

**Interaction and Coexistence between Recent Migrants to Chile and Locals: A  
Phenomenological Exploration**

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THESIS

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This dissertation is dedicated to my mother, Rosa, the pillar of my life,  
my father, Juan, who, although forgetting his past and present, remembers my being,  
and my partner, Johannes, who always walks beside me.

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## **LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS**

BCN	Biblioteca del Congreso Nacional (Library of the National Congress)
CASEN	(Encuesta de) Caracterización Socioeconómica Nacional (National Survey of Socioeconomic Characterization)
CBD	Central Business District
ECLAC-UN	Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean
IOM	International Organization for Migration
JV	Junta de Vecinos (Neighborhood Organization)
MDS	Ministerio de Desarrollo Social (Ministry of Social Development)
MI-DEM	Ministerio del Interior—Departamento de Extranjería y Migración (Ministry of Internal Affairs—Department of Foreigners and Migration)
MINVU	Ministerio de Vivienda y Urbanismo (Ministry of Housing and Urbanism)
NU	Neighborhood Unit
PI	Principal investigator
PLADECO	Plan de Desarrollo Comunal (Local Development Plan)
RUT	Rol Único Tributario (unique tax identification number)
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNICEF	United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund

## SUMMARY

International migration is reconfiguring places into points of encounter of multiple cultures. The people in these spaces, however, face challenges of exclusion related to lack of recognition, discrimination and a tendency to homogenize identities. This dissertation explores the extent to which migrant and native Chilean communities recognize and respect each other in their interactions, particularly as they negotiate the private and public realms.

The research is based on two centrally located neighborhoods in Santiago, Chile—Benito Juárez and Yungay—that are experiencing significant immigration from other Latin American countries. The study starts with a critical analysis of the phenomenology of spaces of intercultural coexistence. Using the Case Study Method, this research applies participant observation in public spaces, and in-depth qualitative interviews of Latin American immigrants and Chileans residing in these two neighborhoods along with government and local officials.

The analysis focuses on the struggles related to the immigrants' housing accommodations and the surrounding public spaces. The findings indicate that the spatial practices of immigrant communities tend to be affected by segregation as encounters with Chilean residents are very limited and the use of public space is rather conflictive. The micro politics of these encounters predominantly take the form of territorial and cultural contestations.

Ultimately, rather than producing mutually enriching encounters, the entry of immigrants is generating tensions between Chileans and Latin American immigrants, somewhat enticing both sides to close off and retreat into their own communities. Unless processes are put in place to facilitate positive encounters, this division can deepen developing feelings of isolation.

**Keywords:** Place, everyday spatial practices, immigration, coexistence, recognition and respect, Santiago Chile.

## **1 Introduction**

### **1.1 Problem Statement**

We are living in an era of mobility and juxtaposition of places and cultures. Indeed, the world's population is experiencing a dramatic increase in migration. The 2009 United Nations' (UN) report on world migration listed 214 million migrants across the globe and predicted that this number could reach 405 million people by 2050 (UNDP, 2009, p. 1). Although this phenomenon is not new, international mobility is growing rapidly, and more migrants than ever before are crossing borders and scattering in all directions—both in geographical and cultural terms. Most immigrants are moving to cities, especially but not exclusively in the North. As a result of these movements, places are increasing their global connections and are becoming points of encounter for multiple cultures. In such a diversity, peoples from different places are coming to coexist in all kinds of spaces and this coexistence implies a need for ongoing negotiations (Massey, 2004, p. 80).

Contemporary international migration is producing de facto cultural diversity as it involves a diversity of ethnic and cultural groups (UNDP, 2009). Immigration and its associated intercultural coexistence intertwine with structural social problematics, such as living in precariousness, socioeconomic deprivation, segregation, and inequalities of all sorts. In modern societies, stereotyping and racism often coexist with multicultural encounters (Wessendorf, 2013, p. 410) intensifying conflicts and hierarchies associated with social relationships (Touraine, 1998). As a result, intercultural coexistence becomes an issue especially in cities—a process particularly relevant in societies with traditions of cultural homogeneity.

Chile has become an important destination of migration, and as such represents an example of the current pattern of world migration. Within South America, over the last two

decades, Chile has become the country with the fastest growing immigrant population. While most Latin American countries had a negative balance during this period, others like Brazil had a stagnant number of migrants, and only Chile, Costa Rica and Panama experienced a positive balance (Machin, 2011). Although international migrants represent a low percentage of the Chilean population, the sudden immigration and spatial concentration of immigrants (Schiappacasse, 2008) in Santiago has challenged Chile's tradition of cultural homogeneity. In addition, some inner city, low-income areas in Santiago (e.g., the Recoleta and Santiago municipalities) now concentrate migrants in overcrowded and sometimes precarious conditions (Torres & Hidalgo, 2009). This situation provides the opportunity and the need for analyzing the experiences of cultural encounter.

The Chilean social assumption that the country is a homogenous society runs counter to the spatial concentration of migrant communities in certain areas of Santiago. Traditionally, cultural homogenization in Chile stimulated the denial of the 'other'—the one who is different to the 'standard' (Jensen, 2008). In this context, intercultural coexistence and regular encounters often lead to conflicts in urban neighborhoods, as "habitual contact in itself is not guarantor of cultural exchange. It can entrench group animosities and identities, through repetitions of gender, class, race, and ethnic practices" (Amin, 2002, p. 969). Thus, the current process of international migration and spatial concentration (in this case in particular areas of Santiago) poses challenges involving exclusion and injustice related to discrimination, the lack of recognition, and the tendency to homogenize.

How can people live together without social conflicts and socioeconomic deprivation? Or can they? Alain Touraine elucidates the possibility of combining equality and difference in contexts of multiculturalism that he characterizes as the "meeting of cultures" (Touraine, 2000,

p. 172). According to Touraine (2000), living together is not just learning how to reconcile antagonistic realities and thus to manage diverse and opposing worldviews; it also involves resolving problems rooted in social structures that are not properly addressed by diversity policies. Considering that migration turns cities into points of encounter of cultures and conflicts, it is imperative to avoid fragmentation; rather, it is necessary to strengthen institutions that deal with diversity based on respect for individuals (Touraine, 2000, p. 172) and equality.

‘Place’ as a concept linking space and communities’ lived experiences is well established in urban studies, but little work has been done to explain how place is conceptually connected to situations of conflicts associated with intercultural coexistence. Place is a cognitive structure installed in the existential structure of an individual (Tuan, 2001), recognized, created, and appropriated through the individuals’ spatial practices (Brettell, 2006; Lindón, 2004; Massey, 1994). Through these practices immigrants transform lived space by adding elements and norms from their places of origin that they adjust to the local reality. In this process of home configuration, they create new places that can conflict with native people’s experiences of space, leading to a conflictive coexistence.

Coexistence in urban immigrant neighborhoods is mediated by everyday spatial practices associated with habitation and the use of public space surrounding immigrants’ homes. In this regard, the meaning of ‘home’ is fostered by multiple discourses and forces, including the distinction between what is considered public and private. Multicultural places are shaped most particularly when immigrants “recreate their home”—which most perceive as a private matter—in public or shared spaces (Rus, 2006). This phenomenon of cultural coexistence associated with current migration patterns needs to be addressed in a comprehensive manner and urban planning

has a relevant role in uncovering the issues that take place in neighborhoods of intercultural coexistence and that play out in the micro politics of everyday life.

Urban planning and policy also have an essential role in promoting social recognition and socioeconomic equality. In countries like Chile, where social homogeneity has defined national identity, growing international migration and concentration need to be addressed by policy on migration and diversity. Local governments have a major role in making the lives of native and migrant communities better. Today, government decisions, police activities, and clashes in culturally diverse neighborhoods are part of people's efforts to hold their own in the absence of national immigration policy and processes of integration. These "micro-politics of everyday social contact and encounter" may lead to conflicts that embody "daily negotiations of ethnic differences" (Amin, 2002, p. 959) and tensions associated with habitation and use of public spaces in the areas that immigrants call home. A balance between equal treatment and acceptance of difference could be aided by public policy and urban planning initiatives. Intercultural coexistence poses important challenges in terms of urban segregation and exclusion, as well as potential injustices and abuses tied to lack of recognition of the rights of 'the other' – the newcomer—to inhabit cities and neighborhoods. In particular, the challenges posed by diaspora communities call into question the meaning of justice and especially the degree to which it involves the recognition of immigrant communities.

While reflecting on the theoretical concepts of coexistence and place, this study seeks to comprehend the experience of migrant communities in two neighborhoods in Chile and relationships of coexistence with native dwellers taking place in the homes inhabited by immigrants and in the public space surrounding them. In the context of international migration, this particular matter also relates to the issue of justice as immigrants tend to be in a weak



position to demand it, or to shape and defend place. It aims to contribute to the knowledge of the everyday intercultural coexistence in urban spaces by exploring the issues of living together for natives and immigrants in neighborhoods located in central areas of Santiago de Chile—namely Benito Juarez and Yungay, which are currently experiencing significant immigration from various Latin American countries.

The study starts with a critical analysis of the phenomenology of spaces of intercultural coexistence. The subjectivities generated in these spaces, especially in areas of socioeconomic precariousness, are analyzed through the experiences of individuals living and acting in these neighborhoods, in particular native and immigrant residents, and government officials. Based on the case study method and informed by a phenomenology-based critical perspective, this research studies how migrant and native Chilean communities coexist, respect and recognize each other through the creation of interstitial spaces between the private and public.

More particularly, I examine the interactions or clashes between migrants and both native neighbors and the state (as represented by the police and the norms), with a focus on migrants' use of public spaces. I am most interested in determining how neighbors negotiate differences and tensions associated with their everyday spatial practices of habitation, the extent to which Chilean structures and Chileans embrace or isolate immigrants, and the interventions of local and national government. This research is organized around a general Research Question addressing the nature of these experiences and encounters regarding recognition.

## 1.2 **Research Question**

To what extent do migrant and native Chilean communities recognize and respect each other as they negotiate the private and public realm?

More specifically, I asked:

1. How do Latin American immigrants to Santiago, Chile, create place<sup>1</sup> through their spatial practices of housing and use of public space?
2. What is the nature of their interactions with native residents, especially in terms of culture and class, and what kinds of (micro) politics emerge from these interactions?

### 1.3 **Structure of the Dissertation**

This dissertation studies the experience of migrants to Chile through their interactions with native Chileans, their residential milieus and the ways in which these milieus constrain their lives and in which migrants respond to them. Given that all human experiences are embodied and spatialized, Chapter 2 pays special attention to the dynamics involved in the construction of place and how that construction of place affects immigrant interactions with native Chileans. I supplement this with insights from Bourdieu's *Practices of Everyday Life* and Foucault's insights on power as the basis of all relations. These insights help me trace the practices of everyday life as constitutive of people's (immigrants') daily realities, following Bourdieu, and the power relations involved in the relations of immigrants and native Chileans, following Foucault.

Chapter 3 describes the phenomenological methodology, using additional insights from critical authors such as Bourdieu, Foucault and de Certeau to shed light on the conflicts associated with the encounters between immigrant and native populations and the challenges of recognition and respect in these encounters. In essence, phenomenology focuses on conscious experiences such as judgments, perceptions and emotions using a 'subjective' perspective to extract trends that govern society. To differentiate itself from the field of psychology, it uses systematic reflection to establish the properties and structures of experience. In other words, it

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<sup>1</sup> By place, I mean space of lived experience

seeks to understand reality through the examination of daily human behavior. Thus, rather than focusing on objectified knowledge, phenomenology uses grounded methods such as participant observation and unstructured conversations/interviews to explore the ways in which specific milieus frame people's construction of their daily lives.

I start the discussion in Chapters 4 and 5 by providing background on the institutional framework of immigration and the constraints immigrants face. This section introduces the structures framing the entry and possibilities of immigrants to Chile, namely migration policies and practices both at the national and the local level (principally examined on the basis of interviews with Chilean functionaries in charge of these aspects) and the specialized housing market providing housing to the bulk of low-income immigrants—which currently constitute a majority of all migrants to Chile. In Chapter 6 the focus is on actual practices and the ways in which immigrants interpret them, for instance, by transferring much of their social life to public spaces and thus turning them into functional extensions of their dwellings. In Chapter 7, I examine how these immigration and residential experiences shape their collective, individual and family lives. After this, I focus specifically on the actual interactions of coexistence between Chileans and immigrants, and conclude in Chapter 8 with a review of the questions guiding this research and the implications for planning and policy.

## 2 Theoretical Framework

This chapter lays out the conceptual and theoretical basis for the analysis of the interaction of migrant and native communities in Santiago, Chile. The core of this inquiry is based on critical phenomenology and other critical insights that help me to explore what happens in the encounters between immigrants and host communities and most specifically the challenges these encounters pose to immigrants, receiving communities and public authorities and policies.

In order to build the phenomenological foundation of this discussion, this chapter introduces the concept of place as the centerpiece of the individual's relation to space, and the role that space plays in the configuration of community. The key category in this relation refers to the practices through which individuals experience space and thus build 'place'. Along these lines, this review includes the meaning of home, especially in the context of international migration, and the discussion of private vs. public space and the appropriation of space.

The first section of this theoretical discussion puts an emphasis on the phenomenological perspective and the individual's experience. The following section puts ethnic communities in the center of the discussion, by introducing key concepts and theoretical perspectives on coexistence in the context of international migration. It lays out a basis for a critical discussion of the construction of otherness and the analysis of discrimination, and examines the concept of multiculturalism to address ethnic diversity and the challenges of cultural and social assimilation, which are critical aspects of the relationships that often emerge in these encounters.

The last part of this chapter addresses an underlying aspect of coexistence: the principle of justice. Starting with its philosophical basis, I then tie justice to the phenomenological perspective that focuses on the individual experience of injustice defined principally in terms of recognition. The chapter ends by applying this conceptual discussion to the challenge that

migrants face when it comes to their right to habitation. Altogether, this chapter lays out the framework that guided me in the exploration of the ways in which immigrants adjust to often non-welcoming local environments and negotiate their relations with the host society as well as the conflicts and accommodations that emerge in these encounters.

## 2.1 **Consciousness and Creation of Place through the Spatial Practices of Everyday**

The main question of this section is how spatial practices contribute to the creation of place and the configuration of community. Thus, the core of this discussion is the individual and community experience of the relationship between space and individuals. The analysis of how such relationships are created is carried out from several perspectives, namely: (1) the configuration of perception and how subjects perceive the world through their experience with their intimate space; (2) how individuals interact in space to shape community; and (3) the generation of spatial practices associated with subsistence, collective memory, feelings, belonging, and the interaction between local and extra-local spaces in the construction of particular social relationships.

The issue of “how we construct our relationships with the non-human world and how that non-human world in turn affects us” (Judkins, Smith, & Keys, 2008, p.17) has been addressed in many ways over the centuries. Specifically, the relationship between space and community has been examined from different epistemological, theoretical, and disciplinary perspectives to comprehend or explain the life of communities and the interactions among community members, space, and society.

Each of these relationships has included various degrees of determinism related to the environment in which humans live (Judkins, Smith, & Keys, 2008, p.18). In this research, I use the idea that the practices of transforming the environment are reinforced by the subject’s

consciousness of space. A person's everyday behavior and their patterns in using space have been a major focus of the behaviorist perspective. Judkins et al. (2008) argue that individuals in communities are not passive but rather are active agents in the use of space and are spatially relevant decision-making subjects. Thus, this section studies the ways in which people recognize, appropriate, and use the lived space in their spatial practices (Brettell, 2006; Lindón, 2004; Massey, 1994), and how through these practices they configure places.

### **2.1.1 Place: Experienced and embodied space.**

Studies of the relationship between space and human being have been approached from several points of view including environmental determinism, Marxism and structuralism, and phenomenology. Oslender (2004, p.961) pointed out that:

...some approaches concentrate mainly on the material and territorial qualities of place, as reflected, for example, in certain strands of economic geography that attempt to theorize place as manifesting a certain specificity within the context of general processes...Others have focused more explicitly on the meanings and inner connections of 'sense of place', a key concept in phenomenology and of great relevance in the 1970s humanistic geography, which proposes to investigate the micro-episodes of everyday life and their embeddedness in specific contexts, or *milieux*. (Oslender, 2004, p.961)

For Oslender 'place' is at the center of the relationship between the subject and space as it speaks directly to human experience, meaning, and people's emotional relationships to space. Phenomenology scholars (Buttimer, 1980; Entrikin, 1976; Relph, 1986; Tuan, 1976; Tuan, 1990; Tuan, 1991, among others) have used a geographical perspective to analyze this relationship between 'human beings and nature/space' including aspects of power, appropriation, esthetic, environment and systems, experiences, and so forth.

But first and foremost phenomenology has introduced the concept of '**being-in-the-world**', implying that space itself involves the individual's body as positioned in the world. Thus, a phenomenology of space focuses on the "significance of our lived body, the body as consciousness or the perceiving subject, as the vehicle of our being-in-the-world" (Shengli, 2009, p. 132). The notion of 'being-in-the-world' defines human experience *per se*, and the body is thus the medium through which humans build any perception and consciousness of things. Understood in this sense, Merleau-Ponty (1993) argues that space is not the contextual medium (real or logic) within which things are displayed, but the means by which it is possible to arrange things. In this regard, human geographer Yi-Fu Tuan points out that "every person is at the center of his world, and circumambient space is differentiated in accordance with the schema of his body" (Tuan, 2001, p. 41). According to him, the human body itself shapes and limits the view of the world. It appears that all situations happening in the world are an extension of the human body or of the perception that each human has about his or her body.

Thus, from a phenomenological perspective space is a perception which involves our bodies positioned in the world and does not exist without the subject and its experience. But the subjects' perception of the world is in constant change. This is particularly relevant when discussing issues of migration: in the case of immigrants such change may be faster and more uncertain compared to other realities of the human experience. Thus, the understanding of the reality around people makes them aware of/builds their identity, situation, and place. A phenomenological inquiry of place implies "an understanding of the human world by studying people's relations with nature, their geographical behavior, as well as their feelings and ideas in regards to spaces and places" (Tuan, 1976, p. 266).

From this perspective, individual attachment to places is built by a process of mindful perception and experience of space and community. Thus, an immigrant's consciousness of place and community modifies their being-in-the-world as they experience a culture different from the one they have been socialized into and from which derived their identity. There is a direct link between phenomenological and behaviorist perspectives. The behaviorist approach to community speaks of the need to focus on micro-scales of space when analyzing subjects (Judkins et al., 2008, p. 21). Proshansky, Ittelson, & Leanne (1983) argued for the importance for individuals of control of what happens in defined areas of a space, as it marks their sense of freedom and also their relationship to the rest of their community. Accordingly, places act as triggers of social values, having a decisive role in defining individual and group identity. Similarly, to comprehend community behavior we need to research the system of meaning that a community associates with a particular place.

Phenomenological epistemology argues that place reflects the **consciousness** that humans have in and about the world (Relph, 1986; Tuan, 1990). Thus, a key question is how such consciousness, attachment and emotional relationship to space is built. A phenomenology of space treats 'experience' as a constitutive element of human consciousness. In other words, the experience defines the relationship between space and individuals that is represented in the subjects' place consciousness (Entrikin, 1976; Seamon & Sowers, 2008; Tuan, 2001). Tuan (2001) defined experience as a group of different perceptions by which people know and construct reality. This perspective suggests that we examine the specific and local contexts in which micro-episodes of everyday life occur. For empirical studies of place this means that it is relevant to "study human experience" "to examine and to clarify human situations, events, meanings, and experiences as they are known in everyday life but typically unnoticed beneath



the level of conscious awareness” (Seamon & Sowers, 2008). Such experience corresponds to a cognitive phase of constructing reality that starts from direct and indirect sensations and even symbolizations or conceptions (Tuan, 2001). Place therefore is a cognitive structure, a lived space, installed in the existential structure of the individual (Tuan, 2001). Space as experience is seen in its imaginary and affective dimension, not only in its physical, material perspective.

Consequently, there is a **relation of experience and a learning process** of the subject regarding space. Relph (1986) argued that any approach to the study of place as a phenomenon of experience cannot be explored within a paradigm of formal knowledge production, but by comprehending “the entire range of experiences through which we all know and make places” (Relph, 1986, p. 6). Prewitt Diaz & Dayal (2008) added that “humans’ subjective experiences of, and the meanings attributed to the locations they inhabit have strong memories” (p. 2). By linking the concept of experience to memories of meanings, there is a clear conceptual proximity to ‘learning’. In this regard, experience

implies the ability to learn from what one has undergone. To experience is to learn; it means acting on the given and creating out of the given. The given cannot be known in itself. What we can know is a reality that is a construct of experience, a creation of feeling and thought. (Tuan, 2001, p. 9)

In commenting on space and consciousness, Merleau-Ponty (1962) claimed that any learning about the existence of something is possible only if the subjects first feel themselves as existing in the act of learning. This phenomenological understanding is based on the idea that every act of building consciousness and experience is intentional. Hence, it is necessary to recognize that there is no mere appearance of things because “appearances are real and they belong to being” (Sokolowski, 2000, p. 15). Therefore, from a phenomenological perspective, place represents a

cognitive structure and a notion of perception that is based on human intuition; accordingly, a place can be seen as a phenomenon of direct experience that involves a learning process for human beings based on perception and consciousness.

Certainly, a standpoint based on place as a cognitive structure that just belongs to the being may fall into a naturalist approach, and thus represent a type of determinism framed by human being's consciousness. But at the same time the meaning of place is based on and constructed by power structures; as such an experience of place may foster a spatiality of resistance when an unjust situation affects the life of a place-community. Rather than merely focusing on whether this is deterministic or not, it is essential to use a broader notion of place and people's emotional relationships that include the socio-political context that frames a particular place experience. The use of the concept of place should thus be enriched by including the concept of power and of scale.

A more progressive concept of place that includes conceptualization of scale was developed by Doreen Massey, who argues that a) place is not a static concept but is intimately related to social interaction and therefore change; (b) place does not have boundaries (no outside is defined); and (c) place is not a single identity, so identity conflicts within one place or community are possible (Massey, 1994, p. 154). Moreover, Milton Santos (1996) points out that the individuality of places is directly linked to their capacity to interact with external influences.

Place, understood in a more material and territorial manner, can be a matter of struggle as some Marxist and critical perspectives have claimed (Massey, 1994; McDowell, 1999; Santos, 1996). The shape of a given territory may always be the same but, as society is in motion, it can be perceived differently (Santos, 1996, pp. 73–75). This insight implies a different perspective on place and experience as these are not primarily subjective, but are regarded as linked to

structural elements and schemes of interpretation and meaning beyond the subject. The sense of place is also constructed by underlying structures of power and institutions of power (Massey & Jess, 1995 p. 98). In this regard, Santos (1996, p. 92) pointed to the existence of different scales of influence which configure a defined space in a 'process of internalization'. But the local scale is often confused with variables that operate in extra-locality; each place is at the same time part of a global and the local coexisting dialectically.

Therefore, characteristics that influence place configuration have been relevant topics in studies of globalization and migration. This is particularly evident when discussing the concept of a '**global sense of place**'. Massey (2004) referred to the idea of individual identity and its linkage to the role space or environment plays by arguing that identity is not simply defined by the place where people live but also by the multiple links and interdependencies with other places (Massey, 2004, p. 77). Given such linkages across scales, the experience and meaning of places are influenced by power structures and institutions which may be constituted or rooted in different scales (Massey & B.Jess, 1995). This is particularly relevant for migration studies as the capacity to move depends on both the social group linkages and power position. "Different social groups have distinct relationships to this anyway differentiated mobility: some people are more in charge of it than other" (Massey, 1994, p. 149). Some groups and individuals are only in a receiving position in terms of global interchanges or are participating without controlling them (e.g. refugees and migrants); but others are 'in charge' having a privileged position with growing power and influence. Moreover, having control of mobility means that the ability to move can be a limitation or can represent control over the mobility of others (Massey, 1994, p. 150).

All in all, although the identity of place itself may be defined by a process of change and transformation in interaction with global space (Massey 1994 p.121), the local construction of

place must be uncovered by understanding the meanings that people generate of their space: “a place perspective.... should therefore begin before acts of resistance become visible and pay serious attention to the subjective ways in which people experience certain places” (Oslender, 2004, p. 961). This perspective demands consideration of how immigrants perceive space, how they build a sense of place, how they are emotionally attached to their ‘new home’ and to what degree their identity is based on emotional attachment to their place of origin. It is key to identify the meaning associated with the neighborhood they live in. Experience plays a central role in this inquiry into the building of consciousness—from a phenomenological perspective special attention is paid to the corporeal experience, as experienced through the senses.

### **2.1.2 Individuals’ interaction in space to shape community.**

At the community level, the study of place as an analytical category to uncover community life should receive more attention: by knowing about the places in which people live we can better understand people’s interactions and forms of coexistence. In this approach, there is reciprocity between social structures and mental structures: a mental and corporeal schemata of perception, appreciation, and action (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992). As place and community are approached through meanings and “meaning is thus constituted as an intersubjective phenomenon” (Schutz, 1967), there is a need to use methods and techniques that interpret these meanings to comprehend community life and spatial experience in order to promote community development.

Community and place are analytical categories that are often confused in the development of methodological and theoretical explorations. Agnew (1989, p. 10) attributed this misperception to a common understanding of community as “both a physical setting for social relations and a morally valued way of life” (p. 10). As mentioned earlier, place is commonly

seen as a physical setting and also the individual's emotional relation to it; these terms are frequently used interchangeably. For instance, when we talk about neighborhood we may see it as a community related to a certain place, but also as the place itself. However, community is more than a group of people in a certain space, and place is more than a defined space, as it includes the relations that subjects develop within a particular space based on their experience.

Lefebvre's concept of community illuminates such relationships. Lefebvre argues that community is situated in an ideologically defined space, which permits the integration of its inhabitants; therefore, the development of space depends on the evolution of the community (Lefebvre, 1974). Consequently, the relationship between space and community should be seen as a process where things are assembled in the production of space by different levels of interaction: the perceived, the conceived, and the lived spaces (Lefebvre, 1991). In this perspective space is the result of interactions happening at different scales and connected across scales, from the immensity of the global to the intimacy of the local (Massey, 2005; Santos, 1996).

'Place' is an experienced and embodied space perceived and lived by individuals. This experience is obviously built over time, but equally important is the fact that it is shared, and as such, a specific place becomes known collectively. This means that 'place' as a concept has to be understood inter-subjectively, based on a community, in order to realize "how the meanings of place are contested in the course of people's everyday encounters with one another" (Auburn & Barnes, 2006, p. 39). In this regard, the relationship between community and place is relevant for the proper understanding of the term 'community' (Tuan, 2002). This relationship is powerful since both community and place reinforce the identity of the other (Relph, 1986, p. 34). From a phenomenological perspective, the vehicle of such inter-subjective experience of place

consists of discursive constructions, present in the practices of everyday communication, which can be either verbal or nonverbal. This may be what (Relph, 1986, p. 34) defines as “a collectively conditioned place consciousness.”

For Tuan (1990), community (neighborhood):

...would seem to be a construct of the mind that is not essential to neighborly life; its recognition and acceptance depend on knowledge of the outside world. The paradox can be put another way: residents of a real neighborhood do not recognize the extent and uniqueness of their area unless they have experience of contiguous areas. (p. 210)

Place, neighborhood, and community are social constructs recognizable more easily from an outside perspective. Relph (1986, p. 3) mentioned six components of place that may be related to community: First is the location which means that it has a “spatial extension and an inside and outside”; second, places integrate nature and culture; third, they are part of a system of spatial interconnections; fourth, places are emerging and becoming; fifth, history transforms their nature; and finally, places have meanings. **Consequently, place is a cognitive structure, socialized through the experiences of daily practices,** and the interaction among local and extra-local spaces.

Communities incorporate places in their collective identity and lives, as places are associated with memories, practices, and affiliations. Even though experiences might be individual, they are transmitted and recreated inter-subjectively. Furthermore, a community itself includes all units of social and territorial organization, in which both cooperation and exchanges create a mutual dependency of its members.

However, as stated by Bauman (2001, p. 3) “community is nowadays another name for the paradise lost” (p. 3). Here the author refers to a space of imagination and positive feelings

that represents freedom and security and involves the essence of what today is being looked for by humanity. Considering the liquid modernity following the radical dissolution of the bonds that limited individual freedom to choose and act, individuals today have to take their own responsibilities without traditional collective support (Bauman, 2000, p. 11).

Nevertheless, Tönnies's approach to community (Tönnies, 1988, p. 11) has more relevance today considering the need of human beings to be protected in a safe place. The author referred to a natural will as a kind of association that establishes community. In other words, reciprocal interaction among human beings at the community level has a component of preference. Here, family, groups of friends or people, "are related to each other in a sense of mutuality, common destiny, and the common bond and obligations that arise there from" (Warren, 1970, p. 2).

The relationship between space and individuals can be understood as a spatialized manner of socialization and is thus necessarily related to a community and not only to the affective relation between a subject and space. There is no spontaneous order that can define a permanent way of perceiving, understanding and using a specific space. Indeed, Massey (2005, p. 15) argues that space is the sphere of possibility and multiplicities; thus, interrelationships and multiplicity and space are co-constitutive. Individuals socialize in community through their experiences, which are linked to space; this socialization is creation and production. Space is constantly present in our life, as any configuration of our existence is shaped by spatial experiences, which are rooted in our consciousness. Thus, place and community are influenced and created through spatial practices, and from spatial practices place-consciousness is configured. Space is always in a process of formation (as is the human psyche in society) as a product of spatial practices.

Following this theoretical perspective in the context of international migration, the questions of the specific mechanisms and practices through which space is known and socialized in a collective manner, and how space and community are intertwined, arise. Of particular importance is the question of how migrants understand their neighborhood, and especially what the neighborhood means to them.

### **2.1.3 Spatial practices.**

Consciousness and sense of place are linked to spatial practices as the foundation of collective memory, feelings, belonging, and interaction between local and extra-local spaces in the construction of particular social relationships. Thus, political issues arise in interactions between the individual and the community and vice versa.

#### **2.1.3.1 Concept of spatial practices.**

Spatial practices are the practices by which subjects create their places and generate consciousness. They are actions that human beings enact through space to produce and reproduce it. Harvey (1990) pointed out that spatial practices are the starting elements from which subjects experience, know and build the world. They are thus part of a system of linkages and structures of meanings that give sense to spaces (Lindon, 2004). For Oslender (2002, 2004), spatial practices are related to everyday experiences and collective action that bears a potential for resisting the global colonized world from space of the local.

Through spatial practices, human beings live and negotiate the existence of their own world life. De Certeau (1984) reflected on the issue of language related to the exercise of power and resistance, which is relevant when discussing how consciousness contributes to resistance. Both hegemonic structure and oppression on the one hand, and resistance on the other, make use



of speech. Language also defines the horizons of the known, as only the known part of reality can be talked about (De Certeau, 1984). The spatial practices may also be a vehicle of resistance that operates not just to transgress the prevailing social norms, but their appropriation transforms the original meaning of the norm. Two manners of resistance can be seen in response to practices of domination: negotiation and active resistance facing the imposing order (Salcedo, 2002).

Read (2012) stated that such practices in urban spaces are linked to the “emergent urban structure”, as it is connected to material and structural components of the city. From here comes the importance of “understanding the city as a perceptual, intentional and material structure” (p. 121). Even in the global city, planning should be seen ‘as non-objective material’ since the city is constructed by local and external experiences and knowledge (Read, 2012, p. 121).

Overall, spatial practices are developed through place configuration and constitute the individual experience; in turn, individual space consciousness is shared and experienced in community and thus operates as a process of inter-subjectivity. Spatial practices, as a source of production of being-in-the-world, create meaning through experience.

#### **2.1.3.2 Spatial practices of dwelling and meaning of home.**

The experience of transnational mobility through migration implies a constant dialogue between living in the diaspora in the destination country and the interaction of migrants with local practices. This can be understood as an interaction between local places and global spaces (Brettell, 2006). From this perspective, it is crucial in the era of globalization to address the spatial practices of those individuals living in transition and whose identities are destabilized and in a process of change (McDowell, 1999, p. 205).

A neighborhood represents a particular kind of communitarian relationship, which is displayed in a local space defined by what is called 'home.' An important characteristic that configures community is therefore related to place. Buttner (1980, p. 167) referred to this by the term 'sense of place,' considering that "people's sense of both personal and cultural identity is intimately bound up with place identity" (p. 167). Sense of place refers to the meaning given by subjects to a concrete space. This attribution of meanings is a cognitive process in which the subject articulates two sources of significance: first, the meaning associated with the material forms of the space and second, the meanings related to spatial practices and social life. The sense that the place confers to the community may be positively transformed through situations of neighborhood cooperation in which the community members reach shared progress. On the other hand, negative experiences in the community-place interaction may cause uncertainty or fear (Lindón, 2004, p. 243). For instance, the loss of one's home or relocating out of a neighborhood could generate an identity crisis, resulting in one's sense of place and community being mobilized to resist such loss.

In an immigrant community dwelling, home is a metaphor for the past in another place. Similarly, the places of international mobility are symbolic as well as physical, corresponding to a place left in the past (the original home; the memory) and reinvented in the present (the new place). For Lowenthal (1985) 'the past is a foreign country' which evokes the image of immigration as a metaphor for the idea that place is not only located in space but also in time. As place is linked to experiences and these are changing over time, the same location in the past is a different place. This metaphor becomes also highly relevant for this work if we understand it in a more literal sense and apply it to the spatial-temporal experience of migration. The past is part of the migrant's identity and his or her place consciousness.

Place consciousness in the context of international mobility may be thus understood as a product of the tension between the local space which is appropriated, experienced and charged with meaning by the new members (immigrants), and the external space where the home is located—‘the other country.’ The latter is represented in the mind of every member of the immigrant community and transferred to the meanings given to the new living space. Hence, the home is a place from the past located in the minds of the subjects but brought to the present in some form. “It is no longer only a question here simply about the space and subject inhabiting each other, but rather about the ‘global’ and subject fusing into one another” (Rus, 2006, p. 7). The new experiences and learning in the new home will certainly build up new identity resources and new consciousness.

The question of how international mobility is expressed in local spaces is an important issue to be addressed by spatial planning theory and praxis. Accordingly, in planning we may be wondering “how to establish peaceful coexistence among people with different conceptions of the good” (Mouffe, 2005, p. 24). This is an issue that arises in the context of immigration, but in addition, we ask how to make just cities for all those who inhabit them. The difficulties of obtaining consensus have their roots in part in the lack of recognition of diversity and identity (Mouffe, 2005). Therefore, in a postmodern era in which a multiplicity of democratic demands appear, social cooperation (Mouffe, 2005, p. 24) is essential in order to avoid the exercise of unilateral power and subordination by a dominant culture. Certainly, there are places that will need greater pluralism to obtain more democratic planning.

#### **2.1.3.3 Appropriation of space and the limits of private and public**

The utopic space of consciousness and subjective experience and the exercise of dominant power are challenged by everyday spatial practices regarding the use of public spaces

in multicultural settings. In the inter-subjective search for bringing their *home* (or home-country, associated mentally to the past) to their present, immigrant communities try to reproduce past experiences in their new home. The hybridism of the present constitutes a dispute of the culture and experience of the migrant. The diaspora enables a life in community that permits the migrant to reproduce the past and simultaneously make it visible.

Migration may produce an experience of uncertainty in the mobilized subject. The experience of living in a state of trans-locality positions him or her in a consciousness of space marked by uncertainties of rights, including the right to use and occupy certain urban spaces. On the one hand, in their search to find roots in their destination space, transnational migrants frequently occupy spaces in a socially and culturally segregated manner, but on the other hand culture in such segregated communities is in permanent change, and so is open and fluid and powerful (Werbner, 2005, p. 746). In this sense it is possible to understand that the migrant's culture plays an important role in integrating and building sense of belonging in the new society. Moving towards a sense of belonging is a process of permanent construction through the exercise of spatial practices, as living in a space marked by the sensation of the alien and distant puts the migrant in a position of uncertainty in terms of identity.

If it is assumed that the trans-local experience, being alien to a local society, is frequently lived as uncertainty, we should ask why migrant communities occupy public spaces where they apparently don't fear to be visible to the host society, a society which in some cases may be discriminatory or excluding or may tend to homogenize and disregard diversity and limit the exercise of the right to the city. In which spaces in the city does the migrant feel at home, and what kind of urban spaces are produced when the tendency towards uncertainty is broken by migrants by making themselves visible? Public space fulfills an important role in building a

*diaspora*, but simultaneously raises the question of appropriation of space and spatial resistance, and conflicts associated with the use of public space and the production of multicultural spaces. From Foucault's perspective, public space is the expression and exercise of power linked to the social conditions of the society (Salcedo, 2002). Thus we have to address the extent to which diasporas and the praxis of living the urban by migrant communities are shaped by power relations specific to the receiving society and inherent in all human relationships.

Perhaps it is the exercise of resistance to hegemonic discourses and their socialization in space that empowers and permits the appropriation of new spaces and the overcoming of the sensation of dislocation. Regarding the creation of contemporaneous public spaces, Salcedo (2002) argues that these are produced in a constant dialogue between the microphysics of power in public space and the alternative discourses of resistance. Referring to de Certeau (1984) and practices of everyday life, he further states that social space is created by means of conflict, in a permanent and dialectical confrontation of hegemonic power and discourses of resistance.

It is relevant to consider here how to foster the construction of differential spaces (Lefebvre's concept) which de-naturalize situations as symbolically established in a society or particular community. By understanding inter-subjective ways of resisting it would be possible to re-interpret new manners of liberation (freedom). Hardt & Negri (2009) established that private property fosters subjectivities which produce individuals that compete with each other and join in a class to preserve private property against, for example, the poor:

History is determined by the biopolitical antagonisms and resistances to biopower.... corporeal resistance produces subjectivity, not in an isolated or independent way but in the complex dynamic with the resistances of other bodies. This production of subjectivity through resistance and struggle will prove central, as our analysis proceeds, not only to the

subversion of the existing forms of power but also to the constitution of alternative institutions of liberation. (Hardt & Negri, 2009, p. 31)

Reflection is very important for constructing a new sense of community, where place—as an inter-subjective consciousness of space—allows for the continuous creation and self-creation of better spaces of life. It, indeed, can help to construct the manner in which Latin American immigrant communities configure and shape place in their daily practices in their new homes.

Everyday spatial practices in the use of public space as an extension of home are matters of private property versus the commons. Blackmar (2006) stated that the Anglo-American tradition in general has distinguished three types of property rights: 1) private property; 2) public property; and 3) common property (open access or unappropriated). These three types of property trigger political negotiations regarding who has the right to use a public space. The appropriation of public space in a multicultural context should not be mistaken for private property, but it involves certain aspects which may cause the native/non-migrant communities to perceive this specific space as the home of ‘the other’ and therefore raising the issue of invasion of ‘the other’s’ space (or vice versa).

The discursive and rhetorical configuration of the commons, public space and community is incorporated in the meaning of place ‘as home’ and represented in the daily practices of immigrants, thus distinguishing between what is considered public and what private.

Multicultural places are formed by immigrants when they are in a certain sense recreating their ‘home’—which may be a private configuration—in public spaces as a rhetorical construction. Blackmar (2006) attempts to understand how the discourses on property rights in the U.S have involved the concept of common property in neoliberal appropriations which have left their mark on the political space. The author refers to John Locke’s classical definition that property is what

one can obtain as a product of one's labor. Human beings claim property that is derived from the effort of their own labor in terms of land or other resources (Blackmar, 2006, p. 51,52). The intersection between ownership and sovereignty is relevant when discussing the discursive configuration of property and rights, as is the question of how the concept of rights and access to common spaces may change when considering the multicultural context of migrant communities. The idea of home and appropriation is developing plural meanings that co-exist in the current local-global context where conflicting discursive formations and cultural practices interact (e.g. political, social, cultural and historical).

Public spaces are often appropriated by immigrant communities in multicultural contexts. In these cases, the immigrant can turn public spaces into 'home' as they turn them into places of encounter with their own. In these cases, the idea of property or appropriation becomes diffuse and may include the expansion of the private into the public, blurring spatial and cultural boundaries between the private, the public and the commons:

It is a process of becoming that needs to rethink the notion of 'home' to include its own otherness, its own 'foreignness-to-itself.' It is a process that involves not only the understanding of home and the formation of the identity (politics) of the diasporic community, but also of the structural dynamics of desire and affect as formative of both the self and the diasporic community within the larger dynamics of globalization processes. (Rus, 2006)

The new place migrants have moved to represents a "place of desire or lived experiences" and includes some merging of home-public space, where the public space becomes an extension of their residence (Rus, 2006).

For migrants, what previously took place in an essentially private space may now be done in public and such practice is done in community, connecting living in diaspora to practices of resistance. The lived space of home and community extends towards shared spaces in the sphere of the public—there might be a blurred separation of dwelling and public space when it comes to *home*. In this sense, public space is transformed into an extension of the dwelling (Rus, 2006). The migrant's new place represents a space of desire for lived experiences and home. Occupation and appropriation of public space may be a manifestation of resistance to homogenization and exclusion, as well as a mechanism of community formation in diaspora that provides an expanded sense of home while operating as a source of identity and security for immigrants in a foreign territory. Consequently, spatial practices of everyday life expand into public spaces, making the difference between the immigrant and the local more visible and perhaps more tense.

Based on this, the main inquiry is to analyze if the housing unit migrants currently live in is seen as 'home,' and how elements of identity are linked to it or to the neighborhood. It also asks if migrants use particular elements of 'recreating' the original home in the new dwelling. Regarding the appropriation of space, I ask if there are different meanings of public space in migrant and Chilean communities, and what the everyday practices or special events are by which migrant communities appropriate (public) space. Finally, I question if such appropriation of public space means an extension of the private into the public realms.

## 2.2 **Cultural Coexistence and International Migration**

### 2.2.1 **The construction of otherness**

The concept of 'otherness' and how the image and perception of 'the other' is understood adds a necessary dimension to the discussion of immigrants who are generally viewed by locals



from this perspective—while the migrants themselves may also see members of the local society as ‘other’. In his encounter with phenomenology as understood by Edmund Husserl and Martin Heidegger, Emmanuel Lévinas reflected on the construction of inter-subjectivity and “the ethical encounter with another human being” (Lévinas, 1989, p.1, 4):

One is for the other what the other is for oneself (...) in the very heart of the relationship with the other that characterizes our social life, alterity appears as a nonreciprocal relationship (...) The other as other is not only an alter ego: the other is what I myself am not ... the other is this because of the Other's very alterity. (Lévinas, 1989, p.47, 48)

‘Otherness’ also refers to the infinite and to the relation with oneself. The idea of the infinite is the absolute transcendence, the relationships with alterity—the presence of the other in the self (Quesada, 2011, p.399). In this sense alterity is the relation with the future, “the presence of the future in the present, seems all the same accomplished in the face-to-face with the other” (Lévinas, 1989, p. 45). The otherness is the transcendence of humanity through the encounter of the present with the future which is an inter-subjective relationship (Lévinas, 1989, p. 45).

Referring to Hegel, some authors understand love as “being oneself in another” (Honneth, 1995, p. 96). By taking care of a child a loving parent extends his or her ‘self.’ This point is even clearer when applied to the erotic relationship between lovers: by feeling the desire of the other one recognizes one’s own pleasure. “Subjects recognize each other in the unique nature of their needs in order to attain emotional security in the articulation of the claims that arise from their desires” (Honneth, 2007, p. 132).

Edward Said uses a concept of ‘otherness’ based on national or racial identity, where the definition of the ‘self’ and the construction of a collective identity requires a juxtaposition with the construction of the ‘other.’ Said illustrates this in historical terms with colonialism and the

need for the construction of the Orient to define European cultural identity. This concept of the collective ‘self’ and ‘other’ is spatially rooted and built on memories and narratives about memories: “the interplay between geography, memory, and invention” (Said, 2000, p. 182). He emphasizes the discursive character of memories:

Memories of the past are shaped in accordance with a certain notion of what ‘we’ or, for that matter, ‘they’ really are. National identity always involves narratives—of the nation's past, its founding fathers and documents, seminal events, and so on. But these narratives are never undisputed or merely a matter of the neutral recital of facts. (Said, 2000, p. 177)

From this discussion derives the inquiry about the perception of the ‘other’ among both migrants and Chileans, and particularly if the migrant ‘other’ can be perceived as an extension of the Chilean ‘self,’ or in juxtaposition to this, as an element of cultural identity, different to the ‘other.’

### **2.2.2 Construction of racism, and discrimination.**

Such constructions of the ‘other’ in relationships of gender, class, race, and ethnicity are for the most part the root cause of inequalities and disrespect and therefore it is important to address them when analyzing immigration and conflictive encounters. McCall (2005), McDowell, Perrons, Fagan, Ray, & Ward (2005), Omi & Winant (2004) and Winant (2000) examine these interrelations from different methodological, historical, and theoretical perspectives.

Asking if race is ‘real’ or a social formation, Omi and Winant (2004) attempt to deconstruct the analytical category of race. Their analysis challenges the assumption that race is a natural and biological characteristic of human beings. This assumption has historically legitimized hierarchical social differentiations by race and thus determined that certain groups

have more rights than others—including even the right to freedom (in slavery for instance). Their argument reveals that social injustice is also a social construction, as when religious, scientific and political arguments are used to legitimate difference based on biological characteristics (for example, the discussion of the percentage that makes a person black or white, and the assumption that to be white means implicitly to be pure and implies the subordination of one race over another). Historically, race, status and social exclusion have been naturalized through colonialism, which has made use of a strong differentiation of self-other to produce mechanisms of exclusion based on this race construction.

Using the racial formation approach, Winant (2000) argues that the cultural meaning of race is associated with modernism and shaped by a large-scale political process. According to the author, “sociological thoughts arose in an imperialist, Eurocentric, and indeed racist era, both in Europe and in the United States. In its classical early statements, it was racially marked by the time and place of birth” (Winant, 2000, p. 174). Also, current interpretations have to be read in their historical context: today’s characterization of the metropolis as multiracial represents a challenge in terms of how to address all dimensions that affect social life. Winant (2000) proposes to discuss race in terms of “racial formation as:

- (a) It views the meaning of race and the content of racial identities as unstable and politically contested;
- (b) It understands racial formations at the intersection of and in conflict with racial "projects "that combine representational/discursive elements with structural institutional ones;
- (c) It sees these intersections as iterative sequences of interpretations (articulations) of the meaning of race that are open to many types of agency, from the individual to the organizational, from the local to the global. (Winant, 2000, p. 182)

Lastly, McDowell et al. (2005) examine the manners in which women of different races and holding different jobs combine labor-market participation and mothering. This methodological approach aims to understand gender-race relations by analyzing intra-categorical complexity. According to the author, gender as a factor of identity or social inequality may be considered an element that unifies a group (McDowell et al., 2005). McDowell et al. (2005) argue that in London women's participation in the labor sphere is rising both in high and low paid positions. However, in any social class women's jobs tend to be compensated at a lower rate than men's, and they are more frequently part-time, or simply precarious. Moreover, especially in the case of professional women or women with higher educational levels, they gain less than men at the same educational level. Then, despite their increased participation in the workforce, women are still responsible for domestic labor and childcare. Therefore, women in different professions or social classes must mix labor-market participation and motherhood. As symbolic or material inequalities are defined through the relationships between different aspects of social life such as race, class, sexuality, and gender, the deconstruction of the 'normal' of these categories could be a very important contribution to social change (McCall 2005).

