrace multiculturalism, jokes about the plaza and stereotypes about migrant use of that public space are simply jokes, or simply reflecting actual practices. Hill's work (2008), however, suggests that these covert racist discourses and the animal metaphors above are integral in the production of new forms of racism.

### ***Migrant Experiences of Racialized Embodied Space***

In both informal and semi-structured interviews, migrants recognized Chilean contestation of the plaza and noted the impact and far-reaching effects of the lamination of space, race, and stereotypes. Even as migration is tightly linked spatially to the Plaza de Armas in Santiago's historic downtown, its symbolic reach physically extends much farther. Migrants living and working in different parts of Santiago reported being

chastised to “go back to the Plaza de Armas.” And when I asked one migrant woman what it was to live in Santiago, she noted spatially-based stereotypes.

For example, they tell me, ‘Why don’t you go to the Plaza de Armas?’ they say this to me. They say this because they already know that I am Peruvian and Peruvians get together there. They tell me that, and I tell them ‘so what?’ [It’s true] that they gather there, but still they; it’s how they look at us, how they discriminate against us.<sup>78</sup>

Here, Eva points out how she is always at risk of being associated with the stereotypes and racialized assumptions of disorderliness linked to the Plaza de Armas, even when she is at work as a nurse in a hospital or in her neighborhood an hour away from the plaza. Notably, when I conducted previous research on the Peru - Chile border more than a thousand miles away from the Plaza de Armas, a Peruvian migrant living on the Chilean side of the border recounted: “One time I heard some Santiaguinos here [say], ‘These fucking Peruvians occupying the Plaza; they come only to take our work and nothing else.’”<sup>79</sup> The strength of the symbolic link between migrants and Santiago’s Plaza de Armas is so tightly woven, that it does not matter where migrants are physically or if they have ever even been to the plaza. Migrant bodies are always subject to being read in relation to this iconic and symbolically charged space. In this way, the plaza expands Low’s work on embodied space. “This integrated notion of embodied space addresses the metaphorical and material aspects of the body in space as well as body/space to communicate, transform, and contest existing social structures” (Low 2003: 16). Following Low, this work brings together body, space, and culture, but it shifts the focus from a subject-centered vision to an imposed and mobile understanding of Lefebvre’s

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<sup>78</sup> “Sinceramente, no sé, allí como, a me dicen por ejemplo, ‘¿Por qué no vaya a la Plaza de Armas?’ me dicen a mí. Cuando me dicen así, porque ya saben que soy peruana y los peruanos se juntan allá. Lo me dicen y ‘¿por qué?’ les digo. Allí se juntan, pero igual lo . . . , como nos miran, nos discriminan.” (Interview Eva, August 8, 2012).

<sup>79</sup> “Una vez escuché a unos santiaguinos, ‘Estos peruanos culiados ocupando la plaza; vienen a puro quitarnos el trabajo, nada más.’” (Interview Nilda, July 11, 2007).

idea of representational space. The plaza becomes a space written upon migrant bodies, traveling with migrants, and one that they are always at risk of being interpellated into.

The following example emphasizes the power and importance of the plaza as a racialized embodied space. On July 29, 2012, I attended a celebration for Peru's national holiday, or *fiestas patrias*, in Quinta Normal, a large public park in Santiago. Sponsored in part by Santiago's municipal government, the event included three days of music, dancing, food stalls, and national celebrations. As it grew late that Sunday evening, I said goodbye to acquaintances who headed back to their shared rooms located nearby, while I followed the crowd of people back to the park's subway station. After waiting a couple minutes, the train approached and everyone boarded. The train had arrived to the station almost empty (typical on a Sunday evening), and there was just one (presumably Chilean) couple already on the car. I boarded the train, along with four families and several other adults. Presumably, we were all coming from the *fiestas patrias* event. On board, a groggy quiet descended. Two stops after boarding, the metro crossed a connecting line, and about half the people on the train got off. At the same time, a group of four Chileans in their early twenties boarded. They stood in a group between myself and two of the Peruvian families. In contrast to the near-silence of the other passengers, they were speaking loudly among themselves and joking, laughing. As the train approached the next stop, the Plaza de Armas metro station, the pre-recorded metro voice announced, "Next stop, Plaza de Armas." Immediately, one of the young Chileans piped in, "pe," tacking on this iconic Peruvian discourse marker, "pe," to the announcement and eliciting raucous laughter from his friends. The train ground to a halt, the doors opened, and the nearby

families got out without saying a word or giving any indication acknowledging this chastising comment.

In this example, Peruvian migrants were returning from a widely publicized event in which the city government transformed a large urban park into a showcase of Peruvian culture, welcoming both Peruvians and Chileans to celebrate Peru's national holidays. *Cumbia* music, *marianera* dancing, *picarones* and *seco*, and *marca Peru* t-shirts were abundant, temporarily converting the space into an inviting and open place where Peruvians could gather without great concerns of discrimination or their own vulnerability. The train ride (up to the transfer stop) carried the Peruvian national celebrations onward, in that it was a largely migrant audience, a rare moment in a city in which demographics almost never weigh in the favor of migrants. However, that ephemeral belonging instantly cracked with the Chilean youth's utterance of one word. The word "pe," is a Peruvian discourse marker, a shortened version of the word "pues," or "well," used for emphasis or conversational space filler. The iconic "pe" contrasts notably with the oft-used Chilean version "po," and the use of these discourse markers easily indexes nationality. By tacking the "pe" on to the pre-recorded announcement of the Plaza de Armas, the youth simultaneously acknowledged the stereotype (and reality) of Peruvian connections and use of the Plaza, while also taking a condescending stance contesting this new status quo. All it took was one word, followed by hearty laughter, acknowledging the success of the joke among his Chilean friends. This one word exemplifies the strength of the Plaza de Armas as a racialized embodied space. This seemingly simple everyday contestation tied the Peruvians on the train to the plaza, and to the vast indexical field of circulating tropes linked to the site. The *fiestas patrias* event

was financed and put on by the municipal government in a celebration of the increasingly diverse city. However, the acceptance of that safe type of migrant multicultural influence contrasts notably with the perceived perils of migrants “taking over” the Plaza de Armas and in this case outnumbering Chileans on the subway. Through everyday encounters such as these, Chileans engage in boundary work, creating distinctions between themselves and migrants, reaffirming stereotypes, and delineating the bounds of safe migratory influences.

### ***Conclusion***

*“The Plaza is at the centre of the polis, generally regarded as a place for the exercise of citizenship; where citizens meet and their voices are heard. But this Plaza has also become a space for the marginalised, a place where stereotypical views Chileans hold about migrants are enacted and reinforced for example, through public health concerns. Yet, equally important it has become a space where migrants are silently affirming neglected cultural differences and a lack of rights – a space for resistance. To some extent the Plaza acts as a metaphor of the place migrants have in Chilean society.” - Lorena Nuñez Carrasco (2008:1)*

Here, the plaza offers a salient example of the delineation of new racial and spatial boundaries between Chileans and the new Latin American migrants. For both Chileans and migrants, Santiago’s Plaza de Armas is a key urban site, “the psychological focus of the community” (Low 2000: 51). It is a public space that lies at the representational heart of the Chilean nation and at the social nexus of migrant community life. Discussions of multi-layered space emphasize the processes involved in urbanization and the production of space, and the Plaza de Armas exemplifies many ongoing, simultaneous, and sometimes contradictory processes shaping this important space. The historical significance of Plaza de Armas, its close connection to understandings of the Chilean nation, and the central location that it occupies both geographically and

symbolically indicate a charged importance and connection for Chileans and the Chilean nation. Concurrently, the everyday use of the plaza by migrants, the establishment of migrant businesses, and the international gatherings that take place in this site challenge and subvert national discourses and perceptions of this space. As they use the site, migrants craft a space of migration and assert their right to the city. These layered Chilean and migrant meanings, perceptions, and uses of the Plaza de Armas produce the plaza in conflicting ways and frame contentious interactions.

At the heart, the contestations of Santiago's Plaza de Armas exemplify the multiple practices of migrant racialization. The plaza is used by Chileans as a spatial marker through which they construct difference. In crafting these boundaries, Chileans often draw on enduring stereotypes and impactful metaphors that they link to this public space. Discussions of migrants as participating in improper behavior in the plaza (including everything from theft, laziness, eating in the street, informal vending, and urinating in public) emphasize racial stereotypes linked to migration. Additionally, metaphors likening migrants who use the plaza to animals further produces strong racial links between migrants and this important public space. Finally, the extent that this space has been racialized is evident in its use as a disciplining force. Migrants anywhere in the city are vulnerable to being read vis-à-vis this site and interpellated into a stereotypical understanding of migrant use of this space. These examples highlight the resonance of the racialization of this space and illustrate Chilean contestation of migrant right to the city.