Questioning if race is 'real' or a social formation, McCall (2005) uses intersectionality to understand such relationships as it allows for the examination of "the relationships among multiple dimensions and modalities of social relations and subject formations" (p.1772). As justice involves multiple dimensions of social life, intersectionality is a significant category of analysis in the search for positive social change. The study of intersectionality is not only important for action (and advocacy) but is also relevant when developing a comprehensive theory of justice which encompasses the key aspects of redistribution and recognition. McCall (2005) points to the complexity of research in feminist approaches of intersectionality where "the

subject of analysis expands to include multiple dimensions of social life and categories of analysis” (p.1273). By extension, the scope of knowledge that can be produced is very complex in comprehending a subject of analysis which is expanded to involve multiple dimensions of social life. The author’s main argument is that “different methodologies produce different kinds of substantive knowledge and that a wider range of methodologies is needed to fully engage with the set of issues and topics falling broadly under the rubric of intersectionality” (McCall, 2005, p.1774). Intersectionality is becoming a highly relevant methodological question for understanding contextual meanings of justice.

The three methodological approaches described by McCall (2005) about how to manage the complexity of intersectionality in social life are complemented by the work of McDowell, Winant and Omi. These approaches are described as 1) anti-categorical complexity—based on a methodology that deconstructs analytical categories, 2) inter-categorical complexity which works on existing analytical categories “to document relationships of inequality among social groups and changing configurations of inequality along multiple and conflicting dimensions”, and 3) intra-categorical complexity focused on particular social groups “whose identity crosses the boundaries of traditionally constructed groups” (McCall, 2005, p.1773-1774)

It is thus necessary not only to discuss how racism and discrimination is experienced by migrants, but also what evidence there is for intersectionality. It is of particular interest to discuss how migrants and Chileans understand racism and discrimination in similar or different ways.

### **2.2.3 Critique of multiculturalism: ethnic diversity and the challenge of cultural and social assimilation.**

This section introduces the concept of multiculturalism as it can help understand current patterns of cross-border migration and their implications for cultural practices and cultural identity in the local-global relationship. Multiculturalism has been considered a problematic concept because it focuses only on the ethnic dimensions of diversity. The concept does not address other intersecting elements—such as gender, sexuality, and class—involving social inequalities that potentially produce the exclusion and discrimination experienced by minority groups in global contexts (Berg & Sigona, 2013; Werbner, 2005). From a political and philosophical perspective, the concept of ‘the multicultural’ fosters the idea of fragmented societies that tend to isolate communities (Sandercock, 2003; Touraine, 2000), and raises questions about who defines the belonging or adscription of someone to a particular cultural group (Bauman, 2001; D Matravers & Pike, 2003). Each culture and each country has different multicultural contexts and it becomes critical to make sure that people who belong to a particular culture are granted human rights and respect (Touraine, 2000).

Various authors position diversity as a broader characterization of cultural spaces. For them, diversity is transforming public spaces into common places (Wessendorf, 2013) that make societies more inclusive and open to otherness. At the same time, the production of multicultural spaces may also be related to the narrative of cosmopolitan spaces and the importance of consumption (Rhys-Taylor, 2013; Sandercock, 2003). In this regard, some theorists have argued against the cosmopolitan viewpoint by stating that the problems of discrimination and social deprivation experienced by migrant communities may be hidden by the idea of multiculturalism

and by its frequent oversimplified use to refer to certain consumption patterns and practices (Werbner, 2005).

Migrants are crossing long distances in both geographical and cultural terms. As migration is today more global and simultaneously mostly oriented towards urban areas, migrants are playing an important role in bringing a changing identity and cultural transformation into urban areas. The diversity of ethnic and cultural groups involved in contemporary international migration is greater than ever before (UNDP, 2009). Nevertheless for the individuals and groups, moving from one place to another also means an experience of dislocation and involves not just movement in space, but also cultural movement (Werbner, 2005). In this regard, today, cities “are contested notions of identity and understanding of difference, and conflicting ways of belonging and feeling at home in the world” (Sandercock, 2003, p. 97). Thus, scholars reflect and analyze current international migration by producing dialogues between the concepts of multiculturalism, transnationalism, hybrid urbanism and diaspora communities.

Multiculturalism may be seen as the concept that defines cultural encounter through the prism of policy and national identity. Nevertheless, there are differing concepts of multiculturalism; this multiplicity of meanings responds to the varying contexts of different countries, cultures and notions of citizenship. Sandercock (2003, p. 101) states that multiculturalism has been defined as an ideology and configured “as a framework, a set of policies, for the national accommodation of non-white migration” (p. 101). Such ideology questions the links of the global and local experiences and contests the conservative nationalist view of purifying and homogenizing the national culture.

The concept of a multicultural society is challenged by the idea of a homogeneous society, and in a certain manner both may be situated in the terrain of discrimination and separation. Touraine (2000) states that “there is no such thing as cultural isolation” (p. 168); thus, any attempt to establish rules and rights under the prism of multiculturalism may lead to discrimination of groups differing from the dominant model as the dominant may treat—in a hidden way—minorities as inferiors. The definition of minorities as a necessary component in the conformation of the schema of multiculturalism is, as Bauman (2001) points out, “the product of enforcement rather than of freedom to choose....people are assigned to an ethnic minority without being asked for their consent” (p. 89). A multicultural society must not become a fragmented society, but be strengthened by laws and institutions (Touraine, 2000) that account for diversity, based on respect of the subject who embodies a particular culture within a broader society. Thus, considering that universalism is implicitly present in the liberal philosophical tradition, the question arises as to whether it is possible that liberal conceptions of citizenship can also be multicultural (D Matravers & Pike, 2003). If cultural minority communities are enclosed, identified and configured by outsiders, this has a significant effect on policies and practices of migration and identity and should be given special attention.

Current studies of the cultural encounter under the field of migration argue that the concept of multiculturalism may represent a false theorization of diversity, culture, and community (Berg & Sigona, 2013; Collins, 2010; Werbner, 2005). The theoretical meaning of culture changes especially in transnational migrant experiences: “culture is, for migrant men and women, first and foremost a mode of transaction and relatedness, and second, of substantive embodiment; culture is also a discursive imaginary of selfhood, identity, subjectivity and moral virtue” (Werbner, 2005, p. 758). When forming roots, transnational migrants frequently set



themselves apart culturally and socially. Still there is a contradiction between cultural encapsulation and cultural change and openness, the former because it is “experienced as powerful imperative” (Werbner, 2005, p. 746) and the latter because people’s ways and choices evolve with challenges and milieu.

Current arrangements of multiculturalism, multiplicity, hybridity or the historical Latin-American concept of *mestizaje* have been analyzed as relational concepts across power interactions. However, as culture within trans-local communities is open and at the same time acts internally, intersectionality, as a contemporary category, becomes useful when addressing issues related to culture. Power relations are arranged through cultural values that support both social structures and relations. Considering community as a social construction influenced by political and power relations, it may be useful to enrich the discussion of cultural encounter by incorporating the characteristics of social inequality present in the intersection of race, ethnicity, gender, sexuality, class and nationality (Collins, 2010). For instance, Werbner (2005) argues that politics of identity and multiculturalism hide the real oppression suffered by underprivileged groups. Similarly, opposition to cultural discrimination does not address gender oppression and may in fact detract from the issue altogether. Thus the policy relating to identity in a multicultural setting must be aware of the vulnerability of minorities within their particular communities. A multicultural approach in immigration studies may focus on differences between the dominant culture and other—typically migrant communities—and thus tends to obscure power differentials within the considered cultural or ethnic groups (Berg & Sigona, 2013, p. 348).

In short, multiculturalism must be critically examined to make sure that it addresses the issues of inequality and oppression that often surround cultural encounters. Instead of the

concept of multiculturalism, Berg & Sigona (2013) prefer the concept of ‘diversity’. According to these authors, it is much more appropriate to avoid the bias of the ethnic approach of multicultural frameworks and instead focus on diversity to go beyond race and ethnic issues, including class, gender and sexuality, in the understanding of multicultural encounters. As cultures are changing and depend on social positioning (Werbner, 2005), it is necessary to consider the context in which diversity takes place.

Berg & Sigona (2013) established three dimensions of diversity. First, they consider diversity as a narrative, becoming a marketable good in public discourse. Second, diversity is regarded as a social fact which comprises the analysis of areas formed by different cultures and ethnicities. Finally, diversity is discussed as policy, focusing particularly on policies of integration and social cohesion. Such dimensions permit us to understand issues of cultural encounter by addressing more than the cultural differences of immigrant communities, such as class and gender differences, consumption practices, and so forth.

Diversity has also been analyzed in immigration contexts to understand the attitude towards difference in urban spaces. Thus, Wessendorf (2013) addresses the question of attitudes toward diversity in a specific London neighborhood, considered to be a ‘super-diverse’ context. The concept of commonplace diversity is used by the author when referring to the experience of diversity as a normal part of daily life. This is a positive view or attitude toward diversity influenced by common and daily experiences of cultural encounter. Nevertheless, the author points to the need for more regular encounters and everyday multiculturalism, for participation in politics and the public sphere as the “habitual contact in itself does not necessarily lead to cultural exchange, but rather can ‘entrench group animosities and identities, through repetitions of gender, class, race, and ethnic practices” (Wessendorf, 2013, p.410). In turn, Fainstein (2005)

reflected on the need for diversity in order to reach equitable and just cities, and thus asked whether diversity itself should be a main goal for planning. According to Fainstein, fostering diversity is relevant since it “attracts human capital, encourages innovation, and ensures fairness and equal access to a variety of groups” (Fainstein, 2005, p. 4). Places configured by diversity, heterogeneity, and hybrid cultures represent the experience of translocal residence. These are territories of bordering, with a rich history of diversity and encounter (Márquez, 2013). Thus, the construction of commonplace diversity makes it possible to really know about the existence of one another for intercultural interaction.

By considering the visibility of diversity in public spaces, theorists have inquired about the concept of multiculturalism while contrasting it with the configuration of cosmopolitan cultures. The production of urban multi-culture (Rhys-Taylor, 2013) or the superficial celebration of multiculturalism (Werbner, 2005) are elements of cross-cultural interaction that are built upon assimilation and cosmopolitanism. In addressing the case of East London, Rhys-Taylor (2013) studies the socio-sensory process through which metropolitan multi-culture is produced by migrants in order to understand “the everyday multi-culture that emerges when diverse individuals, sensibilities and practices converge in spaces such as an inner-city street market” (p. 394). This social production of urban spaces through the daily practices of migrants is viewed from the perspective of consumption. Colorful festivals or exotic cuisine which are found in particular spaces of the city are expressions of cultural encounter, but at the same time they may be rather superficial and conceal real problems such as deprivation and discrimination (Werbner, 2005). Perhaps, the social imaginary present in the dominant culture of the elite, represented as the ‘cosmopolitan culture’ of a particular place or city, does not exist in the immigrant’s daily practices. Practices associated with the narrative of cosmopolitan culture may

be linked to spaces of consumption of the upper classes, for instance. Meanwhile, what actually involves immigrant communities in the configuration of urban spaces of cultural encounter may be a process of transculturation.

Cultural encounter has been conceptualized by different perspectives as ‘multiculturalism.’ The term, however, has been questioned and the search has been reoriented to the discussion of issues associated with the definition of identities in order to determine who belongs to a certain group and what their particular rights are, and to establish the separation and fragmentation of groups that inhabit a particular society.

#### **2.2.4 Diaspora**

Transnationalism and immigrant assimilation operate at different levels: individual, communitarian and institutional. In this regard, spaces of cultural encounter are in permanent production and reproduction through the practices of immigrant communities as places are configured in a global-local interaction (Brettell, 2006; Massey, 1994; Rus, 2006). Doreen Massey (2004) suggests that the identity of any place is not simply rooted in that specific place, but is built through its relation with other places. This conceptualization of place represents an outcome of different relationships between a very intimate scale, such as home, and a global scale of power structures. This concept of relationships between scales as well as the resulting contextualization of place and identity is relevant for the discussion of multiculturalism. Werbner (2005) argues that each country has different demands about diversity and recognition, so multicultural struggles must be located in place and history. The author mentions that cultures are always hybrid and permeable between internal and external spatial configurations. Hence, in migrant communities, there may be a habitus of a hybrid identity reflecting local vs. global cultural patterns.

In this context, a reference to the concept of diaspora can be made. Diasporas have been understood “as groups of people living outside their respective homelands” (Brettell, 2006). In such foreign communities in a certain geographic area, the diaspora itself acts as a symbolic reproduction of space, representing in an imaginary manner the places they come from—their ‘home.’ The symbolic process present in the life of immigrants in the relation between global spaces and local places has also been analyzed (Brettell, 2006). According to Rus (2006), an important aspect when understanding ‘home’ is that its meaning is built through multiple discourses and forces. The author addresses “the plural meaning of home and space” based on the complex relational contexts between “home and multicultural diasporic identities” (Rus 2006). The construction of transnational lives is linked to the issues present between global spaces and local places when configuring the meaning of home and the sense of belonging (Brettell, 2006).

First the degree to which public spaces can be considered multicultural spaces, and how they are produced, must be established. Then the degree to which they are valued because of diversity and to what extent this corresponds to a process of commodification must be discussed. Can these spaces be seen as spaces of encounter and to what degree can the exercise of power be observed in multicultural settings?

## **2.3 Justice and Space: Perspectives on Justice**

### **2.3.1 Liberal political philosophy, political economy, and social philosophy.**

Justice has been approached from different philosophical perspectives. Theorists have attempted to answer the question of how to deal with moral injuries related to cultural, political, and economic aspects of human life. By examining the nature or identity of human beings, different philosophical approaches—liberal, utilitarian, communitarian, feminist and Marxist,

among many others—have identified different elements that are helpful in defining justice (Marcuse et al., 2009).

In general terms, discussions of justice address several principles: first, an absolute criterion applied to individual rights (Locke, 2000; Rawls, 1999); second, a more subjective perspective offered by the theory of recognition which is based on the individual experience of injustice (Fraser & Honneth, 2003; Honneth, 1995, 2007; Wolgast, 1987); third, an approach embracing the collective or communitarian subjective experience to define rights (Fraser, 2001; Wolgast, 1987; Young, 2011), and finally a collective perspective and absolute criterion observed in neo-Marxist reflections on justice (Buchanan, 1982; Pfeffer, 1990; Van de Veer, 1973; Wood, 1972)(Van de Veer, 1973; Wood, 1972). A brief discussion of some justice theories is presented in this section especially as they relate to the rights associated with the use of urban space and, more particularly, to the multicultural experiences that characterize appropriation and use of this space in the 21<sup>st</sup> century and the challenges they pose to the universalist criteria present in most liberal traditions.

Within liberal political philosophy (Locke, 2000; Rawls, 1999), John Rawls developed a theory of justice based on two main principles for making decisions to promote wealth for the entire population of a society: (1) the principle of freedom, which is related to the recognition that each person has a set of basic liberties that are compatible with similar liberties of the other members of society, and (2) the principle of difference, which permits the existence of social inequality only if through this inequality the entire society experiences better living conditions and equal opportunities (Rawls, 1999). By following these principles, it should be possible to address the issue of wealth redistribution. A general definition of what justice is, particularly in neoliberal countries such as Chile, can be drawn from Rawls' perspective. Rawls' theory of

justice assumes that social justice is related to rules for individual conduct that occur in a spontaneous order and are oriented to individuals' merits achieved in a system where equality of opportunity exists. Rawls' theory is discussed here to consider whether it is possible in multicultural countries to state that a valid and democratically achieved decision that is beneficial for most people is necessarily just for everyone. Although it is necessary to define objective criteria for levels of integration and nondiscrimination, it is also important to comprehend the meaning of rights and justice for those who are in situations of vulnerability and sharing a common place of diversity.

In fact, liberal political philosophy has been frequently criticized (Fraser & Honneth, 2003; Honneth, 2007; D Matravers & Pike, 2003; Young, 2011), principally because Rawls' approach is based on the assumption that human beings are living in an 'impartial state of nature' where they are free and rational (Rawls, 1999). To obtain a more comprehensive understanding of justice based, for instance, on social philosophy, communitarianism, or feminism, the issue of socioeconomic inequalities and power relationships must be included, particularly for communities living in vulnerability. One critic of Rawls' theory of justice is Axel Honneth, a social philosopher who considers the theory to be instrumentalist and individualist and to include a negative conceptualization of what liberty is (Bankovsky, 2011). Honneth's perspective of justice is rooted in people's efforts to avoid humiliation or disrespect. Thus social recognition is a condition for a just society in the sense of making the dignity of all individuals visible: "We have...become conscious of the fact that the recognition of human dignity comprises a central principle of social justice" (Honneth, 2004, p. 352). Compared to Rawls' theory, this is a much more elaborate conceptualization of justice that is based on human identity. Honneth's perspective involves three spheres of recognition that are needed to form a basis for individual

identity and for the possibility of participating in society without shame (Honneth, 2004, p. 351) (p. 351). According to him, social conflicts in contemporary societies can be evaluated according to “the ‘just’ application of the recognition principles of love, of equality of rights, or of doing justice to achievements” (Honneth, 2004, p.352).

Understanding and promoting spatial justice in current neoliberal urban spaces is essential, particularly with regard to international mobility, migration, and multiculturalism. Matravers & Pike (2003) reveal the tension inherent to the universalist criteria implicit in the liberal tradition by asking whether it is possible for liberal conceptions of citizenship to also be multicultural. In fact, historically, equal citizenship has not led to social equity. Acknowledging this reality, Young (2003) has argued that “a democratic polity should provide special mechanisms for the effective representation of those of its constituent groups that are oppressed or disadvantaged within it” (Young, 2003, p. 215). In this regard, we should note that ‘effective representation’ may not mean proportional representation exclusively; such representation can be configured to achieve real participation of disadvantaged groups even if they do not comprise sizeable portions of the population.

Based on the liberal perspective on justice it might be asked thus if the predominant idea of justice among government officials is marked by the concept of liberty and equal rights, including a formal concept of recognition or if there is a claim for ‘special rights’ for underprivileged groups. Do the migrants make a claim for recognition in the sense of equal rights?



### **2.3.2 Justice as experience of injustice and the multiple faces of power.**

Considering that justice has no general theoretical definition, but is always defined by the experience of injustice (Wolgast, 1987, p. 137), any condition of injustice may be connected to power structures and mechanisms which result in deprivation and vulnerability while denying people the opportunity to bring up the issue or get compensation. As I look for a meaningful approach to combining the concepts of ‘justice’ and ‘power’ in this research, I examined the theory of recognition in its compatibility with the different faces of power which can influence the experience of (in)justice.

There are several theories about power relationships in decision making in urban spaces: elite theory refers to the concept that power is concentrated and highly stratified (Hunter, 1953), and the metaphor of the ‘growth machine’ is a renewed version of elite theory that views cities as a mechanism of coordinated interests in growth, and looks for the basis of their power in the inner logic of this elite (Logan & Molotch, 1987; Molotch, 1976). In contrast, pluralism argues that decision making is not restricted to a small group of people and that power is fragmented and decentralized (Dahl, 2005; Judge, Stoker, & Wolman, 1995, p. 14). Regime theory (Stoker, 1995), meanwhile, is linked to the pluralist perspective, but speaks to the complexity of decision-making in an urban context, which implies not only a higher number of persons and dynamic changes related to who is taking a decision, but also a different concept of power. In particular, this research is informed by the understanding of decision making as including the multiple faces of power and as relational.

While including multiple faces of power, Bachrach & Baratz (1970) distinguish between ‘two faces of power’: decision making (the observable decision about the conflicts) and non-decisions, “a means by which demands for change in the existing allocation of benefits and

privileges in the community can be suffocated before they are even voiced”. For some people, articulating demands and putting them on the agenda is impossible (Lukes, 1974, p. 20). Lukes (1974) incorporated a ‘third face of power’ to the debate on power and decision making, which refers to the latent conflicts that may occur “in a contradiction between the interests of those exercising power and the real interests of those they exclude” (Lukes, 1974, p. 20).

Discussing power theory from the perspective of the ‘faces of power’ seems to be a promising possibility to connect power to the theory of justice based on recognition. According to Honneth, feelings of social injustice are influenced by mechanisms of class domination. Such mechanisms of normative class dominance represent processes of social control that attain their goal “by limiting both the possibilities of symbolic and semantic expression or spatial and social cultural conditions of class experiences of deprivation and injustice” (Honneth, 2007, p. 88). Hence, considering the second face of power related to the topic of invisibility of an active (not latent) conflict, powerful agents assume that such conflict is not part of the political agenda and consequently there is no decision about this hidden conflict. Applied to the issue of justice, there is for instance a moral injury that is not claimed. In addition, there are similarities with the understanding of justice based on the third face of power.

Consequently, to explore and comprehend the production of multicultural spaces we must also address issues and connections between power and justice in contexts of diversity and encounter. The inquiry must address the injustices experienced by migrants and their relation to race or cultural habit. In terms of the relation to power, the questions is what type of power exercise and faces of power are recognized by migrants. Thus, it is imperative to determine whether or not hegemonic structures (groups and institutions) exist that may suppress or make dominant use of spaces of coexistence and encounter, limiting the possibilities of

multiculturalism and immigration. On the other hand, it must also be asked how migrants exercise power themselves, over whom and by what mechanism.

### **2.3.3 Recognition: the pluralistic meaning of justice**

The plural meaning of justice is based on the theory of recognition. Whereas the liberal political philosophy, particularly as it was developed by Rawls in the 1970s based on a Kantian concept of morality (Fraser, 2003) offers a concept of justice based on redistribution of wealth, another view of justice arose from the concept of recognition accepted by the phenomenological tradition and derived from Hegelian philosophy, particularly the phenomenology of consciousness (Fraser 2003). This pluralistic theory of justice includes recognition of rights and appreciation of culture as well as the concept of ‘otherness’; how the individual is understood and reflected in ‘the other’ constitutes one of the main perspectives on justice (Fraser & Honneth, 2003; Honneth, 2004; Honneth, 1995, 1997, 2007).

From my viewpoint, the concept of otherness in the theory of justice based on recognition changes the liberal philosophy’s focus on individual rights to a focus on social respect for individuals in terms of their own identity, which is rooted in reciprocity with the other as an intrinsic necessity of the perpetuation of humanity. Anderson (2009, p. 104) argues that people depend on the esteem and respect of their partners in interactions. In that sense, mutual recognition is the ideal goal of intersubjective encounters; at the same time, it emphasizes the experience of the self (Honneth, 2007, 113). According to Honneth (2007, p.130-131) human beings need respect and honor; thus, justice in terms of the moral equality of social relations cannot be measured in terms of fair distribution of material goods but rather by how people mutually recognize each other. This form of justice is directly relevant to the experiences of immigration, diversity, and multicultural encounter because recognizing others implies a need to

understand their diversity in order to define one's own identity. Thus, the question is how to facilitate this process of recognition in an environment of social and cultural diversity where 'the known' is an illusion of the reality of the other. If culture orients people's general behaviors and achievement of consensus, immigrant individuals must reconstruct their certainties in a new social context. Even if immigrants are documented and their rights are respected, because of the uncertainty that migration brings to people's consciousness, they may feel limited in exercising their rights. Perceptions of injustice are totally relative when changing from culture to culture.

In this sense, a theory of justice is inevitably embedded in experiences of injustice (Wolgast, 1987) or moral injuries, as the experience of injustice is reciprocal and intersubjective. According to Wolgast (1987), the language used to express rights can limit people's sense of the moral good. Moreover, justice is understood through perceptions and experiences of injustice, and "a demand for justice is generally a demand for action in the face of wrongdoing" (Wolgast, 1987, p.128). The experience of injustice is influenced by mechanisms of class domination; for example, the fact that certain individuals have the resources to better communicate their perceptions of injustice brings about their social control of the moral consciousness. By extension, it is possible to diagnose a cultural hegemony of the dominant class under which the ability of the underclass to articulate its experiences of injustice is limited (Honneth, 2007, p.88).

Using the standpoint of justice, this study attempts to analyze the configuration of justice in urban spaces by contrasting objective-subjective and individual-communitarian perspectives in order to explore how immigrants' aspirations mesh with local dynamics, and how they go about seeking recognition and rights. Moreover, the epistemological approach that informs the inquiry is based on justice as an experience of the lived world that must be constructed based on social recognition and people's expectations of their rights. In this research, the conceptual

discussion of justice involves both the distribution of scarce resources and the level of development reached by a society where individuals have worked cooperatively but have not had their societal contributions recognized. This discussion includes the use and appropriation of urban spaces as well as the question of whether individuals perceive that their rights as human beings are respected. A central issue in this regard is the degree to which there is a longing for recognition and what concept of recognition can be found among migrants.

#### **2.3.4 The struggle for recognition.**

Recognition of otherness is the foundation for social progress. In broader social relations the concept of alterity is the state of basic inter-subjective identity and provides the foundation for theorizing about a social moral. The Hegelian model suggests that the formation of the practical self is related to the assumption of the reciprocal recognition between subjects (Honneth, 1995, p. 68). The human subject owns his or her identity only due to the experience of an inter-subjective recognition. Hence, the struggle for recognition is the reference for a theoretical construction that explains the development of the moral injuries; this is the base for building a theory of justice that addresses moral injuries. The concept of alterity in theories of justice based on recognition shifts the focus from individual rights in liberal philosophy to social respect of the subjects in their own identity, which is in reciprocity with the other. That is why this is also a matter of justice. In my understanding, the concept of otherness is relevant for recognizing an experience of injustice lived by others. The other is the extension of myself, thus any injustice to the other is a moral injury to myself.

Self-consciousness depends on the intersubjective experience of recognition between the self and the otherness (Honneth, 2007). Human subjects depend on esteem and respect from their partners in interaction (Anderson 2009). In this sense, mutual recognition is the ideal goal of

inter-subjective encounters while emphasizing the experience of the self (Honneth, 2007, 113). According to Hegel, recognition is the “understanding of the nature of identity” (Anderson, 2009, p.101), and thus, moral injuries are related to non-consciousness of the other’s experience of injustice since re-cognitive understanding is recognition that affirms the understanding of distinctiveness. Recognition designates mutual respect (Honneth, 2007, p.130). Consequently, recognition implies dialectically making conscious the existence of distinct otherness; therefore, recognition of alterity is the first sphere for moving from the ethical toward moral philosophy and then to justice.

The construction of space is a human experience and the result of human action on space that modifies its natural condition and creates artificial objects. Space, therefore, is also history, and it is crucial to understand its genesis and temporality: as society is in movement, the constructed space is changing (Santos, 1996, pp. 73–75). It is possible to visualize spaces of cultural encounter and diversity as spaces of resistance shaped by both the consciousness of migrants and their experiences of interactions with others through spatial practices on the one hand and discourses about the possibilities for use of public spaces on the other. The spatial practices of mobility and appropriation represent actions of inter-subjectivity and resistance. Certainly the experiences of migration and formation of territories in an encounter between ‘the local’ and ‘the global’ can be understood as the production of space. Multiculturalism is a product of power relations, resistance, and creation of new living spaces. The production of space as conceptualized by Lefebvre (1991) illuminates our understanding of areas of diversity resulting from resistance, struggling for the right to the city, and overcoming uncertainty.

The places configured in transnational experiences incorporate two aspects in the production of space discussed by Lefebvre (1991), who proposed a theorization of social space

in its totality. According to the author, the three levels at which space is produced can be understood as three dimensions—spatial practices, representations of space, and representational spaces—in which multiple interactions are assembled (Lefebvre, 1991, p.33). Spatial practices are actions that human beings take to control space in order to produce and reproduce it. Representations of space are derived from the technical knowledge of academic disciplines related to understanding the spatial practices. Finally, representational spaces are mental inventions, spatial discourses, utopian projects, and even construction materials that imagine new meanings or possibilities for spatial practices. Representations of space and representational spaces are produced and understood through spatial practices.

In the case of international migration, when representations of space and representational spaces are opposed in the use of space, conflicts may arise because of the phenomenon of contested space, in which different visions of urban life clash. The production of local space—representing ‘home’—and resistance to being absorbed by the ‘dominant’ culture combine to form a spatiality of resistance. Community identity is produced by means of movements in which groups’ demands become visible. As Mitchell (2003) points out, people make themselves visible to society through resistance and discourses about their right to inhabit spaces (Mitchell, 2003, p. 148). Urban space should be a space of justice through social recognition. In the city, diversity requires that justice be built by recognizing local spaces and their specific needs in the global context.

The question of who has the right to inhabit the city and its public spaces becomes central but the most important issue in this context is how struggle builds the conception of justice within communities. Only through social struggle or conflicts is it possible to assure the right to the city, as exclusion of those who seem to be different is challenged by social struggles for

inclusion in public space (Mitchell, 2003). Understanding that the public sphere is a material location “where social interactions and public activities of all members of the public can occur” (Mitchell, 2003, 131) implies that the existence of all inhabitants of a society and their differences should be recognized. This implies that spaces of justice are also produced through social recognition, and thus, by a consensus on what urban space should be. Overall, the claim to inhabit the city may be made through social mobilizations; urban justice will exist when all people who inhabit a place have the right to inhabit the public space.

#### 2.4 **Chapter preliminary reflections**

This chapter has articulated the theoretical bases that allow me to discuss the phenomenological concept of recognition in a context of international migration and diversity. The concept of justice has been examined from several philosophical perspectives. Respect and recognition have been analyzed as one of such perspectives specifically as they help understand how people in a diverse milieu coexist and negotiate the use of the private and the public realm while challenging generic discourses of rights.

In order to understand coexistence in a diverse environment, the concept of place has been also examined. This study is built upon the supposition that places are cognitive structures. They do not exist by themselves but are created by lived experiences. They are recognized and appropriated by individuals through spatial practices. This does not mean that the identity of a place is rooted only in the local sphere but, as Doreen Massey indicates, it is influenced by an extra-local space. Everyday spatial practices are the means by which subjects negotiate their own existence, share with other communities and build their world. Community and place reinforce the identity of the individual while the community exists in and constructs a place with identity.



Living together is not just about resolving oppositions, but it also immerses people in social structures that cannot be reduced to the concept of diversity or diversity-based policies or habits. Such cultural coexistence and encounters may include conflicts, and racism and stereotypes can coexist with multicultural encounters. The habitual contact in an intercultural space is not a guarantee of understanding each other as it is also the source of conflicts in coexistence. Moreover, cultural tensions may be triggered by dynamics of deprivation and socio-economic segregation.

Disrespect in this context refers to the lack of recognition of the other and the associated silencing of the voices of the different 'other,' for instance by hegemonic discourses. For Honneth this is one of the manners in which the human is humiliated. While recognition is "the ideal goal of intersubjective encounters, it emphasizes the experience of the self" (Honneth, 2007). In the struggle for recognition this analysis asks for mechanisms to achieve respect and recognition.

### 3 Methodological Framework

#### 3.1 **Research Approach: Toward a Phenomenology-based Critical Perspective**

Because my research framework is based on intercultural coexistence and the justice of recognition and respect, it is important to evaluate the possibilities for constructing a phenomenology-based critical perspective. Experience, consciousness, and the structure of meaning are essential for this approach; however, the question that emerges is how meaning is constructed based on existing power structures (internal and external) that influence local communities' experiences. This perspective addresses how place meanings help immigrants accommodate to their new environments and how their spatial practices help them negotiate their disadvantages, as spatialities of resistance against adversity from the 'outside.' Inevitably, in their spatial practice of creating a home away from home, migrants end up contesting and transforming spaces that natives took for granted within broader political, social and economic processes and forces. In this way, not only are their practices framed by such contexts but they pose challenges to them, at times clashing, at times accommodating, but for the most part intersecting.

Santos (1996, p. 92) argued that different scales of space continuously configure people and places within an ongoing "process of internalization" (p. 92). Viewed from within, the process appears limited to individual actions but ultimately it includes multiple forces and scales converging in localities such that each place is at the same time part of global and local situations that coexist dialectically (Santos, 1996). Neither the global nor the local exist separately, and the community's life is displayed through the global-local contradictions. Consequently, individual place consciousness and community place configuration are dialectically established through shared spatial practices on a larger scale.

Having addressed the aspect of meaning associated with place and the relevance of discussing this meaning in the context of existing power structures, it is now important to explore a phenomenology-based critical perspective in greater depth. For the social sciences that find it difficult to separate knowledge from the lived world (O'Neill, 1972, p. 2), uncovering structures and mechanisms of the social universe may be considered the main challenge. This social universe has a 'double life' as it is understood as a bi-dimensional system of power and relations of meanings among groups and classes. In Bourdieu & Wacquant's words (1992, p. 14), "social structures and cognitive structures are bonded and one of the most solid spaces of social domination is offered by this correspondence" (p. 14). Bourdieu & Wacquant established a reflexive dialogue in the social sciences between objectivism and subjectivism or constructivism, which they refer to as social phenomenology.

Social phenomenology assumes that science studies the world in terms of its factuality because we have only intuitions of what it is. In ontological terms, it is also important to address the issue of 'reality' as opposed to the appearance of a phenomenon. This distinction, while central to the positivist and post-positivist perspectives which approaching 'truth' by means of objective observation, is not made by phenomenology. The core basis of phenomenology is the idea that every act of building consciousness and experience is intentional. It examines the structures of consciousness from the point of view of the person and, thus, it is explicitly directed to something and constitutes an experience of some object, an experience directed to capture content or meaning and its enabling conditions. From such a perspective, there is no mere appearance of things, as "appearances are real and they belong to being" (Sokolowski, 2000, p. 15). The identity of an object (as space, for instance) is experienced by the individual according

to the material aspects that the object presents. It is the appearance of the object that is identified in an intentional act of individual consciousness.

The very term ‘phenomenology’ reflects this concept, as it is composed of the Greek words *phainomenon* (that which appears) and *logos* (study), which refer to an activity in which phenomena can appear (Sokolowski, 2000).<sup>2</sup> In simple terms, phenomenology is “the study of human experience and of the ways things presents themselves to us in and through such experiences” (Sokolowski, 2000, p. 2). Hence, considering the phenomena whose modalities of sensation, perception, and subjectivity are molded by inter-subjective experiences and penetrated by political arrangements (Willen, 2007, p. 12), it is appropriate to configure a phenomenological approach that includes a critical and dialectical understanding. Phenomenology becomes critical when we assume that “a simple, reflective apprehension of the things themselves is not possible” (Welton & Silverman, 1987, p. xxi) and that the analysis requires dismantling of what otherwise would not be spoken. And finally, phenomenology is transformed into dialectic “when the process of thinking requires us to think historically” to understand what is or is not within and beyond the conflict of interpretations (Welton & Silverman, 1987, p. xxi).

An historical and dialectical understanding of a phenomenon turns the view back towards the phenomenon. Accepting that the world exists in contradiction, Hegel developed a phenomenology of the spirit. The spirit—*des Geistes*—is unfolded through contradictions in which a form of reality arises and immediately its opposite appears and then a synthesis:

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<sup>2</sup> The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy defines phenomenology “Literally ... [a]s the study of ‘phenomena’: appearances of things, or things as they appear in our experience, or the ways we experience things, thus the meanings things have in our experience. Phenomenology studies conscious experience as experienced from the subjective or first person point of view.” (David Woodruff Smith, “Phenomenology,” Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy, accessed at <http://plato.stanford.edu/entries/phenomenology/> on 21 July 2016.

Both moments [of consciousness] are essential. Since to begin with they are unequal and opposed, and their reflection into a unity has not yet been achieved, they exist as two opposed shapes of consciousness; one is the independent consciousness whose essential nature is to be for itself, the other is the dependent consciousness whose essential nature is simply to live or to be for another. The former is lord, the other is bondsman. (Hegel, Miller, & Findlay, 1979, p. 115)

Hegel established that everything that appears and does not self-explain is a moment towards evolution. An idealist, he stated that under all reality there is a spirit that guides, which is within reality but is shown at a time according to the evolution of this reality. Reality unfolds from this imminent force, not as a transcendent God but immersed in the process of what happens, and directed from within as progression which has operated historically and arises in the dialectical expressions (Hegel & Roces, 2012). In this regard, what is contradictory accompanies the phenomenon and it is from the *becoming*—the transit of the spirit that is manifesting and producing knowledge—that Hegel understands knowledge as a dialectical process. Thus, Taylor (1979) argued that Hegel's historical dialectics are:

certain historical forms of life are prey to inner contradictions, either because they are doomed to frustrate the very purpose for which they exist (the master slave relations), or because they are born to generate an inner conflict between different conditions which are equally essential to the fulfillment of the purpose. (Taylor, 1979, p. 57)

For instance, being and nothingness are in contradiction. Being is thinkable in its contrast with nothingness. Neither exists without the other existing. It is an existence that is generated from the relationship and for Hegel it is the unfolding of reality where the spirit appears as a contradiction of the other.

Thus, phenomenology calls for a comprehensive perspective. Reality is a contingent ongoing accomplishment of competent social actors who construct their social world by means of “the organized artful practices of everyday life” (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p.9). Hence, critical phenomenology,

beyond the necessary task for thinkers of questioning prejudices and presuppositions, is the reflection on our own situation and those of the people who surround us by the constant confrontation of what unites and separates us, from our body to our most abstract thoughts—the radical attempt to understand our lives through those of others. (Melançon, 2014, p. 26)

Accordingly, this study seeks to conduct a reflexive, comprehensive, and critical analysis of the cognitive and social structures present in the experience of international migration and the configuration of spaces of intercultural coexistence. Such analysis is needed to understand the diverse life trajectories occurring in particular territories. People do not need to theorize their reality to understand what is happening in their lives; rather, their knowledge is based on immediate relationships. In this sense, the relationship with the structure is through experience, which is why phenomenology becomes relevant. Structures do not exist outside relationships. As migrants face other structures, the study of their experience helps and allows a meaningful understanding of the influence of structures on people’s lives.

My assumption is that reality is constructed through the experience of being-in-the-world, the sense of one’s and others’ positions in places. However, in epistemological terms, I also recognize that knowledge may be produced by the emergence of subjective and objective social structures that reveal the nature of social phenomena. In this regard, I incorporate reflexive

research that “elevates dialogue as its defining principle and inter-subjectively between participants and observer as its premise” (Burawoy, 1998, p. 7).

Our judgments about a specific phenomenon depend on our own perceptions and our position regarding such phenomena (Husserl, 1973). In other words, knowledge is generated by a process of co-construction and co-creation between the social scientist and the study subjects and also by investigating social structures, all of which define what reflexive science is (Burawoy, 1998). Thus, I believe that in a social science that intends to offer an interpretative analysis of social relationships, it is appropriate to configure a theory of knowledge that emphasizes the connection between subjectivity and the exercise of power. This perspective guides my choice of method and approach.

### 3.2 **Qualitative Inquiry: A Case Study Informed by a Phenomenology-based Critical Perspective**

We find an expression for what immediate experience presents. In line with our experiential motives we draw inferences from the directly experienced (perceived or remembered) to what is not experienced. We generalize and then apply again general knowledge to particular cases or deduce analytically new generalizations from general knowledge. Isolated cognitions do not simply follow each other in the manner of mere successions.

(Edmund Husserl, 1973, bk. The idea of phenomenology p. 13)

Although Husserl (1973) refers to a scientific procedure in generalizing and deducing knowledge about an object of study, he implies that any inference is in the end based on the experience of a subject related to the phenomenon. My research is based on the case study method within a phenomenological approach. Considered a method for in-depth study of a topic, case study is best used for the research of complex social phenomenon—a person, group, or community experiences—within a real-life context (Yin, 2003; Creswell, 2009). The phenomenological method uses an experiential narrative to understand the human experience in a

particular front, and it is also a mean to “develop a conversational relation with a partner about the meaning of the experience” (Van Manen, 1990, p. 66). Both case study and phenomenology research create, organize and collect data from direct subjective experiences.

The method employs different kinds of data collection in a particular places and times (Creswell, 2009, p. 13). Stoecker (1991) argued that “case study is not either a data collection tactic or merely a design feature alone” but a comprehensive research strategy which involves the development of theoretical approaches, variables, and multiple resources (p. 13). Thus, the method selected for this research bring up different perspectives of an issue. Here, experience represents the core of expert performance, and both knowledge and expertise operate as “as a method of learning.” (Flyvbjerg, 2006, p. 222). Through this strategy, scholars search for improved comprehension of the “phenomena studied” (Ruddin, 2006, p. 798).

For a researcher looking to respond to the questions of ‘how’ and ‘why,’ and thus emphasizing the process of understanding contemporary events at their root, rather than seeking “general laws” of social processes, a case study strategy is particularly useful, especially when the researcher has limited control over the phenomenon studied (Yin, 2003, p. 8). Because the case study method is an in-depth study of a particular and limited phenomenon, it is important to be conscious of the fact that results are always “context-dependent knowledge” (Flyvbjerg, 2006, p. 222). Nevertheless, even when situated in the reflexive paradigm, this research seeks to produce knowledge that is *relevant* beyond the case. Then, combining the case study method with a phenomenological approach is challenging.

To approach the research questions from a lived perspective a combined phenomenological and critical approach adds the element of reflection and interaction. Rather than looking for empirical proof of the ‘general laws’ of society or fulfilling the positivist rules



of reliability, replicability and representativeness (Burawoy, 1998, p. 10), this research assumes that truth itself is a social construction and is produced in interaction and, therefore, emerges from interaction rather than from outside observation.

In this context, the researcher and his or her counterpart, the subject, are in constant interaction. “(R)eflexive science makes dialogue its defining principle and inter-subjectivity between participant and observer its premise. It enjoins what positive science separates: participant and observer, knowledge and social situation” (Burawoy, 1998, p. 14). Case study informed by a phenomenology-based critical perspective meets this criterion. Ultimately, this study seeks to understand the complexity of a particular social phenomenon, from the subjective experiences of people to the structural factors that influence such phenomena.

Reflexive science follows principles different from positivist science, acknowledging that the interaction between researcher and subject changes the reality and therefore is an *intervention* itself. For this reason, it is not possible to standardize the subject’s understanding of questions (as the positivist principle of reliability would suppose); thus, research is a *process* itself in which the subjects interact. Furthermore, the field surrounding the subject is not static but continuously reshaped by a process of *structuration*, where the subjects are simultaneously influenced by the external structures and are shaping them. Finally, reflexive science has also to address the problem of how to build theory and general knowledge: while rejecting the principles of positivism it acts by *reconstruction*. It is not about building new theory directly from the empirical material but it starts with theory, looking for refutations of this theory (or parts of it) based on the uniqueness of the case (Burawoy, 1998). This uniqueness is not considered a limitation of the study because it does not seek representative data; it is rather a strength, due to

its capacity to reveal contradictions that “*inspire us to deepen that theory*” (Burawoy, 1998, p. 16).

The present study started with different theoretical frameworks, mainly the creation of place through spatial practices (as discussed by human geography) and a conception of recognition (the phenomenological equivalent of justice). Applied to the context of migration and cultural coexistence, it could be expected that the individual’s need for building place and identity in a range between adaptation and longing for home, shaped by structural characteristics and power relations such as informality and precariousness, leads to particular spatial practices which may diverge from the perception of a particular place in the traditional resident’s imaginary. A lack of recognition towards differing identities and practices often leads to conflicts and feelings of injustice. A situation of disrespect is experienced in an individual or a community’s everyday life in the exercise of their spatial practices, but the structural context co-produces disrespect via deprivation, inequality, and segregation.

The case selected for this study is that of Latin American immigrants living in two neighborhoods located in central Santiago. The experiences of a new spatiality and the day-to-day cultural encounters in these specific neighborhoods allow for the application of the theoretical assumptions about recognition, diversity, and the social and political structures that produce urban spaces. In this regard, the case allows for the exploration of respect and recognition in the aspirations of immigrant and native Chileans, as well as in the intentions of institutional officials. In this way, the research attempts to contribute to new conceptualizations and reinterpretations of the existing concepts of recognition and respect, through the lens of cultural encounter.

Regarding the extension from observer to subject, and thus the intervention, this study was not designed to be a project of advocacy or to speak for unheard voices; rather, this extension recognizes that knowledge is produced by means of the interaction of the researcher with the participants (Samuels, 1999). Instead of advocating for strategies to claim recognition of culturally different practices, the goal is rather to understand the immigrants' ideas of recognition and the natives' practice vis-à-vis immigrants.

The selection of two neighborhoods was motivated by an interest in comparisons, but is necessarily of a search for contrasting realities, as one would expect in a case study approach following grounded theory (Burawoy, Burton, Ferguson, & Fox, 1991). In this study the places are similar, and differences are expected to lead to the identification of irregularities that can help deepen the theoretical understanding of the phenomena. The next section explains the selection of cases and the inclusion of a pilot stage of fieldwork.

### 3.3 **Geographical area of study and case selection**<sup>3</sup>

#### 3.3.1 **A place in 'La Chimba': The context of a neighborhood located in a border area.**

In the *Comuna* of Recoleta, a specific area was selected that corresponds in administrative terms to neighborhood unit 32 (NU32). This area is part of a symbolic place called *La Chimba*, a name which originally referred to the area "on the other side of the river"; in the indigenous language of Quechua, *Chimba* means "across the river" (Márquez & Truffello, 2013).

When attempting to define the precise area of analysis in spatial terms, I ran into the problem that today, *La Chimba* is an imaginary place, as there is no geographical area officially

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<sup>3</sup> See localization of geographical area of study in Chapter 5.

bearing this name (academic authors as well as residents of the city have considerably different viewpoints vis-à-vis the extent and limits of this area). Therefore, I selected what is commonly considered a relatively central area of *La Chimba* that continues to be home to immigrants. Because there can be no doubt that the selected area belongs to *La Chimba*, I do not have to address the problem of locating a symbolic place within exact and rigid borders.

This area, NU32, is today a destination for Latin American immigration in Santiago. The immigrants are mainly Peruvian, but many also come from Bolivia, Colombia, and Ecuador (Márquez & Truffello, 2013; Torres & Hidalgo, 2009). Furthermore, the area is part of a low-income, inner-city area (Recoleta) in which migrants frequently live in overcrowded and sometimes precarious conditions (Hidalgo & Torres 2009). This is one of the reasons why conflicts between migrants and locals specifically related to housing conditions can be particularly intense. Current census information is unavailable, as the most recent reliable census data was collected in 2002 and, again, did not include La Chimba as an official area for the purposes of data collection. A local official I interviewed confirmed that the NU32 area is still a major migrant destination. During exploratory field visits to the area and interviews with municipal officials, especially in NU32, the use of public space by immigrant communities was very visible. Thus, I was able to confirm that NU32 was appropriate for analyzing the co-existence and possible conflicts of migrants and locals in the public space as well as the migrants' extension of their private living spaces.