The contestation of who belongs in this space and who has the right to interpret how this space is seen and used highlights the plaza and the discourses and associations connected to it as key sites through which citizenship are negotiated (Holston and

Appadurai 1996). The contestations of the plaza are centrally about migrant racialization. However, in contrast to the other ways in which Chileans engage with practices of racialization, here, the Chilean connection with nationalism is largely about contesting migrant right to the city (Lefebvre 1996, Harvey 1996) and their legitimacy in using a site steeped in national importance. This example affords a different angle into Chilean engagements with nationalism. Rather than the national self-construction and presentation seen in domestic labor and multicultural food influences, here the nation is asserted through contestation. The plaza is an important national site, but one that is largely engaged through the lens of social memory. That said, Chileans take care to assert the site's importance to the nation and as such, contestation of migrant use garners elevated importance primarily because the site is steeped in Chilean history. Chileans continue to assert connections with this important space, and the ongoing contestation of migrant use of the Plaza de Armas renders migrants even more visible, no matter where they may be in the city.

## CHAPTER 6: GOOD FOR DEBATE: PERUVIAN FOOD, MIGRATION, AND CONTENTIOUS MULTICULTURALISM IN CHILE

In Chile, a growing interest in Peruvian food (Imilan 2014) follows closely on the heels of new, predominantly Peruvian, migration. In contrast to the often ambivalent and negative attitudes towards recently arrived Peruvian migrants, Chilean reception of Peruvian cuisine is far more positive. Peruvian food in Chile is constructed as a central point of encounter, a mediating cultural exchange, between citizens of two nations that have a conflicted past and an ongoing rocky diplomatic relationship. However, as Chileans discuss Peruvian food, they implicitly engage with racial and national tensions, negotiating anxieties related to increasing migration through food—a far less threatening proxy than Peruvian migrants themselves.

Amid the racialization of Peruvians in Chile, there is also growing consumption of Peruvian food. As Chileans increasingly seek out this new culinary influence, there has been a Peruvian restaurant boom. One out of every three new restaurants in Chile serves Peruvian food (Rivera Elorza 2012). In July 2011, the Peruvian embassy identified sixty-three Peruvian restaurants in Santiago (Embajada del Peru en Chile 2011). By January 2014, the count had reached 268 (Imilan 2014), not including informal street carts and small market stalls that migrants frequently patronize.<sup>80</sup>

Food is a daily source of nourishment that is enmeshed in social relationships and symbolic meaning (Wilk 1999, Counihan & Van Esterik 1997). Food practices allow individuals to actively position themselves, engaging in identity work, boundary

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<sup>80</sup> Peruvian restaurants in Santiago are situated in several clusters, suggesting distinct customer bases. The central cluster surrounds the Plaza de Armas—the historic heart of Santiago, the geographic hub of many migrant communities, and a Peruvian enclave. This cluster attracts a mixed clientele, including migrants, Chileans, and tourists. On the eastern side of the Santiago, there are several groupings lining key commercial avenues in middle and upper class neighborhoods (Imilan 2014).

construction, and contestation of the meanings associated with food (Douglas 1997, Mintz 1996). Specific foods, particular dishes, and entire cuisines often take on national meanings, signify national identity, and are used in positioning oneself vis-a-vis the nation and its citizens (Caldwell 2002, Siskind 1992, Appadurai 1988). The foods and practices that migrate with people have a long history of broadening foodscapes in host nations (Mares 2012, Marte 2007, Duruz 2005, Gabaccia 1998, Cook & Crang 1996). At the same time, these immigrant foodscapes, foodstuffs, traditions, and practices are often linked to perceptions of both cultural and naturalized differences (Roy 2010, 2002). Food practices are framed as multicultural influences, enabling Chileans to debate migration and engage strategically with the impacts of the new migration. In this chapter, I use multiculturalism to denote the practices, influences, traditions, and cultures that are produced discursively as neither Chilean nor white. I follow Goldberg's (2002) call to critically examine the ramifications of multiculturalism and its potential to encourage superficial appropriations and enable colorblindness. Likewise, I draw on Hale (2006) to look at the motivations, stakes, and who gains in situations where multiculturalism is deployed as a political agenda. I argue that Chileans engage with Peruvian food in a strategic effort to craft an embrace of multiculturalism and a cosmopolitan city, in line with the diverse influences seen in North American and European cities.

In Chile, perceptions and attitudes towards Peruvian food are woven tightly together with notions of race, indigeneity, and the fraught divide between traditional ways (associated with rural life and indigenous influences) and modern practices (seen to mirror trends in Europe and North America). Chileans typically consider traditional practices to be closely aligned with rural life and indigenous influences, while modern

practices often mirror trends in Europe and North America. The largely positive embrace of multicultural food contrasts with the ongoing racialization and stigmatization of the new wave of migrants. Thus, the potentially transformative and transgressive power of multicultural food distinctions highlights both the ongoing identity work that Chileans do to define themselves as cosmopolitan, modern citizens and their often fraught perceptions of and interactions with migrants.

While conducting ethnographic fieldwork in Santiago, the extent to which food matters to both migrants and Chileans was made clear in conversation after passionate conversation. In this chapter, I focus on Chilean discussions of Peruvian food. I argue that these discussions are key means through which Chileans are able to speak openly about migration and its associated influences. I further argue that Chileans often use encounters with Peruvian food to negotiate racial tensions surrounding migration in Chile. Chileans employ two particular discourses when discussing Peruvian food, emphasizing its potentially transformative (Bourdieu 1984) or transgressive (Douglas 1966) qualities. In producing Peruvian food as a multicultural influence that embodies “first the taint of difference and now the romance of it” (Ray 2004: 78), the varied Chilean discourses addressing Peruvian food all draw substantively on racial frames. In so doing, Chilean discourses about Peruvian food serve both to produce the Chilean nation as open to diversity and to further racialize migration—particularly Peruvian migration.<sup>81</sup>

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<sup>81</sup> This chapter draws on data from semi-structured interviews, participant observation, and public commentary linked to three newspaper articles explicitly discussing food and migration. I use these three articles as an “entry point” (Burrell 2009) through which to define and bound the public discourse gathered. The articles: “One Out of Every Three New Restaurants in Chile is Peruvian” (Rivera Elorza, 2012); “In Defense of Chilean Cooking” (Watanabe, 2012); and “How Peruvian Are We?” (Perez et al, 2014) all sparked provocative public discussion about Peruvian food and together garnered more than 600 online comments. The themes addressed in these comments are consistent with those brought up in the semi-

### *Food, the Nation, and Multicultural Projects*

Both Peruvian and Chilean cuisines come from mestizo influences (Montecinos 2004, Stuart 2010, Santos 2013, Perez 2011), but they are vastly different. Chilean food relies on ingredients that are indigenous to the region, including corn, potatoes, and beans, but the cuisines, combinations of food items, cooking practices, and eating habits historically draw on Spanish and French influences (Montecinos 2004). Peruvian food is particularly known for its “beautiful mixture” of culinary history (Perez 2011). This mixture is the result of both the diverse Peruvian geography (humid jungle, dry highlands, and coastal waters) and the diverse influences of indigenous cultures, colonial Spanish settlers, African descendants, and Chinese and Japanese populations. Peru’s culinary diversity, however, is increasingly packaged for global consumers as pan-Peruvian, thus erasing vast cultural and regional differences (Diner 2001).<sup>82</sup>

The increasing interest in Peruvian food in Chile has unfolded concurrently with the emerging and growing movement to brand and to export Peruvian cuisine (Garcia 2013, 2011). From Chef Gaston Acurio’s famous restaurant ventures to culinary festivals co-sponsored by Chilean municipalities, the consumption of Peruvian food is positioned as a “true celebration of integration, where gastronomy is the primary protagonist” (PeruGourmet 2014). However, promotional efforts by the private sector, non-profits, and government agencies all generally pitch to an affluent Chilean audience, limiting the reach of their message and positioning it along existing Chilean class divisions. As

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structured interviews. For more media and public discourse analysis of racialized attitudes toward migration, see also: Santa Ana 2002; Hill 2008; van Dijk 1992.

<sup>82</sup> Gaston Acurio, touts this version of Peruvian food as “Cocina Novoandina,” or neo-Andean, actively branding it as multicultural.

Peruvian cuisine goes transnational, many of the structural inequalities and power dynamics involved in the creation and marketing of this new food phenomenon remain similar to what Garcia (2013) describes in Lima's culinary scene. Economic inequalities, social exclusions, an uncritical, glowingly positive view of *mesitzaje*—or racial and cultural mixing—and consumption-based multiculturalism benefit those already in power.

Additionally, the marketing and selling of Peruvian food in Chile trades on perceptions of the cuisine's cultural heritage and its ethnic and indigenous ties. Garcia (2011) details how nationally-branded Peruvian food is gaining prominence and pride in Lima, led by the publicity efforts of Chef Gaston Acurio and the Mistura food festival. "The word *mistura* means 'mixture' in Portuguese. . . . And the cuisine served . . . reflects a fusion of cultural dishes" (Bloudoff-Indelicato 2014). The Peruvian food boom, both within Peru as well as abroad, brands and sells a proudly ethnic cuisine. This further links the consumption of Peruvian food to the commoditization of ethnicity (Comaroff & Comaroff 2009).<sup>83</sup>

During my fieldwork, Chilean research participants frequently initiated discussions about food, and were animated in talking about something they described repeatedly as an exciting multicultural influence. Most conversations about Peruvian food initially started with overwhelmingly positive assertions: "It's the best. I have a huge fascination with Peruvian food," one participant told me. "Have you tried Peruvian food?"

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<sup>83</sup> Formal Peruvian food fairs in Santiago, the food presented there, and the audience attending the fairs contrast with the development of informal markets targeting Peruvian migrant customers in Santiago. It is in these markets, however, that there is greater availability of ingredients, such as purple onions, yellow chiles, yucca, sweet potato, and dry spices all of which enable the in-home preparation of Peruvian dishes.

It's exquisite!" commented another.<sup>84</sup> In this positive embrace of multiculturalism, Peruvian spices, condiments, and culinary combinations are produced as the "flavor of life itself."<sup>85</sup>

Analysis of these and other conversations suggests that Chileans primarily associate Peruvian food with spicy, ethnic, and exotic novelties. When discussing differences between Peruvian and Chilean food, Chileans routinely framed the distinction between the two cuisines in a binary, spicy-versus-plain description. "Peruvian food is just . . . I love spicy food, the flavor is so . . . Strong!" exclaimed one participant.<sup>86</sup> "I don't like [Peruvian food] because of the seasonings, the spice, that flavor," commented a second.<sup>87</sup> Spice typically divided those who professed enthusiasm versus disdain for Peruvian food. "I don't like spicy food" was a common refrain among Chilean research participants. Moreover, Chileans frequently framed discussions of Peruvian food vis-a-vis Chilean food, which "even when seasoned, for example, it's not spicy." The defining boundary of spicy Peruvian food versus not spicy (or plain) Chilean food furthers its construction as an adventurous multicultural influence and adds an ethnic undertone to these conversations (Ray 2004).<sup>88</sup> Similar to discourses on food in other regions, the assertion of spicy indexes ethnic flavors (Gvion and Trostler 2008, Van Esterik 1982). The discussion of spicy, ethnic Peruvian food also contrasts with the ways in which the consumption of Peruvian food in Chile is portrayed as an opportunity for fine dining and

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<sup>84</sup> "Es que la comida peruana... tú has comido comida peruana? Es maravillosa, es maravillosa!" (Interview Claudio, April 13, 2013).

<sup>85</sup> "El sabor de la vida!" (Interview Mateo, July 23, 2013).

<sup>86</sup> "Es que la comida peruana es como... a mí me encanta la comida picante, el sabor así... fuerte!" (Interview Isabel, July 18, 2013).

<sup>87</sup> "A mí no me... o sea, me gustan ciertos... pero a mí no me gusta la comida picante." (Interview Katarina, July 13, 2013).

<sup>88</sup> Ironically, when I interviewed several migrant employees at Peruvian restaurants, they reported that the preparation of Peruvian food in Chile was not actually heavily spiced, in deference to Chilean food preferences and in the interest of building restaurant businesses.

an experience of haute cuisine, particularly given that spicy food in Chile historically indexed stigmatized lower socioeconomic classes (Montecinos 2004). While Peruvian food is popular among some Chileans, for others it is seen as just a passing trend built on spice and flare. For example, in an online comment, one Chilean man opines, “Before it was the Chinese . . . now the Peruvians, until what is in style ends up being boring!!” (Rivera Elorza, 2012).<sup>89</sup> These multicultural food fads, however, still allow Chilean patrons to position themselves as worldly cosmopolitan consumers who are in touch with what is popular (Duruz 2005). Furthermore, in light of increasing Peruvian migration, the production of Peruvian food as a multicultural influence that can be deployed in strategic ways is quite different than Chinese food. In this context, Peruvian food and the discourses surrounding it cannot be divorced from Peruvian migration. As Chileans discursively engage with Peruvian food, they produce new frameworks for understanding migration, frameworks that are continually racialized.

Chilean consumers often employ the experience of eating Peruvian food to signal their active participation in a multicultural, cosmopolitan project. This experience of food is imagined as having potentially transformational powers with respect to national attitudes towards migrants, particularly Peruvian migrants. For instance, when discussing Peruvian food, a Chilean couple highlight the role food can have in opening people up to other cultures and other people.

*Carmen:* Yes, I find it delicious, it’s that the mixture of shellfish. . .

*Ricardo:* It’s also very distinct, I believe that [it’s about] trying something different. The Chilean, it’s like, he generally doesn’t dare to try different things in life. And cooking is one . . . It’s a super important arena, you know?

*Carmen:* It’s like an encounter.

*Ricardo:* An encounter, and everything, then, . . . I think that gets at this thing. There is so much hatred toward Peruvians.

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<sup>89</sup> “Antes fueron los Chinos....ahora los Peruanos , hasta que la moda.. termina aburriendo!!” (Rivera Elorza, 2012).

*Carmen:* No, because of course people are excited by it, ‘oh, Peruvian food and that,’ and everyone goes [to the restaurants] and everything, but then later it’s like, a Peruvian [is seen] like ‘oh, he’s Peruvian’<sup>90</sup>

Here, the experience of trying Peruvian food is imagined by this couple as a multicultural exchange that occurs when Chilean customers patronize a Peruvian restaurant, where they are often served by Peruvian wait staff. This experience is framed as a potentially transformative moment of encounter, in which Chilean customers leave behind their comfort zone and look beyond historic distinctions and national animosities.

At the same time, however, as restaurant patrons, Chileans remain in a privileged position. In passively consuming Peruvian food while being served by migrant labor, customers are firmly entrenched in an environment in which table, service, and business norms afford comforting boundaries and limits to cultural exchange (see, Johnston and Baumann 2010). In the above conversation, Carmen and Ricardo praise Peruvian restaurants as offering a moment of encounter, but also note how that potential is not necessarily realized. I argue that the consumption practice of patronizing Peruvian restaurants, which is often framed as a moment of cross-cultural exchange across socioeconomic class divisions, is actually a fictitious moment of encounter, in which larger power structures and their influence on subaltern cultural practices and migrant feelings of exclusion remain untouched. Chilean consumers at Peruvian restaurants deploy their economic power to buy an experience that reinforces their own individual and national identity construction through a highly structured “encounter” with Peruvian

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<sup>90</sup> *Carmen:* Sí, yo lo encuentro rico, es que esa mezcla de mariscos...

*Ricardo:* Muy distinto también, yo creo que probar algo distinto, el chileno como que en general no se atreve a probar cosas diferente, en la vida. Y la cocina es un... es como un estadio re importante, cachai...

*Carmen:* Como de reunión.

*Ricardo:* De reunión y todo, entonces... yo creo que por ahí va la cosa. (...?) Tanto odio con los peruanos.

*Carmen:* No, porque claro, a la gente le fascina, “oh, comida peruana y la cuestión”, y todos van y todo, y después el peruano es como “ah, es que es peruano”, entonces ahí como que no se... (Ricardo and Carmen, July 23, 2013)

culture. Instead of transforming attitudes towards migration, Chilean consumption of Peruvian food is a transformative Chilean identity project, indexing transnational consumption.

While restaurants are publicly touted as spheres of cross-cultural food exchanges, the most direct and commonplace encounters actually occur in the domestic realm. The presence of migrant domestic labor opens many Chilean households to multicultural food exchanges. Most women migrants work as domestic laborers, often living in Chilean houses and cooking for Chilean families (Stefoni 2003, 2008). This creates spaces for cultural sharing and exchange, particularly around food practices. The Chileans I interviewed also pointed out tensions involved in the maintenance and oversight of order, hygiene, and proper food practices, including the domestic laborer's own food consumption. In a conversation with two Chilean employers, I asked about the process of hiring a migrant domestic laborer. Irma immediately steered the conversation toward food. She noted, "We have to, I have to teach them to cook Chilean food, but as a side note, Peruvian food is exquisite, so we also take advantage of their gastronomy and we give them the freedom if they would like to also make their food. Yes, because they cook very well." Her husband Ernesto immediately noted:

According to some discriminating sources, they say that Peruvian food is in first place in the world. Others suggest it's in third place, first French, Italian, and Peruvian in regards to the food, variety, presentation of the plates, and who knows what.<sup>91</sup>

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<sup>91</sup> *Irma*: Tenemos que... yo le tengo que enseñar a cocinar a lo chileno, pero entre paréntesis la comida peruana es exquisita, así que también nos aprovechamos de su gastronomía y la dejamos en libertad de que ellas hagan también la comida de ellos. Porque cocinan muy bien.

*Ernesto*: Según algunos entendidos dicen que la comida peruana está en el primer lugar en el mundo, pero otros la señalan como en el tercer lugar, primero Francia, Italia y Perú, en cuanto a comida, variedad, a presentación de platos, qué se yo. (Ernesto and Irma, July 22, 2013).