Why am I limiting my study to NU32 and excluding adjacent neighborhood areas? To the east, the adjacent NU34 area has a more commercial character, and it was not the most representative location for analyzing encounters related to housing and immigrant use of public space. Another adjacent neighborhood to the west of NU32 is part of the *Comuna Independencia*

and was excluded because it is largely an administrative area; this *Comuna* has relatively few migrant residents and is perceived as being part of the decision-making and power structure of the region, and thus it is not representative of the population examined in this study. The identity of Recoleta is strongly based on diversity, and this identity has been transformed into a public discourse highlighting diversity as well as into some elements of public policy.

### **3.3.2 “Barrio Yungay”: A story of neighborhood change, coexistence, and diversity.**

The second case selected for this study was a historical neighborhood, *Barrio Yungay*, located in the *Comuna* of Santiago. *Barrio Yungay* is currently an important destination of Latin American immigrants (Peruvians, Ecuadorians, Dominicans, and Colombians), but at the same time shows a tendency toward becoming “bohemian” cluster with incipient elements of gentrification (Contreras, 2011, p. 105). This neighborhood, located in the northern zone of Santiago, was originally populated by high-income social groups, but declined during the 20th century (Bulnes Petrowitsch, 2012; Contreras, 2011). It is a case in which a decayed upper-class neighborhood is used by immigrants while simultaneously being rediscovered by young professionals.

Although the concept of *barrio* does not exist as an administrative unit in Chilean urban planning, the *Comuna* of Santiago has recognized the culturally and historically defined existence of *barrios* and has assigned them an official cartographic representation. The Municipality of Santiago has redefined the historical *Barrio Yungay* and divided it into two neighborhoods: a southern section that maintains the name of *Yungay* and a northern section named *Balmaceda*. This division apparently was done mainly for administrative purposes while maintaining the prior territorial identity of the residents. Indeed, my informant at the migration office mentioned that some neighbors refuse to use the new name and stick to the name Yungay.

Also, the municipality of Santiago, when organizing events of participatory planning and dialogue between citizens and public staff (preparing the new Local Development Plan), addressed the two sections together, apparently considering them as still belonging together in some way. Still, the priorities of citizens in both areas seem to differ; thus, I consider it relevant to include both areas—talking about *barrios Yungay & Balmaceda* together but at the same time acknowledging the differences between them.

To define the outer limits of the study area, I referred to the official map of barrios. The northern and western boundaries are clearly defined by morphological conditions (a river to the north and a park to the west). The southern border is Av. Bernardo O'Higgins, the historical main avenue of Santiago, clearly marking the border of the barrio as a very strong physical and symbolic barrier. On the eastern side of *Yungay*, we find the *barrio Brazil* which could have been included this in the study because it has a similar historic condition as *Yungay* and also incipient tendencies of gentrification. Nevertheless, as data show (in 2002) there are far fewer migrants here, and the outcomes of the participatory process confirmed that coexistence with migrant communities is not a major issue of concern in this area (Ilustre Municipalidad de Santiago, 2013).

### 3.4 **Methods of Data Collection**

Effective data collection procedures permit the investigator to look at any part of life that speaks to the world of lived experience (Van Manen, 1990). In this study, the research method addressed lived experiences by applying two data collection procedures: in-depth qualitative interviews and participant observation. The fieldwork was conducted in two main phases. The first was an exploratory phase or pilot study used to test and adjust the research instruments (the pilot procedures are incorporated at the end of the methodological section). The second phase—

corresponding to data collection—including in-depth interviews of three different groups of subjects: Latin American immigrants, Chileans residing in the selected neighborhoods, and government officials. In this phase, observation techniques were applied to two different spheres: public spaces and celebrations of immigrant communities. The following section explains the procedures in more detail.

### **3.4.1 In-depth qualitative interviews.**

In-depth qualitative interviews were conducted to grasp personal life stories/experiences and to understand the experiences of international migration and cultural encounter in urban spaces from the perspectives of both neighborhood residents and institutional actors. This technique was used to obtain knowledge about subjects' lives. Interviews were performed with three groups of subjects of analysis: (1) Latin American immigrants living in the selected neighborhoods, (2) native Chilean citizens living in the selected neighborhoods, and (3) national and local government officials responsible for immigrant policies. The interview process is detailed below.

- Participants were chosen from each of the three groups. A total of 69 interviews were completed. As is typical for this type of study the sample size was a function of the information sought.
- Each subject was asked to participate in a face-to-face interview. Before starting the interview, the principal investigator (PI) asked for the consent of the interviewee; if he/she did not provide consent, the interview was not conducted.
- Before each interview began, the PI asked for permission to record the interview on audio-tape. If the subject did not agree, he/she was still allowed to complete an unrecorded interview.

- All interviews were conducted in Spanish, the official language of Chile.
- The interviews were conducted in places that were comfortable and convenient for the subjects.
- Possible risks related to negative social impacts on participants were minimized by maintaining the anonymity of the subjects interviewed. Subjects were identified only by their contextual characteristics (e.g., immigrant/native resident, woman/man, age) and were assigned pseudonyms in the interview transcripts.
- The recorded interviews were saved in audio files (.mp3), and their transcriptions were saved in text files (.doc).
- Tables 1 through 3 summarize the topics covered in the interviews with the three subject groups. The tables do not list the specific questions asked but rather the main themes from the interview guides.



TABLE I: MAIN TOPICS OF INTERVIEWS WITH LATIN AMERICAN IMMIGRANTS

<b>Regarding Research Question 1</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Characterization of everyday spatial practices associated with habitation: housing and interactions in public space; collective and individual practices; temporality of practices (short or long term); radius of practices (closeness to or distance from home); recreational practices</li> <li>• Sense of belonging and emotional bonds with the neighborhood</li> <li>• Diaspora and experiences of dislocation, fear, uncertainty</li> <li>• Involvement in community practices and celebrations</li> </ul>
<b>Regarding Research Question 2</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Social and cultural interaction in the neighborhood (immigrants and natives)</li> <li>• Perception of diversity in the neighborhood</li> <li>• Feeling of being accepted or rejected</li> <li>• Conflicts experienced in the neighborhood</li> <li>• Strategies to overcome conflicts in the neighborhood</li> <li>• Strategies of resistance and power relations</li> </ul>
<b>Regarding Research Question 3</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Experience of conflicts and limitations of cultural expression in private and public spaces</li> <li>• Expectations of recognition, respect, and improved living conditions</li> <li>• Strategies to solve social problems related to housing precariousness</li> <li>• Access to local or national social services</li> </ul>

Source: Author's elaboration

TABLE II: MAIN TOPICS OF INTERVIEWS WITH NATIVE CHILEAN CITIZENS

<b>Regarding Research Question 2</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Characterization of native residents' spatial practices related to housing and public space</li> <li>• Sense of belonging and emotional bonds with the neighborhood (positive or negative)</li> <li>• Social and cultural interaction in the neighborhood (immigrants and natives)</li> <li>• Perception of diversity in the neighborhood</li> <li>• Perception of immigrant spatial practices related to housing and public space in the neighborhood</li> <li>• Attitudes toward immigrant communities and diversity</li> <li>• Conflicts between immigrants and natives</li> </ul>
<b>Regarding Research Question 3</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Perception of integration of immigrants</li> <li>• Citizens' role in avoiding conflict and facilitating the integration of immigrants</li> <li>• Strategies of appropriation of public space</li> <li>• Participation in activities organized by immigrants or immigrant communities</li> <li>• Knowledge and perception of policies on international migration, diversity, and discrimination</li> </ul>

Source: Author's elaboration

TABLE III: MAIN TOPICS OF INTERVIEWS WITH NATIONAL AND LOCAL GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS

**Regarding Research Question 4**

- Role of the institution in addressing issues of immigration and diversity
- Principal issues associated with immigrant policies for housing and public space developed by government institutions
- Local and national government programs to address current immigration in terms of housing and public space in neighborhoods where immigrants and natives coexist (i.e., characteristics, target population, places where programs are delivered or applied)
- Conflicts observed in culturally diverse neighborhoods, and ways and staffing to address them
- Perception of diversity and multicultural spaces in neighborhoods
- Perception of the needs of immigrants and natives in places where they coexist
- Perception of immigrant aspirations regarding respect and recognition

Source: Author's elaboration

#### ***3.4.1.1 Testing and adjusting the instruments.***

While conducting the exploratory phase corresponding to the pilot study, I noticed that the information emerging from the questions and its significance to address the research questions presented some challenges. For instance, the interviews/conversations with government officials tended to be general and ambiguous. Even the officer of municipalities whose function is to directly work to address social problems that affect immigrant communities provided generic responses to my questions (e.g. related to housing conditions or neighborhood conflicts)—rather than addressing the particular local contexts I was asking for. The questions were not as focused as those asking about the particular experiences of immigrants; thus I reframed them to avoid ambiguous answers. Moreover, interviewees lacked a deep knowledge of the local territory where the migrants lived. Therefore, I included a broad criterion of decision-maker selection, rather than being limited to those who are in charge of migration issues – officials for housing, neighborhood security, and social development. I also realized that I needed to keep interviews flexible and direct the questions to the specific area of

responsibility/expertise of each interviewee. Although questions should cover the relevant research themes, it is also necessary to be aware that many themes may spontaneously emerge from the conversation itself.

In considering the questions prepared for residents (migrants and Chilean neighbors of the study area), it was necessary to reduce and reorganize the order in which I was asking them. For instance, in some cases, the beginning of the interview was a little awkward because I started with critical questions and was not giving interviewees time to interact or feel comfortable. Thus, reducing the number of questions can help to focus on the important topics regarding home and public space. Moreover, questions were asked in a general way in order to permit the interviewees to explain their experiences openly and not limit them by forcing them into my preconceived structure. The guideline was reoriented to address the topics of interest to this dissertation without limiting people's confidence and explanations.

Defining recruitment strategies for in-depth interviews is an important step in reaching "the right people" (Bradshaw & Stratford, 2010, p. 75). To guarantee a mix of participants I focused on the types of people that could best address the research questions, seeking a mix of nationalities to the extent possible and, especially for Chilean residents, a mix of social classes living in the defined study areas. Local and government officials were selected if their field of work or expertise related to migration, housing, urban planning and social development.

I was able to contact and interview subjects with the support of local officials who helped me reach migrant residents of the neighborhoods that had frequently accessed municipal social programs. The selected migrants were not limited to community leaders, although the latter helped me understand the interactions between the home and the public space (how I identified native residents and government officials is explained in the recruitment section).

The pilot project was particularly important for making these decisions, identifying interviewees, improving guidelines and protocols and narrowing the body of public officials to the spheres of housing and local public space. Inquiries and questions emerging from the observation were inserted in the interview questions. Interview guidelines are included as Appendices 1-3 of this report; yet, conversations flowed among the various topics as people shared their stories about experiences and practices as they brought out peoples' stories about experiences and practices.

#### **3.4.1.2 Latin American immigrants in selected neighborhoods.**

The first subject population selected for interviews consisted of Latin American immigrants residing in the selected neighborhoods. Under the inclusion criteria, interview subjects had to be adult (at least 18 years old) residents who had immigrated to Chile at least six months earlier. The time of residence in Chile was an important criterion as it ensured adequate subject experience of the country. Deliberate sampling was used in the selection of a variety of subjects to make sure that the research questions were comprehensively answered. Subjects were recruited with the assurance that their identities would not be revealed.

I first contacted local government organizations to inquire about key members of the Latin American immigrant community. Subsequently, I consulted online data on community associations, conducted fieldwork across the study area, and then telephoned or emailed selected individuals to schedule appointments for the interview. The subjects selected were neighborhood residents belonging to the immigrant community, neighborhood leaders, and community association leaders. A total of 28 interviews were conducted with Latin American immigrants, with the interview times ranging from 30 minutes to 3 hours.

#### **3.4.1.3 Native Chileans in selected neighborhoods.**

Adult Chilean residents of the neighborhoods were also interviewed individually with the understanding that their identities would not be revealed. Each interview subject had to have resided in the local area for at least six months. I used deliberate sampling to select subjects of different ages and social classes in order to ensure that a variety of perceptions and experiences was captured.

Chilean subjects were recruited by contacting neighborhood representatives, community leaders, and cultural and educational organizations in the neighborhoods. I interviewed 23 Chilean neighborhood residents, with the interview times ranging from 1 to 3 hours.

#### **3.4.1.4 National and local government officials.**

I conducted interviews with officials of local and national governments. Each subject had to be involved in decision making regarding migration, diversity, planning, and/or housing issues most directly affecting immigrants. The interview subjects included members of recently established migration working groups in different Secretaries of the National Chilean Government and the migration departments in the Municipalities of Santiago and Recoleta.

Government officials were recruited by (1) identifying appropriate individuals online that worked in the abovementioned organizations and (2) telephoning or emailing the individuals to schedule an appointment for the interview. A total of 18 interviews were conducted with various government officials. The interview times ranged from 1 to 2 hours.

#### **3.4.2 Qualitative observations.**

Observations were conducted to experience the phenomena studied “on the scene of the action” (Babbie, 2007, p. 321) and to record my interaction with the community environment as

it occurred (Creswell, 2009). Qualitative observations allow the researcher to explore and contextualize topics addressed in qualitative interviews. For this study, I recorded field notes on the behavior and practices of neighborhood residents engaging in particular activities, such as street markets, Christmas markets, local organization meetings regarding security, delivery of Christmas gifts and social benefits, and daily life in neighborhood organizations, parks, corner stores and streets. During the qualitative observations, I did not directly interact with the residents unless invited to do so. Two types of settings were observed during 15 neighborhood visits: (1) public spaces (parks, streets, and markets) and (2) public and semipublic spaces of celebrations, meetings, and events held as part of the residents' daily practices.

My observation notes identified the date, time, and location of each observation, but excluded information on the identities of the subjects observed. Observations did not focus on individual subjects and generally did not include interactions with subjects. Photographs of selected neighborhood locations were taken.

#### ***3.4.2.1 Qualitative observations of interaction in public spaces***

I observed public spaces such as streets, plazas, markets, and parks that reflected the diversity visible in the selected neighborhoods. During the qualitative observations, I observed the behaviors and manners of interaction in these public spaces as well as the spatial practices of the inhabitants. This was necessary to address research question #2 about how communities interact in culturally diverse neighborhoods and question #1 about how their spatial practices are displayed. I did not directly interact with people performing activities in the selected public spaces unless invited to do so.

In order to address research question #2, the observations focused on the patterns of how people came together and how groups formed in public spaces. The observed patterns involved the temporality of the use of spaces, the homogeneity or diversity of groups, the nature and characteristics of encounter, and manners of interaction. In addition, minor conflicts and the actions that triggered them were documented.

The public spaces also allowed me to explore some aspects of research question #1 by observing and then analyzing shared activities denoting daily spatial practices that may represent cultural and social traditions of immigrant communities.

A total of 11 qualitative observations of public spaces were conducted. I devoted approximately 40 hours to these observations.

#### **3.4.2.2 Qualitative observations of interaction in public and semipublic spaces of celebration, meetings, and events representing daily practices.**

I observed public and semipublic spaces of cultural and social encounters such as celebrations of national holidays, ceremonies, community organization meetings, and other events held as part of daily practices. Because the qualitative observations focused on cultural and social interactions where migrant communities shared cultural practices, they allowed me to address research question #1 by observing shared activities displayed at particular moments. These observations were necessary to comprehend the spatial practices connecting the immigrants' original and new places. The elements observed were related to cultural or social practices developed in the neighborhoods, traditions and activities shared, significant events, and collective and individual behaviors.

In addition, I addressed research questions #2 and #3 in these qualitative observations, particularly by attending community organization meetings. Attending these meetings allowed me to observe debates on local policy and conflicts that arose or were mentioned during discussion, identify relevant discussion topics involving urban policy in local spaces and how they meshed with multicultural issues, and ascertain community members' varying visions of diversity.

A total of seven qualitative observations of public and semipublic spaces were conducted. I devoted approximately 20 hours to these observations.

#### **3.4.2.3 Testing and adjusting the instruments.**

Qualitative observations were conducted to evaluate both the viability of the observation scheme and the conditions of the setting to do observations. Neighborhood residents' everyday spatial practices associated to housing and public space and their implications vis-à-vis the configuration of spaces of recognition or domination represent the main issue to consider during the participant observation step. Thus, *what to see* to obtain the information needed was the first question followed when I did the pilot observation. Neighborhood residents' behavior and practices of inhabiting were observed in the public sphere—parks and streets. The observation guideline opened the door to see how the practices in public space constitute extensions of the residents' home. In general, immigrants get together in public spaces to cook, talk, hang out, and so forth; therefore, it is very important to be aware of the meaning of these interactions. I asked myself in what cases or circumstances Chilean migrants are part of the public gathering, what they do, and how they interact with immigrants.



*How to see* is influenced by previous information that I had about the settings (documents or interviews), and helped me to explore the topics addressed in the qualitative interviews, and thus, to fulfill the aspect of *contextualizing* “to construct an in-depth interpretation of a particular time and place through direct experience” (Kearns, 2010, p. 242). However, participant observation also provides *complementary* evidence to frame in-depth interview questions—“to gather important descriptive information before, during or after other more structured forms of data collection” (Kearns, 2010, p. 242). I perceived the fieldwork as a constant process of imbrication and reflection. I revisited the dominant patterns in behaviors and practices that emerged early on in the research to add to them later considerations of living spatial processes, and my own knowledge and experience about the area.

The settings for observation were adjusted regarding both the goal of the research and the protocols for access (safe, non-invasive, and respectful of the lives of informants). In this regard, municipal informants and previous observations were very helpful. I observed two types of settings: public spaces such as parks, streets and markets located near the housing projects inhabited by migrants and native residents, and public and semipublic spaces of celebration, meetings and events belonging to daily practices (considering Lofland, Snow, Anderson, & Lofland, 1995). Data from observations was recorded in the form of field notes and photographs of the area of study. Finally, although I attempted to avoid interaction with people during the observations, it was difficult because some spaces made my presence very visible. Residents might perceive me as a stranger and change their practices.

Finally, during the phase of data collection, I wrote theoretical memos that allowed me to observe and articulate the main themes of the exploratory phase’s field notes with my own

reflections; these memos allowed me to identify emerging theoretical directions and possibilities (Emerson, Fretz, & Shaw, 2011).

### 3.5 **Methods of Data Analysis**

I started the analysis and interpretation of the study data by describing the study subjects in detail and categorizing the subject information based on concepts derived from the theoretical framework. In accordance with the approach proposed by Creswell (2007, 2009), I followed several steps to proceed with the qualitative data analysis:

Organizing data: recording, transcribing, and reviewing data

- I first organized the information collected by transcribing the interviews and entering observation notes in computer files.
- Next I read through the data to gain a general understanding of its contents.

Coding data

- The data was then coded to develop thematic categories based on theory and observed community experiences. QSR N Vivo was used for this activity.
- A description of the thematic categories was then generated for the data analysis.

Interpreting meanings

- Next a qualitative narrative was developed to systematize the findings.
- Description of the essence of the phenomenon and personal experiences.
- The findings were interpreted in light of the theory.

Triangulation

- The thematic categories of findings were organized into a matrix to systematize the information.
- Finally, the study data were triangulated and the findings documented in a narrative.

### 3.6 **Standards of Rigor for Qualitative Research**

Michael Burawoy argued that it is difficult to fit the world into a predefined template, noting that “one begins with one set of questions and ends with very different ones” (Herbert, 2010, p. 72). In my own experience, when performing qualitative inquiry, I did my best to allow the facts speak. Therefore, the question here is how to use observations and interviews in order to obtain the information I needed to understand the phenomenon, while ensuring that the research was conducted rigorously.

“Ensuring rigour in qualitative research means establishing the trustworthiness of our work” (Bradshaw & Stratford, 2010, p. 77). For this, I dedicated a significant amount of time in the development of rigorous procedures. Being aware of the need to include appropriate checking procedures in all stages of my research, I documented each stage of my inquiry in fieldwork memoranda and preliminary reports of my findings. In addition, I made sure to constantly evaluate my procedures in order to ensure that my research was rigorous and focused. I endeavored to use ‘appropriate checking procedures’ (Bradshaw & Stratford, 2010) or multiple ‘validity strategies’ (Creswell, 2009) to enhance the accuracy of my findings:

1. Interview questions and observation guidelines were designed based on the selected research approach, which was comprehensive, phenomenological, and interpretative.

Therefore, I openly accepted the possibility of biases and used reflectivity as an important input of my investigation (as recommended by Creswell, 2009).

2. I constantly asked myself how I was going to use the information gained with each interview question. Many of the questions focused on a specific topic but were open-ended to encourage the subjects to generate spontaneous responses in their own words.
3. A pilot study was performed to adjust and validate the interview questions and observation guidelines using different sources of data (expert interviews, exploratory observations, reviews of academic and public documents, etc.). The pilot study is described below.
4. I spent 8 months in the field to develop an in-depth understanding of the phenomenon (Creswell, 2009) of residing in immigrant neighborhoods.
5. The subject population was selected so as to include diverse groups and experiences associated with the topic of study.
6. This document describes the theoretical rationale for the methodological choices made for the fieldwork in order to establish the study's qualitative validity. As recommended by Sanjek (1990), I recorded "wide-ranging field notes" about everything I observed in my fieldwork, but I was conscious that it was not feasible to continue doing this throughout my research. Thereafter, I was more selective in filtering information based on my theoretical rationale before recording it in my ethnographic notes.
7. Finally, the research was conducted using different data sources, and the results were triangulated to maximize the validity of the study.

### 3.7 **Pilot Study**

The pilot study was conducted in two phases. In the first phase, exploratory research was carried out to shape and narrow the research topic and questions by deepening my knowledge of

the study area and exploring dominant social relationships in the selected neighborhoods. This research was based on reviews of academic and public documents related to migration, diversity, and the study area; expert interviews (with academicians, members of international organizations, local government officials, and members of nongovernment organizations); and exploratory field observations. Furthermore, I participated in conferences about migration to Chile. In the second phase, the in-depth interview questions and the guideline for qualitative observations were tested and adjusted in order to finalize the research design.

### **3.7.1 Exploratory research.**

The first phase of the pilot study permitted me to refine the design of the fieldwork in terms of identifying accessible subjects and determining the conditions for qualitative observations. The activities conducted in this phase are summarized below.

### **3.7.2 Review and analysis of secondary materials.**

This step focused on examining available academic and public sources of information regarding international migration in Latin America and especially Chile; Chilean policy on migration and discrimination; and the social, historical, and cultural context of the selected neighborhoods. It was essential to first explore the history and social narratives that produced the particular types of spatiality in the study area and to then identify the dominant social relationships, frame the focus of the research, and identify the main topics to be explored. The analysis of public documents enhanced my understanding of the urban space to be analyzed, the context it provided for immigration and cultural encounter, and the extra-local influences on this context. The materials examined included:

- Public documents related to the history of the selected neighborhoods

- Government policy documents associated with local and national configurations of identity, immigration, diversity, and discrimination.
- Media publications describing the history and discourses associated with immigration
- Community organization public documents such as meeting minutes of community associations and community newspapers

### 3.7.3 **Expert interviews.**

This step was intended to deepen my knowledge of the specific setting of the study area, especially with regard to the main issues and concepts derived from the theoretical approach and literature review. Based on the information gathered, the agenda of issues to be studied was expanded to some degree. The interviews involved conversational interaction about international migration and diversity issues. The expert interviews were conducted with:

- One member of the International Organization for Migration and one member of the migration office of the Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean, a United Nations organization
- Two university faculty experts on space, diversity, and migration affiliated with the Institute of Urban Studies, Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile and the School of Sociology, Universidad Alberto Hurtado
- The Secretary of Social Development and the Secretary of Housing and Urbanism of the Chilean Government
- The Director of *Ciudadano Global*, a nongovernment organization

### **3.7.4 Exploratory field observations.**

These activities were conducted to define those sectors within the selected neighborhood to be studied in the main fieldwork phase through qualitative observation in public spaces. These sectors were selected based on the issues identified in the review and analysis of secondary materials and the expert interviews as well as social and cultural interactions visible during the exploratory field observations.

### **3.7.5 Testing and adjustment of the instruments.**

In order to test the qualitative interview questions and observation guidelines to be applied during the main fieldwork phase, I interviewed three individuals, each representing one of the three subject groups. In these cases, the interviews were longer than was planned for the main fieldwork phase. Furthermore, I carried out two qualitative observations in public spaces to test the viability of the observation guideline.

As the last step prior to data collection, the qualitative interview questions and observation guideline were adjusted based on analysis of pilot study data, identification of emerging themes, and comparison of the themes to theories and vice versa.

In addition, I evaluated the recruitment strategies for in-depth interviews regarding the subject population to be part of the inquiry, the feasibility to contact and interview them, and the best way to guarantee an adequate mix of participants. Furthermore, considering that the research topic was narrowed to a particular social sphere, I adjusted the interview guideline to address the specific topics to be inquired. Moreover, I conducted qualitative observations to test the viability of the observation scheme and the conditions of the setting.

#### **4 Public Policies and Current Latin American Immigration in Chile**

This chapter explores the public policies that influence the living experience of people who have immigrated to Chile as well as their coexistence with native Chileans. Werbner (2005) argued that each country posed different levels of awareness and structures to address diversity; this study adds this perspective to their examination by situating the neighborhoods' daily life in its local context. At the same time, because people's lives evolve on a daily basis alongside local practices, I examine practices, local history, and personal experiences as intrinsic expressions of being in the world; they take place within broader contexts that both regulate and are shaped by the material conditions under which people live.

I discuss here the interaction of urban and housing policies that affect the immigrant experience and his or her coexistence with each other and with the host society. These factors affect the extent to which local and national public policies associated with immigration in Chile address the challenges faced by immigrants.

In Chile's neoliberal society, cities have become the major locations for spatial expression of neoliberal practices and policies. But these practices and policies interact at the micro level with the intimate experiences of local communities in influencing people's daily lives and successes. The neoliberal experiment in Chile was a top-down political project introduced during the military regime. It included the privatization of formerly public sectors and natural resources (Harvey, 2007, p.8) and is protected by the Chilean Constitution especially when it comes to the individual right of private property. The "market fundamentalism applied to Chile" (Boas & Gans-Morse, 2009, p. 151) has come to rule the marketplace and to regulate social policies through "embedded liberalism" (Harvey, 2007, p. 11). The recent wave of immigration to Chile and the public and political discourses accompanying it are embedded in



that doctrine and the practices it inspires. Institutionally, Chile's political economy and the absence of a clear-cut immigration policy enables the market to be a spontaneous regulator of neighborhoods' everyday life. More specifically, the institutions of private property and so-called free-market influence the coexistence in communities shared by Chileans and immigrants. Local governments are now attempting to play a role in addressing social disadvantages, particularly among immigrants, through the use of social programs.

#### 4.1 **Latin American Migration to Chile**

Despite the fact that Chile historically has not been considered an important receptor of immigrants, the literature about international migration to Chile (Arias, Moreno, & Nuñez, 2010; Garcés, 2007; Jensen, 2008; Stefoni, 2001; Tijoux, 2013) points to three important migration patterns during the 19<sup>th</sup>, 20<sup>th</sup>, and 21<sup>st</sup> centuries. The first is associated with the widespread process of Latin American modernization and the consolidation of national states during the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century, when many migrants arrived in Chile, mainly from Europe. The second corresponds to the period immediately following the military coup in 1973, when many Chileans were forced to emigrate for political reasons. Extending from the 1990s to the present, the third pattern is related to the democratic transition and resurgence of the Chilean economy, which has attracted migrants from different parts of the world but particularly from Latin America and the Caribbean. Thus, since the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, European migration to Chile has decreased in relevance, while Latin American immigration has grown.

Currently, international migration to Chile is increasing, and although immigrants do not yet represent a high percentage of Chile's inhabitants, in the last two decades Chile is the South American country with the fastest growing migrant population. Most Latin American countries had a negative migration balance during those years. Others—for example, Brazil—kept the ratio

between numbers of immigrants and emigrants constant, and only Chile, Costa Rica, and Panama registered positive balances (Machin, 2011). Several studies of immigration to Chile have noted the growth in the immigrant population, finding that immigrants represented only 0.75% of the population in 1982 but had reached 1.2% by 2002. In absolute terms, between the 1992 and 2002 censuses, the immigrant population grew from 114,596 to 184,462 (Arias et al., 2010; Comisión Económica para América Latina y el Caribe, 2011; Jensen, 2008). In 2010, the Chilean Department of Immigration estimated this population at 352,344 (2.08% of the overall population), or an increase of 72% compared to 2002; however, the accuracy of this estimate is in doubt (Comisión Económica para América Latina y el Caribe, 2011; Ministerio del Interior Departamento de Extranjería y Migración, 2010).

Although the current number of immigrants in Chile is uncertain, it is clear that with the advent of democratic government and the economy's resurgence in the 1990s, Chile became an attractive destination for people from other countries and cultures. While European immigrants are still coming to Chile, most of the immigration stems from South America—mainly from Peru and Argentina, but also from Colombia, Bolivia, and Ecuador (Ministerio del Interior Departamento de Extranjería y Migración, 2010). The 2002 census indicated that 67% of all international immigrants in Chile came from other Latin American countries (Arias et al., 2010; Comisión Económica para América Latina y el Caribe, 2011; Stefoni, 2001). Of the two largest immigrant groups, Argentinians are less visible in cultural terms in public spaces, while Peruvians show a stronger presence in these spaces as well as in the public discourse and the national imagination. Peruvians are transforming certain central areas of Santiago into multicultural neighborhoods (Arias et al., 2010).

#### 4.2 **The Chilean Society's Foundation of Cultural Homogeneity**

Having both an immigration policy that does not recognize cultural diversity and a widely accepted social paradigm of cultural homogeneity and national identity, Chile witnesses instances of discrimination toward immigrants on a daily basis. A society constructed under the paradigm of cultural homogeneity tends to define 'the other' by applying a 'superior/inferior' categorization. There have been several scholarly attempts to answer the question of whether the Chilean people are prepared to embrace immigrants. For instance, Jensen (2008, p. 13) pointed to the discriminatory disposition that Chileans have toward immigrants and the resulting lack of integration.

In a society such as Chile's that lacks experience with cultural diversity—although the Chilean State has identified ten major indigenous ethnic groups and immigration has been part of the country's history—the expectation for recognition is an important challenge to be addressed in the migration discussion. Thayer (2013) acknowledged the need to understand the attitude of the Chilean people toward Latin American immigrants and how it influences the construction of their self-image and social integration. The author established that the migrant's situation in Chile begins with a condition of vulnerability that is intensified if the person does not have a support network.

Moreover, according to Luque Brazán (2007), Chileans have shown a lack of empathy and knowledge with regard to the Latin American immigrant, although the interpersonal contact and shared experience occurring in common spaces tend to reduce this segregationist attitude, permitting a degree of reciprocal cultural and social identification (Thayer, 2013). Furthermore, in analyzing the daily life of Peruvian elementary school children in central Santiago, Tijoux (2013) attempted to identify the strategies used by the students in their daily encounters in a

society that denies being racist but that to an extent practices racism by not embracing ‘the other.’ Immigrant children embody a special and spatial condition rooted in poverty and their particular social class. Under the circumstances, they encounter issues that provoke their resentment (Tijoux, 2013, p. 5). As to the question of whether Chileans are prepared to embrace immigrants, the researchers tend to agree that they generally are not.

In 2003, the International Organization for Migration (IOM) stated that immigrants in Chile experienced a welcoming and supportive reception from Chileans; however, immigrants did not actually feel embraced by the society (Jensen, 2008, p. 13). Moreover, in a dramatic 2004 study, UNICEF pointed out that 46% of Chileans believed that people belonging to other nationalities were ‘inferior’ to Chileans (Arias et al., 2010). Luque Brazán (2007) further stated that Latin American immigrants were rejected by the majority of the Chilean population.

The issues of equal rights—for instance, when looking for a job—and access to public services are widely addressed in studies on international migration and cultural encounter. The main motivation of Latin Americans to migrate to Chile is economic, but they perceive discrimination when they are looking for a job in the country (Centro de Estudios de Opinión Ciudadana, 2005). Regarding public services such as healthcare and education, studies show that immigrants have a positive perception of their access to these services, and in the case of undocumented immigrants, they can appeal to religious institutions, local government, or non-governmental organizations to help regularize their migration status (Centro de Estudios de Opinión Ciudadana, 2005; Machin, 2011).

### 4.3 **Spatial patterns of immigrant residence in the Santiago metropolitan area**

In spite of its sudden and unexpected nature, immigration in Chile is still low compared to traditional destinations (Schiappacasse, 2008, p. 23). Nonetheless, the recently growing number of immigrants in Chile calls for the exploration of the dynamics of cultural encounter and place configuration involved. International immigration in Chile is an important social phenomenon not only because of its rapid growth during the last two decades but also because of its patterns of spatial concentration in certain areas of Santiago. These patterns illustrate the fact that immigrants' cultural encounters may be framed by social exclusion and discrimination on the one hand but also by the emergence of multicultural neighborhoods on the other. Few of these circumstances are addressed in the current literature.

Scholars have analyzed spatial patterns of immigrant residents in the greater metropolitan area of Santiago<sup>4</sup> (Machin, 2011; Schiappacasse, 2008; Torres & Hidalgo, 2009). Examining concentration patterns, Machin (2011, p. 39) found that the Argentinian and Ecuadorian populations were evenly distributed in Santiago but that Colombians were highly centralized in the southern parts of the metropolitan area. Machin also found that people born in Europe and the U.S. lived mostly in the eastern zone of Santiago, as they often belonged to higher income groups, and Peruvians were concentrated in the northern part of the city.

Studies based on the 2002 census (Schiappacasse, 2008; Torres & Hidalgo, 2009) have revealed a clear tendency toward spatial segregation, principally in central areas of the city; examples include the *comunas* of Santiago, Recoleta, and Independencia, which provide low-cost living space. The Officer of Migration and Development Area of International Organization

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<sup>4</sup> The metropolitan area of Santiago is divided into 34 *Comunas*; each of them has its local government led by a mayor. Although the name Santiago is mostly used to refer to the metropolitan area, officially it is also the name of a *comuna* located in the city center.

for Migration (interview September 2014) affirmed that most immigrants from Latin America live in those *comunas* and also in Quilicura, and tend to reside in the same neighborhoods where they work. In this regard, the vice director of housing management of the Municipality of Santiago (interview, December, 2014) mentioned that “Latin American immigrant families have two phases of settlement; the first phase is very precarious; in this phase, they care principally about surviving. However, once settled, they begin to use Chile’s subsidy systems .... related to housing and have more consolidated [secure and stable] employment.”

Contreras (2011) attempted to identify factors explaining the urban and social renovation of Santiago Centro and also to understand the socio-spatial changes that resulted from this process. The author noticed a coexistence of young, middle-class professionals with Latin American immigrants concentrated in deteriorated, inner-city locations in the same areas (Contreras 2011). According to Contreras (2011), the socio-spatial change occurring in these areas placed new migrants in an uncomfortable position related to the class and cultural differences between them and young professionals also moving in. The concentration of Latin American immigrants in certain central areas of Santiago promotes multicultural encounters that scarcely existed 20 years ago. Today such encounters reflect the growing diversity of Santiago’s population, but the concentration of immigrants represents a potential conflict because local Chileans tend to see diversity as something unusual and perhaps threatening.

Hence, the growing diversity of the population and the increasing visibility of immigrants have become issues that draw the attention of contemporary research on multiculturalism and migration in Chile. Several studies on immigrants have focused on Peruvians. Garcés (2007) explored the process of their socialization in public spaces as well as their daily practices and transnational interactions. The author observed their presence in certain symbolic and historic

sectors and streets of central Santiago, such as the Plaza de Armas. Both Arias et al. (2010) and Luque Brazán (2007) noted that since 2000, Peruvian migrants have become increasingly visible in public spaces, highlighting their tendency to appropriate such spaces.

It is now easy to observe Peruvian economic enclaves in specific downtown areas; they consist of small businesses offering, for example, Internet and telephone services and food products (Garcés, 2007; Luque Brazán, 2007). Luque Brazán (2007) pointed out that such commercial enterprises as well as the Peruvian capacity for community building are giving Santiago a different face by transforming neighborhoods such as Barrio Yungay and sites such as Plaza de Armas into urban multicultural sites. The latter is today known by immigrants and Chileans alike as La Lima Chica (Little Lima), where Peruvians, Ecuadorians, and Bolivians interact in a single public space (Luque Brazán, 2007, p.126). The author noted the emergence of a ‘cultural neighborhood’ of Peruvians who have congregated around the Plaza de Armas in central Santiago (Luque Brazán, 2007) and the configuration of a transnational public space there through their social and commercial activities (Garcés, 2007). The translocal representations brought to the city by Peruvian immigrants are, according to Marquez (2013), visible in neighborhoods such as La Chimba, which the author describes as heterogeneous territories and places of hybrid culture.

In short, several neighborhoods of central Santiago are being transformed by representatives of new cultures who are becoming more visible and are promoting cultural encounters, hybridism, and trans-local identity (Garcés, 2007; Luque Brazán, 2007; Márquez, 2013). Latin American immigrants in Santiago are using, appropriating, and transforming old neighborhoods and buildings in downtown areas, especially in the Yungay neighborhood (Machin, 2011, p. 46). Within Santiago the Yungay neighborhood shows the highest number of

Peruvian migrants (Poblete M et al., 2014, p. 11), and in general a high number of Latin American migrants, thus resulting in a high level of migrant diversity (Poblete M et al., 2014, p. 14). This area has become an important destination of immigrants from Peru, Ecuador, the Dominican Republic, and Colombia but at the same time has maintained a “bohemian” character with some elements of gentrification (Contreras 2011, p. 105, 106).

Studies of immigration in Chile frequently explore the concept of multiculturalism in that context. Several inquiries have examined the experiences of Peruvians in Chile (Garcés, 2007; Luque Brazán, 2007; Márquez, 2013; Stefoni, 2001) focusing on how their political associations, commercial activities, and geographical distribution patterns as well as their identity are configuring the translocal experience. Other research on international immigrants in Chile has principally explored migration patterns in terms of urban space distribution, social structures encountered by immigrants in the new country, their access to social services, and their use of public space. The issues related to place configuration, daily spatial practices, and spatial cultural encounters have been less considered in these studies. I contend that it is crucial to investigate the configurations of places of cultural encounter by considering both the experiential and structural perspectives of the immigrant population. The social forms that shape the experience of living in translocal situations must be explored in order to fully understand neighborhood coexistence.

#### 4.4 **Absence of an explicit public policy on immigration**

Historically, in spite of its colonial past and close links to Europe, Chile has not been considered a primary destination for immigrants (Comisión Económica para América Latina y el Caribe, 2011, p. 126) and its national identity has been dominated by the idea of cultural homogeneity. In various ways, the Chilean state has promoted the idea of a culturally



homogeneous society and national identity, and it has not developed a clear national migration policy (Jensen, 2008). These factors may indicate the resistance of Chilean society to social and cultural diversity, even at a time when immigration is becoming a fact of life in Chile.

In Chile, public policies concerning migration are almost nonexistent, and the current *Ley de Extranjeria*, or Foreign Law, dates back to 1975. The legislation “establishes regulations regarding entry into the country, residence, permanent residence, exit, reentry, deportation and the control of foreigners” (Decree Law No 1,094 of 1975). Originally this law responded to a specific historical, social, and political context controlled by a military regime intent on restricting the admittance of foreigners into the country (Comisión Económica para América Latina y el Caribe, 2011; Jensen, 2008; Stefoni, 2011). Law No 1094 of 1975. Article 2, section 2, states, “The entry into the country of certain foreigners may be forbidden by Executive Decree for reasons of national interest or security” (Ley No 1094, 1975). Thus, a law created during an authoritarian administration still regulates all aspects of immigration in Chile, and unfortunately, rather than defining the newcomers’ duties and rights, it is aimed mainly at controlling the movement of people entering and leaving the country.

Analyzing Chilean migrant policy in light of recent changes in migration patterns, Jensen (2008, p. 9) points out that cultural homogenization practices the denial of the ‘other’—the individual or community—that is different from the standard, or the dominant national culture. According to the author, the existing immigration law aims at control and prevention of the entrance of those who were considered by the regime to be potential terrorists or threats to the safety of the country (Jensen, 2008; Machin, 2011). Hence, this policy leaves space for interventions and ambiguities that can result in discrimination against people who may seem ‘different.’

All in all, if the current law was created to protect the country against those who did not share the views of the authoritarian government of the 1970s and 1980s, it views ‘foreigners’ as potential enemies of the nation. Someone who does not belong to this land—a stranger—has to be investigated before he or she can be trusted to walk freely around the country. Moreover, the immigration law does not explicitly bestow rights and freedoms on migrants, nor does it ensure their social integration (Machin, 2011). In this regard, the legal immigrant resident theoretically becomes equal but in actuality becomes suspect and unprotected.

Because of the absence of a modern migration policy, immigrants lack institutional protections of their rights even if they become permanent residents. Furthermore, in the Chilean society there is the tendency to solve social problems by creating a law; in this regard, as the Foreign Law does not explicitly grant rights to a person who was not born in the country, the belief that all immigrants are ‘illegal’ is a potential construction of Latin American migrants in the Chilean collective imagination.

Since Chile’s transition to democracy after dictatorship in 1990, the migration policy has been periodically re-evaluated but no new law has been enacted. Recent governments have promulgated guidelines to reorient the policy to regulate the situation of undocumented immigrants as well as to improve the social condition of all immigrants, recognize their rights, and contribute to multicultural integration (Comisión Económica para América Latina y el Caribe, 2011; Jensen, 2008; Machin, 2011). As part of the country’s efforts under the democratic system, the Department of International Migration Planning was created in 2006 to systematize the provisions of the policy to comply with technical documents resulting from Chile’s participation in bilateral and global forums. The head of this institution describes it as an

inconspicuous department...created [to build a] network in order to develop a policy that has been called governance of international migration. This concept of governance means that immigration policy is a complex issue that cannot be addressed only by the law or only by institutions—that is, institutions for migration administration—but must be developed cooperatively. (Head of Department of International Migration Planning, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, interview, December 2014)

At the national level, the migration issue was acknowledged as a social problem in 2014 when the Ministry of Social Development created a Unit of Migration and Social Inclusion. The mission of the ministry is to promote social inclusion. In this way, “migrants can be incorporated into its social programs...without having to create special programs”; that is, the unit’s goal is to include migrants in the existing programs for the general population. As of 2014, the main project of the unit was to arrange a “pilot of territorial intercultural mediation, [particularly] in specific neighborhoods [of Santiago].” This pilot program intended to explore possibilities for improving the lives of communities, families, and individuals and to ensure that life at the local level was more integrated and cohesive (Coordinator of the Unit of Migration and Social Inclusion of the Ministry of Social Development, interview, May 2015).

Government institutions in Chile have had to rapidly examine and evaluate the experiences and issues associated with current immigration to Chile, and how it is affecting communities where intercultural coexistence occurs. According to the coordinator of the Unit of Migration and Social Inclusion, revision of migration policies in the migrant population during the previous four years is necessary as the number of immigrants increases. In this regard, the national administration concluded that issues related to current immigration and local coexistence must be comprehensively addressed based on social, educational, health, housing,

and other services. Along the same lines, an officer of the International Organization for Migration stated that the current immigration initiatives are making progress toward creating a model of care for migrants, including an agenda to integrate projects with local governments (Officer of Migration and Development Area, International Organization for Migration, Interview, September 2014).

The immigration matter is a complex issue that encompasses several areas of Chilean society. The Chilean government's decision about which of its institutions would be in charge of immigration determines the ways that the issue would be addressed. The Head of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs' Department of International Migration Planning explained that the government's attitude toward migration varies according to the specific institution:

When the immigration issue is in the interior ministry, the emphasis [safety of the borders] will be placed there. But when the issue is handled elsewhere, for example, if the immigration issue is managed in the ministry of justice as in Brazil or in the ministry of labor, the approach to migration is different. There is a challenge in deciding.... where we [Chile's government] put the issue. If it is situated in [the ministry of] external relations, migration is a foreign policy issue, as in Colombia and Ecuador. We are still in the 'I seek my destiny' phase as to where we will place the [immigration] emphasis. (Head of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs' Department of International Migration Planning, interview, December 2014)

In this regard, which branch of government is responsible for migration is a political decision. In Chile, considering the increasing size of the immigrant population, another government official asserted that "the ministries realized it does not suffice to deal with it [immigration] in the foreign ministry or from the perspective of the ministry of the interior. It also requires the

perspective of social, health.... housing.... [and] education.” Thus, he stated, the government has created a ministerial commission to address this theme in the spirit of obtaining a more comprehensive perspective (Coordinator of Unit of Migration and Social Inclusion of Ministry of Social Development, interview, May 2015).

In 2015, a Chilean presidential instruction created a new institutional framework that constitutes the National Migration System. It includes different spheres of society and is made up of (1) The Council of Migration Policy, (2) The Council of Technical Migration Policy, and (3) a council representing civil society—an institution that provides the civil society’s analysis of migration matters. Thus, the political, technical, and civil society spheres have been called upon to develop a public migration policy based on human rights, respect for culture, dignified treatment of immigrants, and equal opportunity. According to the presidential instruction, this migration model must be implemented under the principle of nondiscrimination (Presidencia de la Republica, 2015).

In addition, the government is working on a new immigration law. The initiative is an attempt to fill gaps in the existing law and also to promote cultural and social integration of immigrants. The Ministry of the Interior and Public Safety is the institution responsible for drafting the new law in cooperation with other sectors. However, the bill to amend Law No. 1,094 of 1975 has not been submitted yet to the National Congress of Chile. Thus, the migration law has not been officially modified and, as mentioned earlier, the current law regulates the movements of foreigners entering the country; this law does not define immigrant categories or specify immigrant rights (Jensen, 2008, p. 11). The Head of the Department of International Migration Planning pointed out that the current immigration law has allowed the Chilean state to manage flows of people but has not established a policy of multiculturalism. Therefore, the Head

acknowledged that the current law does not address discrimination or any type of oppression that might be experienced by immigrants; they certainly are not recognized as being subject to international agreements on human rights (Head of Department of International Migration Planning, interview, December 2014).