When hiring a new migrant domestic laborer, Irma must work to educate her about how to correctly prepare, cook, and present Chilean food, thus minimizing possible kitchen transgressions related to hygiene and order. The domestic laborer may “cook very well,” but the typical assumption is that she is not worldly or knowledgeable about other cuisines. In her “side note,” Irma offers a wholehearted endorsement of multicultural, Peruvian food influences, and Ernesto interjects with globally-framed praise for Peruvian food. Ernesto’s comment also positions himself as the refined, culturally knowledgeable consumer who is able to note food distinctions and appreciate fine culinary arts. In Bourdieu’s classic work (1984), refined tastes and foods aided members of lower socioeconomic strata, such as clerical workers, to engage in aspirational food practices associated with higher socioeconomic strata in an effort to make advantageous social contacts. Distinction in food practices can be transformative, and individuals can use these practices to navigate social hierarchy and socioeconomic class. Trendy upper class Peruvian eateries afford Chileans the opportunity to take on the role as knowledgeable, worldly consumers of a cultural experience. However, even as this couple wholeheartedly endorses what they imagine as a multicultural food influence in their home, they also implicitly assert fundamental distinctions between migrants and themselves, by positioning Chileans broadly as modern, global, cosmopolitan consumers and Peruvian migrants as in need of oversight.

Peruvian restaurants, specific “Peruvian” ingredients, and certain Peruvian dishes are now consumed widely among both Peruvians and Chileans in the Chilean capital, producing a visible new wave of multiculturalism linked to Peruvian migration. However, while Peruvian food establishments do create “transnational gastronomic social

spaces” (Stefoni 2008) and are heralded as a way to increase the “social integration” of migrants (Perez et al 2014, Bonhomme 2013), the embracing of Peruvian food in Chile does not translate into an embrace of Peruvian migrants. Moreover, as Chileans discuss and view Peruvian food through the lens of a spicy, exotic, and adventurous novelty, a foundation is laid for using food and food practices, crafted as a seemingly positive multicultural purview, to further racialize Peruvian migrants. Racial conceptions of the exotic, ethnic other are linked to both Peruvian food and migrants, and thus reproduce perceived difference through these multicultural consumption practices.

### ***The Racialization of Peruvian Food and the Framing of Migration***

Through food and the social and national cues that food items and practices index, Chileans and Peruvians address issues of race, ethnicity, and multiculturalism. As multicultural indexes, discourses, and practices (Hale 2006, Bannerji 2000) are increasingly produced in connection to Latin American migration, anxiety often underlays the positive embrace of new cultural influences. This mirrors Hale’s description of “racial ambivalence” in Guatemala (2006), where multiculturalism is outwardly supported amid increasingly more subtle reaffirmations of established racial hierarchy and engagements with practices of boundary maintenance. Migrants in Chile face everyday manifestations of racial ambivalence, and unsurprisingly, foods and food practices are central to how racial meaning is contested and ascribed by Chileans. In Chile, food, migration, and nationalism are conflated, such that practices of racial distinction easily extend to and are indexed by Peruvian food. Additionally, public discussions about Peruvian food often bring forth racist commentary.

Racial fears of intermixing are enmeshed with the entry of Peruvian food in Chile. In response to the alarmingly-titled Chilean newspaper article, “How Peruvian Are We?,” one commentator noted on the public comment board, “Soon they [Chileans] will be as Peruvian as *aji de gallina*, got it? And Peruvians will be as Chilean as cri, cri, cri, cri [cricket sound], I’ll think of it later” (Perez et al, 2014).<sup>92</sup> In this alarmist view of cultural mixing, Chileans take on the Peruvian character represented by what Chileans consider the iconic Peruvian dish, thus symbolically linking Chilean bodies to a Peruvian symbol. This commentator continues on to try to express how Peruvians are taking on Chilean traits, and his failure to put this into words is noteworthy. He uses the sound of a cricket to buy him conversational space and note that he is thinking, but ultimately, he is at a loss to identify an iconic Chilean dish. Whether this is theatrical posing or an unwillingness to ascribe a Chilean icon to Peruvian migrants, the example plays upon fears of racial and cultural mixing, linked to both multicultural exchange and migration.

Conversations with Chilean research participants likewise highlight the explicit semiotic links between Peruvian food, race, and perceptions about migration. In a conversation with two young Chilean professionals, they described how they think Peruvian food is viewed in Chile.

*David:* It is innovative for us . . . They have ingredients that we never use, even that we don’t know about here [ . . . ]

*Carlos:* Here, I am going to make a critique. I think that Peruvian food is actually very good, I also like it, but I think that it is seen as a folly, it’s like, “Should we do something crazy? Let’s eat something Peruvian,” it’s not something like, “Let’s go eat sushi,” as if sushi were something supposedly incredible and aspirational, or I don’t know, someone who had money. And the person who goes to eat Peruvian is like, “Let’s do something different, outside the typical?” I don’t know, it’s a fad.<sup>93</sup>

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<sup>92</sup> “Pronto serán tan peruanos como el ají de gallina cachai, los peruanos somos tan chilenos en cri, cri, cri, cri. ya me acordare de algo ;=) (Perez et al, 2014).

<sup>93</sup> *David:* Sí, porque aparte es como innovadora para nosotros. . . tienen ingredientes que no usamos nunca, hasta desconozco si se dan acá. Hay un maíz, que se llama el cancha, ya, yo no sé si se dará acá o lo traerán de allá, pero, antes nunca lo había comido, al menos yo, que es un maíz grandote. ¿cierto? Es exquisito, es exquisito el sabor. Y el maíz ese que hacen que es como quemado, tostado también. Y el ají, hay otros tipos

Here, David and Carlos discuss how Peruvian food emphasizes adventure and exoticness. The selection of a Peruvian restaurant, as opposed to sushi, is part of larger identity project in which individuals are aligning themselves vis-a-vis the semiotic messages that surround food options (Mintz 1996, Roseberry 1996). In contrast to sushi and the sparse Japanese population in Chile, Peruvian food is implicitly linked to migration. These connections draw fundamentally on racial understandings (Slocum 2010), presenting Peruvian food as something “crazy” and adventurous. The simultaneous appeal of Peruvian food and its racialization as exotic and subtly dangerous is indicative of racial ambivalence (Hale 2006).

Practices of racialization draw on food-related indexes, tying these meanings to naturalized perceptions related to Peruvian bodies. For example, Peruvian culinary prowess is racialized as a skill that comes naturally to migrants. In response to a newspaper article on Peruvian food, one online commentator noted that Peruvian food is so good “Because they’re good, that’s it. . . Peruvians know how to get flavor even out of a rock, their cooking is exquisite” (Rivera Elorza, 2012).<sup>94</sup> This exaggeration of how Peruvians can turn humble stones into fine dining plays on perceived fundamental differences between Chileans and Peruvians, erasing the skill needed for culinary endeavors. The distinction that this commentator suggests reinforces the multicultural

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de ahí, bueno, el mismo ceviche como lo preparan ellos es exquisito. La cerveza, la Cusqueña es muy buena, con michelada sobretodo. ¿Sí o no?

*Carlos:* Ahí voy a hacer una crítica. Yo creo que la comida peruana efectivamente es muy rica, a mí me gusta también, pero creo que es vista como la locura, así como “¿hagamos una locura? Comamos algo peruano”, bueno, no sé si se entiende, es como... no algo como, vamos a comer sushi, como el sushi es algo increíble supuestamente y es aspiracional, o no sé, alguien que tiene más plata. Y el que va a comer peruano es como “¿hagamos algo distinto, como fuera de la normal?” no sé, como esa sensación. (Interview David and Carlos, July 21, 2013).

<sup>94</sup> “Porque son buenisimos y punto..los peruanos saben sacar sabor a todo una piedra te la cocinan exquisita” (Rivera Elorza, 2012).

embrace of Peruvian food as good while naturalizing often hard-earned culinary skill.

Another online conversation uses food and perceived food practices to racialize

Peruvians as sub-human, through use of the suffix “-oide,” epitomizing inflammatory

language and bringing up visceral associations:

Hahahaha, if you are Peruanoide, you are offended by what I said and if you are Chilean pal, then maybe you don't know what you're talking about. Sorry, but this is the truth. I know very well almost, almost all of Peru and the only thing that they know how to cook are potatoes *a la huancaina* [sic] and *lomo saltado* [stir-fried beef]. [. . .] Here, the Peruanoides don't have any hygiene norms, . . . cooking by the seat of their pants. Hygiene norms mean little to nothing to them and the service is lousy. . . It's not just cooking!! As Chef Gusteau says, anyone can cook :) [. . .] They are a long way from [being able to] speak about gastronomic culture! (Watanabe 2012).<sup>95</sup>

In this public forum, this commentator uses a very pejorative form, the suffix “oide,” to take an emphatic stance and to construct Peruvians as evolutionarily degenerate, roughly translating to “neander-Peruvian” or “proto-Peruvian.” Speaking from a position as an informed, worldly traveler, the commentator builds up his cultured expertise. For him, the perceived hygiene practices of “neander-Peruvians” negate whatever small amount of cooking ability they have. He goes on to quote Chef Gusteau of the animated film, *Ratatouille*, in which a cartoon rat dreams of, and becomes, a chef. For this Chilean commentator, anyone can cook, even Neanderthals, rats, and Peruvians. This extreme and viscerally graphic description draws on multiple racialized symbols and discourses to construct Peruvians as unclean, indigenous, and pre-modern. While these views are extreme, there is a common and recurring discursive theme—simmering racial tensions.

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<sup>95</sup> Jajajaja si eres peruanoide estas ofendido con lo que dije y si eres chileno papa tal vez no sabes lo que hablas. lo siento mucho pero es verdad! conozco muy bien casi, casi todo el peru y lo unico que saben cocinar es papa huancaina. aca los peruanoides no tienen ninguna norma de higiene son puros ratatuis cocinando al pedo. Y les importa poco o nada las normas higiénicas y la atención es como el forro.... No es solo cocinar!! como decia el chef gusteau cualquiera puede cocinar=) les falta mucho para hablar de cultura gastronómica! mas encima no dejan ni propina jajajaja informese papito que aqui en chilito o en arg. o br las cosas se hacen bien! (Watanabe 2012).

For many Chileans, the dangers that migration and multicultural markers present are paramount, thus raising the stakes for this national debate.

Interview data highlight the complicated multivocality laminated onto discussions of Peruvian food and migration. Issues of race and ethnicity, boundary delineation, and essentialized national distinctions exist concurrently with interest in Peruvian food and a push towards an ostensibly multicultural, cosmopolitan, and modern Chile. When I asked a Chilean employer of a Peruvian domestic laborer what she thought about the growing trend in Peruvian restaurants, Katerina noted:

Yes, people like it a lot. . . It's that they cook . . . I had a girl who cooked Peruvian food very well. Since I don't like spicy food, then . . . I don't, but my husband loves it. . . ceviche . . . I also like ceviche. Then, of course, the people, the Peruvian cooked, she knew it, she cooked well. Generally, all Peruvians really know how to cook . . . They have very good food . . . And these young girls all know how to cook, all, all of them. There's no one who doesn't, and the condiments, and the things, and everything. It could be that many people prefer to hire some Peruvian woman because of this.<sup>96</sup>

In this discussion of Peruvian food, Elena is very clear in creating distance and boundaries between herself and Peruvian migrants. Her pronoun use, “they,” “she,” and “they all,” reinforces the distance between herself and the “girl” that she had living in her house and working as a domestic laborer. The fact that everyone in Peru, even the young people, knows how to cook again naturalizes the process, racializing this skill and implying a distinction between seemingly more traditional migrant domestic laborers and the more modern Chilean women who have entered a professional labor market and often

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<sup>96</sup> Sí. A la gente le gusta mucho la... es que cocinan... yo tuve una niña que cocinaba muy bien la comida peruana. A mí no me... o sea, me gustan ciertos... pero a mí no me gusta la comida picante, entonces... Yo no, pero mi marido le fascina... Sí, que el ceviche... a mí me gusta el ceviche también pero no. . . Entonces, claro, la gente, la... la peruana cocina, que sabe, cocina bien. En general todas las peruanas realmente cocinan, saben cocinar... no sé si será porque de niña chica... tiene tantos platos en Perú, tienen, no sé... Ellos tienen muy buena comida y tienen... entonces, las cabras todas saben cocinar. Todas, todas. No hay quien no, y los condimentos, y las cuestiones, y todo. Sí. Para mí no es tema eso, o sea, de una persona o no, por la cocina no, pero sí los peruanos son buenos para la cocina. Puede que a muchas personas prefieran traer a una persona peruana por eso. (Interview Katerina, July 13, 2013).

rely on outsourced food preparation or convenience foods. As Elena naturalizes the skill involved in food preparation, she also uses that logic to provide a rationale for why Peruvian women are hired as domestic laborers in Chile. This justification of culinary skill as a selling point for migrant domestic labor also overlooks the considerable educational backgrounds that most Peruvian women bring to their Chilean jobs. One in four Peruvian women who work as domestic laborers have some post-secondary education and 78% are secondary school graduates (Martínez 2003). Setting up the traditional versus modern paradigm obliquely suggests a racial and ethnic undertone to the conversation. Finally, this discourse also runs counter to the marketing and branding of the art involved in preparing and presenting Peruvian cuisine, even as its author touts Peruvian food as good and well-liked. While multiculturalism is constructed largely as a positive influence, the structures that support racial distinction and hierarchy, such as broad underlying racial tensions and Chilean employers' interest in maintaining classic *patron - empleada* relationships (Staab & Hill Maher 2006), are continually reinforced, often through these multicultural food encounters.

### ***Food Practices and the Tenuous Division between Traditional and Modern***

Even as Chileans employ Peruvian food to showcase their cosmopolitan refinement, everyday food practices linked to migration have the potential to challenge Santiago's progressive embrace of and march toward modernity. While the consumption of Peruvian food is used strategically to construct Santiago as a more global city with a diverse population, many Chileans voice concerns that multicultural influences linked to migration will narrow the perceived development gap between Peru and Chile. These

anxieties cast scrutiny upon everyday food practices, including migrant-run food carts, frequently galvanizing pointed Chilean commentary and positioning migrants as failed participants in the modern nation. For Chileans, the failure of Peruvian migrants to always align with Chilean modernity projects raises questions about migrant belonging in Chile. These perceived hygiene and order failures are indicative both of racialized biopolitics (Slocum 2010, Foucault 2008) and racial fears of contamination (Briggs 2003).

Public discourse about migration frequently emphasizes practices that are perceived as traditional, rural, and indigenous, noting failures to comply with modern norms in Chile. The following excerpt comes from the 220 comments responding to the news article, “One Out of Every Three Restaurants Opening in Chile Is Peruvian” (Rivera Elorza 2012).

*Jose:* They [Peruvians] cook cat very well, they prepare the Picante de Gato, because of this in Calama and in neighborhoods in cities in northern Chile, people don't want to have cats [ . . . ] on top of this consider that they eat guinea pigs and doves.

*Hector:* JOSE, either envy is eating you apart, or you're ignorant [ . . . ] If you don't like Peruvian food, stick with what you like, but before you write stupid drivel don't make your appreciative compatriots look bad, [those] who have [good] taste.

*Rodrigo:* Jose [rats] are only eaten by the blacks from a province called Chinchu [ . . . ] just like the guinea pigs that are eaten by the people from the highlands. The majority don't eat this. [ . . . ] In any restaurant there were you offered CAT? [ . . . ] NO, SO DON'T GENERALIZE.<sup>97</sup>

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<sup>97</sup> *Jose:* El gato lo cocinan muy bien, preparan el Picante de Gato, por eso en Calama y en barrios de ciudades del norte de Chile la gente no quiere tener gatos porque estos peruanos los matan para preparar su picante de gato, a eso sumale que comen cuyes y palomas para que no digan que estoy inventando es cosa que se vayan a dar una vuelta al Mercado de Tacna

*Hector:* Jose, o la envidia te corroe, o eres un ignorante, crees que gente chilena o del mundo que visita Peru, te hara caso? no te gusta la comida peruana, sigue con la que te gusta, pero antes de escribir estupideces no hagas quedar mal a tus apreciados compatriotas, que saben de gustos, y no de personas como tu, que quieren gato, felizmente eres bien ignorado

*Rodrigo:* Jose pero si en China comen ratas porque es el animal que tiene muchas proteinas, efectivamente en Pisco y Chinchu Peru comen ciertas partes del gato los afro desde sus antepasados, tambien el Peru es el primer exportador del cuy a norteamerica y tambien en los chifas preparan los pichones y no la paloma hay que informarse un poquito mas antes de meter las cuatro p... (Rivera Elorza 2012).

This debate about whether Peruvians eat cats, and if so, which Peruvians do so links food, migration, and perceptions of traditional or African descendant food practices. Jose's initial comment explicitly packages a racially-informed perception of a traditional practice under the thin veneer of a positive gloss, suggesting some skill required in preparing picante, a popular dish. In presenting his assessment of a supposedly traditional practice, he mimics the ongoing tension between discourses touting Peruvian culinary skill and those espousing racial ideologies while constructing Peruvian food practices implicitly in contrast to Chilean ones. The subsequent absurdity in his suggestion that Peruvian migrants might steal people's pet cats and prepare them as food dramatically overemphasizes the failure to adhere to modern food norms, playing on the very style of aversions that Douglas' foundational analysis of dirt and order explored (1966, see also Roy 2010). Hector and Rodrigo's responses are indicative of the interchange of negative and positive comments typical of these public fora, in which Chileans as well as migrants actively debate understandings of migration and its impact on Chile. Hector and Rodrigo's appeals to Jose come from self-reported educated positions of discriminating taste, disciplining Jose's response while trying to repair the image of Chilean citizens as refined and knowledgeable. The references here to "traditional," indigenous, or African descendant food practices are all implicitly linked in comparison to the perception of Chilean development and modernity.

Street food in Chile is a topic frequently linked to both migrants and Peruvian food. Consistent with broader discourses about Peruvian food, street food garners both support and disdain, and is often viewed as a product of increased Peruvian migration. In

an interview, a Chilean husband and wife explained to me their perspectives on the advent of an innovative form of street food in Chile.