Chilean institutions' current conversations about immigration in Chile and implementation of a new migration law and policy are focusing on the principles of equal opportunity and human rights. The acknowledged goal is that a documented immigrant in Chile will be treated equally under the law. Most people accept the notion that human rights are 'Good Things'; however, 'the rights-talk' (Tushnet, 1984) may be "turning progressive attention away from what really needs to be done in the interest of social justice" (Mitchell, 2003, p.23). Tushnet (1984) argued that the term 'rights' bears a high level of "indeterminacy"; in other words, "the language of rights is so open and indeterminate that opposing parties can use the same language to express their positions" (Tushnet, 1984, p. 1363). It seems disturbing that in the face of Chilean plurality, decision makers are still in the 'rights-talk' stage.

Much effort has gone into the creation of a new immigration policy in Chile, but as noted above, the law itself has not been submitted to the National Congress for discussion and approval. After more than 25 years of democratic governments, Chile has not been able to change a policy that implicitly promotes exclusion. In the words of Young (2011), "the everyday practices of a well-intentioned liberal society" can be the basis for disadvantages and suffering experienced by some groups of diverse people (p. 41). In short, the institutional invisibility and lack of recognition of immigrants emanating from the absence of appropriate legislation generate spaces for discrimination and exclusion. Social group differentiation is an important characteristic of contemporary societal processes and justice; according to Young (2011, p. 47),

such differentiation “requires not the melting away of differences, but institutions that promote reproduction of and respect for group differences without oppression.” Thus, the concept of injustice, defined by Young (2011) as oppression and domination, is fully applicable to the ‘rights-talk’ in contemporary Chile. From Young’s perspective, justice should not be limited to equal distribution of decision-making procedures and division of labor, but should also provide the conditions for development and exercise of individual capabilities and collective communication and cooperation (Young, 2011, p. 39)

It is essential to consider how Chile’s accelerating diversity impacts life experiences at the local level, both for those recently arrived and for those who have lived in the neighborhoods of Santiago for decades. A society that limits interaction with difference triggers fear of whatever is considered to be uncertain or strange. In Taylor’s words (1994), “the identity of a group or individual is molded from recognition or lack of it; thus, false recognition can mean real damage and deformation if the society that is around shows disrespect.”

#### **4.5 Role of Housing and Urban Policy in Producing Immigrant Living Spaces**

##### **4.5.1 A description of urban housing policy.**

Housing policy in Chile has been influenced and modified by each political and economic regime of the past five decades. Posner (2012) argued that the current housing policy is a product of three periods of different political and economic models and the resulting social welfare systems. According to Posner, the first came under a democratic/populist political regime (1964-1973) that implemented a corporatist social-democratic welfare system, followed by a neoliberal authoritarian regime or dictatorship (1973-1990) that developed a neoliberal social welfare state. Finally, during the current neoliberal democratic regime, which began in 1990, a liberal social agenda has been put in place (Posner, 2012, p. 53).

The policies for housing and urban development are directed by Chile's Ministry of Housing and Urbanism (MINVU), which aims to promote "social cohesion, which involves the achievement of peaceful coexistence, the development of solidarity—a shared sense of identity, belonging, and collective responsibility—among citizens, and the participative democratization of the processes of urban planning and decision-making" (Posner, 2012, p.51). This aim involves increased social integration and decreased social inequality at three levels of action—housing, neighborhood, and city—in order to create sustainable urban spaces through a process of civic participation (MINVU, 2009). However, Chilean housing policies currently face challenges associated with one of the country's main social problems—social inequality—that are territorially expressed in the forms of "residential segregation and unequal access to public goods" (Brescianni, 2015).

Moreover, the increase in Chile's immigration creates an ongoing need for additional, affordable housing. There are many potential means of increasing access to affordable housing; in the case of Chile, this access has been pursued through subsidies to low-income families. The development of subsidized, privately owned 'social housing' in Chile has passed through different stages in the government's attempt to create neighborhoods that promote quality of life. The current subsidy policy has been and is still considered successful because through the strong participation of the national government, it has decreased the housing deficit and achieved a high level of home ownership (Orellana, 2003). However, a new kind of poverty has emerged from the social housing system that "is no longer characterized by homelessness" (Tironi, 2009, p. 976) but rather by the relegation of the poor to the periphery.

Housing subsidies are publicly funded and provide the basis for the current housing policy in Chile. Housing subsidies such as the Solidarity Fund for Housing Projects directly help



families to purchase their own homes by supplementing their financial means with public funds and with other financing instruments created specifically to assist families living in poverty. There are also subsidies that are applied at the neighborhood level to improve the facilities, housing structures, and environment in a neighborhood. Other government financial programs have been established to meet housing-related needs, such as subsidies for the middle class and emergent groups, the family heritage protection program, subsidies for the leasing of housing, and benefits for debtors (MINVU, 2016).

Reduction of the housing deficit, improvement in housing quality, and establishment of programs for diverse populations are among the achievements of the housing policy in the last two decades. Nevertheless, several policy issues have generated crises involving poor housing quality, socio-spatial segregation, and limited access to social services (Ministerio de vivienda y Urbanismo & Comisión de Estudios Habitacionales y Urbanos, 2009). According to Posner (2012), the current neoliberal regime has influenced housing policy in Chile by (1) privatizing financing and construction, (2) stratifying means-testing to provide access to state housing subsidies, (3) allowing families of different income levels to compete for the same subsidies, and (4) decentralizing distribution of resources. Posner has argued that although the housing policy has been successful in many regards, it has not shown the same positive effects in terms of social relationships and promotion of social capital:

While the ostensible intent of this program is to provide targeted assistance to marginal groups and promote the development of social capital, Chile's current housing policy instead promotes divisive competition among popular sector constituencies. It thereby stifles the development of social capital and impedes the capacity of the urban poor to work

in concert to compel government officials to be more responsive to their needs and concerns. (Posner, 2012, p. 53)

Since 2015, the national government has been developing a new approach to urban development and housing that focuses on addressing the severe problems of urban segregation and exclusion. This development effort requires structural reforms that are outlined in the report *Land Policy for Social Integration* (Brescianni, 2015), which seeks to generate “a proposal for land reform, which allows us to implement a policy that guarantees social integration and that social aims are prioritized over individuals....[Thus] social integration is defined as a priority between the national guidelines and objectives” (Consejo Nacional de Desarrollo Urbano, 2015).

The immigrants living in precarious conditions in central areas of Santiago bring to mind the poor who were displaced to the periphery about 40 years ago. Current native Chilean residents of the two neighborhoods under study tend to belong to a consolidated middle class. Thus, the issues associated with encounters and coexistence reflect not only cultural misunderstanding but also discord between social classes.

The precariousness experienced by many immigrants has raised the national government’s awareness of the need to solve the immigrant ‘problem’ in Chile. Regarding housing issues, the government is attempting to make it possible for immigrants to apply for public subsidies to purchase or rent housing by making the subsidy requirements more flexible. The head of the Housing Policy Division of the Housing and Urban Development Ministry stated during our interview that the immigrant thematic historically has not been a visible priority for the Ministry; however,

In the last year and a half, there has been special demand and care for this group of people, who are part of our country, and somehow [we] have incorporated some issues that were

not [paid attention to] before.... Basically, the most important modification incorporated in all decrees [has been] the possibility of immigrants' application for different housing subsidies, in all of its forms for people who have a resident visa without antiquity. (Interview, June 2015)

Until 2014, the law required that a person had to reside in Chile under a permanent resident visa for five years to qualify for housing subsidies. Removal of this requirement is considered to be the most important adjustment for immigrants, as it will allow them to apply for all existing national housing subsidies much sooner than was previously the case.

In this regard, the migrant community requires 'equal treatment' in order to be able to apply for housing subsidies. Still, the question remains as to whether the migrant population residing in Chile should receive discretionary treatment as a vulnerable group. Under current Chilean housing policies, for example, there are programs oriented to assist the country's most vulnerable groups in applying for subsidies, including indigenous peoples, female victims of domestic violence, the elderly, and others. Considering the large number of native Chileans living in poverty, why do immigrants living in precarious conditions deserve special treatment under public policy? Are poor immigrants as vulnerable as the native populations living under similar conditions? The head of the Housing Policy Division of the Housing and Urban Development Ministry had this to say:

We, so far, have not formally asked the question.... [The Ministry] has not defined whether it is necessary to have some discretion for immigrants.... because what is the discretionary focus of our Ministry?... [That is] you generate special conditions of application [for subsidies] or generate.... certain advantages over another group; therefore, what you do is

mathematically increase their chances of selection with respect to others. (Housing Policy Division of MINVU, interview, June 2015)

For example, one major consideration is implementing a housing program for the indigenous population that allows them to build their houses more in line with their lifestyle and culture; this program addresses issues involving building in specific areas, architecture, and so forth. In this case, accommodating cultural considerations in housing subsidy policy appears to be appropriate; it also implies a direct relationship to a logic of justice based on redistribution and recognition. In this regard, how are Latin American immigrants living in Chile different? Are their differences in lifestyle and culture meaningful? In addition, in the case of public policy, if Chile considers people living in a situation of socioeconomic vulnerability, what about those Latin American immigrants who belong to the middle class? Are they really culturally different from those Chileans who are members of the same social class?

However, no housing policy oriented toward immigrant communities currently exists in Chile. From the perspective of the head of the Housing Policy Division of the Housing and Urban Development Ministry, equal opportunity is the main principle: “Foreigners can apply today under exactly the same conditions as national citizens. There is equality.... [and] the requirement of five years of residence in the country today is [eliminated] as long as their residence visa is properly authorized” (Head of Housing Policy Division of Housing and Urban Development Ministry, interview, June 2015). As the basis of public policy, equal opportunity is therefore associated with redistribution. In this sense, the immigrant ‘problem’ falls under the Chilean economic framework, especially with regard to the issues of land use, value, and distribution. The question of justice as it relates to merit and equal opportunity tends to be diffused considering the great inequality within Chilean society. In other words, when the right

to own a house and live in better conditions is based on merit, how can we ensure equal opportunities to achieve such merit in a neoliberal country? Equal rights based on merit—in this case, the merit being citizenship—tend to have a high level of indeterminacy and ambiguity.

According to Tushnet, this is the case

because the general concepts that make any kind of rights-talk seem attractive cannot be connected to particular results without specifying so many details about the social setting of the rights as to transform the rights-claim into a description of an entire society. (1984, p. 1363)

Thus, the social configuration of rights sometimes calls for obtaining specific outcomes for a specific part of a society. Regarding justice and the principle of difference developed by Rawls (1999), the existence of social inequalities is acceptable only if through this situation the whole society benefits and equal opportunities exist. Under this principle, individual or community rights depend on the sum of the associated benefits to the society; thus, in applying this criterion of justice, we can state that a democratic and valid decision that is beneficial to most of a population is not necessarily just for everyone.

Equal opportunity of access to resources in Chile is ideologically connected to the citizenship or legal residence of a person. In this country, many immigrants are undocumented, and indeed they are the ones who live in the most precarious conditions. In examining the case studies herein, it is interesting to note a public policy that considers everyone equal under the law without acknowledging that in vulnerable situations, some people need more than others, and what is good for one person is not necessarily good for another.

It is often said in Chile that if an immigrant is documented and has financial resources, that person can easily be integrated into the society. Similarly, the officer of the Economic

Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC-UN) argued that if immigrants have access to the market (i.e., they have money or resources), they do not have problems integrating themselves into society. In response to this argument, I wonder whether a person's sense of freedom is limited by his or her ability to consume? In addition, only residents having a Unique Tax Identification Number (RUT—*Rol Único Tributario*) have the right to access public and social services. Therefore, it is only after becoming documented that immigrants living in Chile obtain rights equal to those of a Chilean citizen (particular, access to housing subsidies and other social services) (International Organization for Migration, interview, September, 2014). Are having access to public services and the market and being documented enough for an immigrant to experience freedom—to walk without fear?

#### **4.5.2 Habitation: Institutional awareness of immigrants living in precarious conditions.**

My research established that institutions and their representatives are aware of the living conditions of families and individuals who have immigrated to Chile in recent years. As I have already discussed, the overcrowding and insecurity of immigrants are important elements of this awareness. In my interviews, both national and local authorities commented on the small size of the rooms in large old buildings rented by newcomers and the high prices they pay for them (US \$100 to US \$350 for 8 to 9 square meters of living space—or 26.2 to 29.5 square feet). This overcrowding poses dangers not only for those living in such homes, but also for the community as a whole; for example, electrical overloads have caused fires with fatal consequences to immigrant neighbors. In addition, immigrants' living conditions often generate conflicts with prior residents of the neighborhoods. Immigrants have been used to extract profit from unregulated, deteriorating rental properties that are often unfit for human habitation. As one local administrator stated,

The main problem of migrants is related to housing in the oldest part of the city's downtown. The owners tend to maximize their profits from property [by] overcrowding subdivided rental buildings, even though such subdivision is legally prohibited because the buildings constitute host businesses requiring commercial health permits that in fact they do not have. (Vice Director of Housing Management of Santiago Municipality, interview, December 2014)

Despite this situation, the right of private property ownership granted by the Chilean constitution renders government largely helpless to intervene in matters involving owners' use of their property. Interviewees explained that what an owner does with his or her property 'inside doors' cannot be regulated by the state.

We have failed to resolve [overcrowding]. As I mentioned to you, we have the issue of the [national] constitution that protects [private property] and prioritizes it above the [common] good. For example, there are many abandoned houses here in Recoleta, immense [abandoned] properties that are full of weeds, but the owners do not want to sell them [because] they are waiting for increases in the price of the property.... And every time we have asked the Ministry of National Assets to expropriate them .... [the answer] was 'no' [because there is] no expropriation law in Chile. (Territorial Program Officer, Municipality of Recoleta, interview, December 2015)

In this sense, the lack of laws to regulate subdivision of rental buildings has resulted in a very profitable business in downtown Santiago. This business is profiting from poverty and has generated a 'market of precarious housing,' in the words of the Officer of Migration of the Municipality of Santiago.

From an institutional perspective, the housing problem cannot be meaningfully addressed due to an economic and legal system that pre-empts solutions. According to the Antidiscrimination Office Manager I interviewed,

What I understand is that there are a number of legal and administrative barriers to intervention. It requires legislation designed on the basis of a comprehensive diagnosis of the problem that is aimed at controlling this housing issue. It is difficult to intervene while this legal problem [exists]. All that remains to be done is to intervene in social terms and through community empowerment. (Antidiscrimination Office Manager, Municipality of Santiago, interview, December 2015)

In short, according to government authorities, the social conditions of many immigrants are rooted in system failures that occur because the system itself is unfair. Nevertheless, a country whose borders are open to immigrants should have a better and more realistic system for housing them, regulating the housing, and thus improving the life of the people and the community around them. Moreover, government officials should recognize that solutions constrained by the current rules and procedures are likely to bring worse consequences. The Antidiscrimination Office Manager of the Municipality of Santiago argued that

rescuing [people living in precarious conditions] .... has two costs or two immediate consequences. The first is that if you are going to remove them from this housing, you have to be able to offer an alternative. That is, if I manage to vacate a place where 15 families live, then am I condemning them to live in the street?...The other [consequence] is that you socially isolate them from the macro families they have generated. (Interview, December 2014)



Considering that dislodging immigrants from their precarious housing would create another social problem if the state does not have a housing alternative to offer them, there is a tendency to keep things as they are. This means that the current institutional framework, especially the constitutional protection of private property, acts as a barrier for solving social problems. Second, this allows an opportunistic behavior and abusive use of property. Finally, there is a need for recognition in institutional terms of issues regarding immigration as a precondition for promoting inclusion.

#### **4.5.3 The ‘proper use’ of public space.**

From the point of view of native Chileans, there are normal or expected practices for the use of public space. According to Chilean authorities, cultural differences between native and immigrant neighbors lead to different practices that result in conflicts. Most of the complaints received by municipal offices are related to immigrants who eat, drink, or play in the street. Chileans are bothered by these behaviors, especially because of the resulting smell, noise, and unhygienic conditions in public spaces. The literature on conflicts with immigrants on a neighborhood level recognizes that such conflicts are mainly because of “bad habits” as partying until very late among others (Margarit & Bijit, 2014, pp. 56, 61). Do these behaviors reflect actual cultural differences or are they just small infringements on the law? I believe that they are both. They reflect certain cultural differences and definitely they represent minor infringement of the law. Nevertheless, one should ask if they are rather results of structural conditions (overcrowding and conflicts in the rooming houses) than particular cultural features. On the other hand, there is the culturally rooted tendency of Chilean society to take not obeying to the law seriously—thus something which is somewhat bothersome is perceived as serious as it is ‘against the law.’

Sunday parties in public spaces, unfamiliar smells in the streets, and smoke from cooking grills inside and outside homes generate a sense of chaos and disorder among native Chileans who consider such matters improper. Certainly, there are multiple views about how to use public space. The Manager of the Antidiscrimination Office of the Municipality of Santiago explained how authorities see this situation:

When Chileans get angry.... because their neighbors cook on the street, [or] play loud music.... I do not know if it is due to a clash of cultures. [They are] angry because something occurs in [the street] that is perceived as an invasion associated with dirtiness and promiscuity.... on the other side is happiness [on the part of immigrants] about escaping the overcrowding or reproducing a habit [from the native country]. (Interview, June, 2015)

Thus, the question is how to intervene in spaces contiguous to the private—the domestic space that shares a boundary with the public space. The manager used the image of the sidewalk as a metaphor: “Just because you sometimes sweep the sidewalk...it does not [become your responsibility] because the sidewalk is not your property, and it is actually the responsibility of the public sector. But one appropriates his or her pathway; one waters the plants....and there is a space in between where intermediate things happen” (Antidiscrimination Office, Municipality of Santiago, interview, June 2015). The pathway becomes an interstitial, dichotomous space posing a challenge to intervention even by the authorities.

Local governments commend community life and daily social interaction in public spaces. However, I observed two issues that illustrate the differing views on the ‘normal’ use of public space. First, immigrants tend to view interactions in public spaces as private uses of public space for the common good, whereas native Chileans often view such interactions as

infringements on the vital space of others, a transgression that results in a struggle between the parties. In the words of the Office Responsible for Barrios and Coexistence:

You cannot make private use of this common good.... You can pass through...but nobody should make [private] use of a [space intended] for public use. The street belongs to everyone [and if you install your couch or tables on the street] .... And [drink] beer and everything, Chileans or any neighbor cannot move freely along the sidewalk. (Office Responsible for Barrios and Coexistence, Municipality of Santiago, interview, June 2015)

Thus, from this point of view, public space should be shared but not permanently appropriated.

Moreover, even though authorities are open to the use of public space by everyone, they believe that small infringements eventually generate a sense of insecurity about that space in the minds of Chileans:

They call the police because there is someone selling something, someone with loud music, or someone engaging in conduct that is incompatible with morality, such as urinating or walking bare-chested. [When] such violations [occur, people] usually call the police, and they come, but then if people call again, the police say “they are the same migrants”; therefore, [the police] stop going. (Territorial Program Officer, Municipality of Recoleta, interview, December 2015)

The main responsibility of the police is to uphold the law, and the Territorial Program Officer of the Municipality of Recoleta maintained that ignoring even a small infraction of the law on a street corner may turn that corner into a place that nobody wants to walk by:

The community living there has to find alternative ways to get home.... Probably the crimes are not many, but the infractions are very recurrent in this area [Recoleta].... If an infraction at Loreto and Dardinac [streets] is combined with another at Loreto and Purisima [streets],

a contaminated sector is established that will not then be used.... [The practice of] creating spots in the neighborhood that people perceive they cannot cross or of unfairly occupying public spaces leads to avoidance of those spots for fear of potential crime. (Territorial Program Officer, Municipality of Recoleta, interview, December 2015)

Hence, when the norms for use of public space are not followed in some communities, the spaces involved are avoided by the residents and are eventually ignored by the police. Thus those spaces are no longer frequented or monitored, and their potential value as spaces of coexistence is lost.

#### 4.6 **Local Government Roles in Settling Immigrants and Mediating Coexistence**

In neighborhoods where immigrants and native Chileans coexist, government practices and policies addressing their cultural diversity are in a fluid state of development rooted in the practices of everyday life. I argue that public policy in Chile is nourished by the experience of multicultural cohabitation in everyday life. The fact is that the spatial practices of migrant communities related to housing and use of public space trigger the micro-politics of everyday life; in this sense, national policy is being spontaneously created as a response to such everyday occurrences.

Through daily spatial practices that involve native and immigrant residents and local government, the micro-politics of daily life influence urban planning. In other words, the issues of respect for the established society and its norms on the one hand, and the right to be different on the other are contested and regulated at the neighborhood level. In this regard, the lack of respect for private boundaries observed by native Chileans and the exclusion and segregation experienced by migrants produce micro-politics of everyday life that are rather informal and unplanned and that shape the development of planning and regulation processes.

Local governments do not have instruments that allow them to manage the issues in a different way. However, they are compelled to address some of the problems generated by the absence of a national Chilean policy on immigration through the establishment of programs that attempt to mediate the daily situations of encounter and conflict between newcomers and Chileans. Ultimately, in the absence of regulations, local government officers have to deal informally with the everyday practices linked to this coexistence. In the words of one such officer,

There is no guideline from the central government's policy on migration. What are the initiatives of local governments? They are solutions that are developed on the local level. There is no migrant policy under which we can work in concert with the national government. (Official Migrant Office, Municipality of Recoleta, interview, December, 2014)

In this regard, several municipalities, including Santiago and Recoleta, have recently created their own offices of migration to address situations of vulnerability experienced by migrants. These offices address the issue of neighborhood coexistence as a reaction to the increasing number of complaints principally from native residents, which result from disagreements with migrant communities about the use of public space as well as the sphere of private dwellings. However, there is considerable uncertainty about how to address the new challenges posed by immigration. In an interview, an officer from the Municipality of Santiago stated that, in general, no resources had been allocated to directly intervene in the conflicts growing out of differences in spatial practices and behaviors between neighbors of different cultures. The officer added that no solutions had been developed for the social problems of undocumented immigrants or of migrant communities living in precarious housing conditions (Interview, October, 2014).

In the neighborhoods, the coexistence of Chileans and their foreign neighbors has been one of the most important and divisive issues in the daily lives of migrants. Because of the lack of directives or policies from the national government, municipalities are implementing their own local programs and interventions to address problematic cultural encounters in the neighborhoods. An important goal for the migration office in Recoleta is to encourage immigrants to feel and be conscious that they are neighbors and to legitimately participate in the benefits that the municipality provides. Moreover, the office recognizes the need of the immigrant community to become visible and to make society understand that they are neighbors with equal rights. Because it is desirable that the foreigners be integrated into the local community, such integration should start at the local neighborhood level. The goal is to create a form of neighborhood coexistence that is mutually beneficial to immigrants and Chileans alike and to define migration as a public issue of everyday life rather than as an issue of national politics.

In this regard, municipalities are working to regularize the legal status of all immigrants. While this happens, local governments offer assistance (e.g., legal, healthcare, and education) and provide related information to all immigrants who need help, whether or not they are documented. These governments recognized the urgent need to deal with this phenomenon and thus have created various projects focusing on providing the necessities of life for immigrants. They are doing this by ensuring equal access to social services and equal rights in general to improve the socioeconomic conditions in which several immigrant communities are living.

When government decision makers refer to equal rights and equity, I wonder what rights they have in mind—what are the human rights and the principles of justice within a neoliberal society? Are migration programs trying to address the issues of justice by means of redistribution

of wealth? The Chilean government is certainly taking an important step forward in enhancing the precarious living conditions of immigrants. But if local policies and initiatives regarding migration are aimed only at ensuring the equal rights of migrants, they may be advancing a general policy of assimilation of immigrant communities rather than their actual inclusion in society (Fraser & Honneth, 2003; Honneth, 1995; Young, 2011).

#### 4.7 **Preliminary reflections**

This chapter situates the immigrant experience of Chile within the immigration policies and practices of the country as well as within the local receiving structures. Since Chile's immigration policy was written during the military regime to keep the foreign threat out (the Left), it did not prepare the country for the immigrant wave of the 2000s. Absent a positive framework, immigrants fell between the cracks and became the problem of local authorities. Lacking national support, the authorities had to invest their own resources and engage in ad-hoc policies to deal with the immigrant issue. They did this by treating immigrants as equal to Chileans, an approach informed by homogenization/assimilation that did not help much as it ignored the unique challenges immigrants face. In the absence of programs to house, educate and employ them, immigrants are pretty much on their own and also at the mercy of private speculators. Many have resorted to informal self-employment using public spaces to sell their wares. Many have fallen prey to the rentiers of deteriorated properties that owners are holding onto on the expectation that property values will increase and, in the interim, have abused the dire need of immigrants for housing by renting rooms in subdivided and deteriorated buildings, thus producing overcrowding, encroaching in their private lives and isolating and segregating them from Chileans. The combination of these factors has produced both a segregated and a struggling community. The hardships associated with their immigration and social class led to

practices such as uses of public spaces that clashed with the expectations and standards of Chileans.



## 5 The *Comunas* and the City: Barrio Yungay-Santiago and Benito Juárez-Recoleta

This chapter provides a general overview of the sociopolitical structures that configure intercultural coexistence in the two neighborhoods. These neighborhoods belong to municipalities that have a history of immigration and include public spaces with significant ethnic and cultural diversity now associated with the current migration wave from Latin American countries to Chile. Given the fact that these neighborhoods show such diversity, one question is whether the social and spatial interactions taking place there embody intercultural coexistence, and if so, what is its nature. A second question is how external structures frame that intercultural coexistence.

### 5.1 Location, Territorial and Structural Characteristics

The national government of Chile has not established a specific political and administrative status for cities. The *comuna*, which may or may not include a city, is the smallest political-administrative territorial unit and is administered by a mayor and a municipal council (Constitución Política de la República de Chile, 1980). Large cities in Chile usually contain several *comunas*, as is the case of the Metropolitan Area of Santiago. Each *comuna* is managed in operational terms by the office of the municipality, which is charged with meeting local needs and managing economic, social and cultural programs (Rodríguez & Winchester, 2001).

The concept of *comuna* derives from the autonomous *comuna* unit that historically defined many European municipalities. The main objective of this administrative concept has been to give political power to smaller territories. Meanwhile, the Santiago Metropolitan Area is an urban territory regulated by the *Plan Regulador Metropolitano* (Metropolitan Regulatory Plan). This territory is also sometimes called Greater Santiago and includes 37 *comunas*, each

with an autonomous municipal government (Rodríguez & Winchester, 2001). There is no metropolitan government nor is there a principal mayor in Chilean metropolitan areas.

In present day, although generally used to refer to the greater metropolitan area, Santiago is also the official name of a 22.4 km<sup>2</sup> *comuna* located in the center of the metropolitan area (figure 1 shows the location of the *comunas* Santiago and Recoleta in the metropolitan region). The *comuna* of Santiago is the location of the colonial city center and immediate surroundings, and was named by the Spanish in March 1541 in honor of *Apostol* Santiago (St. James the Apostle). On the other hand, Recoleta is a rather young *comuna*, established as such in 1981. Nevertheless, its historical roots are much older: the name *Recoleta*, which in Spanish stands for tranquility and solitude, refers to the fact that Franciscan monks established their place of retreat in this area during the 17<sup>th</sup> century. Although established in 1981, until 1991, Recoleta was administered by the Municipalities of Santiago and Conchalí and only after the creation of the Municipality of Recoleta in 1992 has this territory been managed by its own administration (Ilustre Municipalidad de Recoleta, 2013).

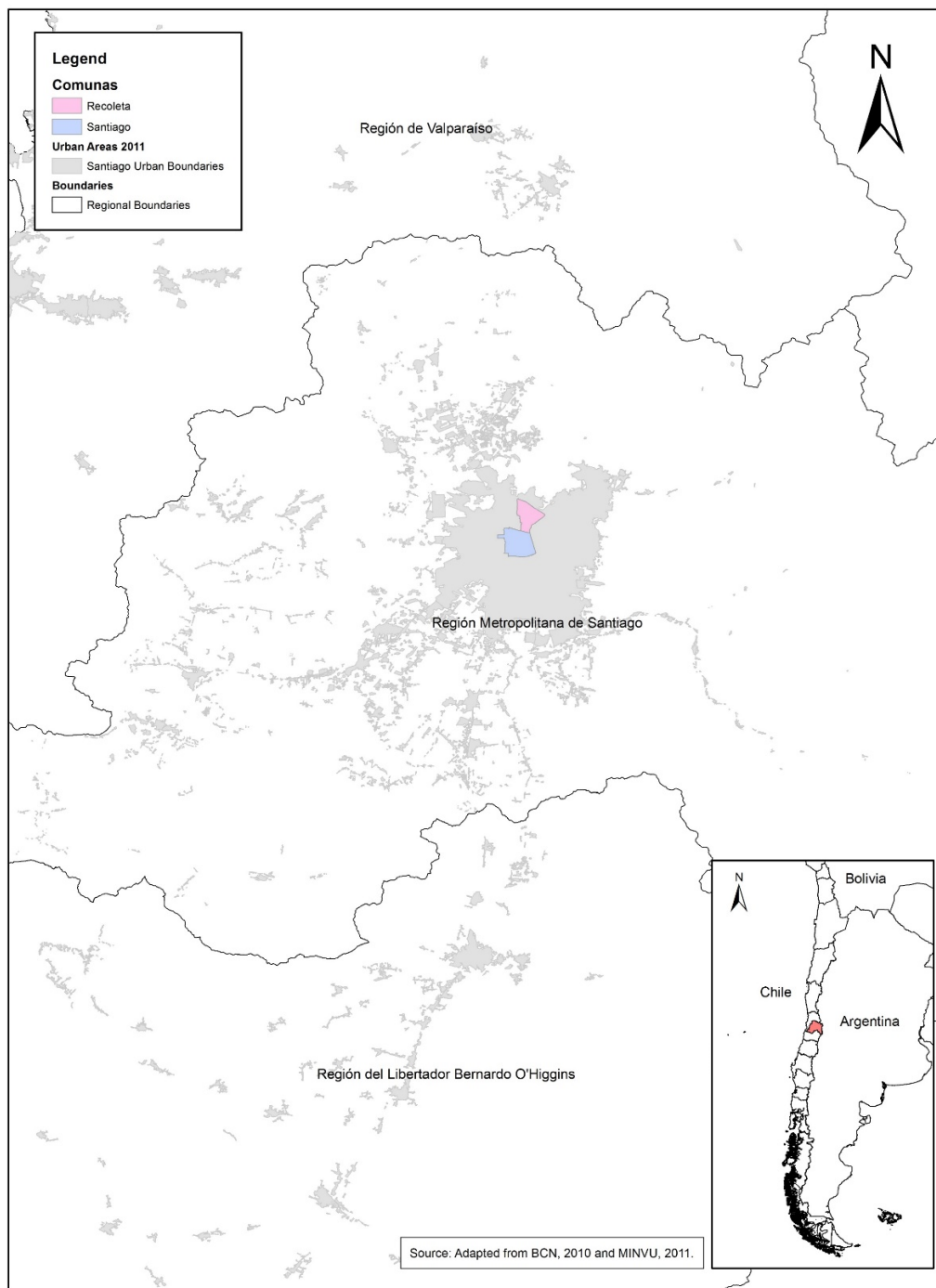


Figure 1: The location of the *comunas* of Santiago and Recoleta in the Santiago Metropolitan Area and regional context. Data from BCN (2010) and MINVU (2011).

Despite their geographical separation, these *comunas* have historically had a symbiotic relationship to the Mapocho River that divides the urban territory of Santiago, and to the colonial city center of Santiago, which has been the administrative and political power center of the country since the 16<sup>th</sup> century. The northern side of the river, where Recoleta is located, was largely inhabited by indigenous *mestizos* and served Santiago's needs in agriculture, commerce, and others (Ilustre Municipalidad de Recoleta, 2014). Márquez & Truffello (2013) argue that the Mapocho River shaped the image of the urban territory between the 17<sup>th</sup> and the 19<sup>th</sup> centuries because it divided the city into two parts: “the city ‘proper’ founded south of the river in strict accordance with the grid, and ‘the barbaric’ La Chimba [Recoleta, Independencia, etc.] north of the river, unordered and independent of the rules of the city” (p.86). The city of Santiago, was considered “proper and Christian,” and La Chimba was the space “where poor, indigenous, [and] uncivilized people lived, the ‘barbarian city’” (Margarit & Bijit, 2014, p.58). Thus, in a sense, one place represented the cultural order while the other represented the barbaric ‘other.’

The two areas selected for this study, Yungay and Benito Juarez (see figure 2) are located in Santiago and Recoleta, respectively.

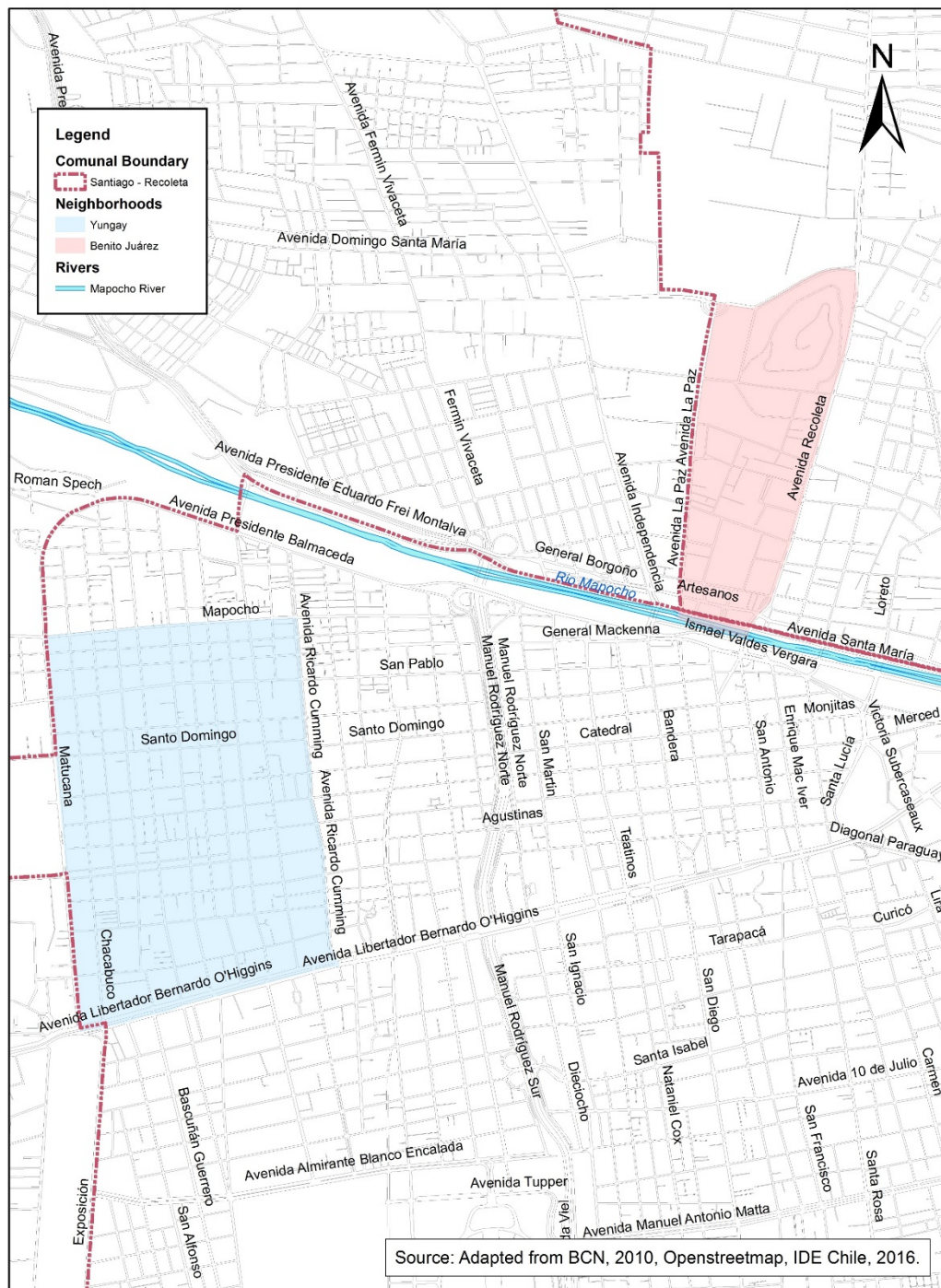


Figure 2: The location of the selected neighborhoods, Yungay and Benito Juarez. Own elaboration based on data from BCN (2010), openstreetmap and IDE Chile (2016).

## 5.2 **Socioeconomic Characteristics**

The *comuna* of Santiago contains the traditional Central Business District of Chile's capital, located inside the territory of the colonial city, and thus it is the site of various national government offices as well as of various businesses and services. Even though parts of the CBD shifted in the last decades towards high-income sectors of the metropolitan areas, the historical city center still concentrates important governmental, administrative and economic activities. It mainly contains mixed neighborhoods in which economic activities and housing coexist (PLADECO Santiago, 2015). In the last 10-15 years, the *comuna* of Santiago has received large numbers of new inhabitants and many new high-rise buildings have been built. The *comuna* of Santiago had nearly 200,792 inhabitants in 2002 but, according to figures from the unofficial Census 2012, it grew to nearly 311,415 people by 2012, which is a 55% increase in ten years (National Statistical Institute and PLADECO Santiago, 2015). In turn, Recoleta, situated to the north of the colonial city, with an area of 16 km<sup>2</sup>, is still dominated by 1-2 story buildings and is mostly residential even though it also has important commercial and service activities. Recoleta had 148,220 inhabitants in 2002 but registered a significant decrease to 122,050 in 2012 for a variation of -17%.

This difference in terms of population growth is also clearly reflected in the intensity of construction of new housing units. Figure 3 shows an intense activity in housing construction in Santiago (between 100,000 and 800,000 m<sup>2</sup> each year)—far beyond the values registered in Recoleta.

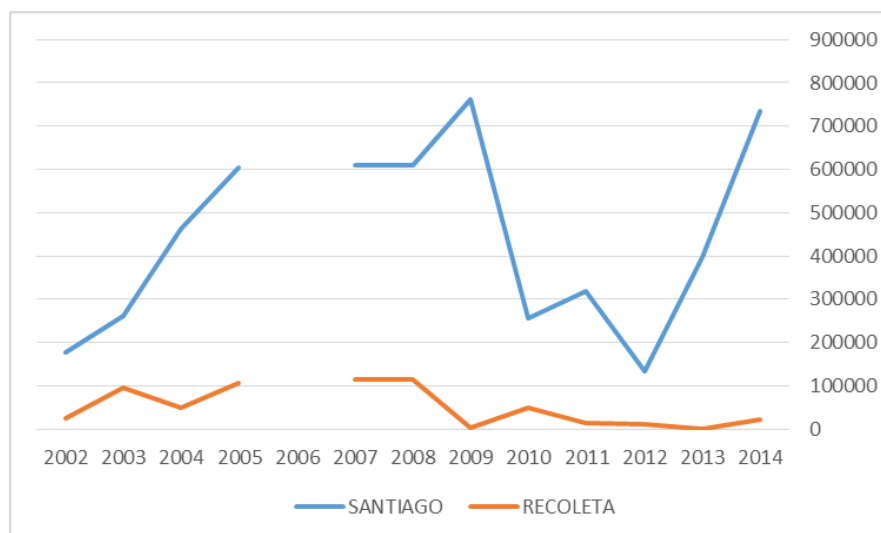


Figure 3: New housing units approved by year and *comuna* (square meters). Own elaboration based on data from Subsecretaria de Desarrollo Regional y Administrativo (n.d.)

In terms of its social composition, Santiago is considered a middle class *comuna*. In Chile social composition is frequently described using a classification of households by five main socio-economic groups, with the group “ABC1” being the highest groups and counting for about 10% of the population. The groups C2 and C3 can be considered middle class. In Santiago about 61% of the population belongs to these two groups—which is clearly above the overall figure of the middle classes in the metropolitan region (see table IV). In turn, in Recoleta almost 55% of the population is considered to belong to either of the lowest social classes (classes D and E).

TABLE IV: SOCIO-ECONOMIC COMPOSITION OF HOUSEHOLDS IN SANTIAGO AND RECOLETA (AS % OF TOTAL POPULATION)<sup>5</sup>

	ABC1	C2	C3	D	E
Santiago	9.7	31.7	29.3	24.4	4.9
Recoleta	3.0	15.5	26.8	43.2	11.5
<b>Metropolitan Region</b>	<b>10.6</b>	<b>19.2</b>	<b>25.1</b>	<b>35.3</b>	<b>9.8</b>

*Note:* Own elaboration based on data from Adimark (2007).

This classification of socio-economic conditions is based on educational characteristics and the possession of certain types of goods at the household level. This is a marketing-oriented classification and should thus be complemented by a discussion of poverty. The poverty situation in Santiago is quite similar to the national average, with an official poverty rate of only 5.9% in 2015—in contrast to Recoleta, where the poverty rate is double the figure of Santiago, reaching 13.9% (Ministerio de Desarrollo Social, 2016). These figures are based on an orthodox definition of poverty, using income as the main criteria. A recently applied multidimensional measure of poverty, which considers health, education, social security, housing and networks, estimates the rate of poverty considerably higher at 26.2% in Recoleta and 11.6% in Santiago (Ministerio de Desarrollo Social, 2016).

Recoleta and Santiago both show considerable issues of overcrowding as approximately one out of five housing units is officially considered overcrowded (see table V). Furthermore, in Recoleta the percentage of housing units in good shape is relatively low (85%) and a relatively high percentage is considered to be precarious. As a reference, comparison data for Providencia are included. Providencia is a high-income central *comuna*, bordering Santiago and Recoleta, and shows obviously clearly better indicators.

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<sup>5</sup> This methodology has been developed mainly for marketing purposes and is frequently questioned, but it still is the most quoted socio-economic classification of households. The information discussed here is based on 2002 census data.



TABLE V: CHARACTERISTICS OF HOUSING UNITS IN SELECTED COMUNAS (2002)

	Recoleta	Santiago	Providencia
Apartments (% of total units)	16.0	61.6	81.1
Housing units in good shape (% of total)	85.7	97.5	99.5
Precarious housing units (% of total)	7.6	6.6	0.4
Overcrowded housing units (% of total)	18.7	20.6	3.0

*Note:* Own elaboration based on data from Ministerio de Vivienda y Urbanismo (MINVU) (n.d.)

A similar contrast occurs in the educational level of residents: while in Santiago Centro more than 70% of the population completed at least secondary education, in Recoleta this proportion is 42%. Still, the poverty level in Recoleta has improved considerably in the last 10 years falling from 20% in 2003 to 11% in 2013 (Ministerio de Desarrollo Social, División Social, 2003).

### 5.2.1 Immigrants

Both *comunas* have been important destinations of international migration in recent years. According to the 2002 census Santiago “concentrated 54.4 percent of immigrants living in the RMS .... followed by Recoleta (14.2 percent), Estacion Central (13.1 percent), Independencia (9.6 percent) and Quinta Normal (8.7 percent)” (Margarit & Bijit, 2014, p. 42). Although at the national scale, migrants as a percent of the total Chilean population are rather insignificant, their number has been growing quickly in the last few years. According to the CASEN Survey, in only eight years, between 2006 and 2013 the number of international immigrants doubled or almost doubled in both *comunas*, reaching 12.9% of the total population in Santiago and 7.5% in Recoleta (see Table VI).

TABLE VI NUMBER OF MIGRANTS INN SANTIAGO AND RECOLETA (2006-2013)

Municipality	Migrants 2006 (no.)	% of total pop. 2006	Migrants 2011 (no.)	% of total pop. 2011	Migrants 2013 (no.)	% of total pop. 2013
Santiago	8,989	5.4	13,244	8.9	18,403	12.9
Recoleta	4,421	3.3	6,413	5.3	8,682	7.5

*Note:* Own elaboration based on data from CASEN, 2013 (Ministerio de Desarrollo Social, División Social, 2013)

As this research emphasizes issues of identity, developing bonds and commitment to place, it is relevant to consider that migration is a rather recent phenomenon: in 2012 only 12.9% of the migrants living in Santiago had lived in Chile for more than 10 years (entering the country in 2003 or before). Meanwhile, in Recoleta this percentage is slightly higher: about 1 of each five immigrants in Recoleta migrated to Chile over ten years ago (20.6%). As far as the origin of migrants, in Santiago the top two groups come from Peru and Colombia, followed by migrants from Ecuador (figure 1), showing thus a more diversified structure of migrants; in Recoleta the presence of the Peruvian community is clearly dominating, as over three quarters of migrants in Recoleta are from Peru (see Figure 4).

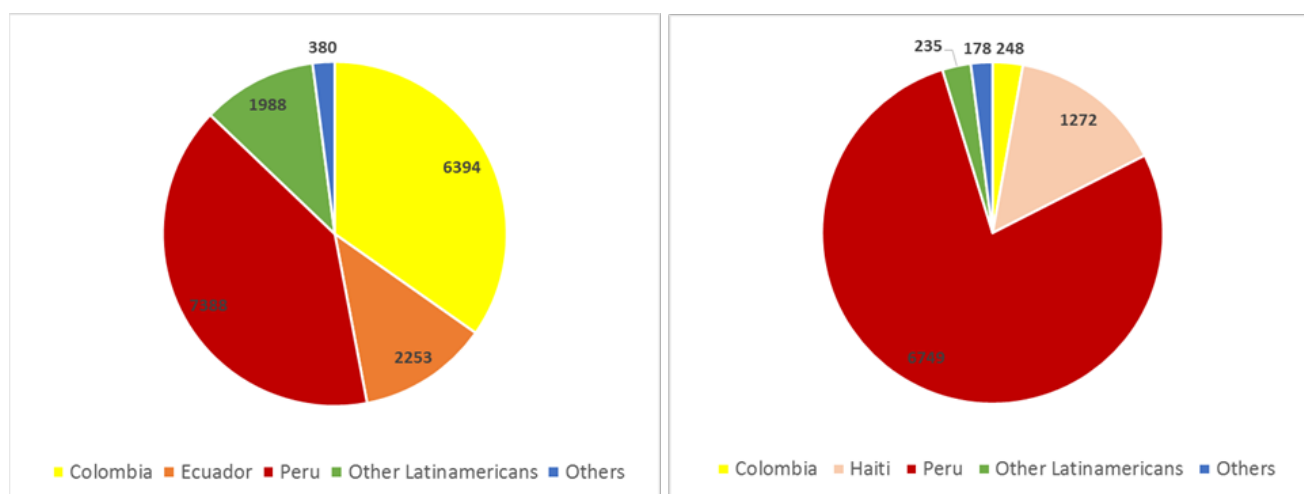


Figure 4: International migrants by origin (2013)—Santiago (left) and Recoleta (right). Own elaboration based on data from CASEN 2013 Ministerio de Desarrollo Social, División Social. (2013).

Coexistence in culturally diverse neighborhoods is framed by the spaces of interaction, in both public and semipublic spaces, where encounters are produced and spatial practices are visible. In turn, the interactions in this space are influenced by the social and political structures

that make coexistence possible or impossible. The following section explains and characterizes the structural conditions of the communities studied.

### 5.3 **Benito Juarez, a Neighborhood in the Border of the *Comuna* of Recoleta**

#### 5.3.1 **'The other side of the river'**

The Benito Juarez neighborhood, located in the Municipality of Recoleta, is located in the historical sector of the city of Santiago, located north of the River Mapocho, called La Chimba. Characterized for centuries by poverty, but also by the diversity of its population, and by stereotypes associated with popular culture in the Chilean imagination, La Chimba bears many urban problems and conflicts that are frequently blamed on the immigration of poor people into the city (Romero, 1984, p.55). This space is defined as the territory of *the other* from the perspective of central Santiago, which is perceived as the site of the 'normal' and the established order (Márquez, 2013).

As early as 1946, Lavin wrote about this area of the Chilean capital in a derogative manner (Lavin, 1946); La Chimba was the opposite side, the hidden part of the city (Márquez, 2014). Even its name makes reference to this as *chimba* means "on the *other side*" in the Quechua language, north of the Mapocho River" (Marquez, 2013, p. 324). The area has been known by this name since pre-Hispanic times, when it was primarily used for agriculture. After the Spanish conquest, the site was used by indigenous people and mestizos as a precarious settlement and, once Santiago was founded, it became an area of peripheral urbanization (BND, n.d.). Later, part of la Chimba was used by Franciscan and Dominican monks as a place of retreat (Ilustre Municipalidad de Recoleta, 2014).

Márquez (2013, 2014) pointed out that, since colonial times, La Chimba has provided services needed by the center of Santiago such as "cemeteries, hospitals, food markets, and

impoverished immigrants looking for a better fortune” (Márquez, 2014, p. 51). The official city of Santiago on the south side of the Mapocho River became the place where sociopolitical and structural power was located while La Chimba was a place of shelter for marginal people who worked for and in Santiago, especially in the food, clothing, and manufactured goods industries.

The Benito Juarez neighborhood is located in this spatial and historical context and embodies the cultural and social characteristics bestowed on La Chimba. Although Benito Juarez was a Mexican hero, here the name is somewhat derogatory as it denominates the heart of La Chimba, a neighborhood that for long has been the destination of many migrants from rural Chile as well as from other countries. Originally a lower class area, it is now home to a mixture of middle class Chileans and lower class immigrants from other countries of Latin America.

Important structural and economic elements of La Chimba and particularly of the Benito Juarez neighborhood are ‘La Vega’ central food market, the public psychiatric hospital, the General Cemetery, a concentration of middle and low cost retail in the Patronato neighborhood, and also of historic Catholic Churches and religious orders—all bearing the marks of a place at the crossroads.

### **5.3.2 Recoleta and Benito Juarez in the fragmented metropolitan space**

Migration is the expression of many socioeconomic and even political issues and, as such, should be approached in a comprehensive manner. Given the nature of international migration and the disadvantaged conditions immigrants often exhibit, migration calls for specific national policies. But it is not an exclusively national issue as it leaves deep marks on the local—comprising the *comunas* and the neighborhoods—and poses tremendous challenges especially when accompanied by discrimination, poverty and inequality.

Although at times people blame these issues on Chilean xenophobia, a careful exploration suggests that they are rooted in structural matters associated with housing, public health, education, and alike others. Figure 5 shows that La Chimba is a clear example of class segregation in Santiago (based on the 2002 Census data). The population inhabiting La Chimba and especially the Benito Juarez Neighborhood belongs to the lower and medium-low classes. Only at some distance of this neighborhood we can find blocks where the C2 class (upper middle class) is dominant: for example, to the east between Benito Juarez and the bohemian Bellavista neighborhood.

According to the Development Plan of Recoleta (*Plan de Desarrollo Comunal*), the planning instrument that establishes the development guidelines for the *Comuna*, the southern area of Recoleta, including Benito Juarez, constitutes a “space of impermeability,” which means that the area is characterized by a “densification in the built structure .... lacking of recreational open spaces such as squares and parks, plus the spatial polygons where the Central Vega, the Psychiatric Hospital and Clinic Dávila are located.... make this sector an area of high spatial rigidity” (Ilustre Municipalidad de Recoleta, 2014, p.47).

Figure 5: Dominant socioeconomic groups in Benito Juárez (2002). Own elaboration based on data from 2002 Census (Instituto Nacional de Estadísticas – Chile (INE), 2002) and IDE-Chile (Ministerio de Bienes Nacionales, n.d).

All in all, Benito Juarez clearly has a residential nature, but there is also an important presence of services, especially schools (see figure 6). Nevertheless, the most important structural elements are hospitals and La Vega Central—one of the most important food markets in the city, which coexists with a lower class population made up of Chileans and immigrants. The neighborhood as a whole is fragmented, has particularly challenging traffic and garbage conditions related to the central market, and in general lacks green areas and exhibits extreme overcrowding and isolation.

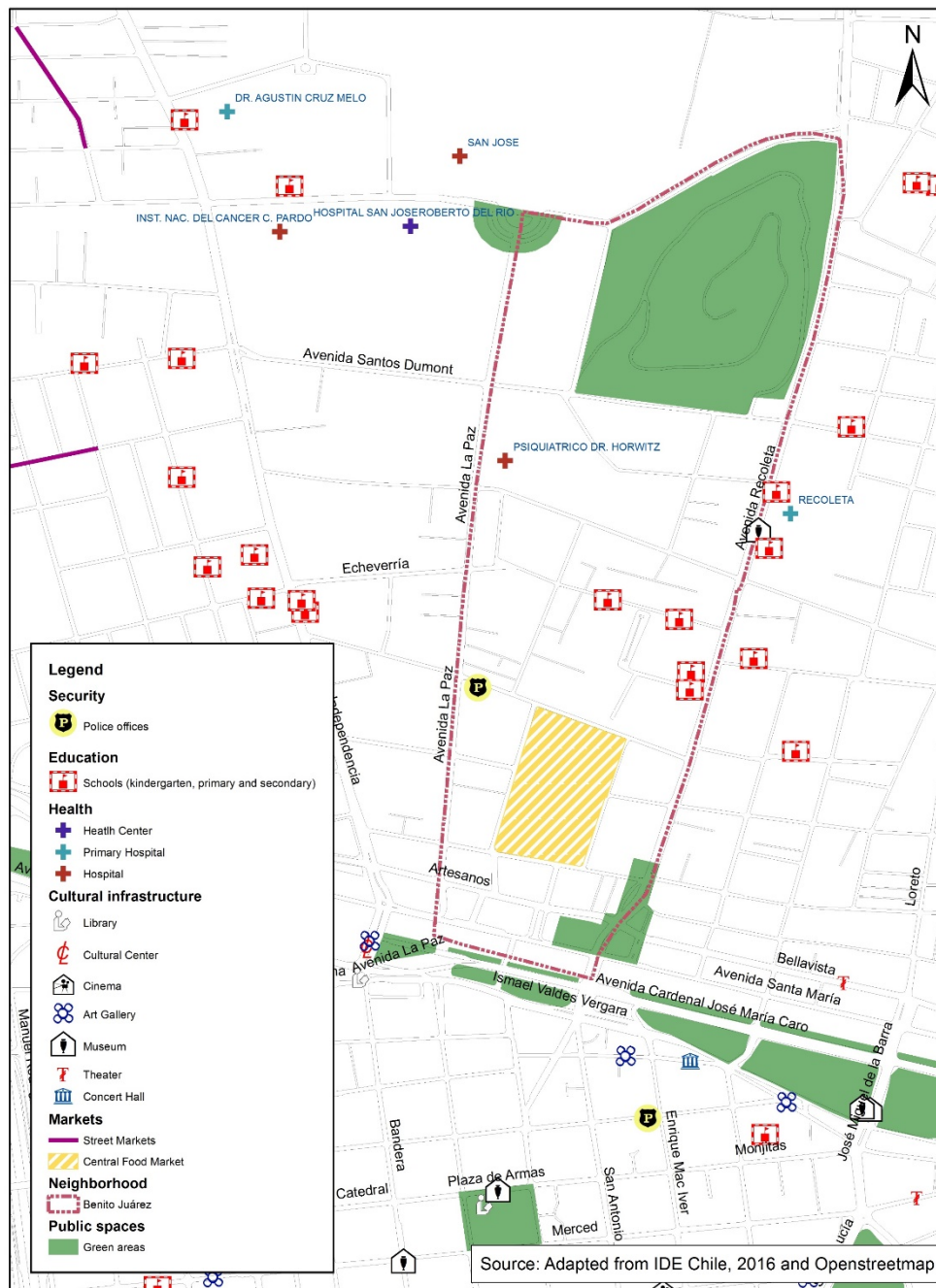


Figure 6: Infrastructure in the Benito Juárez Neighborhood and its surroundings. Own elaboration based on data from IDE-Chile (Ministerio de Bienes Nacionales, n.d) and openstreetmap.



### 5.3.3 **Immigration in Recoleta/Benito Juarez**

Marquez has argued that La Chimba is a place of social porosity, a frontier territory. As mentioned above, for her,

La Chimba, a town of the indigenous, has been for four and a half centuries a frontier, a place behind one's back, but also a space of shelter and diversity. If the center of Santiago is the face of legality and civilization, La Chimba has been the opposite and reverse—an outlaw city parallel to the other side of the river. (Márquez, 2013, p. 324)

Walking through the neighborhood, one can observe such porosity and diversity as both the built environment and the inhabitants show vestiges of a history of migration, encounter, and hybridism. Meanwhile, diversity has intersected with poverty and deprivation since the 17<sup>th</sup> century when mestizos, indigenous people, and poor Spaniards from the area engaged in the production of handicrafts for the city (Zúñiga Carvaja, 2012).

This history of immigration and segregation of low-income population groups includes the immigration of domestic migrants from the rural south and of international migrants, such as Palestinians and Koreans that settled in this space in different historical periods. Within Recoleta, migrants have concentrated in La Chimba, which is one reason why it is considered a frontier territory. The Benito Juarez neighborhood, as part of La Chimba is home to one of the largest concentrations of migrants in Metropolitan Santiago.

To accommodate these immigrants, landlords frequently convert large colonial buildings into rooming houses. Unfortunately, given that the 2012 Census was not officially released due to methodological problems, no detailed up-to-date data about immigrants in the area are currently available. In its absence, I walked the streets and conversed with residents and verified

the presence and concentration of immigrants from Ecuador, Bolivia, Dominican Republic, and Peru.

The absence of data is such that the Local Development Plans (PLADECO 2011-2013) of Recoleta (Ilustre Municipalidad de Recoleta, 2013) ignored issues of migration. This is striking given that the plan is supposed to provide general guidelines for the development and future vision of each territory within the *comuna*. But the issue of migration has become so evident and pressing that an update of this plan for the period 2015-2018 not only incorporated issues related to migration but defined the entire *comuna* as a multicultural space. This document acknowledges for the first time the presence of Peruvian immigrants along with immigrants from Korea, Colombia, and Central America (Ilustre Municipalidad de Recoleta, 2014).

#### **5.3.4 Dwelling, overcrowding, and precariousness**

Typically, international migrants moving from one Latin American country to another have higher levels of education than the population of the destination country. Although this may be also the case of Chile (Stefoni, 2011), many of these immigrants have become vulnerable in Chile. The migration official in Recoleta told me that “the majority of them [Latin-American migrants] are not vulnerable per se, but their situation in Chile makes them vulnerable” (interview, October, 2014). She added that Chilean Foreign Law has the effect of making migrants “prisoners of abuse.” Their precarious situation is not related solely to their migration status but it is the added result of social and economic policies that tend to segregate and deprive them.

A clear example of this situation is the Benito Juarez neighborhood, an area characterized by one or two story traditional buildings and continuous façade streets. Because La Chimba was always part of the low income segment of the city, small housing units as well as so-called

*conventillos* and *cités* were built. The latter are communitarian buildings, usually built for low-income groups, sharing common elements such as patios and bathrooms (similar to rooming houses).

The built structure in this part of the city in general suffered serious deprivation, as did the public space and streets especially in the surroundings of the La Vega market, which are in bad shape and sometimes accumulate garbage (see Figure 7). Many of these traditional buildings were eventually abandoned by the original dwellers and were then used for storage purposes, for example warehousing related to the commercial activities around the La Vega market (Ilustre Municipalidad de Recoleta, 2014; Vicencio, 2012).



Figure 7: Neglected streets and buildings in the surroundings of La Vega Market. Author's collection.

Along the way, spaces that were not originally intended for such use have become the sites of street vending and storage or small shops and restaurants as Figure 8 below shows. Many were transformed and are now divided and sublet by the room to migrants, resulting in a mixed area.



Figure 8: A traditional *cité*, with a rooming house and commercial use of housing units. Author's collection.

Latin American immigrants coming to this neighborhood end up living in overcrowded conditions in rooming houses (see figure 9), becoming clients of a specific market of collective and precarious housing which in addition tends to be overpriced. But as this kind of housing may be the only one available to them, at least to the poorest among migrants, they have no choice but take it and thus become more vulnerable.



Figure 9: Inside a rooming house in the Benito Juárez neighborhood. Author's collection.

Similarly, migration has been turned into a business offering foreigners precarious environments to live in. In the words of government officials I interviewed in Santiago and Recoleta, “the business of migration” has produced an abusive market of collective housing for Latin American migrants. Moreover, the ‘business of migration’ makes a profit out of immigrants, along the way making them tremendously vulnerable while segregating them away from the rest of the population.

The mechanism is that a person is letting a housing unit to person X and this person X is subletting the flat, room by room, thus transforming it into ... [pause] ... Well, there you have the problem. As people need a place to sleep, they rent those rooms where you have two beds and four people living there, cooking in the backyard, and sharing a single

bathroom with others. (Official of the Department of International Migration Planning, Secretary of Foreign Affairs, interview, December, 2014)

In short, immigrants are pushed into sublet rooms in decayed buildings, warehouses, and former factories (Official of the Migration Office, Santiago, October, 2014). For the official at Recoleta's Department of Migration, overcrowding, precarious dwelling conditions and shared bathrooms are forms of discrimination rooted in the vulnerable situation of many Latino American migrants. The city of migrants thus is one of informality and uncertainty that generates a feeling of isolation and exclusion. Moreover, in the absence of space for privacy and the conduit of every day's life affairs, immigrants use public spaces to extend their households. To an extent, public space becomes a substitute and/or an extension of the house.

#### 5.4 **Barrio Yungay: a story of neighborhood change, coexistence, and diversity**

Walking around Santiago, one may be surprised by the social, ethnic, and racial diversity of people using public spaces—streets, corners, gateways—compared with its supposed cultural homogeneity. Many look quite different from what may be considered classical Chilean features. Indigenous, Brown, and even Black people are now part of the Santiago urban landscape. They looked at me, perhaps considering me a foreigner or outsider and I really felt like that. In Yungay, right at the corner of a big housing complex apparently constructed in the '70s—maybe a former social housing project—there was a 'Center for security and information of the Santiago Municipality' protected by bars and guarded by an isolated watchman who was monitoring what happened in the area. Close to him was a container with a mobile office out of which a local university delivered a social program serving migrant communities. That was the beginning of my journey to my new Santiago.



#### 5.4.1 **Yungay: history and transformation**

Although this section is not intended as a detailed history of the neighborhood, I introduce some facts that depict the neighborhood as a place of diversity and memory. Located in the western sector of the *comuna* of Santiago, Barrio Yungay has been selected as a neighborhood that was originally inhabited by high-income social groups but which decayed during the 20th century. Its boundaries have changed, but today, the Municipality of Santiago has defined as Barrio Yungay as the area between Mapocho street (North) and Libertador Bernardo O'Higgins Avenue (South), and Cumming Street (East) and Matucana street (West)—a mostly residential area with a concentration of commercial use in its southern part (see Figure 10).



Figure 10: Location of Yungay Neighborhood and Dominant Land Uses. Own elaboration based on data from Ilustre Municipalidad de Santiago (2015) and Openstreetmap



Araneda Bravo (1972) points out that Yungay was founded in 1839, making it one of the oldest neighborhoods of Santiago outside the foundational core of the colonial city. Yungay and the Plaza were named after the Chilean Army defeated the Peru-Bolivia confederation in a town named Yungay within Peru (Araneda Bravo, 1972; Bustamante Danilo & Bustos Torreblanca, 2013; Corporación Santiago Innova, 2014).

The Barrio's foundation takes on a symbolic character. As historical research on the war has established, the army that fought—in harsh conditions—was essentially popular and rural in social origin. By then, the elite had a rather disrespectful image of the masses. However, their outstanding performance in the war forced political leaders to change their discourse about the popular masses. The neighborhood was founded in that context. Later, years after the Pacific War (1879-1883), the monument to the *Roto Chileno* [see figure 11] was inaugurated. (Corporación Santiago Innova, 2014, p. 16)



Figure 11: *Roto Chileno* Monument in the Plaza Yungay. Author's collection.

At this time, Santiago was still a town shaped by its colonial core, but had started to spread and its principal streets were extended to the western side of the city. By 1840, some of Santiago's inhabitants had acquired properties in the new village that was expected to "have a great urban future within a short period of time" (Araneda Bravo, 1972, p.32). In its origins, the elite of Santiago, by blood, wealth or education inhabited the Yungay neighborhood particularly around its central square, Plaza Yungay. However, the neighborhood was also home to lower classes living in what was called *Rancherías* and afterwards, *cités and conventillos*. Although different social classes lived together in the neighborhood, they were social and spatially segregated from the beginning. Some areas, especially the central places, were home to middle and upper classes (Bulnes Petrowitsch, 2012). This is why today the Yungay neighborhood comprises very different buildings and architectural styles. Nevertheless, the traditional home of the lower classes migrating from the countryside is located to the North of Mapocho street; consequently, in terms of urban planning, the neighborhood was divided by the local government in its Community Development Plan and the section where the poor lived traditionally was separated from the Yungay neighborhood and named Barrio Balmaceda.

The history of Barrio Yungay encompasses both diversity and social movement. Documents and interviews point to the neighborhood as a territory of difference and struggle. A book created in coordination with the local government of Santiago, non-government institutions, and civil society chronicles these features as follows, "Between the period of 1870 and 1920 the neighborhood was populated by the aristocracy of Santiago, as well as, by the working and deprived class" (Corporación Santiago Innova, 2014, p. 21). Furthermore, it highlights that the space occupied by the working class was inhabited mainly by railway workers

who lived in *cites* and *conventillos* and included generations of laborers who crafted the history of social movements in Chile (Corporación Santiago Innova, 2014, p. 16).

Since the 1920s, the neighborhood began to depopulate and decay. Araneda Bravo (1972) mentioned that Yungay was until 1930 an attractive neighborhood” with a colonial and village style. The `30s were a period of slow decline; elites started to migrate to the eastern part of the city, to *comunas* such as Providencia and Las Condes, looking for better social and environmental conditions (Corporación Santiago Innova, 2014, p. 16). Following this, middle class families moved to the large houses left by the upper classes. Frequently those old mansions were then subdivided and in part used for commercial purposes as many small enterprises emerged. By the `70s, Yungay was quite deteriorated although the local and national government made many efforts to repopulate it.

Those efforts are not exclusive to Yungay but are part of a general initiative to redevelop the central part of Santiago’s metropolitan area. Indeed, with the re-establishment of the democratic system in the `90s, a program of urban renovation and repopulation of the municipality of Santiago was established. The Ministry of Housing and Urban Development (Contreras, 2011; Rodríguez & Rodríguez, 2013) attempted to repopulate the city center focusing at the beginning (1990-1996) in structures located in Barrio Yungay and Brazil (Rodríguez & Rodríguez, 2013). This program along with cultural promotion brought young professionals from upper and middle-upper socio-occupational groups back to this neighborhood (Contreras, 2011).

Meanwhile, the liberation of land markets and the commodification of heritage areas through the enactment of state subsidies enabling families to buy residential properties in Santiago generated a rapid mobilization of real state capital (Rodríguez & Rodríguez, 2013). These forces resulted in the destruction of many historical houses in downtown Santiago that

were replaced by apartment buildings and gated communities, “destroying a large part of the district's urban heritage” (Rodríguez & Rodríguez, 2013). To halt this, in 2005 Barrio Yungay neighbors launched a movement in defense of their historical, social and cultural heritage represented by old and large houses (Bulnes Petrowitsch, 2012; Rodríguez & Rodríguez, 2013).

These struggles against urban renovation and destruction of the historical neighborhood produced a strong local organization called *Vecinos en Defensa del Barrio Yungay* (Neighbors defending the Barrio Yungay) (Rodríguez & Rodríguez, 2013). This community organization would be a critical force in the designation of Yungay as a Typical Area (*zona típica*)—a recognition of its identity as an expression of Chilean, historical and patrimonial identity (Consejo de Monumentos Nacionales de Chile, 2009) which implies legal protection against its destruction.

#### **5.4.2 Bohemia, and the trend toward (reverse) gentrification**

Due to these developments, the western zone of the *comuna* de Santiago began transforming into a bohemian neighborhood during the '90s. Young professionals, activists, writers, artists and politicians moved to this part of Santiago, encouraging the development of an architectural landscape that shows vestiges of a better past while configuring a bohemian neighborhood. Today, Barrio Yungay shows a tendency towards a “bohemian” neighborhood with some elements of gentrification (Contreras 2011, p. 105).

In the interim, the program to repopulate Santiago that started in Barrio Yungay and Brazil spread to other areas of the *comuna* leaving Yungay and Brazil at an early stage of gentrification. Still, most of the blocks in the Yungay neighborhood are mainly inhabited by the middle class and lower classes.

Thus, these changes do not necessarily amount to the gentrification of Yungay. According to Contreras (2011), although Chilean newcomers have similar or superior income than the preexistent population, their arrival did not mean that the old and sometimes lower-income neighbors were displaced. Rather, the process suggests a ‘silent’ gentrification as the newcomers buy units in new apartment buildings and some old buildings are renovated.

Their residential selections are associated with the search for a more pro-urban life, greater social mix, with proximity to social, family, and labor networks reflected in the renovation of old buildings or the purchase of a new loft apartment in accordance with the lifestyle they pursue. (Contreras, 2011, p.106)

One may say that this neighborhood represents one of those spaces with special identities and collective memory that young professionals and some members of the upper class are looking for. “A proper *barrio* life” is one of the recurrent phrases expressed by people who I interviewed. It is a friendly place where the neighbors know and welcome each other. The bars and restaurants are not new, but rather renew old and historical places where locals share their everyday life with newcomers (Figure 12).



Figure 12: Old neighborhood cantina in Barrio Yungay. Author's collection.

The Yungay neighborhood organization uses an old building for its activities. The patio of the building hosts an art exhibit of Yungay's history that underscores the importance of social diversity, the working class experience, and the recovery of old jobs associated with local and daily life (such as cobblers and gasfitters). The Chilean popular culture that the neighborhood organization attempts to recreate in the present coexists with more recent practices of urban agriculture and environmentalism organized by young professional residents (see Figure 13).



Figure 13: Calling for the recovery of traditional handcraft and urban garden in Barrio Yungay.  
Author's collection.

When walking around the neighborhood, one of my interviewees took me to the local historical sites introducing me to each neighbor who was on the street. He felt proud that presidents, famous artists, and politicians had lived in the neighborhood. I listened carefully to what he told me, but then he asked me why I was not taking photos: he wanted me to record the sites and memories that constitute the local iconography, which was a recurrent theme of most Chileans I interviewed in Yungay. New and old Chilean neighbors emphasize that it is a neighborhood with history and heritage and that this history is associated with social diversity.

#### **5.4.3 Demography, immigration and social diversity**

The 2002 census of Chile counted nearly 13,500 inhabitants in Yungay, 47% of them adults between 20 and 44 years (Corporación Santiago Innova, 2014 based on Census 2002). Their socioeconomic composition is diverse, but most of them belong to the socio-economic groups C2 and C3, that is, the middle class (Figure 14). In spatial terms it can be observed that in the blocks located in the northern part of the neighborhood and to a lesser degree in the western

part, the poorer class D is dominant. Recognizing that the data are from the last available census (2002), it is important to state that those parts of the neighborhood where a higher percentage of low-income families lived in 2002 nowadays seem to have high concentrations of Latin American immigrants.



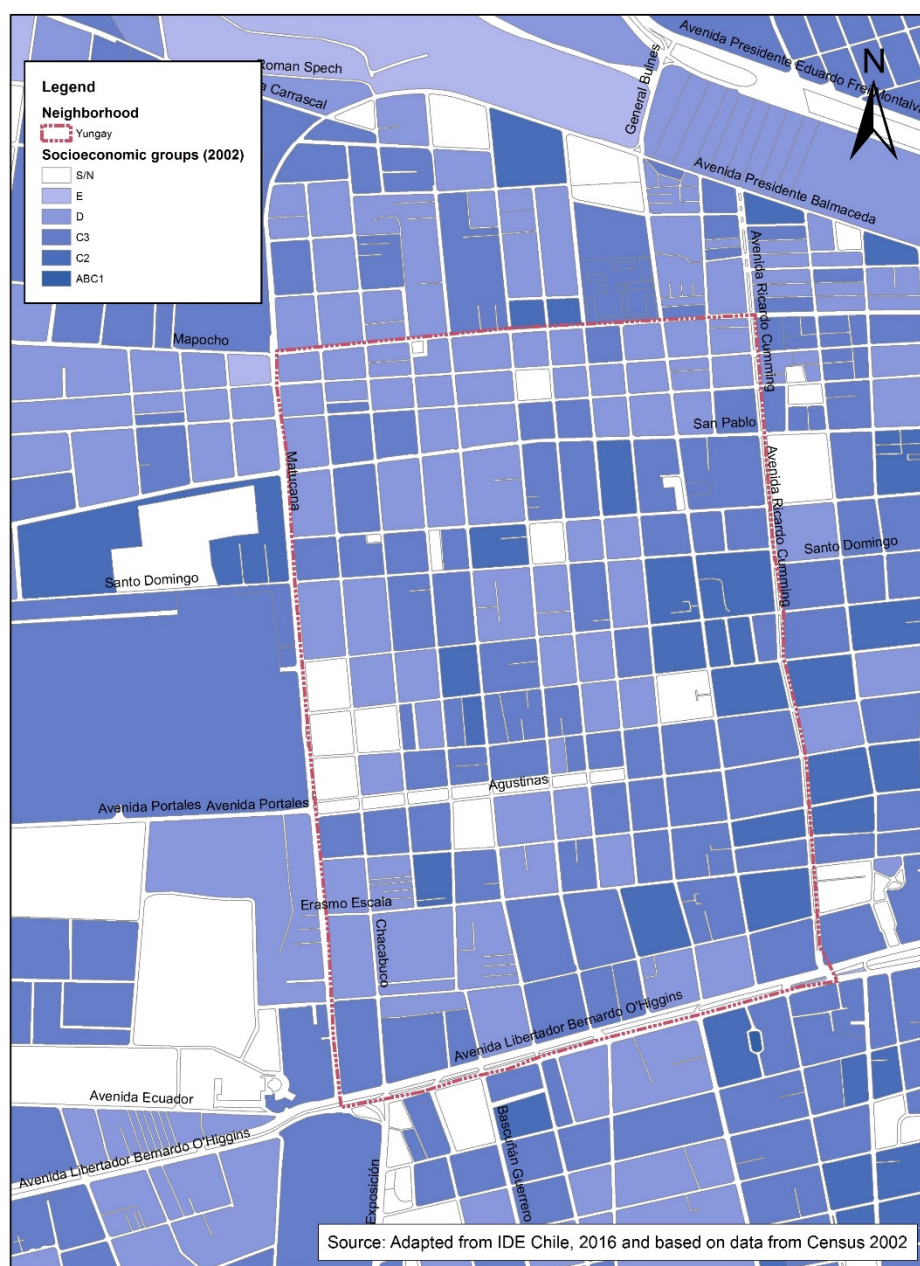


Figure 14: Dominant socioeconomic groups in Barrio Yungay (2002). Own elaboration based on data from 2002 Census (Instituto Nacional de estadísticas – Chile (INE), 2002) and IDE-Chile (Ministerio de Bienes Nacionales, n.d).

Currently Barrio Yungay is an important destination of Latin American immigrants (see table VII). It has been said that “in the beginning they [immigrants] were indigenous people and peasants; today, we can find Europeans and Latino Americans” (Corporación Santiago Innova, 2014, p. 25). About 7.0% of the Yungay population is born abroad and therefore considered immigrant, defining Yungay as a migrant neighborhood. No current data on the number of migrants in Yungay is available. While the migrant population in Chile grew from about 150,000 (2006) to about 350,000 (2012) (Ministerio de Desarrollo Social 2015, p. 4), there was a larger percentage and a significant increase in the migrant population in Yungay (Bustamante Danilo & Bustos Torreblanca, 2013).

TABLE VII: IMMIGRANT POPULATION IN BARRIO YUNGAY BY ORIGIN

<b>Nationality</b>	<b>Immigrants</b>	<b>% Immigrants</b>
Peru	550	75
Ecuador	87	12
Argentina	60	8
Venezuela	12	2
Bolivia	10	1
Brazil	7	1
Colombia	4	<1
Uruguay	1	<2
Paraguay	1	<3
Total	732	100%

*Note:* Data from Bustamante Danilo & Bustos Torreblanca, 2013.

In a historical neighborhood that includes the active participation of residents, newcomers can feel out of place as they do not share the history or cultural traditions of natives. Although frequently Yungay residents declare that they prefer to live in a diverse environment, in practice there are many instances of mutual discrimination or conflicts involving both immigrants and Chileans.

Still, interviewees made a special effort to communicate that they embraced a place where people from different social classes and ethnic background lived next to each other. For instance, one of my interviewees said: “here you have the professor, there you have a person who works in La Vega, and so forth. We all live together; but now we have the problem of drinking alcohol and consuming drugs on the street” (young adult Chilean man, interview, July 2015). Although the person was not implying that drugs and alcohol were an immigrant issue, it becomes evident that his openness to diversity seemed to end when it came to accepting that potentially conflictive habits and encounters are part of difference.

#### **5.4.4 New businesses in Yungay: Local real estate and small business loan operations.**

Informal businesses have emerged in Barrio Yungay that also seem to clash with established ones. One clear example comes from the presence of people who offer loans and then circle streets, houses and small businesses or corner stores collecting payments that include a daily interest. “If people ask for \$100 they must pay \$1 more per day” said a young man I interviewed who expressed surprise at the presence of such activity in Chile and in the neighborhood. By all indications, this is a new and informal financial business introduced by foreigners that has resulted in fear and amazement for Chilean residents. In the words of the same interviewee, “It is illegal, so if they get caught by the police, they lose the voucher and the money.” Interestingly, these operations issue a receipt as proof of the (illegal) transaction. In contrast, Chileans saw as natural that the owner of the corner store would offer credit to his customers. While the latter is operating on trust and mutual knowledge, absent these two factors, the former relied on a (quasi-formal) paper transaction and a close watch on debtors.

Like La Chimba, Barrio Yungay features traditional housing (see figure 15). According to the development plan for the comuna, the Yungay neighborhood is characterized mainly by

one or two story buildings mostly between 80 and 350 m<sup>2</sup>, some of them with inner patios.

“Together, traditional dwellings form continuous facade neighborhoods, although they are individually produced, house to house” (Ilustre Municipalidad de Santiago, 2015). As in the previous case, immigration has turned these structures into good business opportunities.

Buildings are subdivided into units that are leased and rearranged so that in each room a couple of people can live. They include agencies and administrators that operate on trust and fear.

Tenants are almost always undocumented and have no other way of securing housing. As such, their condition puts them at the mercy of the owners and renters of such housing while turning them into dwellers of overcrowded structures often isolated from Chileans.



Figure 15: Typical, traditional continuous façade streets in barrio Yungay. Author’s collection.

## 6 Lived Experience and Recognition: Latin American Immigrants' Everyday Spatial Practices of Dwelling

In this chapter I present my interpretation of the conditions experienced by the people I interviewed. I use an objective-subjective dialectic focusing on how the objective and the subjective interlink to produce the milieu of the neighborhoods. I link the lived experience of immigration to mediating structural and legal matters (discussed in the previous chapter). I begin the chapter by describing the immigrant's being-in-the-world and dwelling by arguing that, although they are *being* in Chile, they long for home and ultimately live in between; then I embrace such experience of being by interpreting people's meaning of home, which points to an ambiguous perception of what home is (apparently a source of bad memories but at the same time of good moments). Such meanings are strongly influenced by the living conditions that some newcomers experience; thus, considering the immigrant community housing conditions, I reconstruct the immigrants' perception of precariousness. Finally, I discuss the spatial implications of their living conditions regarding the use of public and private spaces that amount to a lived experience based on identity and culture, including strategies of survival.

### 6.1 Being-in-the-world in a new milieu

The way we become involved in a familiar world through everyday practices is essentially being-in-the-world (Heidegger, 1996). It is through the experience of everyday life that people develop a sense of spatiality within the world. The world of everyday life gives people the possibility of understanding their existence; as human beings, they exist within a particular milieu, and the world of each individual is determined by the culture that constitutes "the personal *Terrae cognitae* localized and restricted in space and time" (Lowenthal, 1961, p. 229). The self can participate in diverse worlds, but the way that the self participates defines his

or her existence, or being-in-the-world, in different forms. The particular culture of a population represents their known world.

The immigrant subjects examined in this study challenged themselves when they left the social milieu that they had known. Based on Heidegger's understanding of being-in-the-world, migrants may develop their existence in a mode of authenticity. This means that when migrating, they delve into other worlds and cultures and try to know and experience them. However, if everyday life is the totality of being (Heidegger, 1996), migrants who continue to dwell in their own culture or the world they already know deny themselves (or are forced to deny themselves) the possibility of being integrated into the authenticity of existence—the things that are arranged to be known. Such migrants continue the practices of their country of origin; even though they are enclosed by a new place, they maintain the culture that they already know. This is the way in which most humans operate as the familiarity of the known allows them to feel at home.

#### **6.1.1 An experience of dislocation and uncertainty.**

As noted previously, moving to a new place and contact with a new culture configure a being-in-the-world for immigrants as an experience of dislocation and uncertainty. For immigrants living in Chile, data suggest, their hope for a better life intersects with a consciousness based on the uncertainty of belonging. The newcomer who feels they belong to another place walks with fear, and sometimes even with a sensation of not being worthy of the place occupied, certainly of being out of place.

The feeling of uncertainty is influenced by the experience of dislocation. Dislocation indicates a place position of being on the edge that may be experienced in both marginal and physical territory, and emotional and social territory (Park, 2011). The everyday life of

immigrants occurs in a setting different from the one they feel they belong to. Rosario, a young Bolivian woman expressed:

If we say [now I'm in another country], I am not of the same nationality, that is, when one is in their country [with] a shared nationality [and] one is like feeling at home, with family, but [living] in another country and walking like that on the streets, one sees people that one never in her life has seen before and one feels bad. (Rosario, young Bolivian woman, interview, June 2015).

Rosario expressed her experience of dislocation in terms of being outside of her everyday life. Thus, looking to be part of this new place is a challenge, especially because of the constant doubt of what 'normal' is. Being-in-the-world is a sense of spatiality as space shapes the possibilities of action (Gaál-szabó, 2011). Rosario feels that when she walks down the street, people look at her as if believing that they are worth more than her. She senses that her possibilities of action are shaped by a space where others would prefer that she was not there because she is a newcomer: "my mom tells me: keep quiet, daughter, you are in another country" (Rosario, young Bolivian woman, interview, June 2015). Such dislocation reveals the experience of being "relocated from a known place to one that is unfamiliar ....a lack of space where a person can feel rooted and safe" (Park, 2011, p. 2)

I perceived the immigrants' constant fear about whether their manner of living and appropriation of space will be accepted by those who define the norm. I asked Paula—a young Peruvian woman—about her life and she responded immediately that she had never had problems with Chileans and that they have always treated her very well. Apparently she interpreted my question as implying a permanent conflict between Peruvian residents and Chileans and felt she had to give the 'correct' answer to my question in a world that she feels she

does not belong to. As she spoke about social activities, she emphasized that she and her family did not drink alcohol: “we participate in the activities, but we do not drink [alcohol], no one in my family likes that.... We have no problems with anyone and [Chileans] have always treated us well. We have nothing to say about Chileans” (Paula, young Peruvian woman, interview, December, 2014) Although I had not asked about alcohol, parties, or conflicts, she wanted to make sure I understood that she and her family did not have struggles with their neighbors because “they did not like parties” (Paula, young Peruvian woman, interview, December, 2014).

Several migrants explicitly expressed that they were not in the place they wanted to be, stating that they were in Chile to pursue the goal of providing for their families in the country of origin with a better life. Thus their relation to place in Chile is built upon the experience of their wish to be in another place, and most of all the feeling of belonging to another place. Whenever they get excited it is because they are talking about home and when they refer to pleasant experiences related to places, they talk about their home town, the village of their childhood, memories of visiting the countryside in their home country or other emotional links to a different place in the past.

It is difficult for foreign born people to understand a new place as they tend to perceive an unknown culture as a hostile social milieu. Now, they are living in an unfamiliar world and are displaying their spatial practices in a foreign place. Hence, uncertainty is also manifested in micro episodes of immigrant resident lives. Newcomers’ lives are difficult; in addition to living in precarious conditions, they do not understand the new culture, and although they may speak the same language, many words have different meanings or connotations making communication difficult or prone to misunderstandings. The bodies of individuals are positioned in the world and represent the vehicle of perception of the world (Shengli, 2009, p. 132). In this regard, their



perception is that the other (the Chilean resident) is impatient and unwilling to bring himself/herself down to understand the newcomer.

### **6.1.2 Being-in a zone of transition: everyday life as transitory, a stage.**

Thus, for many of the immigrants of the neighborhoods studied here, being-in-the-world means leading their daily lives in connection with a previous place and culture. However, they are no longer at home and need to participate in a different world with a different culture. This challenge generates anxiety and fear of the unknown. On the one hand, the fact that they need to live in a different culture forces them to adapt but, on the other hand, the lack of familiarity with the new culture pushes them to resist. Under the circumstances, both perceptually and materially, immigrants are living in a zone of transition between two worlds but striving to reach their own wholeness of being-there in the new site. In examining some of the experiences of the residents of Benito Juarez and Yungay, I wondered whether they were experiencing the entirety of being-in-the-world—their *Dasein*—or whether the environment was pushing them back.

Immigrants' being-in-the-world should thus be understood as occurring between two worlds, the one they are and the one they are at the same time in and not in. The relation to a place is an important aspect of human existence that Manzo describes as “a way of being-in-the-world” (Manzo, 2003, p. 49) that is based on individual perception. Place is the experienced world, and experience is gained through practices that people develop within the space. For the most part, Latin American migrants come to Chile looking for opportunities to improve their lives and their families' situations, whether those families are in Chile or in their place of origin. Thus, Chile has brought to the everyday life of immigrants a notion of place whose meaning is first understood in terms of economics. In this regard, their place of dwelling is largely configured to accommodate work and daily life around a goal. Considering that the dwelling is a

space for work and economic production, we can question whether their everyday lives are fundamentally utilitarian. Rosario, a young Bolivian woman living in Benito Juarez, describes her typical day as going “to work, rest[ing] a while [and] get[ting] back to work; during holidays when I have time I go out with my mom.... for a walk. Well [so, this is my life] ... work, be there, relax, be with my mom, and get back to work” (Rosario, young Bolivian woman, interview June, 2015. To ‘be there’—to exist in a particular place and time—Rosario leads her everyday life by performing the basic activities necessary to meet her biological needs. Reminiscent of Hanna Arendt’s *vita active*, Rosario’s work activities encompass all the human conditions associated with work, labor, and action (Arendt, 1998).

Similarly, in Benito Juarez, Paula, a young Peruvian woman who works as a salesperson in a corner store shared with me her lived experience in Chile. It was 3:00 pm, the time that she suggested I visited her in the store, as she would be alone. She was very kind but seemed unfocussed; her baby who was sleeping at the end of the building cried out, and she needed to stop our conversation in order to take care of him. A moment later, someone came into the store to shop, and Paula brought her baby in her arms to attend the customer. For Paula, home is the place where she displays social, cultural and economic activities. In addition, her way of being-in-the-world may reflect a mode of inauthenticity, considering that she has been living in Chile for more than six years; although she was a nurse back home, she decided to migrate to Chile to help her father with his trucking company. Her culture defines a world in which the entire family has to be part of the business. Thus, as in many other experiences, immigrants are debating inwardly between being open and closed to the possibilities of existence in a new world.

On my way through the neighborhoods, I found graffiti that portrayed the experience of migration and encounter. I stopped in front of an image in which an indigenous woman walks

with her son or daughter in the back in a natural environment that resembles the *Altiplano*. Next to this one were two indigenous men shaking hands in the city of Santiago. The woman is on her way to the city to meet such urban world (Figure 16). In their spatial practices of everyday life, immigrants seek a path to being-in-the-world. They conceive everyday life as transitory, a stage; meanwhile returning to the home country looms in the horizon as one of the goals motivating the cycles of work and sleep that absorb their existence but that they endure waiting for the time to go back home.



Figure 16: Graffiti in Yungay Neighborhood displaying indigenous women in natural environment. Author's collection.

Their present world is transitory. Most of them have left their children and family in their country of origin, and so creating bonds in Chile is not worth the effort or, simply, is not what they have in mind. Milagros and her husband Marcos arrived six years ago, but left their two daughters in Peru. Chile represents for them a job and the money to support the family back in Peru; it also provides them security in waiting, but their town in Peru remains their permanent

place. I asked Milagros if after six years in Chile, she felt to be part of Chile and if there is something they will miss when they return to Peru. But all she can think about is that she would miss her work, “the possibility of us to earn a little more than there. There are jobs there, but the money is just enough to live, eat, and dress, but if one wants to buy stuff one has to get more” (Milagros, young Peruvian woman, interview December 2014).

Thinking about their economic well-being, they wish to return to Peru as soon as they can. Milagros sadly expressed that their daughters needed them; “I left my second child when she was two years old, so I feel sad.... I want to leave; I want to go see my daughters.” While talking, she is connecting feelings and thoughts about her people and place; it makes her and her husband remember their village. She shares with me a feeling about her village which is both, idealized and a sensual experience of the body: “the water is clear and clean and we can drink it directly from the natural source that flows from the stones” (Milagros, young Peruvian woman, interview December 2014).

But, although they view the current situation as a phase of transition, they aspire to succeed and this implies sometimes the idea of moving away from the neighborhood they are currently living in. Thus, the transition means in some cases an improvement in socio-economic terms, aiming for a better neighborhood and then bringing the rest of the family. For that purpose, any job and any condition is accepted by immigrants at the beginning.

### **6.1.3 Problematic situation in their home country and being “reborn” in a new experience of space.**

Living in transition, fueled by the hope to overcome suffering and to flourish, is also related to immigrants’ previous experiences. For the most part people have made their decision to migrate motivated by a precarious and problematic situation in their home country.

Immigrants from Latin America sometimes come to Chile on the advice of individuals involved in the business of migration. They are told that they have to start working for whatever money may be offered to them. Hence, immigration involves years of living in need and accepting classism and the abusive practices of employers. Marta, an elderly woman, came to Chile when her husband died as there was no more financial support for her family in Ecuador. The decision to leave their children in Ecuador was thus a very existential one, because there was no way to subsist there anymore. “Looking at my house, I realized that there was nothing left to sell.... I had already begun to sell things to feed my family.... And I saw that I would end up selling the house and that money also would run out, so how would we survive?” (Marta, elderly Ecuadorian woman, interview June 2015). Thus, she decided to come to Chile and the person who instructed her in Ecuador to do so told her that, at the beginning, she would have to work for whatever they offered to her because she needed to ensure food and shelter, regardless. She mortgaged her home in Ecuador to have some money to give to her children and to get to Chile. With sorrow, she left her village in the Ecuadorian countryside to seek a better life in Chile.

Immigrant residents in Benito Juarez desired to talk; they wanted to share their life experience because moving to a new place meant a disturbance to their existence. Ricardo, a young Peruvian man, asked me to walk around the barrio instead of interviewing him in his home or in a Café; he was looking for a park nearby where we could speak without interruptions. While we were walking he told me that he had something very important to tell me. When we arrived to the park, he showed me a group of people living there. Ricardo was convinced they were Peruvian, and he kept saying that sometimes life is difficult. If they do not find a job, they just have to live in the street. I attempted to understand why he started his story presenting a situation experienced by others. Maybe he was trying to connect his personal meaning of

migration with a life of suffering and problems. Without asking him, he told me, that whenever he feels sad he does visit this park; at this moment he started to talk about his family, childhood, and life.

Starting a new life does not mean to forget the past, but is seen by some migrants as being 'reborn' in a new experience of space. That is the case for Maribel, an adult Peruvian woman, who responded about the meaning of the neighborhood, barrio Yungay, for her: "For me this place means that I was born again." After 17 years living in Chile, Maribel's sense of spatiality helps her understand her being-in-the-world, with its origin in a remote country, by integrating to a new culture that she has embraced. She is trying to live her being-in-the-world with authenticity and incorporating all the possibilities available to her into her existence. She is looking forward to a social housing project that she has been working on for many years with a group of women. It is the possibility to own a property in the neighborhood where she was reborn.

## 6.2 **The meaning of home: The past as another place**

Past and future are equally inaccessible. But beyond their physical reach, they are integral to our imagination. Reminiscence and expectation penetrate every present moment.

(David Lowenthal, 1985, bk. The past is a foreign country)

The meaning of home for immigrant residents intersects with a way of being-in-the-world in transition; for some immigrants, Chile just means a moment in their life; for others, the country has become home. The perception that a person has about the past affects and interferes with how one configures the present (Lowenthal, 1985). For newcomers in Chile the past is literally represented as a foreign country, and home is located in this place. It configures a people's ambiguous perceptions of what home is. Immigrants' homes tend to be a source of bad memories but at the same time of good moments. The next section addresses the meaning of

home for the case study communities that ranged from a symbolic reproduction of the past to the intimate individual struggle between getting used to a new place and the desire for home. The places where most of the immigrants live provide them with shelter and a sense of community; nevertheless, their present precarious housing conditions trigger memories of precariousness back home.

### **6.2.1 Memory of home, and home as a symbolic reproduction of the past**

The meaning of home as experienced by the interviewed migrants may not refer to the place where they are living today but to the memory of past experiences and of remote spaces and thus their ‘sense of place’ is strongly linked to the origin and the memory of that place. Therefore, the personal history of each migrant has to be considered as a dimension of place—the individual memory of the country of origin, place of childhood, which is brought to the present.