*Eduardo:* In fact, the Peruvians first came up with the idea of making orange juice in the morning, we hadn't seen that before. Orange juice . . .

*Orieta:* It's that they drink many natural juices, they drink many natural juices and then have some with herbs and they sell them . . . They typically have food.

Mexicans also eat frequently in the street, Peruvians also . . .

*Eduardo:* Then they've brought here cultures and ways of life that we didn't used to have. And I think, and now I think it really is a part of our culture, the street carts.<sup>98</sup>

This warm and well-traveled older couple relayed this seemingly novel development in a positive way, but the story centers on the connection between migration and the selling, buying, and consuming of food on the street, a practice that carries a negative connotation and frequently garners both public commentary and police intervention. Several migrant research participants reported that they routinely sold *anticuchos*, a Peruvian snack food consisting of meat skewers, on the street, detailing elaborate strategies for avoiding police detection and ticketing. Street food and informal eating venues present a potentially transgressive incursion on the modern norm in Chile, bypassing inspections, taxes, and health codes. While Chilean discourses connect this food practice to migration, it is not typically framed as multicultural. Street food connects to Chilean ideas of socioeconomic class and the lack of proper food decorum, and it notably does not offer strategic engagement in positioning oneself as a multicultural consumer and cosmopolitan citizen.

In Santiago, migrants are, and are perceived as, agents of social change in occupying the street food niche. Migrant micro-entrepreneurs target this niche market and sell both Peruvian-influenced snacks (orange juice, ceviche, skewers of roasted meat) as

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<sup>98</sup> *Eduardo:* De hecho a los peruanos se les ocurrió la idea de hacer jugos de naranja en la mañana, no habíamos visto antes. El jugo de naranja...

*Orieta:* Es que ellos toman muchas agüita, y toman muchas agüita y tienen unas cosas de hierbas y venden... son, generalmente tienen comida. Los mexicanos también comen mucho en la calle, los peruanos también comen...

*Eduardo:* Entonces han implementado acá culturas que antes no la teníamos. Yo creo, ahora yo creo que es bien parte de nuestra cultura, los carritos. (Interview Orieta and Eduardo, July 14, 2013).

well as Chilean favorites (*sopaipillas*, French fries, and chicken). Cooking and selling out of re-purposed grocery carts enables these entrepreneurs to make quick escapes when the police close in. The informality, lack of regulation, and disruption of order and progress associated with street food make it, and by extension migrants who are perceived as associated with street food, a target for critiques emphasizing the damage migrants do to the city and the threat that they pose for Chile's march towards modernity. Alberto noted, "Many times we tolerate improvised restaurants, and this didn't used to exist in Chile. . . . There is a lot of disorder in the streets in regards to the foods that they sell" (Perez et al, 2014).<sup>99</sup> Here, Alberto equates the origin of street food with migration, pinning urban disorder to street food and migrants. Ignacio responded: "You failed to mention the eateries that are transported in 'supermarket carts' . . . which are immediately noticeable, since they are surrounded by packs of vagrant dogs. We hope that this TREND of Peruvian food quickly passes" (Rivera Elorza 2012).<sup>100</sup> The ironic contrast of "eateries" in "supermarket carts" emphasizes the challenge to Santiago's orderly state. While Ignacio associates migrant vendors with "packs of vagrant dogs," he does not question the contradiction posed by the existence of vagrant dogs in a controlled, modern city. In these discussions of street food, migrants become hyper visible urban subjects who present an obstacle to modern progress, while non-migrant micro-entrepreneurs are made invisible. Here, Chileans navigate a complex mix between the appeal and market demand for quick, hot, and inexpensive snack food and the negative perception of street food

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<sup>99</sup> "Muchas veces soportamos restaurantes improvisados y eso antes no existía en Chile, a lo más unas 'sopaipillas' en lugares 'medios justificados.' Se ve mucho desorden en las calles en cuanto a las comidas que se venden" (Perez et al, 2014).

<sup>100</sup> : "Les faltó mencionar las cocinerías que trasportan en 'carros de supermercado' que colocan en calle Catedral, Puente y Bandera, se van a dar cuanta inmediatamente, ya que andan rodeados por jaurías de perros vagos. Esperemos que la MODA de la comida peruana pase rápido" (Rivera Elorza 2012).

vendors. Entrepreneurial orange juice grocery carts present a transgression on modern Santiago, and challenge the potentially transformative cuisine championed by renowned Chef Gaston Acurio.

Finally, migrant presence in the informal food sector feeds into racialization, stereotypes, and migrant visibility. Returning to the discussion of migrant visibility, several academics highlight street food and the practice of eating in the street as key behaviors that render migrants visible. In his research, Garcés investigates what accounts for the “notorious visibility in urban space” of migrants (Garcés H. 2007: 2). Garcés’ search culminates in discussions of the role of informal commerce and the sale of street food in making the presence of migrants felt by Chileans. “Informal commerce taken on by migrants in Santiago has a special visibility on the street—particularly the sale of prepared foods—converting them into a marker for local authorities and the population in general” (Garcés H. 2014: 6). Garcés argues that the visibility of migrants selling street food results in the stereotypes linked to criminality, disorderly conduct, and unhygienic practices (Garcés H. 2014). The positing of informal commerce and food as central to migrant visibility is further reinforced in explicit analysis of Peruvian food in Santiago. “One of the principle reasons for the visibility of Peruvian migration, particularly in Santiago, ... is related to the marking of public space through practices linked to food” (Imilan 2014: 16). Street food and migrant involvement in its commerce plays a fundamental role in both the racialization of Peruvian food as well as the production of migrant visibility.

## **Conclusion**

*“Peruvian cooks, we are soldiers of our culture, of our nation. We don’t carry guns or drive tanks or planes, nor do we kill anyone. What we do is conquer people’s hearts.” Gaston Acurio, award-winning Peruvian chef and owner of a burgeoning restaurant empire (quoted in Perez 2011).*

*“The best restaurants in Santiago are Peruvian, and I am a keen patron.” - Chilean President Sebastian Pinera upon meeting Peruvian President Ollanta Humala for the first time in June 2012 (quoted in El Comercio 2012).*

President Pinera’s effusive embrace of Peruvian food was an opening hook for small talk upon meeting the newly-elected Peruvian president. While complimenting Peruvian culture, Pinera also showed himself to be knowledgeable, to have a cosmopolitan way of life, and to support Peruvian initiatives. This comment came, however, at the start of international trade meetings, a site where Chilean business interests, represented by Pinera, a business mogul turned president, have historically taken the upper hand. In light of the historical animosities linked to the War of the Pacific (1879-1883), the still turbulent relationship between these two nations, and the exponentially increasing migration of Peruvians to Chile, Peruvian gastronomy has been heralded as a way to usher multiculturalism positively into Chile and to increase social integration of migrants (Perez et al 2014, Bonhomme 2013). To this end, both structural (top-down, largely governmental) and informal efforts have been made to embrace Peruvian food. The quote by Chef Gaston Acurio above highlights the passion involved in the branding and selling of Peruvian food. It is also indicative of an interest among Peruvians, including migrants living in Chile, to showcase their gastronomy. However, the reference to “soldiers of our culture” and the use of military discourse frame the mission to export Peruvian cuisine as a nationalistic neo-colonial undertaking, thus further raising the stakes for this new culinary influence. Even as individuals debate the

positive aspects of multiculturalism and migration, that debate remains deeply rooted in historical and social contexts, often still rife with friction. And the mostly favorable reception of this new gastronomic influence stands in contrast to ongoing racial messaging targeting migrants (Hale 2006).

The multiple messages and racialized discourses surrounding Peruvian food and migration in Chile point toward the potential for food and food practices to be both transformative (Bourdieu 1984) and transgressive (Douglas 1966). Growing consumption of Peruvian food speaks to Chilean interest in extracting positive benefits from increasing migration, a demographic trend continually produced as a challenge to Chile's nation, racial formation, and modernity. In embracing Peruvian food, Chileans have posited it as a multicultural influence, with their consumption of Peruvian food marking them as multicultural global citizens in line with consumers of ethnic foods in the U.S. and Europe. Additionally, this interest is still tempered by the racial ambivalence that Hale (2006) describes. Even as Chileans eagerly consume Peruvian food (and preferentially hire Peruvian domestic laborers), the outward embrace of multiculturalism belies the fact that the structures of economic control and financial benefits, patterns of racialization, and relationships between Chileans and Peruvians remain the same. Chilean consumers of Peruvian food position themselves either as refined, worldly citizens in a cosmopolitan capital (Bourdieu 1984) or as exotic, adventurous diners consuming the other in a global city (Comaroff & Comaroff 2009, Duruz 2005). The strategic consumption of Peruvian food, regardless of its index, positions Chileans as consumers with purchasing power and the Chilean capital as an increasingly global city.