Nevertheless, such memories of the past, of the home country left behind are not necessarily romanticized by migrants. Some of them, when talking about those memories and their homes, make references to leaving behind precariousness or at least highly difficult conditions in search for a better life in Chile. These are memories of a sad life, and immigrants remember the poverty and precariousness they left behind when coming to Chile (elderly Ecuadorian woman, interview, June 2015). This is also related to the reason for migration, particularly the perception that in Chile there are better opportunities, than for instance in Peru (young Peruvian woman, interview, June 2015). Such perceptions go as far as referring to the home country as “the worst place” (young Peruvian man, interview, June 2015). Furthermore, perceiving Chile as a country of opportunities does not mean only material or financial aspects

but also the possibility to live in a more open and tolerant society, in terms of gender and sexuality; in this sense, some felt they had ‘been born again’ (re-born) when coming to Chile.

Such memories often have a corporeal dimension. The most evident of such memories of pleasant experiences refer to food, memories of traditional taste and local produce; thus food is considered an important element of sense of place, especially linked to a distant place in the past. Food and food-related practices are important elements of the corporal and sensual aspects of home as well. Discussing Sutton’s seminal work, Holtzman (2006) explains “how the sensuality of food causes it to be a particularly intense and compelling medium for memory. The experience of food evokes [remembrance], which is not simply cognitive but also emotional and physical” (p. 365). In the literature on modern and classic diaspora there are plenty of references to the gastronomic memory of diaspora as an element of nostalgia, and food is discussed as a key practice in remembering and symbolically representing a lost home. “Sutton (2000, 2001) emphasizes the longing evoked in diasporic individuals by the smells and tastes of a lost homeland, providing a temporary return to a time when their lives were not fragmented” (Holtzman, 2006, p. 367). In this sense food is a vehicle of common identity as “it triggers a multisensory memory of home” (Rabikowska, 2010, p. 395).

Food is thus an individual, sensual and corporeal experience and constitutes a personal linkage to the past and to the meaning of home. But as food involves also practices of preparing meals, rituals of consumption and the need for specific ingredients, it is also linked to community, to practices that need the participation of others and, hence, constitute diasporic communities.

Food in its very sensual dimension serves as a vehicle for the recreation of the abstract meaning of home through materially involved activities which alleviate the sense of



fragmentation and discontinuity caused by displacement. National identity from that perspective comes with an idealized concept of ‘home’ which has been lost and becomes fragmentarily reconstituted through different practices, including daily rituals of consumption. (Rabikowska, 2010, p. 378)

Especially in the case of the Peruvian community, food is an element of glorification of the past and part of representing national identity in relation to the other, the Chilean. Peruvian food has become highly recognized and appreciated in Chile in the last few years and thus an important basis of pride and identity for Peruvians in their relation to the Chilean community. This has to be understood in the context of a national strategy of Peru to implement a worldwide ‘brand’ of Peru as a tourist destination and of Peruvian food as a unique experience. In the literature on diaspora and food it has been argued that “food is often used explicitly in the invention of national identities” (Holtzman, 2006, p. 368). In this sense, food is also part of invented memories of a past—not only based on sensual and personal experiences but also part of a discourse of identity in relation to the others. In the literature on cultural relations, food has been recognized as a vehicle for representing one’s cultural identity in a context of pluralism and multiculturalism, for instance by presenting community and its typical food in public events. It also reflects the experience of how such identities merge and are in part replaced by national symbols (e.g. Polish and German communities and their gastronomic representations in Philadelphia) (Goode, 1998, p. 54).

It is important to point out that the authenticity of ‘traditional’ food is not a necessary component. For instance, a study in Hong Kong (Chan, 2010) points out that traditional ‘banquet’ meals are not necessarily authentic; indeed it does not seem to matter if the specific meal or eating practice is historically and geographically authentic. The experience of food can

be reinvented and commodified and still be an important element of identity, bringing community together in a family-based context or even in larger, public community celebrations, as it represents memory and “nostalgic remembrance is an imagination of the past in response to the present” (Chan, 2010, p. 223).

On the other hand, as I mentioned, several migrants’ daily life in Chile is experienced as consisting of work and afterwards being at home with the only purpose of resting or chatting with family and friends in the home country—or sometimes going to the shopping mall. They report that their mind is not in Chile, it is with the family, the children they left behind. It is a mind living in the past and in the memories of childhood, including the experience of violence and poverty. This is especially the case among those migrants who came recently to Chile. Thus, they bring to the present the meaning of home that is constituted in the past. Such practices are carried out in isolation as individuals symbolically connect to the past and bring the meaning of home from a remote place and time to their present.

The painful experience of arrival and building of a new home has been a challenge to immigrant residents. The arrival in Chile is described as a traumatic experience, for reasons related to the origin, the cause of migration itself and certainly the conditions of arrival, and the despair of starting a new life in precarious conditions. An example of such experience is one Ecuadorian woman who became a widow, could not maintain her family, sold her belongings, moved to Chile to make some money and then experienced the desperate situation of being stranded in a bus station with no connections. Even though she found a job her migration has continued to be a traumatic experience as she received an abusive treatment there.

### **6.2.2 Building home in an ethnic/ cultural community**

Although not all immigrants from Latin American countries live in a cultural community, as discussed previously, most immigrant communities tend to cluster in space producing spatial patterns of self- or plain-segregation according to their country or region of origin. Werbner (2005) argues that an experience of dislocation creates two paradoxes of culture: 1) “in order to sink roots in a new country, transnational migrants in the modern world begin by setting themselves culturally and socially apart; 2) in such encapsulated communities culture is both open, changing and fluid and yet experienced as a powerful imperative” (p.746) There are pragmatic reasons for this spatial behavior, such as cultural familiarity, access to housing and jobs or, more generally, getting access to a network of relations. Some authors have considered migrants’ networks together with proximity to services and transport to be the most important reason for migrants to concentration of migrant population in space (Margarit & Bijit, 2014, p. 54). Relations with fellow migrants have proved important for migrants in order to be received and supported by a network when they arrive in a new country. As other studies have shown, such clustering fulfills a series of functions such as providing shelter and jobs to newcomers:

Working-class immigrants to Chile move through migratory networks connecting people in their places of origin and destination. The established networks do not make economic resources available, but they do receive the immigrants and provide shelter upon their arrival. Congregated in Santiago’s Peruvian enclave, they also facilitate their access to housing and jobs, with the result that the immigrants often end up living in the same residential areas and occupying similar niches in the labor market: men find work in construction and women in domestic service. (Sabogal & Núñez, 2010, p. 93)

Interviewees stated clearly that migrants usually do not choose where they want to live, but simply go to the neighborhood where they know people (adult Peruvian man, interview, June 2015). As a result, it is considered normal to live surrounded by migrants from the same origin and being integrated in relationships with neighbors from the same country (Marta, elderly Ecuadorian woman, interview, June 2015).

Beyond such practical reasons, the clustering in space of migrant communities has a significance as a symbolic reproduction of home created through communitarian daily practices. One of the most frequently mentioned examples of typical spatial practices of migrant communities, causing also considerable conflict, is their cooking, sharing and celebrating in the street, in short, being at home in public spaces and constructing a meaning of home on the basis of shared experiences. As Patricia, an interviewee from Peru expressed, they make their lives in the street (in public space). Playing soccer, drinking and sharing food are activities immigrants carry out with fellow migrants in public space, but such extension of the private home into public space in order to live in community is not necessarily characteristic and exclusive of migrants. There are migrants who find it odd when other migrants live their private life in public space, stating that in their own country people are less extroverted (young Bolivian woman, June 2015). This issue calls for careful interpretation: rather than leaning for instance in merely assigned this behavior to Peruvian or Colombian culture for instance, it is important to explore structural elements (e.g., overcrowding in their homes) or general diaspora related needs (e.g., establishing places of encounter that facilitate recognition and provide support). In this sense, what allows them to operate as a community may be the public space as their houses may be too small and overcrowded or may have restrictions of use.

For migrants, the diaspora community represents ‘paradise lost’ (Bauman, 2001), as the last example of community life, and includes a certain idealization of community as it is meant to represent ‘freedom and security.’ Such perspective goes beyond the central argument of modern diaspora which focuses on the idea of maintaining cultural identity and memory of a past/origin. The idea of ‘paradise lost’ addresses the need to feel safe in an alien and threatening, perhaps discriminatory, environment.

Such symbolic reproduction of the home country through practices carried out in community appears not to give itself to daily life. In this sense the idea of a culturally defined migrant community living and sharing on a daily basis may be an idealized image. Visible community-based practices seem to have a more exceptional, temporary character, through parties, specific cultural events or gathering together on weekends. This does not diminish the importance of such events in terms of constituting diaspora community and identity.

This becomes evident as interviewees state that those migrants with whom they meet for specific cultural practices not only come from the same country but even from the same region. There is for instance a group of Peruvian immigrants meeting to practice traditional dancing from the high Andes, including the making of traditional costumes for those dance performances. The interviewee emphasizes that as an exception they allowed a woman from another region in Peru to participate, because she is married to a man from the region the rest of the group comes from (adult Peruvian woman, interview, June 2015). Clustering and meeting with fellow migrants is thus important not only according to the national but even the regional and local origin. Similar results have been found in research by other scholars, as for instance analyzing Peruvian communities from a specific village forming community in Washington DC and separating themselves from the rest of Peruvians in Washington (Paerregaard, 2010).

Moreover, migrants themselves consider their neighborhood a diverse place where different celebrations take place in public space outside the doors of their homes. Outside the doors customs and traditions are carried on. What happens behind doors is a different thing, these are ‘habits.’ The interviewee herself identifies the first element, the customs as those things one learns from the grandmother; meanwhile inside the home, the habits depend on what one wants and does with one’s life (adult Peruvian woman, interview, June 2015). The common practice among migrants of sharing food on the streets is considered to be a cultural issue by both migrants and Chileans. The so called *polladas* can be a commercial activity (selling roasted chicken on the street) as well as a communitarian initiative to raise funds for charity or communitarian goals.

Home as a community is a ‘safe space.’ In fact, interviewees pointed out that the home, as private space is where traditions are kept and cultural identity is respected. Interestingly, they refer to the private space as protection against what they perceive as the ‘licentiousness’ (*libertinaje*) of the Chilean society that grants children for instance too many rights (adult Peruvian man, interview, June, 2015). Home is thus a protection against a threatening society, based on differences in values. Nevertheless, the outside as a threat is an element which appears also associated with safety and the risk of criminal offences in public space, particularly for those who obtained a certain level of wealth.

### **6.2.3 Feeling at home and “getting used to...”**

Rather than explicit feelings of home, interviewees often stated that they got used to Chile or to their neighborhood. Even when expressed in this manner this implies certain level of belonging or attachment. For instance, there is the experience of Milagros and Marcos from Peru, a couple that had the option to move to a better place; they actually lived in a better

neighborhood in a house by themselves for six months but decided to come back as they were used to this neighborhood. There are also other examples of migrants who have been living for several years in the same poor neighborhood, in a rented room, but prefer not to leave even when they had the financial means and were more integrated into Chilean society. Even if the main concept used to describe their relation to their neighborhood is ‘being used to’ rather than ‘belonging’ or ‘feeling at home,’ there is some acquired sense of place.

This sense of place related to the neighborhood may be linked to the aspect of protection. Their neighborhood is characterized by the presence of fellow Peruvians while the outside world, other neighborhoods, reminds them that they are actually in Chile: “Yes! there we say, we are in Chile. Here are many Peruvians, you go outside and most are Peruvian” (young Peruvian woman, interview, December 2014). Other areas such as the historical city center nearby are perceived as partly hostile and a source of discrimination: “when one goes to the City Centre, from the Mapocho on up [is] where one can hear a lot of things, including discriminatory remarks” (young Peruvian woman, interview, December 2014).

The experience of getting used to Chile is also reflected in immigrants’ relation to the previously discussed symbolic and corporeal element of food. The statement of getting used to Chilean food, which is not spicy, implies losing the ability to eat and process traditional food (for instance when they visit the home country) and may mean a certain identity loss. Such perceived loss of identity when migrants become less used to traditional food has been identified in other studies (Holtzman, 2006).

#### **6.2.4 ‘Homing Desire’ and returning home**

Among the interviewed migrants there is a certain desire to go ‘home,’ present in the wish to reunify the family and in nostalgic memories of the past. Nevertheless, some expressed

that when they visit Peru, after staying for a month, they feel a strong desire to go right back to Santiago. There is thus an abstract wish of return and a need to feel at home but ultimately what appears to develop is a state of not belonging to either of the two places.

Certainly there are important differences according to the amount of time the migrants live in Chile. There are those who have lived in Chile for about five years who still want to go back home and they just stay until they can acquire money to support their families. The interviewees that have resided in the country for more than 10 years have consolidated a life in Chile. Those recently arrived show a high level of hope and prospect; they show ambition to make Chile their home but they live in poor, sometimes precarious conditions. Evidence can be found that the practice of living in an ethnic community together with migrants from the same origin is abandoned if a certain socio-economic improvement is achieved. According to one interviewee, when improving their socio-economic conditions, the ethnic networks and relationships become less important and the respective families live in a more private and isolated manner (young Peruvian woman, interview, June 2015).

To understand how the desired home is envisioned, we may refer to those situations experienced by migrants. For instance, one couple managed to rent a house, moving out of overcrowded conditions and gathering their brothers and family together in this house. There, they enjoy coming home after work, cooking and eating Peruvian food together, and playing their own music (young Peruvian woman, interview, June 2015). This particular experience, which did not last long, certainly represents the desired home for those interviewees.



### 6.2.5 Living in precarious conditions as a memory of home.

The experience of living in overcrowded and precarious conditions as well as the frequent conflicts with fellow migrants in their house is reported as a permanent memory of the negative experiences of childhood, especially the suffering associated with the experience of poverty. Being stuck in such conditions is a permanent memory of childhood experiences which were meant to be overcome by migration and a symbol of the impossibility of successful integration, which is a declared goal (young Peruvian man, interview, June 2015).

The experience of arrival and living in Santiago is in part also associated with negative or unpleasant corporeal experiences—as opposed to the memory of pleasant sensations linked to the origin. An example is references to cold weather and diseases (young Peruvian woman, interview, June 2015). The sensation of being cold is a very strong corporeal sensation, particularly present among those who are living in precarious conditions. Living in shared rooms in old houses frequently means that getting to the shared bathrooms means going outside, and furthermore they lack warm water and heating costs are expensive. My observations of the housing units where interviews took place revealed extremely small living spaces and multiple uses of small rooms, packed with furniture and personal belongings.

Due to those conditions, some migrants describe their house as a place that does not provide any safety or intimacy—it lacks important elements to be considered a home. Fellow immigrants regard living in shared rooms with others as a permanent source of conflicts. It is a place of diverse coexistence rather than a community in cultural terms or in terms of identity (elderly Ecuadorian woman, interview, June, 2015). Other research found similar results:

Unauthorized Peruvian immigrants from the popular classes in Chile try to create a network of security, but they do not succeed in making the shared rooms their homes. In rented

space they are susceptible to being assaulted or robbed, often by other immigrants.  
(Sabogal & Núñez, 2010, p. 99)

Such experiences also refer to the neighborhood in general, which is described as becoming more dangerous in the last years, a trend which immigrants explain as caused by increasing migration, assuming that there is a connection between migration and delinquency. The next section will develop the lived experience of immigrant residents in precarious dwellings.

### 6.3 **The Perception of Precariousness of Immigrants in Chile**

Housing conditions are a structural element and represent perhaps the most serious constraint for integration. As addressed in Chapters 4 and 5, migrants have difficulties in accessing formal housing markets and frequently have to accept overcrowded, sometimes unsafe and usually overpriced housing conditions. Economic conditions and power structures have evident impacts on the experience of dwelling and the ‘sense of place’ developed through these experiences. This section presents the lived experience of inhabiting a precarious situation, people’s perceptions and stories about their life.

Many of the new residents live in overcrowded conditions. Immigrants, mostly Peruvians, stay in shared rooms that are part of a large house, divided for such purposes; they do this because they do not find other alternatives—rents are very expensive and landlords in the general housing markets ask them to fulfill too many requirements.

Ricardo has been living in Chile for six months guided by the desire to change his life. As a child he suffered from a violent father, used to live in the streets (in his homeland) and used drugs. He feels that Chile is a ‘good’ country where things are working for him and where people respect each other. Nevertheless, his living conditions are marked by precariousness. He attributes this to his fellow citizens who do not respect the space belonging to the others, even

less in the situation where such space is very scarce. He explains the spatial configuration of the room where he lives with a couple (see also figure 17).

I will explain it to you: let's say this is the access door, there you would have a room and there another. The first room is shared by two: one living on the lower level the other on the upper level. In the other room lives a lady, a single mother, sharing the room with her daughter and her sons (young Peruvian man, interview, June 2015).

He describes that there is another room and the kitchen in front. In this room there are two couples: two in the top level and two in the bottom.

In this side is my room, but I share this room with another person who lives in the top. In front of me lives another girl... in the same room. Basically this is the width that we have to pass through.... There is one kitchen here and another there... the laundry...there are about three washing machines there and the sanitary facilities are attached to my room. It's really a chaos living there and everything is scattered in the rooms (young Peruvian man, interview, June 2015).

The experience of living in such a condition of overcrowding implies a lack of privacy and hygiene as all the inhabitants are sharing the bathroom facilities.

when lowering your pants to sit down on the toilet, they are already knocking on the door: 'hey, neighbor, I need to get in!' ... you want to take a shower and again: 'neighbor, I want to have a shower!' ....oh my God! ... Sometimes at night, when I am resting quietly, the lady at the other side is raising the volume of her radio and starts listening to music and her friends are arriving.... (Ricardo, young Peruvian man, interview, June 2015)

Even though the spaces are overcrowded and the material conditions of the dwellings are precarious, many of the migrants achieve a certain level of economic and material wellbeing.

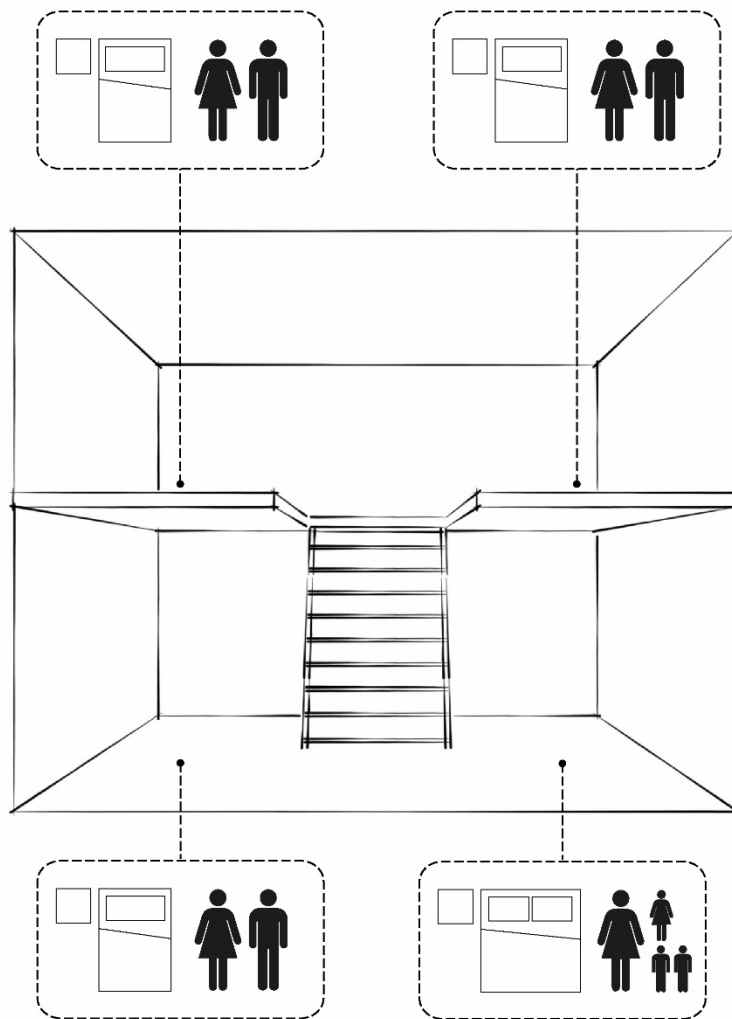


Figure 17: Sketch of an overcrowded, subdivided room.

Regarding the material characteristics and the quality of housing a key issue to consider are hazards related to poor materials. The manner in which migrants are forced to use housing and how housing is provided to them, especially the practice of dividing old buildings into many small units, exposes poor migrants to serious hazards.

First among them is the risk of electric overload in old and overcrowded houses; not only is the electrical infrastructure outdated but also in a house that used to be the home of one family

there are now 10 families, each of them connected to the same electrical outlets. Under the circumstances, the risk of overheating and short circuits is very high and accidents and fires do occur. Migrants thus live in a permanent situation of serious hazard; nevertheless, they appear to see it as part of daily life. Meanwhile, they perceive this risk as associated with the deteriorated state of the infrastructure, the precarious materiality of their housing conditions, and the effects of overloading electrical connections. Figure 18 shows the remains of a fire, which occurred a few days before my visit to the neighborhood.



Figure 18: Burned house in the Benito Juárez Neighborhood. Author's collection.

Residents are fully conscious of the situation. Yet, apparently this situation does not translate into a permanent sense of unsafety and fear of a possible fire or other major accident in their homes. When migrant interviewees referred to this issue they mentioned real events such as houses that burned down.

They say that a gas cylinder exploded and set everything on fire [author comment: gas cylinders are commonly used for cooking in Chile]. That was around noon. I was here as always and my neighbor came running to tell me what happened in Fariña Street...it might spread to this side and everything would be on fire, these are old buildings. If there is a short circuit everything is on fire. So we went to see what was happening and fire fighters were there. Everybody was afraid the fire might spread out. What will happen to us? We went to see what was happening and several fire departments were already there but they could not extinguish the fire, not even with water. (Young Peruvian woman, interview, December, 2014)

Carmencita and Raul allowed me to visit their home. We went up a staircase to get to their room. On the narrow corridor some men were drinking and looking at me suspiciously. It was a Saturday afternoon, around 6:00 p.m. in a winter day. In spite of the fact that I was in a corridor in a poor neighborhood that people frequently associate with delinquency, I felt no fear. Their room was very small, about 2x2 meters (about 6.6 by 6.6 feet); it contained a queen size bed, a TV and a small commode, nothing else. I sat down at one end of the bed and the couple at the other end. Raul was convalescing because he had received three stab wounds to the stomach when a Chilean neighbor influenced by alcohol attacked him complaining about noise in the common spaces. The couple lives in fear and rage, as they feel that their hopes were destroyed by an event of violent discrimination. They express that they feel a strong loss of trust.

The noise and parties inside of the rooms are a constant source of conflicts among immigrants as well. Several migrants I interviewed described various occasions in which they could barely rest because of the noise and drunkenness inside. They also indicated that parties often included high levels of alcohol and drug use in the neighborhood and the result was a lot of fighting in the streets. Although the neighborhood used to be quiet the perception of both migrants and Chileans was that it had become dangerous.

An important element of neighborhood experiences and the sense of place is thus the predominant notion of living in an unsafe environment. Chileans usually have this perception and sometimes blame migrants for it but migrants themselves refer to their neighborhood with negative emotions. They feel that walking in the street in their neighborhood triggers feelings of danger and fear. Ana, an Ecuadorian girl, working in the neighborhood, tells me:

recently they wounded a man in the face; they were drinking in the corner, at the kiosk over there; he was also drinking there and they broke a bottle and cut his face with the bottle. The other guy said: I will bring my friends and they will beat you hard. (Young Ecuadorian woman, interview, June, 2015)

When I asked directly about her personal experience within the neighborhood, she repeatedly answered that she did not like it because people stole and sold and drank in the streets. She personally has been robbed three times. Her Bolivian roommate points out that in her home country they didn't sell drugs in the street and they didn't fight in the streets either and that's why she felt unsafe in this environment (young Bolivian woman, interview, June, 2015). An older woman said:

people say to me: 'Doña X, how is this possible? This used to be a clean street, a quiet street and now you are afraid to go outside at night.' 'You are right,' I tell them, 'whenever

my son goes out I can't sleep, I am waiting for him by the door.' (Elderly Peruvian woman, interview, June, 2015)

The sensation that the neighborhood had turned dangerous was associated with the perception of a growing precariousness. Neighbors of the plaza Yungay also complained about the fact that it was now impossible to go with their kids to the plaza after dark because there were a lot of drugs there and homeless people slept at the plaza. Mariela stated that “there is a lot of trafficking there. And there are always drunks at the plaza. Nothing happened to me yet, but you have to be careful” (young Peruvian woman, interview, June 2015).

#### 6.4 **Private and public everyday practices and space**

In the study neighborhoods, the migrant community blurs the boundaries between public and private space. Considering Hegel's notion of dialectic, I argue that in everyday use of public space dialectical relations are generated. There is a notion of 'the private' in public spaces and vice versa; it was possible to observe an extension of the private into the public and a diffuse boundary between them due to the meanings and uses given to the lived space—installing personal belongings such as furniture or even small pools on the street (see figure 19). Community life includes practices of interaction such as cooking, celebrating, drinking, and just 'hanging out'; given immigrants' housing conditions, they transfer these practices frequently from private into public spaces, along the way appropriating public space. Hence, in their everyday spatial practices, immigrant communities use public and private space in multiple ways; in certain cases, they use public space to engage in non-commodified private activities, and in others to carry out commodified private activities (e.g., cooking food in the street for sale). Meanwhile, inside their homes, some newcomers also commodify private space by subletting their own places in different rooms.





Figure 19: Appropriation of space and the extension of the private to the public realm. Author's collection.

Migrant communities use the sidewalk to expand their private life. They engage in non-commodified private activities: for instance, without formal permission, they close the streets to play volleyball or football or to make *polladas* (chicken barbecues). On the sidewalks of Juarez Larga, the main street where residents socialize, residents bring furniture out to turn sidewalks into living rooms. A group of adult men set up a dinner table every day where they drink beer or play cards. Public spaces are certainly seen as places where cultural difference can be displayed, and there is a claim for the right to live culturally different practices in this kind of spaces. Ultimately, residents are appropriating space both to interact with friends and to extend their meager dwellings.

Commercial activities are also displayed in the same area. Maria, for instance, spends every evening on the same street corner cooking traditional Peruvian food in her cart and selling it to passersby. Her business is very well organized, and she has an agreement with the owner of the grocery store located at the same corner. When the sun sets and the corner store closes, Maria not only uses this space for her business but also takes care of the space and calls the owner if

any problem occurs. A public space notion of privatization and commodification is observed in this case where the same public space is used by different commercial activities at different times of the day (see figure 20).



Figure 20: Sharing the public space—corner store and street vendor. Author's collection.

The spaces of multicultural encounter are also produced via work and through service provision; in these sites immigrants from different nationalities meet each other and native Chileans as well. They also meet others who buy food and other services from the informal businesses they install in the street. The most evident example of this is food that Chileans consume. Other examples come from transport and retail services that combine Chileans and Peruvians products.

At the same time, however, street vending and cooking are resented by Chileans and even other immigrants who consider these businesses informal or illegal and unfair to other businesses because they do not pay taxes; in this case, the arguments of encounter and recognition are mixed with the consideration of ‘fairness’ or legality.

Meanwhile, to supplement their meager incomes, immigrants engage in income-producing activities in the spaces they rent by engaging in further subdivision, which increases overcrowding and informal habitation. Along the way, their housing arrangements blur the public-private divide as, for instance, they include staircases in the middle of a narrow hallway to connect the first and second levels of dwellings. This was the case of an elderly woman and her grandchild who lived in the first level below a second level rented to a Peruvian couple. Although inside, hallways and staircases function as ‘public’ pathway (see figure 21). When Sandra, the woman living upstairs, came down the stairs, she asked the elderly woman where she could cook and the grandmother directed her to a kitchen in the patio offering her the use of her propane tank. Clearly, the grandmother did not have any privacy as the person living on top of her had full access to her rooms. Similarly, although for the exclusive use of tenants, cooking, washing and bathroom facilities are shared.



Figure 21: The stairway inside a housing unit blurs the private-public divide. Author's collection.

### 6.5 **Private versus public: property versus the commons**

Interviewees perceived their neighborhoods as both ethnically and socially diverse. Especially in Barrio Yungay neighbors highlight the fact that they live in a diverse space. Marisol, a young Ecuadorian woman, pointed out that the neighborhood's environment was diverse in terms of nationality and social class and a mix of Chileans and immigrants.

As much as they seem to take pride in this diversity, however, they complain about the conflicts and tensions involved. For instance, in my interviews and observations I noticed that everybody blamed the other for noise and the appropriation of public space. Rosario, originally from Bolivia, works in a corner store located in a sector of the neighborhood mostly inhabited by Peruvian residents. She complained about the fact that these residents gather and use public space as if they were part of their houses. She associated this situation with her sense of unsafety in the neighborhood. In her words, “[the barrio] is dangerous, at least from what I've seen...

They are using drugs in the street and this is not common in my country, and I feel astonished when I see it. I do not feel either frightened or scared or.... but I feel it is dangerous” (young Bolivian woman, interview, June 2015). The extension of the private into the public in order to live in community is not something all migrants do and in fact, some of them find such practices odd.

An Ecuadorian elderly woman attributes street bustling and noisy to the practices of Peruvian residents. On the other hand, a Peruvian young woman resident of Barrio Yungay adopted the Chilean practice of calling the police when her Colombian neighbors organized parties; similarly, in Benito Juarez, a Peruvian woman indicated that she did not like to live close to Dominicans because they were too noisy. Is this a matter of class or culture? Is it a combined result? By all indications, the practice is driven by low-income immigrants living in rooming houses; at the same time, however, other residents join in. All in all, immigrant people are transforming the public space to accommodate the situation in which they live.

Meanwhile, conditions in the ‘private’ spaces described above generate tremendous tensions and conflicts that range from management of shared facilities, through maintenance of shared spaces, to noise, intra-family and neighbor disputes, and the intimate practices of their everyday lives. Most critical is the difficulty of living private lives in environments that force households to live in utmost proximity with unrelated others and to share spaces and activities that should be private but are performed in public. Something as simple as the clothesline becomes a source of daily conflict: in a dwelling I visited, when a household does its laundry, the other 10 families have to wait about 3 days for the clothes to dry to be able to use the clothesline. The use of water and electricity consumption is another example of tension: because these services are not separated and metered by household, when one uses more than the others, others

gets mad; meanwhile, nobody really makes sure that shared resources are used with care. Marta, an elderly Ecuadorian woman described the conflicts resulting from her efforts to keep the place clean and odorless. She is in charge of assigning residents' responsibility for maintenance in the *conventillo*<sup>6</sup> she lives in—with households from Dominican Republic, Haiti, Peru, Chile, and Ecuador. No matter how much effort she puts to make sure that all residents contribute in equal shares, residents are always complaining that they have to do more work than the others or simply do not do their part:

The faucet is open and nobody goes and closes it. 'I did not do it' someone claim; 'they entered the bathroom and left it open'. Okay, but if you saw that [the faucet] is open [you can tell the person], look, you left the water running; close the tap; and if you did not realize who did it, well you go and close it. Why? because when the lady [Chilean manager of the house] raises the price of water each of you will have to contribute [more money] .... Also if the light stays on nobody wants to pay if [the electricity] bill increases. (Marta, elderly Ecuadorian woman, interview, June 2015)

To sum up, (1) not only are housing accommodations minimal but they create environments of frustration and tension that make dwellers very unhappy, because activities that should be performed in private become almost public as they have to share what should be private spaces with unrelated households. This blurring of the public and the private results in tremendous conflicts among immigrants and force them to seek alternative spaces of community, in this case expanding their private quarters into public spaces. (2) Although paying lip service to diversity, both Chileans and immigrants resent each other's practices especially but not exclusively in the use of public space. Actually, public space becomes the main source of

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<sup>6</sup> *Conventillos* are big old houses with many rooms or homes where low income people live.

conflict between Chileans and immigrants. Still, the sense among Chileans that immigrants are violating 'normal' practices is shared by other immigrants as well. Meanwhile, although practices generating the perception of insecurity are not exclusive to immigrants, they are consistently blamed on them.

## 6.6 **Chapter preliminary reflections**

The lived experience of foreign-born Latin American immigrants in Chile is characterized by dislocation and a new consciousness of space. It involves both trauma and revitalization in the lives of immigrants. Subjective meanings and experiences present in individuals' consciousness are framed by structural elements such as precarious and overcrowded housing conditions. Both cause people to engage in adaptations that often clash with those of neighbors living in better conditions. Spatial practices related to culture and home, including the use of common spaces for shelter, cooking, socializing, building community, and sharing, are influenced by a combination of 'survival' strategies, accommodation to their condition of immigrants, building of a new identity to cope with their conditions or by re-constructing symbolically the 'old home.'

Migrants expect to be accepted as neighbors with equal rights. But they often bring up the issue that they are living in a country to which they do not belong and thus tend to accept oppression or discrimination, or even consider it as natural to the experience of migration. In this sense some of them imitate local customs and try to assimilate as a way out. Rather than leaning on abstract claims of diversity or multiculturalism, migrants engage in practices of adaptation and self-expression that generate conflicts within themselves but more particularly with the expectations of Chileans. Along the way, they get caught in a dilemma between trying to fit in a

place and culture that does not seem to want them and creating spaces where they can share and experience their cultural praxis and live their lives together in the middle of others.



## 7 Neighborhood Coexistence

In this chapter, I explore the interactions of coexistence between Chileans and foreign-born residents. I start with an examination of everyday encounters in Yungay and Benito Juarez, focusing on the meaning of the neighborhood for residents. As is common for all human relationships, the encounter involves a perception and awareness of the existence of the other; thus, I observed how the presence of the other—with different habits and practices—may generate feelings of fear and uncertainty leading to denial of the other. Then, in the second section of the chapter I examine the spatial implications of interaction among diverse populations. Here, I discuss the presence of conflicts over recognition and respect emerging in everyday encounters. I conclude the chapter by reflecting on neighbors' aspirations for recognition and respect and the ways in which neighbors negotiate differences and tensions associated with their everyday spatial practices of habitation and use of public space. Negotiations and tensions are discussed as micro-politics of place in the pursuit of respect and recognition.

### 7.1 **Contact and Everyday Encounter**

In a cold winter evening on a Sunday night, I visited the immigrant neighborhood in Recoleta. When I arrived, nobody was in the streets. I associated this with the fact that Recoleta is inhabited principally by elderly and family households who go to bed early or spend Sunday at home with their families. I was looking for the intersection of Juarez Larga and Fariña that one of my interviewees had mentioned at the Immigrant Office in Recoleta. Although these are small streets, I was able to find it quickly with the help of some immigrants roaming in the street. When I reached the intersection, I was appalled by an unexpected scene of light, noise, music and food. The scene exposed me, a Chilean, to the actual reactions of my co-nationals to the

presence of born-foreign residents in a reduced space. Migrants were experiencing and configuring their own places and having a sense of spatiality that differed from that of Chileans (qualitative observation, Juarez Larga & Farina streets, Recoleta, August 2014).

As I continued walking around looking for Barrio Yungay, I observed children playing in the street, families and groups of adults cooking and selling food or just talking in front of their houses, and young people drinking alcohol in public. All these are rather unusual practices in public space in a traditional Chilean neighborhood. I noticed the presence of newcomers, their accent and particular expressions, their behavior—rather loud and expressive—and the aroma of Peruvian food alongside the typical smells of an old Santiago neighborhood with its run-down mansions. I should confess that my surprise and my perception of the situation might be the typical hegemonic appraisal by the dominant culture of a subordinate culture (qualitative observation, Plaza Yungay and around Barrio Yungay, Santiago, October 2014).

This section discusses residents' meanings of the neighborhoods and the ways in which they configure and are configured by place and community. The arrival of immigrants to the communities developed community awareness of living in diversity; however rather than embracing such diversity wholeheartedly, Chileans behave in ways that made newcomers invisible.

### **7.1.1 The meaning of the neighborhood: sense of place and community.**

Yungay and Benito Juarez are old neighborhoods and similar in terms of their location and residents' sense of belonging. Chilean families who have lived there all their life have a strong identity and sense of belonging that to an extent is shared by foreign-born people who have lived there for several years and have established their own sense of place, in part convergent but mostly parallel. For Maribel, a Chilean woman living in Benito Juarez, the

neighborhood is her life: “I do everything nearby. From here I walk to downtown, to the hospital, to the Vega [food market]; it is [my home], I would not go out of here” (adult Chilean woman, interview, December 2014). The neighborhood is a self-contained space for residents, where they can find everything within walking distance. An elderly Chilean, owner of one of the oldest neighborhood stores points out:

For me it is a neighborhood that meets all the conditions of life; it has a hospital nearby, a school nearby, it has stores such as the Vega Central two blocks [away], a church, a cemetery, and a psychiatric hospital; [you can live your] life without having to take transportation. Moreover, my work is here!... I share with a lot of people here. More than anything, I'm a little workaholic. I work full time in the business. (Francisco, adult Chilean man, interview, December 2014).

The barrio gives residents a sense of economic unity; local identity is constructed around the availability of services, housing, and work, all within walking distance. When I asked Carolina, a Chilean resident of barrio Yungay, at which point she travelled outside her barrio, she answered “when I cannot get there by foot” (interview, January, 2015). Residents who have migrated in recent times also appreciate this central location with all conveniences within reach and a neighborhood they can afford. The neighborhood also represents the place where they work and live.

Both neighborhoods play an important role in creating a sense of community and belonging. The sense of belonging described by many Chilean neighbors has been configured by the experience of having lived in the barrio all their life: “I was born and raised in this place.” For them to be considered native it is not enough to have lived in a place for a lifetime; one has to be born there. Having lived their entire life in the neighborhood, Jose, a native resident for 44

years, was moved and cried for a moment when I asked him for the meaning of the *barrio*. He referred not only to a sense of community, but also to protection:

I take care of Marta [one of his neighbors] if she does not have bread, and I am sure that she also cares if I do not have bread. [Talking about that] moves me because it is true.... I never cry [because] I am a strong person, but I get emotional because we have grown here. (Jose, adult Chilean man, interview, December 2014)

Thus, they are born and grow up in this place and many people know each other for a lifetime. Perhaps this is why they resent changes and desperately want their community back and think about it as a 'lost paradise.' For instance, when I walked around the *barrio's* Christmas Market, the secretary of the Neighborhood Organization (JV) seemed to share with me that the Christmas Fair they had organized had been quite successful and that many neighbors had registered to take part. He told me that the neighborhood had all types of residents, explaining that even a small group who were "delinquents" was participating. He added, "They protect us from other criminals and take care that nothing will happen to us." As JV's treasurer pointed to a person in a wheelchair, he explained, "even though he is in a wheelchair he is the leader of the local gang" (Christmas Market Benito Juarez, Participant Observation, December, 2014).

These comments bring up the issue of diversity that people perceive as positive, to the point of feeling proud even of those that are outside the law and that they consider to be neighbors that protect each other. Living in community is a priority for interviewees who may be unaware of it but realize that the way to overcome the problems of the neighborhood is to be linked to each other. Nevertheless, if diversity interferes with one's identity it is criticized and the other's identity may be isolated or segregated. Similarly, in this case caring for each other

may be a utilitarian consideration because this interviewee was tying diversity to the increase in safety and was embracing it as long as it did not interfere with identity and tranquility.

Place and community meet in residents' minds. Francisco explained that he would not change the barrio for any other place. He talked about Benito Juarez as a place of diversity emphasizing that that was what a neighborhood should be. In his words,

here in this neighborhood there are people everywhere; a fight can start at any moment; it means there is life and every day is different. No monotony, you do not get bored here because there are always different situations.... [For example] you see them cooking in the street. There is life here and I like that!" (Francisco, adult Chilean man, interview, December 2014).

In short, some Chilean residents view the presence of newcomers as a positive aspect of the neighborhood. "It is a place that has life," where people use public space: "The barrio?" answered Beatriz, an elderly woman who works in Benito Juarez, "I do not know, I like the fact that one can see a lot of people, different people, personalities, nationalities. We have been able to work with immigrant people" (Beatriz, adult Chilean woman, interview, June 2015). Despite criticizing it constantly, Chileans living in these neighborhoods value the noise, people on the streets, the joy of seeing different things every day. I wondered about this paradox between embracing diversity and negative perceptions toward newcomers. This perception is quite different from government representatives and middle class residents' perceptions and discrimination of the other.

Although pointing to the use of public space by immigrants as the source of conflict, I read between lines a deeper resentment tied to the ways in which immigrants' presence affects native Chileans' traditional ways and the fact their inner desire to live with their own. As much

as they identified noise as difference, they resented its effect on their lives and traditions. If you are taking a nap on a Sunday, you wake up with the noise of the radio and the *pollada* parties. If a Chilean or a foreign-born person is walking along a sidewalk, they resent having to cross the street because there is a family on their path sitting in chairs in the street. But the other side of the street may be also appropriated by someone who is cooking in the sidewalk, forcing pedestrians to walk in the middle of the street. Ultimately, they may be speaking positively of diversity to avoid being branded negatively while using every opportunity to blame immigrants for changing the lifestyle of the neighborhood and becoming a neighbor.

### **7.1.2 Places and collective memory.**

Yungay and Benito Juarez are part of the history and collective memory of Santiago. As explained earlier, both are old neighborhoods and, as such, part of the identity of the city. For residents, the identity of the barrios is rooted in the idea of the historical city, not just in terms of their buildings but also the nature of residents and a configuration that gives residents a certain distinctiveness. Garcés (2007, p. 15) argued that these spaces have embraced a collective memory; “a memory that configured such places as the repetition of a cultural practice that comes from yesteryear and that is associated with migratory movements” (p. 15). Confirming this, residents identified such practices and places as configuring their own meaning of and attachment to the barrio.

At the southern end of Benito Juarez is the central market of Santiago, known as ‘La Vega Central’ (Figure 22). This is the most important traditional market for the central neighborhoods of Santiago. People recognize it—and others such places—as important for their identity and sense of place. When I asked about the places that give identity to the neighborhood, Carlos answered with excitement:

Yes.... la Vega, el Tirso de Molina, la Estación Mapocho, the [central] market. Right in front there is a very good restaurant, 'la mamita' ...The Tirso de Molina... Some of the buildings are new, but they maintain the same format as 'La Vega,' with narrow aisles (Carlos, young adult man, interview, June 2015).



Figure 22: La Vega Central (Central Food Market). Author's collection.

Such spaces of consumption are at the same time a source of memory and identity. La Vega and Tirso de Molina are almost as old as the barrio in which they are located, La Chimba. Lucia, an elderly woman living in Benito Juarez explained:

I feel good [here] because it brings me back memories of my parents; when I was a girl I used to go to the Vega with them and they bought me whatever I liked, 'I want this,' 'I want this one' and was like '*regalona*, two of them?' and what I liked the most were figs with roasted flour. (Lucia, elderly Chilean woman, interview, June 2015)

In the case of Yungay (Figure 23) it is important to mention that its history makes residents proud of their neighborhood. When walking around the neighborhood with an old

resident, he insisted in showing me all the historical places and the houses of well-known people and of important Chilean families, Plaza Yungay, the monument to the *Roto Chileno*, the old houses, and who used to inhabit them (adult Chilean man, interview, June 2015). There is an old community organization that become the neighbors' council and that organized people to defend the 'barrio life' and maintain its historical buildings and traditions. One of the member pointed out:

We defend the quality of life, the neighborhood life, the community life, and that quality of life could not be understood if we did not defend the buildings. When we defend the quality of life, we defend the relationship between the neighbors, [we defend] an environment, walking through the streets—to put it in some way—which implies that I know the neighbors; however, all that is possible because there are houses like this, that allow it, or [houses that are] allowing a less individualistic life.... we speak of a more communitarian [and] collective model, then we are defending it. It is not only the defense of the houses, sometimes we are accused that we were defending old bricks; we defend it, because that's part of community life, quality of life.... it stands ultimately for social fabric, but a social fabric that is understood in the context of an architecture, a type of housing, a type of neighborhood, a social relationship that has been cultivated here by various factors. If one were to say what the main characteristics of the neighborhood are, in our view, it is a rich construction that expresses 176 years of architecture in Chile (Pablo, young adult Chilean man, interview May 2015)





Figure 23: Landmarks in Yungay Neighborhood. Author's collection.

The neighborhood's architecture and its buildings define the cultural landscape of Yungay and Benito Juárez but, even more so, the layout and buildings facilitate a communitarian life and everyday contact between neighbors. In this manner, some of the residents make a distinction between what they consider a *barrio* and a *sector*. Carlos, a young Chilean resident of Benito Juárez, lives in a middle-class apartment building (see figure 24). When I asked him about his neighborhood he responded that he lives in a *sector*. I was wondering what the difference was, and he replied:

Well, when I am asked where I live, I say, I live in La Paz Avenue. They may ask 'where is that?' and I respond, look, do you know the Mapocho Train Station? Do you know La Vega, the cemetery, the psychiatric hospital? So, this is what I consider my *sector*.... A *barrio* would be more where you and the neighbors stay [live].... But, I do not consider that I live in a neighborhood because I do not feel I am familiarized with the people [who live in here]. (Carlos, young adult man, interview, June 2015)



Figure 24: One of the few apartment buildings in Benito Juárez Neighborhood. Author's collection.

The *barrio* does not exist if there are no interactions among people, if one does not know the neighbor. Carlos assumes he is not in a neighborhood because he lives in an apartment building which is not part of the local history and often tends to house people that are not associated historically with the neighborhood. For residents, the *barrio* is the community that lives in buildings with a known past that is an important part of their personal lives.

This notion of a *barrio* involves a place in which people know each other. However, the sense of living in an intercultural place means something special for residents of both neighborhoods—in both positive and negative terms. Chilean society is not used to coexisting in diversity especially when such diversity implies different spatial practices and habits of daily life. There is an apparent contradiction between celebration of diversity and negative perceptions

of immigrants on the part of Chileans residents. Manuel, a retired man living in Benito Juarez, tells me that he and his wife were recently talking and analyzing the barrio, and when it started to change:

One could say there are two moments. [First], well, when the neighborhood was very quiet [with] very settled families, almost all homes ranging between 40 and 50 years old, my parents [lived there], and a second [moment was] around 2000.... with very large houses, factories began to arrive, the neighborhood was rotting in that sense, it was not a familiar thing anymore. People who prospered bought houses in the upper town and sold their homes. I said, I wish people would move in, but then I regretted it because people started coming and unfortunately with quite different customs. For example, my neighbor who was Arab went to live in the upper quarter and rented his house; where four people used to live now live 30 people, and they use the playground to put informal constructions. (Juan, elderly Chilean man, interview, December 2014)

The neighborhood council is trying to work to unite people but, according to one of its members, it has been very difficult because people resented when the organization prepared activities just for immigrant residents, “then the Chileans say: ‘why are there activities just for immigrants and not for Chileans?’” (adult Chilean man, interview December, 2014). The struggles for equal or more benefits are an issue that starts dividing the community, segregating it or, simply, residents do not feel any longer that they are living in a neighborhood. The presence of immigrants apparently set off a process of competition for control (regaining the upper hand vis-à-vis foreigners). The owner of a neighborhood store in Benito Juarez had this to say about immigrant residents:

They are arrogant and look down on others. For example, the store may be full of people and they want to be attended first; it is not just one person [that acts in this behavior], but it is a habit; when it's time to pay, there may be two or three [in front of them] in the line to make payment and they pass over them, [break the line] leave the money and just go. Disrespect. The 'navel of the world' and they are very far from it because of their behavior. (Francisco, adult Chilean man, interview, December 2014)

It is noteworthy that one of the arguments of many Chileans to qualify the “unpleasant behavior” of immigrants is, “they are arrogant and look down on others” and, more particularly, that they are aggressive or feel they are better than others. For all Chileans and foreign-born neighbors, the relationship between diverse peoples and cultures follows a hierarchy; to be or have more than the other is a way to overcome the feeling of being discriminated against. In this pecking order, Chileans expect to be at the top assuming that the others should stay in their place underneath.

### **7.1.3 The existence of the other: invisibility or uncertainty and fear of ‘the other’?**

The interviewees’ discourses about cultural encounters between Chileans and newcomers include elements of integration, tolerance, and understanding of differences. However, these discourses become ambiguous when the two groups refer to ‘the other’s’ spatial practices. The sentences and concepts commonly used by Chileans when referring to the migrant community and their needs bring out elements of citizenship, freedom and Christian charity. “Everyone should have the right to live in this country.... if they can find better opportunities here, we should not close the doors to those in need.” But such a discourse appears to be marked by ethics and political correctness, including assumptions about my expectations as a researcher, and frequently contrast with open calls for immigrants to adapt to the dominant culture: “Even

though the newcomers have rights because they are human beings like ourselves, they must respect our norms.”

During my visit and observation in Benito Juarez at the Christmas Fair in 2014, everyone was very happy about the fair's success, stating that it gave everybody the opportunity to know each other better as neighbors. “All are here together”, they tell me, but they also state, “you have to be careful with the immigrant inhabitants because everything you do or say may be taken as discriminatory.” In that sense, the self-reflections of a Chilean resident woman caught my attention. She asked herself if we Chileans, are discriminatory. We talked for a while. She was a middle-class professional who had been living in this neighborhood for her entire life but felt that the neighborhood had changed with the arrival of foreigners. She told me that everything was dirty and that the foreigners met every day in the street and that she did not like to walk around anymore. She asked herself if she would enjoy walking in the neighborhood if the migrants were Europeans with blond hair. She asked herself if we were discriminatory but she did not think we were. A Peruvian woman is cooking fried chicken with French fries near us. The Chilean woman told me that she loved the food but the smell of frying drove her crazy. Then she said to herself, “if that is their culture, we have to accept it.” She heard that the lady cooking in the street was maintaining her whole family and her kids were studying thanks to her selling of fried chicken. Thus the Chilean woman concluded that it was hard to take a clear position regarding those practices and criticizing them as immigrants come to Chile to find better opportunities. Apparently, there is a dissociation between what she considers correct and her actual feelings regarding her day-to-day experience with cultural difference.

Similar experiences appeared in my observations in Yungay, although this is a more diverse neighborhood in terms of class and in terms of resident nationalities. I could not tell

whether there was more or less integration between natives and immigrants in this neighborhood. The truth is that integration is more visible in communitarian settings. In one occasion, I was in the neighborhood council organization and they were giving away Christmas presents and delivering certificates of residence to migrants that allowed them to participate in free summer activities of the municipality. The organization did not ask them for any official documents to check if they were residents, but simply gave the benefits indiscriminately to Chileans and foreigners alike.

During that visit, at the neighborhood council organization's meeting, people discussed the issue of everybody being scared because there had been a murder in one of the houses in the block where I conducted the field observation. A young female neighbor, looking rather professional and calm, walked in. Her appearance reminded me of the culture of the politically left-leaning neighborhoods of Santiago's periphery. She wanted to learn more about the shootings and the murder that had taken place the previous weekend. I observed from distance but the secretary of the council organization signaled me to listen to what the young woman was saying, because it might be of interest for my study. The young woman explained what happened in a very delicate manner. Although she stated that she did not want to blame migrants, she blamed drugs sold in one of those *conventillos* where Peruvians live. She was obviously scared but she liked her neighborhood and did not want to put a stigma on her neighbors. Similarly, during the conversation, the secretary of the council organization seemed very committed to the residents and emphatically defended the migrants living there.

The issue of diversity forced neighbors in both neighborhoods to reflect. In Benito Juarez, Jose, a Chilean neighborhood leader told me:

We learned that we are completely xenophobic. It would not be the same if this neighborhood were full of French migrants or if they were Germans. Because they would bring to us a culture that would help us to be connected to the old world. (Jose, adult Chilean man, interview, December 2014)

They associated the problem with the housing conditions of migrants, and the challenges to regulate this situation, rather than with cultural issues.

If you shut down four of these shared houses you have 120 families with no dwelling. And those houses should be shut down. But what do we do with 120 families. Where should they go? You got it? But if we let them live there and one of these houses burns down, 30 families will die. If you worry about them that implies taking their shelter away; if you leave them there it implies risking their lives. (Jose, adult Chilean man, interview, December 2014)

Discourses about the changing neighborhood are permeated with anger, fear and sorrow as well as with discontent with the authorities' inability to control delinquency.

They are living for example in houses which they divide, making additional rooms, and they live there overcrowded, sometimes 10 or 15 people in one house. They spend a lot of time in the street, sell food in the street, play cards in the street, install small pools in the street and they don't care.... I believe that if.... A Chilean did that, they would fine him, but because it is them ... I mean: if you challenge them or tell something about their behavior, that's immediately discrimination. It's like this: if you say something you are a discriminator. But if you don't say anything it's also discrimination against the Chileans, because we cannot do the same thing. (Elena, adult Chilean woman, interview, December 2014)

On the other hand, migrant residents tend to understand the feelings of Chileans, agreeing that some of their compatriots do not act in an appropriate manner. Moreover, even among the migrants, those from different countries complain about one another's behaviors. "Peruvians are dirty and noisy", says an elderly Ecuadorian woman. "Colombians are bringing violence and drugs to the neighborhood", says a Peruvian resident with sadness, "and they bring prostitution." These comments show that migrants understand and to some extent share the concerns of Chileans about the numbers and kinds of newcomers arriving in Chile. Some migrants even say that the Chilean government should close the borders. Nevertheless, the perception of disrespect on the part of both Chileans and migrants legitimizes their mutual intolerance over their differences with a clear bias towards immigrants who are blamed of bringing insecurity to the neighborhood and invading public spaces. Meanwhile, migrant attempts to defend the attitudes of Chileans buy into their racism and xenophobia.

## **7.2 Conflicts Over Recognition and Respect in the Everyday Encounter**

### **7.2.1 Habits redefine everyday life.**

We had conflicts, not only the neighborhood organization, but also we as neighbors had conflicts with migrants but that's mostly about living together as they live in a different manner than us. (Elena, adult Chilean woman, interview, December 2014)

The degree of opening to and embracing the everyday practices of others determines the extent to which coexistence is peaceful. However, a public perception associating the immigrant population with conflict and delinquency makes coexistence difficult. Is the diversity observed by the practices and habits of newcomers the main source of struggles in the neighborhoods? Is the native Chilean population struggling against an everyday contact with heterogeneous group because now, they have to be more open to the presence of difference?



Loud noises constitute a particular source of struggle for elderly people. Francisco tells me:

it is okay to listen to the radio, but the radio [music] should be for oneself, but not for the entire neighborhood.... They turn the radio in *al chanco* [super loud sound], then one has to turn off one's own radio because it is not possible to listen [to both] .... [also] years ago, I remember in some sectors here Chileans were alcohol drinkers, but these [people] *se las mandaron* (they have exaggerated the consumption of alcohol). (Francisco, adult Chilean man, interview, December 2014).

These practices are unpleasant and cause disturbances. The native Chilean resident does not dare to say anything to his or her foreign-born neighbor and the silence makes the conflict bigger causing an accumulated anger:

The neighbors are asking for help and to evaluate what can be done with people drinking beer in the street because, if you drink beer, the body heats up and the fighting starts, they break bottles and always something happens. I saw them battle with machetes and you have to run away..." (Elena, adult Chilean woman, interview, December 2014)

These situations make Chilean residents angry and fearful. Marcia, a Chilean woman living around plaza Yungay described conduct that astonished her. People use the plaza for practically everything, drinking, dancing, selling drugs, and even sleeping in the case of the homeless. She felt worried that her daughters saw this situation every day. But these acts are not exclusive to immigrants but are also done by native Chileans, she explained; however, she attributes the garbage problem inside her building to immigrants:

That is one thing that I do not like of some foreigners; so they throw trash out the window, throw garbage at the roof.... So, I think, why do they do that? I do not understand why they

do it, they do not seem to have a basic education telling them that they cannot throw trash on the roof, or litter the window, which is as ugly, you know, and that is not so good [finishes with an ironic tone as she laughs]! (Marcia, young Chilean woman, interview, January 2015)

Similar behaviors and perceptions took place also in Benito Juarez; here also people complained about the way immigrants deal with garbage:

You walk up and down the streets and you see people throw the water they use to clean the dishes to the sidewalk. [You see] garbage and people cooking in the streets. You can understand that. Overcrowding forces you to eat in the street that operates as their terrace. But when you arrive in a country you have to accommodate to the rules of that country rather than corralling neighbors with your own rules. (Jose, adult Chilean man, interview, December 2014)

“I came here today to fight” said a woman resident of Benito Juarez at a meeting organized by the neighborhood council to talk about security, delinquency and coexistence. She was very angry about police treatment of these issues. She explained that recently they heard gunshots and called the police. When the official asked where were the gunshots coming from the neighbors did not know what to say because it was night and they would not dare to go outside to see; but all the police did was to argue that residents had to provide better information so that they could go to the right place.

After about half an hour into the conversation and recriminations to the police, nobody had mentioned the conflicts between neighbors towards migrants. Participants had focused on the shootings complaining that the police had done nothing to resolve the problem. Although the issue did not have anything to do with the migrant population, at least directly, the conversation

turned to them. People started talking about the conditions of migrants and then complained that they were unable to use public spaces because Peruvians had taken them over. “You cannot walk through Fariña ... Peruvians stand in *manchas* (spots) as they say.” They come in groups and attack a person, stealing everything she wears, even clothing. A neighbor added, “one comes to or from the subway and cannot walk down Fariña street.” Later during the meeting, the facilitator asked people to draw in a map the points in the neighborhood that they perceive as dangerous and unsecure (see figure 25). They marked all the points where they feel cannot travel, but it caught my attention that the residents were not able to identify such points in the area where most immigrants live, what they draw was a big rectangle that covered the whole area where immigrant residents use public space to socialize. It seemed that for Chilean residents, a lack of accessibility to the public space means insecurity and crime. Thus, a meeting about a shooting and the police’s response to it became a discussion of public places and the insecurity derived from their ‘foreign invasion.’ Days later I interviewed the head of the police department and he had nothing to say about such a kind of crime; in fact, he never received complaints about *las manchas* (security meeting, Benito Juarez, December 2014).

People at the meeting complained that they found immigrants in Farina until 4 or 5 a.m. and expressed anger at the fact that the streets were invaded by their practices complaining that they could not even walk anymore in the places they used to. The conversation then moves to the businesses of immigrants arguing that they affect the local economy negatively. One attendee said that there were five stores owned by migrants in a single block displacing businesses that had been there for 25 years.



Figure 25: Neighbors' mental map on areas of insecurity and delinquency in Benito Juárez.

Author's collection.

This public conversation pretty much brought out the perceptions of fear, uncertainty and insecurity that Chilean residents associate with the presence of immigrants in their midst. People argue and feel that they cannot use the streets or public spaces anymore. They ask for explanations from the authorities, but apparently do it more as way to vent out their prejudices

than to get a response; after all, they believe that the local administration has pretty much neglected the area, opening the doors for such developments to take over. Underlying the conversation was an anti-immigrant sentiment coded in languages of safety, neglect and foreign invasion.

The question arises as to whether these are matters of culture or class. When I tried to interview one of the residents of Benito Juarez he replied in a very friendly manner “I do not know if I am the right person because I am not from here” (Carlos, young adult man, interview June 2015). This person resided in a newly built middle-class apartment building that differs markedly from the local housing stock where lower-income residents live. Although most of the old native neighbors can be considered middle class, they are slipping into poverty. As the head of the anti-discriminatory office of Santiago pointed out: “It may be that we are dealing here with other poverty.... It can be the product of a regression in statistical terms (recent increases in poverty rates). An example of this is how they live, the issue of overcrowding.” (Interview, December, 2014). The question raised by Alain Touraine, can we live together, refers here to the hierarchical relations of class and culture in everyday life. In this context, diversity becomes an issue of hierarchical interactions based on social classes with different habits sharing the same neighborhoods.

This may be a case of different views related to class and culture defining social relationships. Regarding the allegedly improper use of public space by immigrant residents, the mayor of the Recoleta Comuna expressed:

It is a matter of the friction [between Chileans and immigrant resident] [but it happens] because they live crowded together; it is not a matter of their culture.... because Chileans also take the spaces [under discussion]. They appropriate also the public space. [If] I take

you to see here [in the periphery of Recoleta] and you will see Chileans appropriating the public space: those that are overcrowded. The people that are not overcrowded do not appropriate the public space. It is a condition of class; it is not a natural condition of culture.

Nevertheless, other authorities interpret the ways in which people use the sidewalk as something associated with culture. The head of MINVU urban development draws a parallel between such expressions of culture with what happens in the villages in Chile where people take their chairs for example outside their homes. He actually insisted that he was talking about a chair or bench, rather than a sofa or a dining table: “it is the granny with her chair on the sidewalk, it is not a couch on the sidewalk! And the chair is brought inside when the person goes inside the house” (Head Urban Policy MINVU, interview, July 2015). In both cases residents are using the public space to socialize, something that brings up the issue of class, particularly because this is not the case in middle income neighborhoods. Still, lower-income Chileans also do it but not in the same way or with the same intensity as low-income immigrants; after all, their housing conditions are better and they do not have to cook in the street or rely in street vending for their subsistence as these immigrants do.

Meanwhile, taking the discussion a notch up, the head of the anti-discrimination Office argued, “of course there is classism regarding migration. But classism, classism, not class [in term of] identity with class consciousness. Classism, that is, a superficial behavior of prejudice” (Antidiscrimination Office, interview, July 2015)

But whether it is class or culture on both, most of these prejudices were associated with the perception of people inhabiting areas in which people with different backgrounds coexist.

I believe this neighborhood is destined to disappear... We are being gradually locked in a single block and there is no interest [on the part the local government] [to promote] sharing.

The neighborhood organizations organized activities that allowed for neighbors to get to know each other. I tell you that I am living here since I was 43 years old and I know Elena since childhood.... You see a lot of people you knew for many years, but you have no idea what is happening to that person... If you would have done this interview with me two years ago I would have told you that this is a middle class neighborhood and people don't have major problems here. (Jose, adult Chilean man, interview, December 2014)

In a sense, Jose blames the lack of interaction between the inhabitants of the neighborhood Benito Juarez on planning and space distribution; still, local organizations are trying to promote encounters. Separation makes people see the other's spatial practices without knowing why they act the way they do. Jose insists that Benito Juarez is a middle class neighborhood, and that the practices of immigrant residents are related only to culture. But who wants to live in an overcrowded neighborhood if s/he has the possibility of living better elsewhere? Jose talked about a dichotomy in the dwellings of immigrants:

they live in [poverty] but have in their dwellings things more appropriate to a wealthy man of Las Condes (one of the richest communes in Santiago). You can bump into a refrigerator that costs 1 million pesos, a TV of \$700,000 ... a phone that costs 300 thousand [pesos], but they are living as beggars and more. This dichotomy is very strange; do you understand me? (Jose, adult Chilean man, interview, December 2014)

Jose's analysis is based on class; however, the dichotomy between the goods immigrants have in their dwellings and their lifestyles make him believe that it is a matter of cultural rather than class clash.

### 7.2.2 Different views about the use of public spaces.

On streets and plazas, appropriation and sovereignty are in conflict. Power is exercised using diverse strategies to take over and appropriate public spaces—actions that are frequently contested by others. Territorial identity and culture act as motives for contestation through which residents try to exercise sovereignty over their places. From the perspective of Chilean residents, public space should only be used for specific activities, and other activities should be restricted to a private sphere. Francisco, a Chilean elderly man in Benito Juárez comments, “we do things at home, but they do everything in public. They cook in the street, eat; [so] they do not have respect for others” (Francisco, adult Chilean man, interview, December 2014). The Chilean residents in these neighborhoods assume that each space of everyday life has a particular function. Manuel, another Chilean, narrated his experience of encounter as something very rough:

The experience of cohabitation was very sudden and dramatic because there were people with totally different customs. First, because of overcrowding they leave their homes and eat in the street, drink in the street, play in the street. They had for example a street with little traffic, and they closed part of it to play volleyball—about 20 or 25 players on each side—and put bleachers on the sidewalk. The game stopped traffic, and when about six cars lined up waiting, they stopped the game and let the cars pass by. A chaotic thing, absolutely chaotic! And, well, there is no need to tell you about the fighting, fighting with knives, sticks.... Brutal! (Juan, elderly Chilean man, interview, December 2014).

Cooking in the street, for example, is completely rejected by Chileans. For them, cooking is an activity that requires hygiene and order. Moreover, the odors and smoke that this activity



produces should be confined to the privacy of the home. Beatriz is astonished that some migrants cook in the street:

Other customs we have.... for example, Chileans can eat an ice cream in the street, a canned drink, but they eat meals; [for them] it is common to eat in the street. Haven't you seen them in the sector where *Fruna* is located, up there, one block up? There, everyone eats! [but] It is food!... they sell food in the street! These are other manners. (Beatriz, adult Chilean woman, interview, June 2015)

Although considering that eating a meal in the streets reflects other customs, Beatriz understands that the immigrant or any person needs to work: “but one has to think that they also have to earn a living, [and] they have as much right to earn a living as Chileans.” However, there is one important thing that they do not consider “that hygiene is important too, but they do not care at all” (Beatriz, adult Chilean woman, interview, June 2015)

In addition, native Chileans believe that the public space should be shared but not permanently appropriated, and given that its use is already regulated, Chileans expect that the newcomers follow the norm.

Immigrants often use the word discrimination—because they have experienced it—but also some people use it as an excuse to defend against anything that is the norm. When you use the word discrimination for not accepting a rule, then you're sassy. Then you tell him, no sir, here the rules are that you drink at home.... 'you are discriminating against me'. I'm not discriminating; I'm telling you that all of us eat at home. (Jose, adult Chilean man, interview, December 2014).

Local and national authorities are aware that currently the use of public space is a source of conflict in neighborhoods where native and foreign-born residents live next to each other.

There is a profound difference between Chile—mainly, but also the countries of the Southern Cone—from the rest of Latin America and is our respect for urban formality. What do I mean? Here in Chile nobody would consider building in somebody else's property even if they don't know who it belongs to. Nobody even thinks about that. Except in an illegal occupation that is a social movement and has another logic.... Then there is a profound difference on how we understand the commons, private property and land use. That is creating a crisis regarding immigration.... they have a different logic regarding formality in Chile. (Head of Division of Urban Policy MINVU, interview, July 2015)

Authorities also reinforce the norm that people cannot make private use of a common good. One can transit through there, but not stay permanently.

No one can make a particular use of a national good for public use. Take the street. It belongs to all.... Sometimes, for example when they [immigrant residents] take the pool to the street..., the sofa..., and beer, the Chilean or any neighbor cannot move freely in the sidewalk. There you see that someone is making a particular use of a common good (Coordinator Office of Neighborhoods and Coexistence, Municipality of Santiago, interview, June 2015)

From the perspective of local governments the use of public space is an instance of mediation that the municipalities use to make neighborhood coexistence easier. It is a difficult issue to solve, but the office of Neighborhoods and Coexistence believes that the only solution is the community organization, and thus, community empowerment for a better coexistence.

### 7.2.3 **Inaccessibility and sense of security.**

The lack of accessibility of public space caused by its appropriation and use by migrant groups is associated by Chileans with delinquency and fear.

The community living there has to look for alternative ways to get to their home... probably there are not so many crimes but there are very frequent infractions such as selling food in the streets and things like that. (Head of the Territorial Program Municipality of Recoleta, interview, June 2015)

But it is not crime but different forms of living that cause the sensation of breaking the rules, as they differ from what is considered 'normal' by Chileans. It cannot be considered a felony. It is possible to identify the contrasting concepts of 'the public' among residents.

"Migrants have malpractices and invade public spaces in such a way that one can no longer transit through there." This phrase was repeated several times in my fieldwork. In the meeting about security in Benito Juarez, Chilean residents expressed anger and fear about neighborhood change. The assistant at the meeting argued that immigrants lived in extreme conditions, "nobody here wants migrants to live in the street, but .... There is extreme overcrowding and no control on the part of the municipality." When a neighbor complained to the person in charge of security, the latter asked that she file a complaint with the municipality. Very angry the neighbor replied "Why do I have to go to denounce what happens if you are supposed to supervise?" The manager replied that security was co-constructed –a naive response given the tension existing at the meeting. In my mind, I felt that the barrio could actually be a frightening space for those that occupy it. However, I realized that the fear to walk the streets was in reality a rejection of others with different practices, culture, and lives. Most of the people present at the meeting have lived in the neighborhood all their lives, but no longer feel as before

due to the presence of immigrants. By all indications, it is the presence of the other that makes them perceive the neighborhood as unsafe.

In other words, the perception people have of public space is based on concepts with different meanings, on circumstances and perceptions related to their lives, the past and the present. There is no a permanent way of perceiving, understanding and using a determinate space. Indeed, Massey (2005, p.15) argues that space is the sphere of the possible and the convergence of multiplicities; in this context, perceptions and constructions of places are relational, multiple and co-constitutive.

From this perspective, I explored the mix of issues that defined interrelationships in the spaces of study. The head of the anti-discrimination Office in the Municipality of Santiago argued that the coexistence between Chilean and immigrant residents was a rather complex dilemma:

I do not know if Chileans are very angry.... and stressed because their neighbors cook in the street, play music very loud, and have a highest pitch or shout more; I do not know if the Chilean is angry because there is a clash of cultures. They are angry because the domestic space invades public space, which makes them reticent and causes them to associate it with dirt and promiscuity and they do not like it. And the other side is happiness, are they leaving the space of overcrowding or reproducing a habit?... the image of the sidewalk as a metaphor is very interesting [in this case] because one sometimes sweeps the sidewalk, however, it is not something one has to do because the sidewalk is not your property and it is responsibility of the public sector. But, in any case, one appropriates her or his sidewalks, one waters the plants that are outside and there is a gap where intermediate

things happen. (Head of the Anti-Discrimination Office Municipality of Santiago, interview, December 2014)

Following his argument, how is it possible to intervene in places where culture and habits are intertwined causing conflict? Fear and uncertainty are sentiments that all residents have developed in this new experience of living with the other. However, space is always in a process of formation as a product of spatial practices. A new spatialization is being created in the current Santiago; more specifically, Yungay and Benito Juarez are experiencing the possibility of multiplicity. They are struggling with the presence of ‘others’ with other realities and other habits. This experience, on the one hand generates rejection, rejection that they explain as violation of the norm; on the other hand, many residents realize that immigrants are acting out of need and opportunity, the need for communal spaces and the need to make a living. In turn, immigrants resort to practices that many people, regardless of nationality, engage in (using public space) but that in their case is a matter of survival and, thus, is taken to a new level—at least in the local context. Although this contradiction or dilemma generates a break, at the same time, it challenges and gives people the opportunity to adjust to the other. Would these practices disappear if the field were leveled and immigrants had access to ‘normal’ housing and a ‘normal’ job? Possibly. Would residents be more tolerant if they understood the unique challenges of immigrants?

### 7.3 **Neighbors’ Aspirations for Recognition and Respect: Their Meaning of Justice**

At least those who are now living here are more respectful. Once, when I lost a cat—because I have several cats—I asked one of them: ‘Sir’, I said, ‘have you seen a cat?’ And so we started to talk and established some neighborly relationships, talking and asking ‘Hi, neighbor, how are you?’ The other day I asked him ‘well, and what are you doing for a

living?’ ‘I am digging,’ I was told, and I asked, ‘With a backhoe machine?’ ‘Nooo,’ he told me, ‘with a shovel and a pike.’ And they pay them very low wages! And then he turns the radio on, very loud, and you can listen to the car radio from indoors because he stops his car right here in front of the house. And one day I took out the trash and I told him that his radio was so loud that my windows were vibrating and that I normally have my siesta at this hour. ‘I’m sorry’ he said, and he never again turned it on so loud. (Juan, elderly Chilean man, interview, December 2014)

This is a story of respect at a very basic level and the construction of respect from the perspective of a Chilean resident. This elderly Chilean claims that addressing a Peruvian in good terms, calling him ‘Sir,’ is the basis of a respectful relationship, including recognition (as a neighbor and recognizing the migrants’ achievements) and even for direct, face-to-face, conflict management, as it makes it possible to ask the other for understanding and respect.

This is a mutual issue, a matter of mutual respect. As I told you before. If my neighbor lives this way, I do not need to live as he does, nor does he need to live in my manner, but it is a question of respect and a healthy relationship. (Francisco, adult Chilean man, interview, December 2014)

Uncertainty may configure the experience of those who are moving into a new place to live. Inhabiting trans-local spaces situates migrant subjects in a threshold of insecurity with respect to knowing the rights of using and occupying urban space. Also, as I have been arguing, the presence of new habits and practices are also sources of uncertainty. Some Chilean residents see hope for integration and coexistence; however, the stigma of segregation has been very strong. The practice of talking, and seeing the other as equal in terms of his or her role in society, helps as it shows that immigrants are integrating slowly.

People are talking to them; they already consider them neighbors. They did not do so some time ago. For instance, they looked at them in an ugly manner or treated them badly. In general, that is not the case so much today... there are still people who stigmatize them, but I believe that gradually they have been integrating themselves better and got used to the lifestyle we have here. (Beatriz, adult Chilean woman, interview, June 2015)

Cultural encounter means that there are different standards and different norms, competing with each other in defining what is considered 'correct' or 'normal.' A cultural encounter by definition means that—at least to a certain extent—the differing norm is also accepted as valid. This is claimed by migrant communities in Chile, as they perceive themselves for instance as Peruvian, different from Chilean and they ask for respect for their lifestyle and their form of life (Antonio, adult Peruvian man, interview, June 2015).

This brings us to the issue of ethics and morals, reflected in the culturally rooted concepts of good and bad. The law as well as the 'norm' are always present in the context of multiethnic and multicultural coexistence. Some of the interviewees stated that the major cultural difference they perceived was in their different definitions of good and bad (Antonio, adult Peruvian man, interview, June 2015).

Recognition of the culturally different is considered a central element of integration and respect. This kind of recognition is thus necessarily based on interaction. An interviewee stated that knowing the other is the source of respect and integration (Andrea, young Ecuadorian woman, interview, June 2015). They were frequently referring to very basic elements of respect, linked to daily life as is the case of simple gestures such as greeting the other—but some of the migrants went as far as saying that they had no interest in other types of relationship with

Chileans because their reason to be in Chile was purely economic (Milagros, young Peruvian women, interview, June 2015).

Meanwhile, the frequently mentioned problems of recognition do not refer only to the lack of recognition migrants receive from Chileans. The experience of not being recognized also refers to the use of generic categories such as ‘migrant’ or ‘black’ by Chileans; meanwhile, migrants feel disrespected when they are mistaken as belonging to a different migrant group than the one they actually belong to.

Why is this an issue for immigrants? Do they perceive it as disrespect to their cultural identity or as placing them in a hierarchical queue that classifies some as better than others?

Actually, migrants also experience discrimination from other migrants. An interesting element of this is that in part this discrimination is legitimated by the level of integration achieved, where a higher level of integration provides pride and somehow legitimates the discrimination of newcomers, using arguments or stereotypes such as ‘migrants are working for less.’ For instance, one interviewee stated that Peruvians who came to Chile to stay and are more integrated, feel superior; they think of themselves as Chilean and discriminate against other migrants (Ricardo, young Peruvian man, interview, June 2015). In fact, some interviewees took pride in their integration and the fact that their children felt Chilean while speaking in favor of reducing migration; for them, there are too many immigrants coming from Haiti and Bolivia and they work for less money (Antonio, adult Peruvian man, interview, June 2015).

Recognition of the ‘other’ is also linked to issues of class, suggesting that the ability to recognize and value different cultures is somehow caused by the attribution of ‘higher morality’ for the upper class. Thus discourses about discrimination against foreigners are supported (or echoed) by discourses discriminating by class.



In daily experiences, when sharing public space, migrants are confronted with a set of different types of discrimination or lack of respect, such as simply being ignored or even explicit verbal aggression blaming them for structural problems such as lack of jobs or low wages. Even more important are issues of unequal power relations and exploitation that are referred to as ‘modern slavery.’ Again such practices can also be found within migrant communities, possibly as an issue of power structures and exploitation rather than simply discrimination of migrants. Such practices include the ‘business’ of migration and the practice of involving migrant ‘administrators’ as part of the power structures managing overcrowded and precarious living spaces.

Meanwhile, not all the migrants I interviewed are of a single mind as some of them found respect and recognition in Chile or felt that they were not discriminated against (although the last statement relates to race, suggesting that racial differences may lead to discrimination).

Regarding ‘rights’ and recognition, analysis of the interviews suggests a concept of recognition that is based on the simple principle of equal rights. Immigrant residents seek the right to equality and to be treated in the same way as Chileans (Rosario, young Bolivian woman, interview, June 2015). Unfortunately, this research did not explore the consequences of ‘being illegal’ (undocumented) not only in structural terms—with difficulties to find a job or rent a place—but especially in terms of their identity and identification with a specific place and, therefore, cannot add this dimension to the finding of different perceptions of discrimination.

A question that sometimes emerges is the notion that specific rights for migrants need to consider cultural differences not only between migrants and Chile but also between different migrant communities. A young Peruvian living in Benito Juarez wondered how government developed public policies regarding migration: “[The government] should investigate all the

cultures of those who immigrate and seek common patterns among all of us; so from there the rights of migrants can be defined” (Marcos, young Peruvian man, interview, December 2014).

One of the most surprising comments frequently found in the interviews of migrants is that they consider Chile a country with too much freedom. This argument is frequently mentioned especially by residents of Peruvian origin, expressing that they think that in Chile children have too much liberty and that children are allowed to take too many decisions by themselves, regarding their wishes or tastes, what they want to eat, and so forth. They claim that in Peru that is different and believe that the Peruvian approach is more conducive to building a society of respect towards the other. Rights are associated with hierarchical relationships especially regarding decision-making. In this sense, what can they expect as they have to claim their rights as human beings in a country where others, of different ethnicity or race, make the decisions? They have to accept the rules of the majority.

The theme of social rights is interlaced with individual freedom. They came to Chile to be free from society’s definition of what is normal. Sexual freedom is a case in point. In a conversation with a young woman who identified as lesbian, she mentioned that in Chile she can freely express herself. During the same conversation she reflected on how permissive Chilean laws are, and that children have too much liberty. Why is there this duality even in the same person over the dispute and the freedom to be different? For those who feel different, there are minimums of what is normal and not being respected by the Chileans and their relationships with family or each other.

#### 7.4 **Chapter preliminary reflections**

What is the nature of immigrants' interactions with native residents especially in terms of culture and class and what kinds of (micro) politics emerge from these interactions? Spatial practices of immigrant communities tend to be segregated, with few encounters, and the use of space is conflictive. Power is exercised using diverse strategies through which immigrants appropriate public spaces, in ways frequently contested by others. Territorial identity and culture act as vehicles of contestations through which residents exercise sovereignty over their places. Multicultural spaces in the residential context are contested rather than operating as places of recognition.

## 8 Conclusions and Implications

This dissertation analyzes the life experiences (Merleau-Ponty, 1993; Relph, 1986; Tuan, 1990) associated with the encounter between immigrant and local populations and the challenges of recognition and respect in these encounters in two areas of Santiago, Chile. For this, I use a phenomenological perspective (Honneth, 1995, 1997, 2004) reinforced by selected critical insights from Bourdieu, De Certeau, and Foucault—especially habitus, everyday practices and micro power (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992; Crampton & Elden, 2007; De Certeau, 1984; Foucault & Miskowiec, 1986; Foucault, 1980). It builds on the perspective of place understood as a result of individual experience and the meaning that is collectively produced through spatial practices, especially dwelling and appropriation of space. While discussing the conflicts of coexistence between migrants and native residents, the dissertation examines justice as respect and recognition.

Within this framework, I examine recognition and respect in the interactions between migrant and native Chilean communities, particularly as they negotiate the private and the public realms. In addition, I analyze how Chilean institutional and political structures integrate or marginalize migrants. This discussion illustrates the spatial relationship between the public and the private realms and the value of recognition of the ‘other’ in two directions: Chileans to migrants and migrants to Chileans.

Using the case study method, I examined 1) how Latin American immigrants to Santiago, Chile, create place in their spatial practices of housing and in their use of public space and 2) the nature of their interactions with native residents especially in terms of culture and class, and the (micro) politics that emerge from these interactions.

### 8.1 **Considerations on the phenomenology based-critical perspective**

Different from other perspectives, the phenomenological approach allows for the understanding of the phenomenon from the perspective of the experiences and perceptions of subjects; it, in fact, situates the reality of the subjects in the context of their being in the world. Although focusing primarily on the experience itself, it captures it in its originality. Meanwhile, the critical insights of Foucault, Bourdieu, and other authors expand the methodology to the assessment of the presence of ‘othering,’ unequal opportunities, discrimination, and ethnic exclusion in these relations. The use of critical phenomenological adds the dimension of power to the understanding of the process of adaptation of immigrants and residents and the tensions and conflicts involved.

Moreover, critical phenomenology makes possible the exploration of links between the experiences of subjects and the constraints imposed by the structural dimension. Rather than limiting this analysis to the description of the experiences involved in the encounter between immigrants and residents, the critical dimension allows that experience to be captured in relation to their position as both shaping and being shaped by the structural conditions of the individuals.

By associating the experience of place with the condition of vulnerability of immigrants, this analysis distinguishes between the conflicts internal to the communities immigrants entered and the ‘outside’ world in which they operated. While to an extent the neighborhood offered them shelter (especially in the form of communities of support and sharing), outside of their neighborhood, immigrants are exposed to harsher instances of discrimination while living in constant fear as individuals. A critical analysis of their experiences also exposes other contradictions related to their longing for the place of origin and their efforts to construct a home away; despite the nostalgia, their memories of the place of origin are associated with conditions

that enticed them to live, and despite their hope to build a new life elsewhere, the home that they built to protect themselves against the challenges of their new condition traps them in environments of precariousness and lack of privacy. Ultimately, immigrants are caught between a longing for home filled with nostalgia and the search for a better life away from home imbued at the same time with hope and conflict. These contradictions and perceptions cannot be explained by an orthodox phenomenological analysis, nor could the contradictions lived by Chileans who, unable or unwilling to leave the communities they now share with immigrants, engage in obligated and somewhat resentful relations of suspicion vis-a-vis immigrants. Lastly, by tying their daily experiences and practices to immigration legislation (or lack thereof) and to the institutions serving immigrants, this analysis shows the aggravations resulting from the absence of protections and rights residents are entitled to.

## 8.2 **Methodology**

While the phenomenological methodology allows me to capture directly the perceptions of immigrants in their efforts to settle and advance and the perceptions of residents whose traditional lives and environments are disturbed and challenged by the presence immigrants, the critical dimension reveals the relations between structural and individual factors that both shape and are shaped by people's perceptions and experiences. While the former emerged directly from the interviews and fieldwork, the latter helped me relate immediate experiences to institutional factors and structural constraints but, most importantly, to relate conflicts and vulnerability to power, exploitation and status.

### 8.3 **Major Findings: Migrants' experience and the creation of place**

#### 8.3.1 **Institutional and structural factors.**

This research suggests that institutional and structural factors frame the immigrant lived experience of place causing, for instance, their precarious condition. Overcrowding, exclusion, and segregation are triggered by Chilean urban policies that do not explicitly address the issue of immigration. A major example comes from the Migration Law issued during the dictatorship that focuses on protecting national borders from possible enemies while ignoring factors such as the effective incorporation of immigrants and that leaves them unprotected when it comes to rights and opportunities (Jensen, 2008; Margarit & Bijit, 2014; Stefoni, 2001). Thus, although during the last few years, the Chilean government has been working on the creation of a new policy for immigration that ensures rights, it is still in process. Absent such provisions, municipalities have had to engage in immigrant integration and support.

Furthermore, ongoing efforts have focused on generic equality of rights, with the result that they have fostered a sense justice as normalization while resorting to trivial conceptualizations of difference and recognition such as folklore and food. In this framework, multiculturalism appears as a mere celebration of externalities while ignoring the challenges resulting from the unique conditions of immigrants. Thus, as theory has indicated, while recognizing only selected cultural expressions and reducing the problems of immigrants to the extension of equal rights, it ignores conditions that are unique to them and the discrimination they already experience (Berg & Sigona, 2013; Werbner, 2005).

In order to cope with life in a new and hostile environment, immigrants to Chile have had to build networks with their fellow immigrants while engaging in practices of adaptation and

appropriation of spaces that clash with the practices and expectation of native Chileans in the spaces they enter:

- (a) Immigrants from Latin America often connect to low-paid jobs and resort to combined strategies of self-employment (frequently in informality as street vendors etc.) and waged jobs in marginal occupations that turn them into servants (e.g., as maids, gardeners). Having no better options, they take what they can get, hoping that, as time advances, they can access better occupations with better pay.
- (b) Their limited options and their dependence on a central location to access their jobs forces migrants to accept precarious living conditions in (cubicle-like) subdivisions within old mansions that for the most part native Chileans discard. Although these arrangements work for landlords (Chileans or immigrants who profit from their condition to extract rent from a population with no alternatives) and for immigrants (who need affordable housing in a central location), their accommodations result in tensions with Chileans neighbors.

### 8.3.2 Creation of place.

The theoretical basis of this study is the idea that places are cognitive structures. Places do not exist by themselves but are created through the lived experiences of people. From a phenomenological perspective space itself is a perception that comprises bodies positioned in the world and therefore does not exist without the subject and his or her experience (Merleau-Ponty, 1993; Tuan, 1990). I argued that migrants recreate home in their everyday spatial practices on the basis of emotions, sense of belonging, memories and past experiences. By using the theoretical view of **place as experienced and embodied space**, this analysis linked individual experiences to particular spaces where emotions are a central element. However, people's



perception of the world is in constant change and so is the meaning of place while both are connected to the structures (Ley, 2004; Massey, 1991) in which the interviewees live. Thus, feelings related to the place of origin as well as emotions connecting them to their place of habitation must be addressed. As Buttner (1980, p.167) argued, the loss of home or the relocation from one place to another generates an identity crisis, and for that reason it can be expected that the sense of place and community is mobilized, resisting such loss. By the same token, people appropriate the spaces they enter on the basis of their prior perceptions.

The interviews conducted for this research showed how immigrants' being-in-the-world (Heidegger, 1996; Merleau-Ponty, 1993) is in constant change but at the same time is informed by their need to make the new places theirs. Still, the experience of migration itself, along with instances of hostility, is alienating, making them long for home; under the circumstances, they end up 'living in between.' In this regard, their being-in-the-world in Chile is marked by experiences of dislocation and uncertainty. Moreover, immigrants perceive their new world as threatening especially if the norms and expectations of the places they enter clash with their lifestyles. In this case, structural framings such as the housing conditions they endure—living in overcrowding and precariousness—represent perhaps the most important constraint for integration. This clash turns the experiences of some migrants to Chile into a zone of transition intensifying the sense of loss as the possibility to go back home is rather uncertain. Whereas for Chilean residents, the neighborhoods immigrants enter are home, for immigrants, they are places in between the home they left and an uncertain future. Still, as they cling to their lives and cultures, they build homes away from home with other immigrants hoping for a future in which they get accepted.

A particular element helping them endure their new hardships is the expectation of a ‘rebirth’ or new beginning. Although longing for home, they left to escape the experience of oppression, poverty, domestic violence or unsafety of their places of origin. As many of them left their families and places of origin to find better opportunities, home is associated with both a sense of belonging and painful emotions. Despite the hostility they encounter in Chile, some migrants reported a feeling freedom coming from their ability to be who they were in the new environment, having better job opportunities and better access to goods and living in safety. But these gains do not erase their memories and feelings of home, the landscapes they inhabited before, and the flavors, colors and smells—that define the sensual experiences of the body. In fact, they try to adjust by eating and cooking food from their places of origin as well as recreating many of the practices and scenarios in the host country (Holtzman, 2006). Considering Rus' (2006) analysis of home and diaspora, home is not only a physical site but above all a rhetorical construction, a “conflicting site of belonging and becoming”; this was clearly reflected in the contradictory sense of belonging, nostalgia and desire to return.

### **8.3.3 Living in community and the recreation of home**

So far, we have discussed ‘place’ as an individually experienced and embodied space. Equally important is the consideration that experiences are shared and thus a place is also perceived and inhabited collectively. From this perspective, the concept of ‘place’ is intersubjective and, thus, ‘community’ implies a relationship to place (Tuan, 2002). Moving from home changes both the sense given to place and the consciousness of **community**. Interviewees’ consciousness of place and neighborhood is always related to the community and interaction with others; for them, when there is no interaction, there is no neighborhood.

Baumann refers to the idea of community as a ‘paradise lost,’ while referring to it as free and safe life and the essence of what humanity is looking for. According to his concept of liquid modernity, following the radical dissolution of bonds, today individuals have to take their own responsibilities without collective support (Bauman, 2000, p. 11). Along these lines, speaking of migrants, Werbner (2005) argues that an experience of dislocation may create two cultural paradoxes: 1) “in order to sink roots in a new country, transnational migrants in the modern world begin by setting themselves culturally and socially apart; 2) in such encapsulated communities culture is open, changing and fluid and yet experienced as a powerful imperative” (p.746).

Confirming this, this analysis shows that either for emotional reasons or structural conditions, immigrants tend to inhabit separately from their Chilean neighbors and to form communities according to their country or region of origin—thus separating themselves in reaction to the perception of being discriminated and also due to structural constraints. Although sharing the same neighborhood, Chilean and newcomer residents seemed to live in different worlds. Meanwhile, because immigrants have to navigate alone the challenges immigration poses to them, they have resorted to ‘creative’ strategies to build systems of emotional and material support that make up for their conditions but at the same time put them in conflict with ‘the norm’ in Chile and with residents. Regarding the changing and fluid nature of such communities, this research indicates, over time, however, both groups have shown willingness to engage with the other. Such openness is critical and could be used as a basis to facilitate their encounter.

#### 8.3.4 **Everyday spatial practices and the extension of the private into the public realm.**

A core concept linking place and communities are **spatial practices** and, most specifically, the spatial practices of dwelling. As per the conceptual framework, these practices depend on subjective perceptions, objective factors and contextual frameworks (Lefebvre, 1991; Lindón, 2004; Tuan, 2001). Inevitably, spaces are always in flux as people's practices of daily life are reconfigured on an ongoing basis and as spaces themselves deteriorate or are affected by factors such as the closing and opening of businesses and institutions, aging in place, turnover and generational replacement, new construction, bohemia, and so forth. Moreover, everyday practices may weaken power structures (De Certeau, 1984). For de Certeau (1984) the practices of everyday life create social space by means of conflict, in a permanent and dialectical confrontation between hegemonic power and discourses of resistance (Salcedo, 2002).

As discussed earlier, through daily practices of dwelling migrants extend their private space into the public realm making the boundaries between them diffuse. In these spaces, the public and the private are related dialectically in the daily encounter of immigrant and native residents. Public space fulfills an important role as it permits immigrants to carry on practices of community that reproduce home; but simultaneously it raises the question of appropriation of space and spatial resistance. The use of public space is conflictive as it involves discourses about legitimacy of different uses and territoriality. Rather than suggesting a sharp separation between the public and the private, the practices of immigrants have connected them in their process of reproducing 'home,' generating a certain continuity between their actual dwellings and the public spaces surrounding them; as such, these spaces emerge as forms of resistance and appropriation that somehow make up for their condition of deprivation, echoing de Certeau's

insights on daily practices (Salcedo, 2002). By such process of appropriating space migrants resist and contest the dominating norm of how public space should be understood and used.

Lastly, this analysis both questions the tradition that views public and private spaces as ruled by different norms and dictating sharply different uses, suggesting a more fluid relationship and a continuous redefinition of the meaning and use of the public and the private. Experience suggests that this appropriating cannot be resolved by mere prohibition and enforcement and that in fact such treatment of public spaces may suppress the ability of the public to appropriate them in their daily lives, in which case, everybody would probably lose. Although Chileans may use public spaces differently, as mentioned here, they actually do engage in their own practices of appropriation of the public. Considering for instances that such appropriation is associated with practices that allow migrants to create community and supplement their meager incomes, their prohibition would add to their vulnerability and hardships. This aggravation would perhaps make sense if society compensates by offering them other opportunities and substitute spaces. Rather, public spaces can be actually used to create opportunities and encourage encounters and diversity.

#### 8.4 **Coexistence, recognition, and micro-politics**

Although the neighborhoods analyzed in this work have been ports of entry for decades, for the most part, they were ports of entry for internal immigrants; thus, the presence of foreign immigrants has set a new challenge with major implications for the production of space.

Although old timers express the shift in terms of community lost (Bauman, 2001), in reality this rationalization constitutes a rejection of immigrants from other countries. In this environment, rather than becoming part of the existing communities, immigrants live largely by themselves.

#### 8.4.1 Cultural coexistence and international migration

Using the phenomenological perspective, this analysis asks if the (migrant) ‘other’ can be seen as the extension of the (Chilean) ‘self.’ Echoing Emmanuel Lévinas’ discussion of inter-subjectivity and “the ethical encounter with another human being” (Lévinas, 1989, p.1, 4), this research examines the processes of **otherness** as including both objective and subjective factors, while also being influenced by contextual frameworks. These processes are subjective to the extent that people place the ‘other’ in a subaltern position, expecting that the other stays in her/his place and that s/he gives up her/his own identity. This perspective appears to run against any sense of diversity and justice as it begins with the assumption that the other is inferior and has to submit to the rule of the I. Objectively, the fact that the other is an immigrant who comes to live in the midst of Chileans brings up similar expectations on the part of the ‘unwilling’ hosts. The Chilean framework described here seems to reinforce the perceptions and expectations of Chileans. Altogether, these three factors conform to a structure of rejection and negative encounters. At the same time, as indicated in the previous section, other subjective, objective and contextual factors create openings that can be intentionally used to produce a situation in which Chileans and immigrants can co-exist and thrive. Hegel’s idea of “being with oneself in another” (Honneth, 1995, p. 96) is important here to understand the role of the other in overcoming the immediate by recognizing itself in the other; as we struggle with the object or the other in front of us we have the opportunity to acquire a rational understanding of the other and move into the higher stage of otherness overcome. This transcendence is the basis of encounter (Lévinas, 1989). If Chile is to prevent the permanent divisions that immigration has produced in other societies, it must address these imbalances while it can still influence the outcome. The future does not involve the subject alone but requires an inter-subjective relationship (Lévinas, 1989).