Even while Chileans benefit from Peruvian food's transformative qualities, they must also engage in boundary work, maintenance, and distinction to guard against the transgressive aspects of both Peruvian food and migration. Racial and ethnic distinctions are made continually in light of the new wave of migration, and ensure a distance, delineating who belongs in the nation. Signs of transnationalism and transnational spaces are increasingly evident and often linked to food, with street carts and restaurants serving as visual reminders (Stefoni 2008). These Peruvian signs are met with increased nationalism and contestation of boundaries and belonging. The back-and-forth between the taint and romance of difference (Ray 2004: 78) and the vehement and engaged public debate "drawing the gustatory boundary" (Ray 2004: 78) indicate the extent to which Peruvian food and migration are topics that are both unsettled and unsettling. Chilean negotiation of competing messages and paradoxes surrounding Peruvian food and migration suggest that these negotiations are part of a shifting identity project, one that remains unsettled. Chileans have labored over and embraced modernity projects throughout their history. Currently, multicultural consumption of Peruvian food and migrant labor are two parts of an ongoing process of constructing Chile as modern and cosmopolitan.

## **CHAPTER 7: CONCLUSION**

On Saturday August 4, 2012, I left my apartment building and headed to meet Veronica, a Bolivian woman who had invited me to accompany her and her friends to the celebration of the Virgin of Copacabana. When I met up with Veronica, she told me that her friend Jenni and her friend's niece were still preparing for the event, and would join us later at the procession's starting point. We headed on towards the historic center of Santiago. When we reached the gathering point, we found small clusters of dance groups assembling in front of the McDonald's on the corner where the pedestrian shopping street meets Santiago's principal traffic artery. Dressed in a range of traditional clothing, the small groups were chatting among themselves and milling around. Several drummers were also assembling. As we waited, Veronica voiced concern that Jenni and her niece would not make it on time. She frequently checked the clock on her cell phone, and she explained that the family had invested a large amount of money in the niece's participation. The niece had also invested six months of practice time rehearsing the dances. The young woman's participation marked an important personal and family sacrifice that was meant as a thanksgiving for a sick relative's recovery. Veronica explained that for many migrants from Bolivia, this event was their most important community gathering of the year.

Over the next half an hour, people continued to gather and the groups took shape. Jenni and her niece arrived, and I greeted them before the niece hurried off to her fellow dancers. Within minutes, the community representatives and priest who were leading the procession convened the event with a prayer. The drums started up and the procession commenced, slowly dancing its way down the busy pedestrian street. Community

dignitaries led the procession and an honor guard carried the four-foot statue of the Virgin of Copacabana. Flags and banners accompanied the statue and each dance troop had their own Bolivian and Wiphala indigenous flags. The rhythmic tempo moved the procession steadily along, and bystanders made way as the group proceeded along the shopping and banking artery.



Figures 7.1 and 7.2: The above figures depict the procession for the Virgin of Copacabana celebration. Dancers process along a pedestrian street in Santiago's downtown.

Many of the Saturday morning shoppers stopped to line the street and get a better look at the dance groups. Kids were hoisted up on parents shoulders, tourists paused to watch and to take photos, people milled about, and some shoppers continued in a determined fashion. Several young Chileans climbed up on nearby benches and took photos with their phones. A small boy on his father's shoulders clapped in time to drum beat. A group of four women emerged as the procession passed Starbucks, bringing the coffees out to watch and imitating some of the steps of the *saya* dance. As the procession

made its way down the mile-long pedestrian street to the Plaza de Armas, the crowds grew and shoppers and passersby waiting for the procession to pass before crossing the street.

The slow procession eventually arrived at Santiago's Plaza de Armas. The procession entered the plaza at its southwest corner, and made its way along the western side of the plaza, past the art booths and their vendors, past the outdoor cafes with tourists sitting and drinking coffee, and past the facade of the Cathedral. As it reached the Cathedral, the procession turned east, moving along the plaza's northern promenade. Volunteers from the Peruvian Señor de los Milagros community (dressed in their uniform purple robes) held ropes that they used to divide the crowd from the dancers and to cordon off an ample space for the dances, approximately 100 meters by 50 meters. The statue of the Virgin of Copacabana was placed, along with the flags and the procession's dignitaries, right below the plaza's Pedro de Valdivia statue, a memorial to Santiago's founder. The dancers began dancing one group at a time on the cleared promenade space.

As each dance group was afforded an opportunity to salute the Virgin of Copacabana, I spent most of the time talking with people I knew at the event. I spoke at length with Veronica. She explained each dance to me, from *tinkus* to *caporales*, *diabladas*, and *pujllay*. Veronica recounted the origins of each dance and their particular movements, rhythms, and costumes. Each group also had one or two members who would dance around with the Bolivian and the Wiphala flags, proudly proclaiming their national celebrations. Veronica explained that most of the groups dancing have both Bolivian and Chilean members, and she commented that in her experience this was one of the only arenas in which migrants and Chileans truly got the opportunity to interact

socially. A week prior to the event, she had gone to Jenni's niece's open practice, during which all the family and friends of the dancers had gathered to watch the rehearsal and then share a meal. She said that the Chilean dancers in the group had talked to her about her interest in the dance group. They were all either from Chile's northern regions where religious dancing is often practiced or from the city's many dance classes. Veronica's discussion of the integrated dance troop prompted her to reflect that this was the only example she had come across during her two years in Chile in which migrants and Chileans were part of a shared project and genuinely seemed interested in learning from each other.



Figure 7.3: Onlookers watch dance troops salute the Virgin of Copacabana in the Plaza de Armas. Note the presence of Bolivian flags.



Figure 7.4: Dance troops salute the Virgin of Copacabana in the Plaza de Armas. Note the presence of Bolivian flags.

Another Bolivian woman who I knew from the migrant center joined us. We all found a spot next to the migrant center's security guard, who was volunteering as part of the Peruvian Señor de los Milagros contingent and who was responsible for holding up a section of the cordoning rope. He entertained up with jokes and stories, and we passed around snacks. I stepped aside several times to greet other workers from the migrant center, some American friends who had come to see the dancing, and my Chilean neighbors who had been shopping for the week's fruits and vegetables at the nearby large market, were drawn in to the event, and wanted to say hello. The crowds were swelling as the afternoon celebration went on. The crowd in the plaza was bustling and the mood felt celebratory.

I spent the afternoon talking with event attendees, watching the mesmerizing series of dancers, and listening to the hypnotic rhythm of the drums. By mid-afternoon, I sensed that the crowds were dwindling, as many people out and about in the city center

were likely making their ways home for lunch and a Saturday siesta. At this point, I saw a small girl, about four years old, break away from her mother's hand and jog toward a space between the onlookers. She hesitated, watching the scene mesmerized. Her mom caught up to her and took her hand again. "Mom, look, dancers!" with enthusiasm, not yielding as her mother attempted to pull her away. Amid the women in *pollera* skirts and the prolific Bolivian flags, her mom responded shortly, "It's nothing, just those Peruvians in the plaza. Come on." The mom succeeded in dragging the daughter along with her. The girl continued to look over her shoulder towards the crowds and dancing until the two of them descended into the plaza's subway station. I turned back around and found Veronica watching their retreat as well. "It's always the same," she noted. When I asked what she meant, she explained that for Chileans, migrants were all the same and she did not expect that would change.

In the midst of events celebrating Bolivia's independence and religious patron, Veronica was reminded about how migrants are perceived and received in Chile; how visible migrant groups are; and how that visibility is reducible to stereotypical Chilean associations with migration. This single interaction between a mom and a child spoke volumes. It reduced all migration to its most stereotyped common denominator. It converted a space of belonging that was welcoming of diverse cultural traditions into one that was not. It sent a message to migrants in hearing range that they were not welcomed in Chile or in the plaza. It reinforced the racialization of the Plaza de Armas in a way that reductively combined all migrant groups. And it sent a message to a Chilean child—drawn by people, music, colorful clothes, and dance—that diverse cultural traditions are

not valuable. In short, this one interaction highlights contrasting Chilean engagements with migration, one that is still open for debate.

### ***Key Findings and Contributions***

We live in an era of unprecedented migration. As I write this, waves of migrants and refugees flow into Europe, thousands of unaccompanied migrant children remain detained in U.S. centers, and U.S. political rhetoric has unleashed new permutations of xenophobia. Why in an era of globalization and unprecedented transnational migration, do identity practices draw so forcefully on national ideas of distinction? And why, even amid the outward embrace of multiculturalism are racial distinctions enduring?

My work contributes to research on the processes involved in racialization, particularly migrant racialization. My work builds on research that explores the multiple, simultaneous practices of migrant racialization (Berg 2015) as well as the overlapping racial categories through which migrants are understood (Silverstein 2005, de Genova 2005). I draw on Hale's (2006) work on racial ambivalence in Guatemala to further problematize practices of migrant racialization. In particular, I explore the discursive tension that ties contrasting practices of racialization together, typically under the framework of reinforcing the host nation's national racial identity. For example, the simultaneous desire for a submissive migrant domestic laborers and the necessity of managing potential migrant transgressions—linked to the same racialization of migrants as indigenous—highlights the internal discursive tension surrounding this one racial association. Likewise, Chilean discussions of *mestizaje* and the simultaneous allure and taint of Peruvian food, also exemplify the tension involved in racialized frames. Similar

to the discourses of Guatemalan *ladino* elites (Hale 2006), my work emphasizes the contradictory and multiple discourses involved in migrant racialization, particularly how these practices of racialization produce migrants as visible in certain times, places, and jobs and invisible in others. In this work, I examine how migrant difference is constructed, highlighting social boundaries between Chileans and migrants while concurrently constructing a Chilean population that is imagined as racially homogeneous. In this way, practices of migrant racialization function simultaneously to craft migrant difference and exert national sameness.