Underlying the dynamics under discussion are factors of racism and discrimination that Chilean interviewees struggled to hide and immigrants saw more clearly. The theoretical section presented them as issues of intersectionality (McCall, 2005). The evidence collected for this research illuminates this perspective by showing the ways in which these issues come up but most particularly the lack of awareness Chileans showed and the importance of acknowledging them in order to address exclusion and discrimination. Clearly, Chileans view immigrants through the lenses of homogeneity and norm, failing to understand diversity and the need to address it head on; while some spoke to the issue of multiculturalism, for the most part they treated it a matter of cultural artefacts such as food, music or traditional celebrations. Similarly, they tend to examine the experience from a unidimensional understanding of race while ignoring the intersections of race with class and culture and the resulting entanglements that resist generic solutions of race, culture or class alone. Race is also resented because it includes culture; and culture is resented in association with race. Then class enters the picture in the form of behaviors and conditions that differentiate immigrants from residents. Thus, they cannot be separated (McCall, 2005; McDowell et al., 2005). As indicated also in the literature review, recognition of the other as having the right to a different identity than the self, recognition of the right of the other to live his or her different culture in the midst of other cultures, and equal encounter with the other are the roots to the establishment of an environment in which diversity is a source of enrichment rather than resentment—and this goes for both Chileans and immigrants.

Meanwhile, as this analysis suggests, defending against racism can be used as an excuse to claim rights that are not otherwise granted; this was particularly what Chileans accused immigrants of. But it can be also a force against racism, as expressed in the concern of Chileans unwilling to be called racist. These are important tools in local micro-politics that will continue

to be used as long as people's encounters are dominated by forces of separation. At the end of the day, they reinforce mechanisms of separation such as nationality and the belief that assimilation to the dominant norms is the ideal form of co-existence. At the same time, there are structural conditions pressuring immigrants and a legal framework that does not recognize their existence as contributing immigrants but focuses only on preventing the entry of enemies of the country. In this way, racism can neither be addressed alone nor by treating everybody as equal. Rather, it needs to be addressed as a package including subjective, objective, and contextual dimensions in their intersections and mutual reinforcements.

Multiculturalism is presented in Chile as the solution to these types of conflicts. However, this construct tends to avoid and hide the issues of class, race, culture and others that, when combined, require much more than tokenistic acceptance of the other (Berg & Sigona, 2013; Werbner, 2005). It in fact tends to accept only what is palatable of the 'other among us' and reject the other's self. Unless he/she is in the same plane as the 'I,' his or her relation to Chileans is one of subjection and assimilation. To the extent that public spaces bring out the conflictive aspects of encounters between the 'I' and the 'other,' they are important entry points for conversations and practices of approximation. Despite tensions and conflicts, incipient relations have taken place between immigrants and Chileans, for instance when the latter purchase food from the former or when they discuss issues affecting both within an environment of mutual respect. True multiculturalism, as the literature suggests, calls for recognition of the other as a self and interventions to address differences related to inequality.

Finally, this research exposes the importance of subjective experiences in shaping individual and collective spaces. To the extent that Chileans are at home, they do not have such challenges and thus cannot help but bluntly construct the other as being in violation of the norm



or infringing upon the space of others. Feeling that their ancestral neighborhood is being invaded, Chilean residents resent their presence or, if they welcome migrants in general, they tend to attribute that which goes wrong in the neighborhood to them. At the same time, this attitude generates impasses that possibly cannot be broken except through interaction and that, if not broken promptly, may harden into permanent barriers of exclusion.

#### **8.4.2 Justice and space: Micro politics and recognition.**

The principles of freedom and difference developed by Rawls (1999) define justice in terms of equity. While emphasizing the need to recognize the basic liberties of all members of society, he states that social inequality may be permitted if through it the entire society lives in a better condition. The findings of this study point to an underlying situation of inequality that permeates all relations. This inequality is in part produced by the role assigned to immigrants by the Chilean government, by landlords, and by their conditions of deprivation. Thus the concept of justice based on redistribution (Rawls, 1999) and plain equal rights may not improve the situation as, for instance, immigrants may require more than access to subsidies and services to stand on their own feet and achieve the basic conditions of Chilean residents. Many immigrants improve their social economic conditions by moving to Chile; however, they have no protection against humiliation or disrespect (Honneth, 2004).

Meanwhile, if the government—in its intent to level the playing field—engages in practices that Chileans consider exclusive of them, it would add to the resentment coming from their ‘othering’ of immigrants. In this context, justice may be preempted by structural factors. This dilemma speaks to the inadequacy of unidimensional views of justice. At the end, justice is not merely an economic factor or the granting of equal rights on paper but includes recognition, respect, difference, and inclusion (Fraser & Honneth, 2003; Honneth, 2004; Young, 2011). As

indicated earlier, injustice may not be resolved but may be approached by practices of encounter in which solutions are worked out at the point of their production, rather than at the level of effects.

This research reveals different conceptions and expectations with a bearing on justice. For instance, Chilean residents see immigrant compliance with Chilean norms and culture as a *sine-qua non*; justice for them appears to require immigrants to assimilate into Chilean ways and practices (we can also question the extent to which there are generic Chilean norms and practices) within a hierarchical order in which immigrants are subaltern. In turn, while showing some restraint, government officers seemed to expect the same from immigrants, insisting that justice could be achieved simply by granting them equal rights. Neither of these perceptions addresses the objective and legislated factors disadvantaging immigrants. But instances of respect, positive encounters, and discussions including the last two factors, hint at the possibility and need for interventions starting with the removal of those sources of inequality that can be addressed immediately (e.g., immigration reform and assistance with immigrant settlement). In this sense, justice becomes a very practical matter that can be addressed by intentional efforts to remove disadvantaging conditions. A major consideration on the part of government is the possibility of programs and stimulus to bring immigrants up to their potential and that would improve their ability to move to better housing, better paid and protected jobs on their own.

In contrast with Chileans, immigrant experiences are shaped by the implications of being in a foreign country and, thus, willing to accept extreme conditions of deprivation and even exclusion from the rights of Chileans (e.g., as undocumented); they are also shaped by subjective factors associated with the trauma of leaving their homes and the experience of being excluded or discriminated against; by an unwelcoming immigrant legislation; and by socioeconomic

factors placing them at the bottom of the socio-economic hierarchy. In this context, many of them live in fear and anxiety, hanging by a thread. Although they do not speak explicitly of justice but of vulnerability and isolation, they explain their condition in terms of discrimination and exclusion.

In this context, rather than justice per se, they seek improvements that eased their hardships but did not expect the Chilean government or residents to resolve their problems. Ultimately, their appropriation of public space—an act of micro politics of place—could be viewed as a self-made act of recognition. The micro power (Foucault, 1979, 2007) in everyday life is seen in this research as a positive mechanism, considering society as an ‘archipelago of powers’ where the aim of power is not prohibition, but production. Thus, the mechanisms of power are understood here as techniques “that have been invented, perfected, and which are endlessly developed” (Foucault, 2007, p. 158). Rather than using a negative perspective, power is examined here as an interactive and productive manner of social relations; accordingly, rather than fixed spaces of obligation and prohibition, they are presented here as ever-evolving, relative and relational.

As discussed throughout this dissertation, the use of public space generates micro-politics ranging from practices of appropriation to residents calling on the authorities to intervene or decisions on the part of the authorities to take sides. Although immigrants might struggle to get ‘equal rights,’ factors such as the fear Chileans have of being associated with discrimination and their inability to ‘escape’ by leaving the neighborhood have produced scenarios with room for negotiation and improvement. At the end of the day, immigrants are anchored in place as long as the owners of subdivided houses continue to exploit their conditions and no alternatives become available. I learned that the financial returns from rental subdivisions were high, that authorities

would not intervene and that demand for such subdivisions kept them from selling their deteriorated properties. As for Chilean residents, many own their homes and love their neighborhood and do not plan to leave. Given these circumstances, the best option appears to come from initiatives to smoothen relations, hopefully turning micro-politics around and perhaps refocusing on shared problems.

These sources of unevenness are not resolved by liberal calls for universal justice through the granting of generic rights, but by actions that help migrants address their unique challenges and progressively gain access to the opportunities Chileans have. While the state uses its powers to establish frameworks and to implement legislation, elites use their position to advance their profit interests and separate themselves from such situations. Local authorities were preoccupied principally with order, mediating conflicts to the best possible or turning to local associations to deal with unlegislated or blurry situations. Although this research did not focus on the issue of powers per se, power appears everywhere and assumes many different forms (as Foucault suggests).

Immigrants, this research suggested, fall in the interstices between the legislated and the unlegislated aspects of immigration. While negatively affected by an outdated legislation focused mainly on keeping out the unwanted, the absence of legislation addressing the particular conditions of immigrants abandons them to navigate the complexities of moving to another society and confronting the rejection of locals. Landlords offer them something that they could afford but at the same time isolated them in environments of deprivation that force them to expand their space in ways that put them in conflict with Chileans. Immigrants exercise their powers in their search for jobs, their daily practices to extract subsistence from very challenging environments and the appropriation of public space. They engage in micro-politics every step of

the way to hang on to the spaces they crafted and to confront the hostility of Chilean residents. Chileans use their powers to maintain their positions and control while also engaging in micro politics to call on public institutions to take their side. Lastly, all of them encounter each other in the practices of everyday life guided by their perceptions or prejudices in addressing the tensions and conflicts of their interaction: at times avoiding contact, at times calling for third parties—local authorities—to impose their will and desires, at times invoking ‘norms’, at others accepting and using encounters to move on.

Ultimately, despite some approximations and adaptations, as groups, both Chileans and immigrants stood their ground but nobody was happy. Although we cannot reduce this complexity to a single factor, underlying all of this was a lack of preparation on the part of institutions to fully recognize the current migration as a phenomenon, and the limitations of all groups to embrace difference beyond the discourses. In general, the dominant perception (even among migrants themselves) is that immigrants should comply, and assimilate. As a consequence, they were pushed to stay in their place within a hierarchy in which class, culture, ethnicity/race, and nationality intersected but were not addressed in their complexity. Although some interviewees hinted at these intersections, nobody made them the major challenge of this story.

As immigrants grow roots, so does their attachment to and accommodation in Chile, creating yet another opening that might be used along with recognition of their identity to improve relations. But as long as their condition is so different from those of Chileans, there will be aspects that probably cannot be accommodated until immigrants achieve living conditions similar to those of Chileans. Alternative, Chile may be moving in an irreversible path of complete separation and segregation.

### 8.5 **Synthesized response to the research questions**

Although this research could not generalize what was learned from the cases and although it did not produce definite responses to the questions guiding it, it produced insights and hypotheses worth examining in other research on the incorporation of immigrants to Chilean society.

Q1: How do Latin American immigrants to Santiago, Chile, create place in their spatial practices of housing and use of public space?

Immigrants in the study neighborhoods create places through lived experiences that combine cultures and habits from the country of origin with the experiences, constraints and possibilities of the host society. To start, the Chilean institutional framework and dominant structures force migrants to dwell in precariousness by limiting their dwelling and employment options, the former to clusters that separate them from Chileans and the second to jobs that Chileans tend to reject. Excluded from opportunities of mobility and longing for the home they have left, immigrants lean on each other to produce environments that allow them to share emotions, to belong, create community and survive materially, culturally and emotionally. To compensate for bare bones dwellings that prevent them from socializing and practicing community, they expand into the public realm blurring the boundaries between them.

Neighborhoods appear as the places that allow immigrants to build a certain level of identity and recognition and to construct spaces that offer some protection against the threats of the outside—the other Chile outside the neighborhood. From a critical perspective, this might mean that migrants do not perceive the neighborhood as their home per se but as a place where they can congregate and cluster away from a discriminating outside. Thus, place is built as an act of opposition or resistance against othering rather than as the place of topophilia and attachment

that phenomenological geography expects a neighborhood to be. This, however, does not mean that space operates as a permanent shelter and home; rather, as this particular case suggests, their presence brings change to the neighborhoods they enter.

Altogether, these cases suggest that the experience of being foreigners tends to normalize the lives of endurance, deprivation, vulnerability and disadvantage of immigrants. It in fact tends to strengthen the belief in frontiers and hierarchies that make Chileans believe and claim that they deserve or are entitled to more than migrants by reason of birth. Lastly, there is the assumption that immigrants have to adapt to the norms of this place and that natives do not have to make any adjustments.

Q2: What is the nature of the interactions of immigrants and native residents especially in terms of culture and class and what kinds of (micro) politics emerge from these interactions?

Within the framework described in the previous response, interactions between immigrants and Chileans are characterized by persisting tension. As immigrants are forced to adapt to such conditions and to the extent that these adaptations include changes in local relations and spaces, tensions emerge between the practices of immigrants and the world of Chileans. But this is not the only source of these tensions: the mere fact of being in a foreign land creates cultural, behavioral and other tensions that locals resent. These factors produce micro-politics of rejection and resistance with the associated perceptions distancing the two groups. In the midst of this, however, windows of opportunity allow Chileans to be open to diversity and express interest in mending relations, and that entice immigrants to forge relations with residents to help break the ice. In other words, informed by a-priori expectations and perceptions that are reinforced by structural factors, residents resent the behaviors of immigrants; meanwhile, their

physical proximity also creates opportunities to get closer to each other, which can be the basis for positive relations.

At a more detailed level, I highlight here five aspects:

- a) As the rental housing market isolates immigrants in mostly overcrowded and deficient accommodations that do not provide for many of their daily needs and habits, they adapt through practices that attract the hostility of Chileans as they conflict with dwelling norms that require different accommodations. Living in rooming houses that lack privacy and often consist of a cubiculum or a bed, they have to cook outside their dwellings and take much of their social life outside, into public spaces; similarly, the challenges of low-pay occupations and unemployment drive them to engage in informal economic activities in public spaces (e.g. street sales). Rather than facilitating their incorporation into expected local practices, these accommodations become factors of separation and conflict. Although to an extent 'normal' from the perspective of immigrants, they are perceived as disturbances by Chileans whose jobs and housing conditions are different, they have their own traditional habits, and thus do not require such practices.
- b) The tensions and clashes are not mere externalities but are associated with deeper sources of tension or contradictions discussed earlier and that have to do with cultural, racial, class and other factors of differentiation between Chileans and immigrants. Thus, although Chilean neighbors pay lip service to diversity and try to avoid blatant acts of discrimination, they perceive the presence of immigrants—at least in large number—as an annoyance and a threat to their perceived homogeneity. Although consuming their food and availing themselves of the services of



immigrants, Chileans resent the presence of immigrants. An interesting claim of Chilean interviewees is that authorities exempt immigrants from practices they punish Chileans for (exceptionalism). For instance, they claim that while they are not allowed to do what immigrants do, authorities tolerate their abuse of public space and accused Chileans of racism when they ask for their removal.

- c) Although the practices of immigrants are principally the result of structural factors limiting their opportunities and preventing them from enjoying the type of life available to Chileans, the latter fail to see the source of immigrant perceptions and practices and, rather build mental frameworks that inhibit recognition of the other. Thus, operating at the level of immediate perception, native Chileans blame immigrants and do not give any weight to their structural conditions; in turn, immigrants feel excluded and attacked by Chileans. Ultimately, what counts in the daily lives of people are such perceptions of themselves and the others. Moreover, as much as Chileans refrain from engaging in open conflict with their neighbors, their rejection isolates and blames immigrants for their conditions preventing the types of conversations and encounters that could make them at least understanding and at most engage in a deeper search for mutually beneficial solutions.
- d) Given that Chilean institutions are not sufficiently prepared to help immigrants incorporate into the local economy and society, they limit themselves to the management of challenges and problems as they appear engaging in patchwork responses and pushing to the back long-term solutions. These can be characterized also as micro-powers: while migrants exercise power through their spatial practices and organization into migrant communities, Chileans resort to the state to demand

compliance with norms and state institutions in a fragmentary, ad hoc way. In this context, the struggle for recognition has many faces as Chileans claim the privileges of birth, and immigrants organize to resist discriminatory practices while trying to earn the respect of Chileans through hard work. In this context, recognition is linked to merit, birth or respect for hierarchy and not granted by human condition.

Ultimately, by nature of their birth, Chileans expect and demand recognition; differently, in their minds and often in the minds of immigrants the latter have to earn recognition by assimilating or showing their worth in submission.

#### 8.6 **Limitations: Shortcomings of methodological approach and research design**

The phenomenological exploration conducted here provides an understanding of experiences on the ground but does not allow for generalizations. It permits me to gain a deep understanding of subjectivities and to highlight the singularity of a phenomenon.

This study focused on the lived experiences of immigrants to Santiago, but these experiences cannot be understood fully unless they are connected to the factors and experiences that preceded the decision to migrate. When talking about their prior experience and sense of place, immigrants use the lenses of their current realities and, thus, may romanticize them. Similarly, as they try to reconstruct their previous life in new environments, they are influenced by their new conditions and their perceptions in the host society and neighborhoods; as such, their ‘reconstruction’ of home includes accommodations and variations related to the new challenges while enticing sentiments of solidarity or resistance that are a function of the newly found hostility. Thus, their home away from home has elements of their previous home but adds elements and sentiments associated with their new experience. In short, the ways in which they link the past to the present are closely related to their new experience.

As far as the research design, even though the empirical work included the perspectives of migrants, Chilean residents and governmental officials, due to the focus of this study—the immigrant experience—the interviews with residents and government officials sought to complement the understanding of that experience and to contrast the migrants' narratives with those of residents and government officials. New research could expand this analysis by exploring in depth the experience of Chileans and government officials but most particularly by including the perspectives of residents of other neighborhoods, employers and colleagues. Furthermore, a study of the daily interactions between the different parties would be helpful for a more complete understanding of the experience of cultural encounter, recognition and the exercise of power. In addition, focus groups, ethnographic research in governmental offices, community organizations or other relevant spaces, could focus on the encounter itself, thus complementing subjective narratives about the experience of encounter.

Meanwhile, studying intercultural encounter in spaces of precariousness and social conditions has been a challenge. Access to the places and participants was difficult, particularly in the cases of those immigrants who live in extreme precariousness who feared that exposure of their actual conditions might lead to the closing of such places and their removal. Indeed, the overcrowding and dangerous conditions in which they live caused them to fear inspection. Thus, requests for interview were often denied and information was not easily available. Moreover, contacting the immigrant population through local government was difficult: public officials were concerned about the privacy of people and preferred that I found and contacted them through other channels.

This difficulty was augmented by the lack of specific data on the conditions of immigrants, including how many of them lived in the case neighborhoods. This may be

attributed to the fact that the immigration phenomenon is relatively new in Chile and that immigrants are a low or no priority in official circles. Under the circumstances, conducting a qualitative research has been essential to be able to uncover situations well known by authorities, but which has been not yet systematized. The lack of priority makes study of the structural component of immigration rather limited; careful data collection to learn the specifics of the immigrant problem and to address it properly is essential.

Future research can amplify this study by interviewing larger groups of migrants and Chileans, other stakeholders and a wider range of neighborhoods. Furthermore, the discussion about home and place could be tremendously enhanced by a better understanding of the main places of origin of immigrants and the factors that led them to migrate to Chile.

Similarly, the findings of this research point to the need to examine in detail the injustices affecting immigrants and making their incorporation so difficult. Recently, the media discussed the inhumane conditions of immigrants to Antofagasta as they have to build their own shacks to live and are limited to poorly compensated service jobs as work in the mines is reserved for Chileans (AFP, 2017). Ethnographic studies of the work experiences of immigrants and their encounters with public institutions would be particularly helpful, especially for exposing the micro-politics involved and for understanding the ways in which public service decisions, the extent to which, absent sound migration legislation, they operate as ad-hoc public policy.

### 8.7 **Urban planning and policy implications**

The phenomenon described here is a major challenge for planners, politicians and policy makers—particularly if immigration continues growing at the current rate and if it continues to be perceived as a source of destabilization. Praxis and norms regarding the use of public space need to be revised, and alternatives offered that recognize the discrimination against immigrants.

In general, this analysis suggests that one-size-fits-all norms may actually feed inequality and deprive immigrants of their ability to survive in a hostile environment. As Jefferson said, “There is nothing more unequal than the equal treatment of unequal people<sup>7</sup>.” Certainly, should they embrace respect for identity and difference, by including all stakeholders in the conversation and the search for positive encounters and neighborliness.

Findings of this research might inform public policy and represent a relevant input to local policy in specific places, namely those urban spaces in Chile, facing these kinds of challenges. In the *comunas* where migrants concentrate, municipalities could foster the participation of migrants in local and communitarian endeavors, particularly in the use of public space, while recognizing and addressing the particular needs and constraints of migrants in a manner that avoids exceptionalism. Immigrants and Chileans have common concerns that start the conversation over the use of public space and help understand and accommodate differences while reaching agreements on uses of the public realm.

But planners and policy makers need to go beyond the particular by compiling the insights of different studies and involving all stakeholders in the drafting of flexible instruments that accommodate all parties. The situation of migrants has introduced to Chile a new type of poverty that involves factors of race and foreigners in the distribution of opportunities and the determination of deservedness. Urban planners and policy makers need to add this factor to their considerations and address this poverty comprehensively, that is, paying attention to the factors that prevent immigrants from accessing opportunities available to Chileans and that create a new subordinate group on the basis of citizenship status and place of origin.

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<sup>7</sup> Thomas Jefferson Encyclopedia available at <https://www.monticello.org/site/research-and-collections/nothing-more-unequalquotation>

First, this means knowing exactly the features and the dimensions of such poverty. Second there is a need to raise the bar on diversity acceptance past tokenistic celebrations of multiculturalism and to address the structural constraints affecting immigrants, starting with housing conditions and moving into occupational and other forms of segregation; in this way, Chile can preempt the situation of other societies divided between entitled residents and subaltern immigrants. While the imposed temporariness of immigrants benefits landlords who can extract huge rents from their condition and employers who can get away with low wages and bad working conditions, in the long run, not only is the economy depriving itself of the contributions immigrants can make to the society and the economy but segregation is producing a category of people that bears marks of modern pariahs. Along the way, this treatment and conditions becomes a source of fear and uncertainty for all. For society, at large, one would expect that this temporariness needs to give way to something else. After all, as long as it is maintained, it will drag down everybody.

The main challenges identified in this dissertation seem to come from a 'sink or swim' process of immigration in which immigrants should fend for themselves with minimum resources. Dealing with structural constraints is a first step to smoothing relations and improving perceptions. As important as legislation and policy are, this is a challenge to all stakeholders and requires work on the ground to bring immigrants and their neighbors together in the search for agreements on the sources of tension and the challenges of coexistence.

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## 10 Appendices

### 10.1 **APPENDIX 1: Guideline for In-depth Qualitative Interviews with Immigrant**

#### **Communities Living in the Selected Neighborhoods**

[Duration: 2 hours]

**Research Question # 1:** How do Latin American immigrant communities configure and share place in their spatial practices associated to housing and the use of public space?

1. Regarding your **experience of living in a different country** to which you were born, how has been that experience?
  - Where are you from? How long have you lived in Chile? Why did you decide to come to?
  - How do you perceive your life in Chile? How is Chile different to your home country? Could you give me some examples?
  - Is there any place in Chile which makes you remember your home place?
  - What do you do when you have free time?
2. What **do you do for living**? Where?
  - Do you work by yourself, with friends, or for an employer?
  - How has your economic situation changed since you live in Chile?
3. Regarding this **neighborhood**, why did you choose it to live? How long have you lived here?
  - When/ and where do you feel that you are outside of your neighborhood?
  - Is there any place that you most visit in your neighborhood? What about a place which you like to visit when you have free time? Who do you share these places with?
  - How do you like living in this neighborhood? Do you feel belonging to this place?
  - Would you move out to a different neighborhood? Why?
4. Are there in this **neighborhoods celebration** of (country)? Do you participate in these?
  - What do you celebrate for?
  - How often do you get together?
  - Is there any organization involved in these celebrations or is it just people coming together?
5. **Everyday practices of housing** and its material conditions.
  - How did you come to live in your current house? Do you rent or own your house?
  - How do you perceive your house? Do you like your home? Why? What does your home mean for you?
  - Who do you live with? How many people inhabit in the same house with you live?
  - What kind of activities do you do at home?
  - How is your home different/similar regarding your place in your country?
6. **Everyday practices of public space**. Would you tell me what do you do in a typical week day? What about weekend day?
  - For what kind of activities do you go to public spaces (parks, streets, community organizations), why? What do you do there? How often?
  - Do you participate in collectively activities in public spaces with your neighbors? Why; with whom; where?

**Research Question # 2:** To what an extent, the spatial practices of Latin American immigrants vis-à-vis those of Chilean residents result in multiple interactions of cultures and classes that may range from encounter and recognition to conflict and oppression?

7. Would you tell me about **your relationships with residents** in this neighborhood?
  - Do you know your next door neighbors?
  - Do you have friends in this neighborhoods?
  - Do you interact with them? Where are they from?
  - Do you feel that you and the practices of your culture are accepted in your neighborhood?
8. How are your **relationships with Chilean** residents in this neighborhood?
  - How close are you to your Chilean neighbors? Do you share daily activities with Chilean neighbors? Do you have Chilean friends in your neighborhood?
  - Do you participate in public or private activities organized by Chileans? How?
  - What did you think about Chileans before coming to Chile? How this perception changed since then? What elements/ attitudes /practices of Chileans you like most?
  - Which elements of your culture you think Chileans like most?
9. Do you feel that in this neighborhood people from **different cultures are coming together**?
  - Do people from different countries live here in your neighborhood?
  - If so, do you think the people mostly meet with fellow citizens from their home country? Why?
  - Do you feel different/similar from other people living in this neighborhood?
10. Do you and people from your country **get together in public spaces**?
  - What activities you do when you get together?
  - Where do you all get together?
  - Have you ever experienced hostility from Chileans against you in public spaces? Why?
  - Have you felt uncomfortable using public space in your neighborhoods (by yourselves or your friends)? Is there a particular space? Why? How do you manage that feeling?
11. Have you or people from your country faced any particular **conflict** while living here?
  - Has there been any situation experienced in Chile that made you want to return to your home country?
  - Do you feel you can express your point of view outside when you are not with the people you are close to/ or not in your place?
  - Have you felt limited to express yourself regarding your culture, manners or practices in private or/and public spaces?

**Research Question # 3:** What are the aspirations of Latin American immigrants in terms of recognition and rights, and what are their strategies of resistance?

12. How has your **experience of integration** in Chile been?
  - Have you had access to Chilean social subsidies regarding housing? Why? How?
  - Is it different than other immigrant's experiences that you know?
  - How immigrants may be better integrated to Chilean society?
13. Do you think you have a **role in the decision-making that affect your dwelling**?
  - Do you feel you can move out to a different house whenever you would like?
  - What would determine that you improve or worse your living conditions?
  - How would it be you feel comfortable using public spaces in your neighborhood?

- What is your role for overcoming conflicts and improving relationships in your neighborhood?
14. What would be your **aspiration** for living in a place where you and people you are close to feel respected and their life improved? Could you play a role to make this happens? How do you see your future living in Chile?
  15. Are you familiar with **Chilean policies on international migration**, diversity, and anti-discrimination? If so, what do you think about that? Is there any institution or organization that you are connected to? Do you participate in any local or nonlocal civic and/or political association? How, why?

## 10.2 APPENDIX 2: Guideline for In-depth Qualitative Interviews with Native Chileans

### Living in the Selected Neighborhoods

[Duration: 2 hours]

**Research Question # 2:** To what an extent, the spatial practices of Latin American immigrants vis-à-vis those of Chilean residents result in multiple interactions of cultures and classes that may range from encounter and recognition to conflict and oppression?

1. Regarding your **neighborhood**, would you describe it and your life here?
  - How long have you lived here? Why did you choose this neighborhood to live?
  - What and how do you feel living in this neighborhood? Do you feel belonging?
  - Would you move out to a different neighborhood? Why?
  - Is there any place that you most visit in your neighborhood? What about a place which you like to visit when you have free time? Who do you share these places with?
  - When/ and where do you feel that you are outside of your neighborhood?
  - What are the urban landmarks that play a role in the neighborhoods identity, and what/how/why of them are used by immigrant communities?
2. What do you **do for living**? Where? Do you work by yourself, with friends, or for an employer?
3. **Everyday practices of public space:** Would you tell me what do you do in a typical week day? What about weekend day?
  - What do you do when you have free time? Do you do it by yourself or together with family or friends (how, when, why each of them)
  - For what kind of activities do you go to public spaces (parks, streets, community organizations), why? What do you do there? How often?
  - Do you participate in collectively activities in public spaces with your neighbors? How?
4. **Perception of diversity:** How do you perceive your neighborhood in terms diversity?
  - Do you perceive yourself or/and the group that you most interact daily different from the rest of people living in the neighborhood? (race/ethnicity/gender/class)
  - How different are the immigrants' culture/interaction in public spaces from the Chilean?
  - Would you say that you have known more about the culture of immigrants since you live here in this neighborhood?
  - Do you participate in public or private events organized by immigrant communities?
  - What elements/attitudes/practices of immigrant communities you like? What would like to know about their communities?
5. Would you tell me about your **relationships** with your neighbors? In particularly, how is your relation with **immigrant** neighbors?
  - Do you know your next door neighbors?
  - Do you interact with them? Where are they from?
  - How close are you to your immigrant neighbors? Do you have immigrant friends in your neighborhood? Do you share daily activities?

Research Question # 3: What are the aspirations of Latin American immigrants in terms of recognition and rights, and what are their strategies of resistance?

6. Have you or this community faced any particular **conflict** between immigrant neighbors? What kind of conflict? How did this end?
  - Have you ever experienced hostility from immigrants against you in public spaces? Why?
  - Have you felt uncomfortable using public space in your neighborhoods (by yourselves or your friends)? Is there a particular space? Why? How do you manage that feeling?
  - What is your role for overcoming conflicts and improving relationships in your neighborhood?
7. Do you think you have a **role in the decision-making** that affect dwelling? What would determine you improve or worse your living conditions?
8. Are you familiar with **Chilean policies on international migration**, diversity, and anti-discrimination? If so, what do you think about that?
  - Do you think that immigrant communities are well integrated to Chilean society?
  - How do you think that immigrant may be better integrated to Chilean society?
  - What do you think is the role of all Chileans citizen to avoid conflict and improve integration of migrants?
  - Do you participate in any local or nonlocal civic and/or political association? How, why?

### 10.3 **APPENDIX 3: Guideline for In-depth Qualitative Interviews with National and Local Government Officials**

[Duration: 1 hour]

**Research Question # 4:** How do urban policies defined by hegemonic structures (groups and institutions) address the challenges immigrants face and under what logic of justice they operate? Do they embrace multiculturalism or do they expect assimilation and compliance that is “normalization”?

1. What are the main goals of the office/program, and why was it created?
2. Could you please explain what are your specific tasks regarding migration?
3. From your point of view, what are the most critical problems regarding immigration policies? How does it work? How is this office/program working about the issues of housing and the conditions of some immigrant communities live? Why do they live in that situation?
4. Does the local and/or national government have an interest to create programs for immigrant integration? Why? How?
5. Is it important to have policies specifically designed for immigration and why should they be different?
6. What positive aspects do bring Latin American immigrant people to the neighborhoods they live in?
7. If you consider that there are conflicts, what are the main conflicts observed in neighborhoods Latin American immigrant and Chilean residents live together?
8. What do you think Chilean society thinks about diversity/ and how is it facing current patterns of Latin American immigration
9. What is your vision about the aspirations of migrants and Chileans for living in a place where they feel respected?
10. How do you think that immigrant people may be better integrated to Chilean society? What do this program does for that goal?



#### 10.4 **APPENDIX 4: Participant Observation Guideline.**

1. Role of the researcher: a non-participant observe.
2. How to see: it is influenced by *contextualizing* from direct experience and previous information obtained in qualitative interviews, and *complementary* evidence to frame in-depth interview questions
3. **Settings:** Safe, non-invasive, and respectful of the live of informants:

##### **3.1 Interaction in public spaces (parks, markets, streets) surrounding immigrants' housing**

This observation will inquire the behaviors and manners of interaction that inhabitants of neighborhood develop in public spaces. This is necessary to address research question #2 discussing how communities interact in culturally diverse neighborhoods. The researcher will not directly interact with people performing activities in the selected public spaces.

Observing elements:

- Formation of groups and patters of coming together
- Identification of internal group homogeneity or heterogeneity
- Temporality and patters using public space.
- General manners of interaction
- Emergence of conflicts and their possible causes
- Material condition of housing and practices at home (extension to public spaces)
- Acknowledging of emerging themes and interactions from observation to use in interviews

*Duration: 2—3 hours*

##### **3.2 Interaction in public celebration, meetings and events belong to everyday spatial practices**

These observations correspond to cultural and social interaction in public and semipublic spaces where migrant communities share their cultural practices such as community organization meetings, celebration of holidays or religious festivities. These observations are important to comprehend the spatial practices that connect the original and new place.

Observing elements:

- Main cultural or social practices developed
- Traditions and activities shared
- Relevant events
- Participants in the events
- Behaviors
- Acknowledging of emerging themes and interactions from observation to use in interviews

*Duration: depending on the type of activity observed*

## 10.5 **APPENDIX 5: IRB Protocol Approval**

### UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS AT CHICAGO

Office for the Protection of Research Subjects (OPRS)  
Office of the Vice Chancellor for Research (MC 672)  
203 Administrative Office Building  
1737 West Polk Street  
Chicago, Illinois 60612-7227

### **Exemption Granted**

September 15, 2014

Johann Garcia Valdes  
Urban Planning and Policy  
412 S Peoria St. Rm.230  
M/C 348  
Chicago, IL 60612  
Phone: (503) 548-8020

**RE:** **Research Protocol # 2014-0777**  
**“Places of cultural encounter in central areas of Santiago, Chile. Challenges and opportunities for spatial justice and social recognition”**

**Sponsors: None**

Dear Johann Garcia Valdes:

Your Claim of Exemption was reviewed on September 15, 2014 and it was determined that your research meets the criteria for exemption. You may now begin your research.

<b><u>Exemption Period:</u></b>	<b>September 15, 2014—September 15, 2017</b>
<b>Performance Site:</b>	UIC
<b>Subject Population:</b>	Adult (18+ years) subjects only
<b>Number of Subjects:</b>	60

**The specific exemption category under 45 CFR 46.101(b) is:**

(2) Research involving the use of educational tests (cognitive, diagnostic, aptitude, achievement), survey procedures, interview procedures or observation of public behavior, unless: (i) information obtained is recorded in such a manner that human subjects can be identified, directly or through identifiers linked to the subjects; and (ii) any disclosure of the human subjects' responses outside the research could reasonably place the subjects at risk of criminal or civil liability or be damaging to the subjects' financial standing, employability, or reputation.

You are reminded that investigators whose research involving human subjects is determined to be exempt from the federal regulations for the protection of human subjects still have responsibilities for the ethical conduct of the research under state law and UIC policy. Please be aware of the following UIC policies and responsibilities for investigators:

1. Amendments You are responsible for reporting any amendments to your research protocol that may affect the determination of the exemption and may result in your research no longer being eligible for the exemption that has been granted.
2. Record Keeping You are responsible for maintaining a copy all research related records in a secure location in the event future verification is necessary, at a minimum these documents include: the research protocol, the claim of exemption application, all questionnaires, survey instruments, interview questions and/or data collection instruments associated with this research protocol, recruiting or advertising materials, any consent forms or information sheets given to subjects, or any other pertinent documents.
3. Final Report When you have completed work on your research protocol, you should submit a final report to the Office for Protection of Research Subjects (OPRS).
4. Information for Human Subjects UIC Policy requires investigators to provide information about the research protocol to subjects and to obtain their permission prior to their participating in the research. The information about the research protocol should be presented to subjects in writing or orally from a written script. When appropriate, the following information must be provided to all research subjects participating in exempt studies:
  - a. The researchers affiliation; UIC, JBVMAC or other institutions,
  - b. The purpose of the research,
  - c. The extent of the subject's involvement and an explanation of the procedures to be followed,
  - d. Whether the information being collected will be used for any purposes other than the proposed research,
  - e. A description of the procedures to protect the privacy of subjects and the confidentiality of the research information and data,
  - f. Description of any reasonable foreseeable risks,
  - g. Description of anticipated benefit,
  - h. A statement that participation is voluntary and subjects can refuse to participate or can stop at any time,
  - i. A statement that the researcher is available to answer any questions that the subject may have and which includes the name and phone number of the investigator(s).
  - j. A statement that the UIC IRB/OPRS or JBVMAC Patient Advocate Office is available if there are questions about subject's rights, which includes the appropriate phone numbers.

Please be sure to:

→ Use your research protocol number (2014-0777) on any documents or correspondence with the IRB concerning your research protocol.

We wish you the best as you conduct your research. If you have any questions or need further help, please contact the OPRS office at (312) 996-1711 or me at (312) 355-2908. Please send any correspondence about this protocol to OPRS at 203 AOB, M/C 672.

Sincerely,

Charles W. Hoehne, B.S., C.I.P.  
Assistant Director  
Office for the Protection of Research Subjects

cc: Charles J. Hoch, Urban Planning and Policy, M/C 348  
John-Jairo Betancur, Urban Planning and Policy, M/C 348

## VITA

### JOHANN D. GARCÍA VALDES

PhD in Urban Planning and Policy at University of Illinois Chicago

#### EDUCATION

- 2017      PhD Urban Planning and Policy  
University of Illinois at Chicago.
- M.A. Degree in Human Settlements and Environmental Studies  
Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile. Institute of Urban and Territorial Studies.  
Santiago, Chile.
- 2003      Professional Title of Geographer  
Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile. Institute of Geography. Santiago, Chile.
- 2001      Bachelor's Degree in Geography  
Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile. Institute of Geography. Santiago, Chile.
- 2001      Minor in Social Sciences (*Certificado académico*).  
Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile. Institute of Sociology. Santiago, Chile.

#### TEACHING EXPERIENCE

- 2016      University of Illinois at Chicago. College of Urban Planning and Policy.  
February   Guest Lecture: Globalization and Urban Affairs Course (Professor Brenda Parker)
- 2015      University of Illinois at Chicago. College of Urban Planning and Policy.  
April      Guest Lecture: Globalization and Urban Affairs Course (Professor Brenda Parker)
- 2008-2010   Universidad Academia de Humanismo Cristiano. Santiago, Chile. Department of  
Geography.  
Lecturer for "Workshop Number 1: Research and Action—Places."
- 2004      Universidad Academia de Humanismo Cristiano. Santiago, Chile. College of  
Education, History and Social Science.  
Teaching Assistant for "Geographic Theory" (Professor Marcelo Garrido)
- 2001      Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile. Institute of Geography.  
Teaching Assistant for "Population Geography" (Professor Mónica Gangas).

## RESEARCH EXPERIENCE

- 2015-2016 University of Illinois at Chicago. Inter-University Program for Latino Research.  
October- Graduate Research Assistant. State of research project Latinos in the global  
Present. economy and Higher Education Areas
- 2008 Universidad Academia de Humanismo Cristiano. Santiago, Chile. Territorial  
Research and Action Program.  
Research team. Project: “Strategic Implementation of Environmental Education in  
the Santiago Foothills.” Prototype Project Commissioned by the Association of  
Municipalities.
- 2006-2007 Ludwig Maximilian University. Munich, Germany (Institute of Economic  
November Geography) and Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile (Institute of Urban and  
- Territory Studies).  
February Research Assistant. Project: “Informal and Business Networks in the Real Estate  
Market of Santiago, Chile.”

## AWARDS AND RECOGNITION

- 2008 Fulbright & Comisión Nacional de Investigación Científica y Tecnológica  
(CONICYT).  
Awarded Fulbright—CONICYT Scholarship for Ph.D. Studies in the U.S.A. (BIO,  
Scholarship Promoting Equal Opportunities).
- 2007 U.S. Department of State.  
September Leadership Program: “Democracy and Participation.” Program: “Civic Participation  
and Grassroots Democracy.”

## MEMBERSHIPS

- 2013- Association of American Geographers  
Present
- 2010-2013 Chilean Society of Geographical Science

## PUBLICATIONS

- 2012 Garcia, Johann (2012): Lugar y Resiliencia Comunitaria: Estudio desde la  
Problemática Ambiental en Comunidades Rurales de Pudahuel (Place and  
Community Resilience: A Study of the Environmental Issues in Rural Communities  
of Pudahuel). *Revista Geografía. Espacios* 1(2): 177-206

- 2008      García, Johann (2008): El Lugar en la Superación de la Adversidad: Espacio de Vida y Resiliencia Comunitaria (The Concept of Place in Overcoming Adversity: Life Spaces and Community Resilience). In: M. Garrido (Ed.). *La Espesura del Lugar: Reflexiones sobre el Espacio en el Mundo Educativo*. (Thickness of Places: Reflections on Space in Education). Ediciones Universidad Academia de Humanismo Cristiano. Santiago, Chile.

## PRESENTATIONS AND CONFERENCES

- 2015      Association of American Geographers. 2015 Annual Meeting, Chicago, Illinois.  
April      Presentation: *Justice and recognition in urban neighborhoods: Places of cultural encounter and immigration in Santiago, Chile*
- 2014      XXXII International Congress of the Latin American Studies Association LASA  
April      2014 Democracy and Memory. Panel: Public Space: conflict and democracy.  
Presentation: *Place consciousness and diversity facing urban justice: a brief reflection on production of multicultural spaces*
- 2013      Chilean Society of Geographical Science. XXXIV National Congress and XIX  
October      International Congress of Geography. Chillan, Chile. Presentation: *Place, recognition, redistribution and social justice in multicultural spaces*.
- 2013      Association of American Geographers. 2013 Annual Meeting, Los Angeles,  
April      California. Presentation: *The concept of place beyond individual experience and resistance of excluded communities*.
- 2010      Chilean Society of Geographical Science. XXXI National Congress and XVI  
October      International Congress of Geography. Valdivia, Chile. Presentation: *The reflective practitioner and training of geographers* (with Marcelo Garrido and Amparo Gallegos).
- 2009      Chilean Society of Geographical Science. XXX National Congress and XV  
October      International Congress of Geography. Talca, Chile. Presentation: *Professional geographic knowledge and the relevance of reflection in action* (with Marcelo Garrido and Amparo Gallegos).
- 2008      Municipality of Pudahuel and Economic Commission for Economic Development  
June      of Latin America and the Caribbean (UN-ECLAC). International Seminar: "Airport Community: Current Trends in the Development of Airports - Cities and Local Governments."  
Presentation: *Rural communities facing megaprojects: resilience as a pillar of sustainability*.

- 2008  
May Universidad Academia de Humanismo Cristiano. Santiago, Chile.  
Seminar: "Territorial Resistance in Latin America." Presentation: *The concept of place in overcoming adversity: life spaces and rural community resilience in Pudahuel.*
- 2007  
October Pontificia Universidad Católica de Valparaíso and Institute of Development Research (IRD, France). International Colloquium: "Building Resilience of the Territories: Risks and Security of Development." Presentation: *Place and community resilience: environmental problems in case studies of rural communities in Pudahuel* (Peralito, Campo Alegre, and Soberanía Urbana).
- 2006  
October Fundación Universitaria Luis Amigó and International Foundation of Catholic Universities. Medellín, Colombia. Working Seminar: "Latin American Encounter of Catholic Universities: Solidarity Conference." Workshop Presentation: *International initiative to establish networks of cooperation and solidarity between Catholic universities in Latin America* (with Sebastian Zulueta).

## PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE

- 2017  
January-March **Economic Commission for Economic Development of Latin America and the Caribbean (UN-ECLAC). Human Settlements Unit.**  
Associate Social Affairs Officer (temporary)
- 2015-2016  
October-August **University of Illinois at Chicago. Inter-University Program for Latino Research.**  
IUPLR/Mellon program assistant
- Center of Development Studies. Santiago, Chile.**  
**Consultant.**
- 2009-2010  
August-January **Information Cadaster about High Andean Wetlands.**  
Identification of the state of the art in the study and management of High Andean Wetlands in Chile, Bolivia, Peru, Argentina, Colombia, Ecuador, and Venezuela.
- 2009  
April **Information Cadaster about Wetlands.**  
Identification of the state of the art in the study and management of High Andean Wetlands in Chile.
- 2009  
June **Jaime Illanes y Asociados Consultores S.A. Santiago, Chile.**  
**Consultant.**
- 2010  
September Environmental Impact Assessment: Baseline Socioeconomic and Human Environment in eight projects in different cities and locations in Chile
- Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile, Department of Student Affairs. Santiago, Chile.
- 2008-2009 **Coordinator:** Graduate Student Network.



2007-2008 **Coordinator:** University Youth Center.

2004-2006 **Coordinator:** Social and Participative Student Projects.

2002-2003 **Project Advisor:** Chaitén.

## COMPLEMENTARY TRAINING

2007  
May      Economic Commission for Economic Development of Latin America and the Caribbean (UN-ECLAC)  
Program: “Management of Social Programs: From Diagnostic to Impact Assessment”

## CIVIC PARTICIPATION AND VOLUNTEER WORK (Selected)

2012-2013 College of Urban Planning Ph.D. Students Organization.  
Served as Organization Treasurer.

2008-2010 International Visitors Association, Chile—United States of America.  
Served as Member of Coordination Team.

2004-2005 Mozambique Corporation.  
Supported and collaborated in the foundation of a corporation created to contribute to sustainable development for resource-poor populations of Mozambique.

2003      PuentesUC Programme, Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile.  
Completed an internship for the Municipality of La Florida, Secretary of Community Planning, through the university Bridges Program.

2002      Geography Students Center, Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile.  
Served as President and Project Manager for events such as the Conference on Reflection on Geography and the National Meeting of Students of Geography.

1999-2001 Volunteers Program UC, Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile.  
Served as Head of Community and Active Participation for volunteer fieldwork.

1997-2002 Vicariate of University Ministry, Santiago, Chile.  
Participated in theology instruction for students and a scholarship program.

1998-1999 Youth without Frontiers  
Served as volunteer for “Christians Without Frontiers.”