In the Chilean case, major force within the multiple practices of racialization is the way that Chileans strategically engage migrant distinction in their ongoing efforts to construct a national racial identity in contrast to their Latin American neighbors. My work shifts the focus of migrant racialization to emphasize the national racial identity practices that play out in host nations. Chile's unique racial constructions offer a productive case for thinking through lesser-explored processes involved in racialization. From its early development, Chilean authorities and citizens worked to craft a very particular identity, one in which the pursuit of whiteness was an integral subtext. My work focuses on the idea of an aspirational national racial project, and its compelling links to both historical and contemporary migrations. As a nation, Chile has long striven to emphasize national racial distinction rather than intra-national group differences. From the ideology and implementation of early censuses to the iceberg sent to Seville, Chilean national (racialized) self-presentation has long emphasized a northern-looking posture as it has attempted to separate itself from its neighboring nations. However, the eagerness to incorporate global markers of whiteness belies the much more complex debates over

Chilean national identity and its racial component. The recent Latin American migration has magnified the complicated Chilean engagement with its national racial identity. In my work, I chart the current struggle of contradictory forces; the push for a normative, homogeneous racial identity epitomized by discussions of the “*raza chilena*” and the embrace of racial and ethnic plurality and multiculturalism as emblems of a democratic, modern Chilean nation. Even as these forces engage migration in distinct ways, they both emphasize national identity work that aims to present a modern, northern-inspired national identity; one that I argue still fundamentally draws on global markers of whiteness.

My research also contributes to the field of urban anthropology. Cities have become productive sites for theorizing citizenship (Holston and Appadurai 1999, Caldeira 2000), analyzable articulations of globalization, and increasingly diverse communities and social interactions. In studying the often contentious Latin American migration to Santiago, Chile, my research explores the economic, physical, and social implications of migration on the city of Santiago and on how Chileans understand migrant settlement and use of urban spaces. Here, I examined these questions in regards to one important urban site, the historic Plaza de Armas. In analyzing this space and the significance of migrant use of the key Chilean site, I build upon the extensive work of Lefebvre (1991, 1996) and Low (2000, 2005). In Chapter 5, I argued that as tropes about migrant use of the Plaza de Armas circulate, they are linked to migrant bodies, enabling an interpellation of representational space on migrant bodies. This argument expands discussions of representational space (Lefebvre 1991) and embodied space (Low 2003), elaborating how racialized embodied space frames migrant experience in Chile. This

work furthers research on the processes through which certain spaces come to be associated with racial and ethnic distinctions, pointing toward new iterations of how space and race are linked.

### ***Remaining Questions and Areas of Future Research***

During dissertation fieldwork and in the course of follow-up research conducted in 2015, several additional research questions arose in regards to the ongoing Latin American migration to Santiago. I am interesting in charting the rising concerns linked to different migrant communities, and how migrant groups from certain nations are increasingly compared and racially marked in different ways. In particular, the growing Colombian migration to Chile is viewed in varied and competing ways. Returning to Santiago in June and July 2015, the rapidly shifting migratory focus of Chileans surprised me. Again and again, Chileans with whom I spoke described the current migratory problems in relation to the Colombian migrant community. I heard many comparisons between the “hard working” and “calm” Peruvian migrants and the perceptions of Colombians and vocal, visible, and unwilling to toe the line. The disciplining discourse aiming to craft the docile body has been re-appropriated and deployed in an effort to govern a migrant group that is increasingly perceived as newly problematic.

Addressing the shifting perceptions of certain migrant groups, and how different communities are racialized will enable further examination of intra-Latin American negotiations of racial identity. In exploring Chilean engagement with various migrant communities, I plan to continue analyzing the multiple practices of migrant racialization. I hope to further problematize practices of racialization and their link to migrant

visibility. Colombian migrants are discussed by Chileans in two contradictory frameworks. On one hand, Colombian migrants are strongly associated with stereotypes of drugs, prostitution, and criminality. In contrast, Chileans often note the entry of Colombian professionals in high-level office jobs. Indeed, Colombian migrants are the most likely to get their university degrees validated for work in Chile. The particularly wide discrepancy between these two well-circulated stereotypes suggests an even more nuanced discussion of migrant racialization. In future research, I hope to further explore how Chilean understandings of different migrant populations afford an entry point into exploring both the vast diversity of race, ethnicity, and indigeneity in Latin America as well as the overarching impulse toward naturalization, simplification, stereotyping, and erasure.

While I am broadly interested in which migrants are viewed as a threat to the Chilean nation, I am particularly interested in the spatial associations that are being made in regards to the Colombian migrant community. An emerging enclave is forming in the neighborhood where I lived during my dissertation fieldwork. The growing Colombian community there is often accused of not properly integrating, with the emerging enclave being listed as the primary example in this argument. My future research will explore racialized discrepancies constructed around certain migrant communities. I aim to critically examine spatial links to these racialized discrepancies and will chart the role that emerging assimilationist discourses occupy in the ongoing process of migrant racialization, in particular, what are the implications of calls for integration on the way Chileans employ migrant distinction in national racial identity practices.

My work on migration and urbanization scratches the surface of a much larger and ethnographically rich topic. Research points to the intertwined processes of migration and urbanization (Benton-Short and Price 2008). While studies suggest that migrants are important actors, bringing about physical, social, economic, and cultural urban change (Davis 2000), the field of inquiry is still emerging. My work on migrant use of the Plaza de Armas is but one small—albeit symbolically very important—discussion of the larger topic of migration and urban public space. Subsequent fieldwork has indicated two avenues for future research to continue exploring migration and urbanization.

In future research, I will continue to examine public space, particularly public transportation. During the early stages of dissertation fieldwork, I accompanied a Peruvian woman downtown to the Plaza de Armas. We talked as we made our way into the metro station and we were still talking when the train arrived. We boarded the train, and I made an overture to take up the conversation that my partner had stopped in mid-sentence. In response, the woman subtly shook her head at me. Her silence spoke volumes about her experiences of visibility and marginalization in spaces of transit; speaking on the metro was akin to waving a Peruvian flag and announcing herself a migrant. Spatially divided by residence and labor, migrant use of public transportation—in particular the metro—brings individuals into close contact with Chileans from diverse backgrounds. Future research will explore the metro as an important site in which constraints on interactional engagement produce new understandings of citizenship and belonging in urban Latin America.

In thinking of cities as the spaces where citizenship is produced (Holston & Appadurai 1996), public space becomes the locus for negotiating, maintaining, and

contesting citizenship, rights, and belonging (Jacobs 1961, Zukin 1995, Low 2000). As cities become fragmented and as wealthier segments of the population decreasingly move through public arenas, “the character of public space and of citizens’ participation in public life changes” (Caldeira 2005: 83). The city of Santiago is no exception. The city’s expansion, increasing segregation along socioeconomic lines, and reception of the vast majority of the recent migrants have altered the urban fabric. Spaces of migration, such as the Plaza de Armas, are hotly contested by Chilean publics; however, the textured and dynamic urban milieu affords migrants the opportunity to engage in community events and to craft spaces of belonging even amid Chilean objections.

In contrast to spaces like the plaza, the metro constitutes a unique type of public space. While residential segregation expands, with public space increasingly exchanged for trips to private places like malls, public transit still routinely brings individuals together in mobile public spaces. While bus routes often run within confined sectors of the city, the metro lines bridge socioeconomic divides, becoming sites where people of diverse backgrounds share close proximity. The metro offers a space without overt surveillance, but dispersed disciplining practices that passengers engage in produce real (although extra-legal) consequences, acting on migrant bodies to promote certain ways of being and interacting while discouraging others. In this way, migrants quickly learn to not speak on the metro, to dress in particular ways, to not sit directly adjacent to Chilean riders — in short, migrants are disciplined to become socially invisible subjects. Even as Chilean metro riders take on the role of disciplining actor, they often enforce norms that are at odds with the Chilean state’s embrace of multiculturalism and desire to facilitate the arrival of unskilled labor. Additional research will focus on exploring how the

enclosed cars of the metro become sites where social distance and national racialized boundaries are crafted in the absence of physical space. Future research will problematize the socially-produced spaces of public transportation. These enclosed sites may carry Chile's most diverse cross-sections of the population across the city, but migrant experiences suggest that these are spaces where rights disintegrate and new divisions are produced. The new understandings of rights, citizenship, and belonging produced in these spaces of mobility highlight the important role that quotidian interactions on the metro have in crafting urban spaces and framing migrant – Chilean relationships.

